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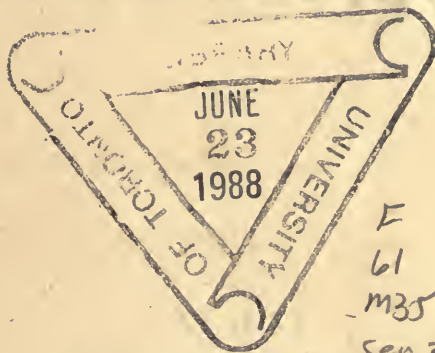
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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

MEMOIR OF JAMES GRAHAME., LL. D.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

To the Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN :

In conformity with the request expressed by your vote, in December, 1842, I have prepared the subjoined Memoir of James Grahame, LL. D., author of the History of the United States of North America. Having never enjoyed the advantage of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, the sole means I then possessed of complying with your request were derived from his writings, and a short correspondence, originally official in its nature, and extended subsequently by an interchange of only a few letters. I should, therefore, have wholly declined the undertaking, had not these slight and transient opportunities deeply impressed my mind with the moral purity and intellectual elevation of his character. It seemed to me, moreover, incumbent upon some American to attempt to do justice to the memory of a foreigner who had devoted the chief and choicest years of his life to writing the history of our country, with a labor, fidelity, and affectionate zeal for the American people and their institutions, which any native citizen may be proud to equal, and will find it very difficult to surpass.

Under these circumstances, my purpose to attempt the task having been formed, I immediately communicated with Mr. Grahame's family and European friends, and received from his highly accomplished widow, from John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, and from Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., who had maintained with him from early youth an uninterrupted intimacy and friendly correspondence, extracts from his diary, and from letters written by him to themselves or others, accompanied with interesting notices illustrative of his sentiments and views. Robert Walsh, Esq., the present American consul at Paris,

well known and appreciated in this country and in Europe for his moral worth and literary eminence, who had enjoyed the privilege of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, also transmitted to me many of his letters to himself. William H. Prescott, Esq., and the Rev. George E. Ellis, with others of his correspondents, have extended to me like favors.

From these sources I have been enabled to sketch the subjoined outline of Mr. Grahame's life and character; in doing which, I have studied, as far as possible, to make his own language the expositor of his mind and motives.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Cambridge, 28 July, 1845.

JAMES GRAHAME, the subject of this Memoir, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 21st of December, 1790, of a family distinguished, in its successive generations, by intellectual vigor and attainments, united with a zeal for civil liberty, chastened and directed by elevated religious sentiment.

His paternal grandfather, Thomas Grahame, was eminent for piety, generosity, and talent. Presiding in the Admiralty Court, at Glasgow, he is stated to have been the first British judge who decreed the liberation of a negro slave brought into Great Britain, on the ground, that "a guiltless human being, in that country, *must* be free"; a judgment preceding by some years the celebrated decision of Lord Mansfield on the same point. In the war for the independence of the United States, he was an early and uniform opponent of the pretensions and policy of Great Britain; declaring, in the very commencement of the contest, that "it was like the controversy of Athens with Syracuse, and he was persuaded it would end in the same way."

He died in 1791, at the age of sixty, leaving two sons, Robert and James. Of these, the youngest, James, was esteemed for his moral worth, and admired for his genius; delighting his friends and companions by the readiness and playfulness of his wit, and commanding the reverence of all who knew him, by the purity of a life under the guidance of an ever active religious principle. He was the author of a poem entitled "The Sabbath," which, admired on its first publication, still retains its celebrity among the minor effusions of the poetic genius of Britain.

Robert, the elder of the sons of Thomas Grahame, and father of the subject of this Memoir, inheriting the virtues of his ancestors, and imbued with their spirit, has sustained, through a long life, not yet terminated, the character of a uniform friend of liberty. His zeal in its cause rendered him, at different periods, obnoxious to the suspicions of the British government. When the ministry attempted to control the expression of public opinion by the prosecution of Horne Tooke, a secretary of state's warrant was issued against him; from the consequences of which he was saved through the acquittal of Tooke by a London jury. When Castlereagh's ascendant policy had excited the people of Scotland to a state of revolt, and several persons were prosecuted for high-treason, whose poverty prevented them from engaging the best counsel, he brought down, at his own charge, for their defence, distinguished English lawyers from London, they being deemed better acquainted than those of Scotland with the law of high-treason; and the result was the acquittal of the persons indicted. He sympathized with the Americans in their struggle for independence, and rejoiced in their success. Regarding the French Revolution as a shoot from the American stock, he hailed its progress in its early stages with satisfaction and hope. So long as its leaders restricted themselves to argument and persuasion, he was their adherent and advocate; but withdrew his countenance when they resorted to terror and violence.

By his profession as writer to the signet* he acquired fortune and eminence. Though distinguished for public and private worth and well directed talent, his political course excluded him from official power and distinction, until 1833, when, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he was unanimously chosen, at the age of seventy-four, without any canvass or solicitation on his part, at the first election under the reformed constituency, Lord Provost of Glasgow. His character is not without interest to the American people; for his son, whose respect for his talents and virtues fell little short of admiration, acknowledges that it was his father's suggestion and encourage-

* An attorney.

ment which first turned his thoughts to writing the history of the United States.

Under such paternal influences, James Grahame, our historian, was early imbued with the spirit of liberty. His mind became familiarized with its principles and their limitations. Even in boyhood, his thoughts were directed towards that transatlantic people whose national existence was the work of that spirit, and whose institutions were framed with an express view to maintain and perpetuate it.

His early education was domestic. A French emigrant priest taught him the first elements of learning. He then passed through the regular course of instruction at the Grammar School of Glasgow, and afterwards attended the classes at the University in that city. In both he was distinguished by his proficiency. After pursuing a preparatory course in geometry and algebra, hearing the lectures of Professor Playfair, and reviewing his former studies under private tuition, he entered, about his twentieth year, St. John's College, Cambridge. But his connection with the University was short. In an excursion during one of the vacations, he formed an attachment to the lady whom he afterwards married; becoming, in consequence, desirous of an early establishment in life, he terminated abruptly his academical connections, and commenced a course of professional study preparatory to his admission to the Scottish bar.

At Cambridge he had the happiness to form an acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, with Mr. Herschel, now known to the world as Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., and by the high rank he sustains among the astronomers of Europe. Concerning this friendship Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary:—“It has always been an ennobling tie. We have been the friends of each other's souls and of each other's virtue, as well as of each other's person and success. He was of St. John's College, as well as I. Many a day we passed in walking together, and many a night in studying together.” Their intimacy continued unbroken through Mr. Grahame's life.

In June, 1812, Mr. Grahame was admitted to the Scottish bar as an advocate, and immediately entered on

the practice of his profession. It seems, however, not to have been suited to his taste; for about this time he writes:—“Until now I have been my own master, and I now resign my independence for a service I dislike.” His assiduity was, nevertheless, unremitting, and was attended with satisfactory success; indicative, in the opinion of his friends, of ultimate professional eminence.

In October, 1813, he married Matilda Robley, of Stoke Newington, a pupil of Mrs. Barbauld; who, in a letter to a friend, thus wrote concerning her:—“She is by far one of the most charming women I have ever known. Young, beautiful, amiable, and accomplished; with a fine fortune. She is going to be married to a Mr. Grahame, a young Scotch barrister. I have the greatest reluctance to part with this precious treasure, and can only hope that Mr. Grahame is worthy of so much happiness.”

All the anticipations justified by Mrs. Barbauld’s exalted estimate of this lady were realized by Mr. Grahame. He found in this connection a stimulus and a reward for his professional exertions. “Love and ambition,” he writes to his friend Herschel, soon after his marriage, “unite to incite my industry. My reputation and success rapidly increase, and I see clearly that only perseverance is wanting to possess me of all the bar can afford.” And again, at a somewhat later period:—“You can hardly fancy the delight I felt the other day, on hearing the Lord President declare that one of my printed pleadings was most excellent. Yet, although you were more ambitious than I am, you could not taste the full enjoyment of professional success, without a wife to heighten your pleasure, by sympathizing in it.”

Soon after Mr. Grahame’s marriage, the religious principle took predominating possession of his mind. Its depth and influence were early indicated in his correspondence. As the impression had been sudden, his friends anticipated it would be temporary. But it proved otherwise. From the bent which his mind now received it never afterwards swerved. His general religious views coincided with those professed by the early Puritans and the Scotch Covenanters; but they were sober, elevated, expansive, and free from narrowness and bigotry. Though his tem-

perament was naturally ardent and excitable, he was exempt from all tendency to extravagance or intolerance. His religious sensibilities were probably quickened by an opinion, which the feebleness of his physical constitution led him early to entertain, that his life was destined to be of short duration. In a letter to Herschel, about this period, he writes : — “ I have a horror of deferring labor ; and also such fancies or presentiments of a short life, that I often feel I cannot afford to trust fate for a day. I know of no other mode of *creating time*, if the expression be allowable, than to make the most of every moment.”

Mr. Grahame's mind, naturally active and discursive, could not be circumscribed within the sphere of professional avocations. It was early engaged on topics of general literature. He began, in 1814, to write for the *Reviews*, and his labors in this field indicate a mind thoughtful, fixed, and comprehensive, uniting great assiduity in research with an invincible spirit of independence. In 1816, he sharply assailed Malthus, on the subject of “ population, poverty, and the poor-laws,” in a pamphlet which was well received by the public, and passed through two editions. In this pamphlet he evinces his knowledge of American affairs by frequently alluding to them and by quoting from the works of Dr. Franklin. Mr. Grahame was one of the few to whom Malthus condescended to reply, and a controversy ensued between them in the periodical publications of the day. In the year 1817, his religious prepossessions were manifested in an animated “ Defence of the Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters against the author of ‘ The Tales of my Landlord ’ ” ; these productions being regarded by him “ as an attempt to hold up to contempt and ridicule those Scotchmen, who, under a galling temporal tyranny and spiritual persecution, fled from their homes and comforts, to worship, in the secrecy of deserts and wastes, their God, according to the dictates of their conscience ; the genius of the author being thus exerted to falsify history and confound moral distinctions.”

Mr. Grahame also published, anonymously, several pamphlets on topics of local interest ; “ all,” it is said, “ distinguished for elegance and learning.” In mature life,

when time and the habit of composition had chastened his taste and improved his judgment, — his opinions, also, on some topics having changed, — he was accustomed to look back on these literary productions with little complacency, and the severity with which he applied self-criticism led him to express a hope that all memory of his early writings might be obliterated. Although some of them, perhaps, are not favorable specimens of his matured powers, they are far from meriting the oblivion to which he would have consigned them.

In the course of this year (1817), Mr. Grahame's eldest daughter died, — an event so deeply afflictive to him, as to induce an illness which endangered his life. In the year ensuing, he was subjected to the severest of all bereavements in the death of his wife, who had been the object of his unlimited confidence and affection. The effect produced on Mr. Grahame's mind by this succession of afflictions is thus noticed by his son-in-law, John Stewart, Esq.: — "Hereafter the chief characteristic of his journal is deep religious feeling pervading it throughout. It is full of religious meditations, tempering the natural ardor of his disposition; presenting curious and instructive records, at the same time showing that these convictions did not prevent him from mingling as heretofore in general society. It also evidences that all he there sees, the events passing around him, the most ordinary occurrences of his own life, are subjected to another test, — are constantly referred to a religious standard, and weighed by Scripture principles. The severe application of these to himself, — to self-examination, — is as remarkable as his charitable application of them in his estimate of others."

To alleviate the distress consequent on his domestic bereavements, Mr. Grahame extended the range of his intellectual pursuits. In 1819, he writes, — "I have been for several weeks engaged in the study of Hebrew; and having mastered the first difficulties, the language will be my own in a few months. I am satisfied with what I have done. No exercise of the mind is wholly lost, even when not prosecuted to the end originally contemplated."

For several years succeeding the death of his wife, his

literary and professional labors were much obstructed by precarious health and depressed spirits. His diary during this period indicates an excited moral watchfulness, and a mind agitated by deep and solemn impressions. Thus, in April, 1821, he remarks: — “ In writing a law-pleading to-day, I was struck with what I have often before reflected on, the subtle and dangerous temptations that our profession presents to us of varnishing and disguising the conduct and views of our clients, — of mending the natural complexion of a case, filling up its gaps and rounding its sharp corners.” And in October following: — “ Why is it that the creatures so often disappoint us, and that the fruition of them is sometimes attended with satiety? We try to make them more to us than God has fitted them to be. Such attempts must ever be in vain. We do not enjoy them as the gifts and refreshments afforded us by God, and in subordination to his will and purpose in giving. If we did so, our use would be humble, grateful, moderate, and happy. The good that God puts in them is bounded; but when that is drawn off, their highest sweetness and best use may be found in the testimony they afford of his exhaustless love and goodness.” And again, in February, 1822: — “ We are all travelling to the grave, — but in very different attitudes; — some feasting and jesting, some fasting and praying; some eagerly and anxiously struggling for things temporal, some humbly seeking things eternal.”

An excursion into the Low Countries, undertaken for the benefit of his health, in 1823, enabled Mr. Grahame to gratify his “ strong desire to become acquainted with *extrema vestigia* of the ancient Dutch habits and manners.” In this journey he enjoyed the hospitalities, at Lisle, of its governor, Marshal Cambronne, and formed an intimacy with that noble veteran, which, through the correspondence of their sympathies and principles, ripened into a friendship that terminated only with their respective lives.

About this period he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and soon after began seriously to contemplate writing the history of the United States of North America. Early education, religious principle, and a native earnestness in the cause of civil liberty con-

curred to incline his mind to this undertaking. He was reared, as we have seen, under the immediate eye of a father who had been an early and uniform advocate of the principles which led to American independence. In 1810, while yet but on the threshold of manhood, his admiration of the illustrious men who were distinguished in the American Revolution was evinced by the familiarity with which he spoke of their characters or quoted from their writings. The names of Washington and Franklin were ever on his lips, and his chief source of delight was in American history.* This interest was intensely increased by the fact, that religious views, in many respects coinciding with his own, had been the chief moving cause of one of the earliest and most successful of the emigrations to North America, and had exerted a material effect on the structure of the political institutions of the United States. These united influences elevated his feelings to a state of enthusiasm on the subject of American history, and led him to regard it as "the noblest in dignity, the most comprehensive in utility, and the most interesting in progress and event, of all the subjects of thought and investigation." In June, 1824, he remarks in his journal:—"I have had some thoughts of writing the history of North America, from the period of its colonization from Europe till the Revolution and the establishment of the republic. The subject seems to me grand and noble. It was not a thirst of gold or of conquest, but piety and virtue, that laid the foundation of those settlements. The soil was not made by its planters a scene of vice and crime, but of manly enterprise, patient industry, good morals, and happiness deserving universal sympathy. The Revolution was not promoted by infidelity, nor stained by cruelty, as in France; nor was the fair cause of Freedom betrayed and abandoned, as in both France and England. The share that religious men had in accomplishing the American Revolution is a matter well deserving inquiry, but leading, I fear, into very difficult discussion."

Although his predilections for the task were strong, it is apparent that he engaged in it with many doubts, and

* Sir John F. W. Herschel's Letters.

after frequent misgivings. Nor did he conceal from himself the peculiar difficulties of the undertaking. The elements of the proposed history, he perceived, were scattered, broken, and confused; differently affecting and affected by thirteen independent sovereignties; and chiefly to be sought in local tracts and histories, hard to be obtained, and often little known, even in America, beyond the scenes in which they had their origin, and on which their light was reflected. It was a work which must absorb many years of his life, and task all his faculties. Not only considerations like these, but also the extent of the outline, and the number and variety of details embraced in his design, oppressed and kept in suspense a mind naturally sensitive and self-distrustful. Having at length become fixed in his purpose, — chiefly, there is reason to believe, through the predominating influence of his religious feelings and views, — on the 4th of December, 1824, he writes in his journal: — “After long, profound, and anxious deliberation, and much preparatory research and inquiry, I began the continuous (for so I mean it) composition of the history of the United States of North America. This pursuit, whether I succeed in it or not, must ever attract my mind by the powerful consideration, that it was first suggested to me in conversation with my father, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Dillwyn.” And, at a subsequent date: — “May God (whom I have invoked in the work) bless, direct, and prosper my undertaking! The surest way to execute it well is to regard it always as a service of body and spirit to God; that the end may shed its light on the means.”* In the same spirit, he writes to Mr. Herschel, on the 31st of December: — “For a considerable time I have been meditating a great literary work, and, after much preparatory reading, reflection, and note-writing, have at length begun it. If I continue it as I hope to do, it will absorb much of my time and mind for many years. It is a history of North America, — the most interesting historical subject, I think, a human pen ever

* A manuscript journal of the progress of this history, including the authorities consulted, was sent by Mr. Grahame, in the year 1835, to the President of Harvard College, and was deposited in the library of that institution, to which it now belongs. It is one of the documents used in the preparation of this Memoir.

undertook. I have always thought the labors of the historian the first in point of literary dignity and utility. History is every thing. Religion, science, literature, whatever men do or think, falls within the scope of history. I ardently desire to make it a religious work, and, in writing, to keep the chief end of man mainly in view. Thus, I hope, the nobleness of the end I propose may impart a dignity to the means."

The undertaking, once commenced, was prosecuted with characteristic ardor and untiring industry. All the time which professional avocations left to him was devoted to this his favorite field of exertion. His labors were continued always until midnight, and often until three or four o'clock in the morning, and he became impatient of every other occupation. But late hours, long sittings, and intense application soon seriously affected his health, and symptoms of an overstrained constitution gradually began to appear. Of this state of mind, and of these effects of his labors on his health, his letters give continual evidence. "I am becoming increasingly wedded to my historical work, and proportionally averse to the bar and forensic practice. At half past three this morning I desist, from motives of prudence (tardily operating, it must be confessed) rather than from weariness." — "Sick or well, my History is the most interesting and absorbing employment I have ever found. It is a noble subject."*

By application thus active and incessant, the first volume of his work, comprehending the history of the settlement of Virginia and New England, was so nearly completed early in the ensuing May, as to admit of his then opening a negotiation for its publication. In a letter to Longman, his bookseller, Mr. Grahame expresses in the strongest terms his devotedness to the work, and adds: — "Every day my purpose becomes stronger to abandon every other pursuit, in order to devote to this my whole time and attention."

He now immediately set about collecting materials for his second volume. Having ascertained that it was impossible to obtain books in England, essential to the success

* Letters to Herschel, January and February, 1825.

of his historical researches, and that rich treasures in the department of American history were deposited at Göttingen, he immediately transferred his residence to that city, and found in its library many very valuable materials for his undertaking. Here he also met with Sir William Hamilton, whose "unwearied labors in supplying him with information on the subject of his historical work, and whose interest in its success," he gratefully acknowledges in his letters; adding, — "To him nothing is indifferent that concerns literature, or the interests of his friends." During Mr. Grahame's short residence on the continent of Europe, his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, died; and he returned to England in the following September, 1825, under a heavy depression of spirits. He resumed, however, his favorite labors, but, in consequence of the failure of his health, was soon obliged to desist.

"The latter part of 1825 and the beginning of 1826," his friend Herschel states, "was passed by Mr. Grahame in London, under pressure of severe and dangerous as well as painful illness, the exhausting and debilitating effects of which were probably never obliterated from his constitution, and which made it necessary for him to seek safety in a milder climate than that of Scotland. Thither, however, he for a while returned, but only to write in a strain like the following: — 'Whitehill, April 24, 1826. My bodily health is nearly reëstablished; but my mind is in a wretched state of feebleness and languor, and indifference to almost every thing. My History is completely at a stand. The last month has been the most disagreeable of my life. If I am not to undergo some great change in the state of my faculties, I do sincerely hope my life may not be long. My discontent and uneasiness are, however, mitigated by the thought, that our condition is appointed by God, and that there must be duties attached to it, and some degree of happiness connected with the performance of those duties. Surely, the highest duty and happiness of a created being must arise from a willing subservience to the designs of the Creator.'"

Being apprized by his physicians that a residence in Scotland during the coming winter would probably prove fatal to him, he transferred his residence to the South of

England, and, thenceforth abandoning his profession of advocate, devoted himself exclusively to the completion of his historical work, as appears by the following entry in his diary:—“March, 1826. Edinburgh. I am now preparing to strike my tent, that is, dissolve my household and depart for ever from this place; my physicians requiring me not to pass another winter in the climate of Scotland. I quit my profession without regret, having little liked and greatly neglected it ever since I undertook the history of America, to which I shall be glad to devote uninterruptedly all my energies, as soon as I succeed in re-collecting them.”

His journal bears continued testimony to the deep interest he took in every thing American, and the philosophic views which he applied to the condition and duties of the people of the United States. — “American writers are too apt to accept the challenge of Europeans to competitions quite unsuitable to their country. Themistocles neither envied nor emulated the boast of the flute-player, to whose challenge he answered: ‘I cannot, indeed, play the flute like you; but I can transform a small village into a great city.’ From evils of which America is happily ignorant there arise some partially compensating advantages, which she may very well dispense with. Titular nobility and standing armies, for example, develope politeness and honor (not honor of the purest and noblest kind) among a few, at the expense of depraving and depressing vast multitudes. Great inequalities of wealth, the bondage of the lower classes, have adorned European realms with splendid castles and cathedrals, at the expense of lodging the mass of society in garrets and hovels. If American writers should succeed in persuading their countrymen to study and assert equality with Europeans, in dramatic entertainments, in smooth polish of manners, and in those arts which profess to enable men to live idly and uselessly, without wearying, they will form a taste inconsistent with just discernment and appreciation of their political institutions. Vespasian destroyed the palace of Nero, as a monument of luxury and pernicious to morals. The absence of such palaces as Trianon and Marly may well be compensated by exemption from such tyranny as the revo-

cation of the edict of Nantes, which was coeval with their erection.”

Of Mrs. Trollope’s “Domestic Manners of the Americans,” and her depreciating view of “the society which he regarded with love, admiration, and hope,” he thus writes in a subsequent page of his journal: — “What is truth? Is it not as much in the position of the observer as in the condition of the observed? Mrs. Trollope seems to me full-fraught with the most pitiful vulgarities of aristocratical ignorance and pretension; and these would naturally invite the shock of what she seems to have met with in the antipathy of democratic insolence and coarseness; — she is Basil Hall in petticoats. Think of such a brace of pragmatistical pretenders and adventurers as he and she, sitting in judgment on America!”

It is impossible not to remark the delight his mind took in any associations connected with America. “At the printing-office of Messrs. Strahan and Spottiswoode,” he writes, “I corrected a proof-sheet of my *History of North America, sitting within the walls of that establishment where Franklin once was a workman.*” Again, at Kensington: — “I delight to stroll amid the sombre grandeur of these gardens. The lofty height and deep shade of these magnificent trees inspire a pleasing, solemn, half-melancholy gloom. Here *Penn* and Addison walked. Here Rousseau, when in England, was wont to sit and muse. Sometimes, in spirit, I meet their spirits here.”

The first two volumes of his work, bringing the narrative down to the period of the English Revolution, being at length completed, were in February, 1827, published. But Mr. Grahame was now destined to sustain a severe disappointment. His *History* was received with little interest by the British public, and by all the greater Reviews with neglect. The *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Foreign Quarterly* maintained towards it an ominous silence. Some of the minor Reviews, indeed, noticed it with qualified approbation. For Englishmen the colonial history of the United States had but few attractions; and the spirit in which Mr. Grahame had treated the subject was not calculated to gratify their national pride. He was thought to have “drunk too deep of the spirit of the

Puritans"; it was said that his "hatred of tyranny had terminated in aversion to monarchy,"—that towards the church of England "his feelings were fanatical," towards the church of Rome "illiberal and intolerant."

Conscious of the labor he had bestowed upon it, and of the fidelity with which it was executed, Mr. Grahame was not disheartened by the chilling reception his work met with from the British public, nor deterred from pursuing his original design; the conviction predominating in his mind, that sooner or later it would conciliate public esteem. Accordingly, in the autumn of the same year in which his first two volumes were published, he not only commenced their revision, but began an extension of his History to the period of the declaration of American independence. His interest in his subject evidently increased. "American history," he writes, "is my favorite field."—"I am averse to all other occupation."—"I am pleased to gather from any quarter wherewith to decorate my beloved North America."—"God bless the people and institutions of North America! So prays their warm friend, and obscure, but industrious, historian."

About this time, through the kindness of James Chalmers, nephew of the late George Chalmers, he obtained admission to the library of that distinguished American annalist. The treasures there opened to him rekindled his zeal, and he renewed his historical labors with an intense assiduity, ill comporting with the critical state of his health. Apprehending a fatal termination of his disease, his medical advisers urged him to pass the ensuing winter at the island of Madeira; and thither his friend Herschel, through anxiety for his life, offered to accompany him. But no consideration could induce him to leave England, where alone the researches which occupied his mind could be pursued with advantage; and for the purpose of availing himself of the books on American history which London afforded, he established himself in its vicinity.

In May, 1828, Mr. Grahame visited Paris, accompanied by his father, who introduced him to La Fayette. "I was received," he writes, "by this venerable and illustrious man with the greatest kindness. His face expresses grave, mild, peaceful worth, the calm consciousness and

serene satisfaction of virtue. I was charmed with his dignified simplicity, his mild but generous benevolence, and the easy, gentle, superior sense and virtue of his thinking." From Paris, Mr. Grahame travelled with his father along the banks of the Loire, visited Nantes, renewed his acquaintance with Marshal and Madame Cambronne, and spent some days in their family. "The modest, simple, chivalrous character of Marshal Cambronne," says Mr. Stewart, "attracted Mr. Grahame's esteem and admiration, and strengthened those ties of mutual interest and attachment which their former intercourse had originated."

Returning to the neighbourhood of London in June following, his health recruited by his excursion, he immediately resumed, with characteristic ardor, his favorite historical pursuits. At this time the Catholic emancipation question strongly agitated the British nation, and Mr. Grahame's ardent love of liberty and religious toleration excited in him a keen interest in the success of this measure. Having found the climate of Nantes adapted to his constitution, and enabling him, as he expressed himself, "to labor night and day at his historical work," he returned to that city in October, of the same year, and fixed his residence there during the ensuing winter and spring.

In May, 1829, on his homeward journey, he passed through Paris, again visited La Fayette, and saw him in the midst of his family, "surrounded," he writes, "by a troop of friends, some of distinguished character and aspect, and all regarding him with respect and admiration. Thus serene is the evening of his troubled but glorious life." Mr. Grahame adds: — "I had the honor and happiness of long and most interesting conversations with him, respecting the origin and commencement of his connection with the American cause. Nothing could be more friendly, kind, or benevolent than his manners; nothing more instructive, entertaining, or interesting than the conversation he bestowed upon me. How mild, wise, and good La Fayette is! Mr. Clarkson described him to me *as a man who desires the happiness of the human race, in consistence with strict subservience to the cause of truth and the honor of God.* I deem this a very honorable diploma. In the

company of La Fayette, I feel an elevation of spirit and expansion of heart. What a roll of great deeds, heroic virtues, and interesting scenes is engraven on the lines of the venerable face of the *prisoner of Olmutz!*”

From this and other conversations Mr. Grahame acknowledges that he derived the materials for various passages in the text and notes of the fourth volume of his history of North America. This work he finished in December, 1829. The intense labor which he had applied to its completion brought on a severe nervous fever, which for a short time threatened a fatal result.

In April, 1830, Mr. Grahame was married, at Nantes, to Jane A. Wilson, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the Protestant pastor of that city. Concerning this connection, John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, thus writes: — “From this period till his death, Mr. Grahame’s home was at Nantes; and in the society of his pious, amiable, and accomplished wife, and under her tender and vigilant care, Mr. Grahame enjoyed a degree of tranquil happiness and renewed health to which he had been long a stranger; — interrupted only, at times, by his tendency to excessive literary exertion; but at a later period more seriously and permanently, by the dangerous, lingering, and almost hopeless illness of his daughter. Between Mr. and Mrs. Grahame existed the most devoted attachment, based upon a complete appreciation of and profound esteem for each other’s qualities and principles. They were both interesting, even in appearance; tall and well proportioned; — their features bearing the impress of a happy seriousness, while their demeanour evinced that peculiarly attractive stamp of real gentility which Christian principles add to natural good-breeding.”

After his marriage, Mr. Grahame resided for several years at L’Eperonnière, an ancient chateau in the environs of Nantes; Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the aged parents of his wife, being inmates of his family. “Through their long standing connections,” continues Mr. Stewart, “Mr. Grahame found himself at once in the best French society of Nantes. There the worth of his character soon made itself respected. The interest he took in every thing affecting the welfare of the city (to which, if necessary, he

was accustomed liberally to subscribe), the urbanity of his demeanour in his intercourse with individuals, united with the generosity of his disposition, soon caused him to be regarded more in the light of a fellow-citizen than as a stranger; and in process of time all such local distinctions as his numerous friends could bestow upon him, or induce him to accept, were conferred on him. The influence he thus acquired was chiefly and successfully exerted in the support of the small but increasing church professing the Protestant faith at Nantes. To several Frenchmen residing at Nantes Mr. Grahame became warmly attached; but though his spirit of general benevolence led him to take a warm interest in those among whom he lived, and notwithstanding he saw much among the French to admire and respect, yet the character of his mind and habits, staid, serious, and retired, did not permit his feelings towards that country to approach to any thing like the warmth of his affection and admiration for either America or England."

Although Mr. Grahame had finished writing his History in December, 1829, he was far from regarding it as ready for the press. He had attributed the ill success of his first two volumes to the haste with which they had been published; he therefore resolved to devote several years to the revision of the entire work, and often expressed a doubt of its publication in his life-time.

Nearly four years had elapsed, and the silence of the European public concerning Mr. Grahame's volumes had not been broken by any voice from this side of the Atlantic. The high price of the English edition rendered its general circulation in this country hopeless; and American editors were yet to learn that it was possible for a foreigner and a Briton to treat the early history of the United States with fairness and impartiality. The knowledge of its nature and true value was confined to a few individuals. At length, in January, 1831, a just and discriminating critical notice of the work appeared in the *North American Review*. After expressing regret at the neglect with which it had hitherto been treated in America, and pointing out the causes of the little interest it had excited in this country, the reviewer proceeds to do justice to the independent

spirit of the author ; to his freedom from prejudice ; to “ the happy discrimination he had manifested on the solution of the leading principles that led to the colonization of the several States, and the able exposition of the results which followed ” ; and to his having “ corrected with proper boldness the mistakes, whether of ignorance or malignity, which his predecessors in the same labors had committed.” The reviewer adds, “ Mr. Grahame, with a spirit able to appreciate the value of his subject, has published what we conceive the best book that has anywhere appeared upon the early history of the United States. He has not invariably avoided errors, but has coped very successfully with the disadvantages of his situation.” This is believed to be the first time Mr. Grahame’s History had been made, either in America or Europe, the special subject of notice in any leading Review.

This high commendation of the two volumes then published appears by his journal to have been “ very gratifying ” to Mr. Grahame, and to have encouraged him to proceed with the revision and preparation of his extended work. While, under this new incitement, he was assiduously employed in reëxamining the details of his History, and exerting himself to render it as accurate as possible, he was interrupted by events which filled his domestic circle with grief and anxiety. In May, 1833, the death of Mrs. Wilson, his wife’s mother, for whom he entertained an affection truly filial, was immediately followed by the dangerous illness of his only daughter. Her physicians, both in France and England, having declared that her life depended upon a change of climate, Mr. and Mrs. Grahame immediately accompanied her to Madeira ; whence, after a residence of nine months, they returned, her restoration being now deemed hopeless. She eventually recovered, however, in a manner “ incomprehensible and unparalleled in medical experience,” and ultimately attained a state of fair and permanent health, to which the assiduous attention of her excellent mother-in-law greatly contributed.

On his return from Madeira, Mr. Grahame first heard of the death of La Fayette, to whose memory he pays the following tribute in his diary : — “ La Fayette is

dead! This 'sun of glory' is blotted from the political firmament, which he has so long adorned. Every honest and generous breast must 'feel the sigh sincere' for the loss of this great man, — the extinction of an effulgence of honor, virtue, and wisdom so benignly bright. Fully and beautifully did he exemplify the words of Wolsey: 'Love thyself last,' and 'Corruption wins not more than honesty.' He drew his last breath, and ceased to be a part (how honored, how admirable a part!) of human nature, at an early hour on the twentieth of this month [May], at the age of nearly seventy-seven. Pity that his last days must have been embittered by the existing dissensions in his beloved America! Of the human beings I have known, and knowing have regarded with unmingled veneration, there exist now only Mr. Clarkson and my father. It seems strange to me that La Fayette should be no more, — that such an illustrious ornament of human nature should disappear, and yet the world continue so like what it was before. Yet the words 'La Fayette is dead' will cause a keen sensation to vibrate through every scene of moral and intellectual being on earth. A thousand deep thoughts and earnest remembrances will awaken at that name, over which ages of renown had gathered, while yet its owner lived and moved and had his being among us. France, in losing this man, seems to me to have lost the brightest jewel in her national diadem, and to have suffered an eclipse of interest and glory."

During his residence in Madeira, Mr. Grahame continued the revision of his History, and on his return, after devoting another year to the same object, he took up his residence in London for the purpose of superintending its publication. Here, again, his anxiety and unremitting industry induced a dangerous illness. His restoration to health he attributed to the assiduous care of two of his friends, Mrs. Reid and Dr. Boott. The former took him from his hotel to her own house, and thus secured for him retirement, quiet, and her undivided attention. "From her," he says, "I have received the most comfortable and elegant hospitality, the kindest and most assiduous care and conversation, seasoned with genius, piety, and benevo-

lence, and the finest accomplishments of education." Concerning Dr. Boott, who is a native of Boston, Massachusetts, established as a physician in London, Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary: — "His knowledge is great; his abilities excellent; his flow of thought incessant; his heart and dispositions admirable. He insists that his valuable attendance upon me be accepted as friendly, and not remunerated as professional, service. In this man, America has sent me one of her noblest sons, to save the life of her historian."

After an interruption of six weeks, Mr. Grahame resumed the revision of the proof-sheets of his work; and, having finished this labor, returned to his family, at Nantes, in December. In the ensuing January (1836), his History was published.

Eleven years had now elapsed since Mr. Grahame had commenced writing the history of the United States. More earnest and assiduous research had seldom been exerted by any historian. His interest in the subject was intense. His talents were unquestionable. There was no carelessness in the execution, no haste in the publication. A Briton, highly educated, universally respected, of a moral and religious character which gave the stamp of authenticity to his statements and opinions, had devoted the best years of his life to the task of introducing his countrymen and the world to an acquaintance with the early fortunes of a people who had risen with unparalleled rapidity to a high rank among the nations of the earth; yet a second time his work was received with neglect by those literary Reviews in Great Britain which chiefly guide the taste of the public, and distribute the rewards and honors of literary industry. Although highly wrought, elevated in sentiment, generous and noble in its design, all its views and influences made subservient to the cause of pure morals and practical piety, yet, as has been already observed, it was obviously not adapted to conciliate either the prejudices, the interests, or the feelings of the British public. It could not well be expected, that, under an Episcopal hierarchy, whose Roman Catholic origin and tendencies are manifest, a history of successful Puritanism would be acceptable. It could not be

hoped, that, in a nation which had risen to the height of civilization and power under a monarchy based on an aristocracy, a work illustrative and laudatory of institutions strictly republican would be countenanced, — much more, generally patronized. Mr. Grahame had, moreover, not only imbibed the political principles of the Puritans, but had caught much of their devotional spirit. Hence his language, at times, is ill suited to the genius of an age which does not regard religion as the great business of life, nor the extension of its influences as one of the appropriate objects of history. Owing to these causes, his work received little encouragement in Europe, and the knowledge of its claims to respect and attention was limited. Nor were these consequences confined to Great Britain. American readers commonly rely on the leading Reviews of that country for notices of meritorious productions of Englishmen, and are not apt to make research after those which they neglect or depreciate. As Mr. Grahame belonged to no political or literary party or circle, he was without aid from that personal interest and zeal which often confer an adventitious popularity. He trusted the success of his work wholly to its own merits, and, when disappointed a second time, neither complained nor was discouraged, — supported, as before, by a consciousness of his faithful endeavours, and by a firm belief in their ultimate success. He had assumed the whole pecuniary risk of his extended publication, in four volumes octavo, which resulted in a loss of one thousand pounds sterling, — and that, at a time, as he states, when it was not easy for him to sustain it. Taking no counsel of despondency, however, he immediately began to prepare for a second edition of his entire work, and devoted to it, during the remaining years of his life, all the time and strength which a constitutional organic disease permitted.

Hitherto, Mr. Grahame's interest in America had been derived from the study of her history and institutions; but in 1837 he formed an acquaintance with a few distinguished Americans, and received from them the respect due to his historical labors. Among these was Robert Walsh, Esq., who, after a brilliant and effective literary career in this

country, had transferred his residence to Paris; by him Mr. Grahame was introduced to Washington Irving. Both these eminent Americans united in urging him to write the history of the American Revolution; Mr. Walsh offering to procure for him materials, and a sufficient guaranty against pecuniary loss.

Under this influence, he now entered upon a course of reading embracing that period of American history; but, as may be gathered from the general tenor of his subsequent remarks and the result, more from curiosity and interest in the subject than from any settled purpose of writing upon it; for early in August of this year (1837), he observes in his diary:—“Mr. Walsh, in his letters to me, renews his urgency that I should write the history of the Revolutionary War. But I think I have done enough as a historian, and that a prudent regard to my own reputation bids me rather enforce my title than enlarge my claim to public attention.” And about the same time he wrote to Mr. Walsh:—“I cannot agree with you in thinking that our beloved America will regard with equal complacency a historic garland attached to her brows by foreign hands, and one in which a son of her own blends his own renown with hers.” Yet, from a letter to the same gentleman in September following, it is evident that Mr. Grahame entertained a strong predilection for the design; for he thus writes:—“The more I pursue my present American studies, the more I am struck with a pleasing astonishment. The account of the formation of the federal constitution of North America inspires me with delight and admiration. I knew but the outline of the scene before. Now, I find that the more its details are examined, the more honorable and interesting it proves. Truly does it deserve to be termed the greatest scene of human glory that ever adorned the tide of human time. I wish, that, ere my health and spirit had been broken, I had ventured to be the historian of that scene. But surely the country, the *magna mater virum*, that has produced such actors and such deeds, is herself destined to afford their fittest historian.” In a similar strain he writes in his journal, under the same date:—“The account (by Pitkin and others), which

I am reading, of the formation of the federal constitution of North America, after the achievement of her national independence, fills me with astonishment and admiration. It would make me glad to be convinced that the present people of America and their leaders are altogether such as were the Americans of those days. Far more was gained to America (and through her, I hope, eventually to the whole world) by the wisdom, virtue, and moderation exhibited by her children after the War of Independence, than by the valor that brought that war to its happy close. Such a scene the history of no other country ever exhibited. I wish I had been its historian. But a fit historian will surely arise one day."

Botta, who had written the history of the American Revolution, died about this time in Paris. Mr. Grahame's feelings were deeply moved by the event. "I hope," he wrote in his diary, "that the Americans at Paris attended his funeral. *Though only in heart an American*, I would have desired leave to attend, had I been there." And in a letter to Mr. Walsh, he remarks: — "I hope some memoir of Botta will appear. It should gratify Americans to learn, that, on his death-bed, he related (it was to myself), that his son, in some distant part of the world, received civilities from the officers and crew of an American vessel, who instantly recognized as a friend the son of the historian of their country, — adding, 'That was a rich reward of my labors.' When I told him that Jefferson had expressed admiration of his work, he squeezed my hand and testified much delight. And when I told him that both Jefferson and John Adams condemned his *speeches* as fictitious, he smiled and answered with *naïveté*, 'They are not wholly invented.'"

Mr. Walsh having, in conversation, expressed to Mr. Grahame his surprise at the partiality he evinced for his country and countrymen, he replied, — "As Hannibal was taught by his father to hate the Romans, so was I trained by mine to love the Americans." And in writing to that gentleman in October, 1837, he remarks, in the same spirit, — "I regret when I see the defence of America conducted with recrimination against Great Britain. But I must confess that my own indignation at the conduct

and language of some of my countrymen towards America is at times uncontrollable. I wish that Americans could regard these follies with indulgence, or magnanimous (perhaps disdainful) indifference. For my part, I can truly say, that my daughter is hardly dearer to me than America and American renown."

His admiration of the character of Washington is thus expressed in his journal, under the date of September, 1837: — "O, what a piece of work of divine handicraft was Washington! What a grace to his nation, his age, and to human nature was he! I know of no other military and political chief who has so well supported the character delineated in these lines of Horace: —

'Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ.'

With the same feeling that tempted the clergyman, who read the funeral service over the body of John Wesley, to substitute, for the formula, 'our dear *brother* here departed,' the words, 'our dear *father* here departed,' I am inclined to regard Washington rather as a father than a brother of his fellow-men. What a master, what a pupil, were Washington and La Fayette! One day, when I was sitting with La Fayette, he said to me, 'I was always a Republican, and Washington was always my model and my master.'" During the same month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh: — "Washington impresses me with so much veneration, that I have become more than ever anxious to know what really was the state and complexion of his religious opinions"; and recurring, in a subsequent letter, to the same topic, he remarks: — "I find McGuire's 'Religious Opinions and Character of Washington' heavy, tiresome, and, in general, unsatisfactory. But last night I reached a passage which gave me lively delight; for now I can look on Washington as a Christian."

Until near the close of this year, Mr. Grahame continued to pursue his researches on the subject of the American Revolution, although laboring under a constant depression of health and spirits, and a prevailing apprehension that his life would be short, and that his constitutional disorders were symptomatic of sudden death. But in December,

1837, his physicians prohibited him from "writing or reading for some months, on any subject likely to provoke much thinking"; and on the 19th of this month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh, that he had reason to attribute his recent illness to his "late historic studies, and to the anxiety of mind earnest meditation had induced. For me to undertake such a work," he says, "or even contemplate it, or diligently prepare for it, until my health be totally renovated (which, in all human probability, it never will be), would, I clearly see, be to do to the subject and to myself unreasonable injustice. *I therefore renounce it altogether.* I hope you will not blame me, nor regret the trouble you have taken and the kindness you have shown me with the view of my prosecuting the career from which I have now retreated. For a long time before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, I had resolved, from a sense of both moral and physical incompetency, as well as on account of the slenderness of my success, the heaviness of my pecuniary loss, and other considerations, to carry my historic narrative no farther. It was your flattering encouragement—the *laus laudati viri*—that tempted me to mistake an agreeable vision for a reasonable hope, and to embrace the purpose I must now painfully, but decidedly, forego.

'Hos successus alit : possunt quia posse videntur.'

Neither category was mine. I had no success to sustain me, and no internal confidence to impel me; but the very reverse."

The charge of "invention," preferred against Mr. Grahame, by Mr. Bancroft, in his History,* on account of the epithet "baseness" applied by him to the conduct of Clarke, the agent of Rhode Island, in negotiating for that colony the charter it obtained in 1663 from Charles the Second, first came to Mr. Grahame's knowledge early in the year 1838, and excited in him feelings of surprise and a deep sense of wrong. "There is here," he immediately wrote to Mr. Walsh, "a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy which should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1837.

the *invention* with which I am charged were justly laid to me. But the imputation is utterly false. — I have written under the guidance of authorities, on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity, than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification ; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute.” A defence against this attack upon Mr. Grahame’s veracity as a historian was soon after published by Mr. Walsh, in “The New York American” ; which was succeeded by another from Mr. Grahame himself, in the same paper.

Mr. Bancroft, in a subsequent edition of his History,* silently withdrew the charge of “invention,” and substituted in its stead that of “unwarranted misapprehension.” It is not apparent how this charge is more tenable than was the other.

Mr. Grahame’s strictures on Clarke’s conduct in the negotiation referred to drew upon him the animadversions of “some of the *literati* of Rhode Island.” Through them, he became acquainted with the intrinsic worth of Clarke’s general character, and readily acknowledged him to be “a true patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity.” Yet Mr. Grahame’s mind was so deeply and unalterably impressed with the opinion, that Clarke had exceeded “the line of honor and integrity” in that negotiation, that he appears not to have been able to reconcile it to his sense of truth, as a historian, wholly to exonerate his conduct from censure. Accordingly, in the second edition of his History, now publishing in this country with his final revisions, Mr. Grahame thus alters the sentence which occasioned those animadversions : — “The envoy conducted his negotiation with a suppleness of adroit servility, that rendered the success of it dearly bought” ; implying that Clarke, in suing for favors under such pretences as he urged to obtain them, had exhibited a “servile” spirit, “supple” in respect of policy, and “adroit” in the color he gave to the facts on which he based his hopes of success ; and intimating that he could find no other apology for his conduct, than “the

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1841.

aptitude even of good men to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke.”*

* It is proper and due to the subject of this Memoir here to inquire into those general facts and circumstances which led Mr. Grahame (the tenor of whose mind towards the people of the United States was kind, candid, and laudatory) to express so strongly and adhere so perseveringly to the opinion he had formed concerning Clarke's conduct in the negotiation above adverted to.

At the time of Clarke's negotiation, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were both present by deputy at the court of Charles the Second, — *both moved alike by fear*; Massachusetts of the king, being apprehensive it was his intention to vacate her old charter; Rhode Island of Massachusetts, who had shown a disposition to extend her jurisdiction over territory which Rhode Island claimed, as also to interfere with the local government and religious liberties of this colony. It was no motive of *loyalty* that induced the appearance of either of them at court; nor was there any thing in their previous history which could entitle the deputies of either colony to vaunt any sentiment of this sort on the part of their constituents.

In this state of things, and notwithstanding “Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament, in the commencement of its struggles with Charles the First, while Massachusetts declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success,” (Grahame, I., 323,) — Chalmers represents Clarke as “boasting of the loyalty” of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, and, in order to depreciate Massachusetts in the opinion of King Charles the Second, and exalt Rhode Island, as challenging the deputies of the former colony “to adduce one act of loyalty shown by their constituents to Charles the First or his successor.” “The challenge thus confidently given,” adds Chalmers, “was not accepted.” The agents of Massachusetts would not condescend, for the sake even of saving their charter, to feign a sentiment which they were sensible had no existence. Their silence, under such circumstances, it is impossible for any fair mind not to honor and approve.

Furthermore, Chalmers states that the Rhode-Islanders “procured from the chiefs of the Narragansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown,” and that their “deputies boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of that transaction.” Now, *in point of fact*, the name of King's Province was not given to the Narraganset country until 1666, three years after Clarke's negotiation; — see *Collections of Rhode Island Historical Society*, Vol. IV., p. 69; — and in respect of the surrender of the Narraganset country, Gorton, who was the chief agent in receiving it, explicitly states, that it was *self-moved* on the part of the Indians; that they sent to the colonists and voluntarily offered it; and does not pretend that the Rhode-Islanders had any farther agency in the affair than encouraging the disposition of the Indians to make the surrender, aiding them in doing it in legal form, and promising to transmit their deed and desire of protection to the English government. — See Gorton's *Simplicities Defence*, pp. 79 – 81.

In view of Clarke's hollow pretences of loyalty on the part of his constituents, and the supposititious proofs of it adduced by him, it is not wonderful that a mind like that of Mr. Grahame should have become immovably fixed in the opinion, that the conduct of the Rhode Island deputy was not reconcilable with truth and integrity, and that it was unbecoming a historian who meant to be just, and was conscious of being impartial, to refrain from expressing with fidelity the convictions forced upon him by a knowledge of the facts and circumstances.

Clarke was unquestionably faithful to his agency. He acted according to the views and wishes of his constituents, and in vaunting their “loyalty” he probably followed their instructions; and was therefore fully entitled to all the thanks they expressed, and all the honors they conferred upon him. A Christian moralist, like Grahame, who had drunk deep of “Siloa's brook, which flowed fast by the oracles of God,” naturally can allow no compromise with truth for the sake of effect or success, and must unavoidably apply to the conduct of men, whether acting as private individuals or as public agents, one and the same pure and elevated moral standard; a strictness of moral principle, which, it must be confessed, in respect of public agents, the customs and opinions of the world do not regard as either practicable or politic.

From Mr. Grahame's position as a distant observer, his views of character and events may sometimes conflict with those entertained in this country ; yet his spirit is *wholly American*, and his prevailing desire and delight is to do justice to the actors in the scenes he describes. The high moral tone, and the ever active, all-controlling religious sentiment and feeling, which pervade his work, inspire the strongest confidence in all that he writes ; and it seems impossible for any one, in the exercise of a sound and unprejudiced judgment, to believe that a mind impelled by motives so pure and elevated, having no personal ends to serve, no party purposes to answer, could, under any circumstances, knowingly warp the truth, invent or suppress facts, or give to them any false or delusive coloring. Mr. Grahame had never visited the United States, and his opportunities for intercourse with its citizens had been few ; but he spared neither time, labor, nor expense to acquaint himself with the authentic materials of its history ; he laid the public libraries of Scotland, England, France, and Germany under contribution to the completeness and accuracy of his work ; and if he has occasionally fallen into mistakes, they are either such as all historians, who rely for their facts on the authority of others, are subject to, or such as might naturally be expected under the peculiar circumstances of the case, — being chiefly on points of local history, in their nature of little interest or importance beyond the immediate sphere or the particular persons they affect ; and when traced to their sources, it will often be found that even into these he was led by authorities whose errors have been detected only by recent research, in some instances subsequent to the publication of his volumes.

In February, 1839, Mr. Grahame writes to Mr. Walsh : — “ You propose (and deeply I feel the honor and kindness of the proposal) to have an American edition of my work published at Philadelphia. Now, pray, ponder wisely and kindly these suggestions. Much as I should otherwise like a republication of my work in America, I could not enjoy it,

‘ With unreprieved pleasure free,’

if I thought it would be at all disagreeable to Mr. Bancroft, or that it would be construed in America as a com-

petitory challenge of an English to an American writer. Let there be, if it be necessary or profitable, a rivalry (a generous one) between England and America. But I am far too much Americanized, to think, without chagrin and impatience, of *my* seeming the rival (the foreign rival) of a great American writer. Dear to me is the fame of every man whose fame is interwoven with the fame of America, and whose career tends to justify to myself and to the world the delightful feelings of admiration and hope with which she inspires me." And, in a subsequent letter on the same topic, he writes to the same correspondent: — "Most sincerely do I wish that an American may prove the great, the conclusive, and the lasting historian of America. I shall be content, if of my work some Englishmen and perhaps a few Americans say, 'So thought an Englishman who loved his country, but affected still more warmly the cause of truth, justice, and universal human welfare.'"

In his correspondence with this gentleman, during this and the ensuing year, the American bias of his mind appears on almost every occasion and every subject. Intermingled with this, we continually meet with manifestations of that all-pervading religious sentiment, and of that tenderness of the domestic affections, which constituted the most striking and beautiful elements of his character. Thus, in congratulating Mr. Walsh on the restored health of his "*wife*," he remarks: — "They say that Americans, in general, say *lady* and *female*, when we say *wife* and *woman*. Now, I reckon *wife*, *woman*, and *mamma* to be the three loveliest words in the English language." And, writing concerning his having completed the forty-ninth year of his age, he adds: — "The period of life, at which, I believe, Aristotle fixes the decline of human abilities. I would give all the abilities I have, and ten times more, if I had them, for a deep, abiding sense of piety and the love of God. May that, my dear, kind friend, be yours and mine! And can we wish a happier portion to those whom we love? All else fades away."

In the course of this year (1839), a highly laudatory review of the "History of North America" was read before the Royal Academy of Nantes, by M. Malherbe, in which its merits were analyzed and acknowledged; and

Mr. Grahame was, in consequence, unanimously elected a member of the Academy.

In August, of the same year, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mr. Grahame by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard University. It was the first public evidence of respect he had received from this side of the Atlantic; and it drew from him unqualified expressions of satisfaction. In a letter to Rev. George E. Ellis, of Massachusetts, in November following, he writes: — “Harvard College has long been a spot round which my heart hovered.

‘ Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet.’

Now, indeed, it is doubly dear to me; for I feel myself, in a manner, one of its sons. The view of the College buildings in Peirce’s History awakened and detained my fondest regards. May truth, virtue, and happiness flourish within those walls, and beam forth from them to the divine glory and human welfare! Though somewhat broken by years and infirmities, I yet cherish the hope to see Harvard University before I die.” In a letter to Mr. Walsh, in October following, he thus refers to the same topic: — “I am now an American. Your dear country has adopted me. Never let me hear again of America or Americans owing any thing to me. I am the much indebted party. I feel with the keenest sensibility the honor that Harvard University has conferred upon me.”

The writer of a critical notice of Bancroft’s History of the United States, in the North American Review, for January, 1841, introduced some incidental remarks on that of Mr. Grahame. After bearing testimony to his capacity, though a foreigner, to appreciate the motives and institutions of the Puritans, and acknowledging the fidelity and candor, the extent and accuracy of his researches, the critic adds: — “Mr. Grahame’s work, with all its merit, is the work of a *foreigner*. And that word comprehends much that cannot be overcome by the best writer. He may produce a beautiful composition, faultless in style, accurate in the delineation of prominent events, full of sound logic and most wise conclusions. But he cannot enter into the sympathies, comprehend all the minute feelings, prejudices, and pecu-

liar ways of thinking, which form the idiosyncrasy of the nation.”

The author of this review was well understood to be William H. Prescott, Esq., and Mr. Grahame thus remarks upon it in his journal: — “Prescott’s critical notice of Bancroft’s third volume, in the *North American Review*, contains some handsome commendation of my work; — qualified by that favorite canon of American literary jurisprudence, that no man not born and bred in America can perform, *as such a function ought to be performed*, the task of describing the people, or relating even their distant history. Now, I am inclined to suspect that this theorem is unsound in principle and false in fact. I think a man may better describe objects, from not having been inveterately habituated and familiarized to them; and at once more calmly contemplate and more impartially estimate national character, of which he is not a full, necessitated, born partaker, — and national habits, prejudices, usages, and peculiarities, under the dominance of which his own spirit has not been moulded, from its earliest dawn of intelligent perception.”

In a letter to Mr. Prescott, dated March 3d, 1841, he recurs to this topic. “On the general censure of your countrymen, that, ‘personally unacquainted with America, I cannot correctly delineate even her distant history,’ — Queen Elizabeth desired that her portrait should be painted without shade; because, by a truly royal road to the principles of that art, she had discovered that shade is an accident. Are not some of your countrymen possessed of a similar feeling, and desirous that every historic portrait of America should represent it ‘as it ought to be,’ and ‘not as it is’? When I look into the works of some of your greatest American writers, and see how daintily they handle certain topics, — elusively playing or rather fencing with them, as if they were burning ploughshares, — I must respectfully doubt, if, as yet at least, an American is likely to be the best writer of American history. That the greatest and most useful historian that has ever instructed mankind will yet arise in America, I fondly hope, desire, and believe. It would be my pride to be regarded as the pioneer of such a writer, and to have, in any

wise, contributed to the utility of his work and the extension of American fame. I trust it is with you, as it is with me, a sacred maxim, that to good historiography elevation and rectitude of soul are at least as requisite as literary resource and intellectual range and vigor."

In June of this year, he received, and in his journal thus comments on, Quincy's History of Harvard University: — "Read it with much interest. No other country, from the first syllable of recorded time, ever produced a seat of learning so honorable to its founders and early supporters as Harvard University. This work is the only recent American composition with which I am acquainted that justifies his countrymen's plea, that there is something in their history that none but an American born and bred can adequately conceive and render. His account of the transition of the social system of Massachusetts, from an entire and punctilious intertexture of church and state to the restriction of municipal government to civil affairs and occupations, is very curious and interesting, and admirably fills up an important void in New England history. He wounds my prejudices by attacking the Mathers, and other persons of a primitive cast of Puritanism, with a severity the more painful to me that I see not well how I can demur to its justice. But though I disapprove and dissent from many of their views, and regret many of their proceedings, yet the depths of my heart are with the primitive Puritans and the Scottish Covenanters; and even their errors I deem of nobler kind than the frigid merits of some of the emendators of their policy."

In the same strain he wrote to Mr. Quincy on the 4th of July following: — "I regard the primitive Puritans much as I do the Scottish Covenanters; respectfully disapproving and completely dissenting from many of their views and opinions; especially their favorite scheme of an intertexture of church and state, which appears to me not only unchristian, but antichristian. But I cordially embrace all that is purely doctrinal in their system, and regard their persons with a fond, jealous love, which makes me indulgent even to their errors. Carrying their heavenly treasures in earthly vessels, they could not fail to err. But theirs were the errors of noble minds. How different

from those of knaves, fools, and lukewarm professors! I forget what poet it is that says,

‘Some failings are of nobler kind
Than virtues of a narrow mind.’”

The complete restoration to health of his only daughter, and her marriage to John Stewart, Esq., the brother-in-law of the friend of his youth and manhood, Sir John F. W. Herschel, shed bright rays of happiness over the last years of Mr. Grahame's life. These were passed at Nantes in his domestic circle, in the companionship of the exemplary and estimable lady who had united her fortunes with his, and cheered by the reflected happiness and welfare of his children. His only son, who was pursuing successfully the career of a solicitor in Glasgow, occasionally visited him as his professional avocations would permit. His daughter and son-in-law divided their time between Nantes and England. Always passionately fond of children, and having the power of rendering himself singularly attractive to them, by his gentle, quiet, playful manner, he was devotedly attached to his little granddaughter, who became his frequent companion. By direction of his medical attendant, Dr. Fouré, an eminent physician of Nantes, he abstained from all severe literary toil, and under the influence of these tranquil scenes of domestic happiness his health visibly improved; nor was there the slightest suspicion of the organic disease which was destined soon to terminate his life. During this period, however, whatever study the rule laid down by his medical friend permitted was directed to the improvement of his history of the United States, to which he made many additions and amendments, and which he declared, shortly before his death, he had finally completed to his own satisfaction, and thoroughly prepared for a second edition.

Circumstances in which Mr. Grahame had been accidentally placed had forcibly directed his mind to the subject of slavery, the enormity of the evil, and its effects on the morals and advancement of the people among whom it existed. He had acquired, in right of his wife, an estate in the West Indies, which was cultivated by slaves. His feelings in respect of this slave-derived income are strongly expressed in a letter to Sir John F. W. Herschel,

dated the 24th of February, 1827. "A subject has for some time been giving me uneasiness. My children are proprietors of a ninth share of a West India estate, and I have a life-rent in it. Were my children of age, I could not make one of the negroes free, and could do nothing but appropriate or forego the share of produce the estate yielded. Often have I wished it were in my power to make the slaves free, and thought this barren wish a sufficient tribute to duty. My conscience was quite laid asleep. Like many others, I did not do what I could, because I could not do what I wished. For years past, something more than a fifth part of my income has been derived from the labor of slaves. God forgive me for having so long tainted my store! and God be thanked for that warning voice that has roused me from my lethargy, and taught me to feel that my hand offended me! Never more shall the price of blood enter my pocket, or help to sustain the lives or augment the enjoyment of those dear children. They sympathize with me cordially. Till we can legally divest ourselves of our share, every shilling of the produce of it is to be devoted to the use of some part of the unhappy race from whose suffering it is derived." Subsequently, with the consent of his children, Mr. Grahame entirely gave up this slave-property, amounting to several thousand pounds.

His interest in the fate of the African race had been excited several years before by a circumstance which he thus relates in his diary, under date of October, 1821. "My father is most vigorously engaged in protecting three poor, forlorn Africans from being carried, against their wills, back to the West Indies. They were part of the crew of a vessel driven by stress of weather into the port of Dumbarton. While the vessel was undergoing some repairs, the people of the town remarked with surprise the precautions by which unnecessary communication with the shore was prevented; and their surprise was converted into strong suspicion, when they perceived sometimes, in the evening, a few black heads on the deck, suffered to be there a short time, and then sent below. A number of the citizens applied to the magistrates, but the magistrates were afraid to interfere; so the people had the

sense and spirit to convey the intelligence by express to my father, whose zeal for the African race was well known. He instantly caused the vessel to be arrested, and has cheerfully undertaken the enormous damages, as well as the costs of suit, to which he will be subjected, if the case be decided against him." In a subsequent entry in his diary, Mr. Grahame writes, — "But it was decided in his favor."

By the same daily record it appears, that, in 1823, his feelings were still further excited on the subject of slavery by an incident which he thus relates:— "Zachary M'Aulay showed me to-day some of the laws of Jamaica, and pointed out how completely every provision for restraining the cruelty of the masters and alleviating the bondage of the slaves is defeated by counter provisions that render the remedy unattainable. — What a stain on the history of the church of England is it, that not one of her wealthy ministers, not one of her bishops who sit as peers of the realm in the House of Lords, has ever attempted to mitigate the evils of negro slavery, or ever called the public attention to that duty! No, they leave the field of Christian labor to Methodists and Moravians."

Actuated by such feelings and sentiments, he published, in 1823, a pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the Projected Abolition of Slavery," — a production, which, in the latter years of his life, he declared that he looked back upon with unalloyed pleasure and satisfaction. In 1828, Mr. Grahame relates in his journal, that he had a long conversation on this subject with the celebrated Abbé Grégoire, to whom he had been introduced by La Fayette. In the course of this conversation, the Abbé stated to him that he "had written to Jefferson, combating the opinions expressed in Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia,' of the inferiority of the intellectual capacity of the negroes, and that Jefferson had answered, acknowledging his error."

The prevalent language on the subject of negro slavery in some parts of the United States, and the apparently general acquiescence of the people in the continuance of that institution, led him, in the latter years of his life, to apprehend, that, in the first edition of his History, he had treated that subject with more indulgence than was con-

sistent with truth and duty. Under this impression, he remarks in his diary, in December, 1837: — “My admiration of America, my attachment to her people, and my interest in their virtue, their happiness, their dignity, and renown, have increased, instead of abating. But research and reflection have obliged me, in the edition of my works which I have been preparing since the publication in 1835, to beat down some American pretensions to virtue and apologies for wrong, which I had formerly and too hastily admitted. Much as I value the friendship and regard of the Americans, I would rather serve than gratify them; rather deserve their esteem than obtain their favor.”

Early in the year 1842, a pamphlet, published in London, in 1835, entitled, “A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Subject of American Slavery, by an American,” was put into Mr. Grahame’s hands, as he states, “by another American, most honorably distinguished in the walks of science and philanthropy,” who bid him “*read there* the defence of his (the American’s) country.” The positions maintained by this writer — that “slavery was introduced into the American colonies; now the United States, by the British government,” and that “the opposition to it there was so general, that, with propriety, it may be said to have been universal” — roused Mr. Grahame’s indignation; which was excited to an extreme when he perceived these statements repeated and urged in a memorial addressed to Daniel O’Connell by certain Irish emigrants settled at Pottsville, in the United States. Having devoted some time to a careful perusal of this pamphlet, he felt himself called upon as a Briton, from a regard to the reputation of his country and to truth, and from a belief that “no living man knew more of the early history of the American people than himself,” to contradict, in the most direct and pointed manner, the statements referred to; pledging himself, as he says, “to prove that the above-mentioned pamphlet is a production more disgraceful to American literature and character (in so far as it is to be esteemed the representative of either) than any other literary performance with which I am acquainted.”

He accordingly applied himself forthwith to an extended

discussion of this subject in a pamphlet to which he affixed the title: — “Who is to blame? or Cursory Review of American Apology for American Accession to Negro Slavery.” In this pamphlet Mr. Grahame admits that Great Britain “facilitated her colonial offspring to become slaveholders,” — “that she encouraged her merchants in tempting them to acquire slaves,” — that “her conduct during her long sanction of the slave-trade is indefensible,” — that “she excelled all her competitors in slave-stealing, for the same reason that she excelled them in every other branch of what was then esteemed legitimate traffic”; — but denies that she “*forced* the Americans to become slaveholders,” — denies that “the slave-trade was comprehended within the scope and operation of the commercial policy of the British government until the reign of Queen Anne,” — and asserts, that, “prior to that reign, negro slavery was established in every one of the American provinces that finally revolted from Great Britain, except Georgia, which was not planted until 1733.” The argument in this pamphlet is pressed with great strength and spirit, and the whole is written under the influence of feelings in a state of indignant excitement. Without palliating the conduct of Great Britain, he regards the attempt to exculpate America, by criminating the mother country, as unworthy and unjust; contending that neither was under any peculiar or irresistible temptation, but only such as is common to man, when, in the language of the Apostle, “he is drawn away by his own lusts and enticed.” His argument respecting the difference, in point of guilt, between America and Great Britain results as another identical question has long since resulted concerning the comparative guilt of the receiver and the thief.

At the urgent request of his and his father’s friend, Thomas Clarkson, the early and successful asserter of the rights of Africans, he left Nantes, where he resided, in the month of June, 1842, and repaired to London, for the purpose of superintending the publication of his pamphlet on negro slavery. On arriving there, he placed his manuscript in the hands of a printer, and immediately proceeded to Playford Hall, Ipswich, the residence of Mr. Clarkson. Concerning this distinguished man, Mr. Grahame, under

date of the 25th of June, thus writes in his diary:—
“Mr. Clarkson’s appearance is solemnly tender and beautiful. Exhausted with age and malady, he is yet warmly zealous, humane, and affectionate. Fifty-seven years of generous toil have not relaxed his zeal in the African cause. He watches over the interests of the colored race in every quarter of the world, desiring and promoting their moral and physical welfare, rejoicing in their improvement, afflicted in all their afflictions. The glory of God and the interests of the African race are the master-springs of his spirit.”

After two days passed in intercourse with this congenial mind, Mr. Grahame returned to London, and occupied himself zealously in correcting the proof-sheets of his pamphlet. On the morning of the 30th of June, he was assailed by severe pain, which his medical attendant attributed at first to indigestion, and treated as such. But it soon assumed a more alarming character. Eminent physicians were called for consultation, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, was sent for. From the nature and intensity of his suffering, Mr. Grahame soon became sensible that his final hour was approaching, and addressed himself to meet it with calmness and resignation. He proceeded to communicate his last wishes to his son-in-law, directed where he should be buried, and dictated his epitaph:—“James Grahame, Advocate, Edinburgh, Author of the History of the United States of North America; aged 51.” He, at the same time, expressed the hope concerning his recently published pamphlet, that no efforts might be spared to secure its sale and distribution, “as he had written it conscientiously and with single-heartedness, and had invoked the blessing of God upon it.”

Notwithstanding the distinguished skill of his physicians, every remedy failed of producing the desired effect. His disorder was organic, and beyond the power of their art. Such was the excruciating agony which preceded his death, that his friends could only hope that his release might not be long delayed. This wish was granted on Sunday morning, the 3d of July.

“His endurance of the pain and oppression of breathing which preceded his death,” says Mr. Stewart, “was

perfectly wonderful. His features were constantly calm, placid, and at last bore a bright, even a cheerful expression. His attendants, while bending close towards him, caught occasionally expressions of prayer; his profound acquaintance with the Scriptures enabling him, in this hour of his need, to draw strength and support from that inexhaustible source, where he was accustomed to seek and to find it."

He was buried in Kensall Green Cemetery, in the neighbourhood of London. His son-in-law, John Stewart, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, attended his remains to the grave. His son, also, who had set out from Scotland on hearing of his illness, though arriving too late to see him before he expired, was not denied the melancholy satisfaction of being present at his interment. A plain marble monument has been erected over his tomb, bearing the exact inscription he himself dictated.

These scanty memorials are all that it has been possible, in this country, to collect in relation to James Grahame. Though few and disconnected, they are grateful and impressive.

The habits of his life were domestic, and in the family circle the harmony and loveliness of his character were eminently conspicuous. His mind was grave, pure, elevated, far-reaching; its enlarged views ever on the search after the true, the useful, and the good. His religious sentiments, though exalted and tinged with enthusiasm, were always candid, liberal, and tolerant. In politics a republican, his love of liberty was nevertheless qualified by a love of order, — his desire to elevate the destinies of the *many*, by a respect for the rights and interests of the *few*. As in his religion there was nothing of bigotry, so in his political sentiments there was nothing of radicalism.

As a historian, there were combined in Mr. Grahame all the qualities which inspire confidence and sustain it; — a mind powerful and cultivated, patient of labor, indefatigable in research, independent, faithful, and fearless; engaging in its subject with absorbing interest, and in the development of it superior to all influences except those of truth and duty.

To Americans, in all future times, it cannot fail to be an interesting and gratifying circumstance, that the foreigner, who first undertook to write a complete history of their republic from the earliest period of the colonial settlements, was a Briton, eminently qualified to appreciate the merits of its founders, and at once so able and so willing to do justice to them. The people of the United States, on whose national character and success Mr. Grahame bestowed his affections and hopes, owe to his memory a reciprocation of feeling and interest. As the chief labor of his life was devoted to illustrate the wisdom and virtues of their ancestors and to do honor to the institutions they established, it is incumbent on the descendants to hold and perpetuate in grateful remembrance his talents, virtues, and services.

MEMOIRS OF THE PILGRIMS AT LEYDEN.

BY GEORGE SUMNER, ESQUIRE,

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THE position and privileges enjoyed by the founders of Plymouth Colony, during their ten years' residence in the Netherlands, would seem to be not very clearly defined. Every one, who has examined this part of the history of our Pilgrim forefathers, must, I think, have been struck by the discrepancies in regard to it, which occur in the different statements that we have before us.

Robertson, Burke (in his *European Settlements in America*), and many other English writers of less name, represent their condition in any but favorable colors; and the disparaging statements of these authors have, in some cases, been adopted by Americans at home. The principal among these is the learned Chief-Justice Marshall, who speaks of the Pilgrims* as "an obscure sect which had acquired the appellation of Brownists," and which was forced to remove to Leyden. He then continues:—"There they resided several years in safe obscurity. This situation at length became irksome to them. Without persecution to give importance to the particular points which separated them from their other Christian brethren, they made no converts"; and then, as a cause for their removal to America, he asserts, that, "in the extinction of their church, they

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I., p. 93.

dreaded, too, the loss of those high attainments in spiritual knowledge which they deemed so favorable to truth.”

The sneer contained in this passage was not necessary for the announcement of a historical fact, and it is evident that the Chief Justice has adopted the tone as well as the statement of Robertson. For this passage the author has given no authority, although Robertson, Hutchinson, and Chalmers are referred to as general authorities at the close of the chapter.*

Other writers, again, have represented in somewhat glowing colors the hospitality which was extended to the Pilgrims in Leyden, the unity which reigned among them while there, the attentions shown them by the magistrates, and the honors rendered to the remains of their pastor by the professors and learned men of the University.†

The time has gone by, when the just fame which has been won by those men who planted a nation can be either lessened or magnified by the recital of honors that they may have received in by-gone years; and one may search freely for the truth in regard to them, conscious, that, in developing that, small injury can be done to their memory.

I know not whether I deceive myself, but I am disposed to believe that much of what has been written in regard to the position in Holland of the founders of Plymouth Colony is erroneous; and that, although they were far

* See *Life of Washington*, Vol. I., p. 93; also *Young's Pilgrims*, p. 48, note. Chief-Justice Marshall altered these expressions in a subsequent work, but did not pass, however, without experiencing severe reproaches from others, and particularly from the author of the *American Annals*, for the opinion he had uttered. "The historian," says Holmes, "who tells us that the Puritans removed from Leyden into the American wilderness because they were obscure and unpersecuted, must not expect to be believed." *American Annals*, Vol. I., Note XXI.; see also Vol. I., p. 159. In Bozman's *History of Maryland*, p. 376, is a reply to the author of the *Annals*, and a defence of the obnoxious expressions of Chief-Justice Marshall.

† In a work published during the present year at Leipsic, *Die Geschichte der Congregationalisten in Neu-England bis 1740*, von H. F. Uhden (*History of the Congregationalists in New England until 1740*), the idea of the author, drawn from the American authorities that he had consulted (among which is Cotton Mather), would appear to be, that the Pilgrims were enjoying, while in Holland, a good degree of worldly prosperity. The author of this book is a clergyman at Berlin, and was one of the deputation sent in 1841-2, by the king of Prussia, to inspect the state of the English church. The book itself was written at the suggestion of Dr. Neander, and, although in a foreign language, will prove, I believe, a valuable addition to our historical literature. The author has drawn largely from Backus, a writer whose candor and moderation seem not to be appreciated in America as they merit.

from exciting, on the part, of the Dutch people and magistrates, those feelings of contempt and ill-will towards themselves, the existence of which has been so often charged by their enemies, yet they were equally far from experiencing any excess of kind attention and magisterial favor.

This opinion is the result of some special observations that I have been enabled to make in Holland, and it is the same which, as it strikes me, must be formed by all who examine the writings preserved to us of those who were constantly with the little band, from the time of their quitting England, in 1608, until their arrival in America. The authority of these writings (which have been recently brought before the public in a most excellent form by Mr. Young, accompanied by his valuable notes) is superior to that of any of the different historians who wrote at a later day. While the small, struggling colony was exposed to obloquy in England, and was fighting its way painfully along, against opposition, religious, political, and commercial, it was hardly to be expected that a historian devoted to its interest would neglect to avail himself of any thing which might appear, *at that time*, to reflect credit upon it. It was not the historian, but the advocate, who wrote. Remembering this, one may perhaps see a reason why "the careful Morton" has at times slightly colored some passages from Governor Bradford's *Journal*, and why Cotton Mather has drawn in many cases from authorities which Morton must have known, but which he does not appear to have regarded, and has, in other cases, made statements for which it would seem to require more than an ordinary degree of research to find any authority whatever.

I propose to examine some points in relation to the position of the Pilgrims while in Holland, and particularly the attentions that may have been extended to them by the Dutch people and magistrates.

But first let us see what was their position as shown by the best authority we possess, the writings of Governor Bradford.

Having seen six of their fellow-men—"men of piety and learning"—executed in England for their religious belief,

their own friends put into prison, and themselves watched night and day that charges might be brought against them, they at length resolved, when all hopes of toleration at home had fled, to remove to the Low Countries, "where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."*

After making one unsuccessful attempt to leave England, suffering arrest and imprisonment from the Lincolnshire magistrates, encountering in a second attempt the perils of a violent storm, and being in imminent danger of shipwreck in the German Ocean, one part of these Pilgrims, among which Bradford is supposed to have been, arrived in the spring of 1608 at Amsterdam. Here they found countrymen who, like themselves, had suffered persecution for religion's sake; but, remaining only a few months, they removed, at the end of 1608 or beginning of 1609, to Leyden.†

"Being now here pitched," says Bradford, "they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, and with hard and continual labor." When, however, in another place, he is naming the motives of the removal to America, a somewhat different tone is used. "And first, they found and saw by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure the great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences, which they underwent and were contented with. . . . Many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with dan-

* See Bradford's *Journal*, Young, p. 23.

† Bradford says of Leyden, that, "wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates." Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 35. This may be so; yet Leyden was at that time the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe. As many of the early colonists were weavers (see Young, note, p. 35), is it not reasonable to suppose that their removal to Leyden was caused by the fact that they would there more readily meet with employment than at Amsterdam? The cloth manufacture of Amsterdam, during the first half of the seventeenth century, was very trifling, when compared with that of Leyden.

ger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought, that, if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements; yea, their pastor would often say that many of those that both writ and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did." *

Again, "They saw, that, although the people generally bore all their difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage, being in the best of their strength, yet old age began to come on some of them, and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time." Again, their children "were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that, although their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same and became decrepit in their early youth." † And again, "They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition." ‡

This certainly does not show that they were living in a state of holiday comfort; neither is there here, nor throughout the writings of Governor Bradford, any evidence of kind attentions on the part of the Dutch people and magistrates. § On the contrary, we have, in different passages of his journal, strong evidence that no such favors were extended to them.

When he replies to the charge made by Baylie in his tract, || that the Pilgrims were driven out from Holland, and that the Dutch were weary of them, Bradford would naturally cite the strongest facts that could be found to prove the contrary; but the most he says is, that the Dutch, finding them painful and diligent in their callings,

* Young, p. 45.

† Ibid. p. 46.

‡ Ibid. p. 51.

§ It is curious to see how some passages from Bradford's journal have been colored by those who have made use of it. Bradford says of the Pilgrims (Young, p. 35), "Enjoying [in Holland] much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together, in the ways of God," &c., &c. Morton omits the word "together," and adds in its place, "being courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers." p. 18, Davis's edition. Prince, also, in giving this same passage from Bradford, says, they "live in great love and harmony both among themselves and their neighbour citizens for above eleven years."

|| *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, by Robert Baylie, of Glasgow, 1645.

and careful in keeping their word, gave them employment in preference to others less diligent and honest; and secondly, that the magistrates once reproved the Walloons by telling them that they were less peaceful than the English. "These English," said they, "have lived amongst us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual."* Another thing Bradford states, that Robinson, their pastor, disputed with Episcopius at the University, in such a way as to gain him "much honor and respect from those learned men and others which loved the truth."†

Had there been any proofs of courteous entertainment and kind respect, — had there been any magisterial attentions extended, any church granted, any respect shown at the grave of their pastor, ‡ here would have been the place to mention it. But on all these Bradford is silent, and we have the strongest proof that no magisterial attentions were shown, in his statement, that "it was said by some of no mean note [in Leyden], that, were it not for giving offence to the state of England, they would have preferred him [Robinson] otherwise, if he would, and allowed them some public favor."§

Fear of offending England would, no doubt, operate strongly in Holland to prevent any favors being extended to those who made part of a sect persecuted by the English king at home, openly denounced by him in his speeches, and exposed, even in a foreign land, to the annoying surveillance of his ministers and agents. || In the *Annales du Pays Bas* of Grotius, one sees continual evi-

* Young, p. 39.

† That is, perhaps, among those who opposed Episcopius. But his opponents were, for a long time, a minority at Leyden, the towns-people and magistrates being in his favor. In 1617, there was an outbreak and violent quarrel between the two parties, which lasted several days. An old engraving in *Les Délices de Leide* represents the Stadt House and the barricades near it, that were thrown up at that time to form a sort of citadel within the town.

‡ Although Bradford was not present at the time of Robinson's death, yet, as he commenced his journal in 1630, five years after that event, he might have availed himself of a circumstance which, had it transpired, must have come to his knowledge.

§ Young, p. 42.

|| See Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 467, note, for confirmation of this. A letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, published with his letters, announces that he had not succeeded in arresting Brewster (Elder Brewster), as "the schout who was employed by the magistrates for his apprehension, being a dull, drunk-

dence of the feelings excited in Holland by the actions of the English, and one may infer from that how little disposed the people of that country would be to provoke the enmity of a nation the calculating friendship of which had been so distasteful to them.*

As to the attentions of the people and magistrates, the principal which have been alleged are, 1st. That a church was granted the Pilgrims to worship in; and, 2d. That the funeral of their pastor was honorably attended by the University and principal men of the city.

I believe that neither of these attentions was shown, and also that the original error in regard to them may be traced to the *Brief Narration* of Winslow, republished in Young's *Pilgrims*, and to the note on page 160 of Prince's *New England Annals*.

The statement, that a church was granted, rests solely upon the authority of Prince, who says, "When I was at Leyden, in 1714, the most ancient people from their parents told me, that the city had such a value for them [the Pilgrims], as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he [Robinson] lies buried, which the English still enjoy; and that, as he was had in high esteem both by the city and University, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave." †

No one prior to Prince has mentioned this; there is no intimation of it in Bradford's journal, in Morton, Hubbard, or even in Cotton Mather; and Prince, who has

en fellow, took one man for another." The charge upon which Brewster was to be arrested in a foreign country by English agents would appear to be the printing of books obnoxious to the English king. It tells little for the independence of the Dutch magistrates, that such arrests could be tolerated and aided by them. Let us hope, for their honor, that the employment of a scout so besotted as to mistake his prey was an intentional act on their part.

The unjust influence in Holland of the English government was shown at a later day by the persecution to which Locke was subjected, during the time of his residence in that country. The English minister at the Hague demanded, it will be remembered, that he should be given up, and Locke could only avoid arrest by a strict concealment for twelve months. See Lord King's *Life of Locke*.

* The people of Leyden, in particular, had shown strong opposition to the proceedings of Leicester. See the *Annales*. There is an allusion, also, in Lingard to this feeling at Leyden.

† *Annals*, p. 160, edit. 1736.

generally enjoyed the highest reputation for accuracy,* adopted, I believe, with too little inquiry, the statement of the most ancient people of Leyden. From the words in relation to the church, —“which the English still enjoy,”—it is clear to me that his informants were not thinking of the Separatist congregation which had been one hundred years before in Leyden, but of the English Presbyterian church, which, by a somewhat remarkable coincidence, was founded in Leyden in 1609, the same year, or within a few months of the time, that the Pilgrims arrived there. It is certain that this church, whose pastor from 1609 to 1616 was Robert Durie, was the only English congregation which, in 1714, had a public place of worship at Leyden, and it is the only one that is noticed by the different historians of Leyden as having ever possessed a church. As it is possible that the presence of this congregation may create some confusion in future inquiries as to the church of the Pilgrims, I have thought it well to add in a note some account of their coming to Leyden, of their different pastors, and of the various places of worship which they enjoyed.† At the time of Prince’s visit to Leyden, in 1714, this congregation, under the pastoral care of Robert Milling, was worshipping in a chapel formed of part of the ground-floor of the *Falyde Bagyn Hof Kerk*. This chapel—now (1842) the dissecting-room of the College of Medicine—continued in the hands of the English until 1807, when, their last pastor dying, the congregation was dispersed; and it is this chapel which, from being shown to American travellers as the old church of the English, has, I believe, been sometimes supposed by them to have been the church of the Pilgrims.‡

Another error in this passage from Prince relates to

* “The careful Thomas Prince,” says Bancroft, Vol. I., p. 324, “who merits the gratitude of the inquirer for his judgment and research as an annalist.” Davis also alludes to him, in a note to Morton’s *New England’s Memorial*, as “the accurate compiler.”

† See Note A., at the end of this article.

‡ See Young’s *Pilgrims*, p. 393, note, where is an extract from a letter of Mrs. Adams, wife of President John Adams, dated Sept. 12th, 1786. “I would not omit to mention that I visited the church at Leyden, in which our forefathers worshipped when they fled from hierarchical tyranny and persecution. I felt a respect and veneration, upon entering the doors, like what the ancients paid to their Druids.”

the burial-place of Robinson. "In the chancel whereof he lies buried." Now Robinson was not buried in the chancel of the church in which he had preached (if he had preached in any), but under the pavement of the aisle of the Peter's Church, the former cathedral; and this I shall show farther on by two separate records of his interment.*

Had Robinson's congregation enjoyed any church, it must have been by an act of the magistrates; for, after the Reformation in Holland, the control of all church buildings and ecclesiastical funds was transferred to the civil authorities. These funds are in part preserved to the present day, and the payment of all clergymen, of different denominations, is still, in the Netherlands, one of the regular expenses of the state.† With some difficulty, I obtained permission to have the *Dagboek* of the magistrates of Leyden examined, for 1608; 1609, and 1620; and although the grant made to the English congregation, of which I have just spoken, of a chapel attached to Saint Catherine's Almshouse, is there recorded, yet no notice was to be found of any church being granted to, or of any magisterial act being performed in favor of, any other English congregation.‡

* To one at a distance, on looking at these passages from Prince in connection with the fact of Robinson's burial at the Peter's Church, the idea might suggest itself that it was that — the Cathedral Church — which had been granted to his congregation. But, besides that the records of the Peter's Church show nothing of the kind, a moment's reflection will make clear its improbability. To the other English congregation, which they were not prevented through fear of England from favoring, the magistrates only granted the use of a small chapel, the Catherine's, which served, at the same time, for the French Protestants. (See Note A.) To a sect with which they had no communion, and which they feared to favor, they would not be likely to give up their own "high-church."

† The different churches in the Netherlands are now under the control of two departments, one of which is devoted to the Protestant, the other to the Catholic church. At the head of each department is a Director-General, whose rank and pay are but little lower than those of a cabinet minister. The expenses of religion are paid entirely by the state, unless a congregation see fit to give their pastor more than the regular salary assigned to him. The budget for 1843 of the Director-General of the Reformed Church is of 1,432,142 florins, of forty cents American each. Of this sum, 1,058,807 florins is for the Reformed (Calvinist) churches; 34,940 florins for the Lutheran; 9,900, for the Anabaptists; 21,000 florins for the Remonstrants; and 22,350 florins for Jewish Rabbis, and repairs of the synagogues. Of the remainder, 31,800 florins are taken up by the expenses of the department, including 8,000 florins, the salary of the Director-General, and the rest is devoted to the education of small children of the different sects.

The budget of the Catholic direction is of 520,000 florins. Since the separation of Belgium, this department has lost much of its former importance.

‡ Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, says (Vol. I., p. 577), under date 1595: — "The violent proceedings of the bishops drove great numbers of the Brownists into

Again, there are two very voluminous histories of Leyden; one, the *Beschrijving der Stadt Leyden, door Orlers*, 4to., Leyden, 1641; the other, *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden, door Van Mieris*, 3 vol., fol., Leyden, 1762; in both of which the history of each church is given separately, as is also that of the small chapels attached to the different almshouses. These notices are written with great apparent accuracy, and certainly with great minuteness, — many pages being often devoted to the smallest *Gasthuys Kapelletje*, every change in its different occupants mentioned, the acts of the magistrates in relation to it recorded, and in some cases the putting of new planks to the floor, or fresh whitewash upon the walls, most faithfully chronicled. Yet, with all this minuteness, I can find in neither of these books any allusion whatever to the presence in Leyden of any other English community than that of which I have before spoken.

I think that the absence of all record at Leyden, and the absence of all notice in the early writings of the Pilgrims, give strong grounds for believing that no church was granted to them, and I may cite again that passage of Bradford's journal in which he states, that, but for fear of offending England, they would have received some public favor. The public favor to be shown would certainly be the granting them a public place of worship.

I am myself convinced that no regular church was granted them, and I am disposed to believe that their religious assemblies were held in some hired hall, or in the

Holland, where their leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and others, *were gone beforehand, and, with the leave of the States, were erecting churches,*" &c. For this statement he gives no authority, and his accuracy in facts would seem to be no greater than in dates. In his second volume, p. 47, he alludes to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, under which Presbyterian churches were erected in the Netherlands. In Note A., I shall give the fourteenth clause of the treaty of 1585, the only *early* treaty between England and the Netherlands, containing a stipulation upon matters of religion; but I am unable to find in the records of the States General, which I examined at the Hague, any thing to justify the first statement of Neal. There is, indeed, a short notice, on the 5th October, 1596, stating that the propositions of several English, in different cities, on matters of religion, were advertised, in order that the cities might know of them in time; but I can find nothing further in the records relating to English religious affairs, up to 1620, the point at which my examination stopped. What the propositions were does not appear. The following is a copy of the record: —

"1596, Octob. 5. — Is openinge en advertentie gedaan van het geene by eenige van de Engelsche Natie in verscheide steeden op het stuk van de Religie word voorgesteld, ten einde de Steeden willen in tyds daar op letten dat egeene inconvenien ten daar uit en koomen te onstaan."

house of Robinson, their pastor. That it was not uncommon, at that time, for different sects in the Netherlands to hold religious meetings in private houses, we have the authority of Cardinal Bentivoglio, who, in his *Relazione di Fiandra*, tells us, that "the public exercises of religion are not permitted in the cities to any sect but the Calvinists, neither is it allowed that any other doctrines than theirs shall be taught publicly in the schools. The exercises of all others are permitted in private houses, which are in fact as if public, the places of preaching being spacious and of sufficient size for any assembly." * No allusion to their place of worship can, I believe, be found in any of the original writings of the Pilgrims,

* "Non vien permesso però l' esercizio publico nelle città se non a' Calvinisti, come ho accennato di sopra; nè si consente, che s' insegni altra dottrina pubblicamente nelle scuole, che quella della lor setta. A tutte l' altre è permesso l' esercizio nelle case private; che si possono dir però come publiche, predicandosi in luoghi spatiosi, e capaci d' ogni concorso." Bentivoglio, *Relazione di Fiandra*, Parte II., Cap. II.

Both Bancroft, in his *History*, and Young, in his notes, have referred to Bentivoglio, as authority for statements made in their respective writings. The former says, Vol. I., p. 302, — "His [Robinson's] congregation inspired the nuncio of Rome with respect"; and Young, in a note on p. 43, says, — "The English Separatists in Holland attracted the notice of Cardinal Bentivoglio." I should feel great delicacy in differing from either of these accomplished writers, but I must confess my inability to find in Bentivoglio's writings any allusion either to "*Robinson's congregation*," or to "the English Separatists," in Holland. There is, however, in immediate connection with the passage I have cited above, an allusion to certain *Puritani d'Inghilterra*; but does not that apply to the different English and Scottish Presbyterian congregations which were at that time collected in most of the large towns of the Netherlands? (See Note A.) These congregations, of which Ames, Parker, and others were the preachers, were known as *Puritans*; while Robinson's church at Leyden, and Johnson's at Amsterdam, were known only as Brownists or Separatists. In Governor Bradford's *Dialogue* (see Young, p. 436), he speaks of "those reproached by the name of Puritans" as persons quite distinct from "those that are reproached by the name of Brownists and Separatists."

Again, Bentivoglio makes no allusion to the English Puritans being at Leyden, but says, after naming the towns in which the principal heretical sects are distributed: — "I Puritani Inglesi sono in Amsterdam quasi tutti per l' istesso rispetto [occasione del traffico]; e se ne trattengono alcuni medesimamente per occasione di mercantia nella città di Middleburg in Zelanda." I am not aware that any Separatist congregation existed at Middleburg, except for a few years prior to 1589, — during the time, in fact, that Brown was taking refuge in that city; there was, however, in that place, an English Presbyterian church, connected with the English factory, for this was a place of much resort for English traders. In Bradford's *Dialogue* (see Young, p. 424), he tells us that Johnson, who afterwards became the teacher of the Separatists at Amsterdam, was preacher, at one time, "to the company of English of the Staple of Middleburg;" — and the Presbyterian church formed of that company is the one, I should suppose, to which Bentivoglio alludes.

I do not find, in other parts of Bentivoglio's writings, any passage which shows that he was acquainted with the existence of a sect of Separatists distinct from the Puritans or Presbyterians. In his essay *Dello Stato della Religione in Scotia*, he speaks of the Catholics and *Puritans* as being the two sects of the country; and in his other essay, *Della Religione in Inghilterra*, he alludes to three sects, — first the Catholics, then the Protestant Calvinists, — and continues, — "Sono in gran numero ancora in Inghilterra i puri Calvinisti che si chiamano Puritani."

nor in those of any other person prior to Prince. Neal, who wrote about the same time, says that "they hired a meetinghouse,"* although for this he gives no authority. A passage in Winslow's *Narration* speaks of the house of Robinson as *being large*, and that it was the place of the feast which was prepared for the Pilgrims at their departure, by those who remained at Leyden.† If large enough for this purpose, it certainly would be large enough for their usual meetings, and, considering the straitened circumstances in which they were, it is hardly probable that more than one large building would be hired by them.

When I found from the *Record of Interments*, preserved at the Stadt House in Leyden, the spot of Robinson's dwelling at the time of his decease, I had hoped to settle this point satisfactorily to my own mind; but his house was probably taken down a few years after his death, as a row of small buildings now occupies its site, which were put there about the year 1650.

2. As to the attentions shown at the grave of Robinson. In addition to the concluding part of the note from Prince, which I have before cited, there is the following passage in Winslow's *Brief Narration*. "When God took him away from them and us by death, the University and ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities, bewailing the great loss that not only that particular church had whereof he was pastor, but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed that all the churches of Christ sustained a loss by the death of that worthy instrument of the gospel."‡

Cotton Mather§ has followed this, using Winslow's words almost *verbatim*. Hubbard mentions his death, without any comment upon the conduct of the Dutch.|| Neal, in his *History of New England*, says nearly the same as Winslow, whom he mentions in his preface as one of the principal authorities on which he relied. "They lamented his death as a public loss; and, though he

* *History of New England*, p. 81.

† "They, I say, that stayed at Leyden, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice." See Young, p. 384.

‡ See Young, p. 392. § *Magnalia*, p. 46, Book I., Vol. I. || Hubbard, p. 96.

never had been of their communion, they did him the honor to attend his body to the grave.”*

I believe that all these statements in relation to attentions at the grave are incorrect. Prince, in his account of them, uses language somewhat similar to that of Winslow, although he does not refer to him as an authority, but states that he derived his information from the “most ancient people” of Leyden. In the matter of a grant of a church, which he took from the same authority, I have perhaps shown that there is some cause to doubt the memory of these most ancient people; and their accuracy, perhaps, was no greater in relation to the circumstances of the funeral. The original authority for this statement would appear to be Winslow, who was not, however, in Holland at the time of Robinson’s death (1625), but in Plymouth, and who could of course speak only from hearsay. For a point of greater importance than this, it might be well to inquire how far a book written under the circumstances of the *Brief Narration*, — an advocate defending his client, — may be safely relied upon as historical authority.† The statement of Winslow has been followed ever since; but, had a circumstance so flattering to the memory of their former pastor and to the remaining part of his congregation occurred, would it not have been mentioned by all the earlier writers, and particularly by Morton, whose history, compiled in great part from Bradford’s journal, was published several years after this statement had been made? He, however, has no allusion to it. Would it not also have been mentioned by the persons of Robinson’s congregation who attended him to the grave, and who, in their letters to their former companions at Plymouth, give minute particulars of his death? Copies of these letters are preserved in Bradford’s letter-book, which has been printed in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*; but upon any honors or friendly attentions shown to them at that time they are silent.‡

* Neal’s *New England*, p. 123.

† See Note B.

‡ The letter of Roger White, dated Leyden, April 28th, 1625, says: — “It hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor and my dear brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days, beginning first to be sick on a Saturday morning; yet the next day, being the Lord’s day, he taught us twice; and the week after grew every day weaker than other,

But another evidence against the correctness of the statement of Winslow and Prince is the fact, that the plague was raging in Leyden at the time of Robinson's death, and that, during the prevalence of that disorder, all public funerals were suspended. This I find to have been customary in Leyden, even if the deceased had not been ill of the prevailing malady. Roger White, in his letter, alludes to the prevalence of the plague; and in the book of records of interments in Leyden, I found a corroboration of this in the large number of deaths that daily occurred. In one church alone, twenty-five persons were buried in a single day, and this only three days before Robinson's death. In the lists of other churches, whole families would appear to have been buried at the same time; the names of husband, wife, and three or more children appearing, in several cases, upon the register.

The attentions of the professors and learned men would not, I believe, be lessened by the poverty of him whom they thought worthy; and, although it proves nothing in this immediate connection, yet it may not be uninteresting to know the manner of Robinson's interment.

It was not without some difficulty that I found at Leyden the place of Robinson's grave, being misled at first by the statement of Prince, that he was buried in a church which had been granted to his congregation. Having sought at the Stadt House and at other places for some record, without success, I at last, in a small closet attached to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, full of old dust-covered volumes, fell upon one which contained a record of the receipts of the different churches in Leyden, from 1619 to 1629. Most of these receipts were for burial-fees; and, on looking over the lists of each church for the year 1625, the year of Robinson's death, I found the receipt for his interment at the Peter's Kerk, the church in which I then was. The title of this manuscript volume

yet felt no pain but weakness all the time of his sickness. The physic he took wrought kindly, in man's judgment; yet he grew every day weaker than other, feeling little or no pain, yet sensible till the very last. Who fell sick the 22d of February, and departed this life the 1st of March. He had a continual inward ague, which brought the —— but, I thank the Lord, *was free of the plague*, so that all his friends could come freely to him." See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1794, Vol. III., p. 39; also, *Young's Pilgrims*, p. 478.

is *Blaffaarden van de Hoofd-Kerken, Ad. 1619 tot 1629*; and the receipt for Robinson's burial, an attested fac-simile of which I send with this,* is in the following words:

1625.	}	Openen en huer van Jan Robens
10 Mart.		engels predekant — 9 florins.

		Open and hire for John Robens
		English preacher — 9 florins.

This sum of nine florins † is the lowest paid for any person whose burial is recorded. Mr. De Pecker, who, under the Director-General at the Hague, is the administrator of the affairs of the churches in Leyden, and who is well acquainted with the mode of interment at different periods, informed me that this sum was paid only for the hire, for a few years, of a place immediately under the pavement in one of a large number of square pits, containing space sufficient for four coffins. *At the end of seven years, these bodies were all removed.* For tombs which were walled up the prices paid were much higher. The profession of each person buried is named in the register; and those against whose names the receipt of nine florins is put were, I found, invariably persons in the humblest walks of life, journeymen-weavers, &c.; while others, who are noted as mechanics or artisans, were buried in places of fifteen and eighteen florins. While looking over this record, Mr. Van Pecker remembered, that, previously to 1812, there had been in the hands of the secretary of the *Kerkmeesters* a *Gravenboeck*, or general record of burials in Leyden. During that year, this book was deposited among the archives at the Stadt House, where it now is. The record of Robinson's interment, as it appears in that, I shall give in a note, ‡ merely mentioning here, that, while the day of his death is stated in Roger White's letter to be the 1st of March, the day of his funeral appears by the *Gravenboeck* to have been the 4th of March, and the day on which the interment fees were paid appears, by the church receipt-book, to have been the 10th of March.

But to return. I have perhaps shown to your satisfaction,

* See Note C.

† The proportion of the florin to the *fine mark of Cologne* was the same at that time as at present. The value of the florin, in United States currency, is forty cents.

‡ Note C.

that no church was granted to Robinson's congregation; and also, that, from the want of any contemporary testimony to the fact of attentions at his grave, and from the fact that the plague raged at the time of his death, during which all public funerals were prohibited, there is good reason for believing that no such attentions as have been narrated were shown.

I have found, however, evidence of an attention on the part of the University of Leyden to Robinson, which does not appear to be mentioned by any of our authors. It is his admission, in 1615, as a subject of the University, — an admission which exempted him from the control of the town magistrates, and which, in addition to several other privileges, entitled him to receive, free of town and state duties, every month, half a tun of beer, and every three months about ten gallons of wine.* This privilege was extended, as an honorary distinction, to many persons of eminence who visited Leyden; and the learned Dr. Siegenbeck, the historian of the University, mentioned to me the possibility of Robinson's name being inscribed in its books, although he was himself unaware of such being the case, and also unaware of the fact that such a person or that such a congregation had ever been in Leyden. †

On looking over the catalogue of the students admitted after 1609, which is not printed, but a part of which has been recently copied by order of the Senate of the University, I found the record of Robinson's admission in the following words: —

“ 1615,
Sept. 5°. Joannes Robintsonus, Anglus,
Coss: permissu. Ann. xxxix.
Stud. Theol. alit Familiam.”

It will be seen that this honor was not accorded until after six or seven years' residence in the city, and, from

* See Note D., for an attested copy of his admission, and a notice of the privileges attending it.

† I received, while making these inquiries, a great deal of kind assistance from many of the professors and learned men of Leyden, two of whom, Dr. Dermout and Dr. Leemans, I must thank most cordially; but I was forced to believe that the impression made by the Pilgrims had not been very strong, when I found the fact of their presence for ten years in that town was quite unknown to all with whom I spoke.

the marginal remark, "*Consulum permissu*," it is not improbable that some objection had been previously made by the town magistrates. The record of the admission of Robert Durie, the pastor of the English church, is in somewhat different form. He arrived at Leyden in 1609, and early the next year received that honor which was so slow in reaching the pastor of the Pilgrims.

The record for him is thus :—

" 1610, Aprilis 27. Honoris et ministerii ergo gratis inscriptus.	}	Robertus Duræus, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Minister, apud Lugdunenses in Batavia, An. lv. familiam alens."
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And again, in the following year, there is another inscription, probably of the son of Durie.

" 1611, Aug. 3. Gratis.	Johannes Duræus, Scholus, An. xii. Stud. Phil. habit. apud Parentes."
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It is not improbable that this privilege was given to Robinson on account of the part which he took in opposition to the opinions of Arminius ; although in the records of the University there appears no account of those public discussions with Episcopius in which he engaged, and of which both Bradford and Winslow give us notices.* So I am informed by Professor Sandifort, the present Recording Secretary of the University, who was kind enough

* Mr. Young quotes, p. 42, in reference to these discussions, a passage from Hoornbeeck's *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, 1658. Hoornbeeck was for a long time Professor of Divinity at Utrecht, where, in 1653, he published the first edition of the book to which Mr. Young refers. In that there is no allusion to Robinson as having taken part in any discussions. In the same year, Hoornbeeck removed to Leyden, and there, in 1658, published his second edition, containing the passage referred to. (See Note E.) Mr. Young says that he finds no notice of this discussion in any life of Episcopius. Bradford tells us that Episcopius was put to a "non-plus." If one may believe in the great powers of argument that the biographers of Episcopius accord him, this will appear to be no small triumph. In *Het Leven van Simon Episcopius*, Amsterdam, 1776, many discussions are mentioned, from all of which he came off triumphant. His peculiar powers were, however, particularly displayed on one occasion, when opposing Dr. Sibrandus. "In the year 1610, Episcopius held a public disputation with Dr. Sibrandus, and in this his language was so clear, his logic so strong, and his arguments so convincing, that many who knew nothing of the Latin tongue declared themselves converted to his side. One burgher, in particular, on hearing the discussion, became convinced of the truth of Episcopius's doctrine, and being asked how he could judge, as they spoke only in Latin, of which he knew not a word, replied, — *Die eerst kwaad wordt, die heeft het verlooren*, — 'The first who becomes angry, he I know has lost.'"

to examine for me the *Acta Senatûs Academici* for 1612, 1614, and 1615. But as such public disputations were at that time of constant recurrence in Leyden, and of little importance in their results, it was very rare that any record of them was made. It is to be lamented that in these discussions Robinson is found taking the part of the bigots. But principles, in a certain sense, change with times, and it would be unjust to judge his conduct by the standard of other days than his own. There are few, I think, among the sons of the Pilgrims, who would not wish to find him ranged with the friends, rather than with the persecutors and final butchers, of the wise, the just, the generous Barneveldt.*

Some words used by Governor Bradford in his correspondence with the "Directors and Counsellors of the Colony of New Netherlands" have been also frequently referred to as a proof of the favorable position in which the Pilgrims stood towards the Dutch when in Holland; but a little reflection upon the circumstances under which those letters were written will, I think, somewhat lessen their value as evidence in regard to this point. The correspondence is preserved in Governor Bradford's letter-book, to which I have before referred, and is published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. The first letter from the Dutch officers, which is not given in the letter-book, contained, as we may infer from the reply, many fine congratulatory words, and also propositions of friendship and commerce. Its date was March 9th, 1627. The reply, of March 19th, 1627, alludes to the professions of good-will contained in the Dutch letter, adding, that they are "expressed with over high titles"; and after congratulating the Dutch Directors and Council on the friendship then subsisting between their two governments at home, which should alone make them also friends, continues:—"Yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day;

* The active part which the professors of Leyden, opposed to Arminius, took in the pursuits against Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, and others, will be found mentioned in nearly all the contemporary notices, as also in Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*.

for which we are bound to be thankful and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own for ever."*

When, a few months later, Isaac de Razier, the chief merchant and second of the governors of the New Netherlands, arrived at Plymouth, he was received, as the marginal notes of Bradford state, with all possible honor, — a boat being sent for him, in which he "came honorably attended with a noise of trumpeters." They seem to have understood one another very well, neither having been deceived by the kind expressions of the other. Of the Dutch offers of assistance Bradford says, — "The which, though we know it was with an eye to their own profit, yet we had reason both kindly to accept it and make use of it."

But although his reply was couched in even more than friendly terms, this movement of the Dutch was watched with great jealousy. Their friendship was not to be rejected, yet there was danger in too great an intimacy, and it was to be feared by the colonists that their advantages of trade with the natives might be soon usurped by their enterprising neighbours. That Bradford was not quite at ease, notwithstanding the tone of their mutual compliments, and the "noise of trumpeters," may be inferred from the letter which a short time after (June 15, 1627) he wrote to "The Council of New England" in England. After expressing an opinion as to the rising influence of the Dutch colony, and the importance of guarding against them, he says, — "For strength of men and fortification, they far exceed us, and all in this land. . . . The effect of their letters being friendly and congratulatory, *we answered them in like sort.*" †

The value of an inference drawn from compliments passed under such circumstances is, perhaps, not very great.

One evidence of the poverty of the Pilgrims while in Holland may be found in the fact of the hard terms to which they were compelled to submit in their contract with the "merchant adventurers" in England, who supplied them

* See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. III., p. 51.

† *Ibid.*, p. 56.

with the means to emigrate to America and lay the foundation of their colony. Every person above sixteen was to be counted as ten pounds in the capital stock; and the "merchant adventurer," who advanced one hundred pounds in England, was to receive, at the end of seven years, as much of the profits of the colony as did *ten* of its hard-toiling founders; and this in addition to a share of the land they had brought under cultivation, and the buildings they had raised. The colonists were not even allowed the liberty, possessed at the present day by a Valachian serf or a Spanish slave, to work two days in the week for themselves individually; but were compelled by their agreement to toil untiringly for seven years, and always for the benefit of the Company.*

Taking into view, then, the care and suffering that they endured in Holland, as shown by their own early writings, — the absence in these writings of all notice of any attentions from the magistrates, — viewing also the fact, that no traces can now be found of their having enjoyed any public place of worship, and also that the honor of admission to University privileges was not accorded to their pastor until after many years,† — viewing, further, the hard terms to which they were forced to submit in order to raise the means for their emigration to America, may we not justly infer that the condition of the Pilgrims while in Holland was one of poverty and obscurity?

I must confess I cannot sympathize with those who

* The conditions of this agreement are to be found in Hubbard's *History*. He does not give the source from which he derived them. Mr. Young supposes them to have been taken from Bradford's journal, and to that he has restored them, placing them within brackets. See Young's *Pilgrims*, pp. 81 — 85.

Hard as these conditions certainly were for persons possessing the character and intelligence of the Pilgrims, they are not unlike such as are sometimes made at the present day by emigrants from the Old World. I remember, when at the island of Elba, seeing in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo a vessel just ready to sail for Pernambuco, having on board two hundred natives of the island. The contract made with each of them, and which was shown to me by the single "merchant adventurer," who, in this case, accompanied them, was, that the expenses of their passage to America, and of their maintenance for five years, were to be paid by him, they to work constantly during that time, at their several trades, for his benefit (excepting only the usual Church *festas*), and, during other five years, to pay to him a part of their earnings.

† I omit, in this connection, the fact, that their former presence in Leyden is now quite unknown to most of the learned men of the University; for that only proves that the memory of good men will not always survive them for two hundred years. I shall give in a note (E.) some of the earliest notices of Robinson with which I met in different works published in Holland and in Germany.

would wish to make it appear otherwise. For to do so would be, to my mind, not only to violate historic truth, but also to dim one of the brightest traits in the Pilgrims' character; — I mean their union, and firm, unbending resolution, displayed under circumstances far less likely to call those qualities into action, than when as colonists they had emigrated to America.

Once at Plymouth, they had no alternative. Their ship had not, it is true, been burned upon the strand; yet few could have any hope of return. The forest was before them, the ocean behind. Placed in such a position, the weak become strong, and men of small courage display an energy, of the possession of which they were themselves before all unconscious. But in Holland, they had before their eyes the temptation of their own English homes; they had a land "less hard" within reach, and nothing to restrain them from enjoying it but a *principle*. Had magisterial favors and physical comfort attended them in Leyden, then there were no self-denial in their position. But this was not the case; the hardness of the country was such that few would come to them, and fewer would bide it out and continue with them, — and many that wished to join them *admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships in Holland.**

And why not give the Pilgrims credit for having endured, unflinchingly, for eleven years, those hardships? Why is it that some writers have found delight in keeping back the fact of their poverty, and in dwelling complacently upon the assumed attentions of the Dutch magistrates? Is it that honest, industrious, independent poverty is a crime? Is it that the attentions of the Schepens and Burgermeesters of a provincial town in Holland can add to the fame of men who, not shrinking from poverty or from danger, left their homes *rather than to sacrifice a principle*, and became, in a foreign land, the fathers of a nation, millions of which now rise up and call them blessed? By their *works* let them be judged.

LONDON, Dec. 22d, 1842.

* See Bradford's journal, Young, p. 45.

NOTES.

NOTE A. — Page 49.

ENGLISH CHURCH AT LEYDEN.

THE occupation, by Leicester, of some parts of Holland, during the reign of Elizabeth, had brought numbers of English to that country, many of whom took up their abodes there. Previously to this, however, commercial factories had been established at different points, many of which were created by Scottish merchants, who had for a long time enjoyed the benefit of favorable treaties between their own sovereigns and the rulers of the Netherlands. By a treaty made December 15, 1550, between Mary, the queen, and Charles the Fifth of Germany, the Scotch were allowed to hold their own boards of commerce, and to enjoy, while in the Netherlands, all the rights and privileges of the Dutch themselves; and, in 1594, an act in confirmation of this was agreed to by James the Sixth and the Dutch States.*

When, in 1585, the treaty was made between Elizabeth and the Seigniors of the Netherlands, by which English troops were to be sent to that country to take part in the war with Spain, it was provided by the fourteenth article of that treaty, that "They [the Dutch] will permit to the governor and the garrison the free exercise of religion, as in England; and to this end, a church will be provided for them in each town."† The churches, thus opened, were frequented by others than the soldiers; and in a few years, there was scarcely a town in Holland, of much importance, that had not its English congregation.

That at Leyden was formed in 1609, in which year it received, by order of the magistrates, a grant of a church, and a subsidy for its pastor, Robert Durie. Their meetings were at first held in the chapel of the Saint Catherine's Almshouse, where they continued until 1622, when another chapel was granted them attached to the Jerusalem Hof. Here they remained until 1644, when they removed to the Falylde Bagyn Hof, a part of the church of which they occupied until 1807.

The historian of Leyden, Van Mieris, to whom I have before referred, records the opening of the English church in the following terms:—"So many English were coming here, that they petitioned (1609) for a church, and also for a salary for their preacher. They received permission to worship in Saint Katherine's Gasthuis. In 1616, their preacher died, and they petitioned the town that the salary might be continued, and paid to such neighbouring preachers as they might employ. Permission to do this was granted, and an order was given

* See *Historie van de Oorlogen en Geschiedenissen der Nederlanderen*, door Van Meteren, Vol. VI., p. 121; also, Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Vol. VIII., p. 400.

† See Dumont, *Corps Universel du Droit des Gens*, Tome V., Parte I., p. 454.

to the *Rentmeester* of the church capital to pay a proper proportion of the subsidy to such preachers as might come from neighbouring towns, until a new preacher was chosen, and approved by the magistrates. Order dated 20th February, 1617.*

Van Mieris then continues with an act extracted from the *Burgermeesteren en Gerechts Dagboek* of 12th January, 1622, which states, that, owing to the number of different services performed in the Katherine's Gasthuis, it was well to make some change, and the magistrates therefore give to the English the little chapel of Jerusalem's Hof.† (The chapel of Saint Catherine was, in 1609, used by the French Protestants in Leyden, and so it still continues to be, in 1842.)

The congregation became, however, too large for this chapel, and on the 11th of March, 1644, the following order was issued by the magistrates, the record of which is by Van Mieris copied from the *Dagboek*:—“The magistrates, hearing that the chapel in the Almshouse of Jerusalem, appropriated as a church or temple for the use of the English community of the Reformed Religion living in this city, was too small to accommodate all their number, ordered the town architect to make an examination of the room in the church of the Bagyn Hof (Beguin Cloister), formerly used as a fencing-school; and having heard his report of the length, the breadth, and the height of this room, they find from the forenamed fabricant that this room is larger than the chapel. Wherefore they order and authorize that this room be used by and appropriated to the above-named congregation, and that the preacher's stool, the chairs, benches, seats, &c., be carried there from the Jerusalem's Hof chapel; and further, that this room in the Kerk in the Bagyn Hof be in future the church of the English Reformed Community.” *Burgermeesteren en Gerechts Dagboek*, xi. March, 1644.

It will thus be seen that three distinct chapels were allowed them at different times, neither of which has, as I can find, been used at any time by any other English congregation. The little chapel in the Jerusalem's Hof appeared to me the most probable one to have been granted to the Pilgrims, and I thought at first that it must have been their place of worship. But it was given, in 1622, to the English church, three years before the death of Robinson, who, we may safely say, once in possession of a church, would not have been driven out of it to make room for another. In the histories of Leyden there is no notice of the use to which it was devoted immediately prior to 1622, although in the books of the Jerusalem Almshouse, now in the hands of Mr. Putkammer, one of the trustees, there is no notice of its having been used by English prior to 1622. In a small room attached to it, there is a large emblazoned copy of the will of its founder, — Walter Cooman, 1467, — which was painted and fastened to the wall in 1618. This would not, I believe, have been done, had the chapel been then in the hands of strangers.

Immediately after 1644, this chapel was used as the assembly-room

* *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden*, Vol. I., p. 99.

† Orlers, in his *Beschrijving der Stadt Leyden*, p. 143, says of the Jerusalem's Gasthuis in 1641:—“Dit Cappelletzen wert tegenwoordeele ghebrupekt by de Engelsche Ghemeente doende Professie van de Gereformeerde Relijie.”—This chapel is at present used by the English sect professing the Reformed Religion.

of the *Beer Guild*, and so continued until 1795, when all guilds were abolished, and it is now (1842) a storehouse for turf to be burned in a neighbouring mill. This chapel is on the *Broedertjesgracht*, and has on its front wall the arms of the Brewers, with the words "Bier Drager's Gilden-Hoys." I mention all these particulars, lest any curious American, searching in future for the church of the Pilgrims, should fancy, as I did for a time, that he has found it in the *Jeruselems Hof*.*

A book was published a few years since, — *History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, by William Steven, Minister of that Church, Edinburgh, 1833, — which contains some notices of the different English churches in Holland, not so accurate, however, as to permit their being implicitly relied on. Speaking of Leyden, the author says, — "As many British residents resorted to this rising seat of learning, the States of Holland and the magistrates of the town instituted and endowed, at their joint expense, a Scottish church in 1609." — p. 312. Again: — "The Brownists had a chapel here, and their pastor was Mr. John Smith. In the printed histories of Leyden there is no mention made of this religious sect, and the probability is that it did not long exist. The English who settled in this town were genteel families, whom the superior advantages of education drew to Leyden in considerable numbers; and there were besides a few cloth manufacturers, and other artisans." — p. 312.

This English, or "Scottish" church, is the only church of either nation, in relation to which any record can be found in the *Acts of the Reformed Church at Leyden*. So I am told by the Rev. Dr. Dermout, a most learned and accomplished divine of Leyden, who has probably studied with more care than any living person in Holland the early history of its church. The fact of the presence of Robinson's congregation for a time at Leyden was known to him, from its being stated in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, a translation of which into Dutch, under the title *Historie der Rechtzinnige Puriteinen*, was made by Jan Ross, and published in 1752, at Rotterdam. The records of the Reformed Church — *Acten des Kerkenraads* — are now in the hands of Dr. Dermout, by whom they have been recently arranged; but those prior to 12th October, 1620, are lost. Had there been, however, any intercourse between Robinson's congregation and the Dutch churches, there would probably be some notice of it at the time of his death. Dr. Dermout and myself went carefully over the records for 1625 and 1626, but no notice whatever of Robinson or his congregation was to be found. This gentleman was kind enough to make further search, and below you have the different notices in relation to the English church which were found in the *Acts*.

The names of the preachers of this church are constantly printed in the little calendar, or *Orde de Feest en Lijdsteksten in de Hemeente te Leiden*, and the following is a leaf cut from that volume.

* There is yet another historian of Leyden, Leeven, whose book was published in 1672. The great work of Van Mieris is, however, superior to all others. Leeven speaks of the English sect as having a room, at that time, in the *Falyde Bagyn Hof*; but he has no mention of any other English congregation.

“ PREDIKANTEN IN DE ENGELSCH E GEMEENTE.

Robertus Durie, *beroepen* 1609 ; *gestorven* 1616.

Hugo Goudgier, *ber.* 1617 ; *gestorven* 1661. [Teekent Hugo Goodierus in actis Goudiart.]

Mattheus Newcomen, *beroepen uit Engeland* 1663 ; *gestorven* 1669.

Eduardus Richardson, *Doct. Theol., ber.* 1670 ; *op zijn verzoek ontslagen* 1674.

Henrikus Hickman, *ber. uit Engeland* 1675 ; *gestorven* 1691.

Wilhelmus Castares, *als tweede Predikant beroepen* 1688 ; *vertrokken tot den dienst van Zijne Brittannische Majesteit* 1689.

Robbertus Fleming, *ber. uit Engeland* 1692 ; *vertrokken naar Rotterdam in de Schotsche Kerk* 1695.

Johannes Milling, (*Pred. in het leger*), 1696 ; *vertrokken naar Dublin* 1702.

Robb. Milling, *Prop., ber.* 1702 ; *vertrokken naar 's Gravenhage* 1716.

Thomas Gowan, *ber. van Drumbo in Ierland* 1716 ; *gestorven* 1758.

William Mitchell, *Prop., ber.* 1753 ; *gestorven* 1807, *ruim 81 jaren oud ; — wanneer de Engelsche Kerk gesloten is.*”

The following extracts from the church records are interesting, as they show in some degree the feeling of an English preacher at that time, and show also that what has been so freely charged upon the Pilgrims as intolerance was not exclusively monopolized by them. Some who have been disposed to regard the Pilgrims as patterns of bigotry may perhaps be surprised at these acts on the part of a church favored by the government, the members of which, as Steven tells us, were men of “ genteel familiën, whom the superior advantages of education drew to Leyden.”

“ *Extract uit de Handelingen des Kerkerads van de Nederduitsche Hervormde Gemeente te Leijden.*

“ 1630. 1 Maart. *Richard Parsons* verzoekt by requeste dat hij zoude mogen in de Duijtsche Kerke alhier worden aangenomen, niettegenstaande dat de Kerkeraad van de Engelsche Kerke hem geene attestatie begeert te geven. Is goedgevonden, dat men den Predikant Goodier daarover zal aanspreken.

“ 15 Maart. Alzoo de Engelsche Kerk persisteert geene attestatie te willen geven aan R. Parsons, oordeelt deze Vergadering dat de voorzegde R. P. met alle gevoegelyke middelen zal zien de attestatie te bekomen, doch dat hy wel zoude doen bij de Engelsche Kerk te blijven.

“ 2 Aug. R. Parsons gepraesenteerd hebbende een request aan de achtb. magistraat, om uit de Engelsche Kerk te mogen overgaan in de Duitsche ; [waarin hij klaagt, dat hij geweerd is van het Avondmaal en geene attestatie kan bekomen, omdat hy eenen zoon heeft die de Engelsche spraak niet verstaat en dien hy niet met zich ter predicatie nemen kan, maar dien hy zelf naar de Duitsche preek moet brengen, omdat hy anders terstond weder ter kerke uitgaat :] Is goedgevonden den Engelschen Predikant aantespreken en te induceren, om hem met attestatie te laten gaan.

“ 23 Aug. R. Parsons is aangezgd, dat de Engelsche Predikant zwarigheid blyft maken, om hem te dimitteren, maar hem in de En-

gelsche kerk wil blyven toelaten, ofschoon hy zynen zoon in de Duitsche Kerk brengt ; en met eenen gebeden die zaak zoo te laten verblijven.

“ 1638. 23 Julij. Is aangediend van een zeker lidmaat van de Engelsche Kerk, [*Henrick Staffart.*] dat hij van het Avondmaal wordt afgehouden, omdat hij zyn Chirurgijns. of barbiers-ambt Zondags 's morgens voór de predicatie of voór half negenen, tot gerief van vele arme luiden of werklieden, die de geheele week arbeiden en tot onderhoud van zyn huisgezin uitoefent, volgens de keure van den Magistraat ; verzoekende hulp en raad van deze Vergadering. Is goedgevonden den goeden man te raden, dat hy alsnog attestatie verzoeke van de Engelsche Kerk, en voor zoo verre men hem dat weigert, te verzoeken eene attestatie naar waarheid.

“ 6 Aug. Is aangediend, dat de Engelsche Chirurgijn van den Engelschen Kerkeraad verzocht hebbende eene attestatie, met insertie van hetgeen de Kerk tegen hem had, niet had kunnen obtineren. Is goedgevonden dat men D. Goodier daarover zal begroeten.

“ 27 Aug. Is voorgelezen het antwoord van Mr. Goodier. Is goedgevonden hem nog eens te spreken, en hem te zeggen dat deze Vergadering de proceduren niet kan billijken, en zoo er niet werd geaccordeerd, dat wij hem (den Chirurgyn) niet zouden kunnen zonder hulpe laten.

“ 17 Sept. Zekere Engelschman, lidmaat van de Engelsche Kerk, *Nicolaas Oliardt* genaamd alleen (zoo hy zegt.) aldaar van het Avondmaal ontzegd, omdat hy eenige malen onze predicatieën had gefrequentieerd, verzoekt de hulpe dezer Vergadering, ten einde hij of wederopgenomen, of met attestatie gedimiteerd zoude worden.

“ Beide deze zaken alzoo gebleken zynde, en de Engelsche Kerkeraad eene schriftelyke beschuldiging inleverende bij den Magistraat, waarin niets anders wezenlyks tegen beide werd ingebracht, zijn zij op bevel der Regering den 2en Dec. 1639. aangenomen als leden der Nederduitsche Gemeente, alsmede de Dochter van Staffart. onder protest van Ds. Goodier.

“ Eodem die. 2 Dec. 1639. Is mede gerapporteerd dat met Ds. Goodier is gehandeld belangende den persoon van *Nicolaas Gildinus*. die eene vrouw van onze Gemeente getrouwd hebbende, verzocht zyne attestatie om bij ons te komen, tegen welken by hem Goodier deze ergernissen als verhindering van attestatie zyn voortgebracht : eerst, dat hy den geheelen Zondag toebak verkocht ; daarna, dat hij des Zondaags vermaand zynde zyne vensters te willen sluiten, nochtans die altyd had opgehouden ; voegende niettemin daarbij, dat hij anders een bescheiden man was. Waarop gehoord zynde in deze Vergadering de voorn. Gildinus en verstaan zyn antwoord. nam. dat wel mogt zyn, dat nu en dan op den Zondag de een en de ander om tabak komende was besteld geworden, maar dat zulks was geschied zonder dat hy daarom de oefening van den Godsdienst had nagelaten, beloofde ook in het toekomende denzelfen getrouwelyk te willen oefenen. De Vergadering heeft goedgevonden hem tot een lidmaat dezer Gemeente aantenemen.

“ 1655. 23 April. Ds. Lantsman vraagt, hoe dat hy zich zoude hebben te gedragen nopens zekeren Engelschman van der Brownisten Vergadering, die zulks is verzoekende om by onze kerk aangenomen te worden. Wordt Ds. Lantsman toebetrouwd om met hem te handelen over zyne confessie, en bijaldien hy daarin gezond zal worden

bevonden, als mede de Kerken-ordre niet tegensprekende, by name in het stuk van den Kinderdoop, hem naar gewoonlyke ordre aantenemen.

“Voor extract conform.

“I. DERMOÛT, *Theol. Doct.*

Predikant by de Nederd. Hervormde Gemeente.

“LEYDEN, 13 December, 1841.”

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Journal of the Church Council of the Dutch Reformed Communion in Leyden.

1630. 1 March. Richard Parsons states in a petition, that he is desirous of making his confession of faith in the Dutch church; notwithstanding which, the council of the English church refuse to give him an attestation. It is resolved that the preacher Goodier shall be spoken with in regard to this.

15 March. The English church persisting in its refusal of an attestation to Richard Parsons, the assembly is of the opinion that the said R. P. should try by all convenient means to get the attestation, but that he would do well to remain by the English church.

2 Aug. Richard Parsons having presented to the Right Honorable Magistrates a request that he may be permitted to leave the English church and join that of the Dutch, — in which petition he complains that he has been both shut off from the communion table, and refused an attestation, because, having a son who does not understand the English language, he has taken him to the Dutch church, he being obliged to accompany his son, for otherwise he leaves the church immediately, — it has been resolved to speak about this with the English preacher, and induce him to dismiss Parsons with an attestation.

23 Aug. It was announced to Richard Parsons, that the English preacher still opposes difficulties to his dismission, but consents to let him remain in the English church, notwithstanding that he carries his son to the Dutch church; and so he is recommended to let the matter stand.

1638. 23 July. By direction of the magistrates, who ask the aid and counsel of this assembly, it has been reported by a certain member of the English church, Henry Staffart, that he is refused admission to the Last Supper, because he exercises his profession of barber-surgeon on Sunday mornings before the time of service, that is, before half past eight o'clock, which is for the benefit of numbers of poor men and working people that are employed throughout the whole week, and also for the maintenance of his own household. It has been resolved to counsel the good man to ask first an attestation from the English church, and, should this be refused, then to ask an attestation of the truth [facts].

6 Aug. It is reported that the English barber, having asked of the English church council a certificate of the griefs the church has against him, could not obtain it. It is resolved that Ds. Goodier shall be spoken with in relation to this.

27 Aug. The answer of Mr. Goodier is read. It is resolved to converse with him again, and to inform him that this assembly cannot approve the proceedings, and that, if the affair be not arranged, they will not leave the chirurgion without help.

17 Sept. A certain Englishman, member of the English church, named Nicholas Oliardt, having, as he states, been shut off from the communion table for no other cause than that he had sometimes attended the Dutch preaching, begs the assistance of this assembly, to the end either that he may be readmitted to the communion table, or dismissed with an attestation.

Both these affairs being thus known, and the English church council having presented a written accusation against Staffart and Oliardt to the magistrates, in which, however, no other real charge than the above was made against either; they were both, according to the orders of the government, received as members of the Dutch communion, and also the daughter of Staffart, — Ds. Goodier protesting.

Eodem die, 2 Dec., 1639. It has also been reported what has occurred with Ds. Goodier in relation to Nicholas Gildinus, a person who, being married to a woman of our church, asked his permission to join us, against which are objected by Goodier the following griefs in impeachment of the granting him an attestation: — 1st. That he, during the whole of Sunday, was selling tobacco; 2d. That, having been admonished to close his windows on Sundays, he nevertheless always kept them open, adding, however, that except this he was a well behaved man. Whereupon the answer of Gildinus, as heard in this assembly was thus: "That it might be that now and then he had given tobacco to one and the other who had come for it, but that this had occurred without his neglecting the exercises of God's service, which he promised also for the future faithfully to observe." The assembly was pleased to accept him as a member of this communion.

1655. 23 April. Ds. Lantsman asks how he shall conduct himself in relation to a certain Englishman, of the Brownist assembly, who has requested to be admitted to our church. It has been confided to Ds. Lantsman to converse with him about his confession, and if he should be found healthy in that, and also not disputing the doctrines of the church [*Kerken-ordre*], especially as to infant baptism, then to admit him in the ordinary manner.

NOTE B. — Page 54.

ROBINSON'S SERMON.

In Morton's *New England's Memorial*, page 235, we have a notice of Winslow's mission to England in the following words: — "1646. This year, Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons under the government of the Massachusetts sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate, their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the Parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defence, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself *as did well answer their ends*, and cleared them from any blame and dishonor, to the shame of their adversaries."

Upon the petition of the "discontented persons" Judge Davis remarks, in his notes to Morton (p. 236), that "they do not appear so malignant or unreasonable as they were esteemed when they were in agitation"; and another historian, Backus, looks with equally lenient eyes at the proceedings of Gorton and his companions. (See *History of New England*, by Isaac Backus, Vol. I., pp. 195-204.) The colony had, however, been attacked; Winslow was to defend it; and in its defence the *Brief Narration* was written.

It was in this that first appeared that remarkable sermon, said to have been delivered by Robinson, at the parting of the Pilgrims from their brethren in Holland. Of this sermon the learned Judge Davis remarks (note, p. 29, Morton's *New England's Memorial*):—"It would be a culpable omission not to insert in this connection Mr. Robinson's exhortation to his people, in his fast sermon in July, 1620, 'which breathes,' says Dr. Belknap, 'a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day.' It is difficult to explain why this excellent advice was not preserved in the *Memorial*, or copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records. . . . The following extract is copied from Dr. Belknap's life of Robinson; he quotes Neal's *History of New England* as his authority." Judge Davis states that "Mr. Prince gives an extract of this exhortation from Winslow's relation." But the "extract" of Prince is all that either Neal or Belknap gives.

If the sermon, as in Neal (p. 83), be compared with the *extract* in Prince (p. 89), or with the original of Winslow in Young's *Pilgrims* (p. 396), it will be seen that they are the same,—that the *whole* sermon as given by Neal is no longer than the *extract* given by Prince,—and that the only difference is in the change of the *third* person, used by Winslow, to the *first* person, used by Neal. Neal has given no authority for this sermon. Hutchinson says (in his preface to his first volume), that Neal's book "is little more than an abridgment of Dr. Mather"; and if we turn to Cotton Mather, we shall find (Book I., p. 14, fol. edit.) the sermon in the form which Neal, Belknap, and others, have copied. Cotton Mather gives no authority, but he has evidently drawn from Winslow, changing the person and form, and rounding off some sentences to produce more effect, but without adding a single idea. The finding a text seems to have been done by Neal, who appropriates that from Ezra viii. 21, which Governor Bradford gives in his journal as the text of a sermon preached by Robinson before their departure from Holland. Mather speaks also of this sermon and text from Ezra (p. 6), but mentions it as if different from the often quoted sermon, which he gives in another place. Was that sermon ever preached by Robinson? The only authority which can be found for it is Winslow, and he gives, in an informal manner, twenty-six years after the time when the discourse is supposed to have been pronounced, that which forms the groundwork of the sermon in Mather, Neal, and others. Had Winslow taken notes of this discourse at the time, one may well be surprised, with the learned Judge Davis, that its "excellent advice was not copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records." Had he taken no notes, his memory must have been of a superior order to enable him to write out a discourse which

10 maart

Op de pinen van Fay Hobart ingeseld pnedgrant y

En trait Fidelet des Regent
entetele' Clad/academ van de

Hoopde beken No 1619 tot 1629. —

Copied before me,

G. S.

Leyden Decr. 13' 1841

J. Demouit The Doct
~~of the~~ V. D. M.

Pastors de l'Eglise Reformee Hollandaise

J. de Pecker

Commiss. - Administrateur des Eglises
reformenées de Leide.

he had listened to twenty-six years before. But he does not pretend to give us a positive discourse, in the manner of Mather, but says, — “Amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he [Mr. Robinson] used these expressions, *or to the same purpose.*” (Young’s *Pilgrims*, p. 396.)

NOTE C. — Page 56.

BURIAL OF ROBINSON.

OF the inscription in the *Blaffaarden van de Hoofd-Kerken*, recording the receipt of nine florins for the opening and hire of a tomb for Robinson, the following is a fac-simile, certified by Dr. Dermout, to whom I have before alluded, and by Mr. de Pecker.

[See fac-simile on opposite page.]

Translation.

“ 1625

10 March — Open and hire for John Robens, English preacher — 9 florins.”

The volume from which this is taken is, as I have mentioned before, the record of church receipts. In the *Gravenboeck*, or book of interments, which was deposited in the Stadt Huis in 1812, the following record appears of Robinson’s interment.

“ 1625

4 Maart — Jan Roelends, Predicant van de Engelsche Gemeente, by het Klockhuijs, — begraven in de Pieter’s Kerk.”

Translation.

John Roelends, Preacher of the English sect,
by the Belfry, — buried in the Peter’s Church.

The words “by the Belfry” allude to the residence of the deceased, which is mentioned against the name of each person. Near the Belfry of Leyden there was a large square, on one side of which alone were a few houses ; so that such a direction was perhaps sufficiently explicit.

The Church of St. Peter is the oldest in Leyden, and the date of the first building is now quite unknown. In September, 1121, Godebald, twenty-fourth bishop of Utrecht, consecrated it by the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in 1339 it was much enlarged. (See Orlers’s *History of Leyden.*) It contains now several monuments, among them, one to Boerhaven, one to Scaliger, &c.

NOTE D. — Page 57.

ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY.

AN old book, printed at Leyden in 1713, entitled *Les Délices de Leide*, gives the following account of the privileges enjoyed by the students.

“Les etudians aussi quels qu'ils soient, y'ont beaucoup de beaux Privileges ; comme d'avoir tous les mois, sans payer les Droits de l'Etat et de la Ville, chacun une demi-Tonne de Biere, et tous les trois mois vingt stooopen de Vin (chaque Stoop contient quatre pintes) et d'n'être jugés dans leurs diverses querelles et différens que par le Recteur Magnifique, quatre Assesseurs, quatre Bourgemaîtres et deux Echevins (Scheepenen) quand même il y aüroit en quelque meurtre ; *et autres libertez*. . . . Les personnes de la plus haute qualité, Princes, Comtes, Marquis, Barons, &c., &c., se font un honneur d'y voir paroître leur Nom et d'avoir été sujets de l'Academie.” — p. 71.

These “fine privileges” continued to be enjoyed by the students until 1795, when, in the movement that followed in Holland the French Revolution, all old chartered privileges of a similar nature were broken up. The magisterial powers possessed by the University had, however, long previously to that time, given annoyance to the town's-people of Leyden, and produced, perhaps, as many heart-burnings as one sees existing at the present day between the academical and municipal officers of Cambridge and Oxford.

The following is the record of Robinson's admission to the University of Leyden, certified by Dr. Kist, one of the professors of the University.

“In albo Civium Academiae Lugdvno-Batavæ, die 5^o Septembris, Anni 1615, inscriptus est, ‘*Consulum permissu* :

“‘ Joannes Robintsonus, Anglus, Ann. XXXIX., Stud. Theol. alit familiam.’

Q. T.

“L. B. d. 10 Dec.
A. 1841.

V. J. Kist, Th. D. et Prof.
pro Senatus Academia
ab actis.”

Copied in my presence.
G. S.

NOTE E.

EARLY NOTICES OF ROBINSON.

In the MSS. catalogue of the University Library at Leyden, the name of Robinson does not appear, neither is it in the old printed catalogue of 1750. In the Royal Library at Paris is a Latin copy of his *Apology*, dated 1619, though no other books appear against his name.

The earliest notice of Robinson that I can find in any work printed in Holland is one given twenty-eight years after his death, by John Hoornbeeck, in his book, *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht), 1653. In his tenth chapter he devotes nearly a hundred pages to the Brownists, and, speaking of Robinson, says, — “Optimus inter illos fuit, de quo postremum dicendus, Johannes Robinsonus, quoque Leidensium Separatistarum Minister, vir supra reliquos probus atque eruditus.” He speaks of Ames and Parker as having mollified Robinson in some degree, although he would not allow entire communion with the Dutch church ; and mentions Robinson's

Apology as having been printed in Latin in 1619 and in English in 1644; but I can find no allusion to a controversy with Episcopius, a passage relating to which Mr. Young has copied (p. 42) from the second edition of Hoornbeeck, printed at Leyden in 1658. Is it not probable that the fame of this discussion had not reached Hoornbeeck at Utrecht, but that he first heard of it at Leyden, to which place he removed in the same year that his first edition was published?

The second notice is in 1687, in Horn's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, published during that year at Leyden. This book, however, must be well known in America. Prince refers frequently to it, and also Young, in his notes. Speaking of the Separatists, he mentions Brown, then Barrow, Johnson, and Smith, and continues,—"Ita languentem et animam agentem Separatismum restituit* Robinsonus, Pastor Leidensis, doctissimus ac modestissimus omnium Separatistarum, qui ab Amesio et Parkero in viam revocatus, rigidas Separatistarum opiniones mitigavit et Semi-Separatismum fundavit. Et hic Robinsonus verus author *Independentium* hodiernorum et in nova et in veteri Anglia est. De quibus hoc in universum tenendum est: eos in doctrina nihil vel parum, in nullo saltem articulo fundamentalis discrepare ab aliis Reformatis Ecclesiis. Cæterum majorem puritatem, vitæ sanctitatem ac perfectionem præ se ferunt."

In *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Seculi Decimi Septimi*, per And. Carolum, published at Tübingen in 1697, is a short notice of Robinson, which is compiled from Hoornbeeck's second edition and from Horn. He has the statement given in Young, p. 453, that the widow, children, and friends were received into the Dutch church.

In Hoffman's *Lexicon Universale*, Lugduni Bat., 1698, Vol. IV., p. 74, is a notice of Henry Robinson, in which part of the above section of text from Horn appears. Under the head, "*Separatistæ, nomen sectæ in Anglia*," he mentions Brown, Smith, and Robinson, and copies again a part of the foregoing paragraph of Horn, to whom he refers as authority. Under "*Independentes*" a long notice is given, compiled also from Horn, in which the name of Robinson is mentioned.

In the *Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Kunste*, Leipzig, 1724, in 24 vols., folio, John Robinson is mentioned as an English preacher who left his fatherland on account of persecution. "Er wird auch von seinen Freunden gerühmet, dass er fromm und gelehrt gewesen, auch von denen Leydnischen Professoren sehr hoch gehalten, und seine Apologie überaus allen Gottesgelehrten zu recommendiren sey." The article continues by stating, that, after Robinson's death, his congregation went to New England, whence many returned during the time of Cromwell. For this last statement his authority is Arnold's *Kirch Historie*; for that in regard to the Leyden professors, he refers to Hoornbeeck, Lib. X., p. 775.

After this, all the notices of Robinson that I met with in Dutch books were drawn either from Hoffman's *Lexicon*, or directly from Horn. Some notices in more recent works are taken from Neal's

* "Optimam operam navavit in refutandis Arminianis. Extat ipsius Apologia moderata, docta, brevis. Independentismus Democratia est, desinens in ἀναρχία, perimens Jura Regiminis Ecclesiastici, Presbyterii, Classium, Synodorum, quæ tamen Scripturaria sunt, et defendenda contra Episcopatus hodierni Hierachiam."—pp. 398, 399.

History of the Puritans, which, as I have before stated, was translated into Dutch by Jan Ross, and published in 1752, under the title, *Historie der Rechtzinnige Puriteinen*.

NOTE F.

THERE is in the writings of the Pilgrims no allusion, I believe, to the individuals who composed the magistracy of Leyden. Should any such be found at a future day, the following list of those officers for the years 1609 and 1620 will perhaps not be without interest. It is taken from Orler's *History of Leyden*, p. 650.

1609.

Schout.

Loth Huygenszon Gael.

Burgermeesteren.

Claes Adriaenszon.

Foy van Brouckhoven.

Henrich Egbertson van der Hal.

Schepenen.

Vranck van Thorenvliedt.

Jasper van Bauchem.

Andries Jasperson van Vesanwelt.

Adriaen Peterszon van der Werf.

Frans Adriaens van Leeuwen.

Willem Govers van der Aar.

Amelis van Hogeveen.

Mr. Clemens van Baersdorp.

1620.

Schout.

Mr. Willem de Bondt.

Burgermeesteren.

Andries Jaspers van Vesanevelt.

Mr. Jacob van Brouckhoven.

Jacob Cornelisz. Leeusveldt.

Daniel Symonszon van Alphen.

Schepenen.

Jan de Bendt.

Symon Willems van Kerchem.

Jan. Janz. Orlers.

Adrian Henricz. van Tetrode.

Pieter Cornelis de Haes.

Dr. Willem van Moerbergen.

Cornelius Henricz. van Góten.

MEMOIR OF GAMALIEL BRADFORD, M. D.

BY CONVERS FRANCIS, D. D.

THE name of Bradford stands in an honored place on the records of New England history. From WILLIAM BRADFORD, the ancient governor of the Plymouth colony,—a man in the front rank of the Puritan worthies,—Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, of whom a brief notice is here to be given, was a lineal descendant, in the sixth generation. He was the son of Gamaliel Bradford, Esq., a gentleman who, by intellectual culture, manly courage, and the best qualities of a generous heart, won a high place in the respect of the wise and good.*

Dr. Bradford was born in Boston, November 17th, 1795. At the early age of twelve years, he had passed through the preparation usual at that time for admission to Harvard University. But, as he was deemed too young to meet the duties and hazards of a college life, he accompanied his father on a voyage to the southern part of Europe, and was placed in a Catholic seminary at Messina, where he remained nine months. The winter of 1808-9 he spent in London, and in the ensuing spring returned to Boston. His studies were continued at home, and in 1810 he entered Harvard University. Without the impulse of a strong ambition for the literary honors of college, his unquestioned talents, classical attainments, and keen intellectual activity gave him a highly respect-

* See a Memoir of him in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 3d series, Vol. I., p. 202.

able position among the good scholars of his class. At the Commencement in 1814, when he was graduated, he delivered an English poem, which, as well as his poetry on other occasions, afforded gratifying evidence that he had not courted the Muses in vain.

Leaving college with the preparation of a ripened and richly furnished mind, Dr. Bradford selected for his calling the medical profession. While pursuing the studies of that department, he was occasionally engaged in the business of private instruction, and for one year held the office of assistant teacher in the Boston Latin School. In the winter of 1818, after a diligent attendance as a medical student at the almshouse, he was seized with the typhus fever, which prevailed at that place, and for several weeks his life was in great danger. He always thought that his constitution never wholly recovered from the shock of that illness.

In the autumn of 1819, he went abroad in pursuit of the objects of his professional education, and attended the medical lectures at the University of Edinburgh. He returned in the spring of 1820, and commenced practice as a physician in Boston. In March, 1821, he was married to Sophia Rice, daughter of Colonel Nathan Rice, who had faithfully served his country as a major in the Revolutionary army, and was held in high esteem wherever he was known. Dr. Bradford found in the virtues and the devoted affection of his wife a blessing beyond all price, especially under the trials which afterwards fell to his lot. A few months before his marriage, he had removed to Cambridge, where a more rapid progress seemed to be promised in his professional business than could be expected by a young physician in the city. During the winter of 1824-5, he delivered an excellent course of lectures on physiology in Boston, in connection with Dr. John Ware. In the autumn of 1826, he left Cambridge and returned to Boston. The following year, he gave up the medical profession, in the science of which few were so thoroughly versed, however its details of practice might be ill suited to his taste or temperament. He then undertook the management of a large brewery in South Boston, to the superintendence of which he de-

voted himself with great industry and fidelity. While Dr. Spurzheim was in Boston, Dr. Bradford, who was always a decided and strenuous adversary to the doctrines of phrenology, delivered three lectures on the subject, distinguished for scientific clearness and ability. The business of the brewery he continued till 1833; and, within a few months after he left it, he received the appointment of Superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. The important and sometimes perplexing duties of that station he discharged in a spirit of vigilance, faithfulness, and strict firmness, alike honorable to himself and happy for the institution.

For some time Dr. Bradford had been suffering under a malady which filled the hearts of his friends with sad apprehensions. It was in 1832 that his health was first assailed by fits of epilepsy. These increased in frequency and severity from year to year. Hoping to find some wholesome and relieving influence from a voyage, he went up the Mediterranean in October, 1838, and was absent four months. But his failing health was not restored or assisted; and on the 22d of October, 1839, an epileptic attack of unusual severity terminated his life, at the age of forty-four years.

Every one acquainted with the intellectual character of Dr. Bradford will remember that he knew how to make the best use of the stores of an amply furnished mind. Few men could better sift the learning connected with any subject, so as to detach the available matter from a mixed mass. The steady clearness of intellectual vision for which he was remarkable enabled him to bring and keep before his view both the near and the remote bearings of a question. In conversing with him, one was often surprised to find in how few words he would lay open lines of thought before unnoticed, but now seen to be avenues to important truth. For all that ever wore the semblance of quackery or pretence he had a strong dislike, which expressed itself with severe honesty. A sham, however disguised under solemn forms or veiled with stately words, found little mercy at his hands. He appreciated well the meaning of the saying, that "Reasons and reason are different things." It was his habit to sub-

ject facts to a rigorous scrutiny, and to value them chiefly in reference to the general laws of which they are the expression. In the same spirit, he measured men and their doings by the standard of essential principles. There is a class of inquirers, who are seldom satisfied till they have removed the coverings gathered over opinions and actions by policy or custom, and looked at the central truth or falsehood which lies within. Dr. Bradford belonged to this class. He sought always to reach what he believed to be the last analysis of a question, and to arrive at the broad principle which includes all particular cases. What may have seemed to some like extravagance in his views of political and social subjects was, in truth, the result of a philosophical spirit, that aimed to penetrate beyond conventional accidents to the foundation of man's relations and rights. Hence he had the wisdom of hope, which believes wrong to be remediable, simply because it is wrong. "The greatest evils and the most lasting," it has been said, in words which might well express his doctrine of reform, "are the perverse fabrications of unwise policy; but neither their magnitude nor their duration are proofs of their immobility. They are proofs only that ignorance and indifference have slept profoundly in the chambers of tyranny, and that many interests have grown up, and seeded and twisted their roots in the crevices of many wrongs."*

The character of Dr. Bradford's mind was strictly analytical. But he never undervalued those truths which find their justification in sentiment, provided the sentiment were not another name for transient or perverted feeling. On the contrary, he regarded these as expressions of the soul's essential laws, and found their sufficient defence in the fact, that they are imbedded in the constitution of human nature. Though he loved to look at things in the dry light of the understanding, yet he never forgot that the understanding alone cannot solve the great problem of man and his aspirations. His instinctive sense of right was quick, while his demand for evidence was searching and not easily satisfied. It is worthy of remark,

* Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, Vol. III., p. 71.

that the perverting influences which have sometimes been ascribed to medical studies, in questions of intellectual philosophy, never misled his mind. His faith in the intense reality of the spiritual nature was strong; and he never gave his sanction to the shallow speculations which would find an account of man's whole being in the action of material laws.

In medical science the learning of Dr. Bradford was unquestionably ample, and his judgment sound and enlightened. But his interest as a student reached far beyond the limits of his professional inquiries. This was especially the case in the latter part of his life, when the great questions of intellectual and ethical philosophy were among his most frequent subjects of thought and conversation. He took much delight in the best books on these topics. Sir James Mackintosh was his peculiarly favorite author; and it was not long before his death that he spoke with intense pleasure of the memoirs of that admirable writer, which he had then just read. From these severer studies he found a healthful recreation of mind in the best romances and works of fiction, which afforded him great pleasure, and of which he judged with fine critical taste.

As a writer, Dr. Bradford was much and very favorably known, chiefly, however, in short and occasional efforts. These productions of his pen are numerous, and are mostly to be found in various journals of the day.* They bear honorable testimony to his power of clear, vigorous thought, his love of truth, and his fearless honesty of mind. He wrote with ease, and was fond of this exercise of talent. Had the powers of his mind been earnestly concentrated upon some large and important work, he would have

* They consist principally of essays and reviews published in the *Boston Spectator*, *The Nondescript*, *New England Journal*, *United States Literary Gazette*, *New England Magazine*, *North American Review*, and *Christian Examiner*. Dr. Bradford's address to the Massachusetts Temperance Society, and his letter to Fletcher, Sprague, and Otis, on Slavery, were published in a pamphlet form. His speech when the Abolitionists had a hearing before a committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in the spring of 1831, was published as a pamphlet, and also in *The Liberator*. These various writings amount to about eighty different pieces. While they all bear the stamp of no ordinary mind, some of them are enlivened with that well directed humor which formed a part of the composition of Dr. Bradford's genius. It should be added, that he twice officiated as poet at the anniversaries of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Cambridge, namely, in 1820 and in 1827. These poems were not published.

left a memorial of his genius among the writings not soon to be forgotten.

It may be said of Dr. Bradford, not only that his moral standard was high, but that it rose higher the more he became involved in the duties and the business of life. He never paltered with conscience or principle. No shuffling devices ever degraded his opinions or conduct. Dr. Bradford was eminently a man of integrity. Every one who knew him relied spontaneously on the forthright and thorough honesty of the man. In all transactions with others, and in the discharge of any trust, his faithfulness was minutely scrupulous. He would never avail himself of excuses even for those slight deviations from accuracy which are by common consent considered venial. But his integrity, exact as it was in these respects, reached much further. It directed and shaped his convictions, his opinions, and the use he made of his influence. It was a principle which rendered him faithful in all outward relations, because he was first faithful to his own soul. There was no hollowness at the surface, because the centre was sound. His thoughts and deeds were true to the law of right; his purposes and acts sprung from a moving power in his own moral nature, not from gusty influences abroad. Thus he was a whole man, not a compound of pieces and fragments, which have no harmony, and hold together only so long as they are surrounded by an outward pressure from the world's law or fashion. His integrity was not the varnish of conventional honesty in the affairs of the world, but the spontaneous form of thought and action taken by one who desires *to be* rather than *to seem*. It proved itself no less in fidelity to his convictions of right, than in fidelity to his engagements. His truthfulness might sometimes seem stern or abrupt; but its meaning was honest and even kind. No one could know him without perceiving that his indignation at wrong expressed a sentiment inspired alike by benevolence and by a sound logic, and that he was quite fearless in manifesting the feeling. From this source sprung his enlightened and firm attachment to the cause of Anti-slavery, a cause which he believed to rest on the high ground of unalterable right, as well as of pure humanity. His spirited

and forcible speech in March, 1831, when the Abolitionists had a hearing before a committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, left a deep impression at the time, and will be long remembered by those who were present on that occasion.

Dr. Bradford cherished a true and living interest in the Christian religion, both speculative and practical. The great questions it suggests to every thoughtful mind arrested his earnest attention, as questions reaching to the foundation of our being; and the importance of its sanctions to the true conduct of life was apprehended by him in all its extent. The progress of years quickened his feelings and strengthened his convictions on this subject. In the latter part of his life, the highest truths became matters of a more searching and personal interest to him than ever. They made themselves felt in all his principles; and he would have deemed it a shallow folly to think of constructing a system of philosophy or ethics, without the religious sentiment at its centre.

On the whole, we may say that here was a true, enlightened, upright man, — one who thought soundly and clearly, and kept the eye of his mind ever fixed on great principles, — a man of realities, not of devices. Those who knew him will always feel, that, in the remembrance of his fine talents and his unbending probity, they have that record of wisdom and virtue which gives forth an imperishable blessing. We are reminded of the very significant words of an ancient English drama: —

“ I have ever thought
Nature doth nothing so great for great men,
As when she 's pleased to make them lords of truth :
Integrity of life is fame's best friend,
Which nobly, beyond death, shall crown the end.” *

* Webster's *Duchess of Malf.*

NOTICE OF ORONO, A CHIEF AT PENOBSCOT.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

To the Massachusetts Historical Society :

THE following original sketch is most respectfully presented by a corresponding member.

WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Bangor, Me., March 12, 1838.

JOSEPH ORONO, the subject of this sketch, was, for a long time, the well known chief of the Tarratine Indians, on the river Penobscot. But, though he was only an Indian sagamore, his name, for the merits of his character, is worthy of remembrance and respect. His ancestry, as well as the exact number of his years, is involved in some doubt. For there are no family names among the natives, by which the lineage of any individual can be traced ; as a son inherits no name of his father.

There has been a story, that he was a native of York in this State, born about the year 1688 ; that his paternal name was Donnel ; and that he was one of the captive children taken in the winter of 1692, when that place was ravaged by the Indians. But this account is improbable ; as the Northern Indians and those of the Merrimac and Androscoggin made the attack, and soon afterwards sent back to the garrison-houses the elderly women, and the children between the ages of three and seven years, in recompense to the English for previously sparing the lives of several Indian females and children at Pejepsot.

At that time, moreover, the Donnel family was one of the most distinguished in the province, Samuel being the same year one of the Council, and his brother a man of considerable note. So that, if a son of either of them had been taken captive, it is probable he was returned or recovered; or, at least, there would have been some traditional account of his being carried away. But no such report, even in York, has come down to this generation; and Captain Joseph Munsell, of Bangor, now in his eighty-eighth year, says the story has no foundation in fact, and has been treated by the intelligent Indians with derision.

Another account, equally amusing, and more evident, is, that Orono was the descendant of Baron de Castine, a French nobleman, who, soon after the treaty of Breda, in 1667, located himself on the peninsula of the town which now bears his name, and married a daughter of the celebrated Madockawando, a Tarratine chief of the age. It is true, that Castine resided many years at that place, and carried on a very lucrative trade with the natives; that he had three or four Tarratine wives, one being that sagamore's daughter; and that, of his several children, one was "Castine the younger," a very worthy man, and another, a beautiful daughter, who married a Frenchman, and was, with her children, in 1704, taken captive. One of these, it has been supposed, was Orono;* yet this rests too much on mere probability and conjecture, to deserve entire belief.

But whatever may have been the lineage or extraction of Orono, it is certain he was white in part, a half-breed or more;—such being apparent in his stature, features, and complexion. He himself told Captain Munsell, his father was a Frenchman, and his mother was half French and half Indian; but who they were by name, he did not state. Orono had not the copper-colored countenance, the sparkling eyes, the high cheek-bones, and tawny features of a pristine native. On the contrary, his eyes were of a bright blue shade, penetrating, and full of intelligence and benignity. His hair, when young, was brown, perhaps approaching to an auburn cast; his face was large,

* Nickolar, his kindred, says, "Orono was some related to old Castine."

broad and well formed, of a sickly whiteness, susceptible of ready blushes, and remarkably sedate. In his person, he was tall, straight, and perfectly proportioned; and in his gait there was a gracefulness which of itself evinced his superiority. He did not incline his head forward, nor his feet inward, so much as Indians usually do. But what principally gave him distinction was his mind, his manners, and his disposition. For Orono was a man of good sense and great discernment; — in mood thoughtful, in conversation reserved, in feelings benign. Hence, he never allowed himself to speak, till he had considered what to say; always expressing his thoughts in short sentences, directly to the point. He had not much learning, being only able to read a little and write his name. But he could converse freely in three languages, the Indian, French, and English; perhaps, also, understand some Latin phrases in the Romish litany. To the Catholic religion he was strongly attached, and also to its forms of worship. Hence, the Rev. Daniel Little, of Kennebunk, a Protestant missionary to the tribe after the Revolution, unable to shake his faith, asked three times, before he could get an answer from the sedate chief, thus: — “*In what language do you pray?*” With a gravity much more becoming than that of the missionary, he very reverently, raising his eyes a little, replied, — “*No matter what, — Great Spirit knows all languages.*”

Orono's manners were both conciliating and commanding, and his habits worthy of all imitation. For he was not only honest, chaste, temperate, and industrious; his word was sacred, and his friendship unchanging. He was remarkable for his forethought and wisdom, — for his mild and equable disposition. Though he was not deficient in courage or any of the martial virtues, he was so fully aware how much wars had wasted his tribe, and entailed misery on the survivors, as to become, from principle, a uniform and persevering advocate of peace. He knew, and always labored to convince his people, that they flourished best, and enjoyed most, under its refreshing shades.

At the commencement of the French and sixth Indian war, in 1754, Tomasus (or Tomer) was at the head of the tribe, when he, Osson, Orono, and other chief men, so

warmly espoused the policy of perpetuating peace, as to prevent the commission of any mischief by their people, till after the Cargill affair, and the declaration of war against them by the provincial government. The fact was, that Captain James Cargill, of Newcastle, commissioned to raise a company of volunteers, enlisted and led them on an excursion into the woods towards Owl's Head, in the vicinity of Penobscot Bay. Discovering a party of Indian hunters, Cargill and his company instantly fired upon them, shot down twelve on the spot, and took their scalps; the rest, fleeing for their lives to the tribe, carried to it the tidings of the bloody and wicked transaction. Cargill was generally and highly censured by the white people, it being believed he must have known the unhappy hunters belonged to the tribe of the friendly Tarratines.

Never were the feelings of the tribe put to severer trial. For the provincial governor, perplexed at the nefarious affair, sent a message to the sagamores, stating that it was impossible to distinguish between their Indians and others; and that they must, within eight days, according to the last treaty, send twenty men to join in the war against the common enemy, or their tribe would be treated as belligerent foes.

“What! take arms in aid of men who had themselves broken the treaty, — base men, whose hands are reeking with the blood of unoffending Indians? Aunt'-ah', aunt'-ah' [no! no!],” cried the chief speaker in a council met on the occasion. “Sound the war-whoop. Strike through the false-hearted white men. Burn to ashes their wives, — their wigwams, too. Take blood for blood. The spirits of our murdered brothers call to us for revenge. The winds howl to us from the wilderness. Sister widows cry, — orphans too. Do not Indians feel? Cut their veins, do they not bleed? The moose bellows over wasted blood. The bear licks the bleeding wounds of its cub. O Metunk-senah'! Metunk-senah'! [our Father, our Heavenly Father] pity our mourners. Avenge ill-treated Indians. Our fathers told us, Englishmen came here, a great many, many moons ago. They had no lands, no wigwams, — nothing. Then our good fathers say; — Come,

hunt in our woods; Come, fish in our rivers; Come, warm by our fires. So they catch very great many salmon, — beaver too. They stay among us always. They call Indians, good brothers. They smile in our faces. They make wick-hegin [writings], to live here with us, — all one, the same people. They signed them, as they call it, — our fathers, too. Then Englishmen call the lands their own. Our fathers meant no such thing. Certain, they never leave their children to starve. Englishman always smiles, when he gets advantage. Then he loves us all greatly. When he wants nothing of Indians, he don't love 'em so much. Frenchmen never get away our lands. They sell us guns, — powder too, — and great many things. They give us down weight, full measure. They open our eyes to religion. They speak to us, in dark days, good words of advice. Englishmen rob us. They kill our brothers, when their hearts were warm with friendship, — when sweet peace was melting on their lips. We give them homes. They put the flaming cup to our mouths. They shed our blood. Did ever Englishmen come to Indian's wigwam faint, and go away hungry? Never. Where shall Indians go? Here we were born. Here our fathers died. Here their bodies rest. Here, too, we will live. Arise. Join Frenchmen. Fight Englishmen. They shall die. They shall give place to Indians. This land, this river, is ours. Hunt Englishmen all off the ground. Then shall Indians be free; then the ghosts of our fathers bless their sons."

The voice of Orono, himself then more than sixty years of age, was still for peace. "To kill the living will not bring the dead to life. The crimes of few never sprinkle blood on all. Strike the murderers. Let the rest be quiet. Peace is a voice of the Great Spirit. Every one is blessed under its wings. Every thing withers in war. Indians are killed. Squaws starve. Nothing is gained; — not plunder, not glory. Englishmen are now too many. Let the hatchet lay buried. Smoke the calumet once more. Strive for peace. Exact a recompense by treaty for wrongs done us. None! ay, then fight 'em."

But the young Indians painted for war, revenge, and glory; and as the government soon proclaimed that hos-

ilities actually existed against the Tarratines, all hopes of any immediate pacification were dissipated. At first, the Indians made some violent attacks, killed several people, and burned a few houses. But they were neglected by the French; time, war, and disease, they found, had greatly thinned their ranks; in the course of three years, they became discouraged, — such a period being always long enough to satisfy Indian warriors; and in 1759, the tribe was literally overawed by the establishment of Fort Pownall, on the westerly banks of Penobscot Bay. Therefore, in April of the next year, they entered into a treaty with the provincial government, and made war upon the colonists no more. The Tarratine tribe, before this war, was supposed to have contained seven or eight hundred souls. Their lodgment, or local residence, ever since the discovery of this region and probably long before, has been on the southerly part of Old-town Island, in Penobscot River, three leagues above its tide-waters, — a most beautiful plantation.

Shortly after the close of the late war, Tomer was succeeded by OSSON, who was at the head of the tribe five or six years, perhaps longer. He lived to be about a hundred years old; having been commissioned by the government of Massachusetts *a justice of the peace*,* an office which he held to the time of his death, and which gave him the title of “Squire Osson.” Captain Munsell, who was well acquainted with him, says he was a very cautious, cunning man, — also a wise and influential chief. He always lived in good neighbourhood with the white people who settled within his territories, and had in return their unfeigned esteem. He died about the beginning of the American Revolution.

During the preceding interval of peace, Orono, next to Osson in political power, had, by his ability and prudence, acquired the confidence of his people so entirely, that they united and made him chief soon after the other's death. Orono was a high liberty-man, and from the first a thoroughgoing Whig. He could not imagine how the mother country could possibly wish to enslave or plunder the colonies, which were, as he thought, her distant chil-

* The only *native* ever appointed by government to any such office.

dren. Such were his views of riches, regions, sovereignty, and even glory, that he could not see how all of them combined could be any motive to so *unnatural* a warfare. Liberty, next to peace, was the sweetest sound that could salute Orono's ear. It was, to his experience, the gift and feeling of nature. In conference with his people, he declared it to be an inborn disposition of the heart, and natural habit of life, to strive against force and control, as against death. He felt it. He knew it. The wild creatures that rove through the woods he had seen happy though hungry, because they were under no ties that bound them. The brave little beaver fights a duel with a hunter-boy for the chance of escape. What being does not sigh and sicken in confinement? Does not even the spring-bird, then, forget its song? — the ermine its sports? All nature flourishes, when free. The Great Spirit gives us freely all things. Our white brothers tell us, they came to Indian's country to enjoy liberty and life. Their great sagamore is coming to bind them in chains, to kill them. We must fight him. We will stand on the same ground with them. For should he bind them in bonds, next he will treat us as bears. Indians' liberties and lands his proud spirit will tear away from them. Help his ill-treated sons; they will return good for good, and the law of love run through the hearts of their children and ours, when we are dead. Look down the stream of time. Look up to the Great Spirit. Be kind, be valiant, be free: — then are Indians the sons of glory.

Aroused and captivated by Orono's sentiments, his people generally became decided Whigs. He had also great influence with the sachems at Passamaquoddy, and even at the river St. John, though in each of the tribes there were Indian Tories, and party spirit ran high; human nature, whether cultivated or wild, exhibiting the same traits of character. At length, Orono and three of his colleagues started to go and tender their friendship and services to the government of Massachusetts, attended by Andrew Gilman, who could speak their language as well as his own. On their arrival at Portsmouth, money was liberally contributed to bear their expenses, and a carriage procured to help them on their journey. They met the

Provincial Congress at Watertown, June 21, 1775, and entered into a treaty of amity with that body, and of engagements to afford assistance; afterwards proving themselves to be among the most faithful allies of the American people. In return for their pledges of good faith and immediate aid, Massachusetts forbade, under severe penalties, all trespasses on their lands, six miles in width on each side of Penobscot River from the head of the tide upwards. On the 19th of July, 1776, the three tribes mentioned all acknowledged the independence of the United States, and engaged to withhold all succours from the British enemy. In fact, there were stationed near the head of the tide on the Penobscot a company of thirty (twenty white men and ten Indians), under the command of Andrew Gilman, a lieutenant, and Joseph Munsell, an orderly-sergeant, both previously mentioned; and at Machias, where Munsell was afterwards himself a lieutenant, there was a large company of one hundred Indians or more, commanded by Captain John Preble, all of whom had rations, and most of them were under pay. No man was more faithful to his engagements than Orono. From 1779, when the British took possession of the peninsula 'Biguydun (now Castine), and exercised an arbitrary command over all the settlements on each side of the river, that active, vigilant chief communicated with great despatch to our officers and government important and repeated intelligence; for which he once, if not more, received a tribute of special thanks, and also a pecuniary reward. He was wise in counsel, and his zeal to the last was inspiring to his tribe.

Orono was holden in equally high estimation after the war as before; and in 1785 and 1796, he entered into favorable treaties with Massachusetts, by which he and his tribe, for valuable considerations, assigned to her large tracts of land; and also agreed with her upon the limits and extent of the territory retained. This celebrated chief, after a very long life of usefulness and distinction, died at Oldtown, February 5, 1802; reputed to have been one hundred and thirteen * years old. But Captain Munsell, who conversed with him in his last sickness, and asked him his

* See Alden's *Epitaphs*, Vol. I., No. 69.

age, thinks, according to his best recollection, Orono told him he was about one hundred and ten years of age at that time. He was exceedingly endeared to his tribe, and highly respected by all his English acquaintance. To a remarkable degree, he retained his mental faculties and erect attitude, till the last years of his life. As he was always abstemious, and as his hair in his last years was of a milky whiteness, he resembled, in appearance, a cloistered saint. His wife, who was a full-blooded native, died several years after him, at an age supposed to be greater than his own. Of his posterity, it is only known that he had two children; one a son, who was accidentally shot, about 1774, in a hunting party, aged probably twenty-five; the other a daughter, who married old Captain Nicholar. So desirous were his English friends and neighbours to perpetuate his name and character, that, when the territory in the immediate vicinity of Oldtown was incorporated into a town, March 12, 1806, it was called "Orono," in compliment to the worthy old chief.

A few years after Orono's death, perhaps in 1806-7, the tribe chose AITTEON their chief sagamore. He was a very contemplative, sensible man. Having occasion, however, in the course of a few years, to transact some business for his tribe with the Massachusetts government, he and two other Indians took a water-passage to Boston. Oppressed with anxiety and care for his people, and perplexed with the business on hand, he fell into a state of derangement, and stabbed himself, in Boston, so badly that he soon died. This was about the year 1811, — an event much lamented.

He was immediately succeeded by Jo LOLAN (in English, Joseph Loring). Of all the Tarratine sagamores, his abilities were the most slender, and his wisdom the least. He was wholly Indian; chosen more on account of his parentage than his capacities, his mother being noted for her wisdom, beauty, and amiableness. Lolan's period of ruling the tribe as chief was short, as he died about 1815. His son was more capable than he, and did the greater part of the father's business while he lived.

Next, JOHN AITTEON, son of the preceding sagamore

Aitteon, was chosen chief of the tribe; and on the 19th of September, 1816, was inducted into office with great formality. He is a man of light complexion, of a pleasant countenance, considerable abilities, and manifestly of a mixed extraction, French and Indian. He is the present sagamore. JOHN NEPTUNE is the lieutenant-governor or sub-sachem. He is a pristine native, as evinced abundantly by his features, eyes, hair, and complexion. FRANCIS, the first captain, is the most intelligent, and speaks English the best, of any in the tribe. Neptune, he, and two other captains were inducted into office at the same time Aitteon was, and with the same ceremonies.

INDIAN TRIBES IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

To REV. THADDEUS M. HARRIS, S. T. D., *Corresponding Secretary*
of the *Massachusetts Historical Society*.

SIR, — As the Indian tribes in New England will probably in length of time become extinct; I have thought any facts in relation to them would be interesting to the curious and critical antiquarian; therefore I have penned the following sketches, which I submit to your disposal. Yours, most respectfully.

WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Bangor, April 15, 1839.

At the present period, there are three tribes of Eastern Indians remaining, that still retain their individual clan-ship and community of character. These are the *Tarratines*, on the Penobscot; the *Openangos*,* at Passamaquoddy; and the *Marechites*, on the river St. John. The modern names by which they are called are taken from the respective waters where they are resident. For more than thirty years, the writer of this sketch has had some particular knowledge of these tribes, and with several individuals, especially of the Tarratines, he has had a personal acquaintance.

According to their own traditions, in which they all agree, they proceeded from the same stock, and were originally, as they state the fact, children of the same parents;—the Tarratines being the eldest, the Mare-

* There is some doubt if "Openadyo" be the original name of this tribe.

chites next, and the Openangos the youngest. They all speak the same language; and it is manifestly true that their brotherhood is always what they profess it to be, uniform and unchanging. Each tribe has its own sagamore, sachem, and counsellor-captains; yet in neither are these functionaries inducted into office without the presence and aid of a delegation from the other two tribes. Not only in this particular, but also in all former wars and treaties with the English, they have always acted in concert. It may be owing to this policy, principally, that these tribes have outlived all the others of New England. Before this country was visited by the Europeans, it is believed that the sagamore and sachem, the first and second in authority, came to their offices by hereditary right. But so far back as any facts about it have been known by the white people, their officers have severally been elective. They say, the male Indians of a tribe are voters in elections, who are twenty years old and upwards, each giving his vote for or against a candidate *vivá voce*, in the Indian words, *chu`-ee*, yes, or *aun`-tah*, no. On these occasions, party spirit often runs high; aspirants have their zealous and active adherents; and electioneering is carried on with the address common among people more civilized. For the ancient appellations of Sagamore and Sachem, are substituted, in modern times, Governor and Lieutenant-governor, borrowed unquestionably from the English.

The chiefs, who have been at the head of the Tarratine tribe since 1816, are *John Aitteon*, governor, *John Neptune*, lieutenant-governor. But unhappily the tribe has, for several years, been divided into two parties, — originally and principally occasioned by a quarrel between those chieftains, the latter having been suspected by the former of seducing his wife. The whole tribe took sides with the one or the other; and therefore their councils at times have been much distracted. Aitteon is of a placid disposition, manifestly indicated by a bluish eye and a smiling countenance. In stature, he is tall, straight, and well proportioned; and in intellect, in knowledge of business, and in ability to speak English, he holds a place inferior to several others. It is supposed he is not an un-

mixed native, — perhaps a half-breed. But Neptune is unquestionably a pristine, full-blooded Indian. He is of a copper color; — in person stout, thick set, with broad shoulders, large face, high cheek-bones, small mouth, and black, sparkling eyes. His understanding, intelligence, and shrewdness are of the first order. He is very collected in his deportment, and always carries with him an air of authority. Such, in short, are his native peculiarities, that a limner has without reward painted his portrait for exhibition. He is altogether superior to Aitteon in every thing, except in character. For he is said to be the most lascivious Indian there ever was in the tribe. He had the address, after a time, to make peace with Aitteon for the injury mentioned; and subsequently their councils have not been divided. The Indians say, he is arbitrary and self-willed, makes too free with ardent spirits, and has ten or a dozen bastard papposes. Hence his personal conduct and some of his official measures have occasioned him many foes, among whom are several of the likeliest Indians in the tribe. Since Aitteon became reconciled to him, and has generally agreed with him in the measures pursued, they have, among the tribe, both been subjects of the same dislike and opposition.

The disaffected part of the tribe, therefore, during the last summer (1838), consulted with the tribes at St. John and Passamaquoddy; and finding the latter one generally opposed to John Neptune, concluded to attempt a new choice of the chief officers. For this purpose, the month of August was appointed; and accordingly there arrived at Oldtown, in due time, two delegations, one of *twelve* from the river St. John, and the other of *twenty-one* from Passamaquoddy.

Of the former tribe, there were several of the principal men. 1. *Joseph Francis*, who is the lieutenant-governor, a very likely, intelligent man, much disposed to do right. To make himself and his tribe fully acquainted with the difficulties at Oldtown, he and his brother, Nicholas Francis, with three others, took a journey from home to that place, the preceding spring, travelling the whole distance in their canoes. 2. *Francis Sov'-eo*, of twenty-two years, was quite an energetic, considerate,

well disposed Indian. His father, *Francis Tomer*, the governor, being an old man between sixty and seventy years of age (as they said), sent his beloved son to act in his stead, and he received as his substitute. 3. *Captain Tomer* was the governor's son-in-law, who was "to assist in the same business." 4. *Newell Gov'-leet* brought the belt of *wampum*, — this being always produced and presented on such occasions, as a renewed testimony of their unchanging brotherhood and attachment. 5. *Soc O'Bear* was a captain of good appearance, and of considerable consideration among them. 6. *Joseph Turkle* called himself captain, — a man of pride and energy. It is true, he had been such prior to last Christmas, they said, when his captainship was disowned, because he did things that displeased the tribe. *Tomar Wallis*, *Louee Tomar*, and four others, formed the delegation from the *Marechites*.

From the other [*Openango?*] tribe, there were several distinguished Indians. 1. *Newell Neptune*, said to be thirty-five years old, but appeared much younger, was the lieutenant-governor, — a place he had holden twelve years. His countenance and conduct were both greatly in his favor, — he being thoughtful, discreet, taciturn. Though pleasant, he was sedate; and though he could speak English, he said very little, but what he did say was always to the point and purpose. His manners were both modest and manly; and his observing yet softened eye gave abundant evidence of superior intellect; — in a word, all these, with his beauties of person, rendered him the best appearing Indian ever seen in this quarter. *Sabbatis Neptune*, fifty-three years old, was the senior counsellor-captain, and chief speaker of the tribe. He said he had been such twelve years. He speaks good English, and is very open-hearted, communicative, and quite decided. He appeared to have great influence among the Indians, especially those of his own tribe. In fact, his lean face, his brilliant, searching eyes, and his deep-thinking mood, testify largely in favor of his intellect and good sense. Of those opposed to *John Neptune*, he was foremost. He said they had been troubled in no small degree with their own governor. As he told the story, — "After their good old governor, *Francis Joseph*, died, about five years past, they

made John François, two years afterwards, governor in his stead. He was then about forty-five years old, and a chief of good promise. But he was very full of temper. Three or four moons ago, the fire in his heart was very hot. He then threw down his belt and medals, the signs of his office, and said, *You have me for governor no longer.* Very quick, he brings all old writings from General Washington and papers from the State, and fling them down too, very hard. Our lieutenant-governor then takes them up, and keeps them safely. His squaw 's a very bad woman; a bad wife always makes a bad sanup [husband] worse." He said his tribe had only six counsellors;—four besides himself being present. These were *Nicholar Neptune*, *Solomon Francis*, son of the old governor, *To-mollou'ey*, and *Peter Joseph Lou'ey*.

On the day agreed upon for "making" new governors, as they call it, being Friday, August 31 (1838), early in the forenoon, there was hauled up to the top of the island-standard, which is tall and stately as a first-rate liberty-pole, a great, spreading flag, on which was a large red crucifix, cut from scarlet broadcloth, the perpendicular piece being four or five feet in length, and four inches in breadth, and the horizontal cross-piece, towards the top, two feet long or more. The other party, under Neptune and Aitteon, raised an opposition standard equally high, which displayed at its head a flag as large or larger than the other, with this difference only;—on the perpendicular of this crucifix there were two crosses, one towards the bottom, as well as one towards the top of it.

Under these banners, the Indians all assembled in the "Great Wigwam," called, on this occasion, the *Camp*, with the exception, however, of several Tarratines, who chose by their absence to avoid the controversy. All the others, who were old enough to vote, sat together; and the respective delegations were severally seated by themselves on the right and left, at the head of the assemblage. With all the gravity and self-command of a Roman senator, John Neptune rose and addressed all present in a short speech of pure vernacular. As it was not fully understood at the time by the English spectators, a few only of the sentiments, as afterwards interpreted by him, in the concise sentences uttered, can be given.

“Brothers:—We boldly come here; we face the storm; we fear not; for our hearts are firm as rocks that never move. Shall Neptune and his Indians give place to bold words? Shall he say, Come, take his rights and power away? No,—never; for quite twenty-two years ago, he and Aitteon were made governors for life; ay, *for life*. This is the usage for ever of Indians; our fathers always tell us so; all those good brothers know it well. Yes,—some of ’em here present, from St. John and ’Quoddy, help make ’em governors then, in this same camp. All we remember it. The sun was bright that day; friendship warmed every heart. The trees of our woods were all green. Now, enemies work. A breach is made near us. The storm beats through, hard upon our heads. The night is dark. Will brothers turn bears, to tear us in pieces? Come they here to dig our graves before we die? Then is our end come. Soon will white men push us all off, to drown. The Great Spirit sees it. His eye is in every star. He knows all things. Yes, he knows John Neptune has the soul of his father, never afraid. He never will turn his back to fighters, brothers or bears. He is sachem *for life*.”

The only reply was from Sabbatis Neptune, who spake with more fluency, though with less force. “Brothers:—Good sagamores be morning stars. They make their Indians glad. Every thing happy rests content. No change is wanted then. They groan, that have pains. We come here, a great way from home, to hear what our brothers speak of John Neptune, and his party friends. Many say, he drinks a great deal of strong water. Then his words be very loud; his eyes flash fire; he stamps on the ground very hard. He is no more antler moose;—he is Lunkson,* Loupcervier [the great catamount]. Now, then, he no see widows’ tears,—he no hear orphans’ cries. He is the moon, that often grows larger, then smaller. For sometimes he loves his Indians very much; by ’nd by, he don’t love ’em so much. No, no,—he love ’em best some woman-kind,—not his own squaw. Does he kill ’em deer, bear, raccoon, and feed ’em

* Indians say, this means “all one, *kill-devil*.”

unlawful children he makes? Not half. Well, his Indians say, We have him 'sachem' no longer. They want a good governor, like old Orono; — to speak wisdom, — to show 'em good works. Such one is governor *for life*. Not so the bad one. When his heart be very wicked, his walk crooked, 't is right to leave him. We obey the Great Spirit, because he is good. Aitteon and Neptune are joined together; we no fear to speak; — we leave them together; we say amen."

Hence it was determined to proceed in the appointed business of the day. Solomon Francis, being designated to tell the votes, took them, and pronounced them to stand thus for the new governor, viz.

For <i>Tomar Soc Alexis</i> , — of his own tribe,	43	votes.
The Openangos gave him	21	"
'The Marechites gave him	5	"
	<hr/>	
In all	69	

Aitteon, son of old 'Squire John Osson, (not a relative of John Aitteon,) had the same number of votes for lieutenant-governor; when they both, and also seven captains, having a like vote, were all pronounced chosen according to the usages of the tribes.

For Aitteon and Neptune, severally, the	
votes from their own tribe were	36
From the Marechites	6
	<hr/>
	42

of which six, *four* were given by the lieutenant-governor, his brother, Soc O'Bear, and Turkle. The Openangos gave for them not one vote. It was also said, that twelve of the thirty-six were given by youngsters under the age of twenty years, and ought not to be taken into the account. But inasmuch as theirs did not change the majority, there was no discussion upon the subject. The triumphant party then proceeded to invest the new-chosen functionaries with their respective ensigns of office, in usual form; * the minority, with Aitteon and Neptune at

* In Williamson's *History of Maine*, Vol. I., Chap. XIX., pp. 495 - 498, the particulars of these ceremonies, in 1716, are given in detail; and therefore it is inexpedient to repeat the account in this place.

their head, leaving the wigwam, with no other manifestation of dislike, however, than looks of indignation. Nor would they afterwards, though specially requested, so much as speak to the 'Quoddy delegates.

Though there were in this electioneering campaign much of party spirit, and though the feelings of most were considerably ruffled, both before and after it was over, the decorum noticeable in the assemblage during the debate and election is worthy of being imitated by any legislative body of a civilized people. There was perfect order. Each speaker was attentively heard, without being interrupted; and the business was transacted without noise. For several days, however, after the ceremonies, the parties were quite indignant towards each other. The flags were kept flying; nor did the respective delegations immediately return home. Hence, the governor of the State, apprehensive of a high-handed quarrel among them, addressed to them a monitory letter, chiding their delay and urging their departure. This had its effect, probably; for they in a few days afterwards left Oldtown. Since that time, the old officers have been recovering their popularity; and it is believed they are still accredited as the chiefs of the tribe. Neptune has the wit, if he has the proper disposition, to reinstate himself pretty fully in the public favor, as his capabilities for government surpass those of every other Indian among them.

The tribe are by no means poor. For they not only own the islands in Penobscot River, between Oldtown and the Forks, or confluence of the east and west branches, many of which are valuable; but the State, December 31, 1838, owed them, for lands purchased, a debt of \$60,800; also interest thereon amounting to \$3,867; and an annuity of \$2,107, to be paid them yearly as long as they shall exist in their collective capacity. Their annuities and other dues are usually paid by government to their chiefs. For the purpose, therefore, of distributing their moneys and subsidies equally, a census was carefully taken, March 1, 1837, of all the families, by name, in the tribe, with the number in each family annexed. At first, John Neptune, the lieutenant-governor, and two of the captains, Pe-el Tomar and Francis Pe-neis, presented a

list of all the family names, in Indian, affixing figures representing the number of souls in each one ; and then they interpreted every name into English. The original catalogue was, in fact, made out by Pe'-el Tomar's son, who can read and write ; and when it was translated and finished, it was duly certified under a notarial seal. According to this census, taken with so much exactness, there were in the whole tribe *ninety-five* families and *three hundred and sixty-two* souls. There are probably as many at the present time.

Note. — The legislature of the State, in their late session, took so much notice of what was done at Oldtown in August last, as to pass an act, March 16th, 1839, by which the tribe are authorized to elect biennially from among themselves a governor and lieutenant-governor, to hold their offices for two years, and till others their successors be elected ; — who are to have all the powers and privileges appertaining “by usage and custom” to them in their functionary capacities. In order to effect an election, the selectmen of Orono are directed to take a census of all the male Indians of the tribe, who are twenty-one years of age ; and on the first Monday of August next, and every alternate year, at Oldtown, receive from all that are present their votes *vivâ voce*, severally, for those officers, — a majority to be declared an election : Provided, however, the said tribe do, on the day of the next August election, first adopt this legislative enactment for their future guidance and direction.

QUEEN ANNE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR DUDLEY IN 1702.

From the Original Manuscript, given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Robert C. Winthrop.

ANNE R. Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbelov'd Joseph Dudley Esq^r Our Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over Our Province and Territory of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Given at Our Court at S^t James's the Sixth day of April 1702 In the First Year of Our Reigne.

With these Our Instructions you will Receive Our Commission under the Great Seal of England, Constituting you Our Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and Likewise Our Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Militia and of all the Forces by sea and Land, within Our Colonies of Rhode Island, Providence Plantation and the Naraganset Country or Kings Province in New England, and of all Our Forts and places of Strength within the same.

You are therefore to fitt yourself with all convenient Speed, and to repair to Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and being arrived there, you are to take upon you the Execution of the Place and Trust Wee have reposed in you, and forthwith to call together the Members of Our Councill in that Province.

You are with all due and usual Solemnity to cause Our

said Commission to be published at the said Meeting, and Notification to be also given to Our Colonies of Rhode Island, Providence Plantation, and the Naraganset Country, of the Power wherewith you are intrusted concerning the Militia, Forces, and Forts within Our said Colonies and Country as aforesaid.

You shall your self take, and also administer unto each of the Members of Our said Council, as well the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as also the Test together with an Oath for the due Execution of your and their places and Trusts, as well with regard to the equal and Impartiall Administration of Justice in all causes that shall come before you as otherwise, And likewise the Oath required to be taken by Governours of Plantations to do their utmost that the Laws relating to the Plantations be Observed; And both you and they shall also Subscribe the Association mentioned in a late Act of Parliament Intituled *An Act for the better Security of his Majestys Royal Person and Government.*

You are to Communicate forthwith unto Our said Council, such and so many of these Our Instructions, wherein their Advice and Consent are mentioned to be requisite, as likewise all such others, from time to time, as you shall find Convenient for Our Service to be imparted to them.

You are to permitt the Members of Our said Council of the Massachusetts Bay to have and Enjoy Freedom of Debate and Vote in all Affairs of Publick Concern that may be debated in Council.

You are from time to time to send to Us by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the Names and Qualities of the Members appointed to be of Our said Council, by the first Conveniency after such appointment.

And in the Choice and Appointment of the Members of Our said Council, as also of the Principall Officers, Judges, Justices, Sheriffs and others, You are always to take care that they be Men of Good Life, and well affected to Our Government and of good Estates and Abilities, and not necessitous People, or much in Debt.

You are hereby Authorized to use the Publick Seal appointed or to be appointed by Us for the Sealing of all things whatsoever that shall pass the Seal of Our said Province under your Government.

You are to take Care that all Writs be Issued in Our Royal Name throughout Our said Province.

You are to Observe in the passing of Laws that the Stile of Enacting the same be by the Governor, Council, and Assembly & no other.

You are also as much as Possible to Observe the passing of all Laws, that whatever may be requisite upon each different matter be accordingly provided for by a different Law, without intermixing in one and the same Act, such things as have no proper relation to each other, And you are more especially to take care, that no Clause or Clauses be inserted in or annexed to any Act, which shall be Forreign to what the Title of such respective Act Imports.

You are to transmitt Authentick Copies under the Publick Seal, of all Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances that are now made and in force, which have not yet been sent, or which at any time hereafter shall be made and Enacted within Our said Province under your Government and Command, each of them seperately under the Publick Seal, unto Us, and to Our said Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, within three Months, or by the first Opportunity after their being Enacted, together with Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance upon Pain of Our highest displeasure, and of the Forfeiture of that Yeare's Salary, wherein you shall at any time or upon any pretence whatsoever omit to send over the said Laws, Statutes and Ordinances as aforesaid, within the time above limited, as also of such other Penalty as Wee shall please to inflict: But if it shall happen that during time of Warr, no Shipping shall come from Our said Province within three Months after the makeing such Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, whereby the same may be transmitted as aforesaid, then the said Laws, Statutes and Ordinances are to be transmitted as aforesaid by the next Conveyance after the makeing thereof, whenever it may happen for Our Approbation or Dissallowance of the same.

And forasmuch as great prejudice may happen to Our

Service and the Security of Our said Province by your absence from those parts, without a Sufficient Cause and especiall Leave from Us, For the Prevention thereof, you are not upon any pretence whatsoever to come to Europe from your Government without haveing first obtained Leave for so doing from Us under Our Sign Manuall and Signet, or by Order in Our Privy-Councill.

You are to take Care that in all Acts or Orders to be passed within that Our Province, in any Case for Levying money, or imposing Fines and Penalties Express mention be made, that the same is granted or Reserved to Us, Our Heirs and Successors for the Publick use of that Our Province, and the Support of the Government thereof, as by the said Act or Order shall be Directed.

Whereas it is Necessary that due Provision be made for the Support of the Government of Our said Province, by setting apart Sufficient allowances to you Our Captain General and Governour in Chief and to Our Lieutenant Governour or Commander in Chief for the time being residing within the same, And Whereas Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay has not hitherto taken any manner of Care in that matter, though the like Provision be generally made in Our other Plantations in America which are under Our Immediate Government, notwithstanding that divers of them are much less able to do it; You are therefore to propose to the Generall Assembly of Our said Province, and accordingly to use your utmost endeavours with them, that an Act be passed for Settling and Establishing fixed Salaries upon your self and others Our Captains Gen^l that may Succeed you in that Government, as likewise upon Our Lieutenant Gov^{rs} or Commanders in Chief for the time being, Suitable to the Dignity of those respective Offices.

And you are also earnestly to recommend unto the Assembly in Our Name, that care be taken by them for the building of a fit and Convenient House to receive you, and the Governor for the time being, which may be Appropriated to that Use.

You are not to permit any clause whatsoever to be Inserted in any Law for Levying money or the Value of money, whereby the same shall not be made lyable to be

Accounted for Unto Us here in England, and to Our Com^{rs} of Our Treasury or Our high Treasurer for the time being.

You are to take care that fair Books of Accounts of all Receipts and Payments of all such money be duly kept, and the truth thereof attested upon Oath, and that the said Bookes be transmitted every half yeare or oftener to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, or High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance; In which Bookes shall be Specified every particular Sum raised or Disposed off together with the Names of the Persons to whom any Payment shall be made; to the end Wee may be Satisfied of the Right and due Application of the Revenue of Our said Province.

You are not to Suffer any Publick money whatsoever, to be Issued or Disposed of otherwise than by Warrant under your hand, by and with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council, But the Assembly may be Nevertheless permitted, from time to time to view and examine the Accounts of money or Value of money disposed of by Virtue of Laws made by them, which You are to Signify unto them, as there shall be Occasion.

And it is Our Express will and Pleasure that no Law for raiseing any Imposition on Wines and other Strong Liquors, be made to Continue for Less than one whole Year, as also that all other Laws whatsoever, for the good Government and Support of Our said Province be made Indefinite, and without limitation of time Except the same be for a Temporary end, and which shall Expire and have its full Effect within a Certain time.

And therefore you shall not re-enact any Law which hath or shall have been once Enacted there, except upon very urgent Occasions; But in no Case more then once without our Express consent.

You shall not permit any Act or Order to pass in Our said Province, whereby the Price or Value of the Currant Money within your Government (whether it be Forreign or belonging to Our Dominions) may be Altered without Our Particular Leave or Direction for the same.

And You are particularly not to pass any Law, or do

any Act by Grant, Settlement or otherwise, whereby Our Revenue may be Lessened or Impaired, without Our Especiall Commands therein.

You are to take all Possible Care in the granting of any Lands within Our Province under your Government, not already disposed of, that such Limitations and Methods be Observed as may best tend to the Safety and due Improvement of Our said Province.

And Whereas Wee have been informed that Great Spoiles are daily Comitted in Our Woods in the Province of Main and other parts within your Government of the Massachusetts Bay, by Cutting down and Converting to private Uses such Trees, as are or may be proper for the Service of Our Royal Navy; And it being Necessary that all practices which tend so Evidently to deprive Us of those Supplies be effectually restrained; Our Will and Pleasure is, That upon Consideration of the Occasions of such Abuses, the Methods by which they are Carried on, and the Inconveniencies that attend them, You use your Indeavours with Our Councill and the Assembly of the Massachussetts Bay, to dispose them to pass Acts, for the better preventing the further Spoil of those Woods, and for preserving a Nursery of such Trees as may be usefull for Our Service; And in case you cannot prevail with them to pass Acts proper and Sufficient for those Purposes, that you send Over hither the Heads of such a Bill, as may be Effectuall for those Ends, and fitt to be Enacted here.

You shall not remitt any Fines or Forfeitures whatsoever above the Sum of Ten pounds nor dispose of any Escheats Fines or Forfeitures whatsoever untill upon Signifying to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, Or Our High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations the Nature of the Offence, and the Occasion of such Fines Forfeitures or Escheats, with the particular Sums or value thereof (which you are to do with all Speed) You shall have Received Our directions therein; But you may in the mean time suspend the payment of the said Fines and Forfeitures.

In case any Goods money or other Estate of Pirates or Piratically taken, shall be brought in or found within

Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, or taken on board any Ships or Vessells, You are to Cause the same to be seized and Secured untill you shall have given Us an Account thereof, and Received Our Pleasure Concerning the Disposall thereof, But in Case such Goods or any part of them are perishable, the same shall be Publickly Sold and Disposed of, and the Produce thereof in like manner Secured 'till Our further Order.

And Whereas Wee have been pleased to Grant Commissions unto Severall Persons in Our Respective Plantations in America, for the Trying of Pirates in those parts pursuant to the *Act for the more Effectuall Surpression of Piracy*; And by a Commission already sent to Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, You (as Captain General and Governour in Chief of Our said Province) are Impowered, together with others therein mentioned, to proceed accordingly, in reference to Our said Province; *Our Will and Pleasure is* that in all matters relateing to Pirates, You Govern your self according to the intent of the Act and Commission aforementioned; But Whereas Accessories in Cases of Piracy beyond the Seas, are by the said Act left to be Tryed in England, according to the Statute of the 28th of King Henry the VIIIth, We do hereby further Direct and Require You to send all such Accessories in Cases of Piracy in Our foresaid Province, with the Proper Evidences that you may have against them, into England, in Order to their being Tryed here.

You are to require the Secretary of Our said Province for the time being to furnish you with Transcripts of all such Acts and Publick Orders as shall be made from time to time, together with Copies of the Journalls of the Councill and Assembly to the end the same may be transmitted unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as above Directed, which he is duly to perform upon pain of Incurring the Forfeiture of his Place.

You shall Transmitt unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations by the First opportunity a Map with the Exact discription of the whole Territory under your Government, with the Severall Plantations upon it, and of the Fortifications, And you are likewise to use your best Endeavours to procure a good Map to be Drawn of

all the Indian Country in the Neighborhood of Our Plantations in those parts, marking the names of the Severall Nations (as they call themselves and are called by the English and French) and the Places where they inhabit, and to transmitt the same in like manner.

You are likewise to send a List of all Officers Employed under your Government together with all Publick Charges, and an Account of the present Revenue with the Probability of the Increase or Diminution thereof under every Head or Article.

You are to Transmit unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with all Convenient Speed, A Particular Account of all Establishments of Jurisdictions, Courts, Offices, and Officers, Powers Authorities, Fees and Privileges Granted or Settled within Our said Province to the End you may Receive Our further Directions therein.

You shall Likewise take Especiall Care with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council to regulate all Salaries and Fees belonging to places, or paid upon Emergencies, that they be within the bounds of Moderation, and that no Exaction be made upon any Occasion whatsoever, As also that Tables of all Fees be publickly hung up in all Places where such Fees are to be paid, And you are to transmitt Copies of all such Tables of Fees to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid.

Whereas it is very necessary for Our Service that there be an Attorney General appointed and Settled who may at any time take care of Our Rights and Interest within Our said Province You are with all Convenient Speed to Nominate a fitt Person for that Trust.

You are to permitt a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists) so they be contented with a Quiet and Peaceable Enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or Scandall to the Government.

You are to take care that Drunkenness and Debauchery Swearing and Blasphemy be discountenanced & Punished, and that none be admitted to Publick Trusts and Employments in Our said Province under Your Government whose ill Fame and Conversation may occasion Scandal.

You shall Administer or Cause to be Administred the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy as also the Test to the Members and Officers of Our Councill and Assembly and to all Judges, Justices and all other persons that hold any office or place of Trust or Profitt in Our said Province whether by Virtue of any Patent under Our Great Seal of England, or Our Seal of the Massachusets Bay, or otherwise, and likewise require them to Subscribe the forementioned Association; Without which you are not to admitt any person whatsoever into any Publick Office, nor Suffer those that have been admitted formerly to Continue therein.

You shall send an Account to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations of the present Number of Planters and Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, as well Masters as Servants, Free and Unfree, and of the Slaves in Our said Province as also a yearly Acc^t of the Increase or Decrease of them, and how many of them are fitt to bear Arms in the Militia of Our said Province.

You shall also Cause an Exact Acc^t to be kept of all Persons born, Christened and Buried, And You shall yearly send fair Abstracts thereof to Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid.

You are to take Care that no Mans life, Member, Freehold or Goods be taken away or harmed in Our said Province under Your Government, otherwise then by Established and known Laws, not repugnant to, but as much as may be agreable to the Laws of England.

You shall take care that all Planters and Christian Servants be well and fitly provided with Arms and That they be listed under good Officers, and when and as often as shall be thought fit, Mustered and Trained, whereby they may be in a better readiness for the Defence of Our Province under Your Government, And You are to Use your utmost Endeavours, that Such Planters do each of them keep such a Number of White Servants, as by Law is directed, and that they Appear in Arms at all such times as they shall be required.

You are to take Especial care that neither the Frequency nor unreasonableness of remote Marches Musters

and Trainings, be an unnecessary Impediment to the Affairs of the Inhabitants.

You shall not upon any Occasion whatsoever Establish or put in Execution any Articles of Warr, or other Law Martial, upon any of Our Subjects, Inhabitants of Our said Province without the Advice and Consent of Our Council there.

And Whereas there is no Power given you by Your Commission to Execute Martial Law in time of Peace, upon Soldiers in pay and that Nevertheless it may be Necessary that some Care be Taken for the Keeping of good Discipline amongst Those that Wee may at any time think fitt to send into Our said Province (which may properly be Provided for by the Legislative Power of the same) You are therefore to recommend unto the general Assembly of Our said Province, that (if not already done) they prepare such Act or Law for the Punishing of Mutiny, Desertion and false Musters and for the Better Preserving of Good Discipline amongst the said Soldiers, as may best Answer those ends.

And Whereas upon Complaints that have been made unto Us, of the Irregular proceedings of the Captains of some of Our Ships of Warr, in the pressing of Seamen in Several of Our Plantations; Wee have thought fitt to Order, and have given Direction to Our Lord High Admirall accordingly, That when any Captain or Commander of any of Our Ships of Warr in any of Our said Plantations shall have Occasion for Seamen to Serve on Board Our Ships under their Command, they do make their Application to the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Our Plantations respectively, to whom as Vice Admiralls Wee are pleased to Commit the Sole power of Impressings Seamen in any of Our Plantations in America, or in sight of any of them; You are therefore hereby required upon such Application made to You, by any of the Commanders of Our said Ships of Warr within Our foresaid Province under Your Government, to take care that Our said Ships of Warr be furnished with the Number of Seamen, that may be Necessary for Our Service on board them, from time to time.

You are to Demand an Acc^t from all Persons Con-

cerned, of the Arms Ammunition and Stores sent to Our said Province under Your Government from Our Office of Ordnance here, as likewise what other Armes, Ammunition and Stores have been bought with the Publick Money for the Service of Our said Province, and how the same have been employed, and if any, how many of them have been sold, Spent, Lost, decayed or Disposed of, and to whom, and to what Uses.

You shall take an Inventory of all Arms, Ammunition and Stores remaining in Any of Our Magazines or Garrisons within Our said Province and Territory, and Transmitt an Account of them forthwith after your Arrival, and the like Account yearely to Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

You are to take Especiall Care that fitt Store Houses be Settled throughout Our said Province for receiveing and keeping of Armes Ammunition and other Publick Stores.

Whereas it is Absolutely Necessary that We be exactly Informed of the State of Defence of all Our Plantations in every respect, and more especially with relation to the Forts and Fortifications that are in each Plantation, and what more may be Necessary to be Built for the Defence and Security of the same, You are so soon as Possible after Your Arrival in your Government to prepare an Account of the State of Defence thereof in the most particular manner, and to transmit the same to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations and the like Accounts afterwards Yearly, in Order to Our Exact Information therein from time to time.

And Whereas Wee have been Constantly at Great Charge in Sending thither and Maintaining Ships of Warr to Cruize upon the Coasts of that Province, in Order to their Protection against Enemys by Sea, and have also lately been graciously pleased upon the Desire of Our Council and the General Assembly to Assist them in this Conjunction with Stores of War from Our Office of Ordnance here You are therefore the more earnestly to require and Press Our said Council and the Assembly Vigorously to Exert themselves in Fortifying all Places necessary for the Security of Our Said Province by land, more especially in rebuilding that Important Fort at Pemaquid,

which they too easily Suffered to be taken and Demolished by the French Dureing the late War, and in Providing what elsse may be Necessary in all respects for their further Defence, In Order whereunto You are also to cause a Survey to be made of all the Considerable Landing Places and Harbors within Our said Province and with the Advice of Our said Council, to Erect in any of them such Fortifications as shall be necessary for their Security and Advantage.

In Case of any Distress of any other of Our Plantations, you shall upon Application of the respective Governours thereof, to You, Assist them with what Aid the Condition and Safety of your Government can permit; and more especially in Case Our Province of New York be at any time Invaded by an Enemy, You are to call upon Our Councill and the General Assembly of the Massachusets Bay to make good in Men (or money in lieu thereof) their Quota of Assistance according to the Repartition formerly sent thither; Assureing them that in Case of the Like Invasion of the Province of the Massachusets Bay, they will be mutually assisted from New York.

You are from time to time to give an Account, as before directed, what Strength Your Neighbors have (be they Indians or others) by Sea and Land, and of the Condition of their Plantations and what Correspondance You do keep with them.

And Whereas by Our Commission for the Government of Our said Province of the Massachusets Bay, Wee have given you all the Powers and Authorities of any Captain Generall over Our Colonies of *Rhode Island, Providence Plantation* and the *Narraganset Country or Kings Province, Our Royal Pleasure and Intention is*, That in time of Peace the Militia within each of the said Colonies be left to the Government and Disposition of the respective Governours of the same: But so as that nevertheless in Case of Apparent Danger, or other Exigency, You do at all times take upon your Self the Superior Command of those Forces, as in the said Commission is Directed.

And That Wee may be the better Informed of the Trade of Our said Province You are to take especial care that

due Entries be made in all Ports of Our said Province of all Goods and Commodities, their Species and Quantities, Imported and Exported from thence, with the Names Burden and Guns of all Ships Importing and Exporting the same, also the Names of their Commanders and likewise Expressing from and to what places the said Ships do come and go, a Copy whereof the Naval Officer is to furnish you with, and You are to Transmit the same unto Us as before directed, to the Commissioners of Our Treasury or Our High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Quarterly, and Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance.

And Whereas Wee have been pleased to give Orders for the Commissionating of Fit Persons to be Vice Admiralls and Officers of Our Admiralty and Customes in Our Severall Plantations in America, And it is of Great Importance to the Trade of this Kingdom and to the Welfare of Our Plantations that Illegal Trade be every where Discouraged; You are to give all due Countenance and encouragement to the said Officers of Our Admiralty and Customes in the Execution of their Respective Offices and Trusts.

You are to Encourage the Indians upon all Occasions, so that they may Apply themselves to the English Trade and Nation rather than to any Other.

You are to Suppress the Ingrossing of Commodities, as tending to the Prejudice of that freedom which Commerce and Trade ought to have, and to Settle such Orders and Regulations therein, with the Advice of Our said Council as may be most Acceptable to the Generality of the Inhabitants.

You are to give all due Encouragement, and Invitation to Merchants and others, who shall bring Trade unto Our said Province, Or any Way Contribute to the Advantage thereof, and in Particular to the Royall African Company of England.

And you are to take Care that there be no Tradeing from Our said Province to any Place in Africa within the Charter of the Royall African Company otherwise then prescribed by the late Act of Parliament, Entituled, *An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa.*

You are not to Grant Commissions of Marque or Reprizals against any Prince or State or their Subjects in Amity with Us, to any Person whatsoever without Our Especiall Command.

You are for the better Administration of Justice to endeavour to gett a Law passed in the Assembly (if not already done) wherein shall be set the Value of Mens Estates, either in Goods or Lands, under which they shall not be Capable of Serving as Jurors.

You shall endeavour to get a Law passed (if not already done) for the restraining of any Inhumane Severity, which by ill Masters or Overseers may be used towards their Christian Servants and their Slaves, and that Provision be made therein that the Wilfull Killing of Indians and Negroes may be Punished with Death, and that a fitt Penalty be imposed for the maiming of them.

You are with the Assistance of the Councill and Assembly to find out and Settle the best means to facilitate and Encourage the Conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion.

You are to recommend to the Council and Assembly, the raising of Stocks and Building Publick Workhouses in Convenient Places for the employing of poor and Indigent People.

You are to propose an Act to be passed in the Assembly whereby the Creditors of Persons becoming Bankrupts in England, and haveing Estates in the Massachusets Bay, may be releived and Satisfied for the Debts owing to them.

You are to take care by and with the Advice and Assistance of Our said Council, That the Prison there if it Want reparation, be forthwith repaired and put into and kept in such a Condition as may Sufficiently Secure the Prisoners, that are or shall be there in Custody of the Provost Martial.

And for as much as great Inconveniencies may arise by the Liberty of Printing within Our said Province, You are to Provide by all necessary Orders that no Person keep any Press for Printing, nor that any Book, Pamphlet or other Matters whatsoever be printed without your Especial leave and License first Obtained.

You are upon all Occasions to send unto Us by One of Our Principall Secretaries of State and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations a particular Account of all your Proceedings and of the Condition of Affairs within your Government.

You are from time to time to give unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid, an Account of the Wants and Defects of Our said Province, what Are the chief Products thereof, what New Improvements are made therein by the Industry of the Inhabitants or Planters, and what further Improvements you conceive may be made or Advantages gained by Trade, and which way wee may Contribute thereunto.

If any thing shall happen which may be of Advantage or Security of Our said Province under your Government, which is not herein or by your Commission Provided for, Wee do hereby allow unto You with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council to take Order for the present therein, giving to Us by One of Our Principal Secretaries of State and to Our foresaid Commissioners for Trade and Plantations speedy Notice thereof, that so you may Receive Our Confirmation, if Wee shall Approve the same.

Provided always and *Our Will and Pleasure is* That you do not by Colour of any Power or Authority hereby given you, Commence or Declare War, without Our knowledge and particular Commands therein, Except it be against Indians upon Emergencies, wherein the Consent of Our Council shall be had, and Speedy Notice thereof given unto Us.

Whereas Wee have been pleased by Our Commission to Direct that in Case of Your Death or Absence from Our said Province, and in Case there be at that time no Person upon the Place Commissionated or Appointed by Us to be Our Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief, the then present Council of Our foresaid Province of the Massachusetts Bay shall take upon them the Administration of the Government, & Execute Our said Commission, and the Severall Powers and Authorities therein Contained, in the Manner therein Directed It is Nevertheless, *Our Express Will and Pleasure* That in such Case the said Council shall forbear to pass any Acts but what are Immediately necessary for the Peace and Wel-

fare of Our said Province, without Our particular Order for that Purpose.

And Whereas the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament upon Consideration of the Great Abuses practised in the Plantation Trade, have by an humble Address Represented to the Late King of Glorious Memory the great Importance it is of, both to this Our Kingdom and to Our Plantations in America, that the many good Laws which have been made for the Government of the said Plantations and Particularly the Act passed in the Seaventh and Eighth Yeares of the late Kings Reign Entituled *An Act for preventing Frauds and Regulateing Abuses in the Plantation Trade*, be Strictly Observed You are therefore to take Notice, That notwithstanding the many Good Laws made from time to time for preventing of Frauds in the Plantation Trade, it nevertheless manifest that great Abuses have been and Continue still to be practised to the Prejudice of the same, which abuses must needs arise either from the Insolvency of the Persons, who are accepted for Security, or from the remissness or Connivance of such as have been or are Governours in the Several Plantations, who ought to take care that those persons who give Bond should be duely prosecuted, in Case of Non performance, Wee take the good of Our Plantations, and the Improvement of the Trade thereof by a Strict and Punctual observance of the Severall Laws in force concerning the same, to be of so great Importance to the Benefit of this Our Kingdom and to the Advanceing of the Duties of Our Customes here, that if Wee shall be hereafter informed that at any time there shall be any failure in the due Observance of those Laws within Our foresaid Province of the Massachusetts Bay, by any Wilfull fault or Neglect on your Part, Wee shall look upon it as a breach of the Trust reposed in you by Us, which Wee shall Punish with the Loss of Your Place in that Government, and such further Marks of Our Displeasure, as Wee shall Judge reasonable to be inflicted upon you for Your Offence against Us, in a matter of this Consequence that Wee now so particularly charge you with.

By her Maj^{ties} Command

MANCHESTER.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE OF HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

THE late Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, an active member of the Historical Society, was born at Haverhill, in Massachusetts, on the 13th of June, 1783. He descended from ancestors who, through every period of the history of this State, from its earliest settlement, have been among its most eminent citizens and distinguished benefactors. His father was Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, a highly respectable physician.

He was placed, in 1796, as a pupil in Phillips Exeter Academy, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Benjamin Abbot; among his contemporaries and associates were Daniel Webster, Joseph S. Buckminster, and Lewis Cass. He entered Harvard College in 1798, in a class unusually large, and distinguished for genius and ability; his intellectual faculties, his love of learning, and his diligence in his studies gave him a high literary rank as a scholar. In his early years, and through his whole life, he was admired and beloved as a companion and friend. The purity of his life and the firmness of his moral principles secured entire confidence; the warmth of his affections, the generosity of his temper, the disinterestedness and frankness of his deportment, and the gayety of his heart, approaching to hilarity, rendered him a favorite companion in social intercourse.

He was admitted to the bar, in Essex County, in 1805, and commenced the practice of law at Haverhill; he removed to Salem in 1806, and in a short time acquired extensive practice and high reputation by his ability, integrity, and learning. As an advocate, his eloquence was powerful, persuasive, and brilliant; it was the eloquence of the heart, — the sincere and cordial expression of the ardent feelings and deep emotions of a generous and noble na-

ture. His voice was strong, melodious, clear, and flexible, and irresistibly attracted attention both in private conversation and in public debate.

He was for many years an influential and leading member of the legislature of the State; he was elected a representative in 1814, and a senator in 1818, and was chosen President of the Senate. He loved and was proud of his native State, and was zealously devoted to the promotion of its interests. His efficiency in debate, and his enjoyment of the confidence of the members, enabled him to subdue prejudice and conciliate support in favor of many measures important to the public welfare.

He was the first mayor of the city of Salem, and discharged with conscientious fidelity its arduous duties.

Mr. Saltonstall was elected a representative in Congress in 1838, and was appointed in 1841 Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, to whom was committed the arduous duty of arranging and adjusting a new tariff. It was a work of difficulty and magnitude, and was performed by him with patience, research, and untiring zeal. The report and bill which he presented in behalf of the Committee are proofs of his severe labors and of the value of his services.

His public career was guided by rectitude and conscientiousness. He was always ready for a struggle in a good cause, and was not indifferent to the approbation of the wise and good, — *certamen virtutis et ambitio gloriæ, felicitium hominum affectus*. He zealously coöperated with his friends or his party in the support of measures and policy that his judgment approved; but, on several occasions, when measures were proposed by the party with which he usually acted, from the justice or expediency of which he dissented, he without reserve controverted and opposed them at the hazard of his popularity. Loyalty to party he deemed best proved by loyalty to truth and rectitude. He was inflexibly honest in public as well as in private life.

He was a zealous and efficient supporter of all institutions of charity, learning, and religion. He was a sincere Christian; his faith was firm, and founded on an enlightened and candid examination.

He cherished through life an ardent attachment to the schools and to the University in which he received his early education. The ingenuousness and manliness of his deportment in youth, and his diligence in his studies, won the favor of his instructors; through life, he enjoyed and reciprocated their friendship. It was a source of happiness to him frequently to revisit the scenes of his youthful education. In his will he bequeathed to Phillips Exeter Academy and to Harvard College testimonials of his gratitude and veneration.

His private life was an example and illustration of the highest social and domestic virtues; he was benevolent, hospitable, and bountiful to the poor. Descended from a long line of ancestors, eminent for their virtues and usefulness, he emulated their excellence and reflected lustre on the brilliancy of the name.

Mr. Saltonstall died on the 8th of May, 1845, at his residence in Salem.

Ancestors of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall.

The first of the name who emigrated to New England was Sir Richard Saltonstall. He was grandson of Gilbert Saltonstall, of Halifax, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in England, and son of Samuel Saltonstall. Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1597, was the second son of Gilbert Saltonstall.

Sir Richard Saltonstall, the son of Gilbert, was the first named associate of the six original patentees of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and was appointed the First Assistant. On board the *Arbella*, while lying at Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, he, with Governor Winthrop and others, signed the "humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and Company late gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the church of England," in which they take a tender and affecting leave of their native land, on their departure for their "poor cottages in the wilderness." They arrived at Salem, in the *Arbella*, on the 12th of June, 1630, and brought with them the charter of Charles the First.

On the 17th of June, Sir Richard Saltonstall, in company with Governor Winthrop, and other principal persons, left Salem and travelled through the pathless forest to Charlestown to select a place of settlement. The want of good water and of other conveniences induced several of the party to explore the neighbouring country. Some went over to Shawmut, now Boston; others proceeded northward by Charlestown neck to a place well watered on Charles River, where Sir Richard Saltonstall, with the learned Rev. George Phillips, and others, commenced a plantation, and called it Watertown. Johnson, an early historian, says, "This town began by occasion of Sir Richard Saltonstall, who, at his arrival, having some store of cattle and servants, they wintered in those parts." They entered into a liberal church covenant, July 30, 1630, which is published by Dr. Mather, who adds, "About forty men, whereof the first was that excellent knight, Sir Richard Saltonstall, then subscribed this instrument."

He was present, as First Assistant, at the first Court of Assistants, which was held at Charlestown, August 23d, 1630, at which various orders and regulations were made concerning the planting and government of the infant colony.

The sufferings of those engaged in this new settlement in the wilderness were extreme the first winter, and Sir Richard Saltonstall became discouraged from remaining himself, but left his two elder sons. Governor Winthrop has recorded in his Journal, that, "March 29, 1631, he, with his two daughters and one of his younger sons, came down to Boston and stayed that night at the governor's, and the next morning, accompanied with Mr. Pierce and others, departed for their ship at Salem."

Sir Richard Saltonstall through life continued to be the friend of the colony, and was actively engaged in promoting its prosperity. Two of his sons remained here, and he was interested as a large proprietor. When Sir Christopher Gardner attempted to injure the colony by misrepresentations, and on other similar occasions, — for Massachusetts was troubled in its infancy by false accusations of enemies, — he rendered the colony efficient assistance, and interceded in its favor with the government at home.

He was a Puritan, but of singular liberality in his religious opinions; he was offended at the bigotry of his associates, who, as soon as they were themselves free from persecution, began to persecute others, and he addressed to Rev. Mr. Cotton and Rev. Mr. Wilson a letter on the subject, and remonstrated against this inconsistency. It is written with ability and in a catholic spirit, and has been reprinted and admired to this day. He says:—

“Reverend and dear Friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect:— It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences.

“I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment, when the most learned of the apostles confesseth, he knew but in part, and saw but darkly as through a glass. O, that all these who are brethren, though they cannot think and speak the same things, might be of one accord in the Lord!”

This letter, written between 1645 and 1653, shows the lively interest he felt in the honor and welfare of the colony.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was also one of the patentees of Connecticut, with Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, and a principal associate with them in the first settlement of that colony. They appointed John Winthrop governor, and commissioned him to erect a fort at the mouth of Connecticut River. In 1635, Sir Richard Saltonstall sent over a bark with twenty laborers to take possession of land for him under his patent and to make settlements.

In 1649, he was commissioned with others, by parliament, for the trial of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, and the Earl of Holland, for high treason. They were condemned and executed on a scaffold erected before Westminster Hall.

Sir Richard Saltonstall has been justly styled “one of the fathers of the Massachusetts Colony.” He was a patron of Harvard College, and left it a legacy in his will,

made in 1658. There is a fine portrait of him in the possession of his descendants. He died soon after 1658.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL, son of Sir Richard, was born in 1610, settled at Ipswich, and was chosen an Assistant in 1637. He was a man distinguished for firmness and decision, attached to the principles of the New England government and churches, and an ardent friend to the liberty of the people.

In 1642, he wrote a pamphlet against the Standing Council, a subject that caused much agitation through the colony.

In 1645, he entered his protest against the introduction of negro slavery.

He was one of the few persons who knew where the regicide judges, Whalley and Goffe, were concealed, and in 1672 gave them fifty pounds.

He was a relative and friend of John Hampden (grandson of the celebrated parliamentary leader), who was distinguished in the time of Charles the Second and James the Second, and who joined in the invitation to the Prince of Orange. He, as well as his father, was a benefactor of Harvard College. Dr. Mather records the name of Saltonstall among those benefactors of the College "whose names it would be hardly excusable to leave unmentioned." All his male descendants in Massachusetts, except two, have been graduates at this college.

Mr. Saltonstall was absent several years in England, where he had three daughters married. He returned to Massachusetts in 1680, and was again chosen the First Assistant, and also the two succeeding years. In 1683, he again visited England. He was an Assistant, except when he was in England, from 1687 till his death; he died at Hulme, April 20, 1694, and left an estate in Yorkshire.

HENRY SALTONSTALL, who was in the first class that was graduated at Harvard College, is said by Governor Hutchinson to have been a son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall. Like several other early graduates, he *went home* after leaving college, and received a degree of Doctor of Medicine from Padua, and also from Oxford, and was a fellow of New College in that University.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, son of Richard, and grandson of Sir Richard, was graduated at Harvard College in 1659, and settled in Haverhill, on the beautiful estate half a mile east of the bridge, still known as the "Saltonstall seat." This spot, exceeded by none in New England for fertility of soil and beauty of landscape, was with other land conveyed to him by the Rev. John Ward, the first minister of Haverhill, on the marriage of the daughter of Mrs. Ward to Nathaniel Saltonstall.

He was chosen an Assistant in 1679. He took an active part in seizing and deposing the tyrannical royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, and, after his removal, became one of the council of the revolutionary government, and so continued till the charter of William and Mary, and was then appointed one of his Majesty's council. His powers of mind were superior, and he was free from the prevailing bigotry and fanaticism of the times. He was opposed to the proceedings against the witches, in 1692, and expressed his sentiments freely. Mr. Brattle, in his account of the witchcraft, says, — "Major N. Saltonstall, Esq., who was one of the judges, has left the court, and is very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it." He died in 1707, and left three sons, Gurdon, Richard, and Nathaniel.

GURDON SALTONSTALL, the eldest son of Nathaniel, was governor of Connecticut, and was celebrated for his extraordinary talents and extensive learning. Dr. Eliot says, "He was an oracle of wisdom to literary men of all professions." He was one of the greatest and best men New England has produced. He was a benefactor of Harvard College. His widow bequeathed to it one thousand pounds, for the use of two students designed for the ministry. He died in 1724.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL, the second son of Nathaniel, was graduated in 1695; he resided in Haverhill, sustained several civil and military offices, and was an excellent and very respectable man. He died in 1714.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, third son of Nathaniel, was also graduated in 1695, and was a tutor in the College. He died young, and left a high reputation for abilities and learning.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL, son of the last named Richard, was born June 14, 1703, and graduated in 1722; at the age of twenty-three, he received the commission of colonel; and in 1736 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court. In 1741, while the court was in session at York, the celebrated Rev. Samuel Moody wrote the following lines on the court:—

“LYNDE, DUDLEY, REMINGTON, and SALTONSTALL,
With SEWALL, meeting in the judgment-hall,
Make up a learned, wise, and faithful set
Of godlike judges, by God's counsel met.”

Judge Saltonstall was a man of talents and learning. He was distinguished for generous and elegant hospitality, and for bountiful liberality to the poor. His address was polished, affable, and winning, his temper was gentle and benevolent, and he enjoyed the love and esteem of all. He died in 1756, and left three sons and two daughters; one of the latter was married to Colonel George Watson, of Plymouth, and the other to Rev. Moses Badger, minister of the Episcopal Church at Providence.

He had been married three times; his third wife was a daughter of the second ELISHA COOKE, of Boston;—the first ELISHA COOKE had married the daughter of Governor Leverett; the second Elisha Cooke married a daughter of Richard Middlecott, Esq., a wealthy and respectable citizen of Boston.

Elisha Cooke, senior, and Elisha Cooke, junior, were distinguished for abilities and elevated character, and for forty years were popular leaders and champions of colonial rights and freedom; they were both representatives from Boston, and by their influence swayed not only the people of Boston, but the General Court; both were at different times sent to England as agents of Massachusetts,—the first to obtain a restoration of the old charter, the other to oppose the royal governors. The first died in 1715,—the other in 1737, leaving a son, Middlecott Cooke, and a daughter who became the third wife of Judge Richard Saltonstall.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, who was graduated in 1727, was a brother of Judge Saltonstall. He was a merchant, and died young.

COLONEL RICHARD SALTONSTALL, eldest son of Judge Richard by his first wife, was born April 5, 1732, and was graduated in 1751, with high reputation for scholarship, having had "the oration." In 1754, he was commissioned as colonel of the regiment in Haverhill and vicinity, and was the fourth of the family in succession who held that office. He served with the provincial troops in the campaigns of 1756 and 1757, against Crown Point. At the capitulation of Fort William Henry, in 1757, when the Indians commenced the massacre of their unarmed prisoners, he escaped into the forest, and a day or two afterwards reached Fort Edward, nearly exhausted by hunger and fatigue. After peace took place, he was sheriff of the county. At the Revolution, he was a Loyalist, and went to England. He died unmarried, at Kensington, October 6, 1785. When he resided on the family estate in Haverhill, he was highly respected and beloved for his benevolence, hospitality, courteousness, and integrity. His younger brother, Leverett, third son of Judge Richard, was also a Loyalist; he died in 1782.

The late DR. NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, father of our fellow-citizen just deceased, was second son of Judge Richard Saltonstall, above mentioned, and of Mary, daughter of the second Elisha Cooke. Dr. Saltonstall was born February 10, 1746. On the death of his father, in 1756, he was received into the family of his maternal uncle, Middlecott Cooke, Esq., of Boston. Dr. S. was a distinguished and skilful physician, and through life enjoyed the esteem and respect of his fellow-citizens. He loved tranquillity and retirement, and avoided the bustle and perplexities of public life. In 1780, he married Anna, daughter of Samuel White, Esq., whose ancestor was one of the early settlers of Haverhill in 1640. Through life she was distinguished for the gifts of her mind and the virtues of her heart. Dr. S. died May 15, 1815, and his widow in 1841. Their three sons, Leverett, Nathaniel, and Richard, are deceased; of their four daughters, two are living, Anna, wife of James C. Merrill, Esq., of Boston, and Sarah, wife of Isaac R. Howe, Esq., of Haverhill. The descendants of Dr. S. are the only descendants of the Cooke family and the Middlecott family.

THE CHRISTIAN
COMMONWEALTH:

OR,

THE CIVIL POLICY

OF

THE RISING KINGDOM OF JESUS CHRIST.

WRITTEN

BEFORE THE INTERRUPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT,

BY MR. JOHN ELIOT, TEACHER OF THE CHURCH
OF CHRIST AT ROXBURY IN NEW-ENGLAND

AND

NOW PUBLISHED (AFTER HIS CONSENT GIVEN) BY A SERVOR
OF THE SEASON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LIVEWELL CHAPMAN, AT THE CROWN IN POPES-HEAD-ALLEY.

[THE Christian Commonwealth is here reprinted from a transcript which Thomas Aspinwall, Esq., American Consul in London, caused to be made from a rare copy of the original edition, in his library, and presented to the Historical Society.

The following extract from the Records of the General Court, Vol. IV., p. 370, will show the proceedings which took place in this colony in relation to this subject, after the restoration of King Charles the Second.

At session of May 22, 1661.

“ This Court taking notice of a booke entituled Christian Comonwealth, written, as is expressed in the said Booke by M^r John Eliot of Roxbury in New England, which in sundry passages and expressions thereof is justly offensive and in speciall relating to kingly Government in England, the which the said Mr Eliot hath also freely and fully acknowledged to this Court. It is therefore ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, that the said Booke be totally suppressed and the Author’s acknowledgment recorded ; and that all persons whatsoever in this Jurisdiction, that haue any of the said Bookes in their Custody shall on their perrills within fowerteene dayes after publication hereof either cancel and deface the same or deliuer them vnto the next Magistrate or to the Secretary, whereby all farther divulgment and improovement of the said offensive Booke may be prevented. And it is further ordered, that Mr. Eliot’s acknowledgment & the Court’s order for the calling in of those Bookes be forthwith transcribed by the Secretary and caused to be posted vp in Boston, Charlestowne, Cambridge, Salem and Ipswich, that so all persons concerned therein may take notice of their duties and act accordingly. All which was done accordingly.

“ ‘ *Mr. Eliot’s acknowledgment, word for word.*

“ ‘ Boston this 24 of y^e 3^d mo. 1661.

“ ‘ Vnderstanding by an act of the honored Council, that there is offence taken at a booke, published in England by others, the copie whereof was sent ouer by myself about nine or tenn yeares since and that the further consideration thereof is commended to this honored Generall Court now sitting at Boston, Upon pervsall thereof I doe judge myself to haue offended & in way of satisfaction, not only to the Authority of this Jurisdiction, but also vnto any others, that shall take notice thereof, I doe hereby acknowledge to this honored Court.

“ ‘ Such expressions as doe too manifestly scandalize the Government of England by King, Lords and Commons, as Antichristian, and justify the late innovators, I doe sincerely beare testimony against, and acknowledge it to be not only a lawfull but an eminent forme of Government.

“ ‘ 2. All formes of Ciuil Government deduced from Scripture either expressly or by just consequence, I acknowledge to be of God & to be subjected vnto for conscience sake.

“ ‘ And Whatsoever is in the whole Epistle or booke inconsisting herewith I doe at once for all cordially disoune.

“ ‘ JOHN ELIOT.’ ”]

To the Chosen, and Holy, and Faithful, who manage the Wars of the Lord against Antichrist, in great Britain; and to all the Saints, faithful Brethren, and Christian people, of the Commonwealth of England: Grace and Mercy, with Peace and Truth be multiplied, through Jesus Christ our Sovereign Lord and King.

EVER HONORED, AND BELOVED IN CHRIST,

The late great Changes, which have fallen out in great Britain and Ireland, have so amazed the most of men; and the black, and confused Clouds, which have overspread the whole Land, have so darkened the way of those wheels of Providence by which Christ is coming to set up his Kingdom, that they whose eyes the Lord hath begun to open, to see Christ coming, in power and in great glory, according to his Promise, do also see the other part of his Word verified, namely, that the coming of Christ is in the Clouds of darkness; by means whereof it is long ere all men can see him, or be perswaded that it is he, who is now coming; though afterwards, they shall see that even those Clouds were needful, a while to obscure the bright appearance of his design.

Lately reading a Book called a *Plea for Non-subscribers*, or the grounds and reasons of many Ministers of Cheshire and Lancashire, &c. though I had before heard of the sad differences, distances of spirit, and dissatisfactions among the people of the Lord: yet then my heart bled to see such precious holy men, pleading (as they believe) for God, with a pure and sincere Conscience, and yet in so doing strongly to speak against the glorious work of the Lord Jesus, in casting down Antichrist, and setting up his own Kingdom foretold in Scripture, and now

fulfilling, as also strongly and sharply speaking against those whom the Lord hath pleased to employ, and improve as his Instruments in accomplishing thereof.

On the other side, those writings which that Book Answereth, have so missed the Principles on which the Cause standeth, whereby the Consciences of others should be satisfied, who oppose; as that the Answerers have clearly the upper ground of them in many things: and therefore stand firme in that which they suppose to be a right Cause, and weaken those who have indeed a right Cause in hand, insomuch as that hereby the difference is exceedingly encreased and sharpened.

Now though I am the most unmeet of all men, to undertake to interpose and speak unto such learned, grave, holy, and eminent persons, every way beyond me in all accomplishments for the Lords work, and in a Cause so much above me; yet was I pressed in my spirit, considering whose Cause I plead, to take the boldness to propound that unto them, which I believe to be the true state of the Cause, and which (by the blessing of God) may reach to their satisfaction; when they see that they, into whose hands the Lord (to the wonderment of men) hath been pleased to put power, do follow the Lord, and accomplish his Word, aim at the fulfilling of his ends and design, denying themselves, that they may advance Christ Jesus in the Throne, and let him reign over them. The prayers, the expectation, and faith of the Saints in the Prophecies and Promises of holy Scripture, are daily sounding in the ears of the Lord, for the downfall of Antichrist, and with him all humane Powers, Polities, Dominions, and Governments; and in the room thereof, we wait for the coming of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus, who by his Divine Wisdom, Power, Government and Laws, given us (although hitherto sealed up in a great measure) in the holy Scriptures, will reign over all the Nations of the earth in his due time: I mean, the Lord Jesus will bring down all people, to be ruled by the Institutions, Laws, and Directions of the Word of God, not only in Church-Government and Administrations but also in the Government and Administration of all affairs in the Commonwealth. And then Christ reigneth, when all things among

men, are done by the direction of the word of his mouth : his Kingdom is then come amongst us, when his will is done on earth, as it is done in heaven, where no Humane or Angelical Policy or Wisdom doth guide any thing, but all is done by Divine direction (a) ; and so it shall be on earth, when and where Christ reigneth.

It is Prophesied, Dan. 2. 34, 35, &c. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out, without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. 35. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors ; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them : and the stone that smote the image, became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, &c. Which Prophecie doth clearly foreshew the forenamed points : for there is an epitomy of all the Monarchies, Governments, and Polities of men who have had their Humane Glory in this world ; the last, and strongest of all which Dominions is the Roman ; so mixed and interwoven in many States, by the combining of that dirty Roman Religion, with civil Powers, as that when that Stone Christ, by his faithful Instruments, shall overthrow, and beat in pieces that Religion, they must and shall, according as it is written, beat down withall the strongest Iron sinews of civil States, which are propug-nators, and supporters thereof, whether professed or secretly.

Yea, moreover, when Christ that stone, shall by his chosen Instruments, smite in pieces all the Romish Religion, and civil States, which are complicated with it, and supporters of it, (who though they greatly care not for it (b), yet for their own ends they are supporters of it) then, down cometh the whole Image from top to bottom ; all Dominions and Governments of man, by Humane Policy, formes of Government and Laws in all places whatsoever, in Gods order and time ; who by their fall

(a) Psal. 103. 20. Angels do his commandment ; hearkening to the voice of his word.

(b) Dan. 2. 43. They shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixt with clay.

shall be so dashed in pieces, that though they were before, a terrour to men, yet now they shall be light and contemptible things, of no more account with men then dust or chaff: because Divine institutions, both of Government and Laws, arising in the room of Humane, they will be quite darkened, even as the Stars are by the rising-Sun: for in the room of them shall arise the Government of the Lord Jesus, who by the Word of his Mouth, written in the holy Scriptures, shall order all affairs among men; And great shall be his Dominion: for the Stone Christ shall grow to be a mountain filling the whole earth: all men submitting to be ruled by the Word, in civil, as well as Church affairs.

Now it seemeth to me that the Lord Christ is now accomplishing these things in great Britain. The faithful Brethren in Scotland gave the first blow at the dirty toes, and feet of this Image; with whom the faithful brethren in England, presently concurred. But the Iron of the Civil State, stuck so fast to the miry clay, that according to the Word of Christ, they are (beyond all the thoughts of men) both fallen together; they are fallen, they are fallen, they are both fallen together: Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord, for his faithful Word, and goodness; for his mercy endureth for ever! and all his faithful Word shall be accomplished. Amen, Amen.

There be many other Prophecies of holy Scriptures touching these things (as the Saints well know) the application whereof to what is now done in England, I will not undertake, it being a worke rather for a Treatise then a Preface. Yea, some Prophecies, (as I apprehend) do more particularly describe what is now done; but I shall not mention them, hoping that others will do it, according as the Lord shall please to open that door.

Now these things being so, it doth deeply concern those holy and faithful ones of the Lord, who have been Instruments in his hand, to accomplish these great and glorious works, whether by Councils or Wars, or otherwise, to be wise, and discerning of the times, to know what Israel ought to do, in this great work of bringing about the Kingdom to David, to lay the Government upon his shoulders: that after all these clouds and storms, the peaceable

Kingdom of Christ may rise up, and the Lord May reign in England. Much is spoken of the rightful Heir of the Crown of England, and the injustice of casting out the right Heir; but Christ is the only right Heir of the Crown of England (*a*), and of all other Nations also (*b*); and he is now come to take possession of his Kingdom, making England first in that blessed work of setting up the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus: and in order thereunto, he hath cast down not only the miry Religion, and Government of Antichrist, but also the former form of civil Government, which did stick so fast unto it, until by an unavoidable necessity, it fell with it; which while it stood, and as it stood, was too high to stoop to the Lord Jesus, to be ruled by his command. Now therefore by these preparations made by the naked Arm of the Lord Jesus, to set up his Kingdom in England, he calleth upon those Worthies in whose hands he hath betruſted the managing of this great work, now to advance Christ, not man; not themselves, but Christ; which doing, taketh off those heavy imputations of investing themselves with Authority, of taking the inheritance to themselves. . . God forbid, God forbid, that it should enter into our hearts, to think so unworthily, so unchristianly, so dishonourably of such renowned servants of the Lord, who have so graciously, and humbly ever given unto the Lord, all the glory of all their Victories, that now at last they should rob him of his Crown, Dominion, and Government; which to set up in England, hath been the mark and Scope of all these late great works of God; and if it be not yet done, surely it is either because the Lord hath not yet fully revealed to them, what his will is they should do in the midst of these confusions, or because the unquietness of the times permits them not to go about it.

That which the Lord now calleth England to attend is not to search humane Polities and Platformes of Government, contrived by the wisdom of man; but as the Lord hath carried on their works for them, so they ought to go unto the Lord, and enquire at the Word of his mouth,

(*a*) Psa. 2. 8. The uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

(*b*) Rev. 11. 15. The Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign, &c.

what Platforme of Government he hath therein commanded and prescribed ; and humble themselves to embrace that as the best, how mean soever it may seem to Humane Wisdom. Faith can see beauty, power and glory in any Divine institution, when Humane Wisdom may think it weak and contemptible.

There is undoubtedly a forme of Civil Government instituted by God himself in the holy Scriptures ; whereby any Nation may enjoy all the ends and effects of Government in the best manner, were they but perswaded to make trial of it. We should derogate from the sufficiency and perfection of the Scriptures, if we should deny it. The scripture is able throughly to furnish the man of God (whether Magistrate in the Commonwealth, or elder in the Church, or any other) unto every good work.

And when a Christian people are to choose their Government, should they take their patern from the Nations of the World (a), we know what an offence that would be to Christ, who intends to Rule them himself, by his own Divine Patern and Direction. Christ is now about to ruine the Roman-Image ; Wisdom therefore it is, to look above all such Paterns to find out a Divine Platforme, taught by God himself, which he will delight to bless unto such men as shall submit unto it.

And if there be a Divine institution of civil Government that may suit the State of England, I doubt not but all the godly in the Land would chuse that way of Government before any other in the world : for every Divine institution hath a Divine blessing in it. Yea, God himself is more eminently present, ruling thereby ; and the Spirit of God doth breath in and bless every institution of the Word, to make it powerful and effectual to attain its end better, and more effectually than any Humane Ordinance and Institution in the World can do. The Promise also of Gods blessing and protection is unto all those, who walk in Scripture-ways and Ordinances. Moreover, that uncomfortable difference among the people of God about that great business of changing the Government in England, would hereby be reconciled, and all

(a) 1 Sam. 8. 5. Make us a King to judge us like all the Nations.

things brought unto an holy peace, every one readily yielding that the Lord Jesus should assume the Sovereignty, to appoint them what Government to set up over them: and would most readily embrace that, whereby the Lord himself, should reign in England.

I think it needful to insert this word of Apology for myself; That it pleased the Lord of his free mercy to me (in myself being no way fitted for such a work) to put me on, to instruct our poor, blind, and dark Indians, in the good knowledge of the Lord: who when (through grace) they tasted of the knowledge of God, of themselves, of Christ and redemption by him; they desired to leave their wild and scattered manner of life, and come under Civil Government and Order; which did put me upon search, after the mind of the Lord in that respect. And this VOW I did solemnly make unto the Lord concerning them; that they being a people without any forme of Government, and now to chuse; I would endeavour with all my might, to bring them under the Government of the Lord only: Namely, that I would instruct them to imbrace such Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, as the Lord hath commanded in the holy Scriptures; and to deduce all their Laws from the holy Scriptures, that so they may be the Lords people, ruled by him alone in all things. Which accordingly they have begun to do through grace, covenanting with the Lord, in a day of fasting and prayer, to be the Lords people; and to receive that forme of Government, which they had learned to be a Divine institution in the holy Scriptures. This occasion did first put me upon this Study, who am no Statesman, nor acquainted with matters of that nature; but only spend my time in the Study of the holy Book of God. But having collected by the Lords help out of the holy Scripture this following forme of Government: and seeing the excellent harmony and order thereof, both in the several Courts, gradually ascending one above another, and all cases among the people coming under such a certain, and orderly way of receiving speedy issue; and all Appeals, having such a free and unprejudiced passage, in their gradual ascent, even to the highest, and final determination: These and such other things made me think, that it is a most de-

sirable, and peaceable forme of Government; and suitable to any Christian people, who reverence the Word of God; yea, the more eminent and Christian they be, the more suitable it is for them.

Especially also considering, that though the single form of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, will be but of small capacity in great Commonwealths, and populous cities: yet the superiour orders, of Myriades or ten thousands, fifty thousands, hundred thousands, and thousand thousands, are exceeding comprehensive, to extend Government to the greatest people; and yet with that certain and peaceable order (without any interfering or confusion) for speedy Justice, and determination of all causes, as that it seemeth to me to be the most excellent Government that ever was in the World. And adding to this, above all considerations and commendations that it is a *Divine Institution*, sprung from heavenly wisdom commanded in scripture filled with the Spirit of God, which is able to carry on the Wheels of this Government, with a most irresistible and successful force and power, to the attainment of all the ends of Government among men most effectually. Yea, it seemeth to me, that this is that forme of Government, by which Christ meaneth to rule all the Nations on earth according to the Scriptures. Yea farther, repenting-believing *Israel* and *Judah*, I believe, shall serve and obey Christ in this way of Civil Government; and who knoweth but our obedience hereunto, may hasten and farther their coming in?

I would not exceed bounds of humble modesty; yet let me make bold to adventure the producing a farther Meditation, touching the Divinity and heavenly excellency of this Government of the Lord; namely, that the Angels of Heaven are governed by this order of Government, according as it is applyable to their condition. It is past all doubt, that there is an heavenly order, (I do not say Judicature, as with us) among the Angels: for as Hell is a place of confusion, so heaven of order; and if God is the God of order in the Church, whereby the place of his feet is beautified; much more is heaven beautified, by a most heavenly order of the Church there residing. And if *Solomons* Court was in that respect of a ravishing glory, name-

ly by the order of it, and of his attendants: much more is heaven in an excellent order, and all the Angels the holy attendants of Gods Throne, attending in comely order. And if the order of *Solomons Court*, was one effect of his great wisdom, can we think that the infinite wisdom of God, attended by Angels, Spirits of such wonderful wisdom, should not be attended in a most glorious order, and his attendants excellently beautified, by walking in an heavenly order? therefore there is an heavenly order among them. And that it is this order of tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. doth appear in Several Scriptures, where we find mention made of them in this order, wherein it is observable, that so great is the number of them, that they are not mentioned in their single order, but the lowest that I have observed, is Myriades of Angels. Heb. 12. 22. and so the Saints shall find them ordered when they come to heaven (*a*). They are also mentioned by the highest degree of the Superior order, viz. thousands of thousands; and not only so, but by a Supreme order, viz. Myriades of Myriades, Rev. 5. 11. which I call Supreme, being the highest I find mentioned in Scripture; but whether that be the highest order of Angels, is not revealed that I know of: but thus it seemeth unto me, that the Angels are in this order of Government. Likewise the Saints in heaven seem to be in the same order; for when Christ cometh to judgement, and all the Saints with him, 1 Thes. 4. 13. they shall come in this order, Jude, vers. 14. With Myriades of his Saints, behold the Lord cometh.

Now if this be the order of Government in Heaven, what an heaven upon earth shall that be, when all the Kingdoms and Nations on the earth shall be so ruled? and then shall the will of God be done on earth, as it is done in heaven, when he reigneth over men on earth, in the same order of Government as he doth in heaven (*b*).

Let me be yet farther bold to propound another Meditation, under the correction of better judgements, accord-

(*a*) Mat. 26. 53. Christ maketh mention of twelve Legions of Angels, for his present assistance, if he thought good; which is all one with Myriades.

(*b*) It is not nothing, that when Christ fed the people miraculously, he set them down by hundreds, and by fifties, Mar. 6. 40. as if Christ delighted in that order.

ing as I do the former, upon that text Dan. 7. 10. where is set forth the judgement of God executed upon Antichrist. Many things might be shewed out of the context, to prove, that it is not the last judgement, which is there spoken of. The means of execution of that judgment, is by the Wars of the Lamb, the Lord Jesus, as appears in the Book of the *Revelation* and the people executing those Wars, by this text seem to be a people ruled by this order of Government: which if it be so, may it not give some light to find out the ten Kings which shall hate the Whore, make her desolate and naked, eat her flesh, and burn her with fire?

These things considered, touching the excellency of this forme of Government, and especially the Divinity of it, and now also by a wonderful work of God, *England* being in a capacity to chuse unto themselves a new Government, and in such deep perplexity about that great Question, where to set their foot in peace; some pleading for the injustice of casting off the Kingly Government, others unsatisfied with the present, and all expecting what will be the conclusion. And seeing no Humane Forme, quiet and safe, to set down their foot upon, in rest and tranquillity, hereby all hearts are perplexed, sighing up to heaven for direction what to do, and where to finde rest and quiet to the Land. By this means, all hearts are prepared to embrace any help or counsel from the Lord; and when they have wearied themselves with differences, they will gladly all concur together to set open the door to let in the Lord Jesus, to give them rest; who hath been all this while knocking at the door, by these perplexing troubles: that his Government might be on all hands gladly embraced, and himself finde a free and peaceable enterance, to begin his blessed and waited-for reign over the Nations of the earth, according as it is Prophetied in the holy Scriptures.

Therefore in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, King of Saints (whose Kingdom I desire to advance, with all my might and heart) I do beseech those chosen and holy and faithful Saints, who by Councils at Home, or by Wars in the Field, have fought the Lords Battels against Antichrist, and have carried on the Cause of Christ hitherunto,

That you would now set the Crown of *England* upon the head of Christ, whose only true inheritance it is, by the gift of his Father (a): Let him be your *Judge*, Let him be your *Law-Giver*, Let him be your *King!* take the patern and form of your Government, from the Word of his Mouth, which will have power over the Consciences of all the people of the Land, and compose all differences about that point, into a sweet harmony of obedience and subjection to Christ our Lord and King, with one heart and consent; and will bring about all the people with one heart, and shoulder, to promote the designs of Christ, and yours also, when they see that yours are not for yourselves, but for the Lord, to accomplish all the remainder of the great works of the Lord, even until Antichrist be destroyed, and the Throne of the Beast burnt with fire, and the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus set up in many Nations.

You blessed ones of the Lord, who have so eminently, beyond the wont of Conquerors, humbled and abased yourselves, as no-bodies in the work, and ascribed all the praise and glory of your Valiant Atchievements, unto the Lord Jesus, whom by faith you did always see fighting for you, and (to your admiration) getting the Victory for you! You that have with an holy boldness of faith, made those dreadful appeals (unheard of in other stories) unto the Lord Jesus, to witness to the sincerity of your Cause and Conscience by his own arm, and in all your straights have never found him to fail you, or forsake you; but still made you Conquerors, not only of your Enemies, but (which is more) of your selves also, not to arrogate praise unto your selves; nor to improve your Victories beyond the bounds of Christian patience and love to the conquered; and all for the honour and glory of Christ, and his grace; that his Name and Cause might find room and acceptance in the hearts of your Enemies, whom you therefore used like Christian Brethren, and not like Enemies.

Shall such holy ones as you, need perswasion to set that Crown upon the head of Christ, which he hath put

(a) Psa. 2. 8. Ask of me, and I will give thee the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

into your hands to dispose of? where can you make a better choice, then to take the Lord to be your King? and where can you think to find, a better patern of Government, then in the Word of God? and where can you think to finde better Laws, then in the holy Scriptures?

This following Platform of Government, I do no farther urge, then you shall finde it to be purely deduced from the holy Scriptures. It is the holy Scriptures of God onely that I do urge, to be your onely *Magna Charta*, by which you should be ruled in all things; which being, Christ is your King and Sovereign Lawgiver, and you are his people ruled by him in all things.

And you my dear Brethren, the faithful Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, and all Christian Brethren, who do not yet see cause of submitting, and yielding unto this Change; I do beseech you to consider the times, and compare the Prophecies of Scripture, with the present providences; and see if you finde not all things to come to pass, according as it is written; and that these wonderful providences are not without Scripture-authority, and much to be regarded by the people of God. Nor be they the executions of Divine wrath upon either Church or World, by profane hands, who act their own wills and lusts, though they accomplish Gods ends; but they be the pouring out of the wrath of God upon Antichrist, for his destruction, and overthrow of his Kingdom, by the hands of holy Saints; according to the command of Christ; Christ himself riding forth Victoriously among them, and performing his great works, written and foretold in the holy Scriptures. May not *Queen Maries* coming to the Crown by the help of the Saints, be seasonably called to remembrance? or if not, yet now the time is come, to change Governments, and to cast down all at the foot of Christ, that he may Reign, and fill the Earth with the glory of his Government.

No Oaths or Covenants of Gods People are against Christ, but in subordination to him, and to the advancement of his Kingdom. If therefore these great Changes are carried up to that head, that is the true scope and end of those Vows and Promises. It were not Lawful to terminate such a Vow or Covenant, as that is, upon any Per-

son, Family, or Creature; it were Idolatry; nor was it so; nor is it now broken, by breaking all Creatures in pieces, that stood in the way of obtaining the true end thereof, namely, the advancement of the Lord Jesus, and his Kingdom.

I beseech you therefore help forward this work, which Christ hath put into the hands of those whom he hath made eminent, in accomplishing the works of his glorious coming, to set up his Dominion on earth. Be not behind in bringing Christ to the Throne of England! You, you, the holy Watchmen of the Lord, have given God no rest by your uncessant Prayers for bringing about what is now done; follow on therefore to follow the Lord, and, as Antechrist falleth, with whatever else stood in the way of Christ; so now let Christ come in, and help ye forward the setting up of his Kingdom.

I am bold to present this *Scripture-Platform* of Government to publique view, (if advice so carry it) at this season because I do believe it to be a Divine Institution of a Civil Government; and seemeth to me to be such, as will well suit the present condition of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, or any other religious people in the World, who fear the command of God, and tremble at his word: and being perswaded in my heart that it is the minde of the Lord, that Nations should be governed by Scripture Institutions, the time being come that the Lord is about to shake all the Earth, and throw down that great Idol of Humane Wisdome in Governments, and set up Scripture-Government in the room thereof. It may please God to give acceptance unto this poor beginning, and move the hearts of such as are wise, to prosecute this design of Christ, and more accurately to search the Scriptures, to finde out the perfect will of God in this point, which yet is but in its birth and dawning; many things being yet dim, and dark: in the morning twilight, we cannot see far before us, nor round about us; but the Rising-sun, will through grace, bring greater light with him.

As for such wholesome, just, and wise Laws, as any Nation hath already made, the Wisdome of the Lord will teach his People to refer them to their Scripture-principles, demonstrating the truth and equity thereof, by the Word of

God, whereby they will appear to be the deducts from the Word of God; and hence they that are governed by them, are governed by the Lord; they that break them sin against the Lord, by breaking his Commandment and Law.

It were a Work worthy the labours of the best Divines, and the best of Men, to demonstrate the equity of all the wholesome and wise Laws of *England* by the word of God; the effects of which Work would be of admirable consequence to sanctifie the whole Land, to make the Rulers more expresly to govern for the Lord, and the People to obey the Lord, in obeying their Governours; and so the Lord himself shall Reign over them.

My continual Prayer in this behalf, at the Throne of Grace is, that the Lord would so far scatter those black Clouds, which do darken the mindes of God's people in *England*, that they may see some Beams of the brightness of *Christ* his coming to reign; and that the Lord would please to bow their divided hearts, to meet with one consent and accord, to make *Christ* their *Law-Giver*, and *Judge*, and *King*, in whom alone they shall finde settlement and assured peace.

Amen, Amen.

THE
CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH:

OR,

THE CIVIL POLITY OF THE RISING KING-
DOM OF JESUS CHRIST.

CHAP. I.

IT is the Commandment of the Lord, that a people should enter into Covenant with the Lord to become his people, even in their Civil Society, as well as in their Church-Society (*a*). Whereby they submit themselves to be ruled by the Lord in all things, receiving from him, both the platform of their Government, and all their Laws; which when they do, then Christ reigneth over them in all things, they being ruled by his Will, and by the Word of his Mouth (*b*).

The substance of which Covenant, and subjection of themselves unto the Lord, to be ruled by him in all things, is this. That they do humbly confess their corruption by nature, and lost condition; that they acknowledge the free grace (*c*) of God, in their redemption by Christ, and in the promulgation of the Gospel unto them, and making

(*a*) Deut. 29. 10, 11, 12, 13. You stand this day all of you, before the Lord your God: your Captains of your Tribes, your Elders and your Officers, with all the men of Israel. (11.) Your little ones, your wives, and the stranger that is in thy Camp, &c. (12.) That thou shouldst enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his oath which he maketh with thee this day, (13.) That he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself, and that he may be to thee a God, as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob.

(*b*) Isai. 33. 32. The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he shall save us.

(*c*) Deut. 26. 1. ad 12. I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come into the Countrey, which the Lord thy God sware unto thy fathers to give us, &c. vers. 5. And thou shalt speak, and say before the Lord thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, &c. vers. 7. And when we cried unto the Lord, he heard us, &c. ver. 8. And the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, &c.

application thereof effectually unto their souls: and therefore the Lord hath shewed his everlasting Love unto them, and caused them inwardly by faith, to give up themselves unto him, to be for ever his, to love, serve, and obey him, in all his Word and Commandments: so now they do outwardly, and solemnly with the rest of Gods people joyn together so to do in their Civil Polity, receiving from the Lord both the platform of their civil Government, as it is set down (in the essentials of it) in the holy Scriptures; and also all their Laws, which they resolve through his grace, to fetch out of the Word of God making that their only Magna Charta; and accounting no Law, Statute or Judgment valid, farther then it appeareth to arise and flow from the Word of God.

Such as with a lively faith enter into or walk in this Covenant, do perform every Act (wherein they are free from temptation) of civil conversation among men (*a*) by faith in obedience unto God. Instructing that all should do so, who take this Covenant; and if they do not, they are guilty of breach of Covenant, before God. A willing subjection of a mans self to Christ in this Covenant, is some hopeful sign of some degree of faith in Christ, and love to God; and as a good preparative for a more neer approach to Christ in Church-fellowship, and Covenant: he that is willing to serve Christ by the Polity of the second Table civilly, is in some degree of preparation to serve him, by the Polity of the first Table Ecclesiastically.

The Child is implicately comprehended in the Fathers covenant (*b*), the Wife is explicately comprehended in her Husbands, insomuch that in her Widowhood she and her Family are one, under the order of the Government of God.

The particular form of Government, which is approved of God (*c*), instituted by Moses (*d*) among the sons of Israel, (and profitable to be received by any Nation or People,

(*a*) 1 Cor. 10. 31. Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.

(*b*) Deut. 29. 14, 15. Neither with you onely do I make this Covenant this day, but with him that standeth here this day before the Lord our God, and with him that is not here with us this day.

(*c*) Exod. 18. 23. If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so.

(*d*) Exod. 18. 24. Moses hearkened, and did all.

who reverence the command of God, and tremble at his Word) is this; that they chuse (*a*) unto themselves Rulers of thousands (*b*), of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, who shall govern according to the pure, holy, righteous, perfect and good Law of God (*c*), written in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

The forming of which Platforme of Government, deduced from the Scriptures, is as followeth.

CHAP. II.

THE several degrees of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands may fitly be called orders of men, governed by God, the God of order (*d*).

Which orders of men are $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Those of the single Platforme.} \\ 2. \text{ Those of the Superior arising} \\ \text{upon the first.} \end{array} \right.$

First for the single-Platform, which is Gods Standard, according to which the Superior is delineated, or measured out. God hath commanded that ten men should chuse unto them a Ruler of ten.

Hence, if they be not ten, they cannot chuse unto them a Ruler of ten. Hence also the Ruler maketh the eleventh man; or rather, is the head (*e*) of the order of ten.

Hence also one Ruler of ten, may Rule over nineteen men; but if they become twenty, then by Gods institution, they must chuse another Ruler of ten; for God hath said, Chuse you Rulers of tens.

Servants, or Sons living with their Parents, as in the condition of Servants (*f*), they may not explicitey, politi-

(*a*) 18. 21. Thou shalt provide able men. With Deut. 1. 13. Take ye wise men, and I will make them Rulers.

(*b*) Exod. 18. 25. Deut. 1. 15.

(*c*) Deut. 1. 17. Fear not the face of man, for the judgement is Gods. 2 Chro. 19. 6. And said to the Judges, Take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the Judgement: Ezek. 44. 24. They shall judge it according to my judgement.

(*d*) Isa. 9. 7. Of the increase of his Government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order it.

(*e*) Exod. 18. 25. Make them heads over the people, Rulers of tens, &c.

(*f*) Gal. 4. 1. The heir so long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant.

cally, personally, chuse publick Rulers; while they live under the Authority of Family-government, they are not personally capable of interest in publick Political Elections: it is enough to attain Gods ends, that they be virtually comprehended in their Fathers Covenant.

But if they Marry, or live in the State of allowed publick Free-men, then are they capable of, & are bound personally to act, in the choice of their publick Rulers. The Rulers of the Father are virtually Rulers of the Child; but when the child putteth forth an act of choice, he hath liberty to chuse, in due order, another Ruler of ten, unto whom he doth personally submit himself: for all men are commanded to chuse unto themselves rulers.

By that one act of chusing his Ruler of ten, and subjecting himself unto him, he doth chuse, and subject himself unto all the Superior orders, under whom his ruler of ten is ruled.

No man may lawfully, or without sin, live out of the order of Gods Government: and should any man refuse to chuse and subject himself unto the same, he cannot justly challenge any priviledge, benefit, or protection thereby, though his virtual interest (in such as have it) hath hold upon him, until his actual choice doth more expresly engage him; and Love will improve every thing for the good of those, who know not what is good for themselves. He is beneath the condition of a stranger, who shall Apostatize from the Government of the Lord; yea, beneath the condition of Barbarians, who are not yet come in, either by themselves, or their Progenitors.

As the Ruler of ten may rule over more then ten, even any number under twenty; so it is with the other orders, one Ruler of fifty, may rule over nine orders of ten; but if they become ten, then they must chuse another Ruler of fifty; for the Lord hath said, Chuse you Rulers of fifties; that is, every five orders of ten shall chuse a Ruler of fifty.

Again, one Ruler of an hundred, may rule over three orders of fifties; but if they become four orders of fifties, then two of them must chuse another Ruler: for God hath said, Chuse Rulers of hundreds; that is, of ten orders of tens.

Again, one Ruler of a thousand, may rule over nineteen

orders of an hundred ; but if they become twenty orders, then they must by Gods institution chuse another Ruler of a thousand : for the Lord hath said, Chuse you Rulers of thousands.

Hence one Ruler of a thousand may, in case all the orders under him be at the fullest, rule over 8436. men ; which ordinarily, amounted to 33687 souls ; which doth thus appear.

One Ruler of ten may rule over nineteen men.

One Ruler of fifty may rule over nine orders of ten ; and nine times nineteen, maketh one hundred seventy one.

One Ruler of an hundred, may rule over three orders of fifty ; and thrice 171 maketh 413.

One Ruler of a thousand, may rule over nineteen orders of an hundred ; and nineteen times 413, maketh 7847.

Add therefore to the people, their Rulers, thus :

One Ruler of 50. with his nine Rulers of ten, make ten Rulers.

One Ruler of an 100. may rule over three orders of 50. which maketh 30 Rulers.

One Ruler of a thousand, may have under him nineteen Rulers of an hundred. So that 19. times 30. and 19. added to them, makes

589 Rulers

Add to them 7847 People

Summa totalis is 8436

And generally among mankind, for one head of a family, there be at least three more souls of women and children ; so that four times 8436. amounteth to 33687. soules. But it will be rare for all orders to be full at once.

Again, these orders of men, may be multiplied thus ; when such as are Supernumerary in several orders, agree together to make another order. For example, if two Rulers of ten, have each of them fifteen men under them, then five men of one order, and five of the other order, may agree together to make another, a new order : and so in all other orders it may be.

But if they do this, if they make a new order because they desire it, and not because the Word of the Lord com-

mandeth it; when they multiply orders by choice, and not by necessity of institution: then their next Superiors shall guide and direct them in peace and mutual love: for Moses guided the people in all their Elections (*a*).

If they cannot agree, then they may appeal to their next Superiours, and so unto the highest (*b*) Council, if need be: For the Council is (in ordinary dispensation) in Moses stead; and the Scriptures are the Mouth of God, at which they must enquire, and by the guidance thereof determine of all Cases, so far as the Lord giveth light; and until the mind of God be known, the Case must stay, whatever it be (*c*).

CHAP. III.

THE Lord hath given this Commandment in the ordering of his Government, that judgment should be executed speedily (*d*); and also that it should be managed with the greatest respect to the ease, both of the Governours and People (*e*).

But particular times means and other circumstances, the Lord hath not particularly commanded (*f*). Hence it is left unto the wisdom of the Rulers, to order time, means and other circumstances, for the best, and most effectual attainment of the forementioned speedy and easie determination and execution of Judgement, in all Cases whatsoever, and in all places, Cities, or Towns where the people dwell (*g*).

(*a*) Exod. 18. 21, 25. Thou shalt provide able men. 25. Moses chose able men. Deut. 1. 15. So I took the chief of your tribes.

(*b*) Deut. 1. 17. The case that is too hard for you, bring it unto me.

(*c*) Num. 15. 34. And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done unto him. Numb. 9. 8. Stand still, and I will hear what the Lord will command concerning you.

(*d*) Ezra 7. 26. Let judgment be executed speedily upon them. Eccles. 8. 11. Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men, is fully set in them to do evil.

(*e*) Exod. 18. 17. 18. 22. 23. This thing is not good; thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee: ver. 22. So shall it be easier: ver. 13. Thou shalt be able to endure, and all the people shall go to their place in peace, viz. having judgement among themselves in their own quarters, and places of abode, and not be troubled to come to the chief Court, with every cause.

(*f*) Exod. 18. 22. Let them judge the people at all seasons.

(*g*) Exod. 22. 23. All the people shall go to their own place in peace.

Hence again, it well accordeth with Gods institution, that every order do co-habit together (a) as neer as may be; because that doth tend to facilitate both the watch, and work of the Lords Government.

Hence also limits of Place (b) (in a general observation with allowance to some particular exceptions, as prudence and piety may require) may be useful to attain this end.

Hence again, if any shall remove his habitation to a more remote place; meet it is that he do change his Rulers, by chusing a Ruler of ten in the place whither he goeth to dwell: and hence it is meet that such removings and changes be made by a due approbation of the Rulers whence he goeth, and with the acceptance of those to whom he removeth, lest by such unstable changes, as some may affect, they may slip out from under the Government of the Lord, at least from under the watch and use thereof, though from the right thereof they cannot, because it is a general command to honour thy Father and thy Mother; and lest by the confluence of unruly persons to a place more remisly governed, the Government of the Lord should be undermined, and scandalized.

Because sin will grow apace, like ill weeds, if it be not always watched, and often weeded out; and fire of strife will soon flame out, if it be not speedily suppressed and quenched: and it edifieth many ways, that justice should be speedily done; especially it promoteth peace and piety.

Hence it is meet, that Rulers of ten appoint one day in a week, solemnly to hear and determine Causes, and guide the common Affairs of his ten, for the more orderly, easie, and speedie proceeding of justice and peace, which are facilitated and expedited, by a stated and appointed time (c).

Again, it is meet that the Ruler of fifty keep the Court of six, consisting of five Rulers of ten, and himself the Ruler of them, once in a moneth, for the more solemn pro-

(a) Deut. 1. 15. I took the chief of your Tribes, and made them heads over you.

(b) Deut. 21. 2, 3. Thy Elders and Judges shall measure unto the Cities about, and the City which is next unto the slain man. Deut. 16. 18. Judges shalt thou make in all thy gates throughout thy Tribes.

(c) Exod. 18. 26. They judged the people at all seasons: ny doth frequently in Scripture signifie a stated time.

ceeding of Justice, & Appeals, if need be: because the higher Cases ascend, the more solemnity is in them (*a*); and need the more time and deliberation.

I call these a Court, because they are an Assembly of Judges, among whom God promiseth to stand (*b*). Six is the lowest number of this Court; but they may be more, according as the orders of ten be more under a Ruler of fifty: but they cannot exceed ten; because a Ruler of fifty cannot by Gods institution, have more than nine orders of ten under him.

Again, it is meet that the Ruler of an hundred keep the Court of three, consisting of two Rulers of fifty, and himself the Ruler of them, four times in the year, upon the former grounds.

Three is the lowest number of this Court, and it cannot exceed four; because by Gods institution, he cannot have more than three orders of fifty under him.

Again, it is meet that the Ruler of a thousand keep the Court of eleven, consisting of ten Rulers of an hundred, and himself the Ruler of them, twice in a year; and here judgement runneth with greatest Solemnity and Majesty; I say Greatest in the single platform.

Eleven is the lowest number of this Court; but there may be more, according as the orders of an hundred under him be multiplied; but they cannot exceed twenty, because he cannot have above nineteen orders of an hundred under him.

It is necessary that every Court have such Officers (*c*) to attend, as are necessary to accomplish and execute those ends for which the Lord hath instituted those Courts: because the appointment of the end, doth command all means requisite for the attainment of that end, being such as accords with Justice and Prudence.

Vide Ainsworth in Loc.

It is also necessary to have persons (*d*), and all other Instruments, for the inflicting of all kinds of Punishments, which the Law of God appointeth.

(*a*) Exod. 18. 22. Every great matter they shall bring unto thee.

(*b*) Psal. 82. 1.

(*c*) Deut. 16. 18. Judges and Officers shalt thou make.

(*d*) Lev. 24. 12. Num. 15. 34. They put him in ward.

But touching the several Punishments of Cost, Shame, or Smart; and touching the several ways of Putting to Death, by Stoning, Burning, Strangling, or by the Sword; as also touching Banishment, I am here silent. They more properly appearing in the handling of such Laws which do inflict several punishments, according to the demerit of the Sin, or use of terrour unto others, proportioning them to the Standard in the holy Scriptures.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the forenamed grounds of speedy Justice, for the establishing of firme peace, all Causes bewixt man and man, pertaining to the Cognizance of the Ruler of ten, must be put upon Suit or Tryal, within the space of one moneth (*a*). Cases belonging to the Court of six, must be put upon Suit or Tryal within the space of three moneths. Causes belonging to the Court of three, must be put upon Suit or Tryal, within the space of nine moneths. Causes belonging to the Court of Eleven, must be put upon Suit or Tryal, in the space of one year and half; or else to be frustrate, and lose the priviledge of receiving judgement by man; unless it appear that the providence of God did hinder, or that the Defendant or Delinquent party did disappoint it: in those cases it may be admitted to Tryal, and receive Judgement, though it be of a longer standing.

But Criminal Offences are to be judged, at the time when, and in the place where they be discovered, and that with the most speed that may be.

Such Cases as are difficult, weighty, and worthy such attendance, and cannot attain an acceptable issue in the Court where they firstly appertain, may ascend from Court to Court, either by Appeal, or by Transmission to the Court of eleven. And whatsoever Cause of weight cannot receive issue there, may yet ascend either by Appeal or Transmission to the highest Council (*b*), where

(*a*) Lev. 19. 17. Thou shalt not suffer sin upon him.

(*b*) Exod. 18. 22. Great matters they shall bring to thee. 26. Hard matters they brought to Moses. Deut. 17. 8. 9. If there arise a matter too hard for thee, &c, thou shalt come to the Priests, Levites and Judges that shall be in those days.

by Gods appointment it must receive final determination (a).

In lesser Commonwealths, where there be no Rulers or Courts of the Superiour order, Cases ascend to the highest Council from the Court of eleven: but where there be Rulers and Courts of the Superiour order, there the Cause must ascend from the Court of eleven in the single Platform, to the Court of one Myriade, or the lowest Court in the Superiour order; and so proceed until it come to the Supreme Council.

Every Appeal in this Platform of Government which the Lord hath instituted, doth ascend to an higher Court, and to other Judges. There is one of the Judges from whom he appealeth, a member of the Court to whom he doth appeal, truly to inform the Court of the Reasons of their Judgement: and but one, lest they should sway overmuch, and the Appealant want the priviledge of new and unprejudices Judges.

Whosoever shall trouble the free passage of Justice in the ending of Causes, through a perverse will, or base ends, or captious and quarrelsome wit, besides the charges of such agitations, he is worthy of some other medicine, as may most effectually do him good, and warn others.

In all Courts, he that hath power to call the Court, hath a double Vote: as for example, in the Court of Three, if the Ruler of an hundred differ from the two Rulers of fifty, the Court is equally divided: if there be three Rulers of fifty, and one of them concur with the Ruler of an hundred, their sentence standeth.

When the Court is equally divided, it is a difficult Case, and must ascend to the Court next above them by Transmission; or if the lesser part of the Court oppose the sentence of the Court, as judging it sinful, then it must ascend by Transmission.

If a Judge of any Court shall oppose the rest in point of sin, without weighty and considerable grounds, in the judgement of the Court whither it ascends or is transmitted; his first offence shall be corrected with the charge of such transmission, and admonition from the higher Court: after, offences in like kind are to be considered

(a) And thou shalt do according to the Sentence, &c. Deut. 17. 10.

and judged, by proportion to the process of Christ in the Church, even unto rejection from his Place and Office.

The highest Council is to consist of a convenient number of the most holy and able men (*a*) orderly chosen for that purpose, by all the orders of (*b*) men under their jurisdiction, every man in order having an equal voice therein, from among all the Elders of the people: both in the Commonwealth, and in the Churches (*c*), the biggest number being civil Elders (*d*).

The Lord commanded Moses that seventy Elders should stand with him before the Lord; hence there were seventy one of the Council, and Moses was the chief, and ordained the rest.

According to which patern, the people are to chuse their chief Ruler first: who being installed by some, instead of the whole people, must instal the rest, and is Chief Ruler of the Supreme Council, who must call and manage their Assemblies.

As the overburdensomness of the work of Government by one man, was the ground of the institution of the forenamed orders of Government: so the overburdensomness of the work for one man to hear all hard Cases, and Appeals, together with other Cares to provide for the welfare of the people, was the ground of the institution of the Supreme Council (*e*).

(*a*) Num. 11. 16. Whom thou knowest, to be Elders of the people. With Exod. 18. 21. Able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness.

(*b*) Deut. 1. 13. Take ye wise men.

(*c*) Deut. 17. 9. And thou shalt come to the Priests, Levites, and Judges that shall be in those days and enquire, and they shall shew thee, &c. 2 Chro. 19. 8. Moreover, in Jerusalem did Jehosaphat set of the Levites, and of the Priests, and of the chief of the fathers in Israel, for the Judgement of the Lord, and for controversie. Deut. 21. 2. Then thy Elders and Judges shall come forth, and shall measure, &c. ver. 5. And the Priests the sons of Levi shall come neer, and by their word shall every stroke and every controversie be tryed. Deut. 19. 17. Both the men between whom the controversie is, shall stand before the Lord, before the Priests and Judges. Ezek. 44. 24. And in controversie they shall stand in judgement, and they shall judge it according to my judgement.

(*d*) Numb. 11. 16. Gather to me seventy men of the Elders of Israel. Vide Ainsw. in Loc. Hence the Hebrews gather, that they were chose out of all the Tribes, and therefore there was not less than five of a Tribe, and so many of Levi, who before the institution of the Sanhedrium, were taken of God instead of the first born, to be Priests unto God: for they were taken to be Priests at Sinai, Numb. 3. 14. And this institution was at Kibroth-hattaavah, Numb. 11. 34. with Numb. 31. 15. 16. 17.

(*e*) Deut. 1. 9. I spake to you, and said, I am not able to bear you alone. Numb. 11. 11. ad 16. ver. 11. And Moses said unto the Lord. Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant, and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? ver. 14. I am not able to bear all the people alone, because it is too heavy for me.

The conveniency of the number of this high Council, is thus to be measured, and judged by Gods Standard. Israel had at least three Millions of people, (though not one Million of men in order, or not much more: for the Souldiers were but six hundred thousand) now their Supreme Council consisted of seventy one; therefore that is the highest number that will be needed among men ordinarily; yea, though a people should be much bigger, I see not but that number may suffice: But that number is not limited; because God denyeth not this Government to fifty who are the least Court, and a lesser number of men then the highest Council in Israel had, by Gods appointment; and if it be not limited on the one side, so nor on the other.

Again, the lowest number of the Supreme Council that may be, is five; because that Council must consist both of Magistrates, and Elders of Churches; Elders of both sorts, one of a sort sufficeth not, and the bigger part must be Magistrates.

This Council must alwaies be in being, personally or virtually, to give answer to all Cases propounded, touching the Law of God, and the application thereof, to any particular Person or Cause, and to take care for the general Protection, Provision, and Government of the whole, in truth, holiness, and peace.

CHAP. V.

THE duties of all the Rulers of the civil part of the Kingdom of Christ, are as followeth.

The Office and Duty of all the Rulers, is to govern the people in the orderly and seasonable practice of all the Commanders of God, in actions liable to Political observation, whether of piety and love to God, or of justice, and love to man with peace.

Hence they are keepers of both Tables, and are so to look that all the Commandments of God be observed, as to compel men to their undoubted duty, and punish them for their undoubted sins, errors and transgressions.

A case, a Duty, a Sin, is said then to be undoubted, when either it is expressly, or by general approved consequence, commanded or forbidden in the Scriptures; or when it hath passed the circuit of Gods Polity, and received its final determination according to the Scriptures; unto which not to submit, is capital presumption.

Hence again, Rulers are eminently concerned to maintain the purity of Religion, with all care and power; holiness, truth, and peace being much concerned herein.

Hence again, all Rulers must be skilful in the Scriptures; they must read and meditate in the same all the daies of their life, that thereby they may be enabled to do their Office faithfully, and religiously so long as they live.

Hence again, they are to give counsel and command for the well ordering of all the Publick Affairs of their people; both in Education of Youth, whether in Schools or other Occupations; in walking in their Callings, in their Neighbourhood, commerce and converse with men, in subjecting themselves to Government, with Religion, Justice and Peace.

CHAP. VI.

THE Office of the Ruler of ten, is to see all his people walk as becometh Gods people in their several places, furthering the same upon all occasions. And at appointed times to sit alone to hear and determine Causes of Justice, and of evil conversation; to declare Gods sentence and counsel in every Case, and see it executed.

Provided it be with the consent and submission of the party or parties concerned.

All difficult Cases, and Appeals, he shall binde over to the Court of six; and Capitals in life, limb or banishment, to the Court of eleven.

These Rulers are next the people; hence they see them *most: and therefore they need be singularly wise, patient, loving, faithful, and zealously holy men. So great is his work and charge, that it had need extend but to a

* Each other.

small compass. If he well perform his Office, it doth prevent much trouble to Superiour Courts.

The Office of the Ruler of fifty, is to see that all the Rulers of ten under him, be faithful in their Office and Duty; and to help on their work, in all Cases, and toward all persons, as he hath occasion.

As also to call and keep the Court of six in their seasons; where all Cases, pertaining to the publick good of all his order, and particular Cases betwixt parties of the several of the orders of ten under him, are nextly to be tryed and determined, together with Appeals from any of the Rulers of ten under him; and difficult Cases transmitted from them to this Court.

This Court hath power to end strifes, judge Causes, declare and pronounce the sentence of Gods Word, in mulcts, and punishments, and see them executed. Difficult Cases they shall transmit; and also Appeals they shall bind over, unto the Court of three. But capitals in life, limb or banishment, to the Court of eleven.

The Office of the Ruler of an hundred, is to see that the Rulers of fifty under him, do perform their Office and Duty faithfully; to help them what lieth in him, in any of their works towards their Rulers of ten, or any particular person under him. Also all Causes which concern the Publick good of all Orders under him, are in his charge. And also to call and keep the Court of three, where Causes betwixt parties of his several orders of fifty, are properly to be tryed and determined; with Appeals from the Court of six, and such difficult Cases as that Court shall transmit to them.

This Court hath power to end all strifes, judge and determine Causes, declare and pronounce the sentence of Gods Word, in mulcts and punishments, and see them executed. Also to take care of the Publick good of all their Orders. Appeals, difficult Cases, and capitals in life and limb, and banishment, they shall bind over and transmit to the Court of eleven.

The Office of the Ruler of a thousand, is to see that all the Rulers of hundreds under him, do perform their Office and duty faithfully; to help them what lieth in him in any part of their charge toward their Rulers of fifties,

or Rulers of ten, or any person under him; also all Cases which concern the Publick good of all the orders under him, are in his care and charge. As also to call and keep the Court of eleven, where all Causes betwixt persons in several of his Hundreds, are properly belongiug; with Appeals from the Court of three, and difficult Cases transmitted to them. Also all Cases which concern the Publick good of all the Orders under them.

Also all Capital Cases of life, limb, or banishment, belong this Court: because it is the highest and most solemn Judicatory in the single Platform, and fullest of Majesty. The highest punishment is fitly pronounced, in a more solemn Judicatory, then is the Court of six, or three; unless the smalness or paucity of the people have no higher.

Also Cases betwixt parties of several thousands belong to this Court: at the choice of the Plaintiff in which Court of Eleven, either that which himself doth belong to, or that which his Adversary is under. But this consideration doth belong to lesser Commonwealths, where they have no Governour of the Superiour order, and yet more then one Ruler of a thousand.

This Court hath power to hear and judge all Causes brought before them; declare and pronounce the sentence of Scripture, in all mulcts and punishments, even death itself, and see them executed.

Also to pronounce, and see executed, all such sentences as the Supreme Council doth determine, and remit unto them. Namely, thus it is in lesser Commonwealths, where there be no Courts of the Superiour order, difficult Cases they must transmit to the highest Council, and bind over Appeals unto them, where there be no Courts of the Superiour order, betwixt the Supreme Council and them.

The Office of the Supreme Council, is to see that all the Rulers of thousands, yea, all Rulers and Officers, of all orders and degrees, do their Office and Duty faithfully; and to receive difficult Cases and Appeals, from the Court of eleven; to search the Scriptures with all faithfulness, to find out the pure mind of God, impartially and sincerely to apply the Cause propounded thereunto; to declare the will of God in the Case, and so return it to the Court of eleven, whereto it appertaineth, there to receive judge-

ment accordingly. And whosoever will do presumptuously, and not hearken unto that sentence, shall be put to death, Deut. 17. 11. 12.

In the single Platform, the Court of eleven is next to the Supreme Council, for transmission and remission of Causes; but where there be Courts of the Superiour order, it is not so.

Also they are to declare the Counsel and Will of God, touching War and Peace, and accordingly transmit the work to such of the Rulers as they judge most meet to accomplish the same.

Also to take care for, and provide means for Publick welfare and subsistence, by Trading, both Foraign and Domestick, Fishing, Tillage, &c. with all other necessary and useful occupation.

Especially they are to take care for peace and truth in Religion, in all the Churches, and among all the people; and the propagation also thereof. As also the furtherance of all good learning in all the Liberal Arts and Sciences.

The Supreme Council, and all Courts, yea, and all Rulers, have power to bind Offenders, and Persons concerned, to appear, or prosecute in due order and season; punish for offences in that kind; and if need be, commit to prison for security.

If Rulers offend either morally or politically, by rigor, partiality or remisness, his or their next Superiours have power to correct such evils, according to the Word of God; and as need may be, the Case may orderly ascend, from Court to Court, even to the highest Council. Heresie Blasphemy, and other Gross (especially if capital) sins, are just cause, in due order, of deposition from his office, by the Supreme Council; the cause coming to them either by orderly ascent, or taken in immediately, as a notorious scandal, which calleth for speedy remedy.

CHAP. VII.

So much for the single Platform of Christ his Government: now followeth the Superiour, arising out of the first.

When the Lord shall bow the hearts of great Nations, to embrace this form of Government, there being populous Cities, Provinces, and Countries, where the Rulers of thousands will be greatly multiplied, and Causes frequently fall out, betwixt parties of several thousands; yea, and betwixt the Rulers of thousands sometimes, being so numerous, insomuch that the Supreme Council will be overburdened, even as Moses was.

Hence there will be a necessity of erecting the Superiour platform of the Lords Government: which by proportion unto the single Platforme (which is more fully exprest in Scripture) doth arise from it, and is builded upon it.

Namely, that every ten orders of thousands, should chuse a Ruler of ten thousand, or a Myriade; and five orders of Myriades, a ruler of fifty thousand, or five Myriades; and two orders of five Myriades should chuse a Ruler of an hundred thousand, or ten Myriades: and ten orders of an hundred thousands, or ten Myriades, should chuse a Ruler of a thousand thousand, or an hundred Myriades, or a Million.

I am led to believe, that this Superiour order of Rulers, is a Divine institution, not only by cosequence of proportion to the single Platform; but expresly, and that it was practised by Moses in Israel: namely, that ten Rulers of thousands had a Ruler over them of ten thousands, or of a Myriade; and that the order of Myriades or ten thousands, were as duly & orderly observed, as the orders of thousands were. For Numb. 10. 36. when they rested from their marching, Moses blessed them, and said, Return O Lord, to the Myriades of the thousands of Israel: therefore there were orders of Myriades, as well as of thousands.

Furthermore, it is expresly said, by Moses in his song, Deut. 33. 2. The Lord came from Sinai (namely, where the order of Government was first instituted) and he came with myriades of Saints. Therefore orders of Myriades

were instituted and acted from the first foundation of this Government.

Likewise, Deut. 33. 17. he speaketh of the orders of Myriades among the Tribes, as familiarly observable, as the orders of thousands. So that we may see this Superior order and platform of Government, observed in Israel, and expressed in the holy Scriptures.

The Ruler of a Myriade hath this eminency, above a Ruler of ten in the single Platform, that all his ten whom he immediately ruleth, are eminent Rulers.

Hence they are an Assembly of Judges, and a Court, for number every way proportionable to the Court of eleven: but for eminency and distinction they are more properly called the Court of one Myriade.

The Ruler of fifty thousand or five Myriades holdeth a Court for number proportionable to the Court of six in the single Platform: but for eminency and distinction, they are more properly called the Court of five Myriades.

The Ruler of an hundred thousand, or ten Myriades, holdeth a Court for number proportionable to the Court of three in the single Platform: but for eminency and distinction, it is more properly called the Court of ten Myriades.

The Ruler of a thousand thousand, or an hundred Myriades, holdeth a Court for number proportionable to the Court of eleven; but for eminency and distinction, it is more properly called the Court of one hundred Myriades.

The times or seasons, Officers or other means for the most effectual ordering of these Courts, will be most fitly discerned, and agreed, by such a people as may have use of them.

The Causes which most properly belong to the Court of one Myriade, are such as fall out betwixt parties of their several thousands; as also difficult Cases transmitted from the Court of eleven, and Appeals from them.

Also all such Cases as concern the Publick good of all under them.

All Courts of the Superior order have power to judge all capital Cases whatsoever.

The Court of one Myriade hath also power to judge any Cause betwixt the Rulers of the thousands of that

Myriade, who are not to judge in the Court when their own Case is judged. Difficult Cases they transmit, and appeals they bind over to the Court of five Myriades, if there be such a Court betwixt them and the Supreme Council: otherwise they transmit them to the Council.

The Causes which properly belong to the Court of five Myriades, are such as fall out betwixt parties of the several Myriades under them.

I will ascend no higher, in describing the Courts of the Superiour order: partly because Gods Method is plain, and also it will be rarely of use in any Commonwealth; especially considering that which I farther propound.

Namely, seeing God himself was pleased to appoint a Prince, a chief Ruler, over every Tribe in Israel, who were distinguished, by that civil distinction of Kindreds.

By proportion thereunto, in populous Nations, where there be other civil distinctions of societies and cohabitations of men, viz. by Cities, Provinces, Countries, &c. should not they chuse a Prince, a chief Ruler of those several Precincts of civil society?

Whose Office is chiefly to take care of the good Government, firstly, of all the Superiour Rulers under him: as also of all the rest, as he hath opportunity, that the Lord may rule among them.

Likewise to hold a Court, consisting either of the Rulers of Myriades, or of five Myriades, or of ten Myriades, or of an hundred Myriades according to the greatness of the people in his Precincts.

This Court to be called the Court of the Prince, or Lord, or Chief Ruler of such a Precinct; and to be next unto the Supreme Council: from which Court, onely difficult Cases and Appeals have access to the Supreme Council, and to which they remit the determinations of the Cause, to receive its judgement: Lest the Supreme Council be oppressed with business from so many Courts, and thereby the people with delays of hearing and issue, occasioned thereby.

It seemeth to be right Orders, and according to Gods institution, that these Princes of the several Tribes or

Societies of men should be members of the Supreme Council: The whole Dominion being distributed unto the Supreme Counsellours, or to so many of them as may be meet. For the Princes of the Tribes of Israel (it seemeth to me) were members of the Sanhedrim or Supreme Council; because God commanded that they should be chosen very carefully from among the Elders of the people. Hence they will chuse the most choice of their Elders to send up with Moses to stand before God. Now they could not chuse better, fitter, and men more acceptable to God, out of all their Elders, then those whom God himself had chosen by name, to be Princes of the Tribes.

Besides, it is exceedingly harmonious, in the frame of this Government, that it should be so: for though whoever of the other Elders, whether of the single or Superior Order, be chosen to the Supreme Council, it may seem requisite, they should leave the lower station, lest when Appeals have passed in the circuit of Gods Government, and come to the highest Council, there should be sundry of them, through whose judgement the Cause had formerly passed, which may prove prejudicial both to their persons, and to the Cause.

But when it hath lastly passed through the Court of the Prince of the Tribe, meet it is that one of the last Court through which it passed, should be present in the Supreme Council, to give true information, how they lastly after all former Tryals did find the Cause.

But this is to be observed in the distribution of the whole Dominion to the several Supreme Counsellors, that no such civil Dominion is to be put upon or accepted by such Elders of Churches, as are Members of the high Council; as being such whose only Office and Work is to search the holy Scriptures, and give all attendance to declare the Divine Oracle of God in such Cases as are in hand, of what nature soever they be: yea, and if the Council see need, to call Ecclesiastical Councils, greater or lesser, to search out the mind of Christ; for his presence and blessing is in every Ordinance; and all joyntly conspire the advancement of his Kingdom, and the doing of his will.

The Election of all Superior Rulers, is to be after the

same manner as in the single form, viz, by all the people,* over whom they are to rule.

Some of the Princes of the Tribes of Israel, may seem to be Rulers of fifty thousands, or of fives Orders of Myriades: yet the Office of the Princes was not onely under that notion, but also as an head of a civil society, a kindred, an eminent part, a division of the Commonwealth: for some of the Tribes had but four Myriades, and some but three, and therefore could not in that way and order have a Ruler of five Myriades. Therefore they must needs be instituted under another consideration, viz, as being the head or chief Ruler over an eminent part, or division of the Commonwealth, being civilly divided into such societies.

CHAP. VIII.

So much for the Platform of the Lords Government. Now it remains to consider of the Laws by which these Rulers are to Govern the Lords people. The written Word of God is the perfect Systeme or Frame of Laws, to guide all the Moral actions of man, either towards God or man: the Application whereof to every Case according to its circumstances, must be by the wisdom and discretion of the Judges, guided by the light of the Scriptures, and a pure Conscience.

The judgement and determination of a Cause, is nothing else, but the particular application of the Cause, according to all its circumstances, unto the Rule and Standard of Gods Word.

The Records of which judgements, are equivalent to Humane Laws. Which so far as the Case with all its circumstances considered is rightly applyed to the Rule of the Word, is a deduct, from Scripture, and bindeth the Consciences, both of Judges always so to judge in the like case, and the people so to walk.

Which Records to order wisely, and publish for common

* Or orders of men.

instruction and edification, is a work of great wisdom, and tendeth much to Gods glory, the good of the people, and the facilitating and expediting justice, among them. All Strangers, are to be accounted under the Government of those Orders where they reside, and where their business lieth; so as to have the benefit of the Government of the Lord, as our own people have.

FINIS.

A DISCOURSE

PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 31, 1844; ON THE COMPLETION OF FIFTY YEARS FROM ITS INCORPORATION.

BY JOHN G. PALFREY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

THE completion of a half century since your association was incorporated has appeared to you a fit occasion for looking back to its origin and surveying its labors, and you have been pleased to direct me, as one of the least busy of your number, to put together some such account of its designs and its proceedings as the short time allowed by your arrangements would permit. I undertake the task with great diffidence of my ability to do it any justice, but with a promptness which not to show would be to prove myself a very unworthy member of your industrious brotherhood.

Our society takes its date from the year 1790. The generation immediately preceding that then upon the stage had had occasion to expend its energies in toils far different from those of science. The close of the Seven Years' War, in which the New England colonies, especially Massachusetts, had borne so onerous a part, was scarcely followed by a short breathing space before the contest of the Revolution began. Eight years of anxious struggle for independence, and six years more of exhaustion and disorder before a government was organized under the Federal Constitution, afforded little encouragement to pursuits requiring quiet and leisure for their votaries, and a settled state of the public mind for their due appreciation and patronage. Two learned societies, the American Philosophical Society, founded in 1769, and the American

Academy, in 1780, were of earlier origin; but the multiplication of such institutions was not to be looked for till more tranquil times, and especially attention was more likely to be turned to the sources of the history of the country, from the period when it had vindicated an independent nationality, and had won a place for its history by the side of that of the other families of man.

The original idea of this society has been attributed to our late estimable fellow-laborer, Mr. Thomas Wallcut. It appears, however, to be a more probable account which ascribes the first movement to Dr. Belknap and Judge Minot.* Dr. Belknap had removed from Dover, New Hampshire, to Boston three years before. In the preparation of his "History of New Hampshire," of which the first volume was published in 1784, he had been made to feel the want of access to some full repository of materials for recovering the story of our early times. Judge Minot, who, by his "History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts," had manifested and cultivated his ability and taste for this department of study, — Judge Sullivan, then preparing for his "History of Maine," — and Dr. John Eliot, who had been long laboring on the collections finally incorporated into his "Biographical Dictionary," — had experienced the same need of a more sufficient apparatus. Mr. James Winthrop, of Cambridge, and Dr. Peter Thacher, of Boston, had an inclination for such pursuits, and were in possession of original historical materials, thought to be of value. Mr. Wallcut, with a genuine antiquarian *φιλοπονία*, had been in the habit of transcribing important ancient papers, to place them beyond the reach of accident. These gentlemen, with Dr. James Freeman and Judge Tudor, of Boston, and the Honorable William Baylies, of Dighton, men

* These statements are printed as they were delivered. A friend has since called my attention to an obituary notice of Dr. Belknap, published in the *Columbian Centinel* for June 25, 1798, and understood to be from the pen of Dr. John Eliot, who could not have failed to be well informed upon the point in question. The following is an extract: — "The Historical Society have lost their most laborious and diligent member, and the founder of their institution. . . . He frequently met with disappointment from the loss of valuable papers, and he often mentioned to his friends in New Hampshire and Boston, that it was necessary to preserve them by multiplying copies, and making it the principal duty and interest of an association to collect them, and to study their value. The proposals of Dr. Belknap met with the approbation and encouragement of several gentlemen in this town and its environs, and the society was incorporated in 1794."

of a kindred love of antiquity and truth, were the first associates. At a meeting, at which they all were present, except Judge Minot and Mr. Baylies, our society was organized on the 24th day of January, 1791; some preliminary arrangements having been made, at an interview some weeks before, between Drs. Belknap, Thacher, and Eliot, and Judges Tudor and Winthrop. Judge Sullivan was chosen President; Dr. Belknap, Corresponding Secretary; Mr. Wallcut, Recording Secretary; Judge Tudor, Treasurer; Dr. Eliot, Librarian; and Dr. Thacher, Judge Minot, and Mr. Winthrop, the Standing Committee.

The objects of the society were described in its constitution to be, "the preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations"; and "a collection of observations and descriptions in natural history and topography, together with specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and a selection of every thing which can improve and promote the historical knowledge of our country, either in a physical or political view." The society was to consist of thirty resident and thirty corresponding members, a number afterwards doubled; * and stated meetings were to be held in each quarter of the year, an arrangement subsequently changed to that of a meeting every month.

The first meetings took place at the houses of Judge Tudor and Judge Sullivan; after a few months, the society obtained the use of an apartment belonging to the Massachusetts Bank, in a building erected for a linen factory, on land now occupied by Hamilton Place; in January, 1794, by the liberality of the projectors of the Tontine Crescent, on the south side of Franklin Street, they were enabled to place their collections, which had now become considerable, in the upper chamber of the centre building of that structure. The society's act of incorporation bears the date of the 19th of the following month. Its

* The members are chosen by ballot, in the form prescribed by the society's vote of August 29, 1815, that, "In balloting for members, and in taking any questions by yeas and nays, the law and custom of our forefathers be adopted, as it stands in the Statute of Elections 1643, *mutatis mutandis*, — 'For the yearly choosing of Assistants, the Freemen shall use Indian Corn and Beans, the Indian Corn to manifest election, and the Beans contrary.'"

sessions continued to be held in that place till the present more convenient accommodations were provided, at the cost of some of its members, and of other public-spirited citizens, in the year 1833.

The original scheme of the society does not appear to have contemplated any thing beyond the collection and preservation of objects and materials of history, for the benefit of posterity, and especially of students and writers in that department. But, before long, wider views of usefulness opened themselves, as they might be expected to do to men of such comprehensive intelligence. In 1792,* several papers which had come into the possession of the society were published on an extra sheet of the "American Apollo," a magazine issued weekly. These papers now constitute the first volume of our Collections. The number of original contributions was soon largely increased, in consequence of a circular letter addressed by the corresponding secretary to clergymen, and other men of letters, in different parts of the country, soliciting communications relating to local history; and a series of publications has continued to be made, at about the average rate of one volume in two years, embracing relics of the ancient times, and communications of contemporary scholars.

The success of our society, in respect to its original object, will bear lasting witness to the enlightened zeal with which its affairs have been conducted through the first half century. The library contains at present about six thousand printed books, besides a great mass of manuscripts, arranged in a hundred volumes, mostly furnished with tables of contents. Gathered as they have been from various sources, and as opportunity permitted, these books and papers are of course miscellaneous, and of unequal value. But many are of great interest and curiosity, and together they make a collection which the writer on the antiquities of the United States, and especially of New England, is bound diligently to use. Most of the manuscripts, without the public-spirited care of our founders, would probably long since have perished, or gone out of

* On the 23d of October of this year, by appointment of the society, a discourse was delivered by Dr. Belknap, in the church in Brattle Square, on the completion of three centuries since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

sight, and with them would have been lost much of the clear light which has been thrown on the course of our early history, — a history incomparably precious to the New England man, as being that of his own great race, inestimably precious to the wise of every lineage, as being full of rich instruction and example.

The publications of our society, it may be permitted to one who has never had any part in them to say, have been models in their kind. The fidelity and skill of the editorial labor expended on them have not been, if they can be, surpassed. The judicious selection with which many of the venerable fragments of old time have been transferred from their obscurity to an honored place in our libraries; the scrupulous accuracy with which the copy has been made to represent the often faded and hardly legible original; the erudite exactness of the notes; the luxurious fulness of the indexes, sure and prompt guides to every apartment, and shelf, and object of the labyrinthine treasure-house, — are worthy of all praise. With such helps, the reader finds himself on the paths to a wide range of knowledge, with the least possible pains of his own in exploring the way; and he goes on his course rejoicing, sure that, as far as he proceeds, he is treading on safe and firm ground. The publications of set treatises from the primitive age, like Hubbard's "History," Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence," Mourt's and Winslow's "Relations," Josselyn's "Account of Two Voyages," Gorges's and Smith's "Descriptions of New England," and others, are not more commendable examples of an intelligent pursuit of the objects of the association, than those of Governor Bradford's letter-book; the extracts from the papers of Deputy-Governor Danforth and Mr. Pynchon, the memoranda, public and private, relating to the expedition against Cape Breton, and numerous other disconnected and fragmentary documents illustrative of different points in our annals.

To our founders belongs the credit of an example which has been followed to similar good results in various parts of the country. The other States of New England, except Vermont, and the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and

Michigan, have each their historical society. The society of New York has published five volumes of transactions; those of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, each four; those of Maine and Georgia, each two; and that of Ohio, one. The plan of these associations, and of the publications issued by them, is substantially the same with that of the Massachusetts society. The Antiquarian Society at Worcester, an institution of similar aims, has published two valuable volumes, and possesses a collection of rare interest, which we contemplate with such gratification as could be increased only by seeing it united to our own, so that the student might have access at once to the rich stores of both.

Of those whose names have been most prominent among the efficient and useful members of our association, many continue their enlightened labors for its service and that of the community. Of those departed, some have not been ambitious to connect their fame with the historical literature of the country in any other way. To the administration of the chief office in our society, Governor Gore and Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop devoted, each for several years, the eminent qualities which won for them the confidence of their fellow-citizens in high civil trusts; and while the dignity of their public stations was thus reflected upon these favorite studies, their coveted companionship increased the enjoyment, and their liberal example animated the zeal, of their associates. In the trust of recording secretary, Thomas Wallcut, the Reverend Drs. Freeman and McKean, and Gamaliel Bradford the younger; in that of treasurer, Judge Tudor; in that of librarian, the Reverend Drs. Kirkland, Alden, and McKean, William S. Shaw, Elisha Clap, and James Bowdoin; in that of cabinet-keeper, Samuel Turell, Redford Webster, and the Reverend Drs. Alden and McKean; in that of the standing committee, the Reverend Drs. Thacher, Freeman, and Kirkland, and Mr. Emerson, Judge Tudor, James Winthrop, Redford Webster, Samuel P. Gardner, and James Bowdoin, have entitled themselves to a grateful remembrance this day by their enlightened, diligent, and valuable labors. All these eminent persons, with the exception of Governor Gore, Dr. Alden,

and Messrs. Wallcut, Bradford, Shaw, Turell, James Winthrop, and Gardner, have been engaged in the superintendence of one or more volumes of our society's publications; a service which has also been discharged by the Reverend Dr. Morse, Judge William Wetmore, Dr. Aaron Dexter, Dr. William Spooner, and his early lost and greatly lamented son. To none of our deceased associates does the praise of the extreme skill, diligence, and learning of the editorial preparation of the published volumes more belong, than to the Reverend Dr. Freeman, and Mr. James Bowdoin; the latter of whom has left no other proof of a love of historical studies and a sagacity and exactness of mind which made him a sort of oracle among his friends, and the former wrote no history but what is found in occasional contributions to these Collections.

On the other hand, our roll exhibits the names of writers whose works have taken a permanent place in this department of letters; of Belknap, the author of the dignified and faithful "History of New Hampshire," and of the two instructive volumes of "American Biography";* of Minot, whose "History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts" and "Continuation of Hutchinson's History" are monuments alike of the fulness of his knowledge, the soundness and candor of his judgment, and the elegance of his taste; † of Holmes, whose indefatigable spirit of inquiry, and exacting and fastidious love of truth, were necessary to make so copious and trustworthy a book as the "Annals of America"; ‡ of Sullivan, whose always cheerful and active mind could find time, in a life seemingly crowded full of public cares, for the spirited sketch of the history of Maine.§ John Adams, though destined to be more known in history by even higher titles, has taken a place among historical writers by his "Defence of the American

* Dr. Belknap was corresponding secretary the first seven years, and a member of the committees for the publication of Vols. I., III., and IV.

† Judge Minot was successively cabinet-keeper, recording secretary, librarian, and treasurer. He also served on the standing committee, and on the committees for publishing Vols. I., IV., and VI.

‡ Dr. Holmes was a member of the standing committee two years, and then, from 1813, corresponding secretary twenty years, till his death. He was also a member of the committees for publishing Vols. VII., X., XII., XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., and XX.

§ Governor Sullivan was president of the Society the first fifteen years from its institution, and served on the committee for publishing Vol. II.

Constitutions," his "Letters on the American Revolution," his "History of the Dispute with America," and other treatises. The writings of John Lowell were for temporary purposes, but the abundance and aptness of the illustrations, from the experience of all time, with which their lessons were pointed, showed a mind familiar with the discipline of the historic muse. Nathan Dane's "Abridgment of American Law" is a crowded storehouse of facts in the local history of that severe science. William Sullivan's fluent and graceful pen traced the series of "Historical Causes and Effects from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Reformation."* While numerous others of our associates — as the Reverend Dr. Eliot, in his "Biographical Dictionary" of the New England worthies; † the Reverend Dr. Harris, in his "Life of Oglethorpe"; ‡ Alden Bradford, in his "Life of Mayhew," "History of Massachusetts," "History of the Federal Government," and other works; § William Tudor, in his "Life of James Otis"; || William Lincoln, in his edition of the "Journal of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts," and others in works of less pretension — have evinced their own wise estimation of the examples and instructions of earlier times, and with a generous forethought have reflected the light, gathered from the past into their own minds, for the improvement and guidance of the times to come.

The progress of our society has been coeval with the rise of a historical literature in the country. The "Journal" of Winthrop, Morton's "Memorial," and other documents transmitted from the primitive age, invaluable, from their authenticity, as materials for the later writer of history, of course do not come into the account of specimens in that department of composition. Hubbard, as by the discovery of Winthrop's manuscript has been made

* William Sullivan was of the committee for publishing Vol. VIII.

† Dr. Eliot was librarian the first seven years, except one year when he was cabinet-keeper. He then succeeded Dr. Belknap as corresponding secretary for fifteen years, till his death. He was on the committees of publication for Vols. I., IV., V., and VIII.

‡ Dr. Harris was librarian four years, and a member of the committees for publishing Vols. VII., X., XII., XXIII., and XXVI.

§ Mr. Bradford was of the committees for publishing Vols. XI., XIII., and XVIII.

|| William Tudor was four years a member of the standing committee, and served on the committees for publishing Vols. XIV., XVII., and XIX.

manifest, was but the copyist of that excellent authority in great part of his book, and deserves little credit in respect to all the period in which he had not that resource. The historical medley of Cotton Mather, in the next age, is beneath criticism in any point of view. The exact and laborious Prince had no higher aim than that of a faithful annalist. The crude and petulant sketches of Douglass are the work of a traveller and essayist rather than of a historian. The only formal histories, of a date earlier than that of the origin of our society, were those of Hutchinson and Belknap, of the latter of which the first volume only had been published.

The work of Hutchinson claims applause for almost every merit, except what the position of its writer denied to it. A dependent colony cannot possess a generous literature; and especially a good history of itself is the last thing that can be expected to proceed from it, at least till it has reached a mental independence by becoming ripe for a change in its political condition. With all his eminent qualities of mind and character, no one thinks to call Hutchinson a great man. Nature, it seems, would have had him one, but unpropitious circumstances would not suffer it. A native of one country, and entitled by his parentage to a liberal share in its patrimony of honor, yet dwelling in it as the public servant of another, the relations he sustained were too incongruous to permit his giving a whole heart to its service and its glory. To write worthily of Massachusetts, while governing it for England, was a task beyond his, it was a task beyond the reach of any, genius. The representative of a foreign sovereignty had subjected his mind to a treatment, which no mind can pass through, that is to come to any rich heritage of fame. He had studied what he undertook to write of, with a sagacious diligence; as to the events preceding his own times, at least, he will not be charged with having been a dishonest narrator; all the details of his subject were vividly before him; and yet he did not understand his subject. The minister of a British ministry, the aspirant after a British peerage, could not comprehend the republican spirit of his fathers. He wrote of earnest controversies, in which fundamental principles

of policy were brought into conflict; but his heart was abroad, and he was incapable of writing of them like one of his own brave people, or even as they would have been written of by a discerning observer, independent of both the parties. When was ever a series of transactions like those connected with the vacating of the old charter recorded in so indifferent a strain by a pen so vigorous as Hutchinson's? Had it been his to love the land that gave him birth with the ardor of an undivided allegiance, with what a different coloring would that pale sketch have glowed!

Of Belknap's history no less can be said, than that, to take a very high rank among writings of its class, it wanted little besides a better theme. He had most of the qualities of mind which have given to others a decided eminence in this department. What he found to relate he has told with beautiful faithfulness, perspicuity, and taste. His work was the dawn of a better day in composition, growing out of the freedom of mind which came with national independence. If the history of New Hampshire was not so fruitful as others in events that move and instruct the reader, this was no fault of the author; however much it may abate from the interest which, with a fairer opportunity, he was capable of winning to his work.

As to writings of the highest pretension, these two works constituted the historical library of New England at the time when our society entered on its labors. From these beginnings has grown up within this period a historical literature of an unquestionably high character when tried by any standard, vindicating the reputation of our national scholarship abroad perhaps more satisfactorily than its successes in any other style of composition. And the capital productions of this kind, which have recently installed some of our compatriots in exalted seats in the republic of letters, appear to be also the earnest of further achievements in the same attractive walk. There are signs that the literary ambition of the country is choosing this as its favorite direction, and that the labors to which the attention of our society has been turned have been seasonably providing facilities for many, who, in these prosperous days of our republic, can afford to aspire after a name in letters.

It is a trite saying, but it is one weighty enough to bear repetition, that those are true benefactors to a country who do it the service of preserving the facts in its history for the instruction of later times. Among our associates, Gentlemen, have been eminent public servants, of whom future history is to declare that their country is their debtor for benefits in some of its highest places of trust, and its most critical exigencies of fortune. But few of them, perhaps, have done it any more useful service than in the part they have taken in keeping alive the knowledge of the deeds and principles of its founders. The safety of nations is in the patriotism of the people, and patriotism is mainly inspired by remembrance of the glories of the past. The deeds of former generations make a nation's point of honor. Base thoughts and practices stand abashed and rebuked, when confronted with an honorable history. Virtue stands up firm and confident, when recognized as a thing not new or foreign. *Our fathers would, or would not, have done so*, is the eloquent watchword of worthy enterprises, and dissuasive from the pusillanimity that is in danger of being swayed by the clamorous policy of the hour. They are no fit legislators, they are not trustworthy patriots in a private sphere; whose views take in only the necessities and proprieties of passing occasions. The doom of that people is written, which cannot look above the great interest of present prosperity to the greater one of maintaining an honest fame. There is a public conscience, as much as a private one, which is fortified and emboldened by the memory of good desert. The sense of a character to keep up and a character to lose makes the same element of dignity and uprightness in bodies of men as in the experienced individual.

And what conservative element is there more availing for the security of the institutions of a country? The fact, that those institutions are experienced, by the generation at any time upon the stage, to be salutary for the protection of its good order and well-being, may well dispose it to contentment, and disincline it to radical changes, of untried and uncertain expediency. But very little does it effect towards making them the object of that loyal devotion which, when occasion demands, puts forth mightier

energies than any other passion that inspires the human breast, — very little does it effect towards this end, compared with the intense remembrance of the men and measures, the exploits and the sacrifices, of other times, by which the existing social system has been reared. By most who love the social system they live under, it is revered and will be guarded as a sacred thing, not so much for what it is, but for the glowing memories that trace the course by which it became and has been kept what it is. For one Englishman who has any intelligent perception of any benefit he has derived from the Great Charter, how many thousands would have gone cheerfully in its defence to the field or the block, moved by their sympathy with the brave struggle that extorted it from arbitrary power! Had English history not been written, how far, as to an unconquerable love for whatever is good in their government and laws, would the mass of Englishmen have differed now from the native tribes of the land we dwell upon, without national character or enthusiasm, because without their necessary aliment in animating records of the past?

Gentlemen of the Historical Society, your studies and those of your predecessors have enlarged and diffused the knowledge of the history of these United States, especially of the New England commonwealths, and, most especially, of that State in which you have labored, and from which your society takes its name; and, in so doing, you have performed a good service of patriotism, while you have illustrated a significant chapter in the experience of man. It would be vain to say that the history, which you have done so much to fill up, can in all its parts be contemplated with equal satisfaction; but, if the records of wisdom and virtue deserve to be perpetuated and cleared from obscurity, certainly your cares have not been bestowed on an undeserving theme. Let other men love and praise other countries more than ours. That must be, because ours is not theirs. But it is impossible for a discerning man to turn over the records of Massachusetts, which you have collected and circulated, and not find delight in the exhibition there held up of much that is most vigorous and excellent in human nature. They are the records of a

people generally prudent and clear-sighted through the whole term of its history ; but which, hasty and mistaken as at one period, or sagacious and rightly judging as at another, has been always firm and brave, always true and loyal to the convictions of the time.

Of what strain of the history of Massachusetts are not these qualities the key-note ? In the parent country, the country peopled by the great race of modern times, a violent fermentation of opinion takes place. Views in religion and politics, for which a preparation of centuries has been making, at length have gained such strength and confidence that they are able to struggle for the mastery ; but the contest is a difficult, and is destined to be a bloody one ; and numbers feel, that, however the die may fall, the large liberty they sigh for must still be a distant blessing. Country, and quiet, and an easy domestic life, are dear to them. But liberty of thought and conscience are dearer, and, to secure the greater boon, they cheerfully forego the less. They set sail for the "outside of the world," and land on the rock of Plymouth. A winter as dreary as their fortunes buries half of their number beneath its snows. But the half that survives bates no jot of heart or hope. They sicken and starve through ten dismal years. But at length they produce food enough to exist upon ; a generation is growing up, that, never having been used to any thing better, can the more readily accommodate itself to such a condition, and is more fruitful in expedients for improving it ; and the Old Colony begins to breathe a healthy and stable life. The enterprise long attempted, but hitherto always foiled, finds success at last. What political ambition and commercial cupidity had tried in vain is accomplished by the more vigorous impulses of Christian faith and the passion for freedom ; and the British race has fixed a home upon a far distant continent, unknown, as much as another planet, till within little more than a hundred years.

The causes that drove abroad that resolute band of exiles have continued to act. England has become even a more uncomfortable home for men worthy to be reckoned of its lineage. A company in some respects more competent to the responsibility of founders of an empire soon

follows in the path that has been opened. Men eminent in learning, and experienced in public affairs at home, not at all such *cavaliers* as built up the great southern colony, but genuine representatives of the conventional dignity of the mother country, men and matrons* of its gentle and its noble blood, come with the band that plants itself on the shore of Massachusetts Bay; and Plymouth, always doing worthily its secondary part, leans henceforward on a sister colony as magnanimous as itself in its devotion to truth and freedom. The troubles of the time prompt multitudes of the more generous spirits of England to cast in their lot with the fortunes of the infant state. In fifteen years from the settlement at Salem, more than twenty thousand emigrants have come over. They are the germ of a nation. The face of affairs changes at home. Dissent has its triumph. Puritanism reigns in England, and emigration ceases. A people has taken root here, to work out its destiny under influences mainly from within itself. With scarcely exceptions enough to deserve any account in the enumeration, we who now constitute the States of New-England are descendants of Englishmen established here before the year 1643.† We and our fathers have dwelt here, an almost unmixed race, for more than two hundred years, a quarter of the time since the Norman conquest.

In this period of the national infancy, terminating with the discontinuance of the emigration, our fathers have done three things chiefly noticeable as indicative of their character and policy, and tending to determine the character and policy of their successors. By the institution of their college, and of the common school system, they have provided for the instruction of the people. By the Pequot

* E. g. the wives of Isaac Johnson and of Deputy-Governor Humphrey, daughters of the Earl of Lincoln; of Samuel Whitney, minister of Lynn, daughter of Oliver St. John; of John Sherman, minister of Watertown, granddaughter of Earl Rivers.

† Hutchinson represents the emigration as having ceased in 1640. *History*, Vol. I. p. 91. But the statement of Johnson is probably more exact. "In the transportation of these armies of the great Jehovah, for fifteen years' space to the year 1643, about which time England began to endeavour after reformation, and the soldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battles at home, for whose assistance some of the chief worthies of Christ returned back, the number of ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed, is two hundred and ninety-eight. Men, women, and children passing over this wide ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be twenty thousand and two hundred, or thereabout." — *Wonder-working Providence*, § 31.

War they have vindicated for themselves a permanent lodgment on the soil. By pertinaciously holding on to their charter, which the king and his ministers see with amazement converted, under their hands, from a grant of commercial privileges into a constitution of government, and by the interpretation which they insist on putting upon its provisions, they have constituted their community to all practical purposes an independent republic.* Here

* Possibly that limitation of the elective franchise, which has exposed them in these latter days to so much reproach, is to be considered much more in the light of a political calculation than of a sectarian scruple. "We wish," say the North American Reviewers (Vol. XLIV., pp. 521, 522), "we could make our countrymen of other portions of the Union look a little more closely than they have done at some large relations of that old policy of New England, which some of them appear to think a single severe paragraph or period quite sufficient to despatch. It is a great grief and offence to them, that church-membership was made a qualification for the enjoyment of the franchises of a freeman of the colony. Let them chide, if they must. But we can tell them, that they would have had to wait somewhat longer for their independence, if it had not been for this intolerant spirit of New England legislation, which gives them so much disturbance. Lord Clarendon tells us, that the royal commissioners, sent out in 1664, found the northern colonies already 'hardened into republics.' They had been a short time hardening. What hardened them so fast? Nothing more than the jealous and rigid pertinacity with which they adhered to their theory of exclusion from political power of all who might have used it to strangle their embryo commonwealth. It will not do to look upon the Massachusetts fathers as a set of heady zealots, careful only to have their own way in religion without regard to consequences, and that way not a very wise one. There were cool and far-sighted statesmen at the helm. King or Protector to the contrary notwithstanding, they meant to have a republic; and they had it virtually from the first, exercising with the utmost freedom all attributes of sovereignty, though avoiding all ostentation of it with the utmost address. They were not so unfit for their delicate work, as to be willing to commit power to any who would have used it to obstruct their object, or even who would not sympathize with them in hearty zeal for its accomplishment. They meant that no man, attached to the monarchy of England through attachment to its church (whether that should turn out to be Papal or Episcopal), should have a particle of power to annoy them in the prosecution of their great work; and therefore, if such a man came to live among them, they would have it that he should come as the subject, not as the sharer, of *their* government. Dexterity as well as nerve had a place in playing so critical a game, and little fit would they have been to win it, if they had volunteered to show their hands to his Majesty's Privy Council. To exclude churchmen from power, and admit to it other dissenters from their own communion, would have been to deprive their act of all color, even if otherwise it would have perfectly attained their end. Taking advantage of their reputation abroad for acting under impulses which observers less sagacious than themselves supposed to be the only ones that had power over their minds, they cut off indiscriminately those who did not love their creeds from all participation in the government, and were quite willing that others should be stupid enough to ascribe to a stupid bigotry of theirs a measure which, had it been seen to be prompted, as it was, by the profoundest policy, would have brought down on them, too soon, the hard and heavy hand of England. So they had their own way, without any one in their own midst to mar it. So they consolidated their institutions, till, by the time when the second generation came forward, they had 'hardened into republics.' So they kept up and bequeathed the intense and constant spirit they had brought with them. So they stood quietly by their arms, to watch the signs of the times, and do what, from one time to another, might be needful for the keeping of the treasure they had no mind to part with. So they were ready to depose and imprison a king's governor, as they actually did in Boston, in 1688; and if matters had then gone otherwise in England, they would perhaps have antedated the Revolution by

are the three heads of that pregnant chapter of their history, which records the doings of the first fifteen years of Massachusetts.

The star of Cromwell culminates, and all is fair weather in the Puritan colony. He urges on them the present of Jamaica, but they have established too friendly a companionship with the cutting winds of the Bay to be won from them by any tropical voluptuousness. They keep up an edifying correspondence with the Protector. They annoy the French and Dutch to his good content. They accommodate and satisfy him in every thing except observance of his Navigation Laws. These they do not so read their charter as to feel bound by. And he sees in them so much of his own plausible determination, that he lets their contumacy pass, choosing not to seem to notice what might be found so difficult to cure.

But "the king enjoys his own again," and Popery and despotism once more shake their gory locks before the aching sight of the Massachusetts fathers. Lord Clarendon knows all about the charter, and he means that no such pretext as it affords shall protect the too ambitious spirit of transatlantic liberty in affronting the throne. From the Restoration till 1685, twenty-four years, a stubborn conflict is going on for its preservation. It is defended with a boldness, pertinacity, and address that deserve a better fortune, though undoubtedly its interpretation had been stretched with a most questionable freedom. Connecticut and Rhode Island use perhaps a wise conciliation, at all events, the result proves it to be a fortunate one. But resolute and impracticable Massachusetts cannot make up her mind to conciliate. She consents to no surrender of what she esteems her right; it is denied her, and she waits for the time when she can take redress into her own hands.

The contest for the charter, in which the young people

nearly a century. So they built firm the foundations of the commonwealths which at length did the part of New England, were that little or much, in the War of Independence. Blot the franchise laws of the Massachusetts colonists out of history, — for the sake of getting clear of the diatribes which small wits indite upon their bigotry, let in the emissaries of Strafford and Laud into the council-chambers of the New England Puritans, and we do not like to say, — for we are modest Yankees, no less than well-affectioned, — we do not like to hint, how differently, by this time, the history, not only of one continent, but of the other, would have read."

takes a long lesson in the lore of independence, makes one of the great features of the period between the discontinuance of the emigration and the conversion of the Colony into the Province. The other is the tremendous crisis of King Philip's War. Before it is finished, there is scarcely a family in Massachusetts or Plymouth, but has lost a father, brother, or son. Plymouth has incurred a debt estimated to be equal to the whole personal property of its people. The sacrifice of life and property in Massachusetts, between June, 1675, and October, 1676, is greater, in proportion to her population and wealth, than that afterwards sustained by her in the whole eight years' War of Independence. She met the exhausting demand almost wholly from her own resources. England made no such costly struggle to defeat the Spanish invasion. The Netherlands, in the same age, made no efforts at all approaching such a disproportion to their means.* It seems as if Massachusetts was disposed, at whatever cost, to avoid receiving any thing that could be called favor from a foreign government, whose control over herself she was always intent on limiting as far as possible.† In short, they chose to take care of themselves, though they could ill afford it, and to give the king as little right as possible to appeal to their gratitude when they should be disposed to try any bolder experiments on his authority.

The next period, opening characteristically with the insurrection against Sir Edmund Andros, and extending to the close of the last French war, exhibits the same

* Hutchinson speaks of it as "certain, that, as the colony was at first settled, so it was now preserved from ruin, without any charge to the mother country. Nay, as far as I can judge from the materials I have," he continues, "the collections made in the colony, after the fire of London, for the relief of the sufferers there, and on other occasions, for the relief of divers of the plantations, with other public donations, from the first settlement until the charter was vacated, will not fall much, if any thing, short of the whole sum that was bestowed upon the colony from abroad, during that time."

† Such appears to be the intimation in a letter of her friend, Lord Anglesey, in 1676, when he writes, "I must chide you, and that whole people of New England, that, as if you were independent of our master's crown, needed not his protection, or had deserved ill of him, from the first hour of God's stretching forth his hand against you to this time, though we have successive and frequent tidings, like Job's messengers, of the great devastations and spoils that are made by fire and sword upon those plantations, which God hath so signally blessed and made to flourish till now, you have not yet, as certainly became you, made your addresses to the king's majesty, or some of his ministers, for his perusal, that he might be authentically informed both of your enemies and your condition, by what means you are brought low, and what are the most proper and hopeful remedies for your recovery."

character of the people in three different series of events, — those of the witchcraft delusion, the protracted conflict with the French and Indians, and the disputes with the colonial governors touching the respective limits of the royal prerogative and of the liberties of New England.

The provision in the charter of William and Mary for the appointment of the executive government by the crown, perhaps the only provision in that instrument in which it was not better adapted than the old charter to the actual condition of the colonists, of course had the effect of keeping alive the jealousy and irritation of the people against supposed encroachment, and of carrying on the discipline of their education for absolute freedom; and the reader easily traces in this succession of controversies the process which formed the principles and men of 1775.

As to the witchcraft madness, it was, no doubt, a dreadful passage in a majestic movement of events. He who will may laugh at the folly, though he would much more reasonably mourn over the cruelty and the sorrow. But even here the great difference between the people of Massachusetts and of other communities whose history bears no such stain is, that what both alike professed to believe, the former more consistently and honestly acted out. To hold an opinion entertained by Sir Edward Coke and Sir Matthew Hale, while enjoying no better opportunities for correcting that opinion than they, is not to incur the reproach of any extraordinary dulness of intellect. The men of Massachusetts, being no wiser than those sages of the law, sincerely believed in the reality of witchcraft (the unquestionable integrity of Sewall confirms for us in this matter the more suspicious honesty, if we are tempted to esteem it such, of Mather and of Stoughton); and whatever opinions, upon facts or duties, Massachusetts has held, her habit has been, whether for good or ill, to follow them with vigorous action. Deplore as we may the grievous infatuation, still, more even than we lament and condemn that, may we find cause to applaud the brave and constant spirit that never would quail before the awful delusion that possessed it. It was no less than the powers of darkness that these men believed to be their assailants.

They imagined the Prince of Hell, with his legions, to be among them, the Lord's host, seeking among them whom he might devour; and they gave place to him for subjection, no, not for an hour. Set upon by invisible and supernatural foes, they thought of nothing but prompt defiance, inflexible resistance, and the victory which God would give his people. They would have made bare the arm of flesh against the Serpent in bodily presence, could he have put on an assailable shape; as it was, they let it fall without mercy on those whom they understood to be his emissaries.

The succession of French and Indian wars from 1675 to 1763 made another long trial of this same indomitable character. While the other colonies doubled their population by natural increase in twenty-five years, Massachusetts had not twice as many inhabitants in 1713 as it contained fifty years before. Again; between 1722 and 1762 the population was not doubled; and Hutchinson, in recording these facts, remarks, "It is probable there would have been two hundred thousand souls more than there are at this time, if the French had been driven from Canada an hundred years ago." While New York, imbecile, if not perfidious, patches up a paltry truce with the Canadian French and their savage allies, and so leaves them free to descend from the Berkshire hills upon our unprotected outposts, Massachusetts never deserts her position of pertinacious championship. Stretching herself across the path of the invader, Rhode Island and Connecticut repose in safety beneath her shield. She makes the weight of her courage felt even in the scale of foreign politics. By that romantic, one is half tempted to say that incredible enterprise, the expedition against Louisburg, she gives peace to Europe by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, bringing England with credit out of a four years' war, which else would have been an unbroken succession of blunders and disasters. She sends seven thousand men, between two and three times as many as are raised by all the other colonies together, to that later war which for ever broke down the power of France on this western continent; and Ticonderoga, Lake George, Crown Point, and Quebec all have their story to tell of her adventurous valor.

To meet the expenses of this war, the Stamp Act is passed, and that series of arbitrary measures is entered upon, which make up the issue whether British Americans are to be taxed except by their own representatives, and result in the independence of the United Colonies. The contest for her charter, the palladium of her liberties, has extended through the whole period of the colonial history of Massachusetts, and, when the time comes that she must either forego that safeguard or defy at tremendous hazard the power which in justice should have respected it, then she will be a colony no longer. She publishes the claims of freedom in the arguments of her jurists and statesmen, and the resolves of her towns and representative assemblies; she strikes the first blow for it on the 19th of April, 1775, and follows it up with another and stronger, two months after; and she furnishes one soldier in every three to the armies of the Revolution.

The peace of independence finds her impoverished and exhausted. Patriotism has been strained to its utmost of forbearance and sacrifice. Want tempts to disorder; and a portion of her citizens, not without the sympathy and countenance of a much larger number, believed to extend to not less than a third of her population, are in rebellious arms against her authority. But she is not used to truckle to menaces from foreign or domestic foe. If it seems to be to her shame, that one third of her people, under strong distresses, proved mutinous and faithless, it is proportionally to her praise, that, in such a crisis, she could keep two thirds on the right side, and by upright counsels and resolute action could make the right prevail. She looks first to the vital interest of the maintenance of a government for the common protection, and pauses not for any other care till she has put down the insurrection by the strong arm, and delivered its leaders to the last penalty of the law they have defied. When they are harmless and penitent, she proves herself as lenient as she has been firm, and dismisses them to the insignificance which her energy has shown must always, within her borders, be the doom of the lawless agitator.

Thenceforth, thanks to a gracious Providence, her characteristic vigor is mostly exercised in the arts of peace.

The privations and perils of the settlement are matter of old history. The notes of Indian, of French and British war have died in the distance. Massachusetts is an honored member of a confederacy constituting the most powerful of all republics since the fall of Rome. In the course of fifty prosperous years, her commerce has found its way to every mart of the civilized or barbarous world. Her children contentedly till the earth, as did their fathers, and find the means of making it yield more liberal returns. Tenacious of old habits, she seeks no untried means of gain. But the will of others, strangers to her councils, determines, that, if she will have a share in the common prosperity, her activity must take new forms. She yields to the course of things, and her ingenuity and industry enrich her through the labors of her artisans. She is never remiss as to the supply of the sources of all her past prosperity, in the institutions of religion and education. Her ancient spirit of enterprise, assuming peaceful forms, aspires to literary eminence, and excites to philanthropic action. She sends out her missionaries to distant continents and islands. She originates the astonishing movement of the reformation from intemperance. She speaks a deep-toned remonstrance against the wrongs of the slave. The means, of which, governed by the demands of the time, she was wont to be so lavish for the harsh uses of war, she distributes now with even a freer hand in a wise application to the relief of all forms of human calamity. She has lived down the detraction of ignorance. By the ways that her wealth and intelligence have opened, strangers come from all the quarters to look at her prosperity, and own in it the natural product of the virtues and the lessons of the Pilgrims.

Since the institution of societies similar to our own in different parts of the country, and the endeavours made in other ways in many States of the Union, each for the completion of its own history, it may be expected, Gentlemen, that your labors will henceforward be still more particularly directed to what has always engaged a great share of your attention, the illustration of the history of this Commonwealth. May the task in all future times be as grateful as it has been, in being devoted to the record

of a virtuous people ; and may they who are to carry on the work always prosecute it in the enlightened and devoted spirit of those predecessors to the memory of whose meritorious exertions we have consecrated the meeting of this day. Our native country, and this part of it certainly not less than any other, ought to have its history the most fully told of any nation that has played a part on the theatre of time. We have no fabulous age. Our origin was at a period when means of record and of communication were ample ; and many of the prominent actors in our affairs, from age to age, have, in their several ways, been copious writers. No doubt, time has made irrecoverable spoil of much that we might have rejoiced to rescue. Your diligence has made rich gleanings in the now silent field ; but not a little of its precious produce must still remain unnoticed, amply deserving your care to collect and save. You have well entitled yourselves to the confidence of the community, and to such encouragement and assistance as circumstances may permit it to afford to your public-spirited object.

In respect to pecuniary aid from the public whom you serve, your claims, to judge from the past, are likely always to be of that extreme moderation, which, with the sense that prevails of the importance of their object, will not permit them to be denied. Your faithfulness in the preservation, and your judgment and diligence in the use, of the stores you have hitherto gathered have been approved by sufficient trial ; and henceforward it is not unreasonable to anticipate that your library will be regarded, by any who have the means of adding to its wealth, as an eligible place of deposit for materials of historical illustration, which, remaining in private hands, will, besides being exposed to chances of loss, be generally of extremely small value, compared with what they will assume when committed to your care.

If it be true that the Commonwealth is the safer and more virtuous for all that excites its citizens to an emulation of wise and virtuous progenitors, then the Commonwealth, as a body politic, stands deeply indebted to you ; and it may appear just for you to look to it for a ready patronage, or an effective coöperation, in such of your

undertakings as its intervention may promote. Your proposal, some years ago, for the adoption of measures on its part for filling up certain chasms in the provincial history, by obtaining copies of records and letters from the English offices, was favorably regarded, and suitable legislative proceedings were had for the accomplishment of your wishes. Circumstances incident to certain relations between the two countries have interfered with the execution of the plan. But these have now passed away. The time seems in all respects propitious. And perhaps there is no fitter step for signaling the commencement of your second half century, than by an effort to procure transcripts of the public documents of the period of the usurpation of Andros; of the Council records from 1692 to 1747; of the records of the General Court for ten years or more, destroyed in the fire of the latter year, but believed to be extant in a duplicate in the State Paper Office in London; and of such papers of the administrations of the last English governors as have disappeared from the public archives.*

If it be true, Gentlemen, that the community should be the wiser and better for the lessons you have laid before it from its history, it seems to be equally so that the history of our society, to which the occasion has invited us to look back, should excite us, and those who after us are to assume the maintenance of its character, to a sedulous emulation of those who before us, and under our eyes, have served and honored it. It should be ours to justify it in saying, —

“While I remain above the ground, you shall
Hear from me still, and never of me aught
But what is like me formerly. — That 's worthily-
As any ear can hear.”

We have pursued these studies in company which any man might desire to enter. At our meetings, from month to month, we have had the happiness of accosting men as worthy, as enlightened, and as cultivated, as any of us

* The Historical Society presented a memorial on this subject to the General Court of 1845. The Court passed resolves (1845, chapters 3 and 118) authorizing the governor to take measures accordingly. The Reverend Joseph B. Felt, long a useful member of this society, received an appointment from his Excellency to make examinations and procure copies in the English offices, and Mr. Benjamin P. Poore, of Newbury, in the French.

have known. Some, stealing along a path remote from the excitements of the present, seemed to find the great joy of life in deepening the legends on the tombstones of the fathers. Some, loaded with the cares of preserving, for the present and the future, what the venerable generations gone bequeathed, and keeping the salt from losing its savor, seemed to turn from their dusty paths to these mossy wells of wholesome instruction, like the tired heart to the water-brooks. Happy both, in having learned to revere such a venerable and instructive antiquity! Happy both, in the inclination to imbibe and enforce such lessons! Happy the community, which, sympathizing with such minds, trains itself, by contemplation of the simple virtues of former weak and troubled days, to use prosperity without giddiness, and power without rashness or pride! The founders of New England left a rich inheritance to their children, but in nothing so precious as in the memory of their wise and steady virtue. May there never be baseness to affront that memory! May there never be indifference to lose or disregard it! May its ennobling appeal never fail of a quick response in the hearts of any generation of dwellers on this honored soil!

THE

NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY OF MDCXLIII.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF MAY, 1843; IN CELEBRATION OF THE SECOND CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THAT EVENT.

BY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MY BRETHREN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY :
FELLOW-CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

IN reviewing the history of this confederated Union, one of the first remarks which impresses itself on the mind of the philosophical observer is the heterogeneous and conflicting primitive elements of which it was composed. It has been said that the most essential qualifications for a historian are to have neither religion nor country. And if religion consisted of a blind, unquestioning zeal in support of speculative dogmas transmitted from generation to generation, under the seal of a fisherman's ring, and the infallible dictate of a fallible man; if patriotism were compounded of the mere impulse of passion to support, right or wrong, the purposes of the land in which you were born, or the community to which you belong, — then, indeed, the devout worshipper and the ardent patriot must discard all the emblems of his religion and his country, before he may dare to assume the pen of the historian.

History is the record of the transactions of human beings associated in communities, — not of all their transactions, because there are multitudes of human actions which neither the actor nor any other of his fellow-creatures can have any possible interest in remembering; and other greater multitudes, which the interest of the actor and of all others

requires to be buried in oblivion. But whatever in the transactions of associated man bears on the causes and motives of their congregation into communities, and on their corporate existence and well-being, assumes the character of a material for history.

The history of the United States of America commenced with a bloody revolution and a seven years' war, which separated a part of them from the condition of colonies, subject to the sovereignty of the crown of England, from which they had received their charters. These charters as *colonies* gave them no right either to dissolve their allegiance to their common sovereign beyond the seas or to form any confederation or alliance between themselves, much less to constitute themselves one people. This complicated and transcendent act of sovereignty was, and could be, performed only by the people themselves, through their representatives. As representatives of the colonies, they could have no right to dissolve their allegiance; as representatives of the colonies, they could exercise only delegated power, and the colonies themselves had no power either to dissolve their own allegiance or to form a new social compact constituting a new sovereign authority over them all. By the dissolution of their ties and oaths of allegiance they dissolved also their connection with their country. They were no longer British subjects. They renounced all claim of protection from the government of Great Britain. They held, and declared they held, the *people* of Great Britain no longer as countrymen, fellow-subjects, or fellow-citizens; but as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

Their union *de facto* had existed from the time of the first meeting of the Congress at Philadelphia, in September, 1774; but that union had been formed, not by chartered rights, but by the primitive, natural rights of man, revolutionary and transcendental, — the inalienable right of resistance to oppression, — the right bestowed by the God of nature, preceding all human association, to dissolve a government which fails to discharge the duties for which all governments are instituted, — and the resulting right to form and establish a new government to supply the place of that which had been dissolved. This

dissolution of allegiance was thus proclaimed by the whole people of these North American colonies, and, with the dissolution of the common allegiance, they declared the colonies free and independent states. They thereby re-conferred upon the colonial governments all the authorities which by the charters of the several colonies they had possessed, and, without forming one general government for the whole people, left to the people of each several State the right of forming for themselves a State constitution, and proceeded to form for the whole a confederation of separate and independent States.

The revolutionary union still continued. The people of the several States formed and established their separate State constitutions. Four years of time were consumed in the painful and laborious preparation, by the joint agency of the General Congress and of the State legislatures, of a confederation, which, when adopted, proved to be a body without a soul, — a marble statue, without Promethean fire. The whole people of the Union were taught by severe experience that what they wanted was a common government, and that a confederacy is not a government. They commenced their work again as one people, and formed the constitution of the United States, — a government under which more than one generation of men have already lived and passed away; and which, with the blessing of Divine Providence, we may yet hope will prove a bond of union to this great and growing nation, for untold ages yet to come. At this time, its most imminent dangers arise not from external aggression, but from its prospects and temptations to aggrandizement. The territories which originally constituted the domain of the North American Union, already so extensive, at the time when the constitution was under the consideration of the people, as to constitute one of the most formidable objections against its adoption, have since that period been more than doubled by the acquisition and annexation of Louisiana and the Floridas. With the expansion of the surface of soil, to be cultivated and replenished by the swarming myriads of our future population, men of other races, the children of other blood, bred to other opinions, accustomed to other institutions, trained to other preju-

dices, and disciplined to other principles, have been invested with the community of our rights, and mingled with the tide of our common concerns. It was by the accession of foreign conquered nations to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, that the republic degenerated into an empire, and the empire itself was overrun and extinguished by hordes of foreign barbarians. The people of the United States themselves, who declared and achieved their independence, were not all of one common origin. The United Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, the refugees from religious persecution in France, had contributed to the still scanty streams of population covering the broad surface of the thirteen colonies at the time of their political revolution. In the origin of the colonies which united to achieve their independence, the most opposite and discordant elements were combined. All the parties, religious and political, which for more than two centuries had convulsed and desolated the mother country, were now united in harmony against her. The cavalier of the court of James the First had begun the settlement of Virginia, though the name of the colony dated back to the romantic age of Elizabeth. The rigid Roman Catholic nobleman of Ireland formed the adjoining settlement to that of Virginia; while, at a later period, the aristocratic republic of John Locke at the south, and the hereditary Quaker monarchy of William Penn at the north, bordered upon the settlements of Virginia and Maryland. Next to these, Sweden, in the days of Christina, and the United Netherlands, emancipated from the dominion of Spain, had commenced establishments destined to fall at an early day, by the right of conquest, into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon. The spirit of adventure in France had already penetrated to those mediterranean seas which seem to be but the overflowing of the river St. Lawrence, and to the hyperborean skies of Acadia.

The first English colony upon this continent had received from the Virgin Queen, even before its birth, the name, now so illustrious, of Virginia. By her immediate successor, James the First, there was granted a territory, from the thirtieth to the forty-eighth degree of latitude, to two companies of merchants, one residing in London and

the other at Plymouth, so that the benefits of the trade for which those companies were incorporated might be shared alike by the inhabitants of the east and west of England. The London company, by its location in the metropolis of the kingdom, possessed of course more means and larger resources, and obtained, in point of settlement, the start of the other. But the same John Smith, who had been so distinguished in the settlement of Virginia, had, in 1614, visited, for purposes of trade, the northern division of the territory, and gave, on his return to England, so flattering an account of the country, that Charles the First, then Prince of Wales, gave to it, as a token of his favor, the name of *New England*, which thenceforward superseded that of Virginia; — *New England*, a name still dear to our remembrance as a link of connection with the land of our forefathers, and of which, I trust, neither we nor our successors to the latest generation will ever have reason to be ashamed. It is a name peculiarly appropriate to that portion of the territory of this Union which yet bears it, and to the people by whom it is inhabited. The name of *Yankee*, sometimes given to them in derision, was, in its origin, but the Indian pronunciation of the word *English*, and, whoever may at any time incline to couple it with a sarcasm or a sneer, it is the genuine representative of many of the noblest qualities that elevate and adorn the human character. As citizens of the great community, we may cordially greet as fellow-citizens all whom the constitution and the laws entitle, of whatever lineage or descent, and whether entitled to them by birth or by adoption; but the name of *New England* carries with it a code of moral and religious principles, imbedded in the seminal institutions of our Pilgrim fathers of Plymouth and Massachusetts, pure from the fountain of human rights, gathered from the intermingling streams of *English* liberty, and as yet uncontaminated by any the remotest taint of slavery. *New England* is the child of that Puritan race, whom David Hume, with extorted reluctance, acknowledges to have been the founders of *all* the liberties of the English nation. “So powerful,” says Dr. Robertson,* “is the attraction of our native

* *History of America*, Book IX.

soil, and such our fortunate partiality to the laws and manners of our own country, that men seldom choose to abandon it, unless they be driven away by oppression, or allured by vast projects of sudden wealth"; and again, "Something more than the prospect of distant gain to themselves, or of future advantages to their country, was requisite in order to induce men to abandon the place of their nativity, to migrate to another quarter of the globe, and endure innumerable hardships under an untried climate, and in an uncultivated land covered with woods, or occupied by fierce and hostile tribes of savages. But what mere attention to private emolument or to national utility could not effect was accomplished by the operation of a higher principle. Religion had gradually excited, among a great body of the people, a spirit that fitted them remarkably for encountering the dangers and surmounting the obstacles which had previously rendered abortive the schemes of colonization in that part of America allotted to the company of Plymouth." He proceeds to remark, that the various settlements in New England are indebted for their origin to this spirit, and that in the course of his narrative would be discerned its influence, mingling in all their transactions, giving a peculiar tincture to the character of the people, as well as to their institutions, both civil and ecclesiastical.

The primary cause, then, of the various settlements of New England was religion. It was not the search for gold, — it was not the pursuit of wealth, — it was not the spirit of adventure. It was not the martial spirit of conquest, which animated our English forefathers to plant themselves here in a desert and barren wilderness, to lay the foundations of the mightiest empire that the world ever saw. It was religion. It was the Christian religion, purified and refined from its corruptions by the fires of persecution. The first colonists were, indeed, of that class of emigrants from their native land driven away by oppression; but in the settlements of Plymouth and of Massachusetts, the stern and severe impulses of religion were tempered by the tenderest and most attractive sympathies of *English patriotism*. The Plymouth colonists had been fugitives from the North of England, who from time to

time had escaped by crossing the North Sea to Holland, in numbers sufficient to form an English church at Leyden. They had fled from their country for the enjoyment of religious liberty in peace. But with that religion was inseparably connected the code of Christian morals in its simplicity and in its purity, — a code, above all others, resting upon the fundamental principle of the natural equality of mankind. The English Puritan found in Holland a refuge from the persecution of his own countrymen, but he found not his English home, he found not the same system of pure morals to which his soul was bound. In the lapse of time, he found that his children were leaving him and losing the name of Englishmen; and notwithstanding all that he had suffered from the injustice of his countrymen, so intense was his attachment to the name of England, that, interdicted as he was from returning to her bosom, he determined to seek, beyond the Atlantic Ocean, at the distance of three thousand miles, in the most desolate region of the new hemisphere, a spot of earth where he could make for himself an English home, and find or create in the wilderness a new England, as the only consolation accessible to his heart for the loss of the old. The same spirit is breathed in the address from the company of the Massachusetts colony, dated at Yarmouth, on the 7th of April, 1630, on board of the *Arbella*. In the fervent spirit at once of piety and of patriotism, they earnestly beseech their countrymen whom they leave behind to consider them as their brethren, needing their prayers for the successful accomplishment of their great and arduous undertaking; professing not to be of those that dream of perfection in this world, they yet desire their countrymen to take notice of the principals and body of their company, as those who esteem it their honor to call *the church of England*, from whence they rose, their dear mother, and could not part from their native country, where she especially resided, without much sadness of heart and many tears in their eyes. In these recorded monuments of the motives which prompted the Pilgrims, both of the Plymouth and of the Massachusetts colonies, in their emigration to this hemisphere, may we not clearly discern the peculiar propriety

with which the name of *New England* was given to the land which they were to inhabit? The profound sense of their duty to God, — the tender tie of affection for their native land, — the Puritan *moral* principle of equal and inalienable rights, — the secret, pungent, and only spur to their secession from that dear mother church whom they so dearly loved, and yet from whom with such agonizing tears they were compelled to part! O, how was it possible that this combination of elementary principles, swelling with an irresistible impulse to action in the bosoms of our patriarchal forefathers, could be so signally manifested and so deeply rooted in the hearts of all their posterity, and in the memory of all mankind, as by adopting for their country in the new world the name of that which had been the centre of all their affections in the old?

In all the colonial establishments of the European world in this hemisphere, there was a question of right by the laws of nature and of nature's God, which met the European adventurer as he landed upon the shore, — the proprietary right of the prior occupant. By the law of nature, independent of all revelation, and by the concurrent testimony of holy writ in the narrative of the creation, the earth was given by the Creator to the family of man for the purpose of improving the condition of its possessor, and power was given them over the lives of all other animals on the surface or in the bowels of the earth, in the bosom of the waters, or suspended in the sky. The Scripture says they were all given to man as articles of food, — but no such power was given over his brother man. As the exclusive possession of the portion of the earth occupied by man for tillage must be held by the occupant, at least for a season, the right of exclusive property becomes vested, — by the law of nature the *right* of the first occupant; and by the continuous labor of tillage from season to season, that exclusive proprietary right becomes permanent, and includes the right of inclosure and of exclusion of all other occupants. Unoccupied earth may be used by man for the pursuit of those animals given him by the Creator, for food or for pastime; but the earth cannot be used at once for the purposes of

the chase and of tillage, which cannot be commenced on any given portion of earth, until the animal occupants of its soil have been expelled. The European settlers on the territories included within the bounds of New England came from their Transatlantic homes as tillers of the earth. They came to hold the earth for tillage, and of course for exclusive possession. They found the country occupied by tribes of wandering savages, without permanent habitation, without exclusive occupation, using the ground not for tillage, but for hunting, and having therefore no exclusive right to the soil. The Indian savage used the earth only to range over its surface in search of prey. The European settler needed it for permanent and exclusive possession by tillage. These rights could not subsist together. By the law of nature, the right of each party was subject to the condition of operating no wrong to the other. The Indian savage was bound to renounce his right of hunting on so much of the ground as was necessary to the European settler for tillage, and the European was bound to make a reasonable compensation to the Indian for the extinction for ever of his right of hunting on those identical grounds. But the Indian hunter had no permanent right to the soil to renounce, and the European settler did him no wrong by assuming, after compensating him for his right of hunting there, exclusive possession of the soil to himself. Of the European settlers on the American continent, the colonists of New England were the first who ever held themselves bound to respect the right of prior occupancy of the Indian savage, and to purchase it of him for an equivalent. But the Indian could grant no more than he possessed, and with the exception of his wigwam, which had no permanent location, his only right was to hunt and fish within certain determinate metes and bounds. The whole territory of New England was thus purchased for valuable consideration by the new-comers, and the Indian title was extinguished by compact fulfilling the law of justice between man and man. The most eminent writer on the law of nations, of modern times, Vattel, has paid a worthy tribute of respect to our forefathers, for their rigid observance, in this respect, of the

natural rights of the indigenous natives of the country. It is from the example of the New England Puritans that he draws the preceptive rule, and he awards to them merited honor for having established it.

My Brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the reputation of our forefathers is the choicest inheritance and the richest possession they have left us. The preservation of their good name from those slanders with which they were so bitterly persecuted and so pertinaciously assailed in their own time, and which, passing from age to age, with a perseverance of envy and detraction, are yet showered upon them, is one of the preëminent duties of our society. If justice rules the ball, if communities are accessible to the chastisements of future retribution, there is a fearful account of wrong, of which the civilized white European will be responsible hereafter to the Indian races of this hemisphere for the balance. Nor is the account yet closed. We ourselves, assembled here, are yet witnessing, in silent acquiescence, a treatment of the Indian tribes cursed with our protection by the government of our national Union, — a treatment marked with perfidy as faithless, with oppression as grievous, with tyranny as inexorable, as ever presided over the conquests of Cortes or Pizarro. The history of our negotiations for the last ten or twelve years with the Indian tribes, and their result, present in sad relief the expulsion of the Southern tribes, not only from their hunting-grounds, but from their own domain; from the possession of the soil acquired by their conversion, at our instance and under our persuasion, from the hunter to the agricultural state. From their planted lands, from their comfortable dwellings, from their domestic hearths, and the sepulchres of their fathers, pledged by solemn treaties to their perpetual possession, they have been expelled by the rude hand of violence, and driven, like herds of cattle, to a common receptacle beyond the Mississippi, whence they are already threatened again with expulsion by their neighbours of Arkansas and Missouri.

It is not for us, therefore, to charge with injustice or cruelty towards the original inhabitants of this continent the Puritan English colonists of the seventeenth century.

The transition of an extensive region of the globe from a land of hunters to a land of planters is the metamorphosis of a wilderness into a garden. How pleasing to the imagination is the scene;— and yet how afflicting to the sense of humanity the process of the operation! The tenant of the wilderness must be dispossessed or withdraw; the game, which furnishes at once his subsistence and the occupation of his life, must be exterminated; flocks and herds of tame animals must take the place of the beaver, the buffalo, and the deer; and the tassels of the maize, the waving grass, the bean-pole and the pea-vine, must open their ripening fruits to the sun, on ground hidden even from the face of the hunter by tangled thickets, and gnarled oaks, and enormous hemlocks in thick array, standing as if in defiance of the genial influence of the sky. Yet, by some mysterious law of nature, man the hunter becomes, in the process of time, so attached to his condition, that he inflexibly refuses to change it; he perseveres in his roving pursuits of the chase; he refuses to erect for himself a permanent habitation; he neither tills the ground, nor attempts to tame the beasts of the field, or the fowls of the air, for his use; he has no genius for the mechanic arts; he has no relish for sedentary labors; he borrows occasionally from the civilized man a blacksmith to sharpen his tools, and exchanges his prey from the chase for the rifle, the powder, and the ball, more expeditious for his own work of destruction than his bow and arrow. He is formed for the wilderness, and the wilderness is formed for him.

The confederation, of which this day is selected as the two-hundredth anniversary, was formed between the four New England colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. The date of the act of confederation itself is the 19th of May, 1643; it was then subscribed at Boston, where it had been negotiated, by Increase Howell, Secretary of the General Court of Massachusetts, by John Haynes and Edward Hopkins, commissioners from Connecticut, and by Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson from New Haven. The commissioners from Plymouth were Edward Winslow and William Collier; but although the confederation itself had

originated in that colony, and had been first proposed by her, she had not authorized her commissioners to conclude, without reference back to her own General Court, which was done, and at the second meeting of the commissioners, held at Boston in September of the same year, the commissioners from Plymouth presented an order of their General Court of 29th August, 1643, attesting that the articles of confederation were read, approved, and confirmed by the said court and all their townships, and their commissioners authorized to ratify them by their subscriptions, which they accordingly did on the 7th of September, 1643.

The parties to this confederacy were the colonies, 1st, of Plymouth; 2d, of Massachusetts; 3d, of Connecticut; 4th, of New Haven. 1st, *The Plymouth Colony* is remarkable for having furnished the first example in modern times of a social compact or system of government instituted by voluntary agreement, conformably to the laws of nature, by men of equal rights, and about to establish their permanent habitation as a community in a new country. Upon their landing at Plymouth, in the dead of winter, they had no charter from their king and no right to the soil upon which they landed.

The grants of rights and powers for the exercise of colonial governments in the colonies were in that age exercised by the kings of England. It was a branch of the royal prerogative, assumed, but never legalized. The right of conquering distant lands inhabited by infidels had grown an absurd and unnatural excrescence from the conversion of Constantine to the Christian faith. The words he had heard in his nightly vision of a crucifix surrounded with celestial splendors were, *Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*,—*In this conquer*;—and the imposture itself of that pretended miracle affords evidence superabundantly that the impulse of Constantine to embrace the *Christian* religion was not the adorable doctrines and heavenly precepts of the meek and lowly Jesus, but worldly grandeur, imperial power, and dominion on the earth. The despotism of imperial Rome, engrafted upon the hierarchy of the church, formed the system substituted for that of *human rights*, under which mankind has groaned from the age of the Cæsars to this

day. Jesus Christ had said to the Apostle Peter, — “Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” Whatever power was conferred upon Peter by these words, it is subject to two restrictive conditions. First, the kingdom, the keys of which were promised to Peter, was not of this world. It was no grant of temporal power. And secondly, it was a grant exclusively to Peter, without any authority to him to devolve the same upon any other person, much less authorizing others to confer it upon his successors. Yet upon this airy foundation the church of Rome erected the most stupendous and unlimited engine of power, spiritual and temporal, that ever weighed upon the family of man. For the successors of Saint Peter assumed that all the kingdoms of the earth were to be made kingdoms of heaven, and that the persons and property of all nations not already subjected to Christianity were, by this donation of Jesus to Peter, placed at their absolute and arbitrary disposal. One of the most prominent exercises of this power was the bull of Alexander, the 6th of May, 1494, granting to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain all the lands west of a line drawn from the south pole one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands.

When the kings of England seceded from the authority of the church of Rome, they substituted themselves as heads of the church, and assumed all the authority over foreign and barbarous nations, for the purpose of converting them to Christianity, which had been assumed at any time by the bishops of Rome. They also *granted* the lands of foreign and barbarous nations (as were all those of the western hemisphere), without any restriction whatever in the exercise of power over their persons or their property. They held their own subjects engaged in such enterprises always and everywhere inalienably bound in allegiance to them, and declared them always and everywhere entitled to their sovereign protection. None of these transcendental and elementary questions of relative *right* and *power*

between the sovereign and the subject, and between the European adventurer and the indigenous native of America, appear to have arisen in the formation of any other colonies than those of New England.

The Pilgrims of Plymouth landed on a desert within the boundaries assigned by the charter of Charles the First to the Plymouth company; but they came not with license from the company itself. They came not even as English subjects, but as strangers, long exiled from her borders by the tyranny of her laws, seeking a place of refuge under the protection of another sovereign, but cast again by an accident, over which they had no control, upon the tender mercies of that ecclesiastical power from which they had already found no salvation but by escaping from their country. Without the shadow of blame upon themselves, and in the exercise of the purest energies that can direct and guide the conduct of men, they were outlawed both from England and from the Netherlands; and the social compact, signed on the deck of the *Mayflower* before their landing, was the necessary result of their situation as men in a state of nature, subject to no law but that which they consented to impose upon themselves.

In the establishment of the Massachusetts colony, an incident had occurred, which, whether intended by those who proposed and accomplished it, or merely projected for the special convenience of the emigrants, and afterwards accommodating itself to their condition and wants so as silently to effect a revolution, did certainly change the whole system of English colonization, and, by bestowing upon the colonies themselves an organization perpetually tending to independence, gradually predisposed the minds and measures of men to that final separation from the parent stock which it was impossible not to foresee must, in the lapse of ages, prove unavoidable. I speak of the transfer of the charter itself to America. Certainly nothing like this could have been contemplated in the original establishment of the company. That was instituted for purposes of trade, and of which the adventurers who furnished the funds would naturally choose to retain the management in their own hands. The charter

transferred to America was a constitution of government, and as such was always considered. It left the liberties and the actions of the settlers in the new country entirely under their own control, released from the humors and prejudices of a court of directors in London. Under that management, it would necessarily have followed that all the measures of the corporation would have been taken with final reference to the interests of the undertakers at home. It would have been a company to be enriched, and not a people to be governed. The change was a total one, a democratic revolution. By the transfer of the charter to America, the management of the affairs of a joint-stock trading company by its members was changed into the government of a people,—a pure democracy; and in the space of four years after the landing of John Winthrop and his company with the charter, the numbers of the colony had so much increased and their settlements had so expanded, that the natural result of a *representative* democracy forced itself upon them.

“Notice being sent out,” says Winthrop’s Journal (Savage’s Winthrop, I. 128), “of the General Court to be held the 14th day of the third month, called May (1634), the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same General Court; who, having met, *desired a sight of the patent*, and conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the General Court, repaired to the governor to advise with him about it. He told them, that, when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was supposed to be (as in like corporations) so few, as they might well join in making laws; but now they were grown to so a great body, as it was not possible for them to make or execute laws, *but they must choose others for that purpose*; and that howsoever it would be necessary hereafter to have a *select* company to intend that work, yet for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for such a business, neither could the *commonwealth* bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it. Yet this they might do at present, viz., they might at the General Court make an order that once in the year a certain number should be ap-

pointed (upon summons from the governor) to revise all laws and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the court of assistants; and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of."

To the remark upon this passage of the last editor of Governor Winthrop's Journal, that no country on earth can afford the perfect history of any event more interesting to its own inhabitants than that which is here related, I will only add that in this transaction, following, as by the providential agency of a law of nature, the transfer of the charter of Massachusetts to this country, are to be found the *primordia rerum*, the first elements of that great republican, democratic, confederated republic, destined to gather under the shadow of its wings, in its appointed time, perhaps the whole continents of North and South America.

The settlement of Connecticut was commenced in 1636 by Mr. Hooker, with detachments from the inhabitants of Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury. They went out from the colony of Massachusetts and with some informal warrant from its magistrates, but their location was without the bounds of its charter. In 1631, the Earl of Warwick had obtained from Charles the First a grant of forty leagues of seacoast westward from the mouth of Narraganset River, which had been assigned to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, among whom were John Pym and John Hampden; and in 1635, a grant of sixty leagues of territory, including the Connecticut River, had been made by the council at Plymouth to James, Marquis of Hamilton; but in 1638, on the 14th of January, the inhabitants of the towns of Hartford, Weathersfield, and Windsor resorted to the usual expedient, of which the Plymouth pilgrims had set the first example, and formed among themselves a compact or constitution of government; "and well knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God requires, that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at

all seasons, as occasion should require," — they did therefore "associate and conjoin themselves to be as one public estate or commonwealth, and did for themselves and successors, and such as should be adjoined to them at any time thereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which they professed, and also the discipline of the church of Christ, according to the truth of said gospel as then preached among them; as also, in civil affairs, to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees as should be made, ordered, and decreed, as prescribed in the contract"; — that is, that two courts or assemblies should be held every year, at one of which election should be made of deputies and magistrates, and a governor to serve for a single year.

The colony of New Haven was settled by a company who came over from England to Boston in 1637. Its most prominent members were Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, merchants of London, and John Davenport, a minister, who, says Neal, came over with a very great retinue of acquaintances and followers. They would have formed a precious acquisition of strength to the Massachusetts colony, the General Court of which offered them a grant of any spot within their jurisdiction, upon which they could fix their choice. But the spirit of independence and self-government, so transcendent over all others among the Puritans of that age, and stimulated perhaps by personal aspirations of relative dignity and consideration, in the bosoms of the leading laymen, or of their spiritual guide, prompted them purposely to step beyond the jurisdiction of any charter, and to plant themselves in a valley where they might exercise the sovereignty of nature and establish a constitution of government founded on the solemnly settled principle, that the Holy Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth, and that the exercise of all the powers of government should be exclusively committed to the members of the church. Such a government they did accordingly institute.

These were the four colonies of New England united

in the confederacy of 1643. The existence of four distinct communities of men, associated together, each by a separate primitive compact, settled on a territory so small as that of New England, and all consisting of one small religious sect of Christians, seceders from the church of England, may well lead an impartial observer of another age to conclude, that, if the spirit, under the impulse of which they all acted, was conscientious, it was also contentious, — contentious far beyond the bounds of Christian charity. But there was yet another, a fifth New England colony, denied admission into the union, and furnishing, in its broadest latitude, the demonstration of that conscientious, contentious spirit which so signally characterized the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, the founders of New England, of all the liberties of the British nation, and of the ultimate universal freedom of the race of man.

The founder of the colony of Rhode Island was Roger Williams, a man who may be considered the very impersonation of this combined conscientious, contentious spirit. Born in the land of Sir Hugh Evans and Captain Fluelen, educated at the University of Oxford, at the very period when the monarchical, episcopal church of England was purging herself as by fire from the corruptions of the despotic and soul-degrading church of Rome, he arrived at Boston in February, 1630, about half a year after the landing of the Massachusetts colony of Governor Winthrop. He was an eloquent preacher, — stiff and self-confident in his opinions, ingenious, powerful, and commanding in impressing them upon others, inflexible in his adherence to them, and, by an inconsistency peculiar to religious enthusiasts, combining the most amiable and affectionate sympathies of the heart with the most repulsive and inexorable exclusions of conciliation, compliance, or intercourse with his adversaries in opinion. On his first arrival, he went to Salem, and there soon made himself so acceptable by his preaching, that the people of Mr. Skelton's church invited him to settle with them as his colleague. But he had broached and made no hesitation in maintaining two opinions imminently dangerous to the very existence of the Massachusetts colony, and certainly not remarkable for that spirit of charity, or

toleration, upon which he afterwards founded his own government, and which now, in after ages, constitutes his brightest title to renown. The first of these opinions was that the royal charter to the colony of Massachusetts was a nullity, — because the king of England had no right to grant lands in foreign countries which belonged of right to their native inhabitants. This opinion struck directly at all right of property held under the authority of the royal charter, and, followed to its logical conclusions, would have proved the utter impotence of the royal charter to confer powers of government any more than it could convey property in the soil. The other opinion was that the church of Boston was criminal, for having omitted to make a public declaration of repentance for having held communion with the church of England before their emigration; and upon that ground he had refused to join in communion with the church at Boston.

Other opinions, not less extreme, and shaking the foundations of human society, were laid to his charge, and were by him neither disproved nor disavowed. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that, at that period, the interference of Governor Winthrop and his assistants, by remonstrance or advice to the church of Salem, should have prevented his settlement there. He went to Plymouth, and was soon settled in the church at that place. They had not the crime of communion with the church of England, before their emigration, to repent of in sackcloth and ashes; and they had no charter the constitutional validity of which could be contested. But extreme opinions on principles of morals and radical abstractions affecting the origin and right of property are seldom solitary. Paradoxes are of a prolific breed; and Mr. Williams, popular as he always made himself in the pulpit, in the course of two or three years held forth doctrines producing dissension and discord in his Plymouth flock, from which he solicited a dismissal to the church of Salem, and it was granted.

Abstract truth, when coming into collision with human institutions, and asserted with eloquent lips, never fails to make its way to the heart of man. In the interval of Williams's residence at Plymouth, Mr. Skelton had died,

and his people, now in defiance of the remonstrances of the colonial magistrates, elected Williams for their teacher. His hostility to the foundations of the Massachusetts colony was neither confined to speculation nor merely defensive. It was altogether revolutionary. He denied utterly the validity of the colonial charter. He refused to take the oath of allegiance, and, in retaliation of the remonstrances of the Massachusetts magistrates against his election, and of their withholding a grant of a lot of land, for which his church at Salem had petitioned, he prevailed on that church to write letters of admonition and *accusation* against the magistrates to the churches of which they were members. This, in the temper of the times, could be considered in no other light than instigation to rebellion. At the next General Court, Salem was disfranchised till an apology should be made. This brought to a crisis the continued existence of the Massachusetts colonial government itself. The people of Salem submitted, apologized, and returned to their allegiance. The insurrection was subdued, tranquillity restored, — all was quiet, “*præter atrocem animum Catonis.*”

Williams had, by the subtlety and vehemence of his persuasive powers, prevailed upon Endicott to look upon the cross of St. George in the banners of England as a badge of idolatry, and to cause it actually to be cut out of the flag floating at the fort in Salem. The red cross of St. George in the national banners of England was a grievous and odious eyesore to multitudes, probably to a great majority, of the Massachusetts colonists; but in the eyes of the government of the colony, it was the sacred badge of allegiance to the monarchy at home, already deeply jealous of the purposes and designs of the Puritan colony. The charter itself was in imminent and daily danger of revocation, under the influence of Laud; and nothing could be more clearly indicative of a spirit of total independence than the exclusion of the cross from the colonial standard. At the next ensuing election, Endicott was left out of the magistracy, called to account before the General Court, and sentenced as for a great offence, — admonished and disabled for one year from bearing any public office; his judges declining any heavier

sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent.

Mr. Williams now, in the further indulgence of his conscientious contention, required his church to break off from communion with all the churches, not only of Old, but of New England. They were all unregenerate, and all communion of the regenerate with the unregenerate man was sin. His church staggered and paused. He gave them warning, that, if they would not separate from all contaminating communion with the unregenerate, he would separate himself from them; and the deed followed the word. He opened a conventicle in his own house, not unattended with followers, and quarrelled with his wife for persevering to worship with that church which *he* had excommunicated as unregenerate. Can we blame the founders of the Massachusetts colony for banishing him from within their jurisdiction? In the annals of religious persecution, is there to be found a martyr more gently dealt with by those against whom he began the war of intolerance, — whose authority he persisted, even after professions of penitence and submission, in defying, till deserted even by the wife of his bosom, — and whose utmost severity of punishment upon him was only an order for his removal, as a nuisance, from among them? They would have sent him to England for a trial far otherwise severe; but he escaped from their pursuit, and, after wandering a winter long among the Indian savages, whom he had attached to him by his reverence for their rights, he attempted first to make a settlement at Seekonk, but, finding that within the Plymouth jurisdiction, finally alighted at a spring at the head of a creek beyond all the chartered grasp of civilized man, and called it PROVIDENCE.

And here it was that he finally obtained, by means of grants of lands from the Indians in that region and in the neighbouring island of Aquidneck, and lastly of a charter from the monarch of England, the occasion of establishing a colony upon his own darling principles of religious *toleration* and political *democracy*.

From the moment they were delivered of his presence, there appears never in the Massachusetts colony the slight-

est disposition to persecute or molest him. It was by the advice of Governor Winthrop, given in a private letter, and encouraging him from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents, that he steered his course to the Narraganset Bay. Winslow, from the Plymouth colony, visited him, and put a piece of gold into the hands of his wife for their supply. And in the Pequot war of 1637, the English of Massachusetts employed him to make a league, offensive and defensivē, with the Narraganset Indians, which he accomplished.

The settlement of Roger Williams at Providence was made in 1636. The deed of the sachems, Canonicus, and Miantonomy, of his lands, was dated two years later, and contemporaneous with it to a day was their grant to William Coddington and his friends of the island of Aquidneck, afterwards, now, and for all future time, known by the honorable name of Rhode Island; the joint government of which, under the form of a perfect modern democracy, and by the name of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, was first chartered by the usurped authority of the Long Parliament, then deeply tinged with aristocracy by a charter from the restored Stuart, Charles the Second, and recently, by a fearful political convulsion, reinvested by her own people in the attributes of democracy, modified by her more enlarged existence as a member of this great North American Union.

At the formation of the New England union, this colony solicited admission to the same, which was refused unless they would submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Plymouth colony, which they declined.

The union then consisted of four separate, independent communities, in a great measure self-formed; the vital principle common to them all being religious contention, — and the quickening spirit, equal rights, freedom of thought and action, and personal independence.

On the formation within our own times of the present North American confederacy, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania assumed, as the motto to her arms, the words, "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence." Her neighbouring sister, New York, under a prophetic transport, prouder, if

not more sublime, assumed, as the emblem of her futurity, with the image of the rising sun, the aspiring, solitary word, *Excelsior*. Massachusetts, as if mindful of the whole history of her existence, from the tempest-tossed trials and dangers of the Mayflower Pilgrims till the consummation of her own social compact in her State constitution, borrowed from Algernon Sidney the profound thought, that the only end worthy of the nature of man, of a struggle for liberty, is the enjoyment of peace and quiet, and taught her sons to be ever ready to draw the sword in her defence.

The New England confederation originated in the Plymouth colony, and was probably suggested to them by the example which they had witnessed, and under which they had lived several years, in the United Netherlands. Edmund Burke has called the Puritan spirit the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. Set aside the contentious element in the religious fervor of the Puritans, and you perceive no more adequate motive for Mr. Hooker and his little flock to seek an independent subsovereignty beyond the Massachusetts charter at Hartford, nor for Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Davenport to step again beyond the bounds of the Connecticut settlement to erect a new commonwealth at New Haven, than there was for Roger Williams to set up his standard of free thought and democracy at Providence. One colony would, for all purposes except that of religious controversy, have been amply sufficient to cover the whole surface of New England; and far more efficient for self-defence against the formidable and ferocious enemies by whom they were surrounded. For at the north they had to contend with the pretensions of a French settlement of Acadia, and at the west with that of Canada, under grant from the kings of France; while at the south, in the immediate vicinity of Connecticut River, the Dutch settlers of the Manhadoes were already contesting the possession of it with them.

The Plymouth Pilgrims, from the time of their landing, lived for years in peace and harmony with the neighbouring Indians. The spot on which they built their town was, with regard to any right of occupancy or possession

by the Indians, a derelict. It was found a perfect solitude. The first Indian chief who came among them, in March, after their landing, Samoset, told them, says the relation of Mourt, that the place where they lived was called Patuxet, and that, about four years before, all the inhabitants had died of an extraordinary plague; and there was neither man, woman, nor child remaining; so that there was none to hinder their possession or lay claim to it. With the nearest neighbouring chieftain or sachem they shortly afterwards had friendly intercourse, and formed a league of amity. This was Massasoit, the chieftain of Massachusetts, with whom they continued in friendship throughout his life, and from him received the grants of lands as the borders of their settlements were enlarged. In the course of the first year of the colony, nine of the chiefs subordinate to Massasoit came in and acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of King James; but among them were at least some whose ideas of subjection were not very accurately defined, or whose principles of good faith were not very deeply seated in their souls.

The Plymouth Pilgrims had no ambition of conquest, and no purpose of injustice to the natives of this hemisphere mingled up with their migration for settlement. But the seeds of jealousy, hatred, and war between them had already been sown before their arrival. There had been, for several years, transient intercourse between the two races by the occasional visitation and landing of trading adventurers, French as well as English; and scenes of fraud, violence, and even bloodshed had embittered the passions of the Indians against the intruder upon his native soil. The country was besprinkled, it could not be said peopled, by scattered tribes almost always at war with one another. There were probably not thirty thousand of them dotting a surface of territory which at this day maintains a population exceeding two millions.

Of their numerous tribes of smaller account, whose names have scarcely been preserved, there were, besides those ranging over the domain of Massasoit, three, ever arrayed in hostility for mutual destruction, and whose existence, and combinations, and oppositions were equally

portentous of destruction to the infant colonies from Europe,—the Pequots, the Mohegans, and the Narragansets.

The first exterminating conflict of the races was with the Pequots inhabiting that portion of Connecticut where now stands New London, and along the borders of the Thames. The aggression and the first act of warfare came from them. The design of exterminating all the English settlements in New England was first conceived and matured by them.

In 1634, the master and crew of a trading bark from Massachusetts had been treacherously murdered by men of this tribe on the Connecticut River. They averted war to avenge this act, by alleging that it had been in self-defence, and by a deputation with presents and promises to deliver up the murderers. In 1637, after an abortive expedition under the command of Endicott, and the murder of John Oldham near Block Island, a joint force from Connecticut and Massachusetts, in one short campaign, by fire and sword, exterminated the Pequot nation, leaving scarcely a solitary remnant of them to tell the tale.

Such was the result of the first war between the colonists of New England with the Indians included within their borders. Its origin had been by the murder of individuals belonging to the Connecticut settlement. Its termination had been accomplished by the means of auxiliary force levied by the principal colony of Massachusetts. One tribe was exterminated. But all the colonies were surrounded and intermingled with others between whom and their people collisions of temper and of property were continually occurring, which threatened the existence of each of the separate colonies, and were daily maturing to a general conspiracy of the Indian tribes for the total destruction of all the colonies.

The course of events in the Pequot war had brought home to the feelings of the colonists, in the several establishments, the necessity of an organized union for the common defence against their numerous enemies, civilized and savage. When the first expedition under Endicott was despatched from the Massachusetts colony in

1637, Winslow was sent from the governor and council of Plymouth to treat with them about joining in it. The obvious and urgent motives to the union, and the difficulties to be adjusted in its formation, were then fully discussed; there was mutual apology and explanation to account for the fact, that there had not been earlier movements towards united exertions to meet the emergency of the time. Winslow had been instructed to propose that the parties should engage to aid each other *in all their occasions, &c.*, which was declined for the present, — the government of Massachusetts preferring to reserve to themselves the right to judge the reasons of any such occasion as might fall out. They urged, however, immediate considerations to induce the Plymouth colony to furnish present aid, which the speedy conclusion of the war, however, rendered unnecessary; and as to the proffer of a permanent and general confederacy, they concluded to write further to them after the next General Court.

The extermination of the Pequot tribe struck such terror over all other Indian nations of New England, that several years passed away without further molestation from them. The region within the domain of Massasoit remained faithful to his engagements, and his followers never joined in any of the projects hostile to the colonial settlements. But the tribes in more immediate proximity to the Pequots, the Mohegans and the Narragansets, continued in a state of convulsive agitation. They had long been, with occasional intervals of quiet, at war with each other; there was a rancorous feeling of mutual hostility of long standing always stimulating them to war. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, had attached himself warmly, and as faithfully as the fickle character of Indian fidelity would admit, to the interests of the English colonists; and Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansets, from motives of policy, as well as from impulses of a better nature, though unable to preserve the peace between his tribe and the Mohegans, had, by concessions and submissions, averted the fatal enmity of the strangers from beyond the seas. His nephew, Miantonomy, repeatedly summoned to Boston to account for movements of ill-repressed hostility, and bound by acknowledgments of subjection and by

stipulations of peace with the Mohegans, under the umpirage and guaranty of the colonists, finished by a sudden and treacherous attack upon Uncas, in which, however, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.

The confederation of the New England colonies was formed. The motives for its formation are thus explicitly declared in the preamble to the eleven articles of which it is composed. "Whereas we all came into these parts of America with *one and the same end and aim*, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel *in purity, with peace*; and whereas, in our settling (by the wise providence of God), we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which may hereafter prove injurious to us and our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England, which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect: We therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present *consociation*, amongst ourselves, for our mutual help and strength in all our future concernments; that, as *in nation and religion*, so in other respects, we be and continue *one*, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles.

"1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or jurisdictions above named (Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven), and they do jointly and severally by these presents agree and conclude, that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of, *the United Colonies of New England*."

And now comes the act of sovereign power. "2. The

said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The third article is a mutual guaranty to each *jurisdiction* of all the settlements within its own limits, with a stipulation against the admission of any other jurisdiction, or the union of any two of the jurisdictions in one, without the consent of the rest.

The fourth provides that the charge of all *just* wars shall be borne in proportion to the *numbers* of male population from sixteen to sixty years of age, inhabitants of each jurisdiction. The commissioners for each jurisdiction were to bring in returns of their numbers and accounts of the charges of war, whether by service of men or otherwise; each jurisdiction or plantation to rate itself for the payment without the interference of the confederation; and the *advantage* of the war, whether in lands, goods, or persons, were to be divided among the confederates in the same proportions.

The fifth stipulates the manner of claiming and obtaining aid by each jurisdiction from the others, when invaded by any enemy whomsoever. Upon the notice and request of any three magistrates of the invaded jurisdiction, the rest of the confederates were forthwith to send aid in the proportion of one hundred men for Massachusetts to forty-five of each of the other confederates; the men to be armed and provided for the service and journey by their own jurisdiction, and, on their return, to be victualled, and supplied with powder and shot, by the jurisdiction which sent for them. Each jurisdiction might furnish voluntary aid to its next neighbour in completing their respective quotas; and at the first meeting of the commissioners, the *cause* of the war was to be duly considered, and if it appeared that the fault lay in the invaded jurisdiction or plantation, the whole charge of the war and of making satisfaction to the invaders was to be borne by the wrong-doers themselves.

In the event of a threatened invasion, any three magistrates, or two, if there were no more in the jurisdiction, might summon a meeting of the commissioners at any convenient place, whence they might remove to any other place at their discretion, to consider and provide against the threatened danger.

The sixth article was the constitution of the commission; two members from each of the four jurisdictions, all in church fellowship, with full powers from their several general courts respectively to *hear, examine, weigh,* and DETERMINE all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, or whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates or plantations into combination with any of these confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation for amity, offence, or defence; not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which by the third article is preserved entirely to themselves. The agreement of the eight commissioners was sufficient for the carrying into execution any proposed measure; but the agreement of six required a reference to the four general courts; the unanimous concurrence of which was required for the prosecution of the measure by all the confederates. The commissioners were to meet once every year, the first Thursday in September, besides extraordinary meetings, according to the fifth article. The meetings to be held alternately at Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, but twice in succession at Boston. Some middle place, convenient for all the jurisdictions, might be afterwards substituted.

Article 7. The commissioners, or any six of them, were authorized at each meeting to choose from among themselves a president, whose office and work should be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings at the present meeting. But he had no power to hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or to *cast the scales*, otherwise than as above agreed.

The eighth article provides, first, that the commissioners shall endeavour to frame and establish agreements and or-

ders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations are interested for preserving peace amongst themselves and preventing (as much as might be) all occasions of war, or differences with others, — as about the free and speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own; receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificate; how all the jurisdictions might carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent, nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the confederates through such miscarriage. And secondly, there was a double provision for the delivery up of a fugitive servant, upon the certificate of *one* magistrate, or other due proof, and of criminal fugitives from justice, on the certificate of two magistrates; and if help should be required for the safe returning of any offender, it was to be granted to him that craved the same, he paying the charges thereof.

The ninth article cautiously guarded against the involvements of the confederacy in any hasty or inconsiderate wars, by a positive stipulation that neither of the four confederates should begin, undertake, or engage themselves or the confederation, or any part thereof (sudden exigents, to be moderated as much as the case would permit, excepted), in any war whatsoever, without the consent of the commissioners, or of at least six of them. And no charge was to be required of any of the confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the commissioners should have met and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which was then to be paid by the several confederates according to the established proportion.

By the tenth article it was agreed, that, in extraordinary occasions of meetings of commissioners summoned by the due number of magistrates, if any of the members of the commission should fail to attend, four of them should have power to direct a war which could not be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as six might do if all were present, — but not less than six should determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

And finally, it was agreed that the confederacy should be perpetual, and that, if any of the confederates should break any of these articles, or be any other way injurious to any one of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury should be duly considered and ordered by the commissioners for the other jurisdictions, so that both peace and the confederation might be entirely preserved without violation.

In the analysis of this institution, we perceive, first, the exercise of sovereign power in its highest attributes. It is a league offensive and defensive between four separate communities, independent of each other, for the management of their common concerns, involving peace and war, and all those relations of intercourse in peace with other tribes or communities in which the interest of all the confederates was concerned. Every other object of government was reserved exclusively to the separate jurisdictions. The distribution of power between the commissioners of the whole confederacy and the separate governments of the colonies was made upon the same identical principles with those which gathered and united the thirteen English colonies, as the prelude to the revolution which severed them for ever from their national connection with Great Britain. The New England confederacy of 1643 was the model and prototype of the North American confederacy of 1774. In neither of the two cases was the measure authorized or sanctioned by the charters of the several colonies parties to the compact. In both cases it was the great law of nature and of nature's God, — the law of self-preservation and self-defence, which invested the parties, as separate communities, with power to pledge their mutual faith for the common defence and general welfare of all. The New England colonists, conscious of this self-assumed sovereignty, expressly allege the *sad distractions* of their mother country, depriving them of her protection, and encouraging their enemies to combine for their destruction, as concurring with the other causes to impose upon them the duty of rallying all their energies for their own defence. The North American colonies, for the same assumption of sovereign power, appealed to their chartered rights as Britons, — and, finding that appeal

fruitless and vain, to their natural rights as men, bestowed upon them by their Creator at their birth, and unextinguishable by human hands or human institutions. The compact of the New England colonies, without the sanction of their sovereign, was yet not against him. The union of the North American colonies turned the artillery of sovereignty against the sovereign himself, and demolished the throne of the oppressor with ordnance drawn from his own arsenals.

The first of the reasons assigned by the parties to the New England confederacy for their *consociation* is the common purpose of their emigration from Europe and settlement in this hemisphere, — to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, *and* to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in *purity, with peace*. This purpose was twofold, and necessarily imported a system of national policy, — the propagation of the gospel, bearing upon their relations with the aboriginal natives of the country, — and the enjoyment of their religious liberties, regulating their domestic relations among themselves, and their dependent condition on their sovereign and their country beyond the seas.

Neither of these purposes formed any part of the motives for the North American union of 1774. The propagation of the gospel in *New England* had, in the interval of more than a century, been consummated, so far as it was consistent with the wise purposes of Divine Providence that it ever should be consummated, partly by the conversion, but far more by the extinction, of the Indian race. In other and distant parts of our Union, we still continue to exterminate, under the semblance of civilizing and Christianizing the hapless remnants of the American hunters, of whom, within the compass of one more century, probably nothing will remain but a tradition.

The other object of the Puritan pilgrims, in departing from the land of their nativity and their forefathers to populate a wilderness, the free enjoyment of their religion, was fully and successfully accomplished before the occasion for the North American union arose. Religion had ceased to be the cause or even the pretext for wars between Christian nations; and the contentious spirit of

metaphysical casuistry no longer sharpened the discordant passions of man, when they turned to the primitive rights of man antecedent to all human association, and to the harmonious adjustment of the rights of persons and of property granted by the God of nature to his creature endowed with an immortal soul, perishable on earth, but destined to a purified nature and a more exalted world.

The New England confederacy was confined to the Puritan emigration from England. Its elements were all homogeneous in their nature, and its professed design to continue them *one* in political organization, as they were in nation and religion, was of no difficult achievement.

Yet the New England confederacy was destined to a life of less than forty years' duration. Its history, like that of other confederacies, presents a record of incessant discord,—of encroachments by the most powerful party upon the weaker members, and of disregard, by all the separate members, of the conclusions adopted by the whole body. Still, the main purpose of the union was accomplished. The concerted organization of the Indian tribes was counteracted and defeated for the space of at least thirty years, during which period the united colonies had been growing in strength, which brought them triumphant out of the fiery ordeal of Philip's war. Nearly contemporaneous with that event was the dissolution of the New England union. In the progress towards that issue, the condition of the parties to the confederacy had materially changed. The colony of New Haven had been voluntarily merged in that of Connecticut,—the high contracting parties had sunk one of their number. The commissioners were only six, instead of eight; and for the last twenty years, their meetings, instead of being annual, were held only once in three years. The final dissolution of the confederacy was effected by the tyranny of James the Second, in seizing and vacating the charter of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies; but even before that act, it would seem, that, for six or seven years, not even the triennial meetings had been held. The last meeting of the commissioners, as appears

in Mr. Hazard's excellent collection of their records, bears date in March, 1678.

Of the North American confederacy, self-constituted in the progress of the revolution which converted the thirteen English colonies into independent states, New England forms a constituent part, — at that time, perhaps, transcending in power and importance all the rest, but, in the gradual lapse of time, by the relative rapidity in growth of other parts of the Union, and especially by the accession of new members of different origin, now greatly reduced and daily declining in her influence as a component part of the Union. She has, indeed, in a great degree, insensibly lost her distinctive character; divided into six separate States, and covering a surface of territory and an amount of population scarcely equal to that of the single State of New York, the connection of her States has no closer cement of institution or of intimacy than with the other States of the whole Union. The intensely religious feelings and prejudices of her infancy have given way to universal toleration, and a liberality of doctrine bordering upon the other extreme of a faltering faith. New England, as a community, has, by her incorporation in the North American Union, lost her distinctive character, and, to a superficial observer, little remains of her but the name. As a portion of the great community of the North American Union, the unity and simplicity of her character, without being totally extinguished, have been transformed into one component part of a stupendous republican empire, — an empire already bounded only by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and, to the eye of prophetic inspiration, to be hereafter bounded only by the eternal ice of the northern and southern pole.

My Brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, we have been told that it was a day-dream of our Puritan forefathers, the first settlers of New England, that they were destined to be the founders of such an empire. The foundation upon which *they* held this edifice was to be erected was the natural equality of mankind, and the two eternal pillars upon which it was to stand were *civil* and *religious* liberty. The natural equality of mankind, a doctrine which they imbibed from the sacred fountain of the

Scriptures, taught in the history of the creation, and forming the foundation of the religion of Jesus, settled it for ever that this empire must be that kingdom of Christ against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. For this foundation, the natural equality of mankind, — and for these two pillars, civil and religious liberty, — the North American Union, to whatever extent of dominion and whatever succession of ages destined to endure, will be for ever indebted to the Puritan fathers of New England. Let our prayer ascend to Heaven, and our energies on earth be applied, to improve and perpetuate the blessings left by them as our inheritance

“To the last syllable of recorded time.”

MEMOIR OF JAMES BOWDOIN.

THE publication of the Winthrop Papers, which constitute a considerable portion of the present volume, furnishes a fit opportunity for paying a brief tribute to the memory of a gentleman who, for many years, was among the most active and valuable members of our society. These Papers were most carefully and laboriously copied, and prepared for the press, by Mr. James Bowdoin, and, since his death, have been communicated for the society's Collections by his brother, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop.

Mr. Bowdoin was the second son of the late president of this society, Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop. He was born in Boston, on the 23d of July, 1794; and after receiving his preparatory education, partly at the public Latin School in this city, and partly at Phillips Academy in Andover, was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1814.

Mr. Bowdoin was a lawyer by profession, having pursued his legal studies under the direction of the late Honorable William Prescott. Having received a competent fortune, however, from the relative whose name he bore, he soon relinquished the practice of the law, and devoted himself to pursuits of literature and science. He was particularly inclined to historical studies, and his private library was a rich storehouse of antiquarian and historical learning.

He was a man of retired habits and disposition, and shrunk from any public display of the rich qualities of mind and accomplishment which he unquestionably possessed. As a member of the State legislature for several

successive years; as the secretary of the Provident Institution for Savings, as a director of the Asylum for Indigent Boys, and as a member of the school committee of Boston, he rendered valuable services to the cause of education, charity, and sound legislation.

But he devoted himself more especially to objects connected with the design of this association, and our Collections bear repeated testimony to the diligence and discrimination of his researches. No labor was too dry or too severe for his unwearied assiduity. The chronological index to the ten volumes of the second series of our Collections was wholly his work, and the general index of the last four volumes of the series was prepared by him in connection with a friend. He furnished to the second volume of the third series an elaborate account of some Parliamentary Journals which had long been the subject of interesting speculation in New York, in an article which affords an admirable illustration of the patience and thoroughness of his investigations.

Mr. Bowdoin had laid out many plans of literary and historical labor for enriching future volumes of our Collections. But disease and death arrested their execution. In the winter of 1832, he was compelled to abandon his pursuits and his home, and to seek relief from pulmonary affections in a milder climate. This relief, however, he was not destined to realize. A tropical air seemed only to develop his disease, and he died in Havana on the 6th of March, 1833, a few months only after leaving his native country.

Mr. Bowdoin died at the age of thirty-eight years; but he had accumulated stores of learning which would have done credit to a long life; and he will be remembered by many friends as a scholar, a Christian, and a philanthropist.

THE WINTHROP PAPERS.

I.

Rev. William Leigh to John Winthrop.

To the worshipfull his most loving Patron John Winthrop,
Esq^{re} lying at the King's head neare the Conduit in
fleete streete, in London.

Good Sir, it hath pleased God in his abundant mercie to make glad my heart with my wives safe deliverance, and with the gift of a son; who was born into this world the second day of this month, and was baptised the last Sabbath day, being named John. My father Raye, and my brother Leigh being Godfathers, and M^{rs} Winthrop, your wife, godmother — Of which mercie of God to me, I doe most joyfullie and as speedilie as I can, acquaint you; because I know you have laboured the Lord for me in prayer, for this blessing, and I yet praye you to help forward the joye of my heart in giving thanks to God for soe great a mercie. My wife is not so soare weakned of this child as she was on the last (blessed be God) but as yet she is not able to feele * her leggs to step from her couch to her bedd, but with help of others.

I prayse God all are in good health with us, that I know of, save only the young goodwife Cole who still increases in weakness; her payne that was lower in her bodie now running into her neck, and shoulders with verie great paynfullnes to her; and she is brought verie lowe in her bodie.

* This word looks like "seele," — and an old word "seel" means, to lean on one side. — J. B.

The Lord bless you in all your affayres, and make you returne prosperous: And I entreat you to have me commended to M^r John your sonn, and to be kindly remembered to your brother and sister Downing and to your brother and sister Phones [*Fones*], with thankes for their special courtesies offered me when I was last att London. My brother and sister have bene your guests all this time of their abroad att Groton—for the which favour, as for manie other, I desire to thanke you, and they both do desire to be kindly remember'd to you, when I should first write to you.

The Lord give us to heare comfortablie of the dissolving of the Parliament in this first session of it. The Lord alsoe follow us with his grace in Christ — and soe I rest

Your loving friend in the Lord,

WILLIM LEIGH.

From Groton — Maye 13. 1628.

II.

John Winthrop to Sir William Springe, Knight, in Suffolk.

Worthy Sir, and to me a most sweet friend.

I know not how to frame my affections to write to you. I received your letter, nay, merum mel non epistolam a te accepi. I am in suspense, whether I should submit my thoughts in the sweetness of your love, or sit down sorrowful in the conciousness of mine own infirmity, as having nothing precious in me, or any way worth such love or esteem; — But that which I have found from yourself, and some others; whose constance, and good trust hath made me some time proud of their respects, gives me occasion to look up to a higher Cause, and to acknowledge the free favour and goodness of my God, who is pleased to put this honour upon me (a poor worm and raised but yesterday out of the dust) to be desired of his choicest servants: I see his delight is, to shew the

greatest bounty where he finds the least desert, therefore he justifies the ungodly, and spreads the skirt of his love upon us, when he finds us in our blood unswathed, unwashed, unseasoned — that he might shew forth the glory of his mercy, and that we might know how he can love a Creature.

(Sweet Sir) You seek fruit from a barren tree, you would gather knowledge, where it never grew: If to satisfy your desire, I should bundle up all, that reading and observation hath put into me, they will afford but these few considerations — 1. Joshua's (his) best piece of policy was, that he chose to serve the ablest master; Mary's, that she would make sure of the best part; and Solomon's, that he would have wisdom, rather than riches, or life: 2. The clear and veriest desire of these, was never severed from the fruition of them: the reason is clear, the Lord holds us always in his lap, as the loving mother doth her froward child, watching when it will open the mouth, and presently she thrusts in the teat, or the spoon: Open thy mouth wide (saith the Lord) and I will fill thee. O! that Israel would have hearkened to me, I would have filled them &c. O! that there were in this people an heart &c. O! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thee &c. He filleth the hungry soul with good things. 3. even our Grace hath its perfection begun in this life: All true colours are good, yet the colour in grain is in best esteem, and of most worth: meekness of wisdom, poverty of spirit, pure love, simplicity in Christ &c: are Grace in Grain: 4. for all outward good things, they are to a Christian as the bird to the fowler, if he goes directly upon her, he is sure to miss her: riches takes her to her wings (saith Solomon) when a man pursues her: he that will speed of this game, must seek them quasi aliud agens, or (more freely) aliud cogitans. I have known when 3, or 4 have beat the bushes a whole day, with as many dogs waiting on them, and have come home weary, empty and discontented, when one poor man going to market, hath in an hour or 2 dispatched his business, and returned home merry, with a hare at his back: Of all outward things life hath no peer, yet the way to save this, is to lose it; for he that will

save his life shall lose it. Where is now the glory and greatness of the times past? even yesterday? Queen Eliz: King James &c—in their time, who but they? Happy he who could get their favour: Now they are in the dust, and none desire their company, neither have themselves one mite of all they possessed—only the good which that Queen did for the Church hath stamped an eternal sun-lustre upon her name, so as the Londoners do still erect triumphant monuments of her in their churches—If we look at persons of inferior quality, how many have there been, who have adventured (if not sold) their souls, to raise those houses, which are now possessed by strangers? If it be enough for ourselves, that we have food and raiment, why should we covet more for our posterity? It is with us as with one in a fever, the more nourishment we give him, the longer and sharper are his fits: So the more we cloy our posterity with riches (above competency) the more matter will there be for affliction to work upon: It were happy for many if their parents had left them only such a legacy as our modern spirit of poetry makes his motto, *ut nec habeant, nec careant, nec curent.*

I am so straightened in time, and my thoughts so taken up with business, as indeed I am unfit to write of these things. It is your exceeding love, hath drawn these from me, and that love must cover all infirmities. I loved you truly before I could think that you took any notice of me; but now I embrace you and rest in your love; and delight to solace my first thoughts in these sweet affections of so dear a friend. The apprehension of your love and worth together hath overcome my heart, and removed the veil of modesty, that I must needs tell you, my soul is knit to you, as the soul of Jonathan to David: Were I now with you, I should bedew that sweet bosom with the tears of affection. O! what a pinch will it be to me, to part with such a friend? If any Emblem may express our condition in heaven, it is this Communion in love. I could, (nay I shall envy the happiness of your dear brother B. that he shall enjoy what I desire—nay (I will even let love drive me into extacy) I must repine at the felicity of that good Lady (to whom in all love and due respect I desire to be remembered) as one that should have more part than

myself in that honest heart of my dear friend. But I must leave you all: our farewells usually are pleasant passages, mine must be sorrowful; this addition of, forever, is a sad close; yet there is some comfort in it — bitter pills help to procure sound health: God will have it thus and blessed be his holy name — let him be pleased to light up the light of his countenance upon us, and we have enough — We shall meet in heaven, and while we live, our prayers and affections shall hold an intercourse of friendship and represent us often, with the Idea of each others countenance. . . Your earnest desire to see me, makes me long as much to meet you: If my leisure would have permitted me, I would have prevented your travel; but I must now (against mine own disposition) only tell you where you may find me upon Thursday &c. It is time to conclude, but I know not how to leave you, yet since I must, I will put my beloved into his arms, who loves him best, and is a faithful keeper of all that is committed to him. Now thou the hope of Israel, and the sure help of all that come to thee, knit the hearts of thy servants to thyself, in faith and purity — Draw us with the sweetness of thine odours, that we may run after thee — allure us, and speak kindly to thy servants, that thou mayest possess us as thine own, in the kindness of youth, and the love of marriage — Seal us up, by that holy spirit of promise, that we may not fear to trust in thee — Carry us into thy garden, that we may eat and be filled with those pleasures, which the world knows not — Let us hear that sweet voice of thine, my love, my dove, my undefiled — Spread thy skirt over us, and cover our deformity — make us sick with thy love — Let us sleep in thine arms, and awake in thy kingdom — The souls of thy servants, thus united to thee, make us one in the bonds of brotherly affection — Let not distance weaken it, nor time waste it, nor changes dissolve it, nor self-love eat it out; but when all means of other Communion shall fail, let us delight to pray each for other: And so let thy unworthy servant prosper in the love of his friends, as he truly loves thy good servants S.* and B.

* Refers to Springe, to whom the letter is addressed. B. was Springe's brother B., mentioned on the preceding page. — J. B.

and wishes true happiness to them and to all theirs —
Amen. J. W.

London Feb^y 8. 1629.

[Endorsed, "Copy of a letter to Sir W^m Springe," in Governor Winthrop's hand. This probably the rough draft, or he was unable to send it, and wrote another. It must be borne in mind that Gov. W. expected daily to sail for New England, and had taken his final adieu of this friend and all others in Suffolk. Thursday, near the close, I suspect, refers to the day of sailing for Cowes. Vide another letter of Gov. W. to his son. — J. B.]

III.

Rev. Henry Paynter to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my worthily respected son M^r John Winthrop at the house of M^r Emanuel Downinge at the sign of the Bishop, in Peterborow Court neer fleet conduit — these.

Worthy Sir and my dear Son — I am very thankful unto you for your kind letter this week; but the news of your so sudden going away, makes us all sad for the present because we cannot be certain that we shall be able to get up unto you, that we might comfort our hearts together in one meeting again before your departure.

Yet write once more I pray you, when and at what very time (if it be possible) you take shipping: and when our worthy sister and you shall be in London — who knoweth how the Lord in his good providence may dispose of our occasions, and guide our journey that way.

I am not a little troubled that my hudled, hasty lines were so broken and obscure to occasion your mistakings in so many particulars. 1. It was much against mind to be altogether so troublesome unto you about the Lady Modye [*Moody*], and now your business is multiplied, I desire but only what standeth with your leisure — and I thought a word from you might the rather move her: You know there is a bond for $\frac{200^{011}}{100}$ [?] upon my wife in your hand about it: and this was the money I meant in my letter — And the 2. mistake — I am very sorry you are not paid. We have both of us now written very effectually unto her.

She made a kind of promise to Edward Searle and therefore should be willing he might go to her again: But I would not include the letters in his but in yours. I should hope you might intreat M^r White of White friars out of term to speak to her, seeing her house is but in fetter lane, as I have desired him by letter and shall again by the next. And 3. I mentioned not that money as if I doubted of the disposal — for 125^{li} of was adventured — the rest bestowed in corn and sent with particular directions for the disposing of it: neither shall we in these parts be backward to further the plantation in any thing we may as opportunity may be offered hereafter (I know no one place better affected towards it) but used it only as a rash inducement to get some more particular informations from you touching the state of the place — The rather because I intend God willing to write by you, and hereafter to write you, and who knoweth who may also come at length unto you. But now I will not be over troublesome but content me with my daughter Winthrop's general report in her letter that you have very good news from thence, and your resolution for the journey assureth me. The Lord in mercy keep you and my good daughter, with all your company, our dear friends, and bring you safe to that place, and prosper you in it. I shall be ready to return you answer to your next letter, and so write to your good mother. We are in health, and intreat your prayers for us all and namely for,

Your father unfeignedly affected towards you,

HENRY PAYNTER.*

[Without date.]

IV.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthily respected and assured loving friend M^r John Winthrop at the Dolphin M^r Humfries house in Sandwich.

Deare Sir —

It much troubled mee I came away so hastilie and un-

* Mr. Paynter was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. See Calamy. — J. B.

happilie finding no so great cause at home my wife yet holding up. I much desired to see M^r Pierce and you aboard but the will of the Lord bee done as it is. I pray you remember mee in the most respective manner to your good mother your wife and Sister, I hope I shall in no lesse tender manner remember you to God, then I desire to bee remembred by you. I beiseech you rowle yourselves and your burthens and cares on him, the more you trust him and impose in an humble faithfulness upon him the more you glorifie him and the greater glorie shall you receive from him. I wish and hope you will have abundant experience of the inlargment of his grace in you and to you, in which I shall have as much matter of thankfulness as now of request on your behalfe. I must cast my selfe and mine in an especial manner under him upon your selfe for directing and disposing of my servants and estate assuring my selfe of the reciprocation of that kind respect which in the most unfeigned manner I beare and owe unto you. I pray you let it not bee burthensome or greivous to you to doe for him as for your selfe who will bee readie to præfer you in anie thing within his power before himselfe. I must contract my selfe now unto you, desiring so much the more to enlarge my selfe unto the God of all grace for you in whome with my most kind respects and love unto you I rest

Yours, trulie assured and loving

J^o HUMFREY.

London August 18th 1631.

M^r Downing advizes by all meanes you should carrie good store of garlicke to physicke your cowes.

[This was written under the seal. — J. B.]

V.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthy and much beloved M^r Jo: Winthrop Junior at Boston.

Deare Sir —

True love will fasten upon a small occasion and the

least opportunitie to have such fruition of the partie loved as our distance will affoord, so that I doe and may well want a head and time sutable to the affections and heartie desire I have to powre out my selfe unto you. Though wee yet cannot in possibilitie heare of your comfortable arrival yet I waite upon the God of all mercie and comfort, and kiss and embrace the comfort thereof afar of. The mercie I know will bee so apprehended by you, yours and all of us that must challenge a share and interest in you that (I hope) it will engage us and manie more in improving such means further to improve ourselves time and talents to his glorie who strengtheneth us (by so greatly desired favours) in our rejoycings to his service, and the sincere obedience of his will in all thinges. Sir, I presume I neede not so much excite you to a zealous contending to improve your pace, and reachings out to perfection, by the mercies you have received, as I neede (by touching a little upon the mercies in and to you and by you to others) to raise up some affections and expressions answerable to my true desires. And great neede I find hereof, having so much experience of my flashie hart, that some times I am enfore'd directly, sometimes by way of reflection to trie whether I can helpe my spirit in this duty, as now. It is a well knowne truth (oh that I could know it effective in meliorem partem) that those mercies to ourselves or ours which leave us not better, they certainly doe much worse, for as a christian cannot stand at a stay (for non progredi est regredi) so there is besides other sinnes, the capital guilt læsæ majestatis in not walking answerable to favours received. The smart of this, Hezekiah David and manie others of Gods dearest servants have found with the sad experience of. And indeede what follie is it for a man to bee so injurious to himselfe, that when hee knowes thankfulnes and fruitefulnes under mercies received as they open Gods hand more largely towards him, so they qualifie him more to a disposednes to receive and still to get more sweete in receaving (for there is an influence and sap in everie mercie which if the lord withhold, it is but the huske, or as the sedement of the mercie wee enjoy the spirit and the quintessence thereof being of infinitely greater vertue and vigour. And againe in deliverances

what is it to scape the beare and to fall into the paw of the lion, what to avoide the snare and to sinke into the pit, what is it to enjoy the utmost that created nature can afford in this world, and to loose (by resting herein) the creator of nature and of all comforts (For saith hee I the lord create the fruite of the lip^s &c thence flowe^s peace to him that is far of and to him that is neare. Hee can reach us at what distance soever yea and will, in riches of mercie to accept our least (if sincere) services and to fetch us in, if belonging to his election of grace how far remote soever; and on the other side his hand can easilie find out his enemies where ever they thinke vainely to shrowde themselves under anie false refuges. But oh the depthes of his wisdome and goodnes unto us whome by faith hee hath made heires of the promise, what hath hee seene in us that he should deigne an eye to behold us; but that he who hath the treasures of all happines in himselfe should account us his peculiar treasure, tender us as the apple of his eye, should make us his owne, and provide for us all good thinges (grace and glorie) and (as an overplus those inferiour comforts of this life, what hart can conceave or tounge of men or angels expresse the vastnes of this unlimited depth of love and goodnes which is without bottome or bancke. Soe that wee may well sit downe in a holie amasement, and wonder, and then out of the impressions of his goodnes cast about and thinke what shall wee render to the Lord for all his goodnes unto us. Trulie these thoughts had neede to take up our best intention, not onely as they are the best and chiefest fruite of saving grace in us, but as they are (as I said before) the shortest and most expedite way and meanes of elevating us into a higher degree of grace glorie and all manner of happines here and hereafter. Wee manitimes groape after happines in manie yea anie other wayes, which is to seeke the living among the dead, these fresh springing waters (which onely flow from under the sanctuarie) in dead and standing puddles. Wee exceedingly abuse ourselves, yea and abase our noble condition to stoope in a beggerly manner to borrow or seeke anie comfort in these sublunarie vanities with the neglect of that fountaine which puts what ever fulnes there is in these cisterne or

broken pit comforts; God is our roote, our foundation, our father, our fountaine rocke and magazine of all precious thinges, and how much to blame are wee when wee seeke to build upon a weaker foundation, that have one so firme; to draw sap from brambles that may from him; to come with cap and knee to the servant whereas his master is our father, to drinke of corrupted streames that may have immediate accesse to the well head, and to patch up a few comforts which yet (though wee prostrate ourselves to manie) will not make a garment large enough to cover the nakednes of the least part of our manie defects and our large-spreading indigencie. When as in him alone wee may have infinitely more then all that is contained within the circumference of the creature can afford. Let us then resolutely conclude with the Prophet it is good to drawe neare to God, yea so to draw neare as by our communion with him to draw all from him, to be wholie unto him, to acknowledge him in all our wayes as the great reward of good and rewarder of evill that so according to his never failing promise he may establish all.

But it is time to recall myselfe least these meditations carrie mee beyond my time, and make mee and themselves burthensome unto you. I desire a little bout with you and I conceive I could not have it more profitablie then by helping my selfe up the Mount with you. Now the good Lord reveale himselfe everie way unto you, shine upon you with a loving countenance, breath a blessing upon all your holy endeavours, sanctifie you throughout in your whole soule bodie and spirit, continue you a blessing with your familie to this worke of God, and at the end crowne all your holie and faithfull labours with himselfe who is the fulnes of glorie. To his grace I commend you and all yours, wife mother sister^s all, to whome I desire in particular to be remembered in the bowels of the tenderest affection in Christ Jesus in whome I am

Your most assured and trulie desir[ing]

JO: HUMFREY.

London Nov^r 4.

If in anie thing my people have neede of your love and you can steede them and mee by your direction and

helpe I doe not so much desire as upon you
though I doe both.

[Labelled, "M^r John Humfrey, (rec'd May 1632.)"]

Upon the back of this letter is the following memorandum in the handwriting of John Winthrop, first governor of Connecticut:—
"M^r Vassell—Cozen Forth—M^r Humphrey—M^r Kirby—My uncle Downing—Aunt Downing—Cozen Clarke—M^r Howes—Uncle Gostlin—S^r Archisden—M^r Gurdon—M^r Jacye—M^r Rob^t Gurdon—M^r Richard Saltonstall—Father Painter—M^r Chambers—Sir Hen: Mildmay—D^r Wright—Rob^t Geldston—Cozen Mary Downing."

S^r before Mr. Archisden's name refers to his degree of A. B., I believe. There is a peculiarity in this letter; instead of writing the plural *s* as is usual, Mr. Humfrey places it thus, "lip^s" instead of "lips." Sometimes he does so with the singular of a verb, as "flowe" for "floues." I have spelt as he has throughout.—J. B.]

VI.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very lovinge and much respected friend M^r John Winthrop Junior this deliver in Nova Anglia—in Charlton [*viz.* Charlestown] per a friend whom God preserve.

Laus Deo—in London 26^o 10bris [December] 1631.

My very lovinge and no lesse loved friend: harty salutations to your selfe and seconde selfe with my respects to your good Father and mother for whom as also for the rest of your company I do and shall daily implore the aid of the Almighty: We have taken notice of very boisterous winds we had immediately after your departure from our Coaste (*res est solliciti plena timoris amor*) We have no hope to hear from you untill the returne of M^r Pierce from Virginia whom we expecte *siccis faucibus*.

I desire to acquaint you with such occurrants as may be newes to you whether forreine or domesticall. I received a letter dated in August last from Newfound Land in the Bay of Bulls aboard the William and Thomas rideinge there to take in fish and is bound for Genoa—my friend writeth that the ships company goinge on shore to

cut timber did accidentally set that woody country on fire which had then burnt 20 miles alonge and that they had no likely hood to quench it untill rayny weather come.

Captain Bruton who was imployed by my cozen Moris Thomson and company for the trade of bever in the river of Canada is now arrived heer haveinge been since at St. Christophers for a freight of tobacco, he hath brought in heer about 3000^{lb} weight of bever, and they are now hasteninge to set forth a small ship only for that river hopinge to be there before Captain Kerke whom (I hear) is to fetch his men from Quibeck and yield up the Castle againe to the French this next somer. For German newes, you shall understand that Swedens kinge hath been very succesfull. The duke of Saxon who all this while hath been a neuter is now forced to take up armes and crave the aid of Sweden; for Tilly did set upon his choise towne called Lypswicke [*Leipsic* ?] and tooke it, but kept it not many daies before he with the helpe of the kinge regained it and gave him battle about 2 english miles from Lypswicke, slew about 15000 of the imperialists tooke much munition and with the losse of about 6000 of their owne, since that he hath taken Norenberghé and Frankford and lefte soldiers in them both. We hope that God will make Sweden an instrument for the fall of Antychrist. I find noted in the margin by the Geneva translators Revel^{ns}; 17. 16. that divers nations as the Gothes, Vandals and Hungarians who were subject to Rome shall rise up to destroy the whore — Sweden is kinge of Gothes and Vandals. A little of Greenland newes because it may make some what for your encouragement who may sometime possibly adventure upon discovery where bread is not alwaies to be had, for therin you may see it is possible to live without bread by Gods blessinge upon the fleshe of beares and foxes &c. 8 English men wintered there in the latitude of 77½ and are returned home all in good likeinge, they lived from August untill June without bread or other provisions then what they killed and the frittters or rather fragments of the whales out of which they had tried oile and cast them to the dunghill the somer before. They lost there passage by reason of misty weather.

Thus with our earnest praiers to the Almighty for you
all, I rest

Your ever loving friend

FRA: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec^d June 1632."]

VII.

Rev. Thomas Archisden to Edward Howes.

To his much deserving friend M^r Edward Howes at M^r
Downing's in fleet street by the Conduit these dl.

It was the 29th day of this month before I arrived at
Cambridge haven and I am again bound for Suff: within
this day or two—the occasion of it is this. M^r Jacy who
is M^r Gurdon's chaplain unexpectedly was sent for into
his own country and it will be about six or seven weeks
before he returns whereupon I being then in Suff. was
earnestly requested to supply his place whereunto I did
assent. I knew it would be some trouble to me but being
in some respects obliged to them I dared not to shew
myself so disrespectful of them as to give a denial—M^r
Gostlin with all his family are in good health. I preach-
ed at Groton the last Lord's day being overswayed with
their entreaties—I preached also at Waldingfield parvâ
the same day, but at night having been unaccustomed
to such exercises I was almost quite tired. I received
your letter: I am glad to hear of that news whereof you
writ unto me. I have not heard as yet from Anthony.
If you please the intercourse of our writing need not be
hindered—there is one goodman Gifford who cometh
weekly to spread Eagle—it is not far from the Bull—he
useth to come by M^r Gurdon's: Our College is now
about enlarging our College with the addition of a new
building—the charges of it will come to a 1000^{li}—they
have the money out the College treasury: I pray remem-
ber my service to M^r and M^{rs} Downing—give them
many thanks from me for their kindnesses to me: remem-
ber [*my entire affection to M^{rs} Mary**], my hearty love to

* This is erased by a more modern pen.—J. B.

all the rest — Thus also not forgetting my obgement to yourself, I always remain,
 in all readiness to gratify your kindness.

T. A. [THS. ARCHIDEN.]

From Cambridge Jan^y 30. 1631.

[Upon the outside are these words in the handwriting of Ed. Howes : — “ This letter is from M^r Archisden I pray view the other and if you think good seal it up and deliver it according to the superscription of it ; otherwise lacerate or inflame it as you please.” It evidently refers to the above erasure, which is made with the same ink, I believe, as this note of E. Howes. The letter to which E. H. refers was possibly, I guess, an offer of hand and heart to Mrs. Mary. *But who was she?* Perhaps John’s sister, who married Samuel Dudley, and had come over with her mother and brother. — J. B.]

VIII.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very loving friend M^r John Winthrop at the Governour’s house these dl in Mattachusetts Bay in New England

mitte mihi litteram per primū nuntiū quæso.

Gaudium meæ vitæ

As the fear and love of God is the beginning of true wisdom ; so the virtue derived from that wisdom maketh love eternal, which virtue in you hath kindled such a fire of true love in me, that the great Western Ocean cannot quench, but maugre all opposition it shall be with you wheresoever you are, while the possessor thereof hath being : I am and must be yet confined within the limits of my native soil, because God’s time is not yet, but when the time is accomplished that I must depart, who shall resist his will ? M^r Arkisden and I do now and then interchange letters, He in his last promised to send letters for New England but I have not heard of him this three weeks. M^r Lee is come from St. Christophers very poor — He hath lost all his time and voyage, I hear he hath a desire to go for New Eng^d — his wife and he are come from Groton. Common Garden near the strand is converted to a market Town with a church

in it — about 50 brick houses are built already — A wonder that a plantation should be made between the Court and the City that should extend itself to the skirts of either — I hear it must be called Bedford Berry, it looks more like Ba Bell, I pray God it prove to Be Better : I could say more ; but here is enough to contemplate on — Never was known more building of houses and repairing of Churches, yet weekly some poor or other die starved in the streets — Here hath been some lately executed for Quoyninge [*coining*] silver and gold. Other newes I have not instant, but there is expected great good or evil this summer in these parts of the world : God will have his work done by us, or upon us ; I have not yet attained to the perfection of the medicine, I do much want my beloved friend's help and company ; she hath more patience than I, and a more quick apprehension to discern ; I cannot express the strange condition I have been in since I lost both your companies ; and had it not been for the good of the Plantation, and for your sake, I should have used my best rhetoric to have persuaded her to stay here — I thank God I am yet and I hope to continue (for many years) a single man, untill I may enjoy her, whom my heart may love as itself : Thus desiring you to remember my humble service unto your father and mother my much honoured friends, with my respective love to yourself, your wife, your sisters both, not forgetting my quondam bedfellow James,* with the rest of my loving friends ; I rest

Yours till death E. H.

7^o *Martij*. 1631.

I pray tell “gooddy” Scarlets son the letter he sent his mother, I found lately in our house, which I intend God willing to get conveyed this week to Karsey by some clothier.

* James Downing. — J. B.

IX.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthy friend M^r John Winthrop the younger at Boston in Mattachusetts Bay or elsewhere these dl in New England.

Salus in Salvatore nostro —
Optatissime Amice optame

I cannot but upon all occasions salute you with mine indeared love and respects; these letters from M^r Arkisden I received very lately. I was afraid they would have been left behind. According to your appointment and upon my desire, I thought good to entreat you to acquaint me with some particulars of your country; viz^t how far into the country your planters have discovered, 2. what rivers, lakes, or salt-waters westward, 3 how far you are from Hudson's river and from Canada by land, 4 what are the most useful commodities to send over to traffick with the Indians or amonge yourselves; 5. what kind of English grain thrives with you and what not; and what other things you please; daring not to trespass any farther upon your gentle disposition, only be pleased to send a map or some description of your land discoveries— For you know well the cause of my desire to know New England and all the new world, and also to be known there, yet not I but Christ, in whom I live and move and have my being. My Master hath sent my most honoured friend your father, a sword in a walking staff, which he forgot to mention in his letters. M^r Winslowe hath it; who I doubt not will deliver it. Thus concluding with our last and freshest news here inclosed which my M^r sends to your father, I take my leave to rest

Yours and ever yours

E. HOWES.

26^o Martij 1632.

[This, written nineteen days after the foregoing letter, came by the same ship. Labelled, "Edw. Howes rec^d Jun. 1632."]

X.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthy friend M^r John Winthrop the younger at the Massachusetts Bay These d^r in New England.

Such is the force and effect of true love (my beloved freind) that it accounteth noe paines too much, and all tyme too little, in performinge the offices, and duties, of deserved respect: I havinge sent some bookes to James Downinge with a letter dated the 3 of Aprill, beinge incited thereunto by his father; your demeritt claimed parte of my paines, and soe greate a parte, that had I not written by M^r Wilson unto you my selfe would have exclaimed against my selfe, and at the barre of conscience have adjudged me a traytor to the bond of amitie; and lyable to the livinge death of a Turtles solitariness that hath lost her mate; I know not of M^r Wilsons going over till within this two dayes, soe that I had delivered a packett of letters unto M^r Humfries to be sent by this ship unto you, one whereof was a letter unto your selfe, another to your beloved wife, another to your sister Eliza; and two to James—with your oyle of vitriole you left with me; I hope God will send all in safety unto you; and retorne unto us joyful newes of your recovery; and of your perfect health; In James letter I mentioned 2 or 3 thonges of a horse hide that I sent you I pray you contemne not the meanesse of my conceit but consider that I hearinge your father writt for shoemakers thridd, I sent you those for a tryall, therefore let not the servilenes of the worke prejudice your good opinion of me, but knowe my aimes is and ever was at the generall good of your whole plantation; which I hope to live to see, and see to flourish and to remaine till tyme shall have an end with me—

Your assured E. HOWES.

3^o April 1632. 12^o hor: noctis.

I sent your honored father a booke of bookes among those to J. D: if he have them alreadie, yet my good-will is nere the loser, if they should not be soe welcome as I desire I beseech him to excuse my boldnes, for my heart

is still as upright to your worke as ever, as soe till death shall continue (Deo juvante). I have heard diverse complaints against the severitie of your Government especially M^r Indicutts, and that he shalbe sent for over, about cuttinge off the Lunatick mans eares, and other grievances; well, I would and doe desire all things might goe well with you all — but certainly you endeavour in all mildnesse to doe Gods worke, he will preserve you from all the enemies of his truth; though there are here a thousand eyes watchinge over you to pick a hole in your coats, yet feare not, there are more with you than against you, for you have God and his promises which if you stick to, be sure all things shall worke together for the best, when you have leasure spare me two or 3 wordes of your minde in what Character you please, that I may solace myselfe with your contentation, or helpe to beare the burthen, if not redresse your grievances, and soe I leave you to God, with my respective salutations to all my friends.

My father mother and sister desired to be remembered unto you.

[Labelled, "rec^d June 1632."]

XI.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my much esteemed friend M^r John Winthrop the younger at the Massachusetts Bay these d^r New England.

Noble Friend —

I havinge the 14th of this Aprill received of M^r Barker a letter from your sister myne approved friend, and M^r Drake calling this morninge to see if I had any letters, (he preparinge to goe for Pascatawa and for you) I thought good to let you understand hereby that God hath still lent me life and health, the same I hope of you. I pray you thanke your sister for her remembringe of me. (M^r Arkisden thinks you have all forgotten him) and tell your sister I shall endeavour to observe and performe those good in-

structions she sent me. I accidentally this morninge or rather by Providence lighted upon my bookes of the ordringe of silkwormes which I could wish with you, for I heare you have store of mulberie trees — Doe but send for them if they wilbe any way proffitable or desirable I will with all convenient speede send them: I have lately come to my hands (made by an excellent scholler and linguist)* an English written Accidence and grammer of such a rare method that it is admirable to conceive, which hath beene in obscuritie at least this 14 yeares; and by a speciall providence come to my hands I hope for the good of New England, and the speedy bringinge of English and Indians to the perfect understandinge of our tonge and writinge truely, and speaking elegantly, alsoe I have of the same mans invention a booke of Characters, grounded upon infallible rules of syntax and Rhetorick. I would gladly print them that they might be the better dispersed amonge my friends with you, but that I doubt the mallice of some evely minded may hinder, or take them from me. If you thinke good I will send you some of the chiefest grounds and rules for a tryall; I conceive it sufficient to teach the Indian children only to read English and to knowe none other, because they may not imagine there is the same confusion of tongues amonge Christians as there is amonge them. M^r Drake stayes soe that I cannot enlarge. Thus with my continued respects and love to you and all my friends till death, I remaine,

Your lovinge friend till death E. HOWES.

Peterborough Court 20th Aprill 1632.

[Labelled, "rec'd by M^r Drake August 1632."]

XII.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthily respected good freind M^r John Winthrop junior at Boston or elsewhere in Mattachusetts Bay.

Deare Sir — I sent you a "wavy'de" Sword as a pledge

* A prophet hath small honour in his owne contrie.

of my love by goodman Greene passenger with M^r Grant. I pray you doe mee such loving offices as occasion may inable you further to oblige your all readie engaged freind especiallie put your father in mind to answer two particulars of his letter from mee, which you may see and so know how to bee helpful to mee therein. I pray you commend my kind respect to your good wife mother and sister — So leaving newes and busines to other letters which I know are full of satisfaction in that kind with much respect I rest your trulie loving and much desiring
 Jo : HUMFREY.

London June 21th 1632.

[Labelled, " M^r Humfries — rec^d Sept^r 17. p. M^r Peirse. "]

XIII.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very kind and much respected frend M^r John Winthrop the younger at the Mattachusets in New England, this deliver — per M^r Pierce whom God preserve.

Laus deo in London 22^o Junji. 1632.

My kind and much respected freind, I hartily salute you hopinge of your good health the recovery whereof I desire siccis faucibus to hear of. You shall God willinge receive per this bearer M^r Pierce 2 great drie fats marked as in the margin [I. W.] At the motion of my brother Downeinge I willinly condescended (if not boldly intruded) myselfe to be a third partner with him and you in this parcell of goods, which is such wares as your father gave advise for and I have endeavoured to get good and as good cheap as I could, The cloth was provided by my brother Downeinge and M^r Smith the tayler, and it is such as Master Winslow did buy heer to trucke with the natives — for the rest of the wares if they be not well bought I only must be blamed. You shall find in one of the fats a book sent by my brother Downeinge to his son for his diversion to keep a marchant's booke and therein also some letters you shall find, and 2 paper bookes for

the keepinge of this partable account, the lesser for a memoriall wherein you may write as you shall buy sell or barter, and the broader may serve to post it into by the way of debtor and creditor if you be so skilfull, but for my part I shall be carefull to keepe all things right and straight heer though in a more rude and playne method, for want of skill. The Commodity to make returne of I suppose will be bever, it beinge almost the only Commodity of that Contry and therein your skill may be lesse then mine, a word therefore of direction will be requisite. Note that there is great difference in bever although it be all new skins, for some is very thicke of lether and thin of wool which is best discovered by layinge your fingers on the middle or backe of the skin, 1 pound of deep wooled skins may be worth 2 pound thin wooled skins — Mr Pierce brought a parcell for his owne account which was much of it of that bad sort he offered it to mee for 12sh. per lb and I hear he hath now sold it for 11sh or 11sh. 6d at most — Also note that the old Coates are better by a third part then new skins are, partly for that they generally dresse the best skins for that purpose, partly for that the lether is thinner and so consequently lighter by dressinge, and partly for that the coarse haire is partly worne of from the wool, but I pray be carefull that you take not old worn otter skins or coates for bever, for they are nothing worth if they be so much worne that the glossy top haire is decayed, but there are some good otter skins in Cotes 5 or 6 skins in a Cote, which are sowed together with the tailes on and beinge not perceived to have been worne but by the soylinge of the lether and beinge very black and glossy may be worth 50sh. per Coate or 10sh. per skin. You may know the otter skin from the bever partly by the fabricke, for the otter is more longe though the taylor be of, and the wooll is more short and of even haire, the glossy haire not much exceedinge the wooll in length, but the coarse glossy haire of the bever doth more over-top the wooll and is more stragleinge and more wild. I have sent you some paternes of old otters for your better information.

For newes, the most is of the successfull kinge of Sweden who hath now taken all Bavaria. Ingelstad did hold out the longest but is now lately taken. Also the

prince of Orange hath gotten a stronge towne in Gelderland called Vanlo, a towne of great consequence for that through it the Spaniard did convey all his provisions up into Germany. Also he hath taken the halfe of a towne in Clevelant called Mastich, but not the other halfe it beinge divided (as it seemeth) by a river, and this taken with some difficulty for Grave Ernste was slayne there and some other Commanders of the Hollanders. I earnestly desire to receive a letter from you of the Contry and your condition there, which I shall receive I hope per M^r Pierce, if not before. I pray remember mee to your second selfe your good father and mother your sisters brethren my Cosen James with all the rest of mine and your friends. We must intreat you take care of these goods and dispose of them. You may employ my Cosen James in it so far as you thinke fit, but as yet I thinke he is unfit to take the sole charge of them. I pray make no bad debts, but rather keep them till you can have mony or comodity for them.

The 2 drie fats containe as followeth.

400 paire of shoes cost 2 ^{sh} 4 ^d per paire is	li	sh	d	
but the shoemaker abated in the whole	46	13	4	
so we paid for them	0	15	0	li sh d
18 ^{li} shoe thrid at 1 ^{sh} per pound did cost				45 18 4
5000 large hobnailes at 2 ^{sh} per thousand cost				00 18 0
10,000 midle sort at 18 ^d per thousand cost				00 10 0
10,000 small sort at 1 ^{sh} per thousand cost				00 15 0
16 peeces of cloth whereof 1 is white and 15 coloured cost all				00 10 0
they contain 13 yeards in a peice and is about 3 ^{li} 4 ^{sh} per peice or 5 ^{sh} per yard.				51 0 0
20 ^{li} of Browne thrid and black at 2 ^{sh} per li. cost				02 0 0
2 payre bookes cost				00 02 0
2 fats with nailes to head them cost				00 15 3
paid for cartage to the water side				00 01 2
paid for freight to M ^r Pierce				06 00 0
				<hr/> 108 09 9

[Labelled, "rec'd per M^r Pierce Sept^r 17. 1632."

Memorandum on letter, — "Sandever, or sal alcali — barrells. a barrell of sope-ashes. $\frac{1}{4}$ 100 of tinne : $\frac{1}{4}$ 100 copper."]

XIV.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much respected friend M^r John Winthrop the younger at the Massachusets in New England this deliver.

London this 25th of November: 1632.

Good Sir

I received your longe expected and very welcome letters (dated the 2^d July) about the last of August. I am glad to heare of your safe arrivall, your health, and good likeinge of the Contrie. I wrote you per M^r Pierce who departed this Coast in July last by whom I shipped to you 2 drifats of goods to the value of 110li. or thereabout as per those letters will appear. It was partable between my brother Downeinge, your selfe and my selfe most of it was goods and coarse cloth to trucke, such as my brother Downeinge had advise for. I hope you have received them ere this time — We expect M^r Aler-ton shortly by whome we hope to heare of M^r Pierce his arrivall with you.

I have shipped in this ship called the William M^r Tryvore beinge Master and M^r Hatherly cheef Marchant, 2 square cases of deale with the glasses accordinge to your direction, together with 2 hogsheads and 1 barrell of your fathers with such goods as your father wrote for as per my brother Downeing's letters, to him will appear. The glasses whose cases cost in all 1li. 16sh. 11d the freight will make them dear to you, if the freight be paid hear it shall all be put together upon your fathers account and you may allow it unto him, I doubt not but you will agree upon the division of it. For the Catalogue of bookes from Frankfort I have sent you that of Autumnall mart 1631. the next is not to be had the third not yet come by reason of Contrary wind, but I shall send it God willinge by the next ship, and so likewise hereafter — for your mony of Edward Howes I have received part and the rest he saith he will pay to mee shortly. I heare not any thinge of that from M^r Goslin yet — I should be glad to heare that these glasses come

whole and safe to your hands, I have written glasses on the outside of the Cases that they in the ship may be the more carefull of them sed quales sunt nemini dixi. I pray let me receive a letter from you by every ship, although it be but 2 lines it will be very acceptable.

Postscript 28° I have now received all your mony of Edward Howes which maketh in all 4li. 12sh. for the bookes and carriage of them. It is now generally reported that the Kinge of Sweden is slayne, we have little other newes, what is I doubt not but you have it at large per my brother Downings letters and Ed. Howes. M^r Hatherley telleth mee that I must pay the whole freight before hand and that he will have for the 2 Cases as much as 13 hogsheds which at 4li. per ton is 3li. if you will not have the freight put all together upon your fathers account and the charge of shippinge it (which can not be knowne soone enough for my brother Downeinge to send account of it per this ship) then I pray write me your mind per the first and I will divide it and put to your particular account. I pray remember me to your good father and mother; your good bedfellow, your sisters, brethren, James Downinge and the rest, whom all I commit to the protection of the Almighty and rest

Yours at Command

FR: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec'd Feb^r 23^d 1633."]

XV.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very lovinge and much respected frend M^r John Winthrop the younger this deliver at Boston in the Massachusetts bay in New England.

Laus Deo in London 27° 9bris [November] 1632.

My good frend, hartly salutations &c: These may let you understand that I have shipped in the William of London per M^r Hatherley 5 peeces of goods that is to say 2 hogsheds and 1 barrell with goods of your fathers as per

my brother Downeings letters will appeare and 2 short cases of deale boards accordinge to your direction with glasses. Of which I have also written you more at large in another letter per this same ship. We desire to heare of M^r Pierce his arrivall with you per whom I also shipped to you 2 great drifats of goods to the value of 100^{li} and upwards. I have received yours only of the 2 July. I have little newes to write, only a great battell fought between the kinge of Sweden and the imperialists neer Leipswich, greater then that there about 12 months since, for divers have written that were slayne of the imperialists about 40,000 and of the Kings about 20,000, but some write that the Kinge is slayne in the battell, others that he is sore wounded and that Walestein is fled and Pacxenham slayne. When I knowe more certainly I will write you per the first opportunity — in the mean time let us hope the best. To your good father, mother, your second selfe, sisters, brothers, and to my Cosen James Downeinge salutem meis verbis dic. Thus with my hartly praiers to Almighty God for the continuance of his favours to you all I rest

tuus dum suus — FRA: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec'd feb' 23."]

XVI.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his good frend M^r John Winthrop junior this deliver.

London this 3 of 10ber [December] 1632.

Kind Sir: Yours of the 19th 7ber [*September*] per M^r Fogg I received wherby I understand of M^r Pierce his arrivall (deo gratias). As for the returne of that comodity per M^r Pierce we do not expect it so sodenly, sat cito si sat bene, and whether the profit shall be more or lesse it shall give content to the new marchants, when it cometh; the successe whereof we must commit to the providence of the almighty. Your inclosed I delivered to M^r Chambers;

also those into flit street. I have written you more at large per M^r Hatherley who his now redy to go to Gravesend. With this I enclose the Catalogue of 'the last vernall mart,* the last autumnall is not yet to be had. Thus with mine my wives my brother and sister Hills hartly salutations to yours I rest in hast Yours

FRA: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec'd Feb^r 23^d."]

XVII.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthyly respected M^r John Winthrop Junior.

Deare and Desired Sir

I cannot but write though I can but barely tell you I am thankful for you, and trulie these newes of all occurrences and the sad turning of thinges I know you have from abler handes. In a word I beeseech you pardon and accept my unfaigned affection in this hastie Salute, You have my hart to which I set my hand

Yours, lovingly obliged

Jo: HUMFREY.

Lond: Dec: 3: 1632.

In consideration of my short letter I hope my brother Gunner hath paide you with 2 long.

[Labelled, "M^r John Humfrey (rec'd Feb. 23.)"]

XVIII.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

Worthy Sir

Your letters by M^r Allerton and M^r Pierse I received: as for the cement I know none as yet worth sending the receipt unto you—The letter I received by M^r

* This refers to the Leipsic fair of books. Vide a preceding letter. — J. B.

Pierse was soe rinsed with sea water I had much adoe to reed it: I thanke you heartilie for them; and that in the midst of your greate ymployments you wilbe pleased to remember your poore and unworthie friend. Sir I am glad and exceedingly rejoyce at your prosperitie, and the prosperitie of the whole colonie, and that it hath pleased God to shewe his power and mercie upon you all, in a wonderfull manner, beyond the expectation of the greate one of this land, in deliveringe you not from a Spanish powder plott, nor an accounted invincible Armado; but from a Spanish like French Infection,* which was like to have tainted the haylest and best man amongst you yea all of you, as may appeare by the writtings and letters written with myne own hand, and sent to your father my honored friend. In brieve I hope herein the Divell hath vented all or most of his mallice against your state: Oh the goodness of our Lord God that hath wrought such goodnes as you shall enjoye, out of so apparent evils as you had like to have felt; † but I leave to comment upon this subject (though I could a long tyme) leavinge it for you who I knowe will not spare whole dayes and nights to meditate thereof. Sir I am the more sensible hereof, in regard I was a daylie and hourly auditor and spectation of all the passages, which hath caused me to take it into consideration, that your plantation hath need of some hartie and able friends to back you upon all occasions, which must remaine here; and have friends a Courte; I though not soe able as I could wish (if God sawe it good) yet as hartie as the best, consideringe M^r Humfries preparation for departure, and my masters ‡ desire and resolution to be with you, have betaken my selfe now at last to the studie of the Lawes, and to that purpose have admitted my selfe as a student of Cliffords Inn by St. Dunstons Church in fleete streete, and am about to purchase a chamber there. Not that I meane absolutely or presently to leave my M^r but to enable myselfe to leave when he is gone, and to re-

* Are those infectors like to escape the like shame and punishment. Noe we hope to pendere Gardiner ere long &c. Vide, tace.

† You had bin utterly overthrown had not God, as it were wrought a miraculous deliverance; for it is in diverse mouths that you are; and your plantation and planters hath often lately bin preached against at Paul's Crosse &c — Vide, tace.

‡ Quere, Herbert Pelham? — J. S.

tire my selfe in the vacation tyme to my studie which shall ever tend to the utmost of my poore abillitie to the good and welfare of your plantation and state.

I have since heard, that some of your noble and best friends desire, that you might have a Councell here established of some choyce friends, to stand an answer for you upon all occasions. It becomes you nowe to knowe your selves to be statesmen; and to studie state policie, which consists principally in Prevention of evils and inconveniencies: if it please you to peruse any bookes of that subject, I shall endeavour to fitt your turne and send them by the next ship after.*

I have heard by M^r Higinbotham and others that your ministers preach one against anothers doctrine; which I conceive to be a great scandall to your Societies, and if not reformed in tyme, may prove as fatall as the Congregations of Ainsworth and Johnson, which in their owne dayes begann, flourisht, and came to nothings; but I am persuaded better things of you; and hope your differences are but ceremoniall matters. I besich you Sir to excuse me (if out of the aboundance of my hartie affections for your welfares, I transgresse the bounds of ordinary matter; You knowe God is a jealous God; and desires integritie of harte; he is a spirit, and wilbe worshipt in spirit and truth: I would have you feare nothings more then securitie, and carnall confidence; I meane the most parte of you. I have heard of many of your Collony, that saye with the Pharasie Stand further off I am more holy then thou: Gardiners relation too much, but not all that I have heard — They cannot be content to talk largely, but write † to their utter ruine (if they take not heed) for tyme to come, for let them be assured, theire letters will come to light that write against our state civill or ecclesiasticall; and the star-chamber hath punishments for such lybellers, and a long arme to reach them, and God will not defend them that resist the higher powers ‡: Sir I verilie perswade my selfe

* God gives us the meanes to work by; if we reject the meanes, we reject the good will of God &c.

† A letter hath bin seene from one of your planters, who warneth England to be babill and Sodome, and that it should shortly fall; &c. I am furnished coppies of 2 or 3 of such letters; which I intend to send you, that you may beleive it; and inflict some punishment on the offenders; that others may beware.

‡ Exempli gratia Rochell. Vide, tace.

you have many of weake Judgments amongst you, on whom it were good your ministers tooke a little paines, that they might be rectified; I sawe lately a sentence of your owne writinge viz^t *Canis dum captat &c* * which may not unfitly be applyed to them, whoe medlinge with shadowes to them, other mens matters, nay state matters, loose their substances; and sometimes drowne themselves irrecoverable; As the dog did.

I have not heard from M^r Eustace the Germaine since he went hence I feare much he is slayne in the last great Battell with the King of Sweden. I shewed him many kindnesses to win him to returne but he said he would not retorne except he sawe a letter from the Governours owne hand, with promise of increase of his wages. I have sent M^r Samford the Instrument and sight ruler the Germaine bespoke for him, together with a booke to teach the use thereof, namely Smyths Arte of Gunnery at folio 58 there the same Instrument is to be seene; I have likewise sent him Nortons Practise of Artillerie chosen by the Germaine for him; and alsoe diverse platformes of the latest invented forts and fortifications: For new bookes I writt to you of D^r Fludds works and sent you a catta-logue of them by M^r Hetherley; there is a booke lately come out of mathematicall conclusion and recreations, which I bought purposely for you, but M^r Saltonstall hath borrowed it, and is now at M^r Gurdons to marrie M^{rs} Merriall; albeit I have sent you two other bookes viz^t Malthus Fireworks, and the Horizontall Quadrant full of new devices; which I present to your kind acceptance; and because I knowe you are tam Marte quam Mercurio: I have sent you a short weapon, you may call it an Irish Skeyne or knife or what you will †; together with a small sawe and steele hammer, and a bodkyn and a forke all in one case: the usefull applycation of each I leave to your discretion.

M^r Arkisden is at M^r Gurdons — he presents his service to you, but hath written soe lately to you and being constrained to be very studious at this tyme he desires ex-

* *Fabula at vera.*

† They are bound up with halfe a dozen knives for M^r Samford, in M^{rs} Maries chest.

cuse : yet I have made bold to send you here enclosed his last letter written to me, that you may perceive he is both well and thrives in his studies &c. We keepe the strictest Lent that ever was ; we have not one bitt of flesh in the house as your Cosen Mary Dow can informe you. I thought good to advertise you of a discourse I lately heard, that the Leprosie is caused by eating too much fresh fish ; for in Scotland where they eate much fish there is more Leapers then in all Europ besides, as is said. We have a Mountebanke does strange feats and cures here openly on Tower hill upon a stage, and in Comon Garden, and in St. Bartholomews. I bought pence worth of his stuffs for the Master of the Wards ; and alsoe a paper or two more for your good father viz^t his antidotes against poyson &c.* which you shall receive of your Cosen Mary. I pray present them unto him as a small testimonie of my humble service and willing mind to appeare before him in a greater good ; as God shall fitt and enable me.

Remember my humble service likewise to M^{rs} Winthrop your good mother : M^r Audley of the Courte of Wards desired me to remember him to M^r Governor Winthrop and often asketh me how he doth ; I should be glad to bringe the old Batchelor to bestowe 1000£ or 2 on your plantation for he can very well spare it : I perceive he hath a mind to doe good, but it must be in a course wherein he may have some certaine profitt in recompense of his costs : M^r Fabian M^r Paise and M^r Windover, alsoe desire to be remembred and aske me often howe your father and his companie thrives : generally all that knowes him wishes him well ; and the most prophanest that I heare speake of him, doe but pittie him ; for selling soe good an estate here ; for want and penurie in New England : † It is the opinion of all straingers that knowe you not, that the most of ye are starved, and the rest are cominge home againe : I have my mothers good will nowe to goe over when I will ; ‡ My father and she and my sisters desire to have their kindest loves remembred unto you and to your good wife and sister Feaks — soe doth the scribe, as alsoe to your sister Dudley, and her husband, your two Brothers and M^r James Dow ;

* There is a paper about every one to shew the use of them.

† None wishes him evil, but all well.

‡ It was since my admittance.

and all other lovinge Friends I commit you to the Lord
almighties tuition and rest

Yours ever assured

EDWARD HOWES.

[ED. F. HOWES?]

18 *Martii* 1632.

I conceive you were best to direct your letters for me
to my Masters or at my Fathers house neere Lincolnes
Inne in Chancery laine ; for my Master is about to remove
his dwellinge very shortly into the strand neere the Mas-
ter of the Wards. Vale in Christo, Vide et tace.

[From this letter, it seems Mr. Howes was a student in Mr. Hum-
frey's office (?) — J. B.]

XIX.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my approved lovinge friend M^r John Winthrop the
younger at Boston these d^r in Mattachusetts Bay.

London March 25. 1633. post horam 10^{am} noctis.

Sir

Although I have bin very large in my letters dated the
18th of this instant, yet can I not chuse but let love
breake forth a little more, even nowe when the ship is
under sayle. Yours of the 29th of September I received
per M^r Allerton and the other of the 24 of october 1632 I
rec'd per M^r Pierse. Your cosen Mary sent away her
Trunke a fortnight agone, to the shipp without my knowl-
edge, soe that I am much straightned for place to stowe
the things I intended to have sent over ; I lent her my
sea chest to put her other things in, but can hardly have
roome to putt in my letters, The chest I desire M^r Samford
may keepe for me untill I come over. There are honest
men about to buye out the Bristoll mens plantation in
Pascataque, and doe purpose to plant there 500 good peo-
ple before Michelmas next — C. Wigger is the chiefe Agent
therein. There was presented to the Lords lately, about
22 of C. Indicutts lawes : You have bin at the Ile of Rae

[Ré], and at Rochelle, a poore people that lye nowe in the dust, had they bin alive nowe, their harts would have leapt within them to see howe their kinge favours the Protestants. Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula &c.

Ad Populum | God is the God of love, and love is patient — be not too hastie, a slowe pace goes farre: I could wish myselfe with you but for $\frac{1}{2}$ an houre, to expresse my mind, my feare I meane, but the only wise God I hartilie and humblie beseich, make you wise in all things, that you may joy the ♡ of

Your ever vowed E. H.

I have sent you a booke of the lawes established for Virginia (by your Cosen Mary.) I pray you present it to the view and perusal of my most honored friend your noble father, together with my humble service to him and your good mother. Sir, I pray present my loving respects to my reverend and worthy friends M^r Wilson and M^r Welles [*or Wellds*] And excuse me to your Sister Feakes my loving friend that I writt not unto her; I pray thanke her for the letters she sent me dated the 4 of July 1632. I had not a letter by M^r Pierse from any one but from you and that hardly to be read: I pray sent me a description of the discordy of Patowneck if you have it, and what other novelties you shall thinke fit.

M^r Rich: Saltonstall is returned unmarried. I saw him by chance last night at Sir Richards. Vale in Christo.

26 Martii. 1633.

E. H.

[Labelled, "per M^r Rose rec'd June 1633."]

XX.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very lovinge and much respected frend M^r John Winthrop junior this deliver at Boston in New England.

Laus deo in London 26^o Martij 1633.

Most lovinge frend, yours of the 24 October per M^r Pierce I received but it havinge suffered shipwrack on the coast of Virginia it was hardly legible. I am very

glad to hear of your welfare with the recovery of your second selfe from her late sharp fit of sicknes. I understand how you have dealt with M^r Pinchen for the cloth which bargain is not amisse, but may produce reasonable profit if he deall well with you in the condition of the bever that he shall deliver to you, which you shall easily discern if you remember my instructions in those letters to you per M^r Pierce. For the shoes your father wrote to my brother Downeinge that they are most of them Calves lether — sure I am that I paid for neats lether and they were waranted to mee for such and still he doth stand to justifie the same still and saith if I can procure a certificate under the hands of M^r Cottington and M^r Nowell that they were not all neats lether I shall have recompence to my content, therefore I pray let them be viewed by some that have skill. His name of whom I bought them is M^r Jo: Hodson [*or Rodson*] in Gracechurch street. I hope ere this time you received the 2 great glasses per M^r Hatherley in the William who went hence in December. I received the 4th 12sh. of Ed. Howes, also now 5th of M^r Gosslyn, I received none of my brother Downeinge, for you, neither had I any occasion for it seing I cannot find all the things you wrote for. Sope ashes are not to be had, for there are none come of late yeares out of the East, they beinge now out of use with the sopeboylers who use only pot ashes, I have sent in a paper a little pot ashes for a paterne. For old musket barrels I can find none that will be sold by weight unles it be some very smal and short peeces and of that there is no quantity to be had, for other that are past use they peece them up againe and make them saleable and will not sell them by waight. I have enquired concerninge ruffe barils unbored — musket bore ruffe unbored may be had for 8sh per barill 4 foot longe of two inche bore 4 foot long ruffe and unbored 16sh. or thereabout. I perceive it is not usuall with them to forge any so big which causeth to aske so dear, for they must make or alter some tooles for the purpose and so must be paid extraordinary unles they make a great many; I pray if you send for any write me justly what length and in every respect your minde very playne, least I do you a displeasure against my will. I pray excuse me if I have mistaken

any thinge in this your commission for the incke is washed of in many places of your letter, so that I do but guesse at your meaninge, and if I have erred in buyinge what you intended not it is error amoris, non amor erroris. I hear there is one at Wappinge that can forge barils of 3 inch bore but I have not yet spoken with him, and he forgeth small ordnance. I have sent you heer inclosed the Catalogue of the Autumnall mart 1632. all the former I have sent before. I have no newes to write you. There hath not been any great exploits done in Germany since the death of the kinge of Sweden. How it fareth with our republique and of the occurrents in Court and Contry is safer to be related by those that come to you then to be committed to paper. Your frends heer who are members of your plantation have had much to do to answer the unjust complaints made to the kinge and Councell of your government there. I understand that you are an Assistant and so have a voice in the weighty affaires of that Commonwealth. I know I shall not need to advise you that the prayinge for our kinge be not neglected in any of your publike meetings, and I desire that you differ no more from us in church government, then you shall find that we differ from the prescript rule of Gods word, and further I meddle not. I have sent you in this ship (wherein my Cosen Mary Downeinge and Susan and M^r Cottington are) all the thinges you wrote for, except old musket barils and sope ashes, if I be not mistaken in readinge your letter. The particulars you shall find on the other page, they are packed with other goods which I bought for your father at my brother Downeings instance, in one great long chist and one little barrill, also there are directed to your father 2 tronkes and a little trusse which my Cosen Mary Downeinge knoweth how to dispose of. M^r Pierce will be redy about the last of may as I suppose per whom I intend to write although I have no business more then si vales bene vales. I desire to be remembered to your second selfe, your father, mother, brethren and sister, also to M^{rs} Feake and thus for this present I commit you to the Almighty his protection and shall ever rest,

Your assured lovinge friend

FRA. KIRBY.

	li	s	d
Sandiver 2li. and Soda 8li.	0	5	6
Stone blewinge 14li.	0	10	0
brimstone 1li. weight	1	3	4
Copper $\frac{1}{4}$ c.	1	10	4
Tin $\frac{1}{4}$ c.	1	8	0
Canarie seeds 3 pintes	0	0	9
	<hr/>		
	4	17	11
paid before for the glasses and the charge of packinge them and for 3 Catalogues of bookes	1	18	5
	<hr/>		
	6	16	4
Received in all	9	12	0
paid in all	6	16	4
	<hr/>		
	2	15	8

You shall receive for your father in the same chist and barrells, which my brother Downeinge will put to his account

2 dosen howes—20ⁿ white coperas—6 shorlinge sheep skins—30 lamb skins—1 dosen sithes, 1 hatchell for hemp, with 2 other little tooles of iron used about the streighteninge of the teeth when they are bowed and driveinge them out, other tooles are none used about dressinge hemp unles some beetles of wood or such like which to send from hence were but to charge you with unnecessary freight, every contry houswife can direct your carpenter to make them.

1 hatchell for flaxe with 2 brushes, 6 felling axes, 20 sutes of Canvas, 20 sutes of Cotton, 10 dosen Irish stockings.

[Labelled, "rec'd June 1633. per M^r Rose his ship (mony to M^r Howes — otter skins)."]

XXI.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much respected frend M^r John Winthrop junior,
this deliver.

March 26. 1633.

Most loving frend I received your letter (which had

first been washed in the sea) per M^r Pierce whom it pleased God to preserve though with the losse of the ship and all the goods on the Coast of Virginia. I have sent you in this ship such thinges as you wrote for packed with other goods of your fathers marked as in the Margent in one great long chist and 1 little barill, also there are 2 trunkes and 1 little trusse of Canvas directed to your father, of which my Cosen Mary Downeinge will give further direction. I have written you in another letter of the same date and in the same ship more at large of many particulars; what the occurrents are heer you shall understand per your friend M^r Cottington who cometh in this ship. The old musket barrills are not to be had, neither sope ashes. I have sent the sandiver, soda, stone blewinge, brimstone, copper, Tin and Canary seeds. The quantity, price and account you shall have in my other letter of this date more at large specified. I desire to be remembered to your consors tori, and to your good father and mother and the rest, for whom as for myselfe I shall daily pray for both temporall and eternall felicity and Thus in hast I rest

Your ever lovinge frend,

FRANC: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "per M^r Rose his ship."]

XXII.

William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the worshipful M^r John Winthrope the younger at Agawam give these.

Pascataque April 18. 1633.

Ser —

There arrived a fishing ship at Pascataque about the 15 of this present moneth wherein is one Richard Foxwell, who hath formerly lived in this Cuntery — he bringeth nuse [*news*] that there were tow [2] shipes making ready at Barnstaple whoe are to bring passengers and catell for to plant in the Bay he hath leters for M^r Wearom [*War-*

ham] and divers others at Dorchester, which he intends to bring in to the bay so soone as possible he can—likewise he heard from M^r Alerton, whoe was making ready at Bristoll for to come for this cuntry—other nuse he bringeth not that I can heare of onely M^r Borowes purposeth to come for this cuntry from London and so desiring you to convey thes leters into the bay with what conveniency you can beseching the Lord to bless you in your lawfull designes I humbly rest

Your worships assured to command

WILLIAM HILTON.

Ser—I purpoe eare [ere] long be if the Lord will to see you—The masters name of the shipe is John Corbin of Plimouth.

—
XXIII.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very kind frend M^r John Wynthrop the younger at Agawam or elsewher this deliver in New England, this deliver.

London this 26th of Feb^y 1633.

Lovinge frend M^r Winthrop. Yours per M^r Graves with 220ⁱ of bever and the 2 otter skins (1 for my sister Downeinge and 1 for Ed. Howes) I received accordinge to your letter. The bever is a pretty good sort of bever. There was a sort of thin lethered skins very light and yet full of wool which were the best of all and they were in the hogshhead, but there were 3 or 4 very small and younge bever skins which we call bever cubs those were the worst of all for although they be light of lether yet they have little wool and that very bad, the bever hat maker calleth it faint stufte. So thus much for instruction, now for the matter of the returne of your third part thereof accordinge to your desire in your latter letters of the 20th September. You shall understand that the market is bad for bever, so that

I have forborne to sell it in hope of better, for the Plymouth marchants great parcell hath brought downe the prices. Yet I desirous to follow your commission have sent you such comodities as you wrote for, and I thinke the full value of your $\frac{1}{3}$ part. If it be more or les you are like to hear of it. I have disbursed mony till the bever be sold, and I thinke the things are well bought My wife and I have done our endeavour therein. I have followed your directions as neer as I could. I could not find any Bridgewater cloth of any colour but red, so that all the coates are red lined with blew, and lace sutable which red as M^r Pinchins note saith is the choise colour of all — for Rugs there are no tawny or mury to be had so priced as 12sh. or therabout — I have bought some mingle coloured chekered rugs partly tawny, but the most are wholly red and of sundry prices as I shall particularize to you — Such broad cloth blankets as I sent last yeare are not to be had unles bespoken, but I have sent you some brodecloth and some blew blankets. I had bespoken 100li: worth of coloured cloth accordinge to your directions in your former letters and could very hardly refuse it upon your later. I did conceive well of your intended trade with the Natives at Agawam but I perceive your minde is altered. If not I should not have counselled you to hazard your person amonge the Natives after I heard of that pitifull accident, of Captain Bruton. Who lost his life the last Somer on the North part of your American Continent, where he had bought of the indians an Unicorn horn and under a frendly pretence to trucke further with him for seahorse teeth and such like they treacherously killed him. He had spent the 2 Somers about that place chiefly to discover a Northwest passage to India but hath not discovered any thinge to purpose. For your new trade of fishinge which you say is hopefull, I should be glad to further so good a thinge. If you shall see a manifest way of doeinge profit therby and my brother Downeinge also shall by his letters give you to understand his willingnes to adventure therin then you shall presume that I will adventure halfe so much as my brother, so that my halfe may not exceed forty or fifty pounds at the most. In yours of the 13th June you write that some of the things you received you did not know

from other beinge written upon which I confesse was my fault for I did presume you knew them but as I remember I did write you how much of every severall thinge by waight, the hardest to be knowne I suppose was the soda and sandiver—it was 8li: soda and 2li: sandiver, all things else are well known to most men. I paid Ed: Howes 2li: 15sh. 2d. beinge all that remained of the 9li: 12sh. I received for you. for the twigs of quodlin tree I did make use of my brother Joseph Downinge to provide them for mee and he saith, he hath delivered them to one of his neighbours a gardener of Messinge who will pack them up carefully with some 100 young apple and pear trees which he is about to send to your father and some other speciall frends per M^r Graves per whom also I send your goods beinge in one great drifat and one hogshhead marked with your marke. I have 2 dosen of short wooled sheep skins provided by former advice from your father in my brother Downinges letters and although I have now advice to the contrary yet I shall send them by the next opportunity if I can not sell them heer, they cost but 18sh. You shall find in the fat a little booke written by Doctor Prideaux against the morality of the 4th commandment. I desire to be remembered to your second selfe my cosen Mary and James and the rest and so I comit you to God and shall ever reste,

Yours at command

FRA. KIRBY.

The wares which I send you are as followeth.

	li.	s.	d.
3 mixt Rugs at 10sh. per Rug is	1	10	0
3 mixt Rugs at 8s. 8d per Rug is	1	06	0
4 mixt Rugs at 10sh 6d. p. Rug	2	02	0
3 Red Rugs at 12sh. 8d. p. Rug	1	18	0
2 Red Rugs at 11sh. 6d. p. Rug	1	03	0
2 Red Rugs at 10sh. 6d. p Rug	1	01	0
3 Red Rugs at 12sh. 6d. p Rug	1	17	6
<hr/>			
20	10	17	6
<hr/>			
1 paire blankets at 11sh. p. paire	0	11	0
3 paire blankets at 12sh p. paire	1	16	0
1 payre blankets at 10sh p. paire	0	10	0
1 paire blankets at 13sh. p. paire	0	13	0
<hr/>			
6	3	10	0

15 yards $\frac{1}{4}$ of broad cloth, for blankets at 3sh. 2d yard	2	08	2
12 yards $\frac{1}{4}$ broad cloth at 2sh. 11d per yard	1	15	8
16 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ broad cloth at 2sh. 8d. p. yard	2	04	0
17 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ broad cloth at 2sh. 8d p. yard	2	07	4
<hr/>			
61 $\frac{3}{4}$ will be 12 paire long blankets at the least	8	15	2
for the coates			
85 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards red Bridgwater at 2sh. 1d per yard	8	18	2
72 $\frac{1}{4}$ y: blew cotton to line the coates at 15d p. yard	4	10	6
15 dosen of statute lace at 1d per yard	0	15	0
3 groce $\frac{1}{2}$ of thrid buttons	0	02	6
portorage of the clothe	0	00	7
paid the tailer for makeing 24 coates	2	00	0
<hr/>			
	16	06	9
p'd for a drifat and hoops nailes and cartage	0	10	8
	10	17	6
	03	10	0
<hr/>			
	40	00	5

The coates stand you in about 13sh. 7d p. coate heer besides the charges. Other things you shall find a paper upon every severall peice his price.

Postscriptum. 8^o Martii. I had provided your goods to send per M^r Graves and it hath been in the warehouse at the waterside for him this 10 daies but he saith he can not take it in so that by his advise I now send it per M^r Crowther I have not yet paid the freight nor received bills of ladeinge but I will do both so soone as I can speake with M^r Crowther and will send a bill of ladeinge to your father.

—

XXIV.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much respected frend M^r John Winthrop the younger at Agawam or elsewhere in New England This deliver — Per amicum quem Deus conservat.

London this 11th of Aprill 1634.

Lovinge and kind frend M^r Winthrop. I wrote at large lately per M^r Graves of 1 fat and 1 hogshead shipped in M^r Crowther the Jonas per M^r Graves his advice himselve being not able (as he said) to take it in unles he should

leave out some of his passengers goods. I have inclosed bills of ladinge to your father, since the date of those your letters I have paid the freight primage avarage and all other charges. The freight being 3^{li} 15sh. at 3^{li} per tun prime and avarage 3sh. 6d. I have lefte nothinge for you to pay. I pray forget not to put to account what charge you have been at with the tripartable goods. I thinke I have sent you very neer the value of your third of the bever that you sent in returne. I have now sold it but the mony will not be due before michaelmas next, about which time I hope we shall receive some more bever from you for the partable account. I do not perceive my brother Downinge to be forward to joine with you in the fishinge trade. I have intreated him to write you a resolved answer which I have not from him yet, and as I wrote you before, my resolution depends upon him, without him nothinge therein, with him halfe so much as hee so that my part may not exceed 40 or 50li. at the most, I have disbursed for this goods with the freight and other charges 44li. 4s 3d if I mistake not. You shall find every particular mentioned in my letters per M^r Graves, also every severall rug and paire of blankets hath his price written upon it. The 24 coates cost you about 13sh 7d per coat, besides the charge upon them. I and my wife, my brother and sister Hill desire to be remembered to your second selfe, your father and mother, my Cosen James, Mary and Susan Downinge and the rest yours and my frends. The bearer herof M^r William Alford, Skinner, is an honest man well knowne to mee and also to M^r Cotton of Boston, I desire you to be acquainted with him and to shew him what kindness you can without prejudice to your selfe, He is come with his family to plant amongst you. Thus for this time I Commit you to God and rest —

Your lovinge frend

FRANC: KIRBY.

My brother Downinge sendeth part of his estate in Cattle this year *videlicet*, sheep and Cowes. I thinke it were not amisse for you to take some of his Cattle upon such termes as M^r Dilingham hath done, seeinge you have other employment for your stocke.

XXV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind Friend M^r John Winthrop at Pe-
cut — These —

Nar. 22. 4. 45 (so call'd). [Narraganset, 22 June, 1645.]

Sir: Best salutacions &c W^m Cheesbrough now come
in shall be readily assisted for your and his owne sake.
Major Bourne is come in: I have (by Providence) seene
divers papers (returning now yours thanckfully) which are
snatcht from me againe I have therefore bene bold to send
you the Medulla and the Magnalia Dei — Pardon me if I
request you in my name to transferr the paper to Capt.
Mason who saith he loves me: God is love in him only
I desire to be yours ever
ROGER WILLIAMS.

Loving Salutes to your dearest and kind sister. I have
bene very sick of cold and feaver but God hath bene gra-
cious to me: I am not yet resolved of a course for my
daughter: If youre powder (with directions) might be
sent without trouble I should first wait upon God in that
way: however 'tis best to wait on him. If the Ingredi-
ents be costly I shall thanckfully account. I have books
that prescribe powders &c but yours is probatum in this
Country.

XXVI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull and his much honoured kind friend
M^r John Winthrop at Namêug — These.

Cawcawmsqússick 28. 3. 47 (so calld).

Worthy Sir — Loving respects and salutacions to your
kind self and your kindest Companion: somewhile since
you desired a word of direction about the hay seed. I
desired my brother to collect his own and other neigh-

bour's observations about it, which (with his respects presented amounts to this —

First — usually 3 bushells seede to one Acre land.

2. It hath bene knowne to spread to mat &c the Indian hills being only scrapt or leveled.

3. This may be done at any time of the yeare (but the sooner the better).

4. It is best to sow upon a rayne preceding.

5. Some say let the ripe grasse stand untill it seede and the wind disperse it (susque deque) up and downe for it is of that thriving and homogeneall nature with the earth that the very dung of cattell that feeds on it will produce the grasse.

6. The offis which can hardly be severed from the seede hath the same productive facultie.

7. Sow it not in an Orchard neere fruit trees for it will steale and rob the trees &c.

Sir — concerning Indian affaires — Reports are various : Lyes are frequent — Private interests (both with Indians and English are many — Yet these things You may and must doe : First kiss Truth where You evidently upon youre soul see it : 2. advance justice, (though upon a childs eyes) 3 seeke and make peace if possible with all men — 4 secure youre owne Life from a revengefull malicious arrow or hatchet : I have bene in danger of them and delivered yet from them Blessed be his holy name in whome I desire to be

Yourre Worships in all unfayned respects and love

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Labelled, "Mr Williams about Hay-seed sowing received May 29."]

XXVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Cawcawmsquassick 20. 6. 47 so call'd.

Sir, due respects presented &c: I am importund by Nenékunat, in expresse words to present his respects and love to your honoured Father and to the honoured President of the Commissioners giving great thanckes for the great

favour and kindnes shewed him: Withall he prayes you earnestly to present his humble suit that since he by reason of his travell and illnes can as yet get no further toward his owne home, and finds he must have much worke with the Natives of these parts before he repaire home, and time to spend exceeding fast; it may be accounted no breach of faythfullnes of his promise if he finish the contribucion he is now about within a few dayes after the punctuall time. The other Sachims upon Agitations have promised their utmost concurrence to finish all within a month from the day of his promise, which time he earnestly requests may be assented to, hoping to make payment before, but not questioning by the expiration of that time. By this bearer he humbly prayes a word of answer that with the more cheerful concurrence of the other Sachims (who joine with him in this request) he may be the more cheerefull in the worke. Sir I discern nothing but realitie and reason in his request otherwise I should not dare to molest you or those honoured persons whome it concernes to whome, with my humble respects, and to youre selfe presented, beseeching the most High to be your portion I rest your worships unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Pesickosh desired me to present his great thancks for his child. Sir your man is with me at present writing, well, this last of the weeke and will be going instantly: Humble thanckes for the sight of papers from England: The Sea will be the Sea till it be no (more) Revelations 21—
My respects to your dearest.

[The superscription seems this: — “For the Governour I have sent these lines.” — J. B.]

XXVIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For my much honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at his howse at Namêug — These.

Caucaumsqússick 23. 7. 48 (so call'd)

Kind Sir — Best salutacions to your deare selves and

loving sister I am bold and yet glad to trouble you, that by this occasion I may heare of your wellfare: Capt. Mason lately requested me to forbid the Narigansetts to hunt at Pequot, and to assure them of his visiting of them if they so did: I have written now an answer which I am bold to request you to send at your next opportunitie: 2 dayes since I was at Providence and then M^r Browne was not returned, only he had writ home some angry passage against the Nariggansetts who are now in expectation of some assault from the English Sir whether please God to visit us with peace or Warr, in life and death I desire to be

Yours ever in Christ Jesus

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir our Neighbour M^r Coddington and Capt Patridge 10 dayes since returned from Plymmouth with propositions for Rode Iland to subject to Plymmouth to which himselfe and Portsmouth incline — our other 3 townes decline and M^r Holden and M^r Warner of Warwick came from thence also, and they say gave satisfaction why they dare not (the other 3 Townes) depart from the Charter: Sir in this division of our Neighbours I have kept myselfe uningaged and presented motions of pacification amongst which I was bold to propose a reference to your worthy selfe and some other friend to be chosen: our Towne yealds to it and M^r Boston (though opposite) and possibly you may have the trouble and honour of a peace-maker.

Sir pray seale the inclosed.

[Labelled, "rec'd Sept' 27. 1648."]

XXIX.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honoured and beloved M^r John Winthrop at Naméug.

Caucaumsquissick 10. 8. 48 (so call'd).

Sir — Best salutacions to your deare selves and loving sister: In my last I intimated a promise of presenting

you with what here passeth: Captaine Atherton Captaine Prichard Richard Wood and Strong Tucnell have bene with me (as also W^m Arnold instead of his Sonn Benedict, who withdrew himselfe though sent unto) these 6 or 7 dayes: They were at Nayantiaquct 2 nights; Capt. Atherton purposed to visit you, but they appointing their meeting with all the Sachims at my howse they came back, and this morning (the 4th day of the weeke) they are departed with good content toward the Bay. From the Commissioners they brought severall articles but the maine were 3. Concerning the Mauquawogs et — 2. The payment: 3 Onkas future safetie. To the first they sent answer (and that they confirmed with many asseverations that and one of them voluntarily tooke the Englishmans God to witnes) that they gave not a peny to hire the Mauquawogs against the Monhiggins, but that it was wholly wrought by Wussoonkquassin (which they discovered as a secret) who being bound by Onkas: and Wuttouwuttaurum Onkas his cozen having attempted to shoote a Mauquaw Sachim at that time, resolvéd with the Mauquawogs (to whome he also gave Peag) to take revenge upon Onkas: Wussoonkquassin sent them word and desired Peag of them in the spring but they professe they consented not nor sent not a peny, afterwards they sent Waupinhommin up to enquire to Paucomtuckqt and however they have given some of the Mauquawogs peag this yeare (as they have allwayes done) yet they say they are cleare from giving a peny in hire &c: They confesse their enmitie against Onkas and they (to the 2^d) will not rest untill they have finished their payments that they may presente their complaints against Onkas, who (they say) and others Indians within these 3 yeare have committed 13 murthers impuné being out of their reach in the English protection: This last yeare they pleaded they were neer starved and therefore sent but a small quantity: Now they promise upon returne of their men from hunting this winter to make a contribution, the next spring another and so according as they can draw the people to it will not cease to furnish, and if they die their children shall fullfill, and that it is their sore grieffe &c. with much to this purpose: For Onkas they professe neither directly nor indirectly to have to doe with him, yet hope

the English will not deale partially with him: They desired the English receipt of their peag: I produced the Note you sent me, which because it was not signed with your Fathers hand or the Treasurers &c the Messengers promised to send them one from the Bay Nenekunat made great lamentation that you had entertained hard thoughts of him in this busines, and all the Sachims here profest their sorrow and that you had hearkened to Wequashcuck, who they say never contributed nor joined in the Pequet wars, and now flatters to draw his neck out of the payments to the English: They hope you will not countenance him to rob Nenekunat of those hunting places which the Commissioners gave him leave to make use of and he with the English had fought for with the expense of much treasure and hazard of his life: They desire that he may and Causasenamon and the rest of the Pequets be as youre litle dogs but not as youre confederates which they say is unworthy youreselfe &c. Sir I perceave the English about the Bay enquire after new places: Capt. Atherton prayes me shortly to convey a letter to you: I forgot one passage that the Sachims discover'd that Wussoonckquassin gave peag to the Mauquaŵogs to retreat: It seemes they are (Switzer like) mercenary; and were hired on and of: These Sachims I believe desire cordially to hould friendship with both the English and the Mauquaŵogs together: I am confident (whether they lye or not about Wussoonckquassin) that they never intended hurt against the English nor yourselfe and yourse especially to whome they professe great respect and jointly they desire that Wequashcuck may come back to Quawnecontaûkit from whence he went for if he joyne with Onkas they suspect he will secretly be a means of some of their Deaths. Lastly whereas they heard that the women with you were something fearfull Nenekunat prayes M^{rs} Winthrop to be assured that there never was nor never shall be to his knowledge the least offence given to her or her neighbours by any of his (though he hath learnt it partly by your just abhorring of Onkas his outrageous carriage among you and of which I have not softly told these Messengers and the admired partialitie in the case) For a token of his fideletie to M^{rs} Winthrop Nenekunat he prays me to

write that all the women of his towne shall present M^r Winthrop with a present of corne at Pwacatuck if she please to send in any conveyance to Pwouacatuck for it: Sir to gratifie them I am that bold with you and desiring your æternall peace I rest your worships unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir

I formerly writ to you and now still crave your help with Wequashcuick who keepes basely from me for 5 or 6 coats and can neither get Peag nor cloth.

[Labelled, "Rec'd Oct' 16. 1648."]

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XXX.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honoured and beloved M^r John Winthrop at Nameug.

Caucaumsquussick 7. 9. 48 :

Kind Sir— best salutacions &c. I am requested by letter of Captaine Atherton to certifie what I can advise about Block Iland whether it might be had of the Natives, for divers of the English (it seemes to my conjecture) Upon some agitations the last court have thoughts this way Sir Because God hath pitcht youre tent these wayes and you know much among the Natives of these parts I judg'd it not unfit to pray you helpe me with a word of youre information, before I write what otherwise I can, from the Barbarians. The Councells of the most High are deepe concerning us poore grasshoppers, hopping and skipping from branch to twig in this vale of teares. W^m Peacock hath had a very heavie task in carying Joseph with Cattell from you — 6 or 7 dayes and nights the poore fellow was seeking them (being lost and scatter'd from Nayan-taquist) then he brought 6 to my howse 4 being finally lost: I tooke what paines I could to get them sought againe and three I heare are found: After which W^m Peacock is now out; and I looke for him this night with those 3: Nenekunat did his part honestly but the youths and boys thereabouts (by some occasion hollowing) the cattell thence

took the woods: Joseph Wild hath writ to me and I acquaint him with the cause that one man alone can not well drive cattell amongst barbarians especially without an Indian guide — It were exceeding well that 3 or 4 pole were enclosed at Nayantaquist to keep cattell there at night for if God vouchsafe peace and plantations (prosperity) there is great needs of it — Sir I desire to be

Your worships unfained

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Labelled, "rec'd Nov^r 9. 1648."]

XXXI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Nar.

Sir, Loving respects to yourselfe and dearest and M^r Lake premised: 2 dayes since Nenekunat came to me and requested me to write 2 letters; the one in answeare to Capt. Atherton's motion for some English planting on Block Iland and on a neck at Nayantuqigt; the other to your selfe in which protesting his Inocencie as to the death of his son in law, with which Onkas, and the Pequts charge him: He prays you (as of yourselfe) to signifie (as much as you can) Items to the Pequts that they be quiet and attempt nothing (at least treacherously) against him, which he suspects, from words from Onkas, that it will be pleasing to the English: He prayes you also to be mindfull of endeavouring to remove Wequashcuik, so constant a provocation before him; and at present he prayes you to send for some skins, which lately as Lord of the place he hath received: I hope the English Sachims as I tell him in the spring will heare and gratifie him in his just desires the want of which I guess is the cause that he is not free as yet for Block Iland &c but expresseth much if the English doe him justice against his enemies: Oh Sir how far from nature is the spirit of Christ Jesus that loves and pities, prayes for and doth good to enemies? Sir it is like he will request a line of answer, which, if you please to give, I pray Sir write when either of those ships you

write of are for England, and by which you write your selfe: Allso where M^r Throgmorton is, and whether he desires I should trouble you with the Peag of which I wrote, which I purpose if God please (unles countermanded by either of you) to send immediately upon hearing from you: Sir yours R. W.

Sir, Since I writ this, it pleased God to send a Dutchman for an old debt and the same night M^r Goodyeare also, to whom and his wife (for her former husband) I am indebted, and so was necessitated to make satisfaction to M^r Goodyeare allso. These providences of God so falling will necessarily cause me to be preparing some few dayes more that Peag for M^r Throgmorton: But most certainly it (God please I live) notwithstanding wayes and weather shall be sent — this I write that although M^r Throckmorton should depart or come home yet he may presume on youre faithfullnes and love to dispose of it as he requesteth: Sir youre unworthy — R. W.

Capt. Underhill now here in a Dutch vessell presents loving respects.

[“ No date ” — an old endorsement. — J. B.]

XXXII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull M^r John Winthrop at Nameug These.

Sir Réspéctive salutacions to you both and sister Lake: At this instant (the first of the weeke toward noone) I receave yourse and shall be glad (if God will) you may gaine a seasonable passage by us before the hardest of winter, although I cannot advice you (but to pray against winter flights and journeyes) yet if the necessitie of Gods providence so cast it I shall be glad that we might have you Prisoner in these parts yet once in a few dayes (though in deepe snow) here is a beaten path &c Sir Nenékunat againe importunes me to write to youre Father and youre

selfe about his and hunting at Pequet, that you would also be pleased to write to youre Father I have endeavoured to satisfie him what I can, and shall, yet I am willing at present to write to you, not so much conceaving that you can further gratifie him at this time, but that I may by this opportunitie salute you with the tidings from the Bay the last night. Skipper Isaack and Moline are come into the Bay with a Dutch ship and (as it is said) have brought Letters from the States to call home this present Dutch Governoure to answer many complaints both from Dutch and English against him: In this ship are come English passengers and bring word of the great Trialls it pleaseth the Most High and only Wise to exercise both oure native England and these parts allso.

The Prince is said to be strong at sea and among other mischiefes, hath taken M^r Trerice his ship which went from hence, and sent it for France it seemes their Rendevouz.

It is said that after Cromwell had discomfited the Welsh, with 6000 he was forced to incounter 19 thousand Scots of whome he tooke 9000 prisoners &c — great store of Scots and Wellsh are sent and sold as slaves into other parts: Cromwell wrote to the Parliament, that he hoped to be at Edinburg in few dayes. A commission was sent from the Parliament to try the King in the Ile of Wight, lately prevented from escape.

The Prince of Orenge and the States are falling if not already fallen into Warrs which makes some of the States to tender Munnádoes as place of Retreat.

Sir to him in whose favour is Life I leave you, desiring in him to be Yourse Worships unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

John prays you to be earnest with M^r Hollet about his howse hoping to be back in a fortnight.

[Labelled, "rec'd dec'" — undoubtedly 1648. — J. B.]

XXXIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop, at his howse at Nameug These.

Cawcaumsquissick.

Sir

Best salutacions presented to you both with humble desires that since it pleaseth God to hinder youre presence this way he may please for his infinite mercy sake in his sons blood to further oure eternall meeting in the presence of him that sits upon the Throne and the Lambe for ever and that the hope thereof may be living and bring forth the fruits of love where it's possible and of lamenting for obstructions. Sir — the affaires of oure Countrey (Vaderland, as the Dutch speak) would have affoorded us much conference: the mercifull Lord helpe us to make up in prayer to his holy Majestie &c Sir — for this Land: oure poor Colonie is in civill dissention, their last meetings (at which I have not bene) have fallen into factions — M^r Cottington and Capt. Partridge &c the heads of the one and Capt. Clarke, M^r Easton &c the heads of the other faction — I receive letters from both inviting me &c but I resolve (if the Lord please) not to ingage unles with great hopes of peace making, the peace makers are Sons of God: Our Neighboures the Narigansetts are now consulting and making Peag to carie within a few weekes another payment: Sir about a month since one William Badger a Seaman and now a planter at W^m Fields farme neere Providence past by me travelling to the Sea broke I have received letters since from Capt. Mason (to whome I wrote by him) and heare nothing of him I feare he miscaried for he was alone without a guide: and since I mention Capt. Mason (worthy Sir) I humbly beg of the Father of Lights to guide you in youre converse and neighbourhood with him: In his letters to me he tells me of some extraordinary lifts against Onkas and that he will favoure him, but no more then religion and reason bids him, he promiseth to visit me in his passage this summer Eastward (I quere he

meanes toward Plymmouth) I shall then argue (if God will many things and how it stands with religion and reason that such a monstrous hurrie and affrightment should be offered to an English towne either by Indians or English, unpunished. Sir you have seene many parts of this Worlds snow ball and never found ought but vanitie and vexation, at Nameug shall you find no more except in the Fountaine of living waters: Sir heape coales of fire on Capt. Masons head, conquer evil with good but be not cowardly and overcome with any evill. If you have by you the *Triall of wits* at convenience spare it me a few dayes: however, studie (as the Lord commands your quietnes for which I shall ever pray and endeavoure:

Your Worships unfayned ROGER WILLIAMS.

XXXIV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Nameug.

Caucaumquüssick 29. 11. 48 (so calld).

Sir best salutacions and wishes to the Father of mercies for youre worthy selfe, Yoakfellow, Sister &c.: It must be so in this worlds sea — Sicut fluctus fluctum sic luctus luctum sequitur: And every day hath his sufficiencie or fulnes of evill to all the children of the first sinfull man: No persons, no places exempted from the reach of the first curse. My humble desire is to the most righteous and only wise Judge, that the wood of Christs Gallowes (as in Moses act) may be cast into all youre and our bitter waters, that they be sweete and wholesome instructours of the fruits of sin, the sorrowes of others abroad (in our Englands Aheldama) our owne deservings to feele upon our selves bodies and soules (wives and children allso) not by barbarians but devills and that eternally, sorrowes unexpressible inconceivable, and yet (if Christs religion be true) unavoidable, but by the blood of a Saviour &c. Sir pardon

me, this is not the matter. Sir your letters I speedily dispatch by a messenger on purpose: For a place I know indeede of one in Plymmouth claime and would specifie but that your spirit being troubled countermanded it againe in your postscript concerning Elderkin, whome I will (if God will) effectually labour with and write the issue with speede: All our neighbours the barbarians, and run up and downe and consult; partly suspecting like dealings: Partly ready to fall upon the Monhiggins at your word, and a world of foolish agitations I could trouble you with but I tould the Chiefest yesterday that it is not our manner to be rash and that you will be silent till your Father and other ancient Sachims speak first &c. Sir concerning the bags of oare it is of Rode Iland where is certainly affirmed to be both Gold and silver oare upon triall: M^r Codington went to the Bay with his daughter for England and left Captaine Partridge in trust withall the last weeke at New Port George Wright (alias Captaine Wright) stabt with a pike Walter Lettice at Newport, and is in prison the other (if not dead) not like to live: Sir yourse ever in all unfeyned respect &c

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I want wax to seale otherwayes I would have exprest something which I reserve till another season (if the Lord will.

XXXV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Nar.

Sir best salutacions to your worthy selfe and yourse premised.

I am glad for your sake, that it hath pleased God to prevent your winter travell: though I gladly also this last weeke expected your passage and being at Providence hastned purposely to attend you here: Our candle burnes out day and night we neede not hasten its end (by swâling) in unnecessary miseries: Unles God call us for him to

suffer whose oure breath is, and hath promised to such as hate life for him, an æternall. Sir this last weeke I read an Ordinance of both howses (dated 3^r Mon. May last) decreeing Death to some consciences, but imprisonment to farr more, even (upon the point) to all but presbyterian: We have a sound, that Fairfax and Cromwell are proclaimed Traitors, but I rather credit that report, that Cromwell only was sent for by the Parliament which it seemes inclines with the King, and the City all against the Army: The Earl of Warwick was gone for Holland with 22 ships pursuing the Prince: M^r Foot and others went to Holland (whether M^r Trerice his ship was caried) and were offered the ship for 2 thousand pound but I cannot heare of their agreement. About 40 from the Parliament went to the King to the Ile of Wight (who was lately and strangely prevented of escape) to treat, but could not agree upon the first viz: that the King should acknowledge the beginning of the war to be his: Sir this is the chiefe of matters told me few dayes since by M^r Throckmorton who came 10 dayes since from the Bay and came well in a full laden vessell to anchor by Saconet rocks but it pleased God his new Cabell was cut by the rocks and he drove upon Rode Iland shoare, where it is feard the vessell is spoild but (through Gods mercy) he saved his goods: Sir M^r Bruster (by letter) requests me to conveigh three letters and bags of mettall to you. I wish they may have Worth in them especially to draw us up to dig into the Heavens for true treasure: Sir (though M^r Brewster write me not word of it) yet in private I am bold to tell you that I heare it hath pleased God greatly to afflict him in the thornes of this life: He was intended for Virginia, his creditours in the Bay came to Portsmouth and unhung his rudder carried him to the Bay where he was forced to make over all house land cattell and part with all to his chest: Oh how sweet is a drie morsell and an handfull with quietnes from earth and Heaven: Sane nescio de quo scribis furti suspecto; John Jones is thought here to be false or faultie; He said he was youre servant that you gave him 10sh. in Peag to beare his charges, which being stole out of his pocket he borrowed so much of me here in youre name promising to pay me at his returne being to

receave mony for you in the Bay; he had allso 10sh. more to buy for me 2 or 3 necessaries; He took 27sh 6d. of Valentine M^r Smiths man—my neighbour at the trading howse for a drum which he said he left at my howse at Providence which drum cost him 48sh. and he promised to send it by an Indian but refused and offerd to sell it againe at Providence: It is now attached. M^r Brewster requested me to pay the Bag carriers which I have thus orderd that 6 awle blades I pay to a Native to cary to Nenékunats and pray you to pay 6 more to him that brings them to you: I am sorry you had no more corne from Nenékunat yet glad you had so much for I am forced to pay 4sh. the bushell for all I spend: Sir I have not knowne the like of Indian madnes: The Father of Lights cause us to blesse him for and with oure reason, remembring Nabuchadnezzar.

Sir I desire to be yourse ever in Christ Jesus

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Probably written in February, or early in March, 1648-9. — J. S.]

XXXVI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull his kind friend M^r John Winthrop at
Naméug.

Caucaúmsquussick 1. 48 (so call'd).

Sir, Best respects and love presented, and thanks hearty for your letters former and latter all now received: I am againe importun'd by our neighbour Sachins (having heard of Wequashcucks carying of Peag to Capt. Mason) to pray you to informe them whether that Peag be part of the payment; because Wequashcuck and his company refuse to pay. They desire me allso to write to the Bay about it, which I deferr to do untill their payments goe, which are something delay'd because of the death of Nenékunats wives mother which is the same you write of, Wequashcucks mother, and it is now Qunnántacaun, that is Lan-

entation. Sir, since I wrote to you our 4 townes met by Deputies 6 out of a Towne: This Court last weeke wrote to me Infourmacion of their choice of my selfe Dep: President in the Absence of the President, who, whether they have fixed on yourselfe, or M^r Coddingtons faction prævaile to keepe his name in (now gone for England) I can not yet learne) but I have excused my selfe for some Reasons and I hope they have chosen better: I wrote to them about an Act of Oblivion which (blessed be the God of Peace) they have past, and have appointed a Court of Election in the 3^d month at Warwick: Sir, I am exceedingly glad of youre beginnings at Pwockatuck — I pray faile not to enquire whether there or from Monhiggin or Qunnih-ticut you can helpe me to 100 bushels of Indian Corne: To youre deare yoakfellow and sister respective salutacion: The Sun of Righteousnes graciously shine on you I desire unfaignedly to be' youre worships unfayned in love —
R. W.

The Sachims pray you to tell them whether their Peag will be sold at underrates as Pumhomin comming 2 dayes since from the Bay informes them viz: that they must pay great black at 13 to the peny and small black at 15: and white 8 to the peny — I tell them the last yeare it was measured and so word was sent to me they should pay it by measure.

[Labelled, "rec'd March 23. 1648."]

XXXVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequet.

Sir I am the more easily perswaded by this barbarian Prince Nenékunat to trouble you so often that I may the oftener heare of youre wellfare and at present how it pleased God to bring you home to yourse againe: Upon youre word, Nenékunat prayes you to send him word, when within 10 dayes (of this 5^t of the weeke present) you will

please to meete him at Wequatúckqut : so it be when M^r Stanton is present : He would confer about M^r Eliots letter and coate, about Wequshcucks usurping at Pwoakatuck, about his present hunting, about the present disposall of the Pequet fields, about his letters to the Bay, which (in youre name) I have almost perswaded to suspend untill the meeting of the Commissioners at Boston : Here is now a great hurrie made by Auqúontis one of those pettie Sachims of whome M^r Eliot wrote to you and me : He hath offerd great abuse to one of the chiefe and Nenékunat is now going to Qunnúnnagut about him I perswade not to engage themselves but send him to the Bay with my letter : Sir Loving respects to M^{rs} Winthrop M^{rs} Lake whome God graciously with youre loving selfe and yourse bind up in the bundle of that life, which is eternall in Christ Jesus, in whome I desire to be

Yourse ever ROGER WILLIAMS.

[No date.]

XXXVIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull M^r John Winthrop at Pequet.

Nar : 9. 3. 49 (so calld).

Sir : Best salutations and wishes presented to your dearest with your self &c : These inclosed came to my hand in 2 severall letters from the Bay inclosed, your brother in a letter from him requesting my helpe &c I have therefore speeded them by the Sachims who will therefore expect some word of tidings from the Bay, which you may please to signifie in one line to me whatever you heare or can [*well*] collect will be any word of tidings and by which occasion (if you have occasion) you may well rescribe : Benedict was desired by the Mayisstrates in the Bay to take [*speciall*] care to charge Wequashcuck concerning [*Nenekunat*]. he hath requested this taske from me which [*this morning*] I purpose to doe (with Gods helpe) carefully :

Sir — 2 dayes since (my boate not being fitted) comming from Providence I was (in Articulo temporis) snatcht by a mercifull and some say a miraculous hand from the Jawes of Death: The Canow being over set some goods to some valew were sunck, some whereof I hope (if God please to recover) however, Blessed be God, and blessed are such whome he correcteth and teacheth in him.

Yours he graciously make me, though unworthy
 ROGER WILLIAMS.

[An old endorsement, " May 11. 1649 or 1650," — probably the date of its receipt.

This letter is much torn. Such words as are supplied by the present *interpreter* are printed in *italic* and included in brackets. — J. B.]

XXXIX.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my much respected friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot.

13. 3. 49 *so call'd.*

Sir — : Salutacions &c :

Yours last letter (which you mention I sent by the way of the English since I came hither from Providence: I know of no letter of yours that came back as you write: one of mine to yourself (when you were in the Bay) was met by the Peag Messengers from the Bay and brought by them againe to my hand because (as they conceaved) the whole about Onkas his wounding was not yet (as then) knowne which at your comming hither (by the English Relation) was perfected; tidings from Onkas is that the English come from the Bay to Hartford about Onkas and are appointed to take this way and to take Nenékunat with them: Aquawoce (Wepiteammock) is at the point of death: expectat nos mors ubique cur non nos mortem: In life and death the Sonn of God shine on us, in him

Yourse I desire to be ever unfained —

ROGER WILLIAMS.

XL.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Na-
meug — These.

Nar: 26. 3. 49. (*so calld*).

Sir: Loving respects to your deare selfe and dearest
&c: This last of the weeke in the morning your man and
all his charge are come just now to me in safetie: I my
selfe allso came hither late last night and wet from War-
wick where this Colony met, and upon discharge of my
service we chose M^r Jo. Smith of Warwick (the Marchant
or Shop keeper that lived at Boston for this yeare President)
Some were bold (though Capt. Clark was gone to the Bay
and absent) to use your name, and generally applauded
and earnestly desired in case of any possible stretching our
bounds to you, or your drawing neare to us though but to
Pwocatumuck: One law past that the Natives should no
longer abuse us but that their black should goe with us as
with themselves at 4 p peny. All wines and strong waters
forbidden the natives throughtout the Colonie only a privi-
ledge betrusted in my hand to spare a little for necessities
&c. Sir tidings are high from England many ships from
many parts say and a Bristoll ship come to the Ile of
Shoales within few dayes confirme that the King and many
great Lords and Parliament men are beheaded; London
was shut up on the day of Execution not a dore to be opened
&c: The States of Holland and the Prince of Orange
(forced by them) consented to proceedings: It is said M^r
Peters preached (after the fashion of England the funeral
sermon to the King after sentence out of the terrible den-
unciation to the King of Babilon Esa 14. 18. &c: Your
letter to your brother I delivered to M^r Gold (going to
Boston) this weather I presume hinders: M^r Andrewes a
gentleman of Warwick told me that he came from the
Bay where he heard that the Bay had proclaimed war with
the Narigansetts: I hope it is but mistaken: And yet all
under and while we are under the Sunn nothing but vani-

tie and vexation: The most glorious Son of Righteousness shine graciously on us in him I desire to be Sir ever yours
ROGER WILLIAMS.

[The old endorsement is, "Mr Williams of the high newes about the king."]

XLI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Caucumsquissick 13. 4. 49 (so call'd).

Sir best salutacions &c. The last night one of Wequashcucks Pequts brought me very privatly letters from Capt. Mason (and as he said from Onkas and Wequashcucks) the letters are kind to myself acknowledging loving letters (and tokens which upon the burning of his howse) he had received from me &c But terrible to all these natives especially to the Sachims and most of all to Nenekunat: The purport of the letters and concurrence of circumstances seem to me to imply some present conclusions (from Qunnihticut) of hostilitie, and I question whether or no present and speedie before the meeting of Commissioners, which I saw lately from the Court under Mr Nowell's hand not to be till the 7th month: The murthring of Onkas is alleadged by stabbing and since attempted by witches &c. The conclusion is therefore Ruine — The words of the letter are: If nothing but blood will satisfie them I doubt not but they may have their fill: And again I perceave such an obstinate willfullness joined with desperate malicious practices that I thinck and believe they are sealed to destruction: Sir there are many devices in a mans heart but the counsell of Jehovah shall stand. If he have a holy and righteous purpose to make us drinck of our mothers cup: The holynes nor power nor policie of New England can stop his hand: He be pleased to prevent it if not to sweeten it: Sir I pray if you heare ought, signifie in a line, and you shall not faile of my poore papers and prayers.

Yours unfayned — R. W.

Your letters and friends were here some dayes with me: This last choice at Warwick (according to my soules wish and endeavour) hath given me rest others are chosen, M^r John Clark at New Port to whome and all my friends on the Iland I wrote effectually, thether they went I heare nothing since: If power had beene with me such a worck of mercy (although to strangers) I hope, by the Lords assistance shall not escape me: and I have promised my assistance to M^r Clarke and others at Newport, if any blame or dammage befall them from the Colony or elsewhere. Sir I forgot to thanck you for the pamphlets although (not having bene lately at Providence) I have them not: but I have sent for them: I have here now with me my eldest daughter, of 17 Her younger sister of 15 hath had natures course before her which she wanting, a fluxe of reume hath much affected her head and right eye, she hath taken much physick and bene let blood but yet no change, she is advised by some to the Bay: I pray advise me to whome you judge fittest to addresse, unto of the Bayes Phycitians:

Sir — I heare a smith of youre towne hath left you and saith I sent for him 'tis most untrue though we want one at Providence, yet I should condemne in myself or any to invite any convenience or commoditie from our friends: I know him not nor ever spake (to my knowledge about him. M^r Throckmorton hath lately brought in some corne from Hemstead and those parts but extraordinarie deare I pay him 6sh. for Indian and 8sh. for wheat. These raines if God please to give peace promise hopes of plenty.

Two dayes since letters from my brother: he saith a ship was come to the Bay from England: She was not come yet in the River: a loyter went aboard, brought the confirmation of the Kings death but no other particulars. The ever living King of Kings shine on us &c.

[Labelled, "Rec'd June 15. 1649."]

XLII.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Roger Williams.

To my much respected friend M^r Roger Williams.

Pequot Octob: 7. 50.

Sir This afternoone 2 Indians came to me who said they were sent by Nenekunnath to informe me that there were an 100 Englishmen at Webetummacks where also your selfe and all the Narygansetts Sachems were, that Nenek: and the Sachems were bound by the English which although I doe not believe, yet they affirming confidently that your selfe are at Webetummacks, I thought it fitt (they desiring also a letter) to request a word or 2 from you what the matter is. I have not heard what hath beene determined by the Commissioners, in any particular, but these indians hasty coming and as hasty returning, makes me thinke there is eyther some message to the Indians by some considerable number of persons, or they have heard some reports which makes them feare something to be done: because I am wholly ignorant of matters I desire to know the truth and so with my love remembred I rest

Your loving friend

JOHN WINTHROP.

I pray informe what English men, what number, whom chief.

XLIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Nar: 9. 8. 50 (so calld.)

S^r best respects and love presented to your selfe and dearest. My howse is now filled with souldiers and therefore in hast I write in an Indian house: It hath pleased God to give me, and the English, and the Natives that were met togeather and the whole land I believe a gracious deliverance from the plauge of warr: On the last day last came to my howse Capt. Atherton with above 20 souldiers and 3 horse: The Capt. requested me presently

to travell to the Sachims (met togeather in mourning for Wepiteammocks dead son within 3 or 4 mile of my house) and to demand the rest of the pay 308 fath: and 200 more for these charges &c. I went alone and drew them out of the mourning howse who answered they were ever resolved to pay but they were distracted by that peace broke by the Monhiggins in that Hostilitie begun upon them at Pequet which they answerd not because of the English; but expected satisfaction, but receive none &c Yet they refused not to pay: I returned and the Capt. with me went to them and 2 or 3 souldiers as was agreed and after a litle discourse we agreed in the same place to meete on the second day: We did and all day till night, the Capt. demanded the peag or two Sachims the Natives promised peag within a litle time: the Capt. would have 1 or 2 present and in the evening drew up his men (unknowne to me sent for) round about the Sachims in a hole and the Indians (20 for one of us) armed and ready with guns and bowes about us the Capt. desired me to tell the Sachims he would take by force Nenekunat and Pesiccosh then I protested to the Capt. before Indians and English I was betraid for first I would not have hazarded life or blood for a litle money: 2 if my cause and call were right I would not be desperate with so few men to assault Kings in the midst of such guards about us, and I had not so much as knife or stick about me: After long Agitacions upon the ticklish point of a great slaughter (as all the souldiers now confesse) the God of mercy appeared. I perswaded the Capt. to stay at my howse 4 dayes and the natives within 4 dayes to bring in the peag and I would lay downe 10 fath: (as formerly I had done 20 (God knowes beyond my Abilitie).

Sir to morrow the peag is to come I hope such a quantitie as will stop proceedings: I tould the Capt: he had desperatly betraid me and him selfe: he tells me he will give me good satisfaction before he depart: I presume he feares God in the maine but feare, he can never satisfie me nor his owne conscience, which I hope the Lord will shew him and shew the Countrey what dangerous Councells the Commissioners produce: which makes me feare God is preparing a Warr in the Countrey. Just now a

letter from Rode Iland comes for my voyage for Engl: but as yet I resolve not God graciously be pleased to set our Affections on another Countrey and him selfe above in his deare Son.

Sir yours in him I desire to be unfained
R: W.

[Labelled, "M^r Williams 8. 9: 49." There seems to be a mistake in this date. Mr. Williams calls it 1650. — J. B.]

XLIV.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Roger Williams.

Pequot Nov^r 10. 1650.

Sir

I received your letter this morning and must write back in hast, the messengers being hastily to returne, thanking you for the intelligence of this matter, which neyther from the Commissioners or from any of the Government or any other way I have had the least intimation either by message, or letter. I thanke you chiefly for your endeavours of bringing the Indians to a peaceable conclusion of matters. The whole countrey are much obliged to you for your care herein, as formerly for your labours and travailes in this kind, which they cannot be so sensible of, who doe not fully understand the nature and manner of the indians who are brought to a right [*cet. desunt.*]

[This fragment seems to be the answer of Governor Winthrop to the preceding letter. Upon the back in Governor W.'s hand, — "Copy of my letter to M^r Williams in answer to his of 8. 9. 49." It should be remarked that Governor W. makes the same mistake, as regards the date, as in his endorsement on Mr. Williams's letter. — J. B.]

XLV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Sir Loving respects to you both with M^{rs} Lake and yours: By this opportunitie I am bold to inform you that from the Bay I heare of the sentence on M^r Clarke, to be whipt or pay 20£: Obadiah Holmes whipt or 30£; on John Crandall whipt or 5£: This bearer heares of no

payment nor execution but rather a Demurr, and some kind of conference : The Father of lihts graciously guide them and us in such paths for other succour then that (in his mouth) Christ Jesus ware not among the Churches Revelat : 1.) Sir upon those provocations that lately (as in my last I hinted Auquontis gave the Sachims, Nenekunat Wepitammock and Pesiccosh went in person to their towne (Chaubatick) and upon Pummakommis telling the Sachims that he was as great a Sachim as they, they all fell together by the eares : yet no blood spilt : The Chaubatick Indians send to the Bay : They say Auquontis is sent for and Neneskunat, but I know no certaine other then messengers passing to and againe from Chaubatick to the Bay. Here was last weeke M^r Sellick of Boston and M^r Gardiner a young Merchant to fetch my corne and more from M^r Paine of Secunck they are bound to the French, unles diverted : They tell me of a ship of 300, come from Barbados, M^r Wall the Master stood upon his guard while he staid there, he brought some passengers former Inhabitants from London whose case was sad there because of the posture of the Iland (where as I have by letter from a Godly friend there, they force all to sweare to Religion and lawes : This M^r Wall hath a new and great designe viz : from hence to the East Indies : The Frigots designed for Barbados were ordered for Silly which they assaulted and tooke Forts and Ordinance and Frigots and drove the Governoure into his last Fort. It hath pleased God to bring youre ancient acquaintance and mine M^r Coddington in M^r Carwithy his ship of 500 : He is made Governour of this Colonie for his life : Gen^l Cromwell was not wounded nor defeated (as is said) but sick of flux and feaver and mending and had a victorie over the Scots : Sir this world passeth away and the (*σχέμα*) fashion, shape and forme [of] it only the word of Jehovah remaines, that word Literall is sweete as it is the field where the mistocall word or treasure Christ Jesus lies hid. In him I hope to be

Youres

R. W.

Sir to M^r Blindman loving salutations.

[No date nor envelope. Last of July or first of August, 1651. — J. S.]

XLVI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot.

Sir Loving respects &c Yourse received and the 10sh^s from youre neighbour Elderkin, and letters which shall carefully be sent: I came from Providence last night and was able by Gods Mercifull Providence so to order it that I was their Pilot to my howse here from whence I have provided a Native who with Jo Fosseker I hope will bring them safe to you: The Mercifull Lord helpe you and me to say as Salomon All that comes is vanitie; All cattell, all goods, all friends, all children &c. I met M^r John Clarke at Providence *recens e carcere*. There was great hammering about the disputation but they could not hit, and although (my much lamented friend) the Governour told him that he was worthy to be hanged &c Yet he was as good as thrust out without pay or whipping &c. But Obadiah Holmes remaines: M^r Carwithy is gone with his Ship to the Eastward for Masts and returnes 3 weekes hence to set saile for England: Sir I have a great suit to you, that at your leasure, you would fit and send something that you find suitable to these Indian bodies in way of purge or vomit; as allso some drawing plaister and if the charge rise to one or two crownes I shall thankfully send it and commending you and yourse to the only great and good Phycitian desire Sir to be ever yourse in him

R. W.

[No date. Probably August or September, 1651. — J. S.]

XLVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For my honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot.

Nar. 6. 8. 51 (so called).

Sir — Once more my loving and deare respects presented

to you both and M^{rs} Lake: being now bound resolvedly (if the Lord please) for our Native Countrey: I am not certaine whether by the way of the English (you know the reason) or by the way of the Dutch: My Neighbours of Providence and Warwick (whom I also lately denied) with importunities have over come me to endeavour the renewing of their liberties upon the occasion of M^r Coddington's late grant. Upon this occasion I have bene advised to sell and have sold this howse to M^r Smith my neighbour, who also may possibly be yours, for I heare he is like to have M^{rs} Chester: Sir I humbly thanck you for all your loving kindnesses to me and mine unworthy— The Father of mercies graciously reward you guide you preserve you save sanctifie and glorifie you in the blood of his deare Son: In whom I mourn I am no more and desire to be yours unfeignedly eternally

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This bearer comming now from England will acquaint you &c.

To all yours and all my friends my loving salutations— M^r Sands of Boston and John Hazell of Secunck are gone before us.

XLVIII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honoured freind John Winthrop Esq^r these present in Pequot.

Worthily Honourd Sir,

Upon frequent reports of Gods gracious blessing your labours with good success, in sundry cures, I was desirous to have made a journey to Pequot, to confer with you about the state of my body, and desired brother Andrewes to signifie the same unto you, by whom I understand that there is no conveniencie for myne and my wifes and my sonnes lodging and other accomodacons there, and that your selfe are upon a journey shortly per the Baye. I have

therefore hyred this Indian to be the bearer of these lines, and pray you to returne by him your advise, not concerning my distemper, which I cannot so fully declare; by wrighting, to your satisfaction, and myne owne, as is meete, but concerning my way. My wife inclineth to our travayling with you to Boston, if you judge that a place and time fitt for me to enter into any course of physick, but I heare the apothecary wants supplyes of things, unles Carwithy bē come. I heare that M^r Lyng etc newly returned from the Baye saw a vessel at sea about 200 tunne coming toward Boston, and I feare that your buisnesses there will not permit liberty for that, and that my body and the season will not suite it: yet if you advize it, as convenient, I shall consider what you propound. If not; my desire is to know, when you purpose to returne, if God please. I was glad when he told me that you had some purpose of coming into these parts, and shall be more glad, if I may understand from yourselfe, that you continue that resolution, and will be pleased to put it into execution, at your returne from the Baye, and to accept of my house for your entertainment, during your abode in these parts, there to refresh yourselfe, with assurance that you shall be most heartily wellcom to us. If you require it, for the preparing of directions suitable to my case, that I give you notice of it particularly, before hand, I shall, by the next opportunity, answer your desire, upon notice when my letter may probably finde you at home: or, if you incourage us to come to pequot, after your returne, we shall attend you there. But, if you can affoord me some liberty of discourse with you here before your journey to the Baye, I thincke, that would be best: and I should be very much obliged unto you for that your labour of love. However: let me receive such answer as you can, by this bearer. present my true Respects to M^{rs} Winthrop, with loving salutacōns to M^r Blyndman. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace! In whom I rest,
Sir, yours assured

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven this 20th d. of the 6th m. 1653.

XLIX.

Edward Wigglesworth to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the much honoured, M^r John Winthrop at his house
in Pequot, these present —

Much honoured Sir

The great encouragement which I found from my Sons being with you, declaring your willingnes to have come visited mee, had not occasions prevented doth embolden mee to present to your godly and wise consideration a description of my weak and feeble state of my body. Winter was 12 yeares being very hot upon a cold day, I tooke a lift and strain'd my selfe, as I thought in the small of my back, and tooke cold upon it: but felt no paine; but weaknes presently appeared there and ever since. The effect of this appeared betimes in the spring in my head; when I looked upwards being ready to fall backward, and when I looked downward, to fall forward. And in my legs and feet benumbednes, as if they were asleep by lying double under mee. My body was much as it had been by the scurvy a yeare or two before, and therefore thinking it had been the scurvy, I neglected the use of any meanes that spring: But finding that Summer I grew worse, I applyed my selfe in the Autumne to what meanes God presented; as namely hot artificial bathes, I think 16. At the spring following oiles, ointments, plaisters, but all effected nothing, but I grew worse upon them. By this time I was scarce able to goe without a staffe, my weaknes holding mee most in my lower parts first; which hath gathered upward by little and little, that now it is come up to the head, in so much that I have not ability to move one joint in my body, save only my neck a little, but tho' all motion is quite gone yet sense remaineth quick in every part: And thorough the goodnes of God, my understanding, memory, with my eyesight and hearing, remaine untouched: neither is my stomach apt to be offended with food, but a small quantity suitable to my weaknes it can close with. I do not find any sicknes within save onely the

paine of wearines thorough setting and lying. I am not sensible of any obstruction in my inward parts. My flesh is much fallen which began first in my lower parts and now is in my upper parts; but my complexion remaineth pretty ruddy in my face. My age is about 49 yeares.

Now Honoured Sir, my request to you is that you would seriously consider this my condition, and if it shall please God to discover to you any cranny of hope of any degree of cure; that you would be pleased to send me your thoughts in a few lines; whether you would advise mee to come to your plantation; and if so; at what time may bee most seasonable; and whether I may have a suitable room for one in my condition, for myselfe, wife and daughter to sojourn in, and whether your plantation be provided with supplies of provision for pay, or whether I must bring with mee for the supply of my family. If the bearer hereof, my trusty and beloved friend M^r Benjamin Ling, shall abide with you any time, so as you can issue your thoughts, then I should leave it to your godly wisdom whether to write by him, though by the Bay or any other way that may be probably more speedy. Thus having used great libertie and boldnes with you, I commend you, and the guidance of you in this and all other your affaires to the good spirit of God.

and Rest

your poor afflicted Brother in Ch^t

EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH.

New-haven. July 18. [No year given.]

—
L.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honoured friend John Winthrop Esq^r these present at Hartford.

Honoured Sir,

After Brother Molthrop's return, I sent another letter to you by the way of Gillford dated the 22^d of y^e 6th wherein I propounded my apprehension touching the months

of October and 9ber and desired your serious thoughts whether that might not be a tolerable and hopefull season for our transportation to England which I still desire and now the rather because, probably that will be the time for the fleet to be upon theyre voyadge thitherward: and then in an ordinary way the michaelmas storms will be over and the cold of winter avoided. Also to your quæries about an house and convenient transportation of yours hither from Pequot, I wrote what our Governor suggested and undertooke, with whom you will now have opportunity of satisfying your selfe by orall discourse. I concluded those lines thus, though it pleaseth you to insist in the difficulties formerly alleadged concerning my case as still deterring you from giving me such encouragement as I desire, and as you see my case requireth; yet, if you will but in two or three words, say thus much to me, that I may venture to stay here this winter, (and neglecting the opportunity of this passage in the 8th or 9th months) without manifest danger of rendering myself incurable by delaiies, and that you will apply such means as you conceive to be suitable to my condition; I will willingly, upon such encouragement from you stay, this winter, wayting upon God for his blessing whereunto I shall now add the reason of my desiring such encouragement from you, which is, for the satisfaction of my conscience, because of the 6th comāndment, that I have not of myne owne head or without a justifiable ground, waved such a season as Gods providence seemeth to present unto me by the fleete wherein Brother Martin is M^r of a speciall good ship where good accomodations may be rationally expected, if he hath seasonable notice of my purpose. Also I find this clause in your last letter (If upon further thoughts, you can consider anything that may be usefull for the stopping of my distemper, that may be had, you will wrighte further) and if you can find meanes to prepare any special arcanum, that may probably doe me good, for the stopping the proceeding thereof, you will not neglect to indeavour) this clause I look at as a full expression of your love and desire of procuring my recovery, by the blessing of God and as a strong obligation unto me to returne many hearty thanks to you for such a favor. Nor can I omit to intreate your

effectuall prosecution of that your purpose towards me, and some notice from you whether you have considered and found accordingly, to your own satisfaction; and whether I may expect, with relyance upon you, any helpe from you, this Autumn y^e season now beginning to suite the use of means. pardon (Worthy Sir) this boldness and interruption of your more weighty affairs and be pleased to return speedily as cleare and satisfying an answer as you can, that I may understand my way, by the will of God, upon whom I waite desiring to be found always in his way, as one wholly unbyassed to any way of my owne choosing. Farewell, Honored Sir, in our Lord Jesus in whom I rest

your very much obliged friend to serve you
JOHN DAVENPORT.

Newhaven y^e 11th day of the 7th month. 54.

—
LI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop.

New Providence this 15th of the 5^t.

Sir,

For the captives and bootie I never heard any of these Natives question the Acts of the English, only that Native who brought letters to you from Capt. Patrick and was twice at Boston related so much as I wrote of in my former, at his return to the Nanhiggansick, viz. that yourselfe should be angry with the English &c. I met since with him and he sayth, he had it not from yourselfe but an English man at Roxbury. I thought good to cleare your name and remoove suspicions from M^r Stoughton &c.

Wequash is alive so is also the other like to recover of his wound. I never heard that Miantunnomu was displeased with Wequash for any service to the English, but that Wequash was suspected to deale falsely when he went to hunt for the Pequets at the rivers mouth. Tis true there is no feare of God before their eye and all the cords that ever bound the barbarous to forreiners were made of selfe and covetousnes. Yet if I mistake not, I

observe in Miantunnomu some sparkes of true friendship. Could it be deeply imprinted into him that the English never intended to despoile him of the country, I probably conjecture his friendship would appear in attending of us with 500 men (in case) against any forreigne Enemye.

The Neepmucks are returned with 3 heads of the Wunnashoatuckoogs. They slue 6, wounded many, and brought home 20 Captives.

Those Inlanders are fled up toward the Mowhauogs. So they say *is* Sasacous. Our friends at Qunnihticut are to cast a jealous eye at that people. They say (unles they are belied) that they *wish* to warr with the English &c.

Truely, Sir, to speake my thoughts in your eare frely, I blesse the Lord for your mercifull dealing &c. but feare that some innocent blood cryes at Qunnihticut. Many things may be spoken to prove the Lords perpetuall warr with Amalek extraordinary and misticall: but the 2 Kings 14. 5. 6 is a bright light discovering the ordinary path wherein to walke and please him. If the Pequits were murtherers (though pretending revenge for Sasacous his fathers death, which the Dutch affirmed was from M^r Governor) yet not comparable to those treacherous servants that slue their Lord and King Joash K. of Judah and tipe of Jesus, yet the fathers only perish in their sinn, in the place quoted &c. The blessed Lambe of God wash away Iniquitie and receive us gracióusly. Thus with best salutes to your honored selfe and yours, M^r Deputie, M^r Bellingham and other honored friends with them and dayly cryes to the Father of mercies for you

I rest your worships unfained

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Postscript)

Sir, to yours brought by Juanemo on the Lords day. I could have little speech with him; but concerning Miantunnomu, I have not heard as yet of any unfaythfullnes towards us. I know they bely each other, and I observe our countrymen have almost quite forgotten our great prentences to King and State and all the world concerning their soules &c. I shall desire to attend with my poore helpe to discover any perfidious dealing, and shall desire the re-

venge of it for a common good and peace, though my selfe and mine should perish by it. Yet I feare the Lords quarrell is not ended, for which the warr began, viz. the litle sence (I speak for the generall) (that I can heare of) of their soules condition and our large protestations that way &c. The generall speech is, all must be rooted out &c. The body of the Pequian men yet live, and are only removed from their dens. The good Lord grant, that the Mowhaugs and they and the *whole* at the last unite not. For mine owne part I cannot be without suspicions of it.

Sir, I thankfully *expect* a litle of your helpe (in a way of justice and æquitie) concerning another un[just] debtor of mine, M^r Ludlow, from whom also (in mine absence) I [have] much suffered. The good Lord smile upon you and yours in the face of his annoited.

Your worships unworthy

R. W.

[In transcribing the foregoing letter, much uncertainty was felt, at several passages, from the failure of the texture of the paper and the disappearance of the ink. But confidence is felt in the copy of every word, except the *Italicized* ones. A small part of the paper is lost, where was, probably, given what is here inserted in [].

The well known hand of the first Governor Winthrop, to whom, without possibility of doubt, the letter was addressed, has labelled it, — “M^r W^m about Wequash and the Neipnetts.”

For the year of writing, we may find adequate proof in favor of 1637. It is seen that the date is 15th of 5th month, or July. That day was Saturday. We learn from Winthrop's History, I. 232, that Juane-mo (or Ayanemo, as he spells the name) had in that year come to Boston, and made certain propositions, to which answer was promised on the next day. The first day mentioned was 12 of 5, which was Wednesday. Difficulties occurring on the assigned day, the Sachem was not dismissed, lovingly, until Friday, and then with written instructions to our friends in the neighbouring colony how to treat him. He could not, therefore, before Sunday, well deliver his despatches to Williams, whose reply to the instructions, given in the postscript, was written on Monday, probably, though the date of this part of the letter is not given.

Both Wequash and Juanemo were unfriends, if not open enemies, of Miantunnomu. — Σ.]

NOTE. — This letter is not among the papers of the Winthrop family, but in the Library of the Historical Society, and was received too late to be inserted in its place. The remainder of the Winthrop Papers will be published in the next volume.

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1849.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

THE WINTHROP PAPERS.

LII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For my much honored kind friend M^r John Winthrop at
Pequot.

Providence July 12. 54 (so call'd).

Sir, I was humbly bold to salute you from our native
countray and now by the gracious hand of the Lord once
more saluting this wildernes I crave your wonted Patience
to my wonted Boldnes, who ever honored and loved and
ever shall the Roote and Branches of youre deare name.
How joyfull therefore was I to heare of youre abode as a
Stake and Pillar in these parts and of youre healths, youre
owne, M^{rs} Winthrop and youre branches, although some sad
mixtures we have had from the sad tidings (if true) of youre
late losse and cutting off of one of them.

Sir, I was lately upon the wing to have waited on you at
youre house: I had disposed all for my journey, and my
staff was in my hand, but it pleased the Lord to interpose
some impediments, so that I am compelled to a suspension
for a season and choose at present thus to visit you. I had
no letters for you: but yours were well. I was at the lodg-
ings of Major Winthrop and M^r Peters, but I mist them:
Youre brother flourisheth in good esteeme, and is eminent for
maintaining the Freedome of the Conscience as to matters

of Beliefe, Religion and Worship. Youre Father Peters, preacheth the same Doctrine though not so zealously as some yeares since yet cries out against New English Rigidities and Persecutions; their civil injuries and wrongs to himselfe, and their unchristian dealing with him in excommunicating his distracted wife: All this he tould me in his lodgings at Whitehall, those lodgings which I was tould were Canterburies, but he himselfe tould me that that Library, wherein we were together, was Canterburies and given him by the Parliament: His wife lives from him not wholly but much distracted. He tells me he had but 200 a yeare, and he allowed her 4 score per annum of it: Surely Sir the most holy Lord is most wise in all the trialls he exerciseth his people with. He tould me that his affliction from his wife stird him up to Action abroad, and when successe tempted him to Pride, the Bitternes in his bozome comforts was a Cooler and a Bridle to him.

Surely Sir youre Father and all the people of God in England, formerly called *Puritanus Anglicanus*, of late *Roundheads*, now the *Sectarians* (as more or lesse cut of from the Parishes) they are now in the sadle and at the helme, so high that *non datur descensus nisi cadendo*: Some cheere up their spirits with the impossibilitie of another fall or turne, so doth Major G. Harrison (and M^r Feake and M^r John Simson now in Winsor Castle for preaching against this last change and against the Protectour as an Usurper Richard 3. &c: So did many thinck of the last Parliament who were of the vote of 56 against Priests and Tithes, opposite to the vote of the 54 who were for them at least for a while: Major G. Harrison was the 2^d in the nation of late when the Lord Gen^l and himselfe joined against the former long Parliament and dissolved them: but now being the head of the 56 Partie he was confined by the Protector and Councill within 5 mile of his Fathers house in Staffordshire: That sentence he not obeying he tould me (the day before my leaving London) he was to be sent prisoner into Harfordshire: Surely Sir he is a very gallant most deserving heavenly man, but most high flowne for the Kingdome of the Saints, and the 5th Monarchie now risen, and their sun never to set againe &c. Others as to my knowledge the Protector: Lord President Lawrence and

others at helme, with Sir Henry Vane (retired into Lincolnshire yet dayly mist and courted for his assistance,) they are not so full of that faith of miracles, but still imagine changes and persecutions and the very slaughter of the witnesses before that glorious morning so much desired of a worldly kingdome, if ever such a kingdome (as literally it is by so many expounded) be to arise in this present world and dispensation. Sir I know not how far youre judgment hath concur'd with the designe against the Dutch. I must acknowledge my mourning for it, and when I heard of it at Portsmouth, I confesse I wrote letters to the Protector and President from thence as against a most uningenuous and unchristian designe at such a time when the world stood gazing at the so famous treatie for Peace, which was then between the 2 states and neere finished when we set saile: Much I can tell you of the answer I had from Court and I thinck of the answers I had from heaven viz: that the Lord would graciously retard us untill the tidings of Peace might (from England) quench the fire in the kindling of it. Sir I mourne that any of our parts were so madly injurious to trouble yours: I pitie poore Sabando: I yet have hopes in God that we shall be more loving and peaceable neighbours. I had word from the Lord President to Portsmouth that the Councill had past 3 letters as to our business. First to incourage us: 2 to our neighbour colonies not to molest us: 3 in exposition of that word Dominion in the late frame of the Government of England viz: that libertie of conscience should be maintained in all American Plantations &c. Sir a great man in America tould me that he thought New England would not beare it: I hope better and that not only the Necessitie but the Equitie Pietie and Christianitie of that freedome will more and more shine forth: not to licentiousnes (as all mercies are apt to be abused) but to the beautie of Christianitie and the lustre of true faith in God and love to poore mankind &c.

Sir I have desires of keeping home. I have long had scruples of selling the Natives ought but what may bring or tend to civilizing: I therefore neither brought nor shall sell them loose coats nor breeches: It pleased the Lord to call me for some time and with some persons to practice the Hebrew, the Greeke, Latine, French and Dutch: The

Secretarie of the Councill, (M^r Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more Languages : Grammar rules begin to be esteemd a Tyrannie. I taught 2 young Gentlemen a Parliament mans sons (as we teach our children English) by words phrazes and constant talke &c. I have begun with mine owne 3 boys (who labour besides) others are coming to me : Sir I shall rejoyce to receive a word of youre healths — of the Indian wars, and to be ever youre
R. W.

Sir I pray seale and send the inclosed.

LIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honored kind friend M^r Winthrop at Pequot — these.

Providence 9. 8. 54 (so calld).

Sir I was lately sadded to heare of some barbarous dealing to youre prejudice on youre Iland : I am againe sadded with the tidings of weakenes in youre Family, and I hope you are sadded with me at this Fire which now is kindling, the fire of Gods wrath and jealousy, which if God graciously quench not, may burne to the foundations both of Indians and English together. I have (upon the first sound of this Fire) presented considerations to the General Court of Massachusetts Major Willyard tells me, he saw them not (the Court not yet setting) therefore I have presented him with a copie of them, which (upon opportunitie and desire) I presume you may command the sight of : I have therein had occasion to mencion youre Precious Peacemaking Father : Sir some of the souldiers said here that tis true the Narigansetts had yet killd no English but they had killd 200 of M^r Winthrops goats, and that it was read in Boston meeting house that M^r Winthrop was robd and undone and flying from the place unles succour were sent him : I hope to heare otherwise, and that notwithstanding any private losse, yet that noble spirit of youre Father still lives in you and will still worck (if possible) to quench this de-

vouring fire in the kindling: I am not yet without hopes but it may please the God of Peace and Father of mercies to create peace for us, and by this flame to inflame our hearts more with love to him and fœlicities in him which neither sword nor famine nor pestilence can take from us, which (however otherwise he deale with us) will abundantly compensate all their shakings below though (seemingly great and fundamentall to us: Sir with my cordiall respects to you both — I am yourse in all service of Love unfained
R. W.

LIV.

Sir Kenelme Digby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my honored frind John Wintrop Esq^r In new England.

Most honored Sir,

Meeting wth so good a meanes of writing to you as by the fauourable conueyance of M^r Downing, I would not lett it escape me without saluting you, to reuiue me in y^r remembrance, and to wittnesse to you that j retaine faithfully the respects j haue euer had for you since j haue had the happinesse to be acquainted wth y^r great worth. I hoped that att my coming into England, j should haue had the comfort of finding you here: w^{ch} j assure you would haue swelled in a very high measure all the other blessinges that God Almighty hath welcomed me home withall. I hope it will not be long before this Iland, y^r natiue country, do enioy y^r much desired presence. I pray for it hartily. And j am confident that y^r great iudgem^t and noble desire of doing the most good to mankinde that you may (w^{ch} is the high principle that ought to gouerne our outward actions) will prompt you to make as much hast hither as you can. Where you are, is too scanty a stage for you to remaine too long vpon. It was a well chosen one, when there were inconueniencies for y^r fixing vpon this. But now that all is here as you could wish; all that know you, do expect of you that you should exercise your vertues where they

may be of most aduantage to the world, and where you may do most good to most men. If j durst be so bold, j would adde my earnest prayres to the other stronger considerations, and beg of you to delay no further time in making y^r owne country happy by returning to it. I craue pardon of you for this boldnesse; w^{ch} my great affection to you, (and indeed, loue of myselfe) hath made me venture vpon. Beleeue j beseech you Sir, that j am, wth all sincerity and reality

Honored Sir

Y^r most humble and most faithfull seruant

KENELME DIGBY.

London the last of January 165⁴₅.

[Labelled, "S^r Kenelme Digby."]

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LV.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honor^d freind John Winthrop Esq^r these present at Pequot.

Hon^d Sir)

Your welcome lines, dat^d Jan^y 16, I received, by this Indian, and read, with gladnes, giving thancks to God and you. To God; for your health, and the health of your family, and towne. To you; for your loving remembrance of me, and myne, and for your mindfullnes to prepare for us against the fitt season, as also for my brother Hooke, who returneth, by my pen, hearty thancks for your respects towards him, which I signified unto him. The winter hath bene extraordinarily long, and sharpe, and sickly among us. Sundry have bene afflicted with paine in theyre heads, and sides, and stoppings at theyre breasts; some were taken with greate cold and shyvering: others with sweating, but most with inward cold. Some are taken away, by death, viz. 4 of this church, and some of the Towne, besides children: but most are restored to health againe, though slowly. Your presence with us, this winter, might have bene, by the providence of God, a greate blessing to the whole towne. I hope, the season will shortly be altered, and then

I desire that we may proceed unto further use of meanes, for the perfecting of what remaines to be attended, in order to my health, by the blessing of God, whereby I found some good, as I apprehend, in the strengthening of my spirits for performance of my ministerial worke, this winter, with some abatement of one cause of my weaknes, whereof I gave you notice, though it still abideth with me, in some degree. My familye hath bene kept from the com̄on sicknes in this towne, by the goodnes and mercy of God, this winter, onely Edmund, my man servant, hath bene exercised with it, neare unto death, but he is now, through the mercy of God, in an hopefull way of recovery. I have received some letters from England, in Trumbolls vessel, whereby I perceive that things are there in a doubtfull state, and, because I should be too tædious, if I should relate particulars, I send you, by this bearer, such books of Intelligence, as were sent me, and in the same you will find inclosed some notes of the cases of some among us, who desire to improve this opportunity to crave your advice and helpe. It is a singular fruit of Gods favour to you that he is pleased to make you his instrument in doing good to many. Yet I would not that your family should be indammaged thereby, which cannot be without guilt of unthanckfullnes in them, who returne not according to the benefit received. The fleete is gone from England for Hispaniola, M^r Winslow is one of the councell, not governour for aught I can learne. The small poxe hath bene the death of many in England, and the spotted Feaver. Capt. Astwood of Millford is there dead having first taken a great cold, after his arrival, whereupon he was smitten with a dead palsey, on one side, of which he dyed. I hope, we shall injoy your much desired company, with M^{rs} Winthrop, at our house, sometime this moneth, where you may be assured of hearty welcom, as the best part of your entertainment. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace, and loving kindnes! to whose grace I recommend you and yours affectionately, with respective salutacōns of youselfe and M^{rs} Winthrop and M^{rs} Lake in boath our names. I rest in him

Yours obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

M^{rs} Disborough, and goodman Jones of Gillford, dyed of the small poxe in England or Scotland.

M^{rs} Bressesey, a member of this church, hath buried 3 children, in a moneth, of the small poxe, in England, yet, its thought, by some, that the 3^d child dyed of the plague, as M^{rs} Evance informeth me, but M^{rs} Bressesey, in her letter to me, saith, they all dyed of the small poxe. I find my selfe somewhat weaker, in my spirits, and in my backe, since our last fast, which was 10 daies ago.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport." No date. March 10, 1654 $\frac{1}{2}$.]

LVI.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right worship^{ll} his worthily much Honourd freind
John Winthrop Esq^r these present in [Pequod].

Honour^d Sir)

It troubled me, not a litle, that the want of a pillion to carry my wife, and of horses to bring us back from brother Molethrops, and some buisenes to be attended, by appointm^t, at 3 a clock that afternoone, in the towne, compelled us to part from you, at the water-side, whom we purposed to accompany unto his farme. But I hope the Lord brought you safe and well to your family, and there comforted you with the effects of his good providence, towards yours, in theyre wellfare. M^r Samuell Eaton and his wife returned lately from Hartford, where they were boath ill: they say, its thought that aire is infected, at present. Sundry have bene exercised with a distemper like to that which prevailed here, the last winter, but they are in an hopefull way of recovery: and Captaine Coñant is better, they have putt such houshold stufte as they shall have use of, into a vessel bound hitherward, purposing to keepe house here. The 3 weekes during which you purposed to be absent from us, are now expired: therefore here is now a general expectation of your returne: for which cause brother Molethrop is sent, to waite upon you, or to know the precise time thereof, that horses may be seasonably sent, to meete you, at the Rivers mouth (so many as may suite your fam-

ily) and that something may be done towards the fitting of your house for their entertainm^t. My earnest and hearty desire is that you would be pleased to accept this Townes offer, and to settle your habitacōn among us, though you should dwell here but some part of the yeare, and another part of it at Pequod, or wheresoever else your occasions may invite you to be. My wife joyneth with me in that request, and in presenting respective and affectionate salutations to your selfe, with M^{rs} Winthrop and M^{rs} Lake, and she prayeth you to be assured that any thing we have shall be at your service. Sister Glover newly returned from Long Island puts us in feare that you are in some thoughts about transporting your family to the Baye, or to Connecticut, but I cannot believe either, though I believe you may be invited to both. I hope that this messenger will put a period to all such intimacōns, either by your personal returne with him hither, or by some letter from you certifying the determined time, when we may expect you. For you freely promised to stay with us, at least, a moneth or 6 weekes, this spring, for the carrying on further what you have begun in my case and M^{rs} Hopkinses &c. Then we shall have opportunity of conferring, de futuris. In the meane time, and ever, the good Lord recompence all your labour of love an 100 fold unto you, and your family, and make your journey to us speedy and prosperous! In whom I rest

Your obliged and thanckfull freind and servant
in any office of love

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven this 14th day of y^e 2^d m. 1655.

M^r Pell, they say, reports at Millford that the Dutch Governo^r is slaine by Spaniards, sed ubi, quomodo, quando, quare, nondum constat.

verte folium.

Postscript — upon a confident report that you was gone to the Baye, bro. Molethrop staid, and so my letter, though sealed, was not sent. Yesterday, another report said that a pinnas was sent from the Baye to fetch you, but you could not goe, being hindred by sicknes. This report excited me to speake with our Governo^r that one might be sent speedily, and, I hope, bro: Molethrop will be procured to be our messenger, also it occasioned my opening

of my letter againe, and adding this postscript to certifie you that I both pray and long to heare of your recovery, and have good hope, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, that you shall live to doe him much more service in the land of the living. Onely let us know how it is with you speedily, and when we shall expect you and what you will have done about the house and lot, and be assured that you are in our hearts and in my prayers that your soul may be bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord our God, in Jesus Christ, your Lord and ours, in whom I rest.

This 19th d. of the 2^d m. 1655.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport."]

LVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my honoured kind friend M^r Winthrop at Pequot — these present.

Providence the 26. 2. 55 (so calld).

Sir Loving respects to you both presented wishing you a joyfull spring, after all youre sad and gloomie, sharpe and bitter winter blasts and snowes: Sir one of youre friends among the Nariganset Sachims, Meiksah sends this messenger unto me and prayes me to write to you for youre helpe about a gun which Kittátteash Onchas his son hath lately taken from this bearer Ahanausquatuck out of his howse at Pawchauquet: He will not owne any offence he gave him, but that he is subject to Meiksah though possibly Kittátteash may alleadge other causes yea and true also: I doubt not of your loving eye on the matter, as God shall please to give you opportunitie: Sir the last first day divers of Boston (merchants) were with me (about Seargeant Halsey run from Boston hither and a woman after him who layes her great belly to him) They tell me that by a barke come from Virginia they are informed of Gods mercifull hand in the safe arrivall of Major Sedgwick and that fleete from the West of England, and that Gen:

Pen was not yet gone out but riding (all things ready) in Tor Bay, waiting for the word, and by letters from good and great friends in England I understand there are like to be great agitations in this countrie if that fleete succede.

Sir a hue and crie come to my hand lately from the Governoure at Boston after 2 youths one runn from Captaine Oliver whome I lighted on and have returned, another from James Bill of Boston who I heare past through our towne and said he was bound for Pequot, his name is James Pitnie, he hath on a blackish coate and hat and a pair of greenish breeches and greene knit stockins: I would now (with very many thanks) have returned you youre Jesuits maxims but I was loath to trust them in so wild a hand, nor some tidings which I have from England: These merchants tell me that Blake was gone against the Duke of Legorne and had sent for 10 frigots more: Sir the God of peace fill youre soule with that strange kind of peace which passeth all understandinge So prayses Sir

Your unworthy

R. W.

LVIII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the R^t Worship^l his much Honoured freind John Winthrop Esq^r these present in Pequot.

Sir,

Joseph Alsop being now returned from the Baye, we have taken the 1st opportunity of sending him, with his vessel, to accomodate youre much desired transportacōn, with your family, unto us. Be pleased to accept this as a testimony of the reality and fervency of our desire to enjoy your much longed for, and worthily much esteemed presence with us, and to favour us with a suitable answer, in assurance that none can be more welcom hither, than you and yours, nor can you and they be more welcom to any then to us. Sir, I have received from England almost all the particulars you appointed me to wright for, which I desire you may see and dispose of as you shall find best. Salute M^{rs} Winthrop

and M^{rs} Lake affectionately in boath our names. My sonne presents his humble service to you. The good Lord recompence all your labours of love towards me an 100 fold, and make your passage safe, speedy and comfortable! In whom I rest

Sir, yours to honour and serve you in the Lord

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Newhaven the 6th day of the 5 month 1655.

My wife hath not bene well, but weake and feeble-spirited this weeke.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport."]

LIX.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honoured freind John Winthrop, Esq^{re}, these present, in Pequot.

Hon^d Sir — We did earnestly expect your coming hither, with M^{rs} Winthrop and your familie, the last light moone, according to your purpose signified to us, having also intelligence that a vessel wayted upon you, at Pequot, for that end, and were thereby encouraged to provide your house, that it might be fitted, in some measure, for your comfortable dwelling in it, this winter.

My wife was not wanting in her endeavours to set all wheelles on going, all hands, that she could procure, on worke, that you might finde all things to your satisfaction. Though she could not accomplish her desires, to the full; yet she proceeded as farr as she could; whereby many things are done, viz. the house made warme, the well cleansed, the pumpe fitted for your use, some provision of wood is layed in, and 20 loades will be ready, whensoever you come: and sundry, who have received helpe from you have, by my wife's instigation, prepared 30 bush. of wheate for the present and sister Glover hath 12^{lb} of candles ready for you. My wife hath also procured a maid-servant for

you, who is reported to be cleanly, and saving, her mother is of the Church, and she is kept from a place in Connecticut (where she was much desired) to serve you. At last Joseph Alsop arrived here, in safety, on the Lords day, and, in the Assembly, gave thancks for his comfortable passage. By him I received (instead of yourselfe and yours, whose presence was heartily desired by us all) a letter from you; dated on the day before his arrivall, whereby I understood that some providences intercurring hindred and disappointed your reall Intentions of coming, with your family, to us, both before, and by him. The hazzard and danger suspected, you now see, was more in ungrounded imaginacōns of those who laboured to hinder your proceeding, then in the reality and trueth of the cause prætended by them. Yet we have hopè that, by another vessel (I heare, M^r Yongs, ni fallor) you will be accomodated, for transportation of your familye, and what you purpose to bring hither, and that you incline to improve that opportunity — whereof I am glad. Many hands are daily at worke for the iron-buisnes: onely your presence is wanting, to sett all things in a right course. If M^{rs} Winthrop knew how wellcome she will be to us, she would, I believe, neglect whatsoever others doe, or may be forward to suggest, for her discouragement. Salute her, with due respect, in my name and my wifes, most affectionately, together with M^{rs} Lake. The Lord Jesus pave your waye, and make your journey to us speedy and prosperous! In whom I rest, Sir,

Yours exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Newhaven this 22 of the 9th 55.

My wife had a man in pursuite that would be very fitt to manadge your Island, and the motion proceedes in an hopefull way, if a marriage, which he is about, doth not hinder. My sonne presents his humble service to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope.

Sir William Constable, and M^r Tillinghast are taken away by death in England, boath buried; the one, in London; the other, in Norfolke with great honour. Also Capt. Fen is dead at Barbadoes, and M^r Nowel, at Charles

Towne. M^r Leverets wifes violent aversenes from his settling in the Colledge, he saith, causeth him to desist from that buisenes. So, that worke must waite for a better season.

My wife complaineth of a paine in the soles of her feete, especially in the evening, sometimes it burnes. Yet in the day, and after she hath bene a while in bed, it doth not trouble her.

Sir) I thanck you for the 2 bookes you sent me to peruse, which I am reading dilligently.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport."]

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LX.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthily much Honoured freind John Winthrope Esq^{re} these present in Pequot.

Hon^d Sir)

By Joseph Alsop we did expect your arrivall, with your family, here, and your abode with us, this winter. But, instead of yourselfe, I received your lines, whereby I understood that your real purpose of transporting your familie was, contrary to your expectations wholly dissappointed. If you knew how much our hopes of injoying you with us comforted us, you would easily apprehend how much the frustration of them damped us. And, if M^{rs} Winthrop knew how welcome she would be unto us, she would neglect whatsoever others may suggest to discourage her from coming to us. And, because I understood, by Joseph Alsop, how boysterously some of your plantation opposed your voyadge, with your familie, to us ward, and intimated that the vessel was rotten and your lives would be endangered by the voyage, I signified in a letter which I sent to you, by Higby, that, on the Lords day, after his departure from Pequot, which was the next day after the date of your letter to me, as I remember, Joseph Alsop gave publick thancks, in the Congregacōn, for his safe and comfortable passage. And, that you might know what preparacōn was made for

your comfortable being in your house, this winter, I shewed, in the same letter, how carefull and active my wife hath bene to procure hands to prepare your house, whereby your well is cleansed, and a new pumpe set up, and the rooms are made warme, and tables with some chayres are provided. The 20 loads of wood, you mentioned, are ready, and some already laid in. The rest waite but for your coming. Also 30 bush. of wheate, and some candles, which together with other things, I signified, that you may see, and M^{rs} Winthrop also, how earnestly your coming to us is expected and desired. You will now receive some further intelligence from M^r Goodyeare concerning the iron-worke, unto which there is a greate forwardnes in the people generally, which, it seemes, is somewhat checked by your absence, at this time. Sir) I thanck you for the bookes you sent me to reade, which I am dilligently perusing. My wife tooke care of your apples, that they may be kept safe from the frost, that M^{rs} Winthrop might have the benefit of them. Now the Lord pave your way to us, and make your journey safe comfortable and prosperous! In whom I rest

Yours exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e last of y^e 9th 55.

Sir) I forgate to give you notice, that my wife hath provided for M^{rs} Winthrop a cleanly thrifty maide-servant, sister Becklyes daughter, whom she kept from a service at Connectacute, where she was much desired; in expectation of your coming.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport."]

LXI.

Sir Kenelme Digby to John Winthrop, Jr.

Paris 26. Jan. 1656. new stile.

Worthy Sir,

Y^r most welcome letter of the 4. 7^{ber} last, was sent me by M^r Peters, the same day j went out of London to come to this towne: w^{ch} made me lament the lesse the necessity

of those affaires that call me hither for a little while ; since j learne by it that you are not as yet minded to make our country happy wth y^r presence. I pray God you may so alter y^r resolutions that by the returne of the shippes j may meete you att London. For j can not subscribe to y^r reasons ; the maine of w^{ch} is, res angusta domi to a numerous family. For wheresoeuer you are, j am sure you can not want. My restitution to my country and estate, j owe wholly to my lord Protectors goodnesse and iustice ; who hath proceeded so nobly wth me, that whiles j liue j will serue him wth all j haue, and wth my life also whensoever there shall be occasion. I beseech you present my most humble thankes to the President and fellowes of y^r college for the obliging Letter they haue bin pleased to send me. So small a present as j presumed to make them, deserued not so large a returne ; w^{ch} j may iustly call a large one, since it hath putt me exceedingly in their debt : out of w^{ch} j will endeauour to come att my returne into England. That w^{ch} you sent me formerly, j neuer heard of. I meane, your or the Presidents letter or certificate. As for the calamita della Luce ; this is the nature of it ; that after it hath bin some months out of the earth, it looseth its attractiue force of light. There is much of it about Bologna ; and j brought much of it into France to satisfy the curiosities of some particular frindes : but before it came to their handes, it had lost its magnetike vertue. I haue searched all Paris for Blaise Viginere des Chiffres. I had it in my library in England : But att the plundering of my house, j lost it wth many other good bookes. I haue layed out in all places for it : and when j gett it, it shall be for you by the first conueniency of sending it to you. It is a long time since j heard any thing of doctor Hauersfield ; but some that haue come lately from Holland, haue told me they thought he is dead. Neither do j know where the Kefflers are. The doctor told me long since, that his water to be taken inwardly for vlcers, was made of ☿ . I had from him a bottle of it for one that had the kinges euill ; but it did not cure them ; and it was so nauseous to the stomake, after 2. or 3. takinges (though it looked and tasted but like faire water) that patients would rather resolue to continue their vlcers then take that medicine. If euer j meete wth Keffler, j

doubt not but he will teach it me if he knowes it ; and j will send it you. In the meanetime lett me tell you an easy medicine of mine owne that j haue seene do miraculous cures in all sortes of vlcers, and in knitting soddainly broken bones : w^{ch} j conceiue it doth, by carrying away by vrine the ichorous matter that infesteth such maladies ; and then, nature healeth and knitteth apace, when nothing hindereth her. It is this. Beate to subtile pouders one ounce of crabbes eyes (in latin, called *Oculi cancerorum*) then putt vpon it in a high glasse (because of the ebullition) foure ounces of strong wine-vinegar. It will instantly boyle vp extremly ; lett it stand till all be quiett ; then straine it through a fine linnon ; and of this liquor (w^{ch} will then tast like dead beere ; without any sharpenesse) giue two spoonefuls att a time to drinke, three times a day : and you shall see a strange effect in a weeke or two. For all sortes of agewes, j haue of late tryed the following magnetically experiment wth infallible successe. Pare the patients nayles when the fitt is coming on : and putt the paringes into a litle bagge of fine linnon or sarsenet ; and tye that about a liue eeles necke, in a tubbe of water. The eele will dye, and the patient will recouer. And if a dog or hog eate that eele, they will also dye. I haue made knowne (and now it is famous) in these partes, a barke of a tree that infallibly cureth all intermittent feaours. It cometh from Peru ; and is the barke of a tree called by the Spaniardes *Kinkina* ; the patient must take 2 drammes of it in subtile pouders ; infuse it all night in white wine, and drinke all (both pouders and wine) when you feele the fitt approaching. It worketh no sensible effect, but that you are cured. S^r John Heydon is dead. It is pittie that Dreble dyed before he had perfected the Telescopium. All the addition to it that j heare of, is ; that instead of an acute or concaue glasse, they vse two conuexes or lenses besides the chiefe one att the further end. This maketh the obiect to be easily found out ; and one seeth much att a time : But it seemeth to me, not so exact as the other old way. I haue knowne one that cured all deliriums and frensies whatsoever, and att once taking, wth an Elixir made of dew, nothing but dew, purifyed, and nipped vp in a glasse, and digested 15. months, till all of it was become a gray pouders,

not one droppe of humidity remaining. This j know to be true ; and that first it was as blacke as inke ; then greene ; then gray ; and att 22. months end, it was as white and lustrous as any orientall perle. But it cured manias at 15. months end. He dyed that wrought it, when he intended to ferment it wth ☉. Other Elixir j neuer saw ; And they that know it, j beleeeue are very cautious to hide it. The famousest author for physike and hermeticall Philosofy now, is Helmont, who is dead ; but his booke hath raised a new sect of philosophers and physitians. I was the first that brought the sympathetike pouder into England and France ; 35. yeares agone. King James made tryall of it from my instruction. And the cure of M^r James Howell (whom j beleeeue you know) was famous. All vitriol is alike ; onely the best, worketh most efficaciously. And the other additions to it, are but to make the thing the more mysterious. Such medicines (in any kind) as you shall thinke fitt to impart to me, j shall receiue as singular fauours : And in what so euer you shall iudge me capable to serue you, comānd me freely ; for j am, with all my heart

Y^r most affectionate and humble seruant

KENELME DIGBY.

LXII.^o

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot or elsewhere — these presents.

Providence 21. 12 | ⁵⁵/₅₆ (so calld).

Sir this opportunitie makes me venture this salutation though we heare question of youre being at Pequot. These friends can say more of Affaires then I can write. I have letters from England of proceedings there which yet are not come : Some I have received which tell me that the Lord hath yet created peace although the sword is yet forct (by Garrisons) to enforce it. I cannot heare of open warrs with France, but only with Spaine, and that the prosecution of that West Indie expedition is still with all possible

vigour on both sides intended: This diversion against the Spaniard hath turnd the face and thoughts of many English: So that the saying of thousands now is crowne the Protector with gould, though the sullen yet cry crowne him with thornes: The former 2 or 3 yeares with plentie unthankfully received in England: The Lord sent abundance of waters this last summer which spoild their corne over most parts of the Land: Sir Henry Vane being retired to his owne private in Lincolnshire hath now published his observations as to religion, he hath sent me one of his books (though yet at Boston) his father is — dead and the inheritance falls to him, and 10 or 12000 more then should if his father had lived but a month longer — but though his father cast him of yet, he hath not lost in temporalls, by being cast of for God: Our Acquaintance Major Sedgwick is said to be successoure to unsuccessful Venables cast into the towre — Youre brother Stephen succeedes Major Gen^l Harrison: The Pope endeavours the uniting of all his slaves for his guard, fearing the Hereticks: The Lord knowes whether Archer (upon the reigne of Christ) said true 'that yet the Pope before his downefall must recover England; and the protestant countries revolted from him.' Sir we are sure All flesh is grasse and only the word of the Lord endures forever: Sir you once kindly intended to quench a fire betweene M^r Coddington and others, but now it is come to publicke triall: We heare the Dutch fire is not quencht: I feare this yeare will be stormie; only may the most gracious Lord by all drive and draw us to himselfe in whome Sir I desire to be ever

Yourse

R. W.

 LXIII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^l John Winthrope Esq^r these present
in Hartford.

Honour^d Sir)

A report, that you was gone to the Baye, put me from my purpose of sending the inclosed, til I might certainly

know where my letter might finde you. I have now received intelligence, by John Thomas, that you are at Hartford, and that M^{rs} Winthrope hath bene very ill, and in greate danger of her life, but is now, by the mercy of God, recovered. Blessed be his name for this mercy to her, and to your selfe and yours in her recovery! But withall he saith that your selfe are very ill, and have taken physick, this day, and that he stayed 3 houres to understand how it wrought, and is informed that it wrought well. This giveth us some ground of hope, that God will graciously bless the meanes for restoring your health, whose life we account exceeding precious, and a blessing to many. He who hath given you a merciful heart to others, in theyre sicknesses, hath promised that you also shall obteyne mercy. We are not wanting to you in our prayers, since we heard of your state, which was but this night, nor shall we cease from praying for your life and health, til we heare that our petition is answered for your good. Be pleased to let us heare from you by the 1st opportunity, how it is with you. My wife desireth to send something suitable to your present condition, but knoweth not what, til she heare further concerning you. At present she sends you a few fresh raysons, and a litle liquorish, and your owne unicornes horne, which she hath kept safe for you, since you sent it for M^{rs} Eaton. My wife is ashamed to send so few raysons, but she hath no more so good. Were it not that I am loath to trouble you with many lines I should wright much more concerning other matters, and particularly to returne thancks for your mindfulness of me for a vent for some of my horses, by M^r Adis, concerning which I hope to have an opportunity of speaking with you ere long. The Lord Jesus be with you and blesse meanes for your recovery! with presenting my service and my wifes, and sons, to M^{rs} Winthrope, with your selfe, and our love to yours, I rest

Sir, yours much obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven the 20th d. of y^e 5th m. 1658.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport."]

LXIV.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

..... Right worship^{ll} ohn Winthrop Esq^r
 these present in Hartford.

Honoured Sir —

We have with longing desires long expected your returne, with your familie, to your owne habitacōn, at New-haven, as accounting your dwelling among us a special favour from God, and a comōn good to all the people, especially in this sickly time when many are afflictively exercised, with grypings, vomitings, fluxes, agues and feavers, though more moderately in this Towne, by the mercy of God, then at Norwalke and Fairefield. Young M^r Allerton who lately came from the Dutch, saith, they are much more sorely visited there, then these parts are. It is said, that at Mastipeag the inhabitants are generally so ill that they are likely to lose theyre harvest, through want of ability to reape it. M^r Harbert of South Hold is so ill, at Manatoes, that there is litle, if any, hope of his life — Brother Alsop is come from the Dutch, with a purpose to have bene gone to the Baye, before this time, but the afflicting hand of the Lord hath stayed him, by great illnes, accompanied with a giddines in his head, and much sleepynes, and burning. It comes by fitts, every other day. My wife giveth him, this day, a portion of your powder, whereof the supplye that you left in her hand is spent. The extremities of people have caused her to part with what she reserved for our owne family, if need should require. It hath pleased the Lord to spare us hitherto, yet my wife hath bene, diverse times, this sūmer, and stil is, valetudinarius, faint, thirsty, of litle appetite, and indisposed, sundry times, yet goes about and is betweene times, better, and cheerful, yet ordinarily, in the mornings, shee feeles a paine in the bottom of her backe. Edmund is not wel, yet goes about. The good Lord prepare us for all changes, that under all changes of providence, we may have suitable changes of spirit, to honour, serve, and please God therein ! Amen.

Sir) I will not hide from you what is here reported; though I cannot easily beleive it, because I received no such intelligence, at any time, from your selfe. Timothy Nash saith, He cannot understand, from your selfe, or from M^{rs} Winthrop, or from the people at Hartford, that you have any purpose of ever returning hither to dwell here — And Nath. Kimerly saith, from your owne words, that you thought to have come to Newhaven, but now you thinck, you shall not see us, this yeare. If it be so; we have cause to be sensible of a great loss to us, who have long comforted our selves in hopes of enjoying you in a way of dwelling here: not onely for the good that many may receive by Gods blessing upon your endeavours for theyre health, but for your company, which for itselfe, is precious and contentful unto us. If you would please to stock your Farme and to give order to have your land at Newhaven improved, you might live comfortably upon that which is your owne, in this place. The people here also would be ready to serve you with theyre labours, and to take hold of all good occasions of declaring theyre thanckfulnes, really, as they are bound to doe, for your large and liberal helpfulnes to them: in distributing whereof my wife is but your hand, who neither receiveth, nor expecteth any recompence for that, but desireth that all acknowledgements and retributions may be returned to your selfe.

Sir) It pleased you, when I was exercised with that swimming disiness, to send me a paper, Feb. 20th 57, containing in it certaine portions of powder, which I never opened, til this day, because it pleased God to release me from that distemper, without it. And in perusing the letter you then sent, I find it comended as also useful for my other distemper in regard of the Magisterium of Corall, which is in it. Hereupon, I desire to know, whether you will advise me to make use of it for that, though the disiness, through God's mercy, hath not troubled me, since the spring began, unto this day. Edward Preston came lately from Long Island, and saith, many Indians there are very sick, and 12 were dead before his coming thence. My wife and son joyne with me in presenting our service to your selfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, and our loving salutacōns to your children.

The Lord Jesus dwel with you in peace and loving kindnesses! In whom I rest

Sir) your exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e 4th d. of y^e 6th m. 58.

Sir, My wife desires a word or 2 of advice from you, what is best to be done for those grypings, and agues and feavours; but she is loath to be too troublesom. Yet as the cases are weighty so she desires to goe upon y^e surest ground, and to take the safest courses, and knoweth none whose judgm^t she can so rest in as in yours.

[Superscription in part gone.]

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LXV.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honoured freind John Winthrop Esq^r these present in Hartford.

Honour^d Sir)

Though I have, together with the rest intrusted by you, subscribed our com̄on letter, yet I shall add a few lines, as myne owne letter to your selfe, to whom I am so particularly obliged, that I cannot omit to present my respectfull salutacōns to your selfe and M^{rs} Winthrop, with many thancks for the intelligence I have received from you, in several letters, and for the powders you sent to my wife, and for the Almanack, which I had not seene before, though, since my receite of yours, the president of the Colledge sent me one. The Author of it is wholly unknowne to me, save by his name in the title page. In the next page, speaking of 4 ecclipses, this yeare, he may seeme to some to be willing to be accounted sapientum octavus, utpote qui terram planetarum octavum animo suo fingit, contra com̄unem Astronomorum sententiam. For he saith, Twice shall this planet, whereon we live and its concomitant the moone, widdow each other of theyre sunderived lustre. Now, the place, whereon we live, is the earth. The place, I say, not the planet. But he is not willing so-

lus sapere. Therefore for his 4 proposicōns he produceth, in his last page, sundry authors, who, he saith, have answered the objections from Scripture against this opinion. I have not read theyre answers. But, if that be the breife or summe of them, which he notes, it will not be found, upon an exact search, to be satisfying. However it be, let him enjoy his opinion; and I shall rest in what I have learnd, til more cogent arguments be produced then I have hitherto met with. Sir, Your motion about letting your house to N. K. etc. came to me wholly beyond my expectacōn. I did, indeed, expect (according to your promise, as I understood it) to heare from you, upon your returne from the Baye, the result of your thoughts and purposes w. your resolucōn, whether to returne to inhabit it with your familie, and when, or to sell it to the Towne, who bought it, that they might freely give it to your selfe, or put it into your power, as your owne, upon what termes you propounded (seing you would not accept it upon free gift, because you would preserve your liberty, to dwell in it, as your occasions would permit). But what they then did, and others stirred them up unto, I assure you, was in respect to the cōmon good, which was hoped for and expected by us all from your selfe, dwelling among us with your familie. Nor would they have taken such pay for it from any man in the countrey, but your selfe. Which I note that you may see theyre love to you, and desire of enjoying you among us. There are few houses vacant in the Towne, that are so fit as that for entertainment of persons of publick usefullnes. Such men the Towne wants. If yourselfe and yours dwell in it, it will fully satisfye all, none will desire any other, and my selfe, and myne, will most rejoyce therein. But, if your other occasions will not permit that, this way of letting it unto such men will not be for your profit, nor for the Townes satisfaction. Your house and lot hath suffered much hurt already, and will more, in this way, and this Towne will lose theyre end. for they would never have let it pass out of theyre hands, but in hope of enjoying your selfe, which if they cannot obtaine, I perceive, it will, in the next place, best satisfie them, if you please to give them leave to buy it of you. I thought it my duety to signifie thus much to your selfe, and shall add onely this, to prevent

missinterpretacōns, that, as the house is your ownē, so all doe grant that it is in your owne power to doe with it as you please. If you please to let it to N. K. etc. you may. onely you may be pleased to reminde that this is not that use of that house, which will answer the Townes-mens ends, and the townes expectacōn, and necessities. With myne, my wifes and sons respectful and affectionate salutacōns and service presented to your selfe, and M^{rs} Winthrop, and your branches, I rest, Sir

Yours obliged

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Newhaven y^e 18 d. of y^e 1st m. 165⁹.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport about selling the house."]

LXVI.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Honourd John Winthrop Esq Governor of Connecticut Colonie, these present at New London.

Honoured Sir)

Your quick departure fr: Hartford, after my son's returne home from thence, denied me an opportunity of expressing our due thancks for your loving entertainment of so bold a visitour, whereof he speaketh much, and yet is not satisfied with what he hath spoken, thinking it falles shorte of what he should speake to express your and M^{rs} Winthropes kindness to him. Sir, you know, the affections of parents are apte to sympathize with theyre children, and to take contentment in what they finde to be justly pleasing and comfortable to them. Hence it is that I desire to take this first overture for conveyance of these few lines, in way of thanckfulness, from us boath, to your selfe (as I have already done to M^{rs} Winthrop, by I. Latimer) for the same. And to let you know that I have received a large letter fr: M^r Blinman date^d Aug. 22. whereby I understand that God hath brought him and his to Newfoundland, in safety and health, and maketh his ministry acceptable to all the people there, except some Quakers, and much desired and flocked unto, and he hath made choise of a ship for Barnstaple, to his Content the Master being Godly.

After these passages and his notifying to me the Lady Kircks respectful and loving mention of me whom she saith, she hath heard in London, he addeth to what I had heard fr: England that a fine of 5[£] is put upon any that shall name the last protector. 2. that the Lord Henry is sent for out of Ireland and outed of his place. 3. that 4 are sent fr. England and 4 fr: France and 4 fr. the States, to see whether they can compose matters between Sweade and Dane. 4. that 30,000 £ is demanded for the old Protectors funeral, which the Parliament refuse to pay. some urged that those that had the mourning cloaths should pay for them, that the Commons might not be charged. 5. that the last Protector was like to be apprehended for the debt, but withdrew: Whereupon the Parliament gave him 6 months liberty to come to termes with Creditors. 6. that M^r Hugh Peters is distracted and under sore horrors of conscience, crying out of himself as damned, and confessing haynous actings. He concludes, for the truth hereof sit fides penes auctorem. 7. that there is an Ambassador gone for Spaine. Lastly that the fleet in the West Indies have taken almost an incredible mass of treasure in some Spanish Townes there. Reported by a ship in that harbour where M^r Blinman lyes, that met a frygot at sea going home Soe I shall not add, at present but my desires for your safe journey to the Baye and speedy returne to your Family and then to Newhaven and my wifes, with our sons respectful and most affectionate salutacōns and humble service

Yours exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven the 28th d. of the 7th m. 1659.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport — of 7ber 1659."]

LXVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my honored kind friend M^r John Winthrop Governour at Hartford on Quannihticut.

Providence 6. 12 | $\frac{5}{6}$ | $\frac{9}{6}$.

Sir Loving respects to youre selfe and M^{rs} Winthrop &c
Your loving lines in this cold dead season were as a cup

of youre Conecticut cydar (which we are glad to heare abounds with you) or of that Westernne metheglyn, which you and I have drunck at Bristow together &c. Indeede it is the wonderfull power and goodnes of God that we are præserted in our dispersions among these wild barbarous wretches. I heare not of their excursions this winter and should rejoyce (if as you hint) Onkas and his brother were removed to Long Iland (or any where) or els (as I have sometimes motioned) a truce for some good tearme of yeares might be obtained amongst them: But how should we expect that the streames of bloud should stop among the dregs of mankind, when the bloudie issues flow so fresh and fearfully among the finest and most refined sons of men and sons of God. We have not only heard of the 4 Northerne nations Dania Swecia Anglia and Belgium, all Protestants (Hereticks and dogs with the Pope &c) last yeare, tearing and devouring one another in the Narrow Streights and eminent high passages and turnes of the sea and world: but we also have a sound of the Presbyterians rage new burst out into flames of war from Scotland, and the independant and sectarian army provoked againe to New Appeales to God and engagements against them: Thus while this last Pope hath ply'd with sailes and oares and brought all his Popish sons to peace (except Portugal) and brought in his grand engineers the Jesuits againe to Venice after their long just banishment: We Protestants are woefully disposed to row backward and bring our sailes a back stayes, and provoke the holy jealous Lord who is a consuming fire, to kindle againe those fires from Rome and Hell which formerly consumed (in Protestant Countries) so many precious servants of God — The late renowned Oliver confest to me in close discourse about the Protestants affaires &c. that he yet feard great persecutions to the protestants from the Romanists before the downfall of the Papacie. The histories of our Fathers before us tell us what huge bowles of the bloud of the Saints that great whore hath bene drunck with in (now) Protestant dominions: Sure her judgment will ring through the world, and it is hoped it is not far from the dore. Sir you were not long since the son of 2 noble Fathers M^r John Winthrop and M^r H. Peters — it is said they are both extingwished:

Surely I did ever from my soule honour and love them even when their judgments lead them to afflict me: Yet the Father of Spirits spares us breath and I rejoyce Sir that youre name (amongst the New England magistrates printed, to the Parliament and army by H. Nort: Rous &c) is not blurd but rather honourd for your prudent and moderate hand in these late (Quakers) trials amongst us. And it is said that in the late Parliament yourselfe were one of the three in nomination for Gen: Governour over New England, which how ever that designe ripend not yet youre name keepes up an high esteeme &c. I have seene youre hand to a letter to this Colony (as to youre late purchase of some land at Nariganset:) The sight of youre hand hath quieted some jealousies amongst us that the Bay (by this purchase) designed some prejudice to the Libertie of Conscience amongst us: We are in consultations how to answeare that letter, and my endeavoure shall be (with Gods helpe) to wellcome with both our hands and armes, youre interest in these parts, though we have no hope to enjoy youre personall residence amongst us. I rejoyce to heare that you gaine (by new plantations upon this Willdernes: I feare that many precious souls will be glad to hide their heads (shortly) in these parts. Your candle (and mine) drawes towards its end: The Lord graciously helpe us to shine in light and love (universally to all that feare his name) without that monopolie of the affection to such of our owne persuasion only; for the common enemy (the Romish wolfe) is very high in resolution and hope and advantage to make a prey on all (of all sorts) that desire to feare God: Divers of our Neighbours thankfully resalute you: We have buried this winter M^r Olnies son who formerly you heard to be afflicted with an Lithargie, he lay 2 or 3 dayes wholly senceles, untill his last groanes: My youngest son Joseph was troubled with a spice of an epilepsie: We used some remedies but it hath pleased God by his taking of tobacco perfectly (as we hope) to cure him: Good M^r Parker of Boston (passing from Prudence Iland) at his comming on shoare on Secunck land, trod awry upon a stone or stick and fell downe and brake the small bone of his leg: he hath layen by of it all this winter, and the last weeke was caried to Boston in a horse litter: Some feares there were

of a Gangrene. But Sir I use too much boldnes and prolixitie. I shall now only subscribe my selfe

Your unworthy friend

R. W.

Sir my loving respects to M^r Stone, M^r Lord, M^r Allen M^r Webster and other Loving Friends.

LXVIII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^l John Winthrope Esq^r Governo^r of Connecticut these present in Hartford.

Honoured Sir)

John Palmer is not yet gone, whereby I have liberty to add a postscript to my former letter, upon new intelligence from Nichols of Boston, from Virginia, which I received after the inclosed was sealed. He saith that he came from Virginia, the 23^d of Jan. that there are 70 ships from England, which raiseth the price of Tobacco to 12^d p. pound that a few daies, before he came thence, there arrived some shippes from England, which came from thence, 6 weekes before, that is, in the beginning of 10^{ber}. These shippes bring word that the Parliament was then sitting, and matters in England were in peace. There is some confirmation of the report of the Lord Lamberts going forth with 20000 to meet General Monck from Scotland with 20000. The storie runs thus, in Sir Henry Moodies report sent in his letter from Virginia to an Englishman, a captaine at Manatoes. The presbyterians, in Scotland and England, flock much to General Munck, who now engageth himselfe for them, and their interesse, and is come forth, upon that account, with the forementioned army; as farre as Worcester, whither General Lambert is gone, with his armie, to stopp his proceedings. General Mountigue, it is said, is come to London, and complyeth well with the Parliament. Farewel.

This afternoone the Captaine hath bene with the Governo^r, to excuse his not appearing at the Court of Magistrates, by his former illnes in body, having a loosenes, with

vomiting blood; and his not sending his Attorney, by his want of one, his surgion would not, Phillip Scot would not, but he conceales that he who tooke the prize was in his ship, who was most fit to have bene sent to the Courte, and forgets to excuse his refusal to yeeld to a sequestration of M^r Raymonds goodes, til the cause were tryed, though the Governo^r sent the Marshall to him with a warrant, for that end, and sundry other things. The Governo^r is almost overcome with his faire words. But he speekes not a word of submitting his cause to theyre•tryal, yet seemes willing to leave M^r Raymunds vessel, and goodes in the courts hands, for part of security, and to binde his 12th part in the ship, for the other part of security (which is as none, because it is not standing security) that he will have it tryed in England, within 12 moneths, if M^r Raymund be bound and give security to prosecute against him — What the issue will be, a litle time will shew. In the meane time, his spirit is somewhat lower, in shew, then it was. Againe farewell.

The 22th d. of y^e 12th m. 59.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport rec^d Feb^r 24." There is no signature to this letter, which was only an envelope to another. — J. B.]

LXIX.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^l and worthily much Honoured John Winthrope Esq^r Governo^r of Connectacute these p^rsent in Hartford.

Honoured Sir)

Yours, dat^d y^e 27th of this moneth, I received, by one of Farefield, whose name I know not, and in it an Almanack inclosed, for boath which I returne many thancks, and send inclosed a copie of a wrighting, which M^r Atwater brought from the Baye, which I read with joy and thancksgiving unto God, beleiving it to be a true Narration of the state of things in England, and the last that is come to our

hands. So that the other reports of Naylers being Governour of Bristow, and of the fight betweene General Munck and Lambert etc. I looke at as misreports. I hope also that the fight reported to have bene in London will not be found true, in all particulars, at least. I am sorry for your loss of M^r Talcot, of whose decease I heard, but not how his diseases were found to be incurable, til I read your letter, whereby it is most cleare to me that no art of man could cure him. I hope now that you will either receive your son safely arrived, in the next ship, from London, at Boston, or good newes from him. By this time I am apt to thinck that a Parliament is assembled for the establishment of that great Comonw.^(ealth) upon sure foundacōns of trueth and righteousnes, by the blessing of the most High, to whose grace, in Jesus Christ, with myne, my wives, and sons humble services presented to you boath and affectionate salutations to your daughters, I heartily comēd your selfe, and all yours, resting in him

yours ever obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e 29th of y^e 1st m. 1660.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport."]

LXX.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^{ll} John Winthrope Esq^r Governo^r of
Connectacute Colonie these present in Hartford.

Honour^d Sir)

Yesterday, M^r Gilbert, and Deacon Myles, brought unto me a letter, written by yourselfe to Sargeant Whitehead, about your house, which, it seemes, was an answer to a letter sent, by I know not whom, nor when, to yourselfe, in the name of the Townsmen, and with theyre consent, that they might purchase the house, for the use of the Towne. From brother Herrymans discourse with my wife I understand that himselfe and brother Wakeman had speech with you, to

promove that motion. All this was done, and written, without my knowledge and my wives and sonnes; they did not, nor any from, or for them, make it knowne unto me, in the least, that such a letter or message should be sent unto you. Two of the brethren, who were not Townsmen spake with me formerly about theyre feare of losing the Governour, for want of an house; and propounded yours, concluding, from your owne wordes, that you would not dwell here, though if there had bene any ground of hope of the contrary, they would not have propounded it. This I add, that I may doe them right. My advise was that they would not send to you about it, and, to stay them from so doing, I told them that I heard you purposed to come hither shortly (For so Daniel your man had reported) and did thinck that they would waite for that. These things I thus particularly relate, that you may see that I had not the least hand in what they have done, nor consent to it, nor knowledge of it. When the forenamed shewed me your letter, and enquired what I would doe, in reference to the power and trust you was pleased to comit to me, about alienating your house; I told them as I had said unto yourselfe before, that I must desire to be excused from acting in that buisenes, and did refuse it, and doe stil pray you to wave me in that employ^{mt}, who shall in other things denie you nothing that I am fit to doe, if I may really pleasure you thereby. My son also hath refused to act in that matter. Had a letter bene brought to us to subscribe for inviting you to bring your familie, when you shall finde a convenient time to come and dwell in your house, and the sooner the wellcomer et. we should have signed that with boath our handes. What is done I have not yet heard, therefore cannot give you account of it. While I pawed a litle, having written thus farr, I heare that the two mentioned in the first line have alienated your house. If it be so; I am heartily sorry, that what we have so many yeares desired and hoped for, we shall be thus deprived of, viz your neighbourhood, which we doe highly value and therefore cannot but looke at our loss as exceeding greate. My wife received M^{rs} Winthropes loving token, the sugar loafe she was pleased to send her, for which she returneth her many thanckes, yet is sorry to have it from her, to whom she accounteth her-

selfe obliged otherwise rather to send unto her With myne, my wifes and sonnes humble services to you boath, and respectfull and affectionate salutations to your daughters, comēding you boath and yours unto the everlasting armes, I rest, Sir, yours exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

The 5th d. of y^e 2^d m. 1660.

We desire to receive some intelligence of your and M^r Winthropes, etc. purpose of comīng to us, whose house shall be as your owne, and you will much cheare us, if you say we shall enjoy you here shortly.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport about the sale of the house."]

LXXI.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

Honour^d Sir)

I received yours, by brother Benham, whom God preserved from being drowned, in his journey homeward. The River by M^r Yales farme, was swolne high, his wife was fearfull of riding through it. God provided an helpe for her, at the instant, by a passenger, who travailed from Windsor to Branford, to M^r Cranes, whose daughter he had marryed: he helped Sister Benham over a tree. But her husband adventuring to ride through, a foote of his horse slypped, so he fell into the water, and his horse, as he thincketh, fell upon him, or struck him with his foote; for he had a blow on his head. But, through the mercy of God, is now well. This day, M^r Attwater, being at our Lecture, speakes of a letter newly received from his wife, who wrightes her feares that she shall never see him againe, doubting that he was cast away, the last storme, whereby, she saith, sundry vessels about Boston have suffred much hurt; and some persons are cast away, and a ship also, if I mistake not, at Cape Cod. But God ordered things so, by his good providence, that M^r Atwater was then at New London, in a safe harbour. Even now, Capt. Hawtherne, and M^r Richards,

are come from the Dutch. They are gone into the Towne, to dispatch some buisenes, but will returne to suppe and lodge at my house. I doe not yet know whether they purpose to returne to Boston, by land, or sea, yet prepare these lines, in omnem eventum, to send by them, if they goe by land, or by some other conveyance, if I can heare of any. Sir, I thank you for my sight of M^r Knowles his letter to M^r Joanes. That which he speakes of a Parliament in Scotland, I cannot receive. For, I suppose England will not suffer it. I stil hope, that things in England are in an hopeful way. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace! Myne, my wifes and sons humble services are affectionately presented to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, with our salutations to your daughters. Having other letters to wright, in answer to freinds in the Bay, I am compelled to take off my pen; but shall alwaies remaine

Sir, yours exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e 13th of y^e 2^d 1660.

M^r Price of Salem, and his wife, present theyre services to yourselfe and M^{rs}. Winthrope, in a letter brought to me by Major Hawthorne. They are importunately desirous to stay M^r Higgenson with them at Salem for continuance, and in way of office.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport." Superscription gone.]

LXXII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^{ll} John Winthrope Esq^r. Governo^r of
Connectacute-Colonie these present in Hartford.

Honoured Sir)

This is the first opportunity presented to me of returning an answer to the 2 last letters I received from you. Brother Benham indeed (whose good, and sweete spirited wife, the Lord hath taken from him, since his returne, and a

young childe of one of his sons is since dead, in his house, where also one of his sons wife lyeth very weake) he went to Hartford, but gave me no notice of it before, that I might prepare a letter for him. Brother Myles, at his returne from the Baye, comforted us with hopes of your recovering strength. For he told us that you looked better, when he returned, then you did, when he went to the Baye. Our desire is fervent to see you and M^{rs} Winthrope here, by the will of God, as soone as may be. I hope, the change of aire would hasten your recovery, and the perfecting of your strength, by the blessing of God. For we are by the seaside, and my house shall be as your owne, for your use. And to us it will be a singular refreshment and contentment to injoy your presence and abode with us, as long as your occasions will permit. Be pleased to accept this serious and hearty invitation, and to answer it really, in coming to us, and staying with us, that you may be refreshed with the sea aire, and we with your sweete and much desired fellowship. If you feare that you shall burthen us; be assured of the contrary, that we shall looke at it as a real testimony of your love and confidence in us and in our love, which is unfeigned toward you boath, and all yours, and as a most acceptable gratification of our earnest desire to injoy you with us as long as we may. My selfe, my wife, and son had bene with you, before this time, if I durst have adventured upon such a journey, which yet I should have done, though with some hazzard, if my coming might have bene of any necessary beneficial use to you. One day, in the spring, I rode forth with our Governor, to stirr my body and take the aire, but when I returned home, though we had bene out but an houre or two, my urine grew so high coloured, that my wife thought it was bloody, and hath ever since continued very high coloured, and many times she observes a black settlement in it. I have bene, for above a fournight, costive, though not wholly without stooles, but once in 2 daies, at least, and, of late, once every day I doe some what at the stoole — *Dejectio quidem pauca est, et cum difficultate quandoque etiam cum inani conatu egerendi quam tenesimum nuncupant medici.* I am daily, at least every morning, til I have breakfasted, troubled with a paine at the bottom of my belly, most usually on the

left side, and at other times also, after walking, yet my appetite and digestion are good, considering the season. For hot weather weakens, and almost prostrates my spirits, when it is extreme. My wife also hath bene weake in her spirits, and weake stomached. Yesterday, about an houre before sunset, she tooke 6 grains of the rubila, and had 3 vomits and one stoole, and both is better and lookes better, this day, by Gods blessing upon the meanes. Yet she spitteth, all this day, more then formerly, white frothy matter, and is weakish in her spirits and not well in her head, and hath bene very thirsty the most part of this day. She had an earnest desire to have made a journey to visit you, but could not effect it. Sir, I humbly thanck you for the Intelligence I received in your letters, and for the 2 weekly Intelligences, which Brother Myles brought me, I think, from your selfe, and which I returne inclosed, by this bearer, with many thancks. I did hope that we might have received our letters by Capt. Pierse, before this time. But we have no newes lately from the Baye. Brother Rutherford, and Brother Alsop are boath there, so also is our Teacher, M^r Streete. The 2 former, I hope, will returne, some time the next weeke. Then probably we shall have some further newes. The Lord fitt us to receive it, as we ought, what ever it may be!

Sir) I long to learne of your perfect recovery of health and strength, and to understand from you, that your purpose is to be with us shortly, and when we may expect your coming to us, with M^{rs} Winthrope etc.

In the meane time, and ever, the Lord Jesus dwell with you, in mercy, and peace, and loving kindnesses! In whom I rest

Sir) yours exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Newhaven y^e 20th of y^e 5th 1660.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport July 20." The "weekly Intelligences" spoken of above are probably the London Intelligencer, a Parliamentary paper, of which a copy for a year is in the Athenæum. — J. B.]

LXXIII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^l John Winthrope Esq^r Governo^r of
Coñectacute, these present at Hartford.

Honoured Sir)

I received a former letter from you, by M^r Bishop, who, in his returne from your parts hitherward, tooke a wrong path twise and was so bewildred that he lost his way, from Wethersfield, and lay in the woods, in a very cold night, and came not to us, til the last day of the weeke towards noone. But, I hope, he hath no hurte, but is returned in safety and health, by the mercy of God to his family. I will not now trouble you with the reasons of my returning those papers unto you, but accept, thanckfully your freindly admonition, for the future, not to erre againe, on that hand. We boath pray you to accept our hearty thancks for your supplies of Rubila, both then, and now againe, by this bearer. The report is true which you have heard of much sicknes in this towne and the Farmes about it. The Lord be merciful to his people and rebuke our distempers, and sanctifie his afflicting hand to them and us all. It is true also that M^r Piense is come. Brother Rutterford also and Brother Alsop are come to us, and have brought with them our Teacher whose deare wife, and our much beloved sister the most High hath taken to himselfe, both from him and us. She was buried the day before his arrival. They have also brought M^r Joanes, and his wife, M^{rs} Hannah Eaton, and her infant, with 2 sons of his, by a former wife, and 2 servants &c. They have declared themselves to be unsatisfyed with brother Yales selling away sundry things in the house, and with his agreement with M^r Hill about the division made of M^r Eatons estate. Some discouragement seemes to be upon theyre spirits concerning theyre settling here, yet they are buisied about disposing the goods they have brought with them and accomodating theyre dwelling in the house. Time will shew what theyre future resolution will be. Edmond is come, who presenteth his humble service to your selfe and to M^{rs} Winthrope. He

found out your son, who is Captaine of a Troope of horse in Colonel Reades regiment, whom he also saw, upon the Exchange. Your son is well recovered, by the mercy of God, from the small poxe. He was with him againe, the day before his coming away, by his bed side, and brought letters from him to your selfe &c which he gave to M^r Amos Richardson, at his desire, purposing, as he said, a journey to New London, where he was to meete with you. But, when Edmund saw that he went not, but stayed above a weeke, Edmond, being to come for N. Haven, desired him to lett him have the letters againe, that he might bring them unto you more speedily then, he suspected, they would be handed to you, by M^r A. R. But he utterly refused to let Edm. have them. So they remaine stil in his hands. Concerning M^r Peters I heare litle, onely from brother Hooke, that the lord Craven waytes hopefully for the restitucōn of his lands, wherein, he saith, M^r Peters hath a share, he is of kinē to Monck, and sometimes dineth with him. Your son told Edmond that he purposeth to returne for N. E. the next yeare. My brother Hooke is valetudinarious, having bene afflicted with a very greate fluxe of Rheume, accompanied with an Erisipilus unto danger of death; he hath stil an ill stomach, and spleenish distempers. His wife also hath her bodily infirmities. He hath prevailed with a kinsman of yours to wright unto you the story of these late years in Engl. whom he comēds for a great wit, parts, and copious language, and choise for Intelligence &c. His letter I send inclosed, with some others, and one from M^r Hartlib, who thinckes you live in this plantacōn, and hath sent a large wrighting unsealed, that I might peruse it, which though I want time to read over, I choose rather to send it to you, then to detain it. He hath sent also sundry wrightings, and bookes, some to your selfe, some to me. But I cannot heare of them, in the pinnases, which makes me doubt, they are stayed in the Bay, at M^r Ushers, which I the rather suspect, because M^r Hartlib, and brother Hooke certifie me that M^r Drury also hath sent some papers and bookes to the 2 Teaching Elders at Boston, and to me. If it shall please you to employ M^r A. R. therein, he will inquire of M^r Usher, and procure them to be conveyed to your selfe, and myne, by your helpe, to me. Many things

I might add, which it would be too tædious to wright, and would be more fittly com̄unicated to you, if we might enjoy your much desired presence here. The 2 gentlemen of greate qualitie arrived in the Baye, are Colonel Whaley, and his son in law, Lieutenant Colonel Goffe. I hope to see them here, after the Com̄issioners are gone, if not before. I might hope to see them before, upon my letter, but I defer that, on purpose, that your chamber may be free for your reception and M^{rs} Winthropes, when the Com̄issioners meete. I must now breake off, rather than conclude, with myne, my wifes, and sons humble services presented to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, and our prayers for all good to you boath and yours, remaying

Sir, yours exceeding obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e 11th d. of the 6th m. 1660.

[On a little piece of paper wafered to the side of the letter, Mr. Davenport adds this note: —]

Sir, I mistooke, in my letter, when I said, Colonel Whaley was one of the gentlemen &c. It is Com̄issary Generall Whaley, sister Hookes brother, and his son in law who is with him, is Colonel Goffe; boath godly men, and escaped pursute in Engl. narrowly.

Etiam atque etiam vale.

[Endorsed by Governor Winthrop, "M^r Davenport. Aug. 11. 1660. Papers from M^r Hartlib &c. and the papers about Wethersfeild church."]

LXXIV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my honoured kind friend M^r Winthrop Governour of Connecticut — these presents.

Providence 8 : 7. 60 (so calld).

Sir — A sudden warning gives me but time of this abrupt salutation to youre kind selfe and M^{rs} Winthrop, wishing you peace. I promised to a Neighbour, a former ser-

vant of your Fathers, (Joshua Windsor) to write a line on his behalfe, and at his desire, unto you: His prayer to you is that when you travell toward Boston you would please to come by Providence, and spare one houre to heale an old sore, a controversie betweene him and most of his neighbours (in which I am apt to thinck he hath suffered some wrong: He hath promised to submit to youre sentence: His opposite, one James Ashton (being desired by me to nominate also) he resolves also to submit to youre sentence, which will concerne more *will and stomach* then dammage, for the matter only concernes a few poles of ground wherein Joshua hath cried out of wrong these many yeares: I hope Sir the blessed Lord will make you a blessed instrument of chiding the winds and seas and I shall rejoyce in youre presence amongst us. There are greater ulcers in my thoughts at present, which I feare are incurable, and that it hath pleased the most wise and most High to passe an irrevocable sentence of amputations and cauterizations upon the poore Protestant partie: the clouds gather mighty fast and thick upon our heads from all the popish quarters: It hath pleased the Lord to glad the Romish conclave with the departure of those 2 mighty bulwarks of the protestant Oliver and Gustavus; to unite (I thinck by this time) all the Catholike Kings and Princes, for Portugal was like very like of late to returne to the yoake of Spaine, whose treasure from the Indies, it hath pleased God to send home, so wonderfully great and rich this yeare, that I cannot but feare the Lord hath some mighty worck to effect with it: We know the Catholick King was in debt, but he now over flowes with millions which God is most like to expend against the protestants or the Turks the 2 great enemies (the sword fish and the thrasher) against the popish Leviathan: The presbiterian party in England and Scotland is yet very like to make some struggle against the popish invasions and yet in the end I feare (as long I have feared and long since told Oliver, to which he much inclined) the bloudie whore is not yet drunck enough with the bloud of the Saintes and witnesses of Jesus: One Cordiall is (amongst so many the mercifull Lord hath provided) that that whore will shortly appear so extreamely loathsome, in her drunckennes,

bestialities &c that her bewitched paramours will teare her flesh and burne her with fire unquenchable: Here is a sound that Fairfax and about 200 of the House with him, differ with the King: the mercifull Lord fit us to heare and feele more: It is a very thick and dreadfull mist and swampe, with which the Lord hath a great while suffered us to labour in, as hoping to wade out, breake through and escape shipwrack: In Richard Protector's parliament they fell into 3 factions presently, Royalists, Protectorians (which were most Presbiterian and carried it) and commonwealths men. The Presbiterians (when Gen^l Monck brought in the secluded members caried it againe (of late) clearly (and so vigourously against the Papists that stricter lawes then ever) there must surely then be great flames before the King can accomplish his engagements to the popish partie.

You know well Sir at sea, the first entertainment of a storme is, with, downe with top sailes: The Lord mercifully helpe us to loare, and make us truly more and more low, humble, contented, thanckfull for the least crums of mercie: But the storme increaseth, and trying with our mainsayles and misens will not doe, we must therefore humbly beg patience from the Father of lights and God of all mercies to lye at hull, in hope: It was a motto in one of the late parliaments (Cornets, under a show'r of bloud, *Transibit*. Sir my Neighbour M^{rs} Scot is come from England and what the whip at Boston could not doe, converse with friends in England and their arguments have in a great measure drawne her from the Quakers, and wholly from their meetings: Try the spirits; there are many abroad, and must be, but the Lord will be glorious in plucking up, whatever his holy hand hath not planted: My brother runs strongly to Origens notion of Universall mercy at last, against an eternall sentence — Our times will call upon us for through discussions: the fire is like to try us: It is a wonderfull mercy the Barbarians are yet so quiet: A partie of our neighbours are just now come home, *rè infectâ*: The Monhiggins would not sallie and the Nanhigg would not spoile the corne, for feare of offending the English: The Lord mercifully guide the councells of the Commissioners: M^r Arnold, M^r Brenton and others strugle

against your interest at Narriganset; but I hope your presence might doe much good amongst us in a few dayes —
Sir I am

Unworthy, yours

R. W.

[Labelled, "Rec^d Oct^r 2. 1660."]

LXXV.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worship^l John Winthrope Esq^r Governour of
Connectacute Colonie, these present at Hartford.

Honour^d Sir)

Though I am, at present, in preparacōn for the lecture, to morrow, yet having newly received a letter from Capt. Clarke, and hearing that one at the ordinary purposeth a journey towards the Baye, in the morning, who, I suppose, will goe by Hartford, I make bold to send you the Intelligence which I receive from England, by way of Newfoundland, to the middle of July, which informes, that those who were of the High Court of justice and condemned the former King, theyre estates are confiscate, 20 of them imprisoned, three of them like to die, viz. Jones, Harrison, and Say (if I doe not misreade) and that D^r Goodwin, M^r Nie, and M^r Peters, are in prison, and likely to lose theyre lives, and that there is a consultacōn to settle church discipline, in a way of joyning Episcopacy and Presbytery, by agreement that each Bishop in his Diocess shall have a select number of presbyters joyned with him, the comōn prayer to be established, but with some alteracōns: some ceremonies to be left indifferent; as bowing at the name of Jesus, the surpliss, cross in Baptisme &c. That good men are under some sufferings, many being turned out of theyre places: but greater things feared: Spaine like to make peace: France like to differ. The good Lord prepare his people, in Old England, and New, for what they and we may expect, and, in the meane time, give us hearts to sympathize with afflicted Joseph! We, at Newhaven, are stil under Gods afflicting hand. The good Lord sanctifie it, to us all!

Our Governo^r stil continues very weake, eates litle, and ill digests what he eates, is ill after it, yet, til he takes something, findes a gnawing at his stomach, is comonly coldish. Once he tooke the Rubila, but finding himself sundrie times ready to faint away, hath not bene willing to take it againe, nor his wife that he should, though we perswaded and encouraged him thereunto. I feare what the issue may be, if some better course be not taken for his recovery then [M^r Augur*] prescribes. Also our Teacher is very sick. The last lecture day, he purposed to preach, though he found an Aguish distemper, the day before, and continued in that purpose til the 2^d drūme, but then was compelled to take his bed. So there was no sermon. Afterward he hoped that it would be a quotidian, and leave him at the 4th fitt, as it did here, in the spring, and, once before, at Milford. But it is plainly the disease, and he hath after his cold a burning, without sweate, and was very ill with it, this day. He is also troubled with detention of his urine, and when he voided it, it was sharpe and hot. I much feare what the issue will be. I persuaded him, what I could, to take the Rubila, but doe not finde him inclinable, though he is burthened in his stomach. He slept not, the last night, and had a burning fit, this afternoone, he takes very litle of any thing, and desires litle or nothing. My wife made some things, for him, he tooke a litle of it. Upon drincking some beere from the ordinary which was hārsh and soure, he fell into a vomiting, which brought up much yellow stuffe, yesterday. The good Lord direct to the meanes, which he will bless for his recovery! M^r Jones tooke the Rubila 4 times and followed your other directions, and is, by the blessing of God, in an hopefull way. His fittes, he thincks, have left him, though some grudgings he findes hanging about him he doth not know of my wrighting, at this time. I believe, M^r Jones himselfe will wright to you, when he findes himselfe able. And I am persuaded that your advise will prevaile with our Governour to take what course you may please to prescribe. He knoweth not of my wrighting at this time, because my letter is now to be sent away, the messenger being to be gone, betimes, in the

* Erased by Governor Winthrop. — J. B.

morning. The Lord Jesus dwell with you and yours in mercy and peace and loving kindnesses! With our humble service to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, and our loving salutations to all your branches, my wife, and son joyning with me therein, I rest

Yours exceedingly obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e 17th d. of y^e 8th m. 1660.

We heare that M^r Paine and M^r Web are boath dead.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport — Oct^r 17. 1660."]

LXXVI.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esq^r Governor of Connectacute Colonie, these present in *

Hon^d Sir — I perceive, you have received from others the sad intelligence of the decease of our Hon^d Governor,† my very deare and precious freind. We hoped that he was in a good way of recovery from his former sicknes, and were comforted with his presence in the publick Assembly, 2 Lords daies, and at one meeting of the church one a weeke day, without any sensible inconvenience. And on the morning of the day of publick Thanksgiving, he found himselfe encouraged to come to the publick Assembly. But, after the morning sermon, he told me that he found himselfe exceeding cold from head to toe, yet, having dined, he was refreshed, and came to the meeting againe, in the afternoone, the day continuing very cold. That night he was very ill, yet he did not complaine of any relapse into his former disease, but of inward cold, which he and we hoped might be removed by his keeping warme and using other suitable meanes. I believe, he did not thinck that the time of his departure was so neare, or that he should

* Torn off, but *Hartford* is supplied below. — J. B.

† Governor Francis Newman. — J. B.

die of this distemper, tho' he was alwaies prepared for his greate change. The last day of the weake, he desired my son to come to him the next morning, to wright a bill for him to be praied for, according to his direction my son went to him, after the beating of the first drum, but finding himselfe not fit to speake much, he praied him to wright for him what he thought fit. When the 2^d drum beate, I was sent for to him. But, before I came, tho' I made hast, his precious immortal soul was departed, from its house of clay, unto the souls of just men made perfect. We were not worthy of him, a true Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed; who served God, in Christ, in sincerity and trueth. He honored God in his personal conversacōn, and in his Administration of Cheif Magistrate in this Colonie. And God hath given him honour in the hearts of his people. My losse and my sons, who tooke great contentment in his company, as he also did in his, is very great, and our greife answerable. But the publick losse is farr greater, and answerably it is generally bewailed, God recompensing his faithfulness with his living desired and dying lamented. It becomes us to lay our hands upon our mouthes, yea, to put our mouthes in the dust, remembring whose doing this is, yet, in respect of meanes, I could wish 2 things. 1. that, in his former sicknes, he had wholly and onely followed your directions. 2. that, he had forborne coming forth, that cold day. But Gods counsailes shall stand, whose will is the 1st and best cause of all things, and the very errours of men shall serve to accomplish his purposes, who is holy in all his waies, and righteous in all his workes. Sir, what I wrote, in my former, concerning M^{rs} Coghen, I had from Anth. Elcock, who received it in the Baye, viz. that she was discontented that she had no suitours, and that she had encouraged her Farmer, a meane man, to make a motion to her for marriage, which accordingly he propounded, prosecuted and proceeded in it so farr that, afterwards, when she reflected upon what she had done, and what a change of her outward condition she was bringing herselfe into, she grew discontented, despaired, and tooke a great quantity of ratts bane, and so died: Fides sit penes Authorem. Sir, I humbly thanck you for the intelligence you was pleased to give me of an opportunity of transmitting a letter for Lon-

don, which is a thing that I earnestly desire, and doe make bold to commit it to your owne care, seing you are pleased to give me that liberty, and hearing that the vessel is yet at Hartford. The letter is of greate importance, the safe and speedy handing of it to M^r Robb. Newman will be a reall advantage to me, and the miscarrying of it, no small disadvantage. In which respect, if you conceive, it will be more speedily and certainly conveyed to him by this way then by the ship at Boston; I desire it may be sent accordingly with the more strong engagement for committing it to a sure hand at Barbadoes, to be delivered to M^r Newman, in London, as the matter is of more consequence; that an answer may be returned from him by the 1st ship from London to Boston, in the Spring. Having thus opened the case, I crave leave to commit it wholly to yourselfe to take that course with it, which you shall judge most suitable. I shall not adde, but myne, my wifes, and sons humble services to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, with our respectful and affectionate salutacōn to your son and daughters, praying the Lord to continue your life unto them, and theyres unto you, and to multiplie his favours and blessings upon you and them, through Jesus Christ! In whom I rest,

Sir, yours ever obliged

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven y^e 27th d. of y^e 9th m. 1660.

The miscarriage of a letter, which I formerly sent to London, by way of Barbadoes makes me so desirous that this may not miscarry.

My wife heares by one, in this Towne, that a D^r of physic in England saith that conserve of Rue will hinder propagacōn of children — She desires to understand your judgement concerning it.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport about M^r Newman's death — rec^d November 28. 1660."]

LXXVII.

Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honored friend M^r John Winthrop Gouvernor of Connectecut, recommended to M^r John Richards at Boston marchand, or M^r Amos Richardson marchand, or M^r Hezekia Usher Bookseller in New England. at Boston.

Sir,

I am herewth to acquaint you, y^t ye Royall Society, whereof you are so worthy a member, Judging it very conduciue to their dessein, to bespeake and engage all sorts of intelligent and publike-spirited men, to contribute, what they can, to so Noble and Usefull a Work, as they haue vndertaken : And it being a great part of their Province, to make Celesstiall Observaōns, for ye perfecting of Astronomy, Cosmography and Navigaōn ; and there being, among other Astronomicall Desiderata, wanting accurate Tables of ye Motions of Mercury ; ye s^d Society hath thought good to recommend to ye Virtuosi of ye séverall parts of ye World y^t Observaōn of ye s^d Planets Conjunction wth ye Sun, w^{ch}, according to our best Calculaōn, will happen here in England about London on ye 25th Octob. of this present year, in its central Ingresse hor. 4. 32½' ; True Conjunction, hor. 7. 6' ; Midle, h. 7. 11'' ; Centrall Egresse h. 9. 49½'. So y^t ye whole duration of the Center of ☿ wthin the visible Periphery of ye ☉ is hor. 5. 17'. and ye distance of their Centers at ye midle of ye Eclipse 3'. 31''. according to M^r Street.

The R. Society being persuaded both of y^r ability and willingnes to make such Observaōns, and not doubting, but y^t you are furnisht wth instrum^{ts} necessary for it, haue commanded me to desire you, to obserue wth all possible exactnesse the mention'd Conjunction, and to acquaint them wth y^r performances therein.

If y^r Generousnes invite you to adde hereunto, what in and about y^r Contry occurs considerable for the Inriching of ye History of Nature (whose Composure is one of ye maine things, they haue in their Eye) it will be a good ser-

vice to ye Commonwealth of learning, and a thing highly acceptable to ye Society; who haue lately receiued an excellent account from ye East-Indies upon such Queries, as they formerly sent thither, together wth a Noble present of some of ye rarest curiosities of y^t part of ye world; amongst w^{ch} there are, a skin of a young Rinoceros, and the strange teeth of an old Rinoceros; as also a very precious stone, taken out of ye head of a snake, said positively by ye Presenter himselfe (w^{ch} is S^r Philiberto Vernatti, residing at Batavia) y^t being laid vpon ye wound, made by any venomous creature, draws out ye poison, and being cast into milk turnes it blew by discharging its poison therein; whereupon it is to be applyed again to ye wound, so long and often, till it be cleansed. Besides, there is a very odde piece of wood, naturally smelling like human Excremt, used by ye Natiues agst evill Spirits and Incantaons; and wthall some oyle like oyle of Camphir in smell and taste, but drawne out of ye root of a Cinamon-tree. I passe by ye Petra di porco, celebrated to be better than ye best Bezoar; it. Cochin-china Birds-nests etc. because I should be too proluxe, if I should particularize and enlarge vpon all. You see hereby, Sir, y^t our Society hath gotten a name and interest in ye remote East-Indies; I doubt not, but by your means they will root y^mselves likewise in a great part of ye West-Indies, and receiue by y^r procuremt ye chief rarities, w^{ch} those part can afford; and in confidence hereof I remaine

Sir Y^r humble and most affectionat Servant

H. OLDENBURG Soc. Reg. Secr.

London Aug. 3. 1664.

S^r, Remember, I intreat you, ye History of New England, begun by y^r worthy Father, and continued by y^rself; and forget by no means the matter of mines, of Tydes, of Currents of ye Seas, of making Salt in y^r compendious and cheap way. These things well accounted of to our Society, will set you very high in their esteem, to my knowledge.

[Labelled, "M^r Henry Oldenburg—rec^d Decemb: 12 1664."]

LXXVIII.

Samuel Hutchinson to John Winthrop, Jr.

To John Wintrop Esq^r att New Lond^o In New England.

M^r John Wintrop

Sir — Having this oportunity by way of New Yorke, in a ship of S. George Cartrets bound for New Jersey how carys Capt. Cartret the Governor, I know yor wonted costum to all strangers, not to let them lacke any Asistance or Advice you cane give them, Yor experyance in those parts being much, may doe him servis and yor selfe noe predgedis, Butt as you will heare, thar will be a greater obligatyon then ordenary, to the Honerab^l Sir Georg Cartrett and Capt. Phillip Cartret now Governer of New Jersey. As I shall tell you, Conserning the Irons for the salt work you may rember you went out of England soe sodingly and my self being in the Contry tooke noe leave of you, nor came to any Conclutyon aboutt the worcke, I ondy promasing that if I made use of that way you shold be conserved with me. I think you will find I have fuly performed my word, And the ffrenes of S^r Georg and the Capt. in the same is worth tacking notes of, Altho I doe not qestyon your deserts may meritt more, you will find what your propertyon is by the enclosed Copey of Artickles, for my part I have not prompt upon the conserved with any great hopes of such exterordenary advantegis, as youer and my resons did lead us to beleve or conseve, this I have onldly asured them as in the artickels you will find that if Capt Cartrett mislickes after he coms into the contry I will tacked them of at the same rate, this I shall tell you as to mater of the Irons, I have twice the encorigement sens I had them home then I had before when we ondy discorsed of them. My other letters with the Irons will sone folow thes, Soe I remaine,

Yours to Comand

SAM HUTCHINSON.

London 14 ffebrye 1664 | ent (4).

[Labelled, "M^r Sam. Hutchenson — rec^d July 4. 1665."]

LXXIX.

*Samuel Hutchinson to John Winthrop, Jr.*To M^r John Winthrop att New London thes pst.*London 20 of Febry 1664.*

Sir — In my last I left out the pertickelars of what I have observed more in the use of the Irons for the salt worke. I doe not meane the long Irons you so much desired for the evaporating, those you know the best way of using but I shall give you my opinion as' to that also, that I observed is of the fouer quarter congeling panes, that we entending to joyne to gether with plates of Iron, which wold have bin trubelsom and chargabell, neather cold they have bin made soe large, as this way I ame about to tel you, first observe thare hath bin many boyling vesels, the uper worke made of wood, then you have some brewers colers made of woode and kepe very thite, if you emagin the heate of the iron will borne the wood I conseve not as long as any water is in them, you may chose whether you lett the woode tuch or not, you may joyne them with som kind of sement that will enduer water, thare is a good sement made with pich new worte and sand, lett the pich be meltid then pore in sand by degres, tell it be very thick, the way of laying it one or stopin holes must be with a hott iron, but you may not nead any of this if you macke a good bead of clay, what thicknes you thinck fitt that you may have rome for the fier to play under the irons Lett the clay be well stamped and beate together, then place your irons at the fouer corners at what distance you please the frame of planck in the midell made as thite as you cane stamped downe in the clay, then yor worcke is done, it cannot leake much throw the clay and the liquer is not soe presious, but I beleve you may kepe it from leaking at all.

If you sett the quarters at very greate distance, I sopose you will want fier to be made under all the Irons, but when thay are up you may Trey if macking fier ondy at the two cros corners, wold not be heate sufishant, if soe then you may make the other two corners up with wood, Soe that

two Irons, will make one pane, I have also sent som plain irons that ondy are for the midell and all the sides and tother part of the botom to be made of woode, I questyon not but you will find out the most convenyant for them I ondy give you my one judgment.

As for the preparing of the brine I conseve if dige holes or pondes in the grownd for the water to stand in — In the somer it will evaporat more then upon the irons — Capt Cartret hath brought over sondry ffrrench men that know the making of salt in ffrance, Soe suerly if they make salt in that fashin, we may make brine that waye.

I ame pretey well satisfied that thare may be good done in the salt busines, therfor as I have provided for you in this, if you goe forward yor self or sett any other person upon it you wold doe the licke for me, if you goe yo^r self to New Jersy, I desier you to view the plantatyons and if you picth upon a good track of Land, send me word how it leyes, for Sir George promasis me what in reson I can desier thare, and advise the salt worke to be set up in that place if convenyant, if you provide wht ocke [*white oak*] pip staves I doe conseve thay may be a comodety in New England sondry ships will com to Lode stave for Canarys and other Ilands, I shall not omit other oportunytyes but remane

SAM HUTCHINSON.

Note the woode usee must be sesoned and without sap.

[Labelled, "M^r Sam. Hutchinson — rec^d July 4. 1665."]

LXXX.

Philip Carteret to John Winthrop, Jr.

For my honoured ffreind John Winthrop Esq^r at New London New England.

Newportes newes, Virginia, 13^o Junij 1665.

Honor^d Sir —

Findeing the opportunity by this vessell bound for New Yorke, to send you some letters which I brought out of

England, I thought it convenient to send them to you knowing the sooner they come to your hands the better: I suppose that by them you will understand that M^r Hutchinson hath sould unto Sir George Carteret and mysefe $\frac{2}{3}$ ^{ds} of a salt worke and pottash worke which was formerly contrived by you. Allso it is agreed by M^r Hutchinson and us that for the care you tooke then and the advice you will please to lend us for the future, that you shall the $\frac{1}{6}$ parte of the proffitt, for I hope they are arrived ere this time being shipt aboard of a shipp that was to come to Pescadoe for masts, for the King. This being all at present hoping (winde and weather permitting) to be at New Yorke in 5 or six dayes hence, I am

Sir, your humble servant

PH CARTERET.

Sir — If you please to doe me the favour to let mee heare from you direct your Letter to Capⁿ James Bullaigne in New Yorke.

[Labelled, "Capt. Philip Carteret rec^d July 4. 1665." Under the superscription are the words, "rec'd June 20"; probably written by the person who forwarded the letter from New York. — J. B.]

LXXXI.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Philip Carteret.

To Capt Phillip Carteret at New York.

Hartford July 18. 1665.

Hon^d Sir —

I had the favour of your conveyance of some letters from M^r Samuel Hutchinson in a letter of June 13. from Virginia declaring a purpose of coming for New York within a short time after, and have thither directed these for that time to congratulate your arrival there. In your letter, there is mention of $\frac{2}{3}$ ^{ds} of a salt work sold by M^r Hutchinson. I suppose it may be meant and some cast irons that should be used about such a worke, for I heare that such irons were

sent by him in a ship that came for masts and were landed at Boston: and M^r Hutchinson, in those his letters mentions irons but no particulars. If he means those he had cast in England before I came thence, if there be only those they are not ynough by much for a worke that should produce quantity worth considering. They should have served for a trial of a new invention in England, which had been necessary before any great charges was way but time and opportunity failed, and such stock, as should have been for expenses in the trial of it could not then be procured. I knew nothing of any intention of M^r Hutchinson to set up such works in these parts of the world — He mentions now New Jarsy, which is a place I know not nor have ever heard where it is — it would be good to consider the convenience of the place for that commodity and for the vending of it before expenses be laid out — They bring great quantities of salt from the isle of May Sal Salt Turtugas and many places in West Indies where they have it for nothing but the gathering it up, and most vessels must return empty if they did not bring off salt, and when they have brought it they must sell it though very cheap for it is the charge of transporting to any place I understand by M^r Hutchinsons letters that there are not sent over, with the cast irons such hammer'd plates as are necessary for the composing of them, which should have been ordered there of just dimensions fitted to the cast quarters — without which these cast pieces cannot possibly be made useful. He writes very confidently that his opinion is they may be composed without those plates, with plankes and clay or cement, and that therefore he sends no plates as being not needfull, but I know not that way, I understand not how it can be so done, nor do I believe that they can be made use of that way. I suppose I may have occasion to go to Boston shortly and there may view those irons and upon further consideration thereupon there may be opportunity to give you my further apprehensions about that business from

Your h^{ble} serv^t

J. W.

[Labelled, "Copy of letter to Capt Philip Carteret at New York." — A rough draft. — J. B.]

LXXXII.

*John Winthrop, Jr., to Col. Richard Nicolls.*To the Right Hon^{ble} Col : Richard Nicolls Gov^r at N. York.. *Fishers Iland Aug. 14. 1665.*Right Hon^{ble}

I received lately here yours of Aug. 2. and am sending over to the magistrates at Hartford, that they would without delay promote that business with the Indians of the Northern partie which your honor moveth about a treaty of peace with the Mowhawkes, and hope to follow myself for the furtherance thereof as speedily as may be, but I know they must have time of consideration and speaking together, and with all the most considerable parties that are engaged which are many and remote, and therefore the sooner they have the motion renewed to them (it was mentioned upon occasion formerly, and not wholly rejected; but would speak with their friends &c) the sooner their mind may be known: I intend to speak with some Indians of these parts that are neutrals, but have some acquaintance with some of the other Indians. I hope on the morrow to speak with some of them — I know they may much further having some kindred amongst them — [yet I asked a principal man amongst them lately whether he thought they would hearken to terms of peace — he said he thought they must fight a little longer first — I fully concur with your honors apprehensions about the promoting that business and shall not be wanting with my endeavours to further it — This business is all the necessity of the time of hastning away these and letters to Conn^t and will permit me to mention only] * In reference to what your honor writes about the executing those 2 Indians in prison, I never heard any thing of their being in prison nor of their killing of any Dutchmen, till now by this your letter, and therefore not knowing the circumstances, nor any other matter about it, I am unfit to write any thing concerning it: but whether the speedy executing of them or delaying thereof for any time shorter,

* All between the brackets [] in this letter is erased in the original. — J. B.

or longer be best, I doubt not but your Honor and councell will find what is best to be done in that case : Whether the hastening of it may not hasten their war upon the English, before they can be so fitted for it, especially some places that may not have notice of it — Whereas the delaying may cause such hope in them of their redemption (though fruitless hope) that may cause a forbearance of such hostility for a time as may prevent the destruction of divers dutch or English of the hither parts, or Marilanders &c. by some sudden act, whether also delay may not encourage such barbarous brutes to more murthers &c. or whether the conclusion of matters with the Mowhawks be not considerable to be first attended. Many other considerations are in your observance ; grounded upon the more full comprehension of the whole case : I make bold to suggest only one thing more in reference to that which your honor is pleased to mention [That it cannot be imagined you can stand alone in the opposition] I humbly propose whether your honor may not see cause to have it moved to the Commissioners of the Colonies, some of them are to meet at Boston the first Thursday in September [whose usual meeting should be in September next but being this year to meet but part of them at Boston about the business of the corporation for the Indians, there must be a particular notice given for meeting of all of them, if any special business require it and those matters of general concernment about the Indians will most properly fall under their cognizance according to former custom and agreement of the Colonies and themselves for mutuall assistance in such cases of danger from those barbarians] What your honor shall direct in that case for their consideration about these matters shall be endeavoured to be promoted seriously by

My lord Your most humble servant

J WINTHROP.

However that Dutchman may hyperbolize in his narration, I cannot imagine how De Ruiter could be fitted to hold out so long there.

[Labelled, "The substance of my letter to Gen^l Nicolls."]

LXXXIII.

Samuel Willis to John Winthrop, Jr.

These ffor the much Hon^d John Winthrope Esq^r Gov^r of
His Majestys Colony of Connecticott — present att N.
London.

Much Hon^d Sir —

Sir — I was hartly glad to heare of y^e Welfaire of you and yours by Capt Winthrope: Sir, my Mother self and Wife and Sister tender theire reall respects to your self and deare Consort and the rest of your dear ones, hopinge that your sudaine departure will yet issue in a seasonable returne and aboade with us, but conceiving that your waighty concernments may call you speedily to the Bay Now you are at the N. London your journey that way will be most easy, and comfortable, nor should I any way retrard your motion that way, especially consideringe of what importance it will be to you to get some better security for M^r Paines debt of which I made bould to suggest my opinion to yourself before you went hence.

Sir — I conceive it will be requisite that we heare something of your purpose herein, for if your self please to goe there will not need any other to goe as a Commissioner from these parts, for one from Connecticott will fully answer. The Agreement made the last yeare for the attendinge of the Corporation businisse which will be but short, I suppose two or three days worke, will finish it. And yourself being soe well acquainted with M^r Boile * may bee instrumental to keepe that affaيرة in the hands of the Commissioners off the Collonys which I suppose may bee best for the Country — besides if one Commissioner goe not from this Jurisdiction, it is feared the odium of breakinge the Confederation may bee cast upon us. And it is thought that it will bee more inexpedient for M^r Leet to goe at this time in divers respects. And in speciall lest some old matters should be revived thereby. Sir — If you please to intimate your

* "Mr. Boile" above referred to is doubtless the Hon. Robert Boyle, who was President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New England, and with whom Governor Winthrop was intimate. — J. B.

pleasure in the premises it may be a direction to the Magistrates what to doe, which is the request off Sir

Your much obliged freind, and humble servant

SAMUEL WILLYS.

Hartford August 14. 1665.

Sir — there is noe newes of any ship lately arrived from England which makes a fammin of certaine newes from Europe at present.

[Labelled, "Mr Sam. Willis — Rec^d 21."]

LXXXIV.

*Joh. Plumme his descript. of the Stella cadens which he saw.**

Seabrok October 1665 — this I testifi that in october last about too of the klok in the nit I sawe a star fly into the West wich in his first braking gave a flashe upon the water as if it had bin litning wich cased me to lok oup I being then rouing in my bote toe groton: ond it com in to the shop at opik [*shape of a pike*] ond so continewed the spas of haf a quarter of an our or ther abouts

then it turned in to this shap as her you se ond about the spas of haf a quarter thus it continued

and then it turned as thus in to half a surkell as it war with both ends oupwards and continewed a smal tim and then wastted quit away

as witnes my hond

JOHN PLUMBE.

* Indorsement by Governor Winthrop.

LXXXV.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honor^{ble} freind John Winthrope Esq^r Governo^r of
Connectecute these present in Hartford.

Honor^{ble} Sir)

To your motion concerning my preaching the Election sermon, at Hartford, the 10th of the next moneth, though my unfitnes for such a journey, is of itselfe a sufficient plea for excuse of my Negative Answer; yet I have sundry other weighty reasons, whereby I am strongly and necessarily hindred from that service, which may more conveniently be given by word of mouth to your Honoured Selfe, then expressed by wrighting. Be pleased to favour me with your acceptance of my Negative Answer, upon so Cogent reasons. Which I hasten, with all possible speed, that some other, whom you may please to call unto that worke, may have convenient time for preparacōn. Also I make bold to present unto your view the inclosed paper, not knowing that you have seene it — onely be pleased, after you have made your use of it, to returne it unto mee, that I may send an Answer to Boston, by brother Alsup, who purposeth a voiage thither, toward the latter end of the next weeke, or the beginning of the following weeke. And with him, our Teacher intendeth to goe, which will be another impediment of my accepting and complying with your præmised motion, through our Churches want of his helpe at home. I returne many thancks for my sight of the scheme of 3 suns and 4 rainbowes, seene at New Yorke, and drawne by General Nicols his procurement my son will be careful to returne it unto you by the 1st opportunity, which he hath wanted hitherto. No more, at present, but my service and my wifes to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, together with our affectionate respects to yours, being presented, I rest in Jesus Christ

Sir) Your worships obliged, assured

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newh. y^e 10th day of y^e 2^d m. 1666. in which day I received yours dated y^e 6th d. of y^e same moneth.

Postscript. The reason, which it pleased you to give, why I was not formerly desired to preach at the Election, holdeth as strong against my being invited thereunto now. For we are not yet fully joyned, by the Courts refusal of our Freemen to vote, in the last Election, when they came thither, to that end, in obedience to their absolute summons, and about 20 of ours were sent home, as repudiated, after they had suffered the difficulties and hazzards of an uncomfortable and unsafe journey, in that wett season. I shall crave leave to add my experience of my weaknes since y^e date of my letter. The 11th day was somewhat hot here, and accordingly I found my spirits very faint and listles unto action. This day, being the 12th is a litle more moderate, and I find my spirits a litle more revived, but stil feeble, and my stomack weake. Whence I infer that in hotter weather I shall be unfit for such a journey and for that worke. Therefore, I pray, desist from that motion to mee, and urge it upon some fitter minister and dwelling nearer to the place of the Election-Courte.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport, Pastor."]

LXXXVI.

Rev. John Davenport to John' Winthrop, Jr.

To the Hon^{ble} John Winthrope Governour of Connectecute Colonie, these present at Hartford.

Honour^{ble} Sir —

Many hearty thancks being præmised, to God, and you; to God as to the principal efficient, who stirred up your heart, and guided your minde to pitch upon such meanes as his blessing made effectual; and to yourselfe, as to a blessed Instrument in God's hand, for our recovery, my sons especially, from that weaknes, and those great paines, wherewith he was lately and long afflicted, unto this measure of strength, whereby he was enabled to come into the publick assembly, the last Lords day, to bless God the Authour of all blessings upon your endeavours: which, I pray, may be stil continued, for the good of many!

Yet, in the midst of our familie-comforts, I feele at my heart no small sorrow for the publick divisions and distractions at Hartford. Were M^r Hooker now in vivis; it would be as a sword in his bones, that the *Church*, which he had planted there, should be thus disturbed, by innovacōns, brought in and urged so Vehemently, by his young successour in office, not in his spirit: who was so far from these laxe waies that he opposed the baptizing of grand-children, by their grandfathers right: much more would he have decryed the baptising of Adopted children, by their Adoptants right: most of all, the baptising of servants, borne in the house, or bought with monie, quâ tales, unles they had a spiritual right, by being regularly joyned to the Church, according to Gospel-rules. But he is at rest: and the people there gro woefully divided, and the better sorte are exceedingly greived, while the looser and worser party insult, hoping that it will be as they would have it, viz, that the plantacōns shall be brought into a parish-way, against which M^r Hooker hath openly borne a strong Testimonie in print. The most of the churches, in this jurisdicōn, are professedly against this new way, both in judgment and practise, upon Gospel grounds, n, Newhaven, Milford, Stratford, Brandford, Gillford, Norwalke, Stamford, and those nearer to Hartford, n, Farmington, and the sounder parte of Windsor, together with their Reverend Pastor, M^r Warham, and, I thinck, M^r Fitch, and his church also. Nor may it be thought that we all are mere spectatours, or that we shall be allwaies silent, as persons not concerned. It is the cause of Christ, for which we must pleade: it is no slight matter, as de lanâ caprinâ, that is now agitated, but that which concernes the preserving of Christian Churches in peace, and Gospel-ordinances, in purity: it is the faith and order of the Churches of Christ, which we are called to contend for, that they may be preserved intyre and corrupted. when the Bay-Synod published their booke: I saw where their Temptation lay, and printed my answer to it: whereunto, when a seeming reply was made, I declared and proved the insufficiency of it, and sent my MSS. to the Baye, where it lyeth, in friends hands unprinted, til further occasion shall obstetricate it: Sed quorsum hæc? I shall breifly suggest unto you what

I have heard. viz. that before the last lecture-day, when it was yong M^r Heynes his turne to preach, he sent 3 of his partie to tell M^r Whiting, that, the nexte Lecture-day, he would preach about his way of baptizing, and would begin the practising of it, on that day. Accordingly he preached, and water was prepared for Baptisme (which, I suppose, was never administred, in a weeke day, in that Church, before) But M^r Whiting, as his place and duty required, testified against it, and refused to consent to it. Much was spoken, to litle purpose, by some of M^r Heynes his partie. But, when M^r Warham began to speake, one of the Church rudely hindered him, saying, to this purpose, What hath M^r Warham to do to speake in our Church matters? This check stopped M^r Warhams proceeding, at that time. The objectour considered not that this matter was not res propria to that church alone, but res communis, it being of common concernment to all the churches in these parts, and to the Teaching Officers of them, and to M^r Warham more especially; For tum sua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet, which he might have answered. But we live in times and places, where the faces of the Elders are not duely honoured; and therefore its justly to be feared that God will soone take away the most Godly and judicious Leaders from so unthanckfull and unworthy people, and leave them to be mislead by superficial verbalists. Yourselfe prudently concluded that, that day was not a fit season to begin their purposed practise, seeing it was not consented to. But opposed. And so it ceased, for that time. But M^r Heynes urged for a dispute about it with M^r Whiting, the next Lecture day, which will be the 20th day of this month, which also, they say, is agreed upon. But cui bono? No good issue can rationally be expected of a verbal dispute, at that time, and in that place, where so many are likely to disturbe the buisenes with interruptions and clamours, and to prepare a sufficient number to overvot the better party for establishment of the worsor way. So Trueth shall be dethroned and error set up in the throne. What then is to be done, in this Case? Let M^r Heynes give in wrighting to M^r Whiting, his position, and his Arguments to prove it: and let M^r Whiting have a convenient time to returne his Answer in wrighting. This is the most suitable

way for a peaceable issuing of the dispute, with solid judgment, and with due moderation and satisfaction: and let all practise of M^r Heynes his opinion be forborne, til the trueth be cleared. But if M^r Heynes refuseth this way; I shall suspect that he more confides in the clamours of his party, then in the goodnes of his cause or in the strength of his Arguments, or in his ability for disputacōn. These things I make bold to present to your serious consideracōn, that, by your wisdom and care of the publick good and common peace, according to the duety of your place, the fire alreadie kindled may be speedily quenched, and the banckes may be seasonably strengthened, to prevent the irruption of waters, that may cause an inundation, not to be stopped afterward.

Our service to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrope, with our affectionate salutacōns to all yours, being presented, I rest, in Jesus Christ

Yours obliged, assured

JOHN DAVENPORTE Senio^r.

N. H. the 14th d. of the 4th m. 1666.

Poster. My Rev^d brother, M^r Street, being with me, and hearing this letter read, earnestly desired me, once and againe, to declare unto you, his full consent to the contents thereof: so that you may take it as from us boath. He also thincks that a Synod of the Elders and Messengers of the churches, on this side of the countrey, i. e. of this jurisdiction, might be a suitable expedient motos componere fluctus. But that I leave to further consideracōn. In the meane time, it will be operæ præmium that you interpose your Authority and wisdom to stop all further proceedings and actings in this irregular and tumultuous way.

[Labelled, "M^r Davenport, Senior — received Junij 19. 1666."]

LXXXVII.

The Governor and Council of Connecticut to the Governor of Massachusetts.

To the Right Worshipfull Rich. Bellingham Esq^r Gov^r of his Ma^{ties} Colony of the Massathusets at Boston y^s dd.

Hartford July 10th 1666.

Hon^{ble} Sir —

Yesternight we had a letter from the Governor of New York, who certifieth that about an hour before his writing there came a sloop from Albany, by which he was informed that for certain the french from Canada are marching towards those parts; having sent a Girdle of Wampum to the Mowhawkes, to invite them (under the style of renowned soldiers) to attend their arrival at their forts, and to give them battle — Hereof the Mohawkes and the Oneiades have given assured notice; insomuch that he takes it for a truth — Whereupon he hath sent orders to the Garrison at Sopus to strengthen the Garrison at Albany: He writes also that he hath encouraged the Mohawkes to maintain the war with the french who are about seven hundred men, as the Indians report. He thinks it would be a good opportunity to stress the french after so long a march, with a few fresh men, and therefore propoundeth upon this opportunity a business of that high consequence, thereby to cut off the whole strength of Canada at Once, to have help of some horse from hence We are sensible ynough of the danger that may be to all the English plantations *and mostly* in these parts, and as much as any to those above on the river of your Colony, if the french should settle themselves in those parts — therefore if you please to give order and power to some of those plantations to join with ours upon such occasion as may fall out for the preventing of the common danger and provide for the common safety, we shall be ready to consider with them for *communication in such* ways and means for the promoting of the same till there may be more full assistance from yourselves and the other colonies.

We thought good to acquaint you herewith and leave it

to your speedy consideration, and with our loving remembrance we take leave and rest your loving freinds and confederates the Governour and Councill of Conecticut.

Signed per order & me

J. ALLYN.

[Labelled, "Copy of letter fr. the Magistrates to the Governour at Boston." The above is a rough draft in Governor Winthrop's hand, excepting a few words from "We thought," &c. It is regularly certified by Mr. Allyn, and he wrote the few words referred to, as also the copy of the superscription. — J. B.]

LXXXVIII.

George Denison to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Worshipfull and his much honored freind John Winthrop, Esq^{re} Governour of the Collonye of Coneticot thes d. dd in Hartford.

Honored Sir

it is no small trouble to me that I have this ocation to wright, haveing formerly wried your patience upon the same subject but my faith to my trust, and the Honor of God and the authority I am under (as I conceive) being Conserved: together with the presing and opresing nesity of the poor Indians: who can find no resting place for the sole of there feet, not with standing the many ingadgements, orders and grants thay have (by your helpe) obtained, and have relyed upon, yet as it seems all in vaine, for as I and the Indians are informed (by what means I know not) for none ware employed by the towne) there is this Court in your worships absenc an order, makeing voyd all the former orders and that the Indians must be removed next Aprill of from Cosattuck, not with standing the last order by the Commette, which was to content of all par-tyes as is expressed in the said order or grant, now how that order can be made voyde, and the Indians dispossesse, and no man employed by the towne to act in the besines, nor the Indians have liberty or warning to speake for themselves nor any for them: I can not but wonder: I wish it

doe not too much intrensh upon the honor of God and the Collony and our common interests for if our grant or order may be made voyd upon the *mischievous* clamors or complaint of any pertecular persons with out a due hearing of both partyes, I feare all our intrests stand upon tickell terms: but I doubt not but your wisdome will deserne and be throughly sencable of the inconveniences wherefore I am bould (at the request of the Indians) only to give you a hint of the thing, in there behalves beseching you to put forth your authority for the maintaineing of there just rights so often confirmed by all our authorityes and that you would be pleased to give out sum spetiall order at lest for the respeting the execution of this last order at least untill next Generall Court in May: when thay may have an oportunity to speake for them selves, and that thay may not bee put of from there improvements and the land which thay have (by order) broken up for there lively hud, for it will be all one to them to cut of there heades as to take away the means of there subsistanc — the very hearing and fearing what will bee is almost a distroying thing unto them, and ocations great morning amongst them, who have labered hard to get food.

And I wish thay had not caus to reproch the faith or truth of the English, I can not inlarge, but shall refer you to the messenger who can more fully informe you of there condetion, I pray Sir doe sume thing which may bee effectuall for there relefe, that there lives and comforts may not bee offred in sacrificise to the wills of men: Excuse my bouldnes as being the effect of an earnest desire after truth and righteousness, which if obtained I have my desired eand, Your pleashure manifested in a lyne or too shall command my observanc, not elc to trouble you at present with due respects and service to your self and M^{rs} Winthrop I rest,

Yours to his poor power

GEORGE DENISON.

Stonington — Octob. 27. 1666.

[Labelled, "Capt. Denison — rec^d Oct. 31. 1666."]

LXXXIX.

Charles Hill to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Hono^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^r Govern^r of his Majesties Collony of Connetticott—humbly present—Hartford.

New London the 16th of January $\frac{1666}{67}$.

Hon^d Sir,

Hopeing there might bee some oppertunity att Hartford for the convayance of the inclosed for New Yorke, have made bould to trouble your Hon^r with this my humble request, that if oppertunity for convayance should present you would bee plased to send the inclosed thither: Wee arived att New London tenn days agoe, but the greatest part of what was loaden on board us was consigned for New Yorke, whereof the inclosed is for advice: the hard weather keeping us for present prisoners heare, and judge it some thing dangerous for a while to goe through the Sound. The Sad newse wee brought from Barbadoes was unknowne heare at our arrivall, and not knowing whether your Hon^r have account of the same thought good to advise the lamentable losse that was reported from England by tooe many good hands. about the third of September last a fire begunne in the City of London, on pudding lane neare Tower Streete, which continued, and was strengthned by a strong South-East wind for fower dayes together, which hath utterly destroyed the greatest part of the City within the walls. From the Tower of London to Temple Barre by the Thames side not a howse standing, nor Church, nor Hall in ninety parrishes; S^{nt} Pauls, and the Royall Exchang burnt. the fire stopped in Fanchurch streete, came up to Leadenhall, and stopt there, Cornhill, Cheapside, Fleete streete, and all back streets to the Thames burnt—Ludgate and Newgate and Christ church hospital and downe to Alldersgate all consumed, what remaynes within the walls is downe Fanchurch Streete to Allgate, Leadenhall Streete, and the way to Bushops gate, and some small part twixt that inwards to Cripplegate, the rest of that glorious City is become a heape of ashes. The

English Fleet was att Porchmouth and there about and the
 duch and French reported to bee joyned together. Sir I
 have not further to adde craving pardon for this trouble
 crave leave to subscribe my self

Your Honour's most humble Servant to Comand

CHARLES HILL.

XC.

James Noyes to John Winthrop, Jr.

Stonington. March 25 1664.

Honoured Sir,

Sometime since I received a large letter from you in
 answer to a letter I sent and in your letter there was
 physick inclosed, for which I most humbly thank you, I
 have sent the physick with other letters to Newbury and
 dayly waite for a return. But the special occasion of my
 now writing is a paper that a pequit indian hath brought to
 the Constable, Signed by the Secretary M^r Daniel Clark
 as from your self and several others the assistants wherein
 I am especialy concerned, and therefore, this evening, (un-
 derstanding Capt Winthrop is going for Hartford) I have
 wrote largely to the Secretary, desireing him to speedily co-
 municate the same to yourself &c. 'Also I have inclosed
 attested Coppies of the actions and orders of Leu^t Griswell,
 Ensigne Tracey &c. All which I hope may give your wor-
 ship much satisfaction concerning our actions with those
 Pequots at Causattuk Also if you please to call to mind
 you will remember, that in a letter in the winter, I sent
 somewhat a large account concerning our proceedings step
 by step, using all perswasions and means to satisfie the
 said indians. It is now about eleven of the clock at night,
 and I am much wearied with writing already and therefore
 I shall not write much, onely in breife, these maye certifie
 you, that I have both advised with several in the towne
 and well weighed your lines, And find it will occasion you
 and us much trouble, and be but greatly prejudicial both to
 me and the indeans, if they plant, this sumer at Causattuck.
 Because we have beene at a great deale of trouble,

paines, charge already, at Court, measuring our town, the Causattuk land, and 2 pound and 17 shilling we paye Leu^t Griswell &c for their worke, And have provided them speciall good land to plant on. And the indeans are now upon breaking up more ground, otherwise they cannot live, for what is ten acers to live on, 5 or 6 families which is about the quantitie that is now broke up. And this will be aditionarie to what is alreadie and so we shall have all our worke to doe againe, and new charge, or else they will pleade in justice. And I know the towne will spend halfe what they have before they shall live where they are. Tis about a twentie pound rate, the rate of charges concerning this buisness made this yeare, and how will the towne groane under the paiment when they se not their ends attained. Besides I have agreed with men to sow and plant there and have often tendred paye to the indeans before witness this winter, but Capt Denison they saye will not let them receive it. I have both Corne and trucking cloth ready and have had all this winter. And that I might have indean corne I bought and gave thre shilling a bushell. Also there was great complaint of the indeans last summer bringing downe the young catle upon the towne by reason the indeans corne was not fenced, and the catle were poore and much spoile done in the English feild. The corne I shall paye will be a considerable releife, also they maye have broke up land enough elsewhere to plant with the English. As concerning claimes to Pauchaug land, you will find it is pequit land, and far enough out of the Province, wherefore we doubt not to satisfie the General Court that we shall attend their orders in removing and payng them, when they will take it and that we have provided and dealt well with them. If they should have wrong what reason is there our little town, should right them with our land and estates I praye consider, that we maye not be oppressed and endlesly troubled in such a cleare case as this seems to me to be. I beleive we had had litle or no trouble had they not been encouraged by this paper, when we should have come to plant, but they would have tooke their paye. Tis but a very few that are so dissatisfied, or live there; farre the greater part of Harmon Garrets men live elsewhere. Thus not farther to trouble you, hoping

you will in time receive full satisfaction, and by experience find that I and my friends of Stonington are most ready to serve you or yours to our power, with my real service presented to yourself and M^{rs} Winthrop and the rest of your highly respected family I rest raptim,

Yours very servant greatly obliged

JAMES NOYES.

Postscript

M^r and M^{rs} Stanton, M^r Chesbrough and M^r Richardson present their services to you and M^{rs} Winthrop and yours.

[Labelled, "M^r James Nois."]

XCI.

Rev. Abraham Pierson to John Winthrop, Jr.

ffor the hon^{ble} John Winthrop, Esq^{re}, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut these present.

Hon^d Sir

Our bounden cordiall respects to yourselfe and M^{rs} Winthrop presented. I do acknowledge your great kindenes, to mee, and mine, for a long space and continuance of tyme. I have had great proof of your love and singular kindenes, yea bounty, and liberality. I desire you may have an exceeding great retribution from Him that is abundant in Goodnes and Truth. You have cast much bread upon the waters after many dayes you shall find it againe with a great increase. I am upon my remove (if god grant health and life) The Lord grant to you an abundant Entrance into his everlasting Kingdom and to be yet more zealous and couragious for his glorie, the Rebuke of the Insolent and incouragement of the meeke and honour and crown you and yours with his loving Kindenes and speciall favour So prays

Sir yours greatly ingaged in the Lord

ABRAHAM PIERSON.

Brainford Sept: 27. 67.

[Labelled, "M^r Peirson at his removall."]

XCII.

Robert Morris to John Winthrop, Jr.

For M^r John Winthropps thes in New Eingland, present.

Honored Cussen

Sir I having bin informed that you have great store of horses and mares which you make little youse of: If you please to doe mee the ffavor to seend mee tow of your largest well spred young mares ffor Breeders by M^r Will Gãrd or aney other bound ffor Wey River in Mary-land I shall order you your pay heare in the hands of M^r Will Corsey or If you please to charge mee with ye valew of them in money starling shall pay your bills at home in Eingland and y^e above said Corsey will pay y^e M^r the freight heare in Marey land (Sir the occasion is that I want them for my plantation) If you charge bills I live wheare you know in Radcliffe over against the stone taverne Brother Gostlin was verey eill when I went ffrom home and his good wiffe is dead and I ffearre the children will not find him have so great an estate as wos thought ffor all men that he hath to doe with cheate him. Sir I have not elce but humble servis and please to command mee as much heare or in Eingland and I shall be glad of oportunitey to serve you and am Sir your assured Loving Kindsman

ROB^T MORRIS.

Wey River in Marey Land this 8 of ffebb: 166 $\frac{7}{8}$.

[Labelled, "Capt. Rob. Morris Rec^d Mar: 14. 1667."]

XCIII.

Rev. Thomas Shepard to John Winthrop, Jr.

These For the Right Worshipfull John Winthrop, Governour of the Colony of Connecticut.

Charlestown. March. 8. 6 $\frac{8}{9}$:

Worshipful and much honoured in the Lord —

Your manifold and great respect unto myself most un-

worthy thereof doth deservedly challenge from me more than ordinary thanks unto you, and I cannot without much shame look back upon (not my incapacity of requital for that must be left in the predicament of Impossible and which things receive a check in the very attempt; but) my great unsuitableness as to that acknowledgement of your favour which hath been my duty. I humbly thank your Worship for your last present, viz^t those printed papers of Intelligence referring to the philosophical transactions of the Royall Society of the Virtuosi: I did according to your order to me acquaint M^r Danforth of Roxbury and others with them; the communication thereof renders us all, but especially myself greatly indebted unto your Honour. It is doubtlesse a noble Designe in that Famous Society to make such scrutiny for the investigation of those curious secrets of nature: and it is no small part of our great unhappinesse who dwell in these out-skirts of the earth that we are so little acquainted with those Excellent things that are done, and found out in the world and discoursed of by those learned and worthy personages. Sir, I was very desirous to have seen you, when you were last in these parts; but did hardly know of your being come untill I heard of your being gone again; and when first I heard thereof I sought an oppertunity to have waited upon your worship a while, but could not obtain it. We had, since your departure, a very strange phænomenon; the like hath not been known (I suppose) in any age, viz^t: upon the 20th day of November last, Venus was seen to have a central conjunction with Luna; and as many Eye-witnesses do testify (Captain Allen, and M^r Jno. Long of our town, with both whom I have spoken about this matter who standing together that morning viewed it with wonderment: besides divers others in other townes) She was seen on this side of the moon: One while was Venus in the illuminated part of the moon, afterward (in its continued motion) passing through the dark part thereof (Luna being about 3 daies off her Change: a very strange beauty-spot methinks in Luna's blackface: to be thus eclipsed with Brightnesse, even with the beauty of Venus' face is very remarkable: whether it were by any Refraction (unwonted) or caused by some new platonick revolution, which no ancient Expe-

rience can give us any record of: or what else is the matter that Lucifer comes to fall so low I determine not: but only take the boldnesse to communicate unto your Worship this account thereof for your consideration whether really so a sublunary planet for a time is not meet for me to say, but in appearance so I may assure you thereof, if humane testimony may be credited. I begg an excuse for this trouble I have given you, and crave that still I may be reckoned among

Your Worship's very obliged to serve you —

THOMAS SHEPARD.

[Labelled, "M^r Thomas Sheperd about the Conjunction of the Moone and Venus — rec^d March 14. 1663."]

XCIV.

Mary Gold to John Winthrop, Jr.

Ten hiles 23 of 1 mo. 166⁸/₉.

Honored Sir

With my humble service to your selfe and M^{rs} Winthrope these are to let you understand that it is intended to straine for your contribution which they say is 27^{lb} which had bene done before this time had I not promised the Treasurer that I would write to your selfe aboute it, therefore I desire you would be pleased to thinke of it for they have allready taken from me 19^{lb} in barley and mault for our owne pertickeler when my husband was in prison, Wee are all at present in som measure in health through god's goodnes, thus desiring at present not further to trouble you I rest desiring your praies for mee I am yet under great exercise my husband hath beene at home a little while, but M^r Danforth hath sent out his warrants and I am expecting every houre his going to prison, my husband presents his service to your selfe and M^{rs} Wintrope, with our Respects to yours,

Yours to command

MARY GOLD.

[Labelled, "Mary Gold." — This letter, from the wife of one of the persecuted Baptists, seems to prove that the husband was a tenant of

Winthrop. In April preceding, a dispute had been publicly held in Boston, by several of the ablest of the clergy in Massachusetts, with these dissenters, who had not yet formed themselves into a society. Deputy-Governor Danforth seems to have been dissatisfied with the obstinacy of the new sect in resisting conviction. — J. S.]

XCV.

Bryan Rosseter to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the Honorable John Winthrop Esq^{re} Governor these in Harford.

Worshipfull Sir —

Meeting with some new troubles from our neighbours, I make bold to present to your Honors serious consideration, the cases, for your Honors advise or mediation for some rationall or legall issue of them, which will require expeditiō before the provocation grows to high, and discapacitates for freindly advise to eyther party : At the County Court of N. Haven Octob : last I was summoned to appeare, I refused to obey the summons but sent my reasons in writing soe that they appeared and answered, and refered my selfe by way of appeale to the Generall Assembly in May last ; expecting the Courts information, and summons from the leaders of the Assembly, viz : your Honors order, which I suppose had bene most legall ; But that fayling I was intended and prepared to have presented my complaynt agaynst the said County Court for male administration, and had done it had I not bene prevented, by the Assemblyes fullnes of troublesome concernments in reference to churches &c.

The reasons that I have for refusing the summons (such as it was) were in summe

1. Because the members of the County were never formally matriculated ffreemen.
2. The Charter orders Governor, Deputy Gov^r, and Assistants all to be chosen out of the body of the ffreemen.
3. Because they had not taken the oath which the Governor tooke before the M^r of Chancery, who confessed before the Generall Assembly, was the oath of Supremacy ; nor

yet at their comming into the Corporation (who had long refused to come in before they submitted) and the Patent required that in express words then.

Another reason was because it was against reason and law that partyes should sitt judges, much more adversaries, which they were, proved by 2 witnesses; as false imprisonment and the ryot.

Another reason was the case for which I was procest, was most of it compounded, to which the witnesses were M^r Mathew Allyn, and M^r Samuel Willis; and the summons served 3 days after M^r Willis was gone to Boston, for England, and therefore I desyred a respite (which is according to law) untill the witnesses could conveniently be procured: Severall other reasons were alleadged, which did more properly respect the case itself: Yet thoe I did not appeare, and thoe I gave in all those reasons, the Jury proceeded to a verdict, the Court to a Judgment, and Execution granted, and served, and this very day they came to appoynt a time to finish the execution; I tendred land because I was unwilling they should ransack an estate, that could not be found agayne (thoe it prove a disappoyntment at present.

The case which was for beginning all, was as cleare, and fayre: I did from my first comming to Guilford, deny to pay rates for my person and horse (which was the leading cause to my imprisoning) and the reasons that I gave them wherefore I refused were then in summe.

1. Because I was an allowed practitioner of Phisic by the Generall Court at Connecticott, when M^r Heynes, M^r Hopkins, and the rest of those gentlemen were of the bench being first tryed, and approved by M^r Hooker, M^r Stone, and old M^r Smith of Wethersfeild in the face of the said Court.

2. As a practitioner of phisick I was desyred by M^r Leete, and the rest of the Cheife of Guilford to purchase and inhabit with them, and they indented with mee what to give for a visit.

3. The lawes of Nations exempt allowed phisitions from personall services, and there estates from rates and assessments.

The Bay allso, and New Haven the french Doctor and M^r Pell, and M^r Davenport preacht for it allso.

4. That allowed phisitions ar often necessitated to more charity than a whole towne, and if it be not allowed for some must perish (that ar poore) in there extremities, these reasons were pleaded; and an agreement in presence of M^r Allyn, and M^r Willis witnesses.

5. And I was never rated for my head whilst I lived at Connecticutt after soe approved.

These matters lay dormant untill our seasyde townes submitted to the Corporation, and then when Guilford gave in a list of there estates (at first unknowne to mee) they put in my head, and horse which I kept for suddent occasions being sent for, as I was often, untill differences grew high, since (by some insinuation) seldomer: But our contest now was for what was before my imprisonment then issued. Other reasons for some small summs were given in, which have as much wright; and I am willing before any indifferent hearing to pleade them, and charge injustice, and prove. I pray Sir seriously consider, advice, and doe, your Honor thereby may be a healer of breaches, and prevent worse inconveniences.

Your Honor knowes that the Patent allowes all his Majesties subjects a liberty to pleade and be impleaded, to defend and to be defended, to answer and to be answered unto in all matters actions cases and quarrells whatsoever and not before parties and adversaries as judges.

Another reason to all the former is the determination of the Committee chosen by the Generall Assembly in May 1666., at the conclusion of it, these ar the very words attested by the Secretary —

And we doe also determine and prohibit utterly and forever, M^r Leete and any other person and persons in any of those farre townes, to make any Complaynts, or cause farther troubles, eyther to M^r Rosseter or those of Guilford concerned with him about any matter referring to former Administration of Government, excepting such things as have bene stated by this Generall Assembly: It is a restraynt on there liberty as much as of mine or any others concerned with mee; and some others ar aggrieved as well as my selfe, and will joyne issue for male administration; which now I with others complayne of to your Honor, and crave notice to be given to them to prepare to Answer the next Assembly.

Much more have I to express, alleadge and plead which at a convenient time and an indifferent hearing I shall attend. I am sorry that I shall be necessitated to improve all meanes and freinds within my compass to procure a true interpretation of the charter in reference to the oath of Supremacy, I suppose some amongst yourselves have not taken it, soe that Generall Nichols may misapprehend the information, justices in England take it in the face of the Court, and parliament men in the face of the Parliament, and military officers in the head of the Army, and Trayne bands: And as for rates for my head and Horse I hope your Honor soe honors that antient phisitian Æsculapius &c. that my name being approved may be cancelled in the treasurers list. that very thing I suppose hath bred all this trouble, and a declared freedom may yet silence much of it. 'tis with your Honor and none else to prevent much trouble.

I purpose to attend your desyre as soone as I can peruse authors concerning apparitions.

I feare I have bene too tædious but craving pardon at present I take my leave and rest

Your Honors to serve

BRYAN ROSSETER.

Guilford. June 28th 1669.

[Labelled, "M^r Rosseter — rec^d June 30. 1669."]

XCVI.

George Heathcote to John Winthrop, Jr.

To John Wintrop Gov^r of Conettecott Pattant these, present In Newe England.

Loveing freind —

These are to desire the to doe me the favour to leve me some things to stop the groweth of a consumption which now I judge I am in — my mother told me I was in one when I was at Antego, but I could not beleve it, beinge informed to the contrary by a doctor — I am much trobled with a thin sharp salt youmer that settles upon me longes

and causes me to spitt' much and sune time cough) but seldom — that pouder I had of the for my spitte did me much good — if thou shoud be at harford when this comes to thy hand I desire Sir to send me sune thinge Eather to be left at Humphra Hodges in boston, nere Person Mathers or to Benaniwell Bowers, by Cambridge, I desire the to doe thy indever for me in this my request for I have present occasion for sune helpe to prevent it and desire thou would please to leve derECTION how I should take it and what way may be convenient as for my diet or otherwayes, soe that the cause and ground of the consumption may be taken away if the Lord see good, I sent this before me in hopes it may find the at boston or thereabouts before thou takes thy journey to harford — I could wish I had sune good newes to send the conserninge thy cozen Benjamin, but it is such that I was trobled to here it from a man that knewe him well, here is noe strange newes they doe dayly expect the arivell of William Willughby he beinge the old mans sonn that did leve the goverment of this Iland to one Christopher Cuddrington the last yeare — he comes as governour — this with my reall love is all

Att present from Thy freind

GEO : HEATHCOTE.

From Barbados The 19^o d. 5 M^o 1669.

[Labelled, in Governor Winthrop's hand, "George Heathcott."]

XCVII.

William Jones to John Winthrop, Jr.

15 March 1669.

Hono^{ed} Sir)

Yours of ffebr^{ry} 4th reced with the inclosed to my wife from M^r Joⁿ Davenport — I thank you for the news of Libty to good people in England, and shold be glad to heare the certainty of it. There is little news sterring in these parts but what I suppose you have. His Highes the Duke of York has prohibited any more Dutch ships from coming to New York, contrary to a repealed graunt for som yeares

the Governor of York hath published by proclamation his highnes pleasure, And hath graunted free trade to the Merchants at N. York and taken of the wonted recognicōn — this will encourage trade there And what the Generall Court of the Bay Colony have don (if true) will further it, for in severall letters from Boston tis said they have laid 20^{lb} per cent on goods exported and provisions imported. But since we heare tis 25^{lb} per cent on provisions imported the 1st time, y^e one halfe forfet the 2^d time and all the 3^d. I know not what to believe tis soe incredible and strang therefor shalbe fearing to speak any thoughts till I heare the certainty if any such thing be: if our side the Countrey should be soe unwise as to send ther provisions on such tearmes, twere well a law were made to prohibit the export that way and to turne our trade another way. I suppose you have heard of the great ship that was cast away neare ffishers Iseland on the rocks, and thence being deserted was driven on Long Iseland shore: the Governour of N. York sent his secretary to prevent the people seizing of the goods &c. and tis said afterwards went himselve to take order that noe wrong might be don to the owners of the ship and goods which shews a generous mind and noble.

there hath bin a prodigious creature that brought forth in this place on the 23^d of ffebr. last viz^t a calfe with 2 perfect heads joined to one neck and body — the heads comely and well shaped in all parts, but one head standing to the one side and the other head to the other side soe that two cheeks or sides of the heads lookt forward and the contrary cheeks back behind: which 2 heads were soe joined together the hinder parts and downwards — their jaws almost to their mouths that the 4 eares stood in their proper places a top of the heads in a due distance the heads were well haired as of a calfe a month old, the neck was joined to the heads soe siding, as right on the middle, as if they had bin but one, the neck and body in all other parts as another Calfe: in the bringing forth of this monster the hinder part cam out first and soe stuck that 6 men could not draw it out: but were forct to draw at a horse: the heads so standing, but the Cow quickly died: and it is like that the violence they were forct to use was caus of the death of both cow and calfe tis said a child was borne at

Brandford a week before this having 6 toes on each foot, and more then ordinary on the hands. But my Brother Yale can better informe you I suppose of that which with my humble service presented to your selfe and honoured M^{rs} Winthrop and yours,

Rests your servant to his power

W^x JONES.

[Labelled, "M^r Jones about the Calfe with 2 heads, of March 15. 1669."]

XCVIII.

Francis Lovelace to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the Honora^{ble} John Wintrop Esq^r Governor of the Colony of Conettecut at Hartford.

Deare Sir —

I received 2 letters from you by M^r Plumbe which I beleeve will now reasonably ballance the Accompt of core-spondency, both of them beeing of one Tenure, I beg that you would accept one answer to both, it seemes the case is not rightly apprehended by the Indians, who seeme distrustfull that the intentions of the Maquases are not genuine, as not beeing attended with those customary formale-tyes, by which Indeans converse on such affaires, and truly had this motion of peace wholly proceeded from their desires to it, then the circumstances migh have beene disputable, but the Treaty (and as I hope the Peace, proceeding in a greate mesure from my instigation who am very zealous to promote a tranquility amongst all, whereby Trade, and Commerce may not receive any interruption, tis I therefore have undertaken that cause and for which (as I formerly intimated to you) doe offer to be responsable, well knowing that if the same ingagement bee undertaken by you, on the behalfe of your Indians, thes hopes of an insuing peace will bee more strong and lasting: it will bee needlesse to represent all arguments for it, that beeing too greate a subject to be compris'd in the narrow volume of a letter, I shall therefore suspend it till a faire oportunety give mee the hap-

pynesse of kissing your hands, which I fully purpose to doe if your affaires in not beeing at Hartford interrupt mee not. I shall finde an oportunety to tell you the precise tyme which at this tyme I am not able for the returne of my ship (I built heere) from Virginea requires my assistance to forward her voyage for Europe, I hope to perfect it all in this month and by the scantling of tyme, you likewise may make a neare estimate if your private affaire can corespond with my resolutions, which when you have pitcht them, I desire hartely to be satisfy'd from you that so I may the better steere my course which according to my present determination is to waite on you at Hartford within or neare that compasse of tyme before mentioned I have no more in the interim but to wish you all health and happinesse and a beleefe that I am

Sir, your most affectionate humble servant

FRAN: LOUELACE.

Fort Jeames the 2^d of May — 1670.

Newes heere is litle onely a greate aprehention of a rupture betweene France and Holland a catch which came heere from the Caribæys beeing boarded by a French man of warre who was so piquant agains the Dutch, that if hee had found but the least good belonging to the Dutch hee protested hee would have mad prise of her.

[Labelled, "Gov^r Lovelace."]

XCIX.

Francis Lovelace to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^{re} Govern^r of his Maj^{ties} Colony of Conecticott These Att Hartford.

Deare Sir —

Having desir'd liberty to returne (for somme season) for England which I hope will bee graunted) and not knowing how both the Publiqq and my private affaires will stand, I have taken oportunety to meete you thus farre, that so wee may have the benifitt to discourse all affaires that may tend

to the mutuall convenience of each other, which otherwise would proove too volumenous to be transmitted by letters; I shall therefore attend your presence (if no accidents of nature or other contingencies) prevent you, at Milford, where I hartely expect you as one who has receav'd greate endeerements from you, so he would be glad to pay somme parts of an acknowledgment in the confession of beeing

Sir, your very affectionate humble servant

FRAN: LOUELACE.

Milford the 9th of December 1670.

Heere are severall of your servants as M^r Delavall M^r Nicolls M^r Lawrence and my brother who all kisse your hands.

[Labelled, "Gov^r Lovelace — rec^d Dec: 9 1670."]

C.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Francis Lovelace.

Hon^{ble} Sir —

It was my unhappinesse to be at that time in an incapacity to wait upon you at Milford, when you were pleased to favour these parts with so near an approach: but it so fell out and could not be otherwise. I was engaged to a dear friend, not long before who was at the very agony of death (as was feared by all then present there) not to be absent till an apparent recovery, which then was doubtfull, but now (God be praised) is in a good measure attained; but there were reasons to think it might not have been so, if I had been from home. I had before hand, from some passages in your letter, the confidence of your favourable excuse in such a case as this, as such an accident, or contingency, you were pleased to point at, which might prevent that which was mutually desired, and should otherwise with my greatest care been endeavour'd. and I must hope for the like excuse that I made bold to motion your coming up hither, when the season for your self might not seem suitable for such a journey. My desire was great to have enjoyed

your presence here, and all those honoured gentlemen, my worthy friends. But your occasions not permitting and the season possibly discouraging, your pleasure therein is my good content. My presumption of a probability of your coming up (not without some good grounds of hopes thereof enforced also from a report passing, as if such a thing would be (*facile credimus quæ volumus*) tho' possibly from some supposition only, if the bottom of it could have been better examined) filled this place with such joyfull expectation thereof, so that some gentlemen deferred for a few days, a journey to Milford, and the rather that I might have their necessary assistance, at such a time: And the report coming of your being upon a sudden return discouraged their after proceeding; but I hope such accidents will not discourage from your visit to these parts, when it may be a time most seasonable to your self, which will be most acceptable to your servants here, together with

Your most humble servant

J. WINTHROP.

Hartford Dec^r 28. 1670.

[Labelled, "Copy of letter to Gov^r Lovelace."]

CI.

The Governor and Council of Rhode Island to the Governor and Council of Connecticut.

These for the Hon^d John Winthrop Esq^{re} Governour of the Collony of Conecticott — To be alsoe communicated to the rest of the Hon^d Counsell of that Collony.

Honoured Gentlemen —

Wee lately received from the Massachussetts Collony copies of two letters of his Majestie, Directed to be communicated to the other Collonys, with his Majesties Declaration of Warr against the States General of the United provinces, and accordingly wee have proceeded therein: And further in pursuance therof, and in obedience to his Majesties commands wee have thought fitt and doe hereby

recommend unto you our desires joyntly with your selves to consider of the condition and state of affaires in general, there appearing times of danger, and with what speede may bee to provide for the safety and defence of the whole &c, as may be judged most requissitt and convenient by your selves and our neighbour Collonys with us to whome wee have lickewise writt to the same efect, And to that end wee desire yow will please to make a returne to us by way of advice in the premisses, which wee shall loveingly and freely embrace and from time to time attend to what may be adjudged necessary and commodious by the whole for the publick good and defence therof. Thus with our hearty respects wee subscribe

Gentlemen your affectionate freinds and neighbours,
signed by order of the Gov^r and Counsell of his
Majesties Collony of Rhod Island and provi-
dence plantacōns &c sittinge the 25th day of
June 1672

JOHN SANFORD Secretary.

[Labelled, "Letter from the Council of Road Island, received Aug. 9. 1672."]

CII.

John Winthrop, Jr., to the Governor and Council of Rhode Island.

Hon^d Gentⁿ I rec'd the end of this weeke a letter subscribed by M^r John Sanford by order from yourselves; And have according to your desires communicated it to the Magistrates here; who are all desirous of your safety and wellfare, and should be glad we could contribute thereunto. That letter from your councill was dated the 25th of June, but it is but now come to our hands, and there being a meeting of the commissioners of the Collonies the beginning of the next month, appointed to be at Plimoth. We think it may be the most seasonable opportunity then for considering of ways and expedients for the safety of all the Colonies, and do recommend unto your consideration, whether that time would not be convenient for yourselves

to send some fit person, or more to that meeting, whereby you may be much more satisfied in what your letter imports, by obtaining the united advice for the publick defence and safety of all his Majestys colonies in these parts — which is all at present besides most cordial salutations from

Your affectionate friend

J. WINTHROP.

Hartford Aug. 15. 1672.

CIII.

Samuel Willis and John Winthrop, Jr., to Sir George Carteret.

Right Honourable

There having divers persons of good repute and approved integrity who were formerly improved in publicke offices in this Colony, viz: M^r Jaspar Crane, M^r John Odgden, M^r Robert Bond, M^r Abraham Peirson, M^r Brewen with many of their Lovinge Neighbours and freinds, wel disposed men, of sober, and peacable, conversation did Transplant them selves And famalys into your Honours Province, who beinge persons well known to us, But strangers to your Honour desired us to give you our carracter of them. That soe they might not bee misrepresented. whose presence in this Colony was both acceptable, and usefull, and their returne To us would bee very gratfull. But that wee would promote in your Honours Colony that good worke of subdueing the Earth, and replenishing of it. which in this remote, desert part of the world never Formerly inhabitted nor Cultivated is A very diffecult worke, and requires much hard Labour, to subdue so Ruff and woody A wilderness, In this Cold clymat where clothinge is very Deare, beinge soe far distant From the Market. Soe that the people will need the more encouragment which we doubt not upon all occasions will bee afforded them.

Upon which the progresse And prosperity of your province doth depend.

In order to which we would further make bould to suggest unto your Honours Wisdome, and prudence, As very expedient, that your Colony be Branched out into Convenient Townships, which we finde Best Conducinge to Saftey, and the advansinge of Civill Sociatys.

Thus wishinge your Honour all prosperity in the well-settlement of this your American Province — wee are.

[Labelled, " Copy [" drawne " is here erased] to Sir George Carteret : transcribed by M^r Willis out of his draft — July 2. 1673."]

CIV.

John Winthrop, Jr., to John Berry.

For the Worth Captaine John Berry Dep^{ty} Governour of the Colony of New Jarsy — dd.

Honored Sir —

Such misinformations which upon reading your letter I might apprehend you had received, I have desired Capt : Nicolls to discourse with you concerning my answer to them, being not in a capacity of writing largely at present, and have shewed him the copy of that letter, wherein I Joyned with M^r Samuells Willis to Sir George Carterett, whereof you may please to peruse a transcript, which he hath taken with him : And desire you to be assured, that it hath beene very farr from my acting or intentions, to incourage, or invite any one to a removall thence — I have often, at their first beginning there and since, as I had occasion, incouraged that good publicke designe of planting that place, and am alwaies desirous to promote the prosperous increase of those plantations and therein, and all other good respects to be ever

Your very reall servant

JOHN WINTHROP.

Hartford July 29. 1673.

[Labelled, " Copy to Capt John Berry."]

CV.

Francis Lovelace to John Winthrop, Jr.

An extract of a letter from Col. Lovelace directed to Gov^r Winthrop: Dated *Thursday at 10 of the Clock being the 31th of July* as followeth.

Deare Sir — At Newhaven I received the unwelcome newes of the Dutch approach before New York, I call it unwelcome in regard I was not in the place, they appeared at first with 10 sayle afterwards 17: Yesterday about 5 or 6 of the clock they stormed it, a hot dispute (it seemes it was) how the success was I cannot as yet learne: they I understand have breakfasted on all my sheep and Cattle at Staten Island, I am hastening as fast as I can to make one, God spare me but to get in and I doubt not but to give a good account of it Your Gentlemen have formed a post from M^r Richbels to you pray let it be continued for intelligence, it will be necessary to forme a militia, for if it should miscarry they must not radicate long I am yet out of their power and am hastening now over to Long Island to raise the militia there, you shall heere of my motion, pray despatch away to Boston. I have no more God Almighty preserve you, and send us a happy meeting if not heere yet hereafter which is much better, I am your affectionate freind

FRANCIS LOVELACE.

[This is a copy; by whom made I am not certain. It looks like Mr. Willis's hand. It is labelled, in the same hand as the copy, "Coll. Lovelaces letter to the Gov^r at Hartford July 31st 1673." — J. B.]

CVI.

The Southampton Declaration.

South Hampton August the 29th 1673.

To All or Any of his Majestys subjects in either the Colonjes of the Massachusetts or Hartford or Plymouth or elsewhere.

Wee the Inhabitants of the sayd Towne doe hereby in all respective wise, shew and declare that the Monhatoes

called New York when under the Government of his Royall Hignes the Duke of Yorke being lately and suddainly taken by the Dutch f fleet and this our Towne amongst the rest summoned by their power at 6 or 7 dayes warning to submit to their Government to take the oath of Alleagiance unto the Prince of Orange to choose officers under them and to deliver up to them the badge of Civil and Military power; namely the Constables staffe, and the Colonels; upon our observation of which Command they promise to us in their sajd declaration or summons — equall priviledge with their owne nation: but uppon our refusall or default therein, they threaten by force of Armes to subdue us to the sajd obedience, when the sajd conditions should not be granted to us: — Whereupon our poore Towne being strucke with amazement in our extreame exigency sent a messenger forth, to Hartford to his Majestys Authority there, for their advice or helpe, but received no Incouragement to stand out of our selves — although they favored us so farr as to consider our Condition; and sent two messengers to New Yorke to know the Generalls intent concerning the five eastern Townes on Long Island, our messengers meeting with theirs from Hartford at New Yorke, after they had spake with the Dutch Generall at the very expiration of the time they allowed us in their sumons, and most earnestly requesting advice of them they were shy, and cautious then to give advice to our messengers but referred them to Capt. Sylvester who came from Hartford with them, and he advised our messengers by all meanes, our Towne should submit to the Dutch Government our sajd messengers returning and acquainting the Towne therewith, who duely weighed these following considerations — first that by good Information there came to New Yorke 23 shippes whereof were Seven men of warr with a fire-ship. 2^{dly} The ffort and Citty which was our head quarters was taken as Aforesajd and surrendered without capitulation or Articles.

3^{dly}. Our Governour Lovelace although upon Long Island sent us no word of comand or advice, what wee should doe or how wee should Act.

4. Wee perceive by good Intelligence that all the Plantations west of Oyster Bay on the Island with the adjacent


Townes of N : Jarsey had submitted to the Dutch Government.

5. By Creddible Information, the aforesajd fleete consists of Statesmen of warre, and privateers who having no purchas are to have no pay, and are dayly solicitous for comissions to Plunder and spoyle either us or any of his Majestyes subjects.

6. Not only the Townes on the West end of the Island but also the other foure Townes on this east end sometimes combined with us seeing no way open to secure themselves from the violence of the adversary did submitt themselves to the Dutch Government upon some termes, whereupon, wee a lone Plantation destitute of help from abroad and few in number of our selves, and being prevented of suitable suppljes of ammunition wee could not but conceive that wee must of necessity follow our neighbour Townes in Submitting to the Dutch Government and this wee thought meet to write as a true and just accompt of the procedure in this concerne ; to take of an aspersion cast upon us as though wee should freely submitt to this forreigne Government.

furthermore whiles these presents lay open upon signing came in a known Indian, and Informed that the Dutch have furnished their Plantations of the Indians at the West End arms and powder and shott to make freinds with them.

JOHN HOWELL

his mark
JOHN  JESSUP

JOSEPH REYNOR

JOHN DAVIS

THOMAS HALSEY, JUN^R

FFRANCIS SAYER

JOB SAYER

SAMUELL TOKERS

W^M RUSSELL

DANIEL SAYER

OBADIAH ROGERS

JOHN LAUGHTON

ZERUBBABEL PHILLIPS

THOMAS COOPER

JOSEPH BARNES

CHRISTOPHER LUPTON

JONATHAN TAPPING

JOSEPH WILDMAN

HENRY PEIRSON

THOMAS HALSEY

SAMUEL CLARKE

JOHN MEPDAM

THOMAS GOLDSMITH

JOHN BIISHOP

ROBERT WOLLEY

THOMAS REEVES

JONATHAN REYNER.

That this is a true copie Rec^d 6. September 73 with the letter from South-Hampton by M^r Copor [Brought?] hither. Attest

EDWARD RAWSON Secret.

[Labelled, "Southampton declaration sent to Boston 1673." This is in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop; the remainder in that of Secretary Rawson, I think. — J. B.]

CVII.

John Winthrop, Jr., to the Council of Connecticut.

For the honored Samuel Willis Esq^{re} and the other Gentlemen of the Councill of his Majestys Colony of Connecticutt at Hartford dd.

Gentlemen,

Having seriously considered the present state of matters with reference to the good people, his Majestys subjects our dear countrymen upon Long Island their further motion for assistance and the late attempts of their enemy the Dutch upon them I cannot but judge it necessary to send over a sufficient number of men for their helpe, and desire your speedy concurrence therein, that this opportunity may not be overslipped for the effecting thereof by a ready meanes of transportation in M^r Lord's vessel, or others now in this river, and for the charge of those that should be now thought needfull to be for that service: I doe heartily ingage for due satisfaction thereof, that there may be no detriment for want of such addition means capable for that supply — by which upon necessity and many weighty and pregnant reasons is recommended to your most serious consideration

From your affectionate friend J. W.

[Labelled, "Copy to the Councill." A rough draft. — J. B.]

CVIII.

Samuel Epps to Fitz-John Winthrop.

To Captaine Fitz-John Winthrop at New London.

Boston Dec^r 5. 1673.

Worthy Sir —

After due salutations tendered; by these you may be pleased to know that your unworthy relation Epps is according to M^r Harlackenden Symonds his aphorisme compos

mentis, thô now between sleeping and wakeing, it being according to the Bell-man, near thirteen of the clock alias towards morning; and so, much indisposed to scribe; yet cant omit such an opportunity to testify my unfeigned respect to your honor, and my thankfull remembrance of your multiplyed undeserved favours; the retaliateing of those courtesyes by which I am obliged in the strictest bondes of amity and reall respect unto you, I must defer till my poor ability is raised and my capacity heightend a peg or two higher then at present they are: true it is I was long enough in your company to have received some beams of ingenuity at least by reflection from such an illustrious a sun and derived some streams of eloquence from soe plentifull a fountaine; and so have payed you in your own coine, have served you in your kinde; but my cloudy cerebrosity my dull and stupid sconce like ould muddy-pated Damætas is as dark and over cast with grosse ignorance as ever; I have almost forgotten to speak much more to write to such a master of language, discretion adviseth to silence, civility commands to say something though I'le confesse it be nothing to the purpose: Sir as for newes the bearer's will soon out doe my pen, only least he forget it, Uncle Lack is come over in his own person as little varying from himself as most that have travelled the world as he hath done, hath as high an apprehension of his own prowesse valour activity, ingenuity understanding, wit and memory as any in old or New England can have of him; he saith he went out with nothing, spent 100^{lib.} there, and is 100^{lib.} better then when he left New England; his relations have sent him over to lay in for an heir (to bear the name of John) to possesse the inheritance: a relation of particular passages and his deportment among Lords, Ladyes &c^a would lengthen my Epistle from hence to Niantick therefore if you'l excusation me thus far I'le molestation you no further — but rest — Remaining, noble Sir, your cordially, unfeigned affectionate freind and servant as sure as a Clubb

SAMUELL EPPS.

Sir, my place of residence at present is at M^r John Pinchons house in Boston (whose pretty wife is grown pregnant, but when she looks her I know not) and to speake

in the sight and sence of my own imbecility if such an inconsiderable fellow might promise himself so much honour and happinesse as to receive a line or two from your hands by the next occasion; it would turn (*verte fol* :) my melancholly into merriment, and make me as happy as can be imagined I should be, liveing at so uncomfortable a distance from yourselfe; whose amiable society (*credit me*) I as greatly delight in as in any mortall whatsoeve, not excepting those pretty she creatures that live round about me; whose attractive beauty were enough to overcome a more abstemious person then myselfe and draw me out of the Bachelours Row, had I not such an example of temperance and sobriety as yours is, to be guided by; whose judgment as to the conveniency and betternesse of a single life I have not hitherto contradicted; though haply wee shall both of us be better advised as wee grow oulder. Your friend and relations here are all through favour in good condition.

Vale.

[This Samuel Epps (as he spells his name) was graduated at Harvard College in the year 1669 (see College Catalogue),—so I guess. It seems that Captain Fitz-John Winthrop was yet a bachelor in December, 1673.—J. B.]

CIX.

Fitz-John Winthrop to John Allyn.

The cotype of a letter to Capt. John Allyn Secretary of the Colony of Connecticut.

Honored Sir — I have not time to give you an account of the particular transactions (as they have passed) that hapned since last I had the favour to kiss your hands, and hope I may be excused if I can but just mention my obedience to the command I received, from the Governour and Council, at Hartford, and that in attendance thereunto I immediately raised those forces they were pleased to command and had the ready assistance of the Authority of New London and Stonington for speedy dispatch in order to the prosecution of my commission, and by good Providence had the opportunity of a fair wind to

Shelter Island, where I stopt a few hours for intelligence, but met with nothing considerable to our purpose — but Capt. Sylvester's great civility to myself and company, as we were servants to the Colony, which he so much honours: And I believe (if my experience therein upon former public: occasions may give a judgment of his generous entertainment) no particular interest has out done him: but to pass these engagements, which are fit only a colonies acknowledgment, I must add, that after a little discourse with him we set sail for South hold, and had no sooner received the welcome of those people but I had intelligence by a post directed to Capt: Younge from Seatakot, that the ship Snow, with 1 ketch and 2 sloopes, were anchored at the White Stone, waiting a fair wind for this place, and that a person from New York of credible intelligence added this information, that they were bound hither with great resolution to reduce or destroy the townes on the East end of Long Iland: Upon which intelligence I immediately despatched an express to Capt. Howell at Southampton, and the chief officer at East Hampton to give them notice thereof and that I desired their company here to consider the best way for the preservation of these towns: And in few hours I had the opportunity of consultation with them; and in particular did consider how far we might act in defending the provisions which they expected at Shelter Iland, but upon good consideration amongst us viz: M^r Hubbard, the minister of Boston, M^r Richard Smith and M^r Brinly, it was thought most expedient to take no notice of the enemy in that particular, but to apply all our force in securing the town: This being Saturday, and having considered what might most conduce to our present security, I gave order to Capt Howell to raise 40 soldiers out of the trained band of Southampton to be ready at an hour's warning under the command of his Lieutenant, and orders to the Lieut: of East Hampton to raise 20 to be commanded by his eldest sergeant; and hoped that we might thereby be in a condition to receive the enemy. These officers being returned, and a good watch kept at the best places to discover any vessel that might be in the Sound, and the Wind being that night fair for them, we were ready every minute to receive news of their coming, which being expected

would be no great surprise to us. On Sabaoth day morning about 7 of the clock, I had intelligence that the ship with 1 ketch and 2 sloops were shot within plumme gut having then the wind and the tide faire to bring them up, which at first did something startle the people, but they soon recovered of that fear, and thought it was then time to look about us, and provide for our defence. In order whereunto, I immediately despatched an express to Capt. Howell for those soldiers at Southampton, and East Hampton, who were with me sooner than I could expect, with great resolution to assist their neighbours — but the ship stopping at Shelter Iland, and demanding the provision of Capt. Sylvester, who finding himself in no condition to resist them, therefore with the advice of the officers the day before, thought it might be most for his safety, and the peace of his family, being then at the mercy of an enemy (they having landed 50 armed men) to comply with their demands, and by their order was forced to deliver the provision the same hour, which they immediately shipped: But before they could despatch (the tide being spent) they anchored there that night, and in the morning set sail having an easy gale, and the advantage of the tide were soon up against the town, where he placed his squadron in an handsome order, and whilst he was preparing to land his men, and bringing all his great guns to bear upon us: Capt. Sylvester being then on board endeavouring to divert his hostility, and prevent the shedding of blood, was desired by the Commander to deliver their demand to myself, which he was willing to do, and it was in these words as neer as I can remember, that he was come there to demand subjection to the high and mighty States General, and his Serene Highness, the Prince of Orange, and that upon their surrender, they should enjoy the same privileges that were confirmed to the rest of the towns, but upon refusal he would destroy them with fire and sword: As soon as I received this message I informed the officers and soldiers thereof, who unanimously resolved to oppose them to the utmost hazard of their lives — whereupon I returned this answer to the Commander in Cheif — Sir, yours by Capt. Sylvester I have received, and in return thereunto I give you this answer, That I am here appointed by the authority of his Majesty's colony of Con-

necticut, to secure these people in obedience to his Majesty, and by God's assistance, I hope to give a good account thereof, and you may assure yourself, that I will receive you in the same condition, as a person that disturbs his Majesty's subjects: After they had received this answer and Capt. Sylvester being returned to his lland, they filled their sloops with men, and made all preparations to land; which we easily perceived, and were ready to entertain them with 50 men, which I placed a forlorn-hope. His sloops being ready to put off, and all things fit, he fired one of his great guns upon us; but the shot grazing by the disadvantage of the ground did no hurt to our men. Having received his kindness I gave order to return him thanks by firing a piece of ordnance upon him; but the shot falling at his fore foot did him no hurt — whereupon he fired 2 more great guns, and his small shot, which fell thick but did us no hurt — We then presently answered with our forlorn and another shot from our ordnance: Many of our small shot hitting the ship as we could perceive, but know not of any hurt done him — Whereupon he presently weighed and set sail, and being little wind, we had opportunity to observe his motion so far as "Plumme Gutt" — Since when our scouts have not discovered any of them in the sound — But I suppose he will convey the provisions neer their quarters, and then return to do us what mischief he can, as he told Capt. Sylvester. Sir, I hope your goodness will excuse this rude relation, being hurried in contriving for our security, and I am doubtfull unless the council will yet favour these towns with their continued assistance, that they may be unhappily surprised: I have now humbly to entreat some orders and directions for myself, and hope the Council will please to consider of some fitter person to manage this great affair, which I find too heavy for me: This is all I have time to present at present, but my humble entreaties to the Council for their speedy direction; to whom be pleased to present my duty; and I hope that you will please to believe that I am

Hon^d Sir, your faithful humble servant

J. WINTHROP.

South hold Feb. 25th 1673.

[Labelled, "Copy to Capt. Allyn, from South hold."]

CX.

The Governor and Council of Connecticut to Fitz-John Winthrop.

These For the Honor^d Major John Winthrop at South Hampton, East hampton, or South hold This.

Hartford March 2. 167³.

Major Winthrop

Sir — By an expresse from Major Palmes last night we received the intelligence of your proceedings at Long Island, by a relation thereof in writeing, and by your letter to our Secretary, and doe rejoyce in the good hand of God upon your endeavoures for the preservation of those people in their obedience to his Majestie, and doe hereby returne you and your whole company our thanks for your good service therein, and hope we shall be ready to render a suitable reward for your good service as we shall be able.

And for our farther directions to your selfe for future actions — What we can say at present is, that it is our desire that your selfe would be pleased with those with you to continue your aboade upon the Island for the present to assist and defend the people there till at least these present motions of the Dutch be over, We have sent to the Bay for a man of warr, to cleare the coasts which we speedily expect, at her arrivall we hope the people on the Island may be more secure, and then you may have the more liberty to visit the mayne We suppose the Dutch in their last expedition took what strength they could spare for the designe, and prosecuted the same with their best courage, and being so bravely repulsed by the resolute and couragious opposition of your selfe and company, we hope they will not venture agayne. However your continuance and couragious management of the militia there we hope may suffice to quell the Dutch in their farther proceedings untill they receive more forraine Assistance, which we hope may be prevented by some English recruits, which we heare may dayly be expected — We have not to ad but our respects and that we are your affectionate friends the Governour and Councill —

Signed & their order p me

JOHN ALLYN Secret'y.

Sir possible you may heare from us ☿ M^r Lord next weeke.

[Labelled, "M^r Allyn Sec^y March 2. 167 $\frac{3}{4}$." Capt. Sprague and Capt. Mosely were sent to clear the Sound of the Dutch;— see letters of Governor Leverett and Secretary Rawson, March 30. — J. B.]

CXI.

John Leverett to John Winthrop, Jr.

These for the Hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^{re} Governour of Connecticut Jurisdiction, present at Hartford.

Hon^d Sir —

Yours signed by your Secretary from your selfe and counsell came not to my hands untill the 29th of the last month, w^{ch} I communicated to the Magistrates mett at Court together with a narative I received from M^r Hubbard of the action of the Dutch at Southhold the 23^d day, and allthough I cannot answeere your just expectation and desire I cannot be wholly sylent least I should render myselfe negligent of that respect I owe unto you and your Counsell: truth is the generall voague of the averseness of the people to ingage in any acts of hostility against the dutch, occations retarding of comeing to any conclusion tending thereto: and the nigh approach of the Generall Courts meeting is urgent to suspend answeere to yours untill that time: I am sorry that our Counsells are so tedious and not more conjunct, what the Lords meaneing may be in it wheither for Judgment or mercy time must manefest. I may be acounted by some too forward to take to armes and by some too backward, I doe write it for truth I doe not delight in warr, and must likewise say I am against delays in dangers, and fore slowing oppertunitys, and giveing advantage to the enemy that insults, upon pretences that will not lye square at all times upon any ground: I feare God is bringing upon us what we would endeavour to avoide, by our neglect of what we might have done and God calls us to (I wish I be mistaken). Sir I really pittty the townes of East End of Long Island, and will not be wanting to apply myselfe to

endeavour their reliefe and am not without hopes that the next weeke upon the Courts coming together we may doe some thing, according to our capassity for that end we have no late intelligence out of Europe, therefore cannot communicate any thing worthy your notice : this winter severall Aged persons, god hath taken from the Evill to come amongst others M^{rs} Colborn, and lately Thomas Gold : At present we are in a good measure of health blessed be the Lord : with the giving my true respects to your selfe and the Magistrates I commend you to the Lord and remaine

Sir your humble serv^t

JOHN : LEVERETT.

Boston 3 March 1674.

The inclosed I received this instant and by these present them to you for your use the composuer was by the reverend M^r John Sherman of Water towne.

[Labelled, "Gov^r Leveret of March 3. 1673," in Governor Winthrop's handwriting.]

CXII.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts to the Governor and Council of Connecticut.

These for the Right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esq^{re} Gov^r of his Majestys Colony on Connectecot present To be communicated to the Generall Court, or Councill there.

Gentlemen —

After many agitations and considerations of our present state in refference to the late and present actings of the Dutch in the Sound, and confidence and assurance of your compljance with us according to our articles, and your last invitations and encouragements ; our Generall Court have ordered two vessels to be forthwith equipped as men of warr, to secure the passage through the Sound and to repress the present insolency of the Dutch ; for the preservation of the Honor and reputation of our Nation and the assurance and encouragement of our ffrriends and allyes ;

not doubting but a few dayes will furnish us with such intelligence as may direct our future counsells and actings; which wee shall with all diligence impart unto you; wee are now endeavoring with all expedition to put the Generall Courts order in execution; and wee doubt not but before or soon after these come to your hand you will be satisfied of the well accomplishment thereof: Commending this affaire, yourselves and all Counsells thereabouts to the speciall guidance and blessing of the Almighty; wee remaine,

Gent^s, By order of the Gov^r and Council of the
Massachusets in New Eng^d your assured loving
ffriends and confederates

EDWARD RAWSON Secret^r.

Boston 14th March 167³/₄.

Post script.

Sir, Our Generall Court have ordered and appointed the 26 Instant March, to be kept as a day of Humiliation throût our Colony to humble our selves before him under the senc of our being exercised with various difficulties and trialls particularly the breaking forth of notorious and scandalous sins among us: many persons straitned with respect to scarcity of Graine &c danger of Warr threatning us, the condition of our native country, and the people of God elsewhere in Europe: respecting the warr, and other troubles; and to seek the Lord's speciall favour and blessing on the Country' endeavours and the labours of the people the yeare ensuing.

Oné Benjamin Goad a youth of 17 or 18 is condemned to dye on the 2^d of Aprill for his comitting that abhord sin of Bestiality on a mare in the road: between Milton and Roxbury fully evident and by him since fully confest that he lived in that sin this 12 months.

With my service to you subscribe

Your humble servant

EDW. RAWSON Sec.

[Labelled, "M^r Rawson rec^d March 24."]

CXIII.

Matthias Nicolls to John Winthrop, Jr.

These, To the Hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^r Governour of his Majesties Colony of Connecticut — present — At Hartford.

Hon^{ble} Sir —

Although now some months of my Retirement have past, since I have given myselfe the honour or you the trouble of my unpolisht lynes, yet in the midst of my solitudes, I have not beene forgetfull as of my duty to enquire after, and pray for your good health and prosperity, so upon occasion of presenting you my best Respects, The last oppertunity of both which was lately by M^r Willis, by whom I thought to have writte, but his haste prevented mee :

Having now this next oppertunity by one of Wethersfield, I was not willing to keepe silence any longer, as if with the winter season my pen and senses were still congealed, but in immitacōn of the approaching spring, which begins to set forth her buds and sproutes, so I can doe no lesse then renew my gratefull Acknowledgments for the many Civilityes and favours your honour hath beene pleased to vouchsafe unto mee, the which hath layne greater obligacōns on mee then I can expresse.

Wee have here our share of the various Rumours and Reports as well from Boston and those parts Eastward, as Virginia and Maryland westward, both which seeme to agree, in that some ships are designed by his Majesty for the Reducement of New Yorke, the certainty whereof a litle time will discover, In mean time I feare the exercise of the Virtue of Patience will bee requisite: However while there life some hope remains.

S^r I did with great satisfaction read your honours noble son Major Winthrops letter, which M^r Willis was pleased to shew mee, relating the late passages at the East End of Long Island, when the Dutch Comānders went away, without the cheife part of their Errand, for their carrying of the Provisions from Shelter Island, was (it may bee) but the least part of it: I question whether the Inhabitants

there, doe not owe their present safety and freedome from the Dutch yoake, to that Gentlemans presence amongst them, whose well temperd Resolucōn (as it put life in them then, so upon a greater occasion may prove alike succesfull.

I could heartily wish the United Colonyes here would agree to anticipate the Expectacōns from Europe, in which as there would bee great honour, so the attempt need not feare successe, if backt with speedy Resolucōn, for there is a great dampe at present upon most of the spirits of the Ennemy at New Yorke :

Worthy Sir — I have humbly beg your honours pardon for this presumptive discourse and that you'l please to put a favourable Construction thereon, and with all continue mee in some measure in your good Grace, which you have hitherto so kindly shewne unto

Hon^{ble} Sir

Your honours most obedient humble servant

MATTHIAS : NICOLLS.

Stratford. March. 16th 167³/₄.

[Labelled, "Capt : Nicolls rec^d about March 19."]

CXIV.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts to the Governor and Council of Connecticut.

These for the Right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esq^{re} Gov^r of his Majestjes Colony of Conecticott. present with speed — To be communicated to the Council there.

Boston 30th March 1674.

Sir —

I am required by our Honoured Governour and Council sitting in Boston on their adjournment; to inform you, that the 2 Vessels in my last mentioned; the Swallow of Salem a Catch of Sixty tunns, which carrys 12 gunns with 60 men whereof Richard Sprague is Captaine and Commander in cheife; and the Catch Salisbury of neere the like burthen, with 8 gunns and forty men, whereof Samuel

Mosely is Captaine; both fitted and furnished with Ammunition and provisions, are now ready to saile and cruise up and downe the Sound on the service of the Colonjes; according to the order of our last General Court. Commending you and this affaire to the speciall Guidance and blessing of the Almighty remajne

Gentlemen By order of the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts your affectionate friends and confederates

EDWARD RAWSON Secret^y.

Sir, In case the sayd Capts and Vessells should stay and be longer in those parts than is expected — It is desired that you would give order to your officers in the Seaport towns within your limitts to accomodate them with men or provisions if they neede and desire the same on the Colony's account taking their receipts.

[Labelled, "M^r Rawson from Gov^r and Council rec^d April 7. 1674."],

CXV.

John Leverett to John Winthrop, Jr.

Honourable Sir —

by my last I advised that I was not hopeless but that upon the meeting of the General Court there would be provision made for the securing the Collonyes Navigation in the Sound. the conclusion whereof I doubt not but by the Secretary you have receyved an account we are upon the dispatch of two vessels one of twelve and one other of Eight Gunns. in both 100 men or thereabouts Capt. Sprage and Capt Mosley Commanders, the 23th of this month I receyved by way of Virginia a letter of the 28th October from London which sayth that yesterday the Parliament mett, under the Speakers chayre was an wodden shoe and a Crocifix with something in writing, his Majesty desyred then to rase him monney also take in to consideration the monney due to the bankers; Letters advise the Prince of Orange is joyned with the Emperour the

dutch suppose that if our Kyng doe not come in the Spanyard wil declare warr against him they report the Emperialists have burned several places and rainged, doeing mischeif within foure myles of Collen; the ffrench accompts himself sure that the Sweed wil joyne with him; at present heare of noe ships for New Yorke; the Chanell doe and are like to abound with Capers A Spanish, and Dutch Ambassadour are expected over in a little tyme; from the Governour of Jamaica I receyved a letter the 27th this moneth whoe gives me inteligence that the Governour of ffrench Tertugas upon pretence of dissatisfaction about the ship cald the flying devill had plundered one of our ships Thomas Edwards takeing out his porke and other provisions for which he wrote him a complemental letter by way of apollogy upon which the Governour of Jamaca sent a vessel and some persons on purpose to demand other satisfaction and withal to let him knowe he cannot alow that any of the Kyngs subjects to be plundered by pretences or portugal letters of Mart, and that the loss fals on the Island and the Kyngs service because those provissions weare for his ships wherefore he might expect that he should send men of warr on that coast to defend the marchants that pass by it; he sayth they have had noe ship nor newes from England of ten monthes that reports among them is that Sir Thomas Modiford is out of the Tower and that he with Genral Morgan is comeing to Jamaca to that Government with Eight fregates and twoe thousand men to make warr upon the Spanyard; through mercy we are Genrally in good health blessed be God onely ould M^{rs} Clarke D^r Clarkes widdow is lately taken sicke I hope your strength is returned to you since my first and last fitt of the stone I have had good health blessed be God, my kynde respects presented to your selfe and magistrates of your Councel I commend you to the Lord and remayne Sir your humble servant

JOHN : LEVERETT.

Boston 30 March 1674.

[The superscription is gone. — J. B.]

CXVI.

Matthias Nicolls to John Winthrop, Jr.

These To the hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^r Governour of his
Majesties Colony of Conecticott, present In Hartford.

Stratford April 11^r 1674.

Hon^{ble} Sir —

I am obliged to your honour for yours of the 17th March wherein you were pleased to signify the Report you had by a Gentleman from Boston, of the taking of a Dutch Vessel a litle before Winter by the Plymouth Frygott supposed to bee bound for New Yorke, the which her loading and provision seemes to make it very probable: I have since heard her taking confirmed by one that came over in M^r Greenoes ship, the Dutchman being a Flushingier and brought in a prize into Plymouth whilst their ship rid there: It may bee taken notice of and lookt upon as a seconding Providence to that of the frustrating M^r Van Ruyvens intended voyage for Holland, the ship hee he was in being not able to get off, but was still driven back upon the Coast, till shee became a wreck in a manner, which was no small disappoyment to the Dutch Interest in these parts: Wee must acknowledge all things to bee at the disposall of the Almighty, and may hope that as many things did concurre and contribute to the losse of New Yorke the last yeare from the English in favour of the Dutch, the same over-ruling power may blesse the meanes for its Recovery, and with-hold their expected succours, whose arrivall would render the reducement more difficult. I humbly thanke your honour for the kind advertisement you are pleased to give mee, of concealing hereafter the name of any friend that shall give advice of newes from amongst the Dutch, I acknowledge my error in that to M^r Willis, which I did suppose would goe noe further then himselfe or a friend or two of his, however I shall bee more cautious for the future: Mee thinkes its strange there hath beene no further confirmacōn of the Newes from Maryland or Virginia, the Alarum whereof was at first so hot, in some short

time wee may have I hope better satisfaction. Wee have of late had Intelligence by the way of Roade Island of great hopes of Peace, how true wee must expect with Patience, I returne your honour hearty thanks for your care in conveying my letter this way, as also for your Courteous remembrance of mee by M^r Martin and in M^r Chancy's letter, whose occasions carrying him your way, hee hath promised to doe mee the favour to deliver this to your hands: I have not further, but the tender of mine and my wives best and dutifull respects to your honour, so I take leave being

Hon^{ble} Sir, your most obliged humble servant

MATTHIAS : NICOLLS.

[Labelled, "Capt. Nicolls rec^d April 15. 1674."]

CXVII.

John Leverett to John Winthrop, Jr.

These for the Hon^{ble} John Winthrop, Esq^{re} Governour of the Collony of Connectecott, present at Hartford.

Boston 8. may. 1674.

Honourable Sir —

Yesterday arived a vessel belonging to Charlestowne from Scotland had a months passage brings newes of the confirmation of peace betweene England and Holland. The Articles are that imediately al hostility shal cease on both sydes; after twelve dayes publication, noe hostility from the soundings to the Naz in Norway nor after the terme of six weekes betwixt the soundings and Tanger nor after ten weekes from Tanger to the Æquator neither in the ocean mediteranian or elsewhere, nor after the terme of eight monthes in any part of the world the publication of peace in London was the 28 feb^y last.

The states General to give due acknowledgement of the fflag whether singl or in ffleets in any of the seas from Cape ffinister to the midle poynt of the Land Van Staten in Norway to any ship or vessell, belonging to his majesty of Greate Brittaine whether single or greater Number if they carry his majestyes fflag or Jacke.

Provision for the Collony of Surinam for the English to take off sell or dispose theyr estates and slaves.

What ever places have beene taken by eyther party from each other since the begining of this unhappy warr whether in Urope or els where and before the expiration of the tymes limited for hostility be restored to the former owner in the same condition it shalbe in at the tyme of the publication of the peace.

That the Treaty of Bræda made in y^e year 1667 as all other Treatyes confirmed by the said Treaty remain in full force and vigour so far forth as they contradict nothing in this present Treaty.

That the maine Treaty made at the Hague betweene the twoe parties in the yeare 1668 be continued for nine months after the publication of this present treaty unless othewayes agreed on by a subsequent Treaty. in the meane tyme the consideration of a new one to be referd to the same Commissioners to whome the Trade in the East jndyes is referd.

That a just regulation of Trade and particularly in the East Indyes That be referd. and

That the States Generall promise to pay 800,000 palacons one fourth on the Rattification of the Treaty the rest in three ensueing yeares by æqual portions upon the 24 of feb^r the parliament was prorogued by the Lord Keeper by his Majestyes command until the 10 of November; the members of the house of Comons much displeasd sayd to continue in and about London. the King intends to keep Court at Winsor Castl this summer in order to repayre the Court at whythal.

the Dutch and ffrench are vigorous in theyr preparations for the summers action the Dutch equip 60 ships of warr besydes fyer ships, and it is sayde intend to ship 10,000 men to land in some part of ffrance. the Emperour hye in preparations the princes of the Empyer al betakeing themselves to armes.

Sir there is some of our neighbours comeing up to attend your Courts order for to make sute to your justice for theyr rights in the Lands formerly taken from the pecotts and divided by consent, I doubt not but your justice wil manifest a constant desyer of a close keepeing to the articles of confederation that none shal have cause to complaine in respect of theyr perticular interests and that the groweing reproach,

upon us as if wee had outlived the honesty simplicity and integrity of our progenitors maybe wiped off by justice haveing free passage amongst us for justice sake and that wee may not for wildernes land quarrel one with another until some third or fourth may take all, Could we attend our Lord and masters rule in the case to beware of covetousnes it would make Answers easy to several questions in those cases I have noe perticuler concerne in the matter its the publique good and tranquility of the whole in the severall and every part I earnestley desyer and shall indeavour, God helping. Sir I hope the Lord hath renewed and continues strength to you as through his rich mercy it is with us at present blessed be his Name. with my humble service to you

I remayne Sir your humble servant

JOHN : LEVERETT.

There is a fregate sayde to be comeing with foure other ships to bring a Governour to New Yorke I cannot learne the Name of the Governour. Coll. Morgan Dep^t Gov^r to Jamaca the Lord Carlile haveing the Government. Sir Henry Chisley goeing Dep^t Governour and Leiftenant General of the fforces in Virginia under Sir W^m Berkley.

[The hand of the original is quite tremulous. Labelled, "Gov^r Leverett rec^d May 15." — J. B.]

CXVIII.

William Coddington to John Leverett.

To John Leveritt Governour of the Massachus^{ts} in Boston present Hast post hast for his Majesties speciall service by Nicho : Easton Jun^r.

Worthy Sir —

Yesterday beeing the 8th day of the instant, Capt. Fleet sayled from our harbour towards Huntington one Long Island (where his abode is) having as aforesaid sayled neare so farre, as Blocke Island, espied a sayle Westward which

sudently hee perceived came towards him upon which hee was in feare and made for point Jude by which time the aforsaid vessell was within 3 miles of him, the afforesaid Fleet made sayle for our harbour who was chased within the point called Connonicut point, then brought her tacks aboard and stood of to sea with her Antient out hee judges that shee was a man of warre, and that frigat called the Snow shee chasing him with studding sailes had no head no missen mast her forsailles out of proportion with her after sayles, And this day wee heard divers gunns, at sea, which makes us thinke they are chasing vesells upon this coast, this wee thought good to informe you that you may if possible prevent dammage to the shipping. Thus with my loving salutations presented to thyselfe and assistants especially to such as have knowne mee before persecution was when I was on of you which is all at present from

Your antient and assured freind

WILLIAM CODDINGTON Gov^r.

Road Island 9th of 3 mō 1674.

Hon^d Sir Since my writting of the abovesaid certeine Intelligence is comed to us that the shooting Abovesaid, hard by us for three houres were in the pursute of a sloop, called by the name of John Dicksy sloop (so called) which was chased from point Jude up Narragansett Bay making many shotts at them, at last tooke them within 6 miles of Swansy in the sight of many witnesses, one small sloop of ours being within a mile of them when the said sloop was taken they carried them away with them, the same way out they came in and so remains in sight of our Island wee have hasted a post on purpose to give this true information that you may prevent what damage you cann Idem

W. C.

Newport Road Island 10th of 3 mo. 1674.

About 10 of the clock) Wee have given intelligence herof to Plimouth and "Martins Vinyard." W. C.

To be sent to Gov^r and hon^{ble} Councill at Connecticott.

That what is above written is a true Copje compared with

the originall receavd by our honored Gov^r and read in the
Magistrates presence being on file

Attest EDWARD RAWSON Secret^y.

[Labelled, "Gov^r Coddington to Gov^r Leveret sent by him to Hart-
ford and rec^d there May 15," in Gov. Winthrop's handwriting. — J. B.]

CXIX.

John Sharpe to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^{te} Governour of his Majes-
ties Collony of Conecticut Per M^r Halley Q. D. G.

Miltford 12th May 1674.

Honoured Sir —

This craves pardon for my rude departure from hartford without paying my respects to you and kissing your honours hand but it was occasioned by your absence, when I was to visit your honour and brought your letters, the account of the Tyranicall Reigne and Governement of our Dutch Lord Van Colfe, who after I sent him a petition to usher or prolongue my admission to my wife children and habitation, by y^e hand of my unfaithfull Judasly and treacherous travailour Isack Molyne, who at his arrivall found the Governour at the Bridge, concealed the surrender of New Yorke and only discovered the newes of Peace, the Governour sent to my wife to informe mee I might come in and returne with freedome gave mee encouragement boldly to goe in I delivered what letters I had for the inhabitants in those parts to his honours, who broke them opin, and read them after enquired more newes. which I satisfied, by two Coppys, of what was extant at Boston — which I tooke from the originalls sent from England, hee thereupon commanded mee to conceale the surrender of New York &c. and only to communicate the newes of Peace which I punctually observed this Molyne repaying to his house a multitude of his countrymen resorted to him thither being hungry after newes from our Northerne parts: Said Molyne ragingly tells them they had slaved and wrought too hard and too long for the King of England, for that the

States of Holland by articles of peace had agreed to surrender N. Yorke to the King of England which newes struck the townes inhabitants, I meane Duch, into such a distracted rage and Passion ; that they cry'd wee'l fyre the Towne, Pluck downe the ffortifications and teare out the Governours throats, who had compelled them to slave soe contrary to their native priveledges in the morning the Governour hearing hereof sent for said Molyne — Who cold not deny what was aleaged imediately was committed Prisoner to the Dungeon in the fort with warning to fitt and prepare himselfe for death for in 2 dayes hee should dye, by the french man who hanged in Chaines on the Gallowes, after said Molyne had bine soe confined one day and night, hee got penn Inck and paper, and with an excuse for himselfe and information against mee, aleaging I shewed and strowed about the whole Country the newes, and gave coppies thereof to all persons who desyred them and that I should say his Reigne was short, his government at an end, with much more such like lyes, and that I had brought a letter from Capt Nicolls to M^r Mirviele a french merchant, there, without shewing it to him, according to a Law of 75[£] fine made to that purpose, I was thereupon sent for. after examination not permitting mee to speake or pleade my owne defence ; committed mee to the inner and nethermost Dungeon. Cousin german to the Stygeon Lake, where I continued without light or sight of friend or relations, from Wensday noone, untill Saturday at 12. then called before his Imperiall Court consisting of M^r Cornelius Stenwick, M^r Van Ruyven the Fiscall Knife and M^r Nicolas Bayard, his Secretary. and without permission of defensive plea for myselfe. past sentence against mee that I was imediately to bee banished out of that jurisdiction and not returne on payne of death for the terme of 10 yeares. would not permitt mee to goe into my house to take leave of my wife and children nor fetch my bootes or a shirt, but commanded the fiscall to see mee imbarqt in a Canew soe soone as my Sentence was publisht, which was with great solemnity ringing the towne house bell 3 tymes. and the major part of the towne congregated together to heare it, on a purpose to infuse into the beleife of the people a beleife the States of Holland would never part with such an

invincible strong hold or fort. Molynes sentence was, to worke from morning to night every day untill the workes were fully compleated (which I imagine will not bee this three moneths hee dayly projecting more and new inventions to fortify and imploy the people, on purpose to keepe them out of idlenesse — the foundation and principle author of Sedition and Rebellion, with as much vigour and eagerness, as against the coming of the New England army. The comonalty not by this meanes crediting any such thing, yet belch forth their curses and execrations against the Prince of Orange and States of Holland, the Duch Admiralls who tooke it, and their taskmaster the Governour saying, they will not on demand, and by authority of the States or Prince, surrender, but keepe it by fighting soe long as they can stand with one Legg and fight with one hand, which resolution will create (I feare, further trouble to both nations. Pray Sir excuse my prolix lynes but I could not in duty doe less, then give your honour a particular account, of these affayres: amongst the rest I omitted to give you an account, they have mounted 190 ordnance in the fort and about the towne. I have noe more, to trouble your honour at present but humbly take leave and subscribe. my selfe Sir

your honours oblidged faithfull and humble servant

JOHN SHARPE.

My humble service and respects to your honour, both Gentlemen your Sonns, and Ladyes your daughters.

[Labelled, "M^r Sharpe — rec^d (May) 13."]

CXX.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Robert Boyle.

To the Right Hon^{ble} Robert Boyle Esq^{re} Governour of the Corporation for the carrying on the Gospell Among the Indians of New England In London d'd.

Hon^{ble} Sir

I depended upon Capt. Matthias Nicolls (who had been the Secretary at New York,) intending a voyage to London

last winter towards the Spring, to have represented to his Majestie with your assistance the state of all matters in these parts since the unhappy surprisal of New Yorke by the Dutch, and the difficulties that have beene upon this Colony in defending his Majesties interest and his Majesties subjects in this Colony and of many places of the East end of Long Iland in those tymes of warr; but a sad accident befalling him on the losse of his children, his voyage was diverted and since an other disappointment by way of Barbados this last summer, I now understand that the bearer Major Edward Palmes my son doth purpose a voyage for England, and shall desire him to represent the full of all transactions that have passed in these parts and as aforesaid, he being perfectly acquainted with all passages, since the Dutch fleet first arrived at New Yorke. I humbly request your favour and helpe herein, that thereby he may give his Majestie and his honorable Councill an account of all these matters and can also give your Hon^r an account of the state of the Pequot Indians and other Indians — of Mohegan Naraganset — of these parts, now begining to fall to worke and to be much civilized and may be hopefull to become converts and embrace the Gospell, Concerning which I refer to his relation and am your most humble servant.

J: W.

Hartford Oct^r 15. 1674.

[Labelled, "Copy to M^r Boile." A very rough draft, in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop. Robert Boyle was an intimate friend of Gov. W. — J. B.]

 CXXI.
John Winthrop, Jr., to Matthias Nicolls.

Honoured Sir

I was grieved at the evill tidings of the trouble in which you were inforced, at New York, I greatly condoled those difficulties then upon you, but I must presume of your excuse and that it is so long since my pen hath given you a visit — I may really assure you that hath been from no other consideration, but least the most cordiall salutes of

your friend should exasperate the malice of your unreasonable adversaries I am now much rejoiced that you are so well delivered from those troubles, by the happy arrival of the Hon^{ble} Governour, and the delivery of that place in his noble hands; of which I have that good intelligence lately from M^r Bryan, that I cannot but fully credit it; and thereupon have presumed to present my service to the honourable Governour with the inclosed letter which I must crave your favour to present to him. I hope there will be always a most amicable correspondency, as you know there was inviolable in former times; to which I may be confident of your furtherance and shall be most studiously promoted by all the capacity of

Your most affectionate friend and servant

J. W.

I have no late intelligence from Boston or any other parts worth your notice but have sent thither the good news which we hear from your parts.

I may hope to receive in some letter to M^r Bryan, as your leisure may give liberty or otherwise the desired intelligence of

I have not heard yet any certainty of the particulars of the time since the Frigatt came from London or the coast of England, nor who are come with the honourable Governour.

I must request your favour to rectify the superscription of the letter not having yet received the certainty of his name — Some say Edward, some Edmond some another name.

[Probably refers to the arrival of Governor Sir Edmund Andros. Labelled, "Copy to Capt. Nicolls." A very rough draft. — J. B.]

CXXII.

Fitz-John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

Sir —

The bearer hereof M^r Danyell, one of the Royal Indian Blood, and a person eminently employed by the General Court for regulating the disorders, and managing the pru-

dentials amongst the Pequot Indians, does desire me to give an account to yourself of the late unhappy accident which has happened to him: A little time since, a careless girle playing with fyre at the door, it immediately took hold of the mats, and in an instant consumed it to ashes, with all the common, as well as his lady's chamber furniture, and his own wardrope, and armoury, Indian plate, and money to the value (as is credibly reported in his estimation) of more than an hundred pounds Indian; besides some papers of worth, and a record of Court which confirms and intitules him (I think) Dep: Gov^r to Sagamore Robert.

The Indians have handsomely, already built him a good house, and brought him in several necessaries for his present supply; but that which takes depest melancholy impression upon him, is the loss of an excellent Masathuset cloth cloak and hat; which was only seen upon holy days and their general sessions: His journey at this time is only to intreat your favour, and the gentlemen there, for a kind relief in his necessity, having no kind of garment but a short jirkin which was charitably given him by one of his common Councill-men. He principally aims at a cloak and hat, and those will be most acceptable to him: I have only time to add my own intreaties in his behalf and that his necessities may have relief, being a well disposed man as can be expected; which is all at present from,

Sir, your most obedient Son.

J: WINTHROP:

N: L: Nov^r 1674.

[Labelled, "Concerning Daniell Indian, his wigwam burnt."]

CXXIII.

Matthias Nicolls to John Winthrop, Jr.

These To the Hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^r Governour of his Majesties Colony of Conecticut present at Hartford.

Hon^{ble} Sir —

Your Hono^{rs} Letters, of November 11th, by M^{rs} Lane, of the 1st instant by M^r Willis and your worthy son Major

Winthrop; as also that of the 16th by our Post, I have received: As to what your honour mentions of M^{rs} Lanes deplorable condition (occasioned by her husbands miscarriages to the ruine of his family,) I am really sensible of it and besides my owne Inclination to assist the distressed, your recommendacōn of her distressed Case in particular will bee a farther motive to mee, to give her my best advice and assistance; I am sorry it so hapned that our Governour was gone to the East End of Long Island the very day before the arrivall of M^r Willis and Major Winthrop, whereby their patience was so much exercised as to stay untill the Governours returne, but their company was so acceptable unto us all, that wee could wish (were it not to prejudice their owne concernes) some other occasion of retarding them might intervene, to have made us happy in the Enjoyment of their society longer: But the uncertainty of the season, and their importunity to attend their owne affayres at home (which could not bee denyde) robs us of any farther Enjoyment thereof at present, so that wee can onely accompany them, with our good wishes for their safe Returne whether by Land or water: I thanke your honour for the good opinion you are pleased to have of my capacity of being instrumentall to continue a good Correspondence betweene these two Colonyes I hope you will also beleve my Endeavours shall not bee wanting to contribute thereunto to my power: I have given a Conveyance to yours enclosed to M^r Leveredge, which your honour saith related to some medicinall matter, but have received no returne, probably hee will find out some other way to give answer to it: I made enquiry (in presence of M^r Willis) of our Governour concerning those Gent^s (the L^d Kincarten and Sir Robert Murray *) of whom you are pleased to make enquiry who sayes the L^d Kincarten was in Scotland when hee came away, and Sir Robert Murray very well at Court; where hee had his lodgings: I shall not presume to trouble your honour further at present, then with my desires that you'll please to accept of my thankfull acknowledgments of your

* Sir Robert Murray signed his name, in letters to Governor Winthrop, "R. Murray." For a notice of him, see the new edition of Burnet's History of his Own Time, published in 1824 or 1825. — J. B.

multiplied favours, and to continue mee in some measure in your good grace, since I am really,

Hon^{ble} Sir, your honours most obedient humble servant
MATTHIAS : NICOLLS.

I wish the approaching yeare may prove happy to your honour.

New Yorke Dec^r 29th 1674.

[Labelled, "Capt Nicolls rec^d Jan^r by M^r Willis.]

CXXIV.

Sir Edmund Andross to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the Hon^{ble} Governor Wintrop. At Hartford.

N. Yorck y^e 31st of March 1675.

Sir —

I cannot obmitt so good an oportunity, as this bearer, to present my service to you, thou I did also thinck I might by this time have sent you English newes, but there is as yet nott any, the Frigatt Diamond sailes to morrow, the Castle about 14 dayes hence I pray my service to Major Wintrop I am

Sir your most humble servant

E ANDROSS.

[Labelled, "Gov^r Andross rec April 10."]

CXXV.

John Davenport, Jr., to John Winthrop, Jr.

Boston 30. 2. 75.

Hon^{ble} Sir

Yours I rec'd, and returne thankfull acknowledgments for the Rubela and the directions about my arme, which I have used, and hope it hath done good but yet remains some:

paine in the shoulder and upper parte of the arme and a weaknes so as that I could not nor can lift up my hand to my hat, for which I request your further helpe and advice, there is no swelling but an itching especially (at times) on my shoulder. My bodily health and appetite (through the mercy of God) is better then before my sicknes.

The Colledge buisenes (as I heare) is not yet settled. We heare the uncomfortable state of our Relations at Jersey.

Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivers out of all, it is good both to hope and quietly waite for the salvacōn of God: we live in a changable troublesome world, but there is an unchangable God who is the object of the hope of beleivers which is a strong ground of consolation.

The Lord preserve your life and health for the good of many in whome with our service presented, crave leave to subscribe

Hon^{ble} Sir, your humble servant

J. DAVENPORT.

[Labelled, "M^r J. Davenport rec^d May 7." The superscription is gone. This letter is written in the hand of old age, — neither the spelling nor punctuation is as good as was usual with the writer's father, who died March 15, 1669 - 70. — J. B.]

CXXVI.

Sir Edmund Andross to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the honourable John Winthrop Esq^{re} Governour of his Majesties Colony of Conecticut These, at Hartford.

Sir —

Having given you an Account at my Arrivall of my receiving this place, of my respects to yourselfe, and my desire to improve a good neighbourhood with your Colony:

This is by M^r Samuel Leet, a Gentleman I have sent with letters to your selfe as Governour, and Generall Court, at this time of their first Sessions, since my arrivall, but cannot omitt these few lines to yourselfe in particular, though it bee but to renew my thankses for your many Civilityes since

my Arrivall, Particularly the honour of your sending your son Major Winthrop and M^r Willis to mee upon my arrivall; And shall bee glad of all oppertunityes of serving you, upon any occasion to the utmost, And ever pay you the respect I ought to your worthy Character and Meritts, Remaining

Sir, your most affectionate humble servant

E ANDROSS.

New Yorke May 1st 1675.

[Labelled, "Governour Androes rec'd May 12. by M^r Samuelt Leet."]

CXXVII.

Henry Stephens to Mr. Stanton.

M^r Stanton — Sar Thes are to give you notis of y^e News I say you with y^e rest of my Nebors and frinds that 12 housis of Swanse are bored and on of them was a garrison hous and sivera men killed Saiconke also is bored or a good part of it and men kild by Nep mock indean hear on hous is robed as we sopes and the last night another hous brooken up and another bored on more Neare M^r Smeths and intend to have two heads from Suamacott the pepel heare ar gon and going of towods Island I wish and desier you to take car of your silvs I have hired this barer i hear filis is bound for Mohigin I am in hast for fear of y^e mesenger

Yours yet

HENREY STEPHENS.

Jun 29 75

My Man is gon towad Island.

[Labelled, "Hen. Stevens rec'd July 1. 1675. in a letter from M^r Stanton." The handwriting of the original is as good as the spelling.— J. B.

This is, perhaps, the *first* report of the breaking out of hostilities in Philip's War sent to Connecticut. — J. S.]

CXXVIII.

Daniel Witherell to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the honourd John Winthrope Esq^{ro} Governour of his
Majesties Collonie of Conetticut.

*New London June 29th 1677.**Hon^d Sir.

My humble service to your honour &c presented these may Aquaitte your honour that this morneing I Recaved the Narrative of the Bloody Designes of the Indians Which was Directed to your Honour: and Conceiveing it might give uss heer fuller Information then wee had formerly Received our Hon^d Major Winthrope with the advice of Leiff^t Avery M^r Myrior and my selfe presumed to open hoping wee shall obtayne your honours pardon therein.

Major Winthrope hath been and yet continues very Ill and doubts hee shall not be Able to Give your honour that Aco^t that otherwise he should: Yesterdaye Leiff^t Avery my selfe and some others went up to Unchas to understand if possible how he stood Affected to Phillips Designes he informed uss that he had heard of much damadge done by Phillipe both by killing many of our English and burneing there houses but would not be knowne that he held any corespondency with him: But upon our carefull veiw wee tooke wee have Reason to beleeve that most of his men are gon that Waye for he hath very few men at home nor did I see more then three guns Amongst them tis Certaine he hath had lately a great corespondence with Phillipe and many presents have passed: Hon^d Sir my humble request is that a speedy and effectuall order maye be sent us for the putting all these parts in a posture of defence for it is Reported that Phillipis is very near uss and expects further Assistance from Unchas. I shall no more but desireing God to direct your honour in the great concernements of

* This letter is strangely misdated. It should be 1675. Governor Winthrop, to whom it is directed, died in April, 1676, and Philip, the great enemy, was killed in August of the same year. The letter manifestly alludes to preparation for hostilities.
— J. S.

these present dangers and Troubles and Rest your honors
humble Servantt

DANIELL WITHERELL.

[Labelled, "M^r Witherell. rec^d June 30."]

CXXIX.

Daniel Witherell to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the Hon^{ble} John Winthrope Esq^{re} Governour of his Maj-
esties Collonie of Conetticut these.

New London June 30th 1675.

Hon^d Sir —

Once More I Am bold to Present your Honour with
these Linis to Informe your Honour that Maio^r Winthrope
Lyes Dangerously sick and his Distemper encreaseth:
Wee have great want of his presenc in this time of Ex-
tremitye Wee have Great Reason to beleeve that there
is an universall Combination of the Indians and fear you
canot Ayde us timely Wee are calling in all our out Liv-
ers and shall by Gods Assistance doe our best for our
Defenc butt hope that your Honour with the Rest of the
honourable Counsell will Dispatch present suplyes for our
Ayde: I cannot Inlardge the post is in hast, soe humbly
crave the pardon from your Honour and Rest

Your humbell Servant

DANIELL WETHERELL.

[Labelled, "M^r Witherly rec^d July 1."]

CXXX.

Proposals for an Expedition against Canada.

1. That the Country provide ammunition &c and have
plunder of Kings store for the same.

2. That the Country provide ships and men for the Ex-
pedition and pay the Charge of both.

3. That subscribers compleat the Expedition by supply of necessaryes, to be Repayd first, the Country Engaging for it.

4. That after the Charge of the Expedition viz of ship hyre and men be defrayed the remaining plunder be Equally devided between the Country and the Subscribers.

5. That the men be Incouraged with one halfe of all plunder excepting Kings stores and have no pay. or 20 sh. per Month and one quarter of said plunder (excepting as before.)

6. That the Country appoint a Committee and leave the whole to their management impowring them to carry on the same.

[The writing of the above, excepting the caption, is in a fair hand, which I should rather think to be that of some officer in England. It certainly does not in any respect resemble the writing of that day in New England; and the paper has the English water-mark strongly resembling the Whitehall papers which are in this file. The caption is in the hand of an old gentleman, I rather think of the second Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, who was, I believe, Major-General of the expedition against Canada in the year 1690; — it is an indorsement only. — J. B.]

CXXXI.

Votes for Magistrates in Massachusetts, 1692.

NOMINATION APR. 12. 1692.		ELECTION MAY 4. 1692.	
Simon Bradstreet Esq ^r	738	Simon Bradstreet Governour	
S ^r W ^m Phips	624	Thomas Danforth Dep ^t	
Thomas Danforth Esq ^r	705	S ^r W ^m Phips	969 — 1
Major Pinchon	156	W ^m Stoughton Esq ^r	873 — 9
W ^m Stoughton Esq ^r	646	<i>Major Pinchon</i>	414
Nath ^l Saltonstall Esq ^r	437	Major Saltonstall	614 — 16
John Richards	364	Major Richards	593 — 17
James Russell Esq ^r	689	James Russell Esq ^r	940 — 3
Major Gidney	207	<i>Major Gidney</i>	409
Peter Tilton Esq ^r	673	Peter Tilton	911 — 5
Major Appleton	684	Major Appleton	911 — 6
Major Phillips	729	Major Pike	903 — 7
Major Pike	676	Elisha Cooke Esq ^r	920 — 4
Elisha Cooke Esq ^r	742	John Hathorne Esq ^r	799 — 13

John Hathorne Esq ^r	623	<i>W^m Johnson Esq^r</i>	571
W ^m Johnson Esq ^r	486	Major Hutchinson	818—12
Major Hutchinson	720	Sam ^l Sewall Esq ^r	946— 2
Samuel Sewall Esq ^r	749	Isaac Addington Esq ^r	895— 8
Isaac Addington	688	Capt. Smith	579—18
John Smith Esq ^r	441	Major Gen ^l Winthrop	814—11
Major Gen ^l Winthrop	705	Jon ^o Corwin Esq ^r	780—14
Jonathan Corwin Esq ^r	636	Jn ^o Phillips Esq ^r	823—10
Thomas Oakes Esq ^r	574	Tho : Oakes	615—15
Capt. Swaine	270		
Capt. W ^m Bond	305		
Capt. Dan ^l Peirce	255		

[The names in Italics are erased in the original, which indicates the non-election of the candidates. — J. B.

These lists may be compared with those of 1683 and 1686 published in Hutchinson's Collection. — J. S.]

CXXXII.

Recommendation of John Winthrop, Esq., to the Royal Society.

John Winthrop
of New-England, Esq^{re}

Grandson of the Learned John Winthrop Esq^{re} who was one of the first members of this Society and who in conjunction with others did greatly contribute to the obtaining our Charter; to whom the [Royal] Society in its early days was not only indebted for various ingenious communications, but their Musæum still contains many testimonies of his generosity, especially of things relating to the Natural History of New England, where he afterwards went to live. This Gentleman hath not been backward in following the example of his Grand-father, having himself sent over several curiosities to the Society, and intending to present many more, as well as to become a constant Correspondent, when he returns to America: Wherefore as he desires to become a member of this Society, as he is a person well skill'd in Natural Knowledge and particularly in Chemistry,

we whose names are underwritten do recommend him as a person likely to be a very usefull member to this Society.

Signed { HANS SLOANE.
ALEX^R STUART.
ROB^T NESBITT.
CROMWELL MORTIMER.

London Jañry 10. 1733.

This a true Copy

THOMAS STACK L. S.

[Labelled, "London 10. Jan^y 1733. Recommendation of John Winthrop Esq^r to the Royal Society."]

CXXXIII.

Thanks of the Royal Society to John Winthrop, Esq.

Extract of the Journal Book of the Royal Society for Improving Natural Knowledge London June 27. 1734.

Mr Winthrop presented severall Curiosities from New England, as contained in the following List, which being read he had the thanks of the Society, they being 364 articles as appears by the Catalogue of them in the same Journal-book page 459 &c.

Testat^r

CROMWELL MORTIMER M. D.

R. S. Secr.

[Seal of the Royal Society in red wax.]

[Labelled (by Cromwell Mortimer), "Thanks of the Royal Society London to John Winthrop Esq^r for his present of several Curiosities June 27, 1734."]

[Though the originals of the two following letters are not found among the papers now in the possession of the Winthrop family, yet, as they evidently belong to the series, they are here reprinted, the first from Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. II. pp. 473, 474, — the second from the North American Review for September, 1816, to which it was communicated by the late Judge Davis from the original, then in his possession, together with some remarks on both letters, for which the reader is referred to that journal.]

CXXXIV.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Lord Brereton.

My Lord,

The relation, which I am now presenting to your lordship, is of a very strange and prodigious wonder, this last summer in this part of the world: that the like hath been known for the whole manner of it, I do not remember, that I have read or heard. There was a hill near Keenebank-river, in the province of Meane, the eastern part of New-England, which is removed out of its place, and the bottom turned upwards. The time is not certain when it was done; but that it is so, is very certain, and it is concluded by those, who live nearest to it, that it was removed either the latter end of June, or beginning of July last. The relation, that I have from credible persons concerning the manner of it, is this; viz that the hill being about 8 rods from Keenebank-river-side, on the west side of the river, about 4 miles from the sea, was removed from its place over the dry land about 8 rods or perches, and over the tops of the trees also, which grew between the hill and that river, leaping as it were over them into the river, where it was placed, the upper part being downward, and dammed up the river, till the water did work itself a passage through it. The length of the hill was about 250 foot; the breadth of it about 80, the depth of it about 20 foot. The situation of the place, as to the length of it, was N. W. and S. E. The earth of it is a blue clay without stones: many round bullets were within it, which seem to be of the same clay hardened. I have not yet seen the place myself, but sent purposely to enquire into the truth of what had been reported concerning it, and had this relation from major William Philips, who dwelleth not far from the place: And M. Herlakendon Symons, who went to the place, and took very good notice, brought me the same report of the truth and manner of it, which I had before received by a letter from major Philips in answer to my letter of enquiry, and told me, that the earth of the hill did not lie between the former place of the hill and the river, but was carried together over the

tops of the trees into the river, which seems to be, as if it were blown up by such a force, as carried the whole body of it so far together. I had from them some few of those round bullets; I think there were but two or three, and some pieces of earth in other forms, which were found upon that now upper part, which was before the lower, or the inner bowels of that hill; as also a small shell or two, of a kind of shell-fish, like some shell-fish commonly found, where the sea flows: but how they should be within that hill, is strange to consider. I have sent all, that I had thence, to the Royal Society for their repository. I understand also from those parts, that there was no notice taken of an earthquake about that time; nor did I hear of any in other parts of the country. I give your lordship only a relation of this prodigy, as I had it upon the best enquiry I could make, leaving the discussion of the natural causes, which might concur; a matter too hard for me to comprehend, but the power of his Almighty Arm is manifest to all, who weigheth the hills in a balance, and in whose presence the heavens drop, the hills are melted like wax, Sinai itself is moved. I hope to have opportunity to see the place; and if any other matter considerable upon my observation, or further enquiry shall appear, I shall be obliged to give your lordship a further account thereof; and for the present am bold, only to subscribe myself,

Right honourable,

Your Lordship's humble servant,

J. WINTHROP.

Boston, Oct. 11, 1670.

CXXXV.

Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his honoured friend, John Winthrop, Governour of Connecticut in N. England.

London, April 11, 1671.

Sir,

Your letter of October 11, 1670, to me, and your present to the Royal Society, together with that to Sir R. Moray, I

have well received from the hands of Mr. Fairweather, who deserveth to be commended for his care of the particulars you had entrusted him with. I soon delivered to the said society their parcell, viz. the shell-fish (called Horse-foot) the Humming-bird's nest with the two eggs in it, being yet whole, the feathered fly, and the shells, bullets and clays taken out of the overturned hill: for all which, that noble company returns you their hearty thanks, and very much desires the continuance of such curious communications, for the enlargement of their repository, and consequently of the intended history of nature. These curiosities being viewed at one of our publick meetings, some of the company conceived that what you call the sharp-tail of the Horse-foot, is rather the fore-part and nose of the fish; the same persons having also found that two of the knobbs on the shell, now dried up, had been the places of the eyes, and did still by the manner of their ductuss express, that they had looked towards the said nose, when the animal was alive. The Humming bird's nest was also shewed to his Majesty, who was as much pleased with it as the Society, and I doubt not but Sir Rob. Moray will tell you the same, and withal acknowledge the receipt of those silk pods that were directed to him.

Concerning the overturned Hill, it is wished that a more certain and punctual relation might be procured of all the circumstances of that accident. It seems strange, that no earthquake was perceived, and yet that the Hill is said to have been carried over the tops of the Trees into the River, as also that people being near it should not certainly know the day when this happened. I doubt not, Sir, but your own curiosity will have carried you since you wrote this, to view the place, and to examine all the particulars remarkable in this matter. I hope my Lord Brereton, to whom you communicated the story at length, will also write to you by this return, and join with me in the request of giving us a fuller account of this wonder.

I cannot yet desist from recommending to you the composition of a good history of New-England, from the beginning of the English arrival there, to this very time; containing the Geography, Natural Productions and civil administration thereof, together with the notable progress of

the plantation and the remarkable occurrences in the same ; an undertaking worthy of Mr. Winthrop, and a member of the Royal Society !

I herewith send you a few philosophical Books lately printed here, viz.

1. Mr. Boyle's new tracts about the wonderful rarefaction and condensation of the air, &c.
2. Monsieur Charas' new experiments upon vipers.
3. The transactions of 1670.

To these I add a small discourse, originally written in French, against that great Sorbonist Mons. Arnaud, touching the perpetuity of the Romish faith about the Eucharist, and so wishing you much health and happiness,

I remain sir,

Your faithful servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG.

Sir,

When you send any thing more for the R. Society, or for me, I pray, add my dwelling place, (in the Pal-Mal) to the superscription. I must not forget to give you very many thanks for the Cranberries ; they tasted of the cask, or else they would have been very good.

P. S. I just now received Sir R. Moray's letter, as you find it here unsealed. My Lord Brereton hath not yet sent his, and I dare stay no longer from doing up this packet, the master of the ship having appointed this morning for the delivering of it.

MORE GLEANINGS FOR NEW ENGLAND HISTORY.

BY JAMES SAVAGE,

PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

COLLEGISSE JUVAT.

THE unexpected favor with which my humble Gleanings in Vol. VIII. were received seems justly to demand from me a correction of numerous errors in giving names, either family or baptismal, which a scrupulous collation of the old Custom-house MS. at Westminster Hall, made by our collaborer, Rev. J. Hunter, at his own suggestion, has furnished. I take occasion to mark the petty slips of the press, of very little importance, that would have been left to a reader's correction; and to add a few notes that may not seem useless illustrations.

If the eye be not too much fatigued with this preliminary matter, it will with satisfaction repose on the interesting intelligence obtained for me at Salisbury by the excellent Dean of that diocese, and on the still more valuable contribution from London obtained last year.

ERRATA

IN THE FORMER ARTICLE IN VOL. VIII. BEGINNING AT PAGE 243.

Page 249, line 15, for Emannel	read	Emanuel.
252, . 21, . Ministers . . .		Minister.
22, . Egyd. . . .		Egidii.
27, . Christopher . . .		Christian.
32, . Barker . . .		Barber.
33, . Heyles . . .		Heyler (probably).
38, . Morden . . .		Worden.
41, . Grubb . . .		Cribb.

42, "Mildred Bredstreet" should be in the margin; as it stands, not for the name of an emigrant, but for the parish in London, St. Mildred Breadstreet, from which one or more of the passengers came.

Page 253, line 14, for Burdocke read Bundocke.
 18, . Landon . . . Landen.
 23, . Martha . . . Matthew.
 33, . Nathan . . . Kathren.
 37, strike out "Great." The scribe wrote, by mistake, "St." in the original MS. *twice*.

Page 253, line 40, for Chiltwood read Chittwood.
 44, . Maria . . . Marie. There was, in those times, no Maria or Eliza.

Page 253, line 46, for James . . . Jane.
 254, . 4, . Nahum Haserd . Nathan Heford, or perhaps Haferd, or Haford.

Page 254, line 4, for Harvea read Harvie.
 6, . Maria Beardsley . Marie Beadsley.
 7, . Maria Beardslea Marie Beadslea; and the other children in the next two lines have not the *r* in their names, though the father has.

Page 254, line 13, for Auckstray read Auckstrey.
 16, . Burdick . . . Bundicke, and wherever the master's name occurs.

Page 254, line 19, for "Stanstedd Abby there," read "Stanstedd Abby in com. Hert." But this heading seems to belong only to the six names beginning with "Lawrence Whittemore," for there is a stroke after "Peacock," to mark termination.

Page 254, line 21, for Ruggles read Ruggells.
 27, . Ell-Tyrley . Ell-Tysley.
 31, "of St. Katharines" belongs to the name below, being an interlineation with a (^) mark.

Page 254, line 32, for "Duffil," read "Duffill," which is the description of "Peat" only.

Page 254, line 35, for Bell read Bill.
 255, . 7, . Minister . . . Ministers.
 16, . Sycille . . . Sycillie.
 30, . Jo. Johnes, 15 . Jo. Joynes, 18.
 32, . Hedges . . . Hodges.
 45, . thereof . . . there.
 256, . 1, . Bradley, 29 . Bradley, 20.
 2, . Stedman . . . Studman; but on p. 261

the names of his wife and children, passengers in the same ship, are given as nowadays spelt, and so spelt in the Custom-house record.

Page 256, line 6, "Bayley" is doubtful.
 7, for Buttrick read Butterick.
 14, . Stow . . . Ston. The last letter may be *u*.

20, . Hedges . . . Hodges.
 31, . Baron . . . Bacon.
 35, . Jestlin . . . Jostlin.
 38, . " . . . "
 257, . 5, &c., Hasfell . . . Haffell.
 13, . Eylin . . . Eglin.
 18, . Wilder . . . Wild.

Page 257, line 25, for	86	read	36.
	33, . 12 Apr.		13 Apr.
258, . 3,	Miller . . .		Millet.
	4, . " . . .		"
	11, . 51 . . .		41.
	13, . 6 . . .		5.
	18, . Sparks . . .		Sparks, 22.
	19, . Taylor . . .		Taylor, 24.
259, . 14,	Swayne, 15 . . .		Swayne, 16.
	15, . Berlie . . .		Bewlie.
	26, . Lambert . . .		Lumbert.
	31, . New England . . .		Newland (a blunder of
the scribe).			
Page 260, . 21,	Crosby, 8 mo. . .		Crosby, 8 weeks.
	22, . Rec. Rainton . . .		Ric. Rowton (and so wife
and child).			
	26, . Gelston . . .		Gilston (probably).
	27, . Traine . . .		Trane.
	28, . Dix, 19 . . .		Dix, 18.
	29, . Atherson . . .		Atherston.
	31, . Thomlins, 19 . . .		Thomlins, 18.
	33, . Carrington . . .		Corrington.
	34, . " . . .		"
	36, . Brooke, 19 . . .		Brooke, 18.
261, . 1,	Crodie . . .		Owdie.
	16, . Grosse . . .		Crosse.
	33, . Rainton . . .		Rawlin.
	34, . Warden . . .		Worden.
	36, and four following, the names are connected by a		
brace, and "children" written opposite.			
Page 262, line 17, for	Brooke	read	Brocke.
	24, . Pond . . .		Pount (probably). Only
the first two letters are certain.			
Page 263, line 5, for	Smyndes . . .		Swynden.
	8, . 7 May . . .		8 May.
	10, . Mylne . . .		Wylie.
	13, . Bement . . .		Bewmont.
264, . 7,	Samson . . .		Sansom.
	19, . 46 . . .		16.
	20, "Tusler" is doubtful, more like "Tusele."		
265, . 3,	"leoman," after "All Saints," is very doubtful, as		
was intended by me to be represented in refusing to give the word a capital letter. Nor is any meaning known.			
Page 265, line 6, for	Ashley	read	Ashbey.
	8, . Abraham, 1 yrs . . .		Abraham, 1 quarter.
	16, . Louge . . .		Longe.
	22, . and . . .		ten.
266, . 6,	Denny, 21 . . .		Denny, 24.
	18, . Mannings . . .		Monnings.
	19, . Mehitabell Mannings		Michelaliel Monnings.

After receiving the *first* correction of this *un-Christian* name into Miche-

labell, I wrote to Mr. Hunter, that we knew the child here very well, and his name was Mahalaleel. This led to another examination, and the answer is as above, with this specific proof: — “The *ic* cannot be read an *a*, though that would be the true orthography. There is, however, no dot over the *i*, while the dot appears in the names Price and Moñings; but the *i* in *liel* is not dotted.”

	Page 266, line 21,	for More	read	Mere.
	22,	“		“
	23,	Manning		Monnings.
	25,	Dedmen		Drewrie.
	26,	Cegona		Cesara.
	30,	Peirse		Price.
	32,	More		Mere.
	33,	“		“
	267, . 5,	Sturbridge		Stucbruge.
	26,	Allers		Alley.
	29,	Bardin		Burdin.
	268, . 10,	Buskett		Bushell.
	38,	Eliza		Eliz.
	42,	Elisa		Eliz.
	269, . 12,	before “Abigall,” the word “uxor” is in the origi-		
nal MS.	270, . 2,	for Stanley	read	Sawkyn.
	13,	Deno		Darno.
	19,	Buttny		Buttry.
	20,	“		“
	21,	“		“
	51,	Danes		Daues.
	272, . 6,	Jno’son		Ireson. This is the col-
	lation of February, 1846; but in November following, my scrupulous			
	friend, after a second scrutiny, writes: — “On looking again at the MS.,			
	I rather incline to what was your original reading, or nearly so. The			
	name seems to be Tho. Jn’son, 25, for Johnson, written short.”			
	Page 272, line 22,	for Edye	read	Edge.
	26,	Rose		Rofe.
	27,	Foster		Forten.
	30,	20 Septr.		19 Septr. (i. e. Saturday,
not Sunday).	Page 273, . 1,	Joes		Ives.
	3,	Done, 17		Done, 16.
	4,	Broome, 16		Broome, 17.
	278, . 1,	tember		temper.
	284, . 32,	July 28		July 23.
		Pubike		Publike.
	298, . 36,	Loudon		London.
	309, . 14,	Ælatis		Ætatis.
	18,	pesuit		posuit.
	314, . 35,	scullop		scallop.
	315, . 14,	Hayres		Haynes.
	316, . 38,	Philips		Phillipps.

NOTES ON FORMER GLEANINGS.

The "Brandeston," in Isaac Johnson's will, p. 244, is in Suffolk, perhaps deriving its name from the ancient family of Brande. "Bury field" is probably on the road to Bury St. Edmunds.

On p. 256, among the passengers in the *Rebecca* is inserted the name of "Geo. Woodward, 35"; and it may not seem too rash a conjecture, considering the perpetual occurrence of marks of carelessness in this record, that it is an error of repetition from p. 254, where one of the same name and age is introduced as a passenger in the *Hopewell*.

My mistake, on p. 257, in the date of "12 Apr.," instead of 13, might have been avoided, however indistinct the MS., had the almanac been turned to, for the custom-house could not have been open on the 12th, being Sunday.

This Richard Saltonstall, p. 258, passenger, with his wife and babe, in the *Susan and Ellen*, had, in 1630, accompanied his father in Governor Winthrop's fleet, and followed him home next year, 23 November. His wife, in the text, was daughter of Brampton Gurdon, Esquire, of Assington, in Suffolk, who, according to the arbitrary fashion of the times, had by the king been made Sheriff of the County, to punish his Puritanical affections, in preventing thereby his election to Parliament, as one of the Knights of the Shire.

It was easily proved that the age of Rachell Bigg, on p. 261, a passenger in the *Elizabeth*, was wrong. In her will, made eleven years later, she calls herself *aged*, and Hopeskill Foster, the fellow-passenger, her nephew; yet he would appear some years older than his aunt. At my desire, a fac-simile of the MS., containing names before and after, as well as this, was taken; and the copy in my text is exact in every letter and figure. What the scribe at the office would have written, had he minded his duty, whether the 6 should have stood in the place of units or of tens, is not so important as in many cases it would be.

On p. 263, the name of "Ric'd Goare," in the *Elizabeth and Ann*, is a repetition from the list of a former day, on the page before, of passengers in the same ship; and a similar blunder is observable in the names of two passengers,

Rich'd Brooke and Tho. Brooke, companions of Rev. Peter Bulkley in the Susan and Ellen, yet Tho., on p. 260, is called 18, and here 20. Something of confusion, also, might be supposed on p. 268, among the passengers in the Defence, standing in the MS. thus, —

“ husbandman	John Sheppard,	36
	Margaret Sheppard,	31
	Tho. Sheppard,	3 mo.” —

where it is presumable that John is a *fiction*; for we know, from his autobiography, that Rev. Thomas Sheppard came at *that* time in *that* ship, with *that* wife Margaret, and *that* son Thomas, born in April before, and within a day or two of three months old. A little lower, on the same page, among the servants of Harlakenden, are

“ Wm. French,	30
Eliz. his wife,	32,”

while, a few lines above, appear no doubt the *same* wife, “Elizabeth French, 30,” with the children. Yet my reflections on the frequency of these and grosser marks of carelessness in this document, caused by the preposterous tyranny of Archbishop Laud’s Committee of the Privy Council, have gradually led me to doubt whether much of the error was not intentional. For various reasons, in various cases, it was desirable that the purposes of the government should be eluded. Several gentlemen are known to have come over in the Abigail with John Winthrop, Jr., in 1635, whose names are not to be found in that list, which contains, indeed, 174, which one might think a sufficient number, but 220 are, by Governor Winthrop, said to have arrived in her. Some repetition might naturally be looked for; and in such a palpable case as the two Lewes, at the bottom of p. 270 and near the top of p. 271, might appear to have arisen from my carelessness, not that of the officer above two hundred years since, had not this minute explanation been given.

“Serjeant Barnardiston,” residuary devisee in the will of Sir George Downing (the latest baronet), mentioned p. 277, was son of Thomas, married 28 June, 1705, to Mary Downing, both of Bury St. Edmunds. She was sister of Sir George, and died in 1728, aged 57.

Errors in the transcript from the Parish Register of

Groton, pp. 296, 297, suggested by me to my correspondent, our fellow-laborer of Long Melford, produced another examination; and so the date of the death of the second wife of John Winthrop is found 1616, instead of 1626; the name "Jones" is Fones, the mistake being of the old *ff* for a capital *J*; and in the latest article, Mr., not Mrs., Forth Winthrop. But on the next page I find an error of my own, in speaking of *fifteen* children of Governor Winthrop; for *another*, after William, was born here: Sarah, baptized, says our First Church record, "29th of 4. 1634."

My erroneous conjectures, p. 317, that "p. m.," in Sir Thomas Phillipps's Register of Sarum, meant *by removal*, and "p. r." stood for *pro rectore*, were kindly corrected by Sir Thomas, who took the opportunity of presenting me the curious volume; "p. m." is an abbreviation for *per mortem*, and "p. r." for *per resignationem*.

Peter Thacher, father of our Thomas, was presented with that living, of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, by Bishop Davenant.

On the very remarkable epistle of John Davenport to Sir Thomas Temple (pp. 327 - 329), which he forwarded from Boston to London, any comment is unnecessary. Of course, there is some mistake of date in the copy of the New Haven, or of the Boston, letter; perhaps the former, Davenport's, should be 9, instead of 19, Aug. 1661, if Temple's date of 20 is correct; for the journey between the two towns in that early year must have taken six or seven days. Therē may have been *design* in giving a false date, but it is not apparent. Perhaps Pincheon, of Springfield, and Capt. Lord, of Hartford, had less eagerness of desire for the arrest of Whalley and Goffe than Col. Temple presumed.

NEW GLEANINGS.

HAVING suggested, in July, 1842, to Dr. Pearson, the Dean of Salisbury, certain inquiries for information in his diocese, that gentleman, in addition to the favor of bringing me acquainted, at his own hospitable mansion in London, with Mr. Benson, the learned Recorder of Salisbury, as well as much other kindness, conveyed my note to Henry Hatcher, Esquire, the chief antiquary of that metropolitan

city. He crowned his polite attention by forwarding to me, in the year following, this communication in reply. The historian of Salisbury, Hatcher, died 13 December 1846, æt. 70; and in the April number of the Gentleman's Magazine for the next year a biographical memoir of him appears.

Revd. Sir,

I inclose some information on the subjects mentioned in Mr. Savage's letter. I have taken the liberty to address my communication to you, though I by no means wish to give you the trouble to read it. I return Mr. Savage's letter also.

I am, Revd. Sir, your obedient servant,
H. HATCHER.

Salisbury, Nov. 19, 1842.

The very Reverend the Dean of Salisbury.

Revd. Sir,

I send you the few scattered notices which I have collected relative to the persons mentioned in Mr. Savage's letter. They are not so full as I could have wished; but they are quite as much so as might be expected, from the distance of the time and the disturbed state of the country, at the commencement of the Civil War. Mr. Savage's purpose is so laudable, that he is entitled to all the assistance we can give him, on this side of the water.

As the Revd. P. Thacher filled a public station for some years, the information relating to him is much more abundant and distinct than that preserved of the others.

I do not believe him to have been a native of Salisbury, though the name of Thacher twice occurs in the Register of St. Edmunds, towards the close of the sixteenth century. He was appointed minister of St. Edmunds in 1622, and the circumstances connected with his appointment are subjoined, as they are recorded in the Minute Book of the Vestry.

I ought to premise, that the right of patronage to the living of St. Edmunds was then a matter of dispute between the bishop and certain inhabitants of the parish, who laid claim to it in consequence of the transfer of the college, and the rights and property belonging to it, to William St. Bache, at the dissolution.

The mode in which the living was filled, for some years, is not quite clear ; but the immediate predecessor of Thacher was Hugh Williams, who was presented by Bishop Cotton in 1606, and resigned in 1621 or 1622, apparently in consequence of a disagreement with the leaders of the parish, who were Puritans. The cause was evidently a diversity of religious opinion.

“A Vestry being called the 11th January 1622 [1622-3], It is now ordered, that the agreement touching M^r Thacher *coming* to be our minister shall proceed without any longer deliberation ; and all convenient speed shall be made for the effecting thereof.”

“At the Vestry held the 19th January 1622 [1622-3]. At this Vestry it is agreed, with full consent, that the matter agreed upon, touching M^r Thacher’s *coming*, shall proceed ; and if it may be possible to be effected, M^r Thacher shall be placed here, and be vested in our church, as our minister, before Shrove Sunday next [the annual meeting of the Vestry] ; and for the better effecting thereof, and all necessary things touching the same, M^r Recorder [Giles Tookee] is to be desired to be at a Vestry to be held on the 17th day of February next, in the evening, to which day this Vestry is adjourned.

HENRY SHERFIELD	THO. BULLER
B. TOOKIE	T. HANCOCK
JOHN PUXTON	WILLM. MARSHALL
ROBERT JOLE	ROBERT ROBERTS
JAMES MICHELL	ROBERT TYTE
GEORGE BEACHE	JOHN JOIE.”
PETER BANKES	

I give the names, to enable Mr. Savage to trace any of their connections or descendants.

“16 Feb. 1622 [1622-3]. At the court of the Vestry there held, the day aforesaid, a letter sent by the worthy Giles Tookee, Esq., Recorder of this town, and directed to the Masters of this Vestry, was read and deliberately considered of, and his care and his good wishes to the church is by all acknowledged. After due consideration had whereof, it is now again ordered, by the general consent of all the masters present at the Vestry, that M^r Thacher shall be our minis-

ter and preacher in this church, as hath been formerly often resolved; and that the same shall be now effected, with all expedition; for the better finishing whereof, this Vestry is adjourned till Wednesday next, at four of the clock in the afternoon, and in the mean time M^r Sherfield, M^r Hancock, M^r Tookie, M^r Horne, some of the masters of this Vestry, are desired to meet, and to prepare such things as are requisite in the cause; and M^r Jole, M^r Marshall, M^r Joie, and both the churchwardens, other masters of this Vestry, and M^r John Dove, are desired to collect the voluntary contributions, according as every man hath set down in writing; and it is hoped and desired, that M^r Recorder will be present and to give his counsel and assistance in the furthering and finishing this good work in hand."

In one of our local chronicles, the Recorder Tookie is lauded highly for his exertions in providing the church with a proper minister.

From this account, it is evident that Mr. Thacher was brought in by the Puritan or Presbyterian party in the Vestry. The word *come*, which is twice used, I consider as a proof that he was not previously resident in the city. His institution as Rector of St. Edmunds is recorded in the Bishop's Books under the date of 1622. The bishop is mentioned as the patron. This was Bishop Davenant, who favored the Puritans, and doubtless accepted the recommendation of the Vestry.

While Mr. Thacher was minister, the following notices occur relative to him and his family.

Baptisms.

1623, November. Martha, daughter of M^r Peter Thacher, parson of this parish.

In 1624, Apr. 24, the former incumbent, Hugh Williams, is mentioned as being present at the celebration of a marriage in the absence of Mr. P. Thacher, "being at this present parson of the Parish."

1625-6, Jan. 29: baptized Elisabeth, dau. of M^r Peter Thacher.

1627-8, Jan. 29: John, son to M^r Peter Thacher, minister of this Parish.

1636-7, 1 Jan. Samuel, son of M^r Peter Thacher.

1638. Paul, son of M^r Peter Thacher.

1640, Aug. 30. Barnabas, son of M^r Peter Thacher.

In 1631 and 1633, we find Anthony Thacher, probably his brother, mentioned as his Curate.

In 1634, April 27, occurs this entry, relative to a son of Anthony Thacher: —

“Benjamin, son of Anthony and Mary Thacher, born on Sunday, the 13th day, between the hours of one and two in the morning, and baptized the 27th day of the same month.”

The name of Anthony Thacher appears again as Curate in 1634.

In 1632 and 1633, we find some licenses granted by the Rev. P. Thacher to different persons, for eating flesh in the season of Lent. One is to his own wife, Anne Thacher, dated March 1, 1633.

The following is that granted to the wife of the Recorder Sherfield, who broke the painted windows of St. Edmunds Church, and whose punishment was unjustly made one of the heads of accusation against Archbishop Laud: —

“I, Peter Thacher, Parson of the Parish Church of St. Edmunds within the City of New Sarum, in the County of Wilts, being sufficiently certified and assured of the weak and sickly estate of M^{rs} Rebecca Sherfield, of the Parish aforesaid, do by these presents, as far as the laws of this Realm have given power in that case, license the said M^{rs} Rebecca Sherfield to eat all such kinds of flesh, in this time of Lent, as the laws of this Realm do in that case allow, during such her weakness. Dated the 23^d day of February in the year of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles, the ninth [1632 - 3].”

All these licenses are entered in the Parish Register, and attested by Anthony Thacher, Curate.

Peter Thacher died in the beginning of February, 1640 -1. His burial is thus recorded, under the date of February 19: —“Burials. M^r Peter Thacher Rector ibm.”

His remains were deposited under an altar tomb, on the north side of the church-yard. It is apparently the most ancient to be found there, and bears this inscription, in the first compartment on the south side: —

“Here lyeth the bodye of M^r Peter Thatcher, who was a

laborious minister of the Gospell of Jesus Christ in ye Parish of St. Edmunds for ye space of XIX yeares. He departed this lyfe the Lord's Day at three of the clocke ye xi of February, 1640. Let no man move his bones."

He was probably the last of his family buried here, as no inscription appears in the other three compartments.

Of the Rev. W. Worcester I find no trace. Indeed, I think Worcester is not a Salisbury name.

Relative to the Verins, I find the following entries in the registers : —

Baptisms.

1593. Anna Velyn, the daughter of Hew Velyn.
 1601-2, Jan. William, son to Hew Velyn.
 1607. Dorcas, daugh. to Philip Ferine.
 1614, June 24. Richard, son to Hope Veyrene.
 1619, March. Philip, son to Philip Veron, Roper.
 1621-2, March 3. Hellyer, son to Philip Verin, Roper.
 1623, Ap. 6. Nathaniel, son to Philip Verin, Roper.
 1627, Oct. 9. Eliz., daughter to Edward Verin.
 1632, Oct. 14. Edward, son to Robert Verin.

Marriages.

- 1559-60. Humfrey Verie and Margaret Jeffrie.
 1587-8. Roger Very and Agnes Baylie.
 1588, July 29. Thomas Cope and Elizabeth Verye.
 1623-4, Jan. 15. Richard Alwood and Dorcas Verin.

Burials.

- 1607, Nov. 30. Hugh Verine.
 1621, Ap. Rebecca, daughter to Philip Verin.

Webb is a very common name in Salisbury, derived, I have no doubt, from the occupation of a webber, or weaver. Perhaps the following entries may have reference to Henry Webb, who is the subject of Mr. Savage's inquiry.

Baptism.

- 1625, Sept. 25. Margaret, daughter to Henry Webb, weaver.

Marriages.

1583. William Webb and Isabell Goodridge.

1627, Ap. 23. Henry Webb and Jane Woolford, both of this Parish.

The only entry relating to the Averys is this : —

1591. Burial. Mary, wife to Christopher Aveye.

There were Averys in the town within my recollection.

The following entry belongs to a New England name : —

1591-2, March 18. Burial of Henry Mather.

Mr. Savage will best judge whether I am right in my conjectures, that these entries following have some connection with the founder of Harvard College : —

Baptisms.

1616-7. Thomas, son of Thomas Harvard.

1621-2. Thomas, son of Thomas Harward.

1623, Sept. 27. Richard, son of Thomas Harward.

1625, Oct. 14. Thomas, son of Thomas Harward.

1632. Frances, daughter to Tho. Harwood.

Marriages.

1583, Oct. George Harford and Alice Serjeant.

1611, Dec. 7. John Harford and Mary Bolton.

1615, May 18. William Harford and Eliz. Hibbert.

Burials.

1564. Pachil, son to George Harford.

1570, Nov. 6. Jane Harford, widow.

1603, Sept. 30. Margaret Harford.

This Register is a copy from one of earlier date, and confessedly imperfect.

Mr. Savage's letter has opened a new view to me. In return for this communication, I shall be happy to receive any further information concerning emigrants from Salisbury to America at the commencement of the great Rebellion, or after the Restoration. If the History of Salisbury is fated to reach a second edition, I should like to devote a page to this subject.

It is not unlikely that I may obtain information with respect to the Rev. James Noyes of Cholderton.

I beg leave to subscribe myself, Revd. Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
H. HATCHER.

Salisbury, Nov. 20, 1842.

MORE PASSENGERS.

To the benevolence of our countryman, Henry Stephens, Esquire, 6 Waterloo Place, London, I owe the following contribution, received last year, of three more lists of persons coming early to New England.

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords and others of his Ma^{ty} moste honn^{ble} Privie Councill:

The humble Peticōn and Certificates of John Cuttinge Ma^r of the shipp called the Francis, and William Andrewes Ma^r of the Elizabeth, both of Ipswich.

Right honno^{ble} accordinge to your Lord^{pp}s order, wee do herewith presente unto your Lord^{pp}s the names of all the Passengers that wente for Newe England in the said shippes the tenth daye of Aprill laste paste.

Humble intreatinge your Lord^{pp}s (they havinge performed your honnors order) that the bonds in that behalfe given may bee delivered back to your Peticōners.

And they as in dutie bound will dailye praye for your honnors healthes and happynes.

S. P. O. America & West Indies.

Vol. 375 (Original).

Petition of Cuttinge and Andrew — (with the lists of Passengers for New England in April 1634).

Ipswich.

A note of the names and ages of all the Passengers which tooke shippinge in the Elizabeth of Ipswich, Ma^r W^m Andrews bound for New England the last of Aprill 1634.

John Sherman	aged 20 yeeres	Edmond Lewis	aged 33 yeeres
Joseph Mosse	24	Mary his Wife	32
Richard Woodward	45	John Spring	45
Rose his Wife	50	Elinor his Wife	46

Thurston Raynor	aged 40 yeeres	William Blomfield	aged 30 yeeres
Elizabeth his Wife	36	Sarah his Wife	25
Thomas Skott	40	Robert Day	30
Elizabeth his Wife	40	Mary his Wife	28
Henery Kemball	44	Sarah Reynolds	20
Susan his Wife	35	Robert Goodale	30
Richard Kemball	39	Katherin his Wife	28
Ursula his Wife		Samuell Smithe	32
Isaacke Mixer	31	Elizabeth his Wife	32
Sarah his Wife	33	Thomas Hastings	29
Martha Scott	60	Susan his Wife	34
George Munnings	37	Susan Munson	25
Elizabeth his Wife	41	Martin Underwood	38
John Bernard	30	Martha his Wife	31
Phebe his Wife	27	Henery Gouldson	43
Thomas Kilborne	24	Anne his Wife	45
Elizabeth his Wife	20	Anne Gouldson	18
John Crosse	50	William Cutting	26
Anne his Wife	38	John Palmer	24
Robert Sherin	32	Danyell Pierce	23
Humphry Bradstreet	40	John Clearke	22
Bridgett his Wife	30	John Firmin	46
Henery Glover	24	Rebecca Isaacke	36
		Anne Dorifall	24

These persons above named tooke the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, at his Maj^{ty}s Custome house in Ipswich before us his Ma^{ty}s Officers according to the order of the Lords and others of his Ma^{ty}s most Hon^{ble} Privy Councell, this 12th of November * 1634. Ipswich Customehouse.

[Signed]

PHIL. BROWNE P. Cust^r.

THO. CLERC Sur.

EDW MAN Compt.

S. P. O. America & West Indies.

Vol. 375 (Original).

List of Passengers for New England (inclosed in Cuttinge and Andrews's Petition.)

Ipswich.

A note of all the names and ages of all those which did not take the oath of allegiance or supremacy beeing under age shipped in our Port in the Elizabeth of Ipswich Ma^r Wil-

* The date, evidently, is that of the certificate from the office, not of the passengers taking the oath. We know they were landed here five months before.

William Andrewes bound for New England the last of April 1634.

Edm. Lewis		Mary Kemball	aged 9 y ^m
John Lewis	aged 3 y ^m	Martha Kemball	5
Thomas Lewis	$\frac{3}{4}$	John Kemball	3
Rich. Woodward		Thomas Kemball	1
George Woodward	13	John Lavericke	15
John Woodward	13	Geo. Munnings	
John Spring		Elizabeth Munnings	12
Mary Spring	11	Abigail Munnings	7
Henry Spring	6	Jno. Bernard	
John Spring	4	John Bernard	2
William Spring	$\frac{3}{4}$	Samuel Bernard	1
Thurston Raynor		Thomas King	15
Thurston Raynor	13	Hum. Bradstreet	
Joseph Raynor	11	Anna Bradstreet	9
Elizabeth Raynor	9	John Bradstreet	3
Sarah Raynor	7	Martha Bradstreet	2
Lidia Raynor	1 y ^r	Mary Bradstreet	1
Edward Raynor	10	W ^m Blomfield	
Elizabeth Kemball	13	Sarah Blomfield	1
Tho ^s Scott		Sam. Smith	
Elizabeth Scott	9	Samuell Smith	9
Abigail Scott	7	Mary Smith	4
Thomas Scott	6	Elizabeth Smith	7
Isaack Mixer	4	Phillip Smith	1
Hen. Kemball		Rob ^t Goodale	
Elizabeth Kemball	4	Mary Goodale	4
Susan Kemball	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Abraham Goodale	2
Richard Cutting	11	Isaacke Goodale	$\frac{1}{2}$
Rich. Kemball		Hen. Gouldson	
Henry Kemball	15	Mary Gouldson	15
Richard Kemball	11		

Ipswich Customehouse this 12th of Nov^r 1634.

PHIL. BROWNE P. Cust^r. THOS. CLERC Su^r.
EDW. MAN Compt.

S. P. O. America & West Indies.
Vol. 375 (Original).

List of Passengers for New England (inclosed in the Petition of Cuttinge and Andrews.)

Ipswich.

A Note of the names and ages of all the Passengers w^{ch} tooke

shipping in the Francis of Ipswich Ma^r John Cutting bound for New England the last of April 1634.

John Beetes	aged 40 y ⁿ	Robert Pease	aged 27 y ⁿ
William Haulton	23	Hugh Mason	28
Nicholas Jennings	22	Hester his Wife	22
William Westwoode	28	Rowland Stebing	40
Bridgett his Wife	32	Sarah his Wife	43
Cleare Drap	30	Thomas Sherwood	48
Robert Rose	40	Alice his Wife	47
Margery his Wife	40	Thomas King	19
John Bernard	36	John Mapes	21
Mary his Wife	38	Mary Blossse	40
William Frebourne	40	Robert Cooe	38
Mary his Wife	33	Anna his Wife	43
Anthony White	27	Mary Onge	27
Edward Bugbye	40	Thomas Boyden	21
Rebecca his Wife	32	Richard Wattlin	28
Abraham Newell	50	John Lyvermore	28
Francis his Wife	40	Richard Pepper	27
Just. Houlding	23	Mary his Wife	30
John Pease	27	Richard Houlding	25
Robert Winge	60	Judeth Garnett	26
Judith his Wife	43	Elizabeth Hamond	47
John Greene	27	Thurston Clarke	44

These Persons above named tooke the Oath of Allegiance and supremacy at His Maj^{ties} Custome house in Ipswich before us his Maj^{ties} Officers, according to the order of the Lords and others of His Maj^{ties} most Hon^{ble} Privy Councell, the 12th of November 1634. Ipswich Custome house.

PHIL BROWNE P Custr. THO^s CLERC Sur.

EDW : MANN Compt.

S. P. O. America & West Indies.

Vol. 375 (Original).

List of Passengers for New England (inclosed in the Petition of Cutting and Andrews.)

Ipswich.

A note of all the names and ages of all those which did not take the Oath of Allegiance or Supremacy, being under age, shipped in our Port In the Francis of Ipswich Ma^r John Cutting, bound for New England the last of April 1634.

Will ^m Westwood		Robert Pease	aged 3 y ^r
John Lea	aged 13 y ^r	Darcas Greene	15
Grace Newells	13	Rowland Stebing	
Rob ^t Rose		Thomas Stebing	14
John Rose	15	Sarah Stebing	11
Robert Rose	15	Elizabeth Stebing	6
Elizabeth Rose	13	John Stebing	8
Mary Rose	11	Mary Winche	15
Samuel Rose	9	Mary Blossse	
Sarah Rose	7	Richard Blossse	11
Danyell Rose	3	Tho ^s Sherwood	
Darcas Rose	2	Anna Sherwood	14
Will ^m Freebourne		Rose Sherwood	11
Mary Freebourne	7	Thomas Sherwood	10
Sarah Freebourne	2	Rebecca Sherwood	9
John Aldburgh	14	Rob ^t Cooe	
Jno. Bernard		John Cooe	8
Fayth Newell	14	Robert Cooe	7
Henry Haward	7	Benjamin Cooe	5
Abr. Newell		Rich. Pepper	
Abraham Newell	8	Mary Pepper	3½
John Newell	5	Stephen Beckett	11
Isaacke Newell	2	Eliz. Hamond	
Edw. Bugby		Elizabeth Hamond	15
Sarah Bugbye	4	Sarah Hamond	10
Jno. Pease		John Hamond	7
Fayth Clearke	15		

Ipswich Custome house this 12th of Nov^r 1634.

PHIL BROWNE P Cust^r. EDW. MANN Compr^r.

S. P. O. America & West Indies.

Vol. 375 (Original).

List of Passengers for New England (inclosed in the Petition of Cuttinge and Andrewes.)

Southampton.

The list of the names of Passengers intended to shipe themselves in the Bevis of Hampton of 150 Tonnes, Robert Batten Master for New England; and thus by virtue of the Lord Treasurer's Warrant of the second of May w^{ch} was after the restrayne and they some dayes gone to sea before the Kings Maj^{ties} Proclamation came unto Southampton.

Ages

- | | |
|----|--|
| 05 | John Frey of Basing, Whelwrite, his wife and three children. |
| 40 | Richard Austin Tayler of Bishopstocke, his Wife and |
| 05 | two children. |

Ages

	Robert Ringht his servant Carpenter.	
37	Christopher Batt of Sarum Tanner.	
32	Anne his Wife.	
20	Dorothie Batt there sister, and five children under	
10	tenne yeares.	
24	Thomas Good	} Servants.
22	Eliza Blackston	
18	Rebecca Pond	
62	William Carpenter	} of Howell, Carpenters.
33	William Carpenter	
32	Abiguel Carpenter	
10	& under and fower Children.	
14	Tho ^s Banshott, Servant.	
38	Annis Littlefeild and six Children.	
	John Ringht Carpenter	} Servants.
	Heugh Durdal	
26	Henery Byley of Sarum Tanner.	
22	Mary Byley.	
	Thomas Reeves servant.	
20	John Biley.	
40	Richard Du ^m er of New england.	
35	Alice Du ^m er.	
19	Thomas Du ^m er.	
19	Joane Du ^m er.	
10	Jane Du ^m er.	
09	Stephen Du ^m er Husbandman.*	
06	Dorothie Du ^m er.	
04	Richard Dumer.	
02	Thomas Du ^m er.	
30	John Hutchinson Carpenter	} Servants.
26	Francis Alcocke virg ^r †	
19	Adam Allott Tayler	
22	William Wakefeild	
20	Nathannel Parker of London Backer †	
18	Samuel Poore	
14	Dayell Poore	
20	Alce Poore	
15	Richard Bayley	
20	Anne Wakefeild	

The number of the Passengers abovementioned are Six-
tie and one Soules.

[Signed]

HEN. CHAMPANTE Cust^r.

[Qu.] † THO^s WIDEFRIS Coll^r and Surv^r.

N. DINGLEY Compt^r.

* Perhaps the first figure on the left, against the name of Stephen Du^mer, should be 2. Certainly a youth of nine years ought not to be titled *husbandman*.

† What the words marked thus import is uncertain.

‡ The names of the officers at Southampton, 1635, will explain this query of the office clerk at the State Paper Office. See 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 320.

[Indorsed]

Southampton.

1638.

The Certificate and list of the Passengers names gone for
New England in the Bevis of Hampton in May 1638.

S. P. O. America & West Indies.

Vol. 372 (Original).

List of the Passengers for New England.

Boston, 8 Jan., 1848.

SUFFOLK EMIGRANTS.

GENEALOGICAL NOTICES OF VARIOUS PERSONS AND FAMILIES WHO IN THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST EMIGRATED TO NEW ENGLAND FROM THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

Communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, September, 1847,

By JOSEPH HUNTER,

A MEMBER OF THAT SOCIETY, AND A FELLOW OF THE SOCIETIES OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON AND NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

IN the progress of a rather extensive course of reading in the MS. collections of genealogy at the British Museum, I have become acquainted with one manuscript to which very little, if any, attention has hitherto been paid. It is in the Harleian department of the Library, having been purchased for the Earl of Oxford by Wanley, in 1716, as appears by a memorandum at the beginning in Wanley's own handwriting. It is numbered 6071. The description of it in the Catalogue conveys no clear idea of its nature and contents, and is wholly disproportionate to its curiosity and value: — "An Heraldical Book shewing the Descent and Pedigree of the Kings of England, and of several Families of the Nobility and Gentry, with an Alphabetical Index at each End. Contains 547 pages." It is plainly an autograph manuscript of some zealous genealogist, containing much matter peculiar to itself. There is in no part of it any express claim to the authorship by the person whose work it is, and the compiler of the Catalogue does not, as we see, attempt to settle this question. I have, however, succeeded in tracing it to its author; and the knowledge of its author gives to it additional value and high authority.

It is the work of one of the Puritan divines of the century before the last, one of the very few ministers of that class who paid any attention to historical or genealogical inquiry. His name was Matthias Candler; born February 24, 1604; educated in the University of Cambridge; became M. A., and in 1629 was presented to the vicarage of Codenham, in Suffolk, a place in the hundred of Bosmere, near to Needham-Market, and but a few miles north of Ipswich. His father was a schoolmaster at Yoxford, and his mother a member of a large family named Fiske, some of whom had been sufferers in the persecution of the Protestants in the reign of Queen Mary, and others, his near relations, had removed themselves, in the time of the great Puritan emigration, to New England. His wife was one of a large family of Suffolk divines bearing the name of Devreux, a name rarely found, except in the instance of this family, but in near connection with eminent dignities in England. Her father was rector of Rattlesden in Suffolk. The issue of this marriage was three sons, who all took orders and were all beneficed, before their father's death, in the counties of Suffolk and Essex, — namely, Nicholas, who was vicar of Framlingham, John, rector of Little Bromley, and Philip, who had the Key Church in Ipswich. All these particulars are from his own Manuscript; but from Dr. Calamy's *Account of the Ejected and Silenced Ministers by the Act of Uniformity*, 1662, p. 652, we learn that Mr. Candler was one of the clergymen of the diocese, on whom had fallen the displeasure of Bishop Wren, the great enemy of the Puritans, and that he declined to comply with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity, and gave up his living of Codenham. He is described as having been for many years a most influential minister, opposing at once prelatical tyranny and the wild enthusiasm of the times. He lived not long as a non-conforming minister, dying in March, 1663.

Dr. Calamy further informs us, that "He had one peculiar study and diversion that made him acceptable to gentlemen, which was Heraldry and Pedigrees. He had really been a fit man to have wrote the *Antiquities of the Country* [qu. County?]. Let none condemn him for this, lest they also condemn their own great Bishop Saunderson, who was

much more swallowed up in the same studies." In another place, p. 662, Dr. Calamy prints a letter which he had received from Mr. John Fairfax, another of the ejected ministers of Suffolk, written in 1696, excusing himself for not complying with Dr. Calamy's request that he would send him his recollections of his brethren in the Puritan ministry, in which he refers thus to Mr. Candler and his studies: — "I was well acquainted with a very wise and observant minister, Mr. Candler, who has been dead now many years, who I know did commit to writing whatever he met with that was remarkable."

These testimonies will be sufficient to entitle Mr. Candler's labors to respect. It must, however, be added, that the Manuscript in the Museum is not written in that succinct and precise manner in which it is so desirable that pedigrees should be drawn; that there is sometimes difficulty in tracing the lines, and therefore uncertainty respecting the intention of the author. Further, that the handwriting is somewhat careless, or perhaps affected by the state of his health, the volume being for the most part written in the four or five years preceding his decease.

The Manuscript is divided into two nearly equal portions. The first part, consisting of Pedigrees of the Royal Family of England and of the Peers, is of small value, containing little, if any thing, that is not to be found in better and ordinary authorities. But the second portion is of great curiosity. It consists of accounts of families to whom the author was himself allied, or with whom he was well acquainted, — some of them, indeed, of families who appeared at the Heralds' Visitations; but many, of such, who, though persons of good condition, clergymen and merchants, were not of the rank of those of whose descents the Heralds took cognizance, and concerning whom it is therefore easy to obtain information, but the rank immediately below them. Any person accustomed to such research at the sources of genealogical information in England knows how difficult it is to obtain complete knowledge concerning families of this class, and will therefore be prepared to value as they deserve the accounts which Mr. Candler has given us.

As his connection, both by descent and marriage, lay very

much among the Puritans of his time, and as his acquaintance were principally among the Puritan families of his neighbourhood, a large portion of his original Pedigrees relates to the Puritan families of the county of Suffolk. I need not remind the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, that the first governor of New England, John Winthrop, or Winthorpe, was of a family settled at Groton in that county, and that he resided there till his removal to New England in 1630, whither the greater part of his family soon followed him; or that there were several persons who had previously lived in the parts of the county in the neighbourhood of Groton, who either accompanied the Governor or soon followed him. Now several of these persons are specifically named by Candler as emigrating to New England; others he names, of whom we know from other evidence that they did remove to the new country; and, as he gives a few particulars of their descent and alliances, and sometimes of their station and rank in the old country, it appeared to me that I might be doing not an unacceptable service, at least to those who trace their descent from the earlier settlers, by extracting the notices, seldom more full than pedigrees usually afford, which this Manuscript contains, of persons who removed themselves from these parts of Suffolk to the new country.

It were to be desired that Mr. Candler had left us an account of the Winthrops themselves; for there are still some difficulties, after all the labor which Mr. Savage has bestowed upon the investigation of their family history, and all that the Governor has himself told us in his History, or that may be collected from the family correspondence which forms so valuable an accompaniment to the History in Mr. Savage's edition. It will be observed, however, that the Winthrops, at least the heads of the family, had abandoned Suffolk as early as 1630, twenty-six years before Candler began this work. Had they remained there during the Commonwealth, we should doubtless have found a record of so pious and influential a family, who had friends at Cudenham, where we have such ample accounts of their neighbours, the Gurdons at Assington, the Brands, and many others, who resembled the Winthrops in position and character, and were their intimate associates.

I know not whether it can be affirmed with certainty, that John Winthrop, and such persons as might accompany him in the same little fleet, were the first Suffolk emigrants to New England. It is probable that the Governor was the first of the Suffolk Puritans who ventured to take the decisive and hazardous step, — at least, I perceive nothing in Mr. Candler's Pedigrees from which it can be inferred that any emigration had taken place previously to the year 1630.

But though this Manuscript affords no information respecting the family which produced him who has been called the Founder, the First Governor, and the Father of Massachusetts, I may be allowed to make one remark concerning his genealogy, as it will give me the opportunity of enlivening what must necessarily be a paper of detail with verse, probably the only remaining specimen of the verse of Adam Winthrop, the father of the Governor.

Adam Winthrop received as a present from his "sister, Lady Mildmay," in 1607, "a stone pot tipped and covered with a silver lid," which is still preserved as a relic in the family. Mr. Savage, to whose edition of Winthrop's History I owe this information, has not shown us which of the Lady Mildmays of his time (for there were several) stood in the relation of sister to Adam Winthrop; but in his communication to the Society of information collected by him in England in the year 1842, he gives an extract from the parish register of Groton, which distinctly shows that it was Thomas, son of William Mildmay, who married Alice Winthrop, the sister of Adam, and he correctly states that this Thomas Mildmay was Mildmay of Springfield Barns in Essex, was knighted, and that thus the daughter of Winthrop became Lady Mildmay. This lady is, indeed, distinctly described by Morant, in his *History of the County of Essex* (Vol. II. p. 24), as Alice, daughter of Adam Winthrop of Groton. Morant further informs us, that Sir Henry Mildmay, of Graces in the parish of Baddow near Chelmsford, was the issue of this marriage. This Sir Henry and his family are the Mildmays who are named occasionally in the Winthrop Letters. He lived till 1639, when he died at the age of sixty-one. The wife of this Sir Henry was a near neighbour and friend of the Winthrops, a daughter of Gurdon of Assington, the next parish to Groton, the family

intended by the Governor, when, in his first letter to Groton from the new country, he desires to be remembered to all at Assington; and this Lady Mildmay (not the Lady Mildmay originally a Winthrop, as might at first sight be supposed) is the lady to whom the lines which follow were addressed by Adam Winthrop. There is something pleasing in them, and we may observe that they exhibit something of the same feeling which we may collect from some passages of his son's writings belonged to him. The child who was thus welcomed to the world became in due time member for his county, and was the "implacable political enemy of Sir John Bramston" (*Autobiography of Sir John*, p. 122). The lines are preserved in a Miscellany of Poetry of the time, now No. 1598 of the Harleian MSS.

Verses made by Mr Adam Winthrop to the Ladie Mildmay at y^e byrth of her sonne Henery.

MADAME. I mourne not like the swanne
 That readye is to die
 But with the Phœnix I rejoyce
 When she in fire doth frye.

My soule doth praise the Lord
 And magnifie his name
 For this swete childe which in yo' wombe
 He did most finely frame.

And on a blessed day
 Hath made him to be borne
 That with his giftes of heavenly grace
 His soule he might adorne.

God graunt him happie days
 In joye & peace to lyve
 And more of his most blessed fruite
 He unto you doe give.

Amen.

—◆—

Verses to her sonne.

Ah me what doe I meane
 To take my penne in hande
 More meete it were for me to reſte
 And ſilent ſtill to ſtande

For pleaſure take I none
 In any worldlie thinge
 But evermore methinks I heare
 My fatall bell to ringe

Yet when the joyfull newes
Did come unto my eare
That god had given to her a sonne
Who is my nephew deere
My harte was filde with joye
My spirits revived all
And from my olde & barren brayne
These verses rude did fall.

Welcome sweete babe thou art
Unto thy parents deere
Whose hartes thou filled hast with joy
As well yt doth appeare.

The day even of thy byrth
When light thou first didst see
Foresheiweth that a joyfull life
Shall happen unto thee.

For blessed is that daye
And to be kept in mynde
On which our Saviour Jesus Christ
Was borne to save mankinde.

Growe up therfore in grace
And feare his holie name
Who in thy mothers secreat wombe
Thy members all did frame

And gave to thee a soule
Thy bodie to susteyne
Which when this life shall ended be
In heaven with him shall reigne

Love him with all thy harte
And make thy parents gladd
As Samuell did whom of the Lord
His mother Anna had

God graunt that they may live
To see from thee to springe
Another like unto thy selfe
Who may more joy then bringe

And from all wicked wayes
That godles men do trace
Pray daylie that he will thee keepe
By his most mightie grace

That when thy dayes shall ende
In his appoynted tyme
Thou mayest yelde up a blessed soule
Defiled with noe cryme.

And to thy mother deere
 Obedient be and kinde
 Give eare unto her loveing words
 And print them in thy mynde

Thy father alsoe love
 And willingly obey
 That thou mayst long possesse those lands
 Which he must leave one daye.

FINIS.

Among the persons who were in the fleet in which Governor Winthrop sailed, in 1630, was a young man named Brand, of whom he speaks thus in a farewell letter to Mrs. Winthrop at Groton, written from "on board the Arbella riding before Yarmouth, April 3, 1630": — "My brother Arthur hath carried it very soberly since he came on ship-board, and so hath Mr. Brand's son, and my cousin Ro. Sampson"; and we find a "Mr. Benjamin Brand," no doubt the same person, desiring to be made a freeman at the General Court of Massachusetts held October 19, 1630, a few weeks after the arrival of the fleet. (Savage's Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 361.)* It will hardly be doubted that this is a Benjamin Brand who appears in one of Candler's Pedigrees, though the circumstance of his having removed to New England is not expressly set out by Candler. He was one of a large family, children of a John Brand, who resided at Street End, in Edwardston, a parish adjoining to Groton, and brother of Joseph Brand, who, in 1656, was residing at Street End, and had several children by Thomasine Trotter, his wife, among whom was a daughter named Thomasine, who had married one of the sons of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, an eminent Suffolk Puritan. Of Benjamin Brand we have nothing but the name; and as it appears that he was never of any consideration in New England, and that no family sprang from him there, so that it is probable he either died young or returned to this country, I shall say no more of this family, than that they sprang from a John Brand of the Brick House, in Boxford, a rich clothier, who established three sons in a respectable position in the neighbourhood of Groton, — two of them, John

* As he did not take the oath in May after, we may be sure he was not here then.
 — S.

and Benjamin, at Edwardston, and Jacob at Polstead, where his family were lords of the manor and patrons of the church. The John just mentioned is the father of Benjamin. It is probable that the present Lord Dacre (a Brand), the Brands of The Hoo, and the Brands of The Hyde, in Essex, one of whom, Mr. Brand Hollis, was a benefactor to Harvard College, were descendants of the family, one of whom accompanied the Governor to New England. In his first letter to Groton from New England, dated July 30, 1630, the Governor desires his remembrance to Mr. Brand.

In the same letter he desires to be remembered to Mr. Mott and his wife, and it appears by a former letter, written in October, 1629, that Mr. Mott was meditating to join Mr. Winthrop in the expedition on which he was then intent. The occurrence of the name of Mr. Mott in near connection with that of Mr. Brand renders it probable that the person meant is Thomas Mott, a clergyman in Suffolk, who had, then or afterwards, the living of Stoke-by-Nayland, and who had married Sarah Brand, one of the daughters of John of Street End. He survived the Restoration, and was one of the Puritan ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity. His daughter was the wife of William Gurnall, a Non-conforming minister, author of that popular work, *The Christian in Complete Armour*, 4to, 1655. The mother of Dame Sarah Hewley, the great benefactress of the Non-conformists of England, was a Mott. I perceive, however, that an Adam Mott received his freedom in 1636.*

With the letters of the Winthrops before me, I shall trespass so far beyond the professed object of this communication, to remark that "all those at Codenham Hall," to whom the Governor desires his remembrance in the first letter written to Groton from New England, must mean the family of Choppine, then represented by Tollemach Choppine, whose brother was a serjeant-major of horse in the Irish wars. Codenham was Candler's living.

Castleins, another house to which remembrances are sent, was in Groton, and the residence of the Cloptons, of whom was the second wife of the Governor, as indeed Mr. Savage

* This Adam Mott came in 1635, with wife and five children, embarked in the *Defence* with Rev. Thomas Shepard. He was from Cambridge, and probably not related to the Suffolk family. — S.

has observed in his late communication to the Society. Assington Hall is, as before observed, the seat of the Gurdons.

Mr. Leigh is another name which frequently occurs in the Winthrop correspondence. This was William Leigh, rector of Groton, a different person from William Leigh who was ejected at *Gorton*, in Lancashire (Calamy, *Account*, &c., p. 412), with whom Mr. Savage confounds him (Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 347). William Leigh, Winthrop's friend, was the son of Ralph Leigh, a Cheshire man, who had been a soldier under the Earl of Essex at Cadiz, by Dorothy his wife, a daughter of William Kemp of Finchingfield, Esquire, and the authoress of a book called *The Mother's Blessing*. The wife of the rector of Groton was Elizabeth Newton, whose father was preacher at Bury St. Edmunds, and had been a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge. The eldest son of Leigh was also a fellow of that college, and had a living in Cambridgeshire; and of the daughters, one was a schoolmistress at Bury (an early instance of the daughter of a family of respectability so employed) and another was the wife of a minister.

We proceed now to a Suffolk family which produced many emigrants, and which struck deep root in the New England soil.

It has been already observed that the mother of Candler was of this family. There were several branches of it in the southern parts of the county of Suffolk, all springing from a Richard Fiske who lived at the Broad Gates in Laxfield or Loxfield, the great-grandfather of Candler's mother. Laxfield is a rural village north of Framlingham, where the inhabitants were so zealous for the Reformation, that one of them, John Noyes, was most barbarously put to death in the reign of Queen Mary. Fox, in his account of the burning of Noyes, speaks of Nicholas Fiske, who was one of the sons of Richard. Two other of his sons, Robert and William, fled in the time of that terrible persecution. Sibil, the wife of Robert, was in great danger in those times, as was her sister Isabella, originally Gold, who was confined in the Castle of Norwich, and escaped death only by the power of her brothers, who were men of great influence in the county. It does not appear that

Nicholas had any issue. William, who had fled, was the subject of a parricide, for which his son, Joseph Fiske, suffered the penalty of death at Bury St. Edmunds. Of this branch of the family nothing more need be said, or of the descendants of other sons of Richard, than Robert, from whom sprang all of the name who were in the early emigration. Robert Fiske had, by Sibil Gold, his wife, four sons and one daughter. The sons were William, Jeffery, Thomas, and Eleazar. Eleazar had no issue; but the progeny of William, Jeffery, and Thomas, in whole or in part, settled in New England.

William is described by his grandson as of St. James in South Elmham, and it is said of him, that he fled with his father. His wife was Anne, daughter of Walter Ansty, of Tibnam Long Row, in Norfolk. They had John, Nathaniel, and Eleazar, Eunice, Hannah, and Esther. Eunice died unmarried; Esther married John Challie of Red Hall, and Hannah, William Candler, and was the mother of our genealogist. Of the sons, Eleazar settled at Norwich and had female issue only; Nathaniel was of Waybred, and had children who appear to have remained in England; but of the children of John, all that lived to grow up, four in number, transferred themselves to the new country. John Fiske, the father, died in 1633. His wife was Anne, daughter of Robert Lantersee.

These are the four persons of one family, two brothers and two sisters, all married, of whom Mather speaks in the *Magnalia*, Part III. p. 141, and what has now been related corresponds with what he says of this family being descended of persecuted ancestors. The two brothers were John and William, and there cannot be a doubt that John is the "Mr. John Fiske" who was made a freeman at a Court held in March, 1637-8 (Savage's Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 367). Mather says that he was the elder brother, and that he died January 14, 1676. His wife was Ann Gipps, of Frinshall, in Norfolk. They had a child who was born at Frinshall, but died in infancy. A son, Nathaniel, died an infant. Three other children, John, Sarah, and Moses, were born in New England; and here Candler's account of this branch of the family ends. William, the other son of John senior, and brother to John junior, who emigrated, is probably the

William Fiske who, in 1642, was admitted a freeman. I shall now forbear special references to Mr. Savage's volume for these admissions. William died in New England in 1654. He married Bridget Muskett of Pelham, by whom he had William, Samuel, Joseph, Benjamin, and Martha.

Of the two daughters of John Fiske and Anne Lantersee, who with their husbands removed to New England, I defer speaking till an account has been given of the other males of this family.

We revert, then, to Jeffery, another son of Robert Fiske, and Sibil his wife. The account of his family is not so clearly given in the Manuscript as to remove all doubt respecting the true descent as Mr. Candler understood it; but it appears that Jeffery had a son named Nathaniel, who took his family to New England, in conformity with which we find a Nathan Fiske admitted freeman in 1643. There was also a David Fiske of this branch of the family, who emigrated, a son of Jeffery or of Nathaniel, whose wife was Sarah Smith, a daughter of Edmund Smith of Wrentham. He took his freedom in 1638, and possibly again in 1647.* A Martha Fiske, another descendant of Jeffery, daughter or granddaughter, married — Underwood, and emigrated to America, whose husband was probably the Joseph Underwood who had his freedom in 1645. Indeed, it is uncertain whether Candler did not mean to say that Jeffery Fiske himself emigrated.

And lastly, James and Phineas Fiske, who were admitted freemen in 1642, are doubtless the two brothers so named, sons of Thomas, son of Robert and Sibil, though Candler, when he inserts them in the Pedigree, says nothing of their having gone to the new country.

The proper place in the Pedigree has thus been assigned to each of the six persons of this name who are in the list of those made freemen during the life of Governor Winthrop.

The Fiskes made pretension to coat-armour; namely, Checkie, argent and gules, on a pale sable three mullets or.

The two sisters of John and William Fiske, who with

* David, 1647, was no doubt son of the freeman of 1638. — S.

their brothers and husbands removed to New England, were named Anne and Martha.

Anne was the wife of Francis Chickering, the same, no doubt, who had his freedom in 1640. Who this Francis Chickering was I know not, further than is to be found in Candler's Manuscript, which gives no description of him; but in Savage's Winthrop, note at Vol. I. p. 84, a Rev. Mr. Chickering, minister of Woburn, is mentioned, who might be supposed to be the same, were not his Christian name said to be Joseph in his place in Mr. Savage's Index. Candler speaks of another Chickering, whose Christian name was unknown to him, who married the widow * of a first cousin of Candler's father, Benjamin Smith, farmer, of Northall in Wrentham. This Mr. Chickering, he further says, went to New England after the death of his wife. Benjamin Smith was brother to Sarah, wife of David Fiske the emigrant.

Martha Fiske, the other daughter of John, married Captain Edmund Thompson, a son of John Thompson, of Holkham in Norfolk, by Anne his wife, daughter of John Hastings of that place. They had four children born in New England, Martha, Edmund, Thomas, and Hannah. They returned to England and resided at Yarmouth, where they had three children born to them, John, Esther, and John, who all died in infancy. Candler further informs us, that Captain Thompson, who was a sea-captain, served the States after the death of King Charles the First.

Two other of the early settlers from these parts of England were related to the Fiskes. These were Joshua and Anthony Fisher, who took their freedoms, Joshua in 1640, and Anthony in 1646. They were brothers, sons of — Fisher of Sileham, by his wife Mary, who was probably another daughter of William and Anne Fiske of South Elmham; but this is another instance in which we have to regret that Candler did not draw his pedigrees with more precision. Candler does not give us any further information respecting them; but we may form some idea of the class of society from which they sprang, from the notice which he takes of two of their brothers, who appear to have remained in Eng-

* Our Henry Chickering of Dedham was, perhaps, brother of Francis. — S.

land : Cornelius, who was M. A., and taught the school at East Bergholt ; and Amos, who farmed an estate called Custridge Hall in the parish of Weeley, which is in the hundred of Tendring, between Colchester and the sea. Cornelius left no issue, and his widow remained with George Smith, a clergyman, who was one of the ministers at Dedham, a famous seat of Puritan piety. Amos married Anne Morice, the relict of Daniel Locke, and had several children settled in those parts of Essex, of whom it is not known that any of them followed in the steps of their two uncles.

It will be remembered that Robert and Sibil Fiske, of whom their descendants were accustomed to speak with respect, as Protestant confessors in the reign of Queen Mary, had, beside the four sons, a daughter. She married — Bernard, who was farmer of the estate of Custridge Hall, which he held of Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief-Justice. And having mentioned this marriage, Candler brings before us a genealogical fact of great curiosity and importance. It is, that a daughter of this Bernard married a Locke, and was the mother of John Locke, whom, writing about 1660, he describes simply as “John Locke, M. A.” Very little is known of Locke’s father, but no one who has written on his life has had the slightest knowledge of the mother to whom we owe this eminent man. Candler was uncertain whether Mrs. Locke were issue of the marriage of Bernard with Fiske, or of some earlier marriage of Bernard. But it is clear, whichever way it is, that the mother of Locke must have been brought up among the more zealous Puritans of the counties of Essex and Suffolk, that she must have heard from her infancy stories of religious persecutions, that she must have seen near connections of her family leaving their native homes to find, as they supposed, security and peace in a distant land ; and the feeling thus engendered in her mind we may easily believe to have been communicated to her son, who in due time became the great defender of the principle of the utmost tolerance in dealing with men in affairs of conscience and religious opinion. This is a digression ;—but perhaps it will not be unacceptable to the Society to see the name of so illustrious a person now, for the first time, placed in public in family connection with so many of the early Puritan

settlers in New England. Bernard stood in the relation of great-uncle to Candler, who records the facts which I have now brought from their hiding-place, and to all the Fiskes who laid the foundation of the families of that name in the New England States.

The Shermans. — The difficulties in tracing the connection of John Sherman, who was among the earlier settlers in New England, where he and his posterity have been eminent, with any of the various families of that surname in the old country, have not yet been overcome; nor has the extraordinary statement of the author of the *Magnalia*, that in the wife of one of them (originally Mary Launce) he was acquainted with a granddaughter of Darcy, Lord Rivers, been established by any English authorities. But in the uncertainty which attends the connection of the Shermans of New England with any family of the name in the parent country, and with the fact, which seems pretty well ascertained, that he was a native of Dedham, which is in the parts of Essex closely bordering on Suffolk, it will at least aid further inquiries, if it be added, that there was a family of the name of Sherman living at Ipswich and in the parts adjacent, who were distantly allied to the Fiskes and to Candler, the author of the Pedigrees. There is a good deal of confusion and uncertainty in Candler's account of the family; but so much as follows may, I think, be relied upon as being what Candler meant to record. There was a Thomas Sherman, an inhabitant of Ipswich in the reign of Elizabeth, who served the office of Portman of that town. He married Margaret Herne, and it was through this marriage that the relationship arose with the Fiskes and Candlers, — another daughter of Herne, sister or aunt of Margaret, having been the wife of Walter Anstey and mother of Anne, the wife of William Fiske, as before mentioned. There were four sons, issue of the marriage of Thomas Sherman and Margaret Herne, — John, Thomas, Daniel, and William. Of John, Candler says that he was an apothecary at Ipswich, and in the latter part of his life lived in Branfield and in Hazlehurst, also that he married a Frobisher, a near connection of the Withipoles, in those days the most considerable family in Ipswich. Candler says nothing of any issue of this marriage. Thomas was the

rector of Hintlesham, Daniel a physician, and of William nothing is said. Now it is clear that the position of this family was that of the New England Shermans, whose ancestor, John, was of Trinity College, Cambridge. There appear to have been daughters of Thomas and Margaret Sherman, well married in Ipswich; but there is constant danger of misrepresenting what Candler meant to record. The Hernes, also, were a family of good account in England, and the account of them left by Candler throws light upon the *status* of the Fiskes before their emigration; Francis and William, the brothers of Margaret, being both sent to Cambridge, and the latter being afterwards of the Middle Temple, and called in due time to the bar. Francis, the elder brother, married to the displeasure of his father, who gave him only £60 *per annum*, leaving the bulk of his estate to William. Candler gives these as the arms of this family of Sherman:— Azure, a pelican vulning herself or, the blood proper.

We proceed to the name of Rogers, a family of divines eminent in England in the Puritan movement, several of whom transplanted themselves to New England, where they continued to exercise their zealous ministry. Accounts of several members of this family are to be found in various historical and biographical works; but this Manuscript of Candler's supplies a few facts which have been left unrecorded, and presents the genealogical links in a family so many members of which acted zealously under the same influences.

There were two brothers, Richard and John Rogers, both zealous preachers, who came out of the North of England, and were settled in the ministry in the county of Essex, — Richard at Wethersfield, and John at Dedham. These two places, though both in the northern part of Essex, are remote from each other, Wethersfield lying a few miles to the north of Braintree, while Dedham is on the banks of the Stour, near Manningtree, and therefore but a short distance from Groton, Assington, and Edwardston, and still nearer to Polstead, in Suffolk. Of Richard and his family we shall speak first. Candler describes him thus:— “Lecturer of Wethersfield, who wrote *The Seven Treatises* and sundry other books of great use; a man of great worth and very faithful in his

ministry." The fullest printed account of him is in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 231. He was quite a leader among the Puritans of Essex, and suffered much opposition from the bishops. Brook was unable to discover the precise time of his death, but says that he was alive in 1615, when he published his Commentary on the Book of Judges, in the Dedication of which he says that he had then been forty years in the ministry.

Nothing is said of the time of his death in Candler's Manuscript, which is too deficient in dates; nor does the name of the first wife of Richard Rogers appear to have been known to Candler, who speaks only of a later marriage with the widow of John Ward, preacher at Haverhill, and mother of Nathaniel Ward, an emigrant Puritan, and minister at Ipswich in New England. But by a former marriage he had four sons, to three of whom, after the manner of the old Puritans, he gave Old Testament names, that there might be no chance of falling upon a name which had been canonized in the early times of the Church. The names he chose were Daniel, Ezra, and Ezekiel; the fourth was Nathaniel. He had also a daughter, who married William Jenkin of Sudbury, and was the mother of Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Cawton, an eminent Puritan minister of the time of the Commonwealth.

Of the sons of Richard Rogers, Ezra and Nathaniel left no issue. Ezekiel, whom Winthrop calls "a worthy son of a worthy father" (Savage's Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 278), after having exercised his ministry for some years at a place called Rowley, in Yorkshire, removed in 1638 to New England. This is one of the cases in which Candler has not preserved the fact of the emigration. He is named in the *Magnalia* (Part III. p. 101) as one of the eminent ministers of New England. He was married when he went out, and Candler has preserved his wife's name, Sarah, daughter of John Everard, citizen of London, also the fact that all his children died before him, which is corroborated by Mather, who says that Ezekiel Rogers had two later wives, married, it is presumed, in New England. He died January 23, 1660-1, being about seventy years of age. He is regarded as a benefactor to the new country, by his gifts to the ministry at Rowley in New England, and to Harvard College. Much more might be told about him.

Daniel Rogers, the other son of Richard, and brother of Nathaniel, was also a divine. I shall transcribe what Candler says of him, referring for more particulars to Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, Vol. III. p. 149. "He succeeded his father as Lecturer at Wethersfield: an eminent scholar and preacher, who hath many works in print, he being one of the eminent Fellows in Christ's College, Cambridge, was the advancer of Dr. Ames, whom he brought in to be Fellow there." He ended his days at Wethersfield in 1652. He had two sons, both divines, — Daniel, who had a living in Northamptonshire, and Samuel, who was Lecturer at Cree Church in London. Daniel left posterity, among whose descendants, if any, is the representation of the New England benefactor.

We have now to speak of John, the brother of Richard of Wethersfield. Candler describes him as "the famous preacher at Dedham in Essex." He had been before at Haverhill in Suffolk, as successor to Laurence Fairclough, another eminent Puritan. But the greater part of his life was spent at Dedham, where his ministry was very influential, and where he died on October 15, 1636. Reference must again be made to the work of Mr. Benjamin Brook, who has brought together from various quarters all that he could find concerning him (Vol. II. p. 421). Candler informs us that he was thrice married. The family of the first wife is not named; the second was Elizabeth Gold, widow of John Hawes; and the third, Dorothy Stanton, widow of Richard Wiseman, of Wigborough in Essex. Candler speaks only of one son and one daughter. The daughter married John Hudson, rector of Capel in Suffolk, "an eminent preacher," brother of Samuel Hudson, who succeeded him in the rectory and married Hannah Wiseman, a step-daughter of John Rogers. The only son of John Rogers of whom Candler speaks, and probably the only son who lived to man's estate, was Nathaniel Rogers, a son of Elizabeth Gold, the second wife. This Nathaniel was one of the Puritan emigrants from the county of Suffolk. He removed himself to New England in 1636, the year of his father's death, and two years before his near relation, Ezekiel Rogers. He arrived there November 17. Winthrop, speaking of his arrival, says, "There were aboard that ship two godly ministers, Mr.

Nathaniel Rogers and Mr. Partridge." He has an eminent place in the *Magnalia*, where it appears that he was born while his father was minister at Haverhill, his Suffolk charge. He became the incumbent of the church of Assington, in the immediate neighbourhood of Groton; so that he would no doubt be welcomed by Governor Winthrop as an old acquaintance as well as a Christian friend. He resigned this living, when he took the resolution of joining his Puritan friends in the new country. He then became one of the pastors of the church at Ipswich, for the emigrants from these parts of Suffolk and Essex had already founded towns named after the familiar places in their native land, Ipswich and Dedham. Mather speaks of him as one of the greatest men and best ministers that ever set his foot on the American shore. He lived there nineteen years, dying July 3, 1655, aged 57.

So much from the ordinary authorities; and now, keeping in view the genealogical character of this communication, I add, that there is no reason to suppose that this family were at all connected with the Rogers who was the first person put to death for religion in the reign of Queen Mary, as seems to be intimated in the note at p. 205 of the first volume of Mr. Savage's edition of Winthrop's History. It appears by the note just referred to, that many of the descendants of this Nathaniel Rogers have been eminent in New England, and that his eldest son, John Rogers, was President of Harvard College. Also, that there is much concerning the family in Eliot's Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Americans. Candler, writing about 1660, mentions four sons, John, Nathaniel, Samuel, and Timothy, but gives no more than the names. It seems, also, that there was a daughter married to William Hobert, who may be the Mr. William Hubbard who took his freedom May 2, 1638.* But the best information given by Candler is, that the wife of Nathaniel Rogers, and the ancestor of his distinguished American posterity, was Margaret Crane, a daughter of Robert Crane of Coggeshall in Essex, by Mary his wife, daughter of Samuel Sparhouse of Dedham; which Robert Crane married a second wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Maidstone of Broxton Hall in Essex, relict of Walter Clop-

* Margaret, daughter of Nathaniel Rogers, married William Hubbard, the historian, H. C., 1642. — S.

ton. This may seem to bring the wife of Nathaniel Rogers into some distant affinity with John Winthrop, the Governor, whose second wife was a Clopton. Ezekiel and Nathaniel Rogers both received their freedom on the same day, May 23, 1639, and on the same day Mr. Nathaniel Sparhawk [qu. Sparhouse?] did the same. This, in all probability, was another Dedham emigrant.

Half-sister to Nathaniel Rogers was Elizabeth Hawes, the only issue of whom Candler speaks of the marriage of John Hawes and Elizabeth Gold. She married a clergyman who under the name of "Olmestead" occurs in the Winthrop correspondence, but whose name is written by Candler "Holmestead," — Richard Holmestead, sometime rector of Arwarton in Suffolk, then chaplain to Lord Chancellor Loftus in Ireland, and finally, when driven out of that country by the rebels, placed in Dennington rectory, in Suffolk.

Another Dedham emigrant was Edmund Angier, who took his freedom in 1640. He was the youngest of four sons of John Angier, a person of good account and property at Dedham, and born about the year 1612. He was in England a grocer, and continued the same trade in New England. He seems to have been little remembered among his relations in England; for Oliver Heywood, who married Elizabeth Angier, his niece, writing in 1678, speaks with uncertainty whether he were then alive. See his *Life of John Angier* (*Works*, Vol. I. p. 520). John Angier, the eldest son, lived, in his youth, in his father's house, attending the ministry of John Rogers. Being intended himself for the ministry, he was sent to Cambridge, and lived afterwards for a while in the family of John Cotton, at Boston. When Governor Winthrop was preparing for his voyage, in 1629, he designed to go likewise, and was only diverted from his purpose by an accidental circumstance, of which we have the account in his *Life*. He was afterwards a very eminent Puritan minister at Denton, near Manchester. According to Candler, a John Angier of Boxted, an adjoining parish to Dedham, who had an estate of about £ 200 *per annum*, was half-brother to Christopher Hudson, father of John and Samuel, the ministers before mentioned.

Haverhill in Suffolk, like Dedham in Essex, was a place which had been under the influence of zealous Puritan

ministers, the Wards, of whom was Nathaniel Ward, a minister who emigrated, and who is mentioned by Governor Winthrop, under the year 1641, as having drawn up the Hundred Laws which were called "The Body of Liberties." (Savage's Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 55.) His father, John Ward, was the minister at Haverhill, son of a person at Rivenhall, who was chief constable, it may be supposed, of the hundred, a man of such esteem, that by an oration which he made he quieted a commotion of the people. So says Candler, writing of this family. John Ward, his son, was one of several children. He was one of those ministers who could not be content with being eminently influential as Christian pastors, but they must needs make themselves singular by such notions as objecting to the surplice, and other things (perfect trifles in themselves) which the great majority of their countrymen thought to be but decent usages in the Church. The bishop remonstrated, and he, still persisting, caused himself to be harassed and uncomfortable. He did not, however, take the course which so many other ministers of his description did, of removing himself to New England. He died in England, leaving a widow and five sons. The widow married Richard Rogers of Wethersfield; and of the sons, four were in the ministry, — Samuel, Nathaniel, John, and Edward. Of Edward, all we learn from Candler is that he was M. A. Of John, that he was rector of Dennington in Suffolk, and after, of St. Clements in Ipswich. Samuel is called "the famous town-preacher at Ipswich," but he had been before at Haverhill. At Ipswich he was not sufficiently conformable, and removed himself to Holland, where he died about 1640. Nathaniel Ward, the remaining son of John, is described by Candler as "of Ipswich in New England, rector of Shenfield in Essex." He had been settled as a minister in England, but, in 1634, having suffered much for his non-conformity to a few immaterial ceremonies, he removed to New England, where he remained about eleven years, and, returning to England, became minister of Shenfield, where he died in 1653.

He had left a son, John Ward, a minister in England, where he had the living of Hadleigh in Suffolk, not far from Groton. He had the same scruples about minor points which so interfered with the usefulness and interrupted the peace of

these worthy men, and in 1639 he followed his father to New England, where he was living when Candler wrote his account of the family, and there, according to the *Magnalia*, he remained for the rest of a long life, dying in 1693, pastor of the church at Haverhill, a place so named after the town in Suffolk from whence the Wards proceeded.

In Candler's Manuscript we have accounts of two large families who appear to be grandchildren of John Ward of Haverhill. Among them are several ministers, and the marriages of the daughters are for the most part with beneficed divines in Suffolk and Essex. But it would be unsafe, without correlative authorities, to place them in the genealogy. One, however, may be admitted without risk of error, the wife of another Puritan exile. This was Susan, daughter of Nathaniel, who was the wife of Giles Firmin, who is described by Candler as rector of Shalford in Essex. There is a large account of Firmin in Calamy (*Account, &c.*, p. 295), who was born in Suffolk, and whose first deep religious impressions were taken from the preaching of Rogers of Dedham. He went to New England as an apothecary or physician, but after a few years returned and became a minister. He was ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

There was some kind of family connection between the Wards and the family of Chaplaine of Bury St. Edmunds, which sent two of its members to New England. Candler's account is, that "Clement Chaplaine, a chandler in Bury, went over into New England, and was one of the elders of the congregation whereof Mr. Hooker is minister," and that his wife was Sarah Hinds, one of eight sisters, the daughters and coheirs of — Hinds, a goldsmith at Bury, another of whom married Thomas Chaplaine, brother of Clement, and a third George Groome of Rattlesden, Esquire, a justice of the peace. "Mr. Clement Chaplaine" took his freedom at the Court on March 3, 1635-6, which nearly fixes the period of his emigration. Nothing is said by Candler of any descendants of this settler, or whether he continued to live in the new country.

Martha, a sister of Clement Chaplaine, whose fortune from her father was £300, married Robert Parker of Woolpit, a village about six miles distant from Bury. Candler says that he also went to New England, and we find the

name of Robert Parker among those who received their freedom at the Court on March 4, 1634-5,* and it may be presumed that he is the Robert Parker whose name is mentioned in connection with that of Dr. Ames in the note at page 58 of the first volume of Savage's Winthrop.

And here it will not be quite out of place to mention, that the learned Dr. William Ames, born in Norfolk, of whom we have before had occasion to speak, had made all his arrangements for removing to New England, when he was prevented by death. His wife and family, however, transferred themselves thither in 1634, carrying with them Dr. Ames's valuable library. A son, who bore his father's name, William, was a graduate of Harvard College in 1645. He returned to England, and in 1646 was placed in the church of Wrentham in Suffolk, from whence he was ejected in 1662.

Another Suffolk divine, who retired to New England, and there received his freedom in 1640, was Thomas Waterhouse. Of him we have a good account by Dr. Calamy (*Continuation, &c.*, p. 810), who informs us that he was for some time curate to Mr. Candler at Codenham, and that while there he married a gentlewoman of very good family. Candler tells us who she was, — Ann Mayhew, daughter of John Mayhew and Ann his wife, daughter of Edward Morgan of Monks-Soham. She was coheirress with Elizabeth, wife of Edward Dunston, who had a daughter, the wife of Sir Robert Drury of Riddlesworth, Baronet. There was an early settlement of Mayhews in New England in the person of Thomas Mayhew, who took his freedom in 1634. The name became distinguished. Mr. Waterhouse did not, however, make any permanent settlement in New England; for, receiving information of the death of a brother of his wife, by which the inheritance came to his wife and her sister, he returned to England, where he acted partly as a minister and partly as a schoolmaster, being ejected at Ash Bocking in Suffolk by the Act of Uniformity. He died in 1679 or 1680, being nearly eighty years of age. One of his daughters, named Anne, was born in New England. The names of his other children were Thomas, Conquest,

* But *that* Robert Parker was probably "servant to our brother William Aspinwall," according to the records of our First Church of Boston. — S.

John, Edward, David, and Elizabeth. It is not known whether any of them returned to America, where, however, the name existed in later times.

A Mayhew, probably the father or brother of Mrs. Waterhouse, married Mary Cowper, and leaving her a widow, she remarried with a man of some celebrity, William Dowsing of Codenham, Mr. Candler's parish, who has left a record of his proceedings in demolishing the remains of painted glass, which the first race of reformers had spared, in the churches of Suffolk. This very curious document was printed in 1786, in a quarto pamphlet.

There is still one other Suffolk divine who claims a place among the Puritan emigrants, though he, like Waterhouse, soon returned to the old country. This was Richard Jennings, a native of Ipswich, who, in 1636, accompanied Mr. Nathaniel Rogers. He returned in 1638, had the church of Combe in Suffolk, from which he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. I have this from Calamy (*Account, &c.*, p. 649).

Governor Winthrop, in his History (Vol. I. p. 106), mentions an accident which befell two servants of "one Moody of Roxbury," to whom Mr. Savage, in his Index, assigns the name of John. And in this he is doubtless right; as there was a John Moody who took his freedom in 1633, and we find in Candler's Pedigrees a John Moody "who went into New England." This is all he says of him, except what is genealogical, namely, that he was one of the sons of George Moody of Moulton, "a man famous for his housekeeping, and just and plain dealing." The brothers of John were George, whose residence was at Ipswich, and John, a woollen-draper in Bury, where he was an alderman, a person of great power in committees, a justice of the peace, and member for the borough. By Mary his wife, daughter of John Bouldrie, gentleman of Bury, he had several children. It was doubtless to this family that the Moodys mentioned in Savage's Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 123, belonged.

One family more, and the direct information supplied by Candler's Manuscript is exhausted. John Whiting, of Hadleigh in Suffolk, had a daughter Ann, who with her husband, Robert Payne, went to New England; in conformity with

which we find a Robert Payne taking his freedom in 1641. I know not whether there were descendants of this marriage in New England; but it may be added that the Whitings were a Suffolk family sprung from Boxford, and that John Whiting had, by Rose his wife, a daughter of William Fisher, John, who was of Hadleigh, Henry, who served the office of Portman of Ipswich, and two daughters beside Mrs. Payne, namely, Rose, who, having been twice married before, became the wife of Matthew Lawrence, town-preacher of Ipswich, and Mary, who married, 1. George Compe, 2. Nicholas Stanton, and 3. Samuel Slater, clerk. There can be but little reason to doubt that Samuel Whiting, the divine, who was in New England in 1636, was of this family.

This does not pretend to be a complete account of all the persons of the county of Suffolk who, in the first ten or twelve years after John Winthrop of Groton had removed himself and his family to New England, followed in his steps. It contains all the persons who are expressly said by Candler to have gone to that country, and a few others found in other writings. But there were probably others, persons of good account, as Emanuel Downing, brother-in-law of Winthrop, who was probably of Suffolk, though no account of his birth has yet been discovered. On looking through the list of persons who received their freedom during the time of Winthrop, we find several names which may be called Suffolk names, and which, by reasonable conjecture, may be so far regarded as belonging to persons of that county, that inquiry respecting them should begin there, were any one disposed to institute what would too often prove an unsuccessful search. Maverick, Hubbert, Gage, Talmage, Blomfield, Noise, Fitch, Coytemore, Chapin, Gurnal, have all a *Suffolk sound*:

Those who followed Governor Winthrop from his own county may not improperly be designated *the Second Puritan Emigration*, — the *First* being formed of those who had been of Mr. Robinson's church, and founded Plymouth, and the emigrants from Dorsetshire. From the information of Candler and of other persons by whom they are incidentally mentioned, we are able to form a pretty correct idea of the *status* of the families in the old country, and the class of society in England to which the Suffolk emigrants

belonged. And we see that the Suffolk emigration consisted very much of persons who, though not of the very first rank, were yet men of substance and good alliances, the layer of population next below that which came expressly under the cognizance of the Heralds at their Visitations, — will-making families, families high in the subsidy-books, — while some of them, as the Winthrops, were among the principal gentry of the county, and several claimed the distinction of coat-armour: while the divines were all graduates of the Universities, — all, I think, of Cambridge. So that those who descend from the Suffolk emigrants may for the most part show an origin that is at least respectable in the old country. At the same time it must be observed, that the persons of whom we have spoken would take out others in the capacity of servants, most of whom, we may presume, would be of the county of Suffolk. We may remark, moreover, that this was probably the *best* emigration in respect of the quality of the emigrants.

It is extremely difficult, even for one who has paid no small attention to the analysis of the English population, to trace any of the persons who formed Mr. Robinson's church to their original domicile in England. Captain Miles Standish may, with confidence, be affirmed to be of the family of Standish of Duxbury in Lancashire. Governor Bradford is placed, on grounds of probability, on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. But this is nearly all that can be done. When we are told that they were persons "of the North of England," the information is too vague to serve as an intimation of the proper course of inquiry.

The influence of the Suffolk emigration is seen in the topographical nomenclature of Massachusetts, where are the names Ipswich, Groton, Haverhill, Sudbury, Medfield, beside Rowley, so named by one of the Rogerses; and Dedham, Billerica, and Chelmsford, so named by those of the county of Essex who joined them. All these places appear in the map of 1677, and form no small portion of the whole number of the New England towns. The records of each of these places would doubtless supply much information respecting the Suffolk Emigration, as well by adding new names as by enlarging what is known concerning the names in this communication.

LION GARDINER.

[This biographical sketch was received from Alexander Gardiner, Esq., of New York, who states, in his letter accompanying it, November 10, 1842, that the account of Lion Gardiner prefixed to his narrative of the Pequot War, in the third volume of this series, is incorrect in all its essential particulars, and that the following has been compiled from materials collected from various writers and official records.]

LION GARDINER was a native of England. He was educated to the profession of arms, and, having studied civil and military engineering, became an officer in the British army. In the reign of Charles the First, discontent at home, and successful fortunes in the Netherlands, drew thither many Britons of piety, courage, and enterprise. Some sought military fame, and some liberty of opinion, while others hoped to combine the two. Gardiner engaged in the wars of Holland, and became Master of Works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange. In this situation he saw much active service, and derived from experience lessons of great use in the trying scenes of his subsequent life. Hugh Peters, John Davenport, and other eminent Puritans, had been exiled from their native land by the pains of non-conformity, and had found a refuge in the city of Rotterdam. They were at this time eagerly turning their eyes toward America; and imagined they saw in New England, not only a safe asylum, but a land possessed of all the elements of prosperity. Sympathy of nativity, associations, and religious sentiments brought Gardiner in intimate contact with these men. His talents and acquirements fitted him to become a highly useful member of a newly constituted society, and in the country of his adop-

tion peace had now left little to the ambition of an aspiring soldier. Like most of the emigrants of that day, he might have been dazzled by exaggerated accounts of the attractions of the New World; and he was allured by the liberal offers of his friends, and the high expectations held out to him, to pledge his services to the Company of Patentees of the Territory at the Mouth of Connecticut River, "in the drawing, ordering, and making of a city, towns, forts, and fortifications." By the terms of his agreement, made with Peters, Davenport, and others, he was to act in this employment four years, and have under his control three hundred able-bodied men. At this period, in the small city of Woerden, so often devastated in the wars of Europe, he formed a matrimonial connection with Mary Wilemson, a native of that place, a lady of the highest respectability, who was ever after the beloved companion of his life.

He now prepared to fulfil his engagement. A Norsey bark, probably so called from the northern coast of Scotland, was provided by the Patentees, and furnished with all suitable provisions. In her, on the 10th of July, 1635, he embarked with his wife, a female attendant, and eleven souls besides, and setting sail from Amsterdam, first sought his native country. Having tarried awhile among his friends, he embarked from London in the same small craft, of only twenty-five tons burden, and after a very boisterous passage, which was survived, says Winthrop, "through the Lord's great providence," having first touched at Boston, arrived at the mouth of the Connecticut river on the 28th of November, 1635. A few days previous, Governor Winthrop, who had lately been commissioned by the Patentees, had sent twenty men, principally carpenters, under the charge of Lieutenant Gibbons, to take possession of the place.

Winter had already set in; and immediate preparations were made to provide against the inclemency of the season and the incursions of the warlike tribes that surrounded. Having erected buildings, and taken other necessary precautions, Gardiner patiently awaited the arrival of the three hundred men who were to have followed him from England. But his just expectations were disappointed, and the objects of his mission were in a great measure thwarted, by the failure of the Patentees in the faithful fulfilment of their

contract. In the spring, he was reënforced only by a comparatively small body of men; but notwithstanding his vexation at this event, he pursued the active duties of his command, and erected the fort at Saybrook.

The weakness of the garrison was rendered more galling by the hot haste exhibited by Fenwick, Oldham, Stanton, and Hugh Peters, who had arrived at the fort, to involve the country in immediate war with the Pequot Indians. It was in vain that Gardiner remonstrated against the ardor of these gentlemen, and set forth the dangers which would environ his small force, scantily provisioned and scantily protected, in a location where they might have to bear the whole brunt of the contest. Discretion and policy, the great checks upon human actions, hold little restraint over those who have no personal interests at stake, and its advocates might have been blinded to the hazards of a war, in which their safety would be secure, whatever might be the event. A flying force can attack and retreat with great rapidity, and at little risk; but the garrison of an isolated fortress, while they can hope for no safety but in the maintenance of their position, are in continual danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, and cut off from water and provisions. It appeared also to Gardiner, that what was of higher moment, a justification of war, was wanting in this instance. The Pequots had killed one Captain Stone, and the crew of his small vessel, which had arrived at the river from Virginia. Though some years had elapsed since this occurrence, it was now demanded, by a people having little sympathy and no political relations with the countrymen of the deceased, that the offenders should be delivered up. The tribe refused to accede to this demand, on the ground that Stone had provoked their animosity by suspicious and improper conduct; but as an evidence that this refusal was accompanied with no hostile feelings, as well as in mitigation of the offence, they sent the Commissioners such presents as they esteemed of the highest value. Gardiner advised that the gifts should be received; and expressed his conviction, that, if they were returned, an open rupture with that fierce and powerful nation would be inevitable. He urged, that, at least, the matter should be allowed to rest quietly until he was better prepared with the means of de-

fence and the necessaries of life. These counsels did not prevail; the pledges of friendship were refused; and, as had been foretold, hostilities ensued. When afterwards Endicott, Turner, and Underhill, with their forces, were sent from Boston to make a descent on the Pequots near New London, and had arrived at Saybrook, Gardiner told them, — “You have come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and fly away.”

During the following season, the fort was almost continually beset by the enemy, and curious stratagems were resorted to for the protection of the garrison, which was incessantly threatened with famine. In various sorties, several of the men were killed, and Gardiner himself on one occasion was severely wounded. A general fast was ordained by the governor of Massachusetts, on account, among other things, of the perilous position of the garrison. Through singular good-fortune, as well as through the vigilance and discretion of the commander, the post was nevertheless throughout the war successfully defended and maintained. The winter of 1635 is noted in the annals of the country as one of remarkable severity; and beside the sufferings induced by the inclemency of the season, and the dangers of savage warfare, the dictates of humanity added others, and perhaps greater. The hardy pioneers, who some time previous had forced their way through the wilderness from Boston to Windsor and Wethersfield, had been compelled, by the loss of their provisions and household goods, to retreat from those places in the depth of winter, leaving behind two females of their number, who had been seized and carried into captivity by the natives. On their return, laden with blasted hopes, perishing with extreme cold, and worn by hunger and fatigue, they were hospitably received at the fort, and sheltered and entertained according to its precarious fare. The small winter supplies provided were now drawn upon to supply the necessities of at least seventy human beings whose presence had been unforeseen, who had no resources of their own, and who stood in need of raiment as well as food. The elements, hitherto so unpropitious, came to their relief; a copious rain dissolved the ice in the river, and set afloat a vessel which had been frozen in above the fort. She was got out with great diffi-

culty and exposure, after being stranded on the bar, and the unfortunate adventurers, embarking in her, sailed for Boston. At this period of suffering and accumulated cares, Mrs. Gardiner, who had been born to the luxuries of the most commercial country of the world, now cut off from association with her sex, and surrounded by a rough soldiery, was *enceinte* of her first child. Her son David was born on the 29th of April, 1636, and was the first white child born in Connecticut.

The ultimate extirpation of the Pequots relieved the garrison from the dangers which had two years impended; and on the return of Mason from the massacre at Mystic, approaching the fort with cautious secrecy, he was unexpectedly received "with many great guns" by the commander at Saybrook, who rejoiced at the result, though his judgment and feelings were adverse to the war. Gardiner had some time previous succeeded in rescuing the two females who had been taken by the Indians at Wethersfield. At his own expense, without remuneration, he clad and maintained them, and returned them to their friends in Boston. During the remaining two years in which he commanded the fort, he was actively engaged in the settlement of the country about the mouth of the river; and though no further danger was anticipated from the Indians, and the neighbouring Mohegans were friendly, he was still watchful of their movements.

In 1660, in compliance with request, he wrote a Relation of the Pequot War, dated at East Hampton, L. I., addressed to Chapman and Hurlburt, who were among the chief actors in that contest, and submitted it to the examination of Mason and Winthrop. In the letter transmitting it to his friends, Gardiner suggested, that, inasmuch as the truth must not be spoken at all times, his narrative might give umbrage to some; and he therefore gave them leave to burn or publish it. They did neither; and after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, it has found its way to the press: its suppression is, however, an evidence of the justice of the anticipations of its author. This Relation, which appears to have been the earliest treating of the subject, is written in the quaint style of the age, abounding in Scriptural illustration; but it has a candid and dignified tone, and

in many things anticipated posterity rather than agreed with contemporaries. Of the causes and promoters of the war, it differs from the publications made many years subsequent to its date; but the author had the best means of knowledge, and if his character were not a sufficient vindication of his fidelity, he could yet have had no motive for misrepresentation. If such motive had existed, it is impossible to suppose that he would have submitted his narrative to the supervision of men who had directed and coöperated in the war, and who must have been cognizant of all its features. From his first landing, in all his various relations with the Indians, in many trying situations, he seems to have entertained the most just views, even at a time when such were not sanctioned by the conduct of a Christian people. Imperious necessity occasionally demanded from him a severe exercise of power; but his bearing toward the aborigines was at all times leavened with a generous and merciful spirit.

As the termination of his service approached, he cast about him for other sources of employment, and another manner of life. He had been disappointed in the expectations held out to him, he was somewhat dissatisfied with the administration of affairs in the Colonies, and his feelings were averse to the means by which many of the prominent men had found distinction. Under these circumstances, he retired from New England, and purchased from the sagem Wyandanch a beautiful island, which now bears his name, at the eastern extremity of Long Island Sound. This island, then a wilderness, open to the expeditions of the most warlike tribes, and almost thirty miles remote from the nearest European settlements, had been previously inhabited by the Montaukett Indians. It was called by that tribe Monshonock, signifying a place where many had died, and contained about three thousand acres of excellent land, presenting a delightful landscape, varied with wood and water, hill and dale. Taking with him, as farmers, a number of men from the garrison of the fort, he here, in 1639, formed the first British settlement in the present State of New York.

His purchase from the Indians was confirmed by a grant from James Farrel, agent of the Earl of Stirling, conferring upon him extensive powers over his plantation, which was

made independent of every other settlement, and subordinate only to the general government of the Colony. The soil of the island was fertile, and the labors of cultivation were immediately commenced. The surrounding shores furnished clams and oysters, the bay and fresh ponds abounded in fish of every variety, and the destructive presence of the white man had never disturbed the favorite resorts of innumerable wild-fowl. In 1638, while yet at Saybrook, he had a daughter born, named Mary; and another, his last child, was born upon his island on the 14th of September, 1641. The latter, named Elizabeth, was the first white child born within Suffolk county, and doubtless the first child of British parentage born in the Colony of New York.

The friendship of the sachem Wyandanch, and the advances he soon made in the affections of the chief men of the Montauketts, relieved Gardiner from his greatest apprehensions; but ancient animosities kept that tribe in continual war with the Narragansetts, whose incursions were frequent, and experience might have taught him the precarious nature of Indian attachments, and the greater security of self-reliance in all the affairs of life. The duties of watch and ward, with which he had been familiar from early life, were therefore enjoined by day and by night, a cautious eye was kept upon all the movements of the natives, and in the course of a long correspondence with the governors of New Haven and Hartford, they were informed of every passing circumstance to which suspicion attached.

Wyandanch, on more than one occasion, enabled him to communicate matter of the highest moment to the security of the Colonies. Miantonomoh, the Narragansett, had witnessed the fall of the Pequots and the rapid growth of the white strangers with natural envy and alarm. He had been enabled, by successful war, to subject the Montauketts to tribute, and he now sought their alliance in his projects of vengeance. He first visited the tribe, and endeavoured, with sagacious and persuasive eloquence, to enlist their sympathies against the English. He had, indeed, wellnigh succeeded; but the faith of Wyandanch never faltered, and he disclosed to Gardiner, who happened to be at hand on the occasion, the intrigues of the enemy. Afterwards, Miantonomoh again visited Montaukett with a friendly bearing,

and instead of exacting tribute, as he had formerly done, cunningly distributed presents. He had then fully concocted his plans, and a council of the people being called, he set forth, in an artful and impressive manner, that all the tribes in the East had combined with him, and were ready to fall upon the Colonies at an appointed day; that he should expect them to contribute warriors for the work, and that certain signal-fires would denote the moment of onset. The plot was discovered to Gardiner, and, communicating it to the governments of Connecticut, he was enabled to frustrate an attempt that might have terminated in consequences disastrous to the Colonies. The next spring Miantonomoh died, and was succeeded by Ninicraft, who inherited his heart-burnings as well as his dominion. This chief endeavoured, two years afterwards, to open again with the Montauketts proposals of a combination against the English; but Wyandanch seized the messenger who attempted the negotiation, and delivered him to Gardiner, who placed him in the hands of his men, to be given over to the governor of New Haven. The vessel in which he was conveyed being long wind-bound, the prisoner found an opportunity of escape, and apprised his sachem of the whole affair. Ninicraft made no further efforts to reconcile Wyandanch to his policy; and having determined on his destruction, waged against him a fierce and relentless war, in the course of which the Montauketts were driven to the last extreme. The sufferings of a brave and faithful nation in the service of the white man have scarcely found an acknowledgment even in the pages of history.

In 1648, when the cares and hazards of the pioneer had given way to the secure enjoyment of life, the settlement of East Hampton was commenced on the neighbouring shores of Long Island, and Lion Gardiner became one of the proprietors of the town. He removed thither in 1653, after a residence of fourteen years on his island, which he now left in the care of his farmers. The high esteem in which he was held by the natives, his discrimination and courtesy, and the generosity, decision, and integrity of his character, as well as his long experience, recommended him to the confidence of the people, and they referred to him their differences and appointed him to offices of trust. His in-

fluence was constantly exercised in infusing into the minds of the Montauketts, with whom he had been many years intimate, and with whose language he was familiar, favorable opinions of the honest motives and friendly dispositions of their new neighbours. So successful was he in this, that, during their whole intercourse with that tribe, the whites were never compelled to resort to arms; but, on the contrary, derived from them such assistance in the cultivation of the land and in domestic employments, as rendered in a great degree unfelt the inconveniences that were experienced in all the settlements of that period. The inhabitants had emigrated from the same section of England of which he himself was a native, and had perhaps made the settlement at his instigation. In their declining years men are fond of social intercourse; the change from an isolated life was doubtless highly agreeable; and Gardiner found in Mr. James, the pastor of the people, a neighbour of liberal sentiments and education, whose mind was deeply imbued with those principles of political justice which have since grown into full vigor in this hemisphere. The records bear testimony of assertions of the rights of men, coming from this divine, that would have done honor to the times of the Revolution.

In 1649, the murder of a white woman was perpetrated in the adjoining town of Southampton; and though the act was done in revenge by the friends of a Pequot who had been executed for homicide, it was attributed to a general feeling of hostility among the Indians. The magistrates of the town commanded Wyandanch to appear before them; but his tribe, apprehending violence, declared he should not go. It happened that Gardiner was on a visit to the sachem when the requisition was made, and he advised him to conform to it and exert himself in the detection of the murderers, offering himself as a hostage to the tribe for his safety. The offer was accepted by the people, and the sachem set out, with a note from Gardiner, requesting all on his route to give him food and drink, but not to detain him, "for he had his way before him." The same night, after travelling upwards of thirty miles, he discovered three Indians, one of whom was a chief of much consequence, called the Blue Sachem, who had been principals or acces-

sories in the murder; and they were ultimately sent to Hartford, tried, convicted, and hung. About the same time, a powerful warrior near the Dutch settlements had rendered himself obnoxious by the murder of two Englishmen, Hammond and Farrington, and Gardiner exacted from Wyandanch a promise that he would bring him the head of the murderer. He was, however, protected by Poggatacut of Manhasset, a brother of Wyandanch, and it was not until after the death of that chief, in 1651, that the latter, who succeeded him as Great Sachem of Pamanack or Long Island, was able to redeem his pledge, and bring the offender to punishment. These instances serve to show the deep influence which Gardiner exerted over the natives, and how far it enabled him to subserve the ends of justice and secure the safety of the whites.

The difficulties which had been some time smothered now broke out afresh, and the war between the Narragansetts and Montauketts raged with redoubled fury. Nini-craft had, by great plausibility of conduct, induced the government of Massachusetts Bay to shut their ears to representations unfavorable to his integrity. Gardiner endeavoured with much anxiety to awaken the New England Colonies to the danger of suffering him to proceed against the Montauketts; and avowed his belief that the destruction of that tribe would lead to a hostile combination among all the Indians of the North and East. He urged the many services of Wyandanch, and his claims upon the consideration of the English; and expressed his forebodings of a conflict that might lead to the destruction of the best men in the country. These solicitations and sentiments were seconded by the government of Rhode Island; but the Commissioners at Boston, though they summoned some of the Narragansett chiefs before them, declined or neglected to interfere. Had the advice of Gardiner been followed, and the Narragansetts reduced to full submission, the great war which afterwards took place with that nation under Philip could not have occurred.

In the midst of the revelry of her bridal night, the daughter of Wyandanch was seized by the Narragansetts and carried off with many others into captivity. The tribe had been surprised on this festive occasion, and the bridegroom

fell among the warriors that were slain. Gardiner, after many efforts, succeeded in redeeming this girl long before the termination of the war; and Wyandanch, impressed with a deep sense of gratitude for this and many other kindnesses he had experienced at the hands of his friend, presented him with the region of country on Long Island which now bears the name of Smithtown.

The Commissioners, at the solicitation of Gardiner and James, now sent military supplies to the towns of East and South Hampton, and to the persecuted Montauketts. They also employed an armed vessel to prevent the passage of Ninicraft's canoes across the Sound, and despatched a small force to the country of the Narragansetts; but these efforts were weak and futile, undertaken without energy, and relinquished almost without action. Some aid was afterwards derived from the Colonies of Connecticut; but the Montauketts, weakened by war and epidemic disease, eventually deserted their territory, and were received under the protection of the people of East Hampton. Wyandanch of Montaukett and Pamanack died in 1659; and at his death, appointed Lion Gardiner and his son David guardians of Weoncombone, the heir of his sovereignty. During the tutelage of the young sachem, they exercised a constant supervision of his acts of government, discharging their trust with prudence and fidelity.

The belief in witches and apparitions, which at this time pervaded the world, was exhibiting itself in New England in horrible tragedies, the barbarity of which has shocked the feelings of posterity. In 1657, a charge of witchcraft was brought against a female called Goody Garlick, an inhabitant of East Hampton, who had been employed in the household of Gardiner. He seems to have exerted himself in behalf of this unfortunate woman, and to have rejected the evidences of guilt which satisfied the popular mind. Despite the overbearing testimony concerning black cats and harlequin devils, sudden distempers and the torment of the pricking of pins, he ventured on the trial to accuse one of the principal witnesses of the death of her own child, which she had attributed to the malign presence of Goody Garlick; and after much discussion, the General Court referred the case to the judicial tribunals of Hartford, as being more deeply

learned in the mysteries of demonological jurisprudence. It does not appear that Goody Garlick was ever tried by those tribunals, and it is probable that an influence was exerted in her behalf which saved her from an awful fate.

Lion Gardiner died in the latter part of the year 1663. During his residence in East Hampton he had been active in composing the affairs, and promoting the quiet, harmony, and prosperity of the community. The remote situation of the settlement rendered it necessary that the forms of justice and of government should be regulated and administered on the spot; and this was so wisely done, that the rights of persons and of property were nowhere better respected. From his fellow-townsmen Gardiner received such testimonials as at once bear witness to the sincerity of their esteem and the excellence of his character. When, during the apprehended war with the Dutch, an individual, in the fervor of his patriotism, declared that he would even strike Mr. Gardiner if he should assist that nation, the offender met the censure of the General Court. His house and table were ever free, and he was courteous and hospitable as well to the stranger as his friends. To give him the commendation of a brave man would be superfluous, considering the perilous positions in which he voluntarily placed himself; to say that he exhibited a sense of justice and a spirit of moderation, virtues which cannot be overrated, beyond the times in which he lived, is doing but simple justice to his memory. His estate must have been at one period very large; and by his last will he devised it all to his wife, implying a confidence in her judgment and discretion which was not misplaced. At his decease, besides Gardiner's Island, he left extensive landed possessions on Long Island, and yet a great portion of his property had been previously absorbed in discharging the debts of his son in Europe. Mrs. Gardiner survived her husband only two years, and Gardiner's Island was entailed upon her son David, who received from Governor Dongan the last patent of it, erecting it a lordship and manor, "to be known by the name of the Lordship and Manor of Gardiner's Island." It was evidently under this, as it had been under all the previous patents, anticipated that the island would become a numerously tenanted estate; and provision was

therefore made for the holding of a Court Leet and a Court Baron, and for the advowson or right of patronage to the churches that might be erected. The title of Lord was given to the proprietors before the American Revolution, and even extended, by the courtesy of the people, to the last generation. It is remarkable, that, since Lion Gardiner, this island has descended from David to John, and from John to David, through eight proprietors, in regular succession, male issue never having failed, and until the present generation the descent from father to son having been unbroken.

MEMOIR OF HON. JOHN DAVIS, LL. D.

By CONVERS FRANCIS, D. D.

THE limits of this notice will scarcely allow an adequate account of the life and character of the late Hon. Judge Davis, to whose memory there comes from our community one undivided testimony of honor and love.*

On the 25th of January, 1761, this excellent man was born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, the hallowed spot of New England history always dear to his heart. He was the third of six sons, some of whom attained distinction, and all a high respectability, in different walks of life, and of whom the only survivor is Isaac P. Davis, Esq., of Boston. His father was Thomas Davis, a respected merchant of Plymouth, and his mother, Mercy Hedge, whose descent from Bradford and Brewster connected his lineage with highly honored names among the original Pilgrim band. Of his childhood, I have been able to learn only that it was marked by the sweet affection and winning goodness, which are so much better than the merely remarkable sayings and doings reported of children. It is known that the delicate state of his health, at that early age, rendered him peculiarly domestic, and secluded him in a great degree from the rough sports of boys. His gentle and loving mind indicated a strong taste for books, and for the instruction to be gathered from his elders. In subsequent years he was

* I have great pleasure in acknowledging my obligations to Hon. Nathaniel Morton Davis, of Plymouth, who has kindly furnished me with many facts and suggestions, of which I have been glad to avail myself.

often heard to speak with grateful recollections of his maternal grandmother. She had a small collection of books, chiefly theological, which he read with avidity. It is said that even in these youthful days he had acquired no inconsiderable familiarity with the religious controversies of the times, and laid the foundation of the enlarged and liberal habits of thought on these subjects, which adorned the riper years of his long life.

Happily for him, the growth of his mind was for a while guided by the instructions of Alexander Scammell and Pegg Wadsworth, two of the most accomplished and efficient teachers of that time.* His preparatory studies for college were finished under the care of Rev. Ezra Sampson, the clergyman of Plympton. He entered college in 1777, and was graduated in 1781, passing that trying period of youthful life without blame, and with manly improvement. It is known that as a scholar he stood high, and about equally high in all the departments. That he was both the poet and the mathematician of his class is a remarkable fact, as evincing thus early the versatility of mind and the aptness for various culture which marked all his subsequent developments. When he took his degree, he delivered a poem entitled "Commencement," which received high praise, and, as I am told, was published in the *Columbian Centinel*; but I have not been able to find any number of that paper of so early a date. Of his scientific reputation while in college sufficient evidence is afforded by the fact, that in October, 1780, he was one of a company selected to attend Professor Williams for the purpose of taking observations of a solar eclipse at Long Island in Penobscot Bay, "where by calculation it was expected it would be total."† The country was then involved in the expense and calamity of the Revolutionary War; but the importance of the object to the peaceful pursuits of science induced the government of the Commonwealth to fit out a

* These gentlemen were both distinguished in the Revolutionary War. Scammell fell, generally and deeply lamented, at Yorktown, just as the war was drawing to its close. Wadsworth lived till 1829 in Maine. A scholar and poet, whose name graces so beautifully the literature of our country, Professor Longfellow, is his grandson.

† The companions of Dr. Williams on this occasion were Professor Sewall, James Winthrop, Librarian, Fortescue Vernon, A. B., and Messrs. Atkins, Davis, Hall, Dawson, Rensselaer, and King, students in the college.

vessel to convey the observers. Application was also made to the commander of the British garrison at Penobscot Bay for permission to take some suitable station, which, with somewhat strait limits as to time, was granted. Dr. Williams published an account of this scientific expedition, and of the observations, in the Memoirs of the American Academy.* Under date of October 27, speaking of those who observed the eclipse with him, he mentions "Messrs. Dudley Atkins and John Davis, two young gentlemen of the University, who had made good proficiency in mathematical studies." He then gives the results of Mr. Davis's observations with the rest. Mr. Davis kept an interesting journal of the voyage on this occasion, which still exists among the papers he has left.

Having thus honorably completed his academical course, he took charge of a private school in his native town. He was afterwards employed as an instructor in the family of General Joseph Otis of Barnstable, brother of the celebrated James Otis. Among the various pursuits presenting themselves at the opening of active life, Mr. Davis had fixed his choice on the lawyer's calling, and began his legal studies in the office of Oakes Angier, Esq., of Bridgewater, whose reputation in his profession was among the highest. His preparation for the bar was completed in Boston with Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., a son of General Lincoln, and a lawyer of great promise, who died while Mr. Davis was his pupil.

With a mind disciplined by earnest study and by habits of strong, patient, discriminating thought, and with principles of conscientious fidelity to duty, Mr. Davis was prepared to enter upon a profession which in the hands of a wise and good man may become so efficient an instrument of honorable usefulness. He now returned to Plymouth, and began the practice of law there in 1786. The wel-

* Vol. I. pp. 86-102. — It may be interesting to add some of the phenomena of the eclipse, as stated by Dr. Williams. "The degree of darkness was greater than was to be expected, considering the sun was not wholly obscured. *Venus* appeared bright in the west; *Jupiter* was seen near the sun; *Lucida Lyra* near the zenith, and *Aridef* in the northeast near the horizon, appeared very bright. Several others of the fixed stars were also seen, whose situations were not particularly noted. Objects at a small distance appeared confused; and we were obliged to make use of candles to count our clock. But as soon as the greatest obscuration was past, it was universally remarked, that the increase of the light was much more rapid than that of the darkness had been." — p. 97.

come of confidence, with which his townsmen were ready to receive him, was matured into permanent respect and deep attachment by the devoted integrity with which he discharged his duties as a lawyer and a citizen. In June, 1786, he was married to Miss Ellen Watson.* The people of Plymouth availed themselves of an early opportunity to testify how much they honored his ability and character. He was chosen their delegate to the State Convention on the question of adopting the Federal Constitution. This was his first public office; and it is worthy of note, that, as he was then the youngest member of that Convention, so he lived to be its last survivor. His townsmen continued their expression of confidence in his qualifications for public trusts, by sending him, for several years, as their representative to the legislature of the State. In 1795, he was elected a Senator for Plymouth county. During the same year he received from President Washington the appointment of Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States, while Oliver Wolcott was Secretary of the Treasury. The confidence of the best men in his fitness for this place may be estimated from the testimony of Hon. George Cabot, who, in a letter to Mr. Wolcott, dated Brookline, August 25th, 1795, says: — "I expect that Mr. Davis will set off by to-morrow's stage, and be the bearer of this letter. In addition to what you already know of this gentleman, it must be grateful to you to be informed, that those persons who are most intimately acquainted with his merits unite in opinion that he will prove a most valuable acquisition to the government, inasmuch as he possesses every essential qualification for the office to which he is appointed, in an eminent degree." † The duties of this station he immediately undertook, and fulfilled with no common ability; but after one year's continuance in the office, he resigned it, on account of the inadequacy of the salary. It is an honorable testimony to his merit, that President Washington was desirous of securing his services in another department, and soon appointed him United States Attorney for the District

* Their happy union continued more than forty-six years. Mrs. Davis died suddenly in Sandwich, September 7, 1832, at the house of her son-in-law, Rev. Ezra S. Goodwin.

† Gibbs's *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, Vol. I. p. 227.

of Massachusetts, in the place of Hon. Christopher Gore, who had resigned that trust. On receiving this office, he removed to Boston, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Early in the year 1801, Mr. Davis received from President Adams the appointment of Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts. The functions of this important office he discharged, for more than forty years, with the highest honor to himself, and with the entire approbation of all who could estimate its difficult duties. When he accepted the station, the judicial learning necessary to a thorough acquaintance with the principles of the Admiralty law was by no means so accessible as it has since become. It was to be sought and applied by a painstaking search of recondite sources, whence it had not as yet been drawn forth and made common. The court, in which he was now to sit as judge, always demands abilities and acquirements of no common kind. It not only requires extensive legal erudition, but frequently calls for a ready knowledge of civil and maritime history, of all that relates to modes of navigation and forms of shipping, the geography of different countries, and the departments of natural history connected with articles of commerce. In the application of these materials, an accurate facility of discrimination between the pertinent and the inappropriate is indispensable. The passionless, comprehensive, searching mind of Judge Davis was admirably fitted to meet the claims of such an office. He entered upon it with copious stores of professional erudition and of various learning; and these, by unremitting diligence, he was always increasing. His matured, unruffled judgment moved forthright to its results in the pure light of principles. In the distressing commercial embarrassments of the country, his wisdom and firmness maintained the supremacy of law, unawed by the prevailing feelings of an exasperated community. The clearness and ease with which Judge Davis entered into the merits and relations of any case before him, unravelling its intricacies and making its bearings perspicuous, were remarked by all who had business in his court. Those who are qualified to speak on such a subject unite in saying that he possessed all the attributes of a good

judge. One testimony comes from too high a source to be omitted. Mr. Justice Story, with whom Judge Davis was for many years connected in judicial duties, dedicated to him one of his important works.* In that dedication he says: — “The patience, the candor, the urbanity, the sound discretion, and the eminent ability, with which you performed all your judicial functions during this period, are known to no one better than to myself; for I have been the constant witness of them, and have sometimes partaken of them, and have always been instructed by them. In the earlier part of your judicial career, you led the way in exploring the then almost untrodden paths of Admiralty and Maritime Jurisprudence, and laid the profession under lasting obligations by unfolding its various learning and its comprehensive principles. Your judgments have stood the test of time, and are destined to be laid up among the *Responsa Prudentium* for professional instruction in future ages.” The writer then proceeds to speak of the personal friendship and kindness of Judge Davis, and very beautifully says of these, — “They have lightened many heavy labors; they have cheered many saddened hours; and, above all, they have taught me to feel the value of the truth, that the indulgent approbation of the Wise and Good is among the most enviable of human blessings.”

The duties of the judiciary office occupied the remainder of Judge Davis's life, till within a very few years of its close. With these he united diversified studies, which kept his mind ever fresh, elastic, and genial. Surrounded by the hearty respect, the unvarying confidence, of an enlightened community, his course was graced with a gentle dignity, a beautiful repose of character, amidst incessant activity. As his busy years rolled on, full of honorable usefulness, he took ever a higher place among those to whom we look for all good influences. Even the wantonness of calumny, which seldom fails to find its time to assail the best of public men, had nothing to say against this man. A living religious faith, expressing itself in a Christian life, hallowed his relation to his fellow-men and to the great interests of society. Of no one, who has lived among us so long in the

* *Commentaries on the Law of Agency, as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence.* Second Edition. 1844.

responsibleness of a public station, could it be more truly said than of Judge Davis, that he passed his days without a stain and without censure. His life must be pronounced singularly felicitous, full as it was of interest, if not of incident, and made bland and sweet by its cheerful serenity, its almost childlike simplicity. He looked on the bright side of things; for by temperament and principle he was predisposed to be happy. Passages of deep and touching affliction, amidst his beloved family ties, were repeatedly mingled in his experience. But these he met with such gentle submission, such tranquil strength of faith, that one could scarcely perceive sorrow had been dealing with him; not because there was any apathy of the affections, for none were more tender and susceptible than his; but because the quiet piety of his spirit allowed no encroachment of unsubdued or ill-regulated feelings, and because his inward being moved in habitual harmony with the will of God.

Thus, blessing and blessed, he passed on to old age. And how beautiful that old age was, none, who had the privilege of knowing it, can ever forget. It was the old age of the Christian scholar and the beloved man. His evening of life could not but be bright and serene, full of hope, and free from sadness. He had a kindly freshness of spirit, which made the society of the young pleasant to him; and they, on their part, were always happy to be with him, enjoying the good-natured wisdom and the modest richness of his conversation. His faculties remained clear, active, and healthy to the last. Advancing years never for a moment closed the capacity, or abated the willingness, to receive new ideas. Though a lover of the past and the established, his opinions never hardened into prejudices. His intellectual vigor was not seen to moulder under the quiet which an old man claims as his right. Of him might be said what Solon said of himself in advanced years, that "he learned something every day he lived"; and to no one could be better applied the remark of Cicero concerning the venerable Appius, — "*Intentum enim animum quasi arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti.*"* But it was peculiarly his fine moral qualities, — his benevo-

* *De Senectute*, c. xi.

lence, his artlessness, his genial kindness, — which shed a mellow and beautiful light on his old age. No thought of self ever mingled its alloy with the virtues that adorned Judge Davis's character. His reliance on the truths and promises of Christian faith seemed more confident and vital as he drew nearer to the great realities of the future. For him, life had always a holy meaning. A Grecian philosopher, at the age of eighty-five, is said to have expressed painful discontent at the shortness of life, and complained of nature's hard allotment, which snatches man away just as he is about to reach some perfection of science. Not so our Christian sage; he found occasion, not for complaint, but rather for thankfulness, because, as the end approached, he saw more distinctly revealed the better light beyond. He once expressed, in a manner touchingly beautiful, his own estimation of old age. On the occasion of a dinner-party, at which Judge Story and others eminent in the legal profession were present, the conversation turned upon the comparative advantages of the different periods of life. Some preferred, for enjoyment, youth and manhood; others ascribed more solid satisfactions to old age. When the opinion of Judge Davis was asked, he said, with his usual calm simplicity of manner, — “In the warm season of the year it is my delight to be in the country; and every pleasant evening, while I am there, I love to sit at the window and look upon some beautiful trees which grow near my house. The murmuring of the wind through the branches, the gentle play of the leaves, and the flickering of light upon them when the moon is up, fill me with an indescribable pleasure. As the autumn comes on, I feel very sad to see these leaves falling one by one; but when they are all gone, I find that they were only a screen before my eyes; for I experience a new and higher satisfaction as I gaze through the naked branches at the glorious stars beyond.”

The health of Judge Davis remained generally good. Few men have had so much of that enjoyment of life, which cheerfulness, temperance, and natural habits of living bestow. He had but little physical suffering; and infirmity spared him, except in such gentle measure as to give venerableness without feebleness to his appearance: —

“ An age that melts with unperceived decay,
 And glides in modest innocence away ;
 Whose peaceful day Benevolence endears,
 Whose night congratulating Conscience cheers ;
 The general favorite, as the general friend ;
 Such age there is, and who shall wish its end ? ”

In July, 1841, Judge Davis, though his intellectual vigor was still unabated, resigned the judicial office which he had so long and so honorably held. It may well be supposed that those who had witnessed with grateful respect the urbane wisdom and the signal ability which had marked the administration of his court would not permit this occasion to pass without an appropriate notice. At a meeting of the Suffolk Bar, a resolution was unanimously passed, stating the high sense entertained by the members of the Bar of the judicial labors of Judge Davis, “ which for so many years have exhibited varied and accurate learning, sound and discriminating judgment, unwearied patience, gentleness of manners, and perfect purity,” and expressing their “ heartfelt wishes that he may find in retirement that dignified repose which forms the appropriate close of a long and useful life.” Franklin Dexter, Esq., the District Attorney of the United States, was requested to make known the resolution to the venerable judge. This commission Mr. Dexter discharged with felicitous grace, accompanying the expression from the Bar with remarks of his own most happily apposite. “ It can rarely happen,” said he, “ that a judge, who is called upon to decide so many delicate and important questions of property and of personal right, should so entirely have escaped all imputation of prejudice or passion, and should have found so general an acquiescence in his results.” “ Our filial respect and affection for yourself ” — thus closed the well-merited words of honor — “ have constantly increased with your increasing years ; and while we acknowledge your right now to seek the repose of private life, we feel that your retirement is, not less than it ever would have been, a loss to the profession and to the public. May you live long and happily, — as long as life shall continue to be a blessing to you ; and so long will that life be a blessing to your friends and to society.” *

* In the course of his remarks, Mr. Dexter introduced so happily the severe crisis which tested the firmness of the Judge, in consequence of the pressure of the embargo on the business of the country, that I cannot refrain from quoting the well-deserved

Judge Davis, deeply affected by this address, replied in a manner worthy of himself. He gave a very interesting sketch of the Suffolk Bar during his acquaintance with it, vindicated the honorable claims of the legal profession, described the position of the Circuit Court, paid a grateful tribute to the names of Judge Cushing and Mr. Justice Story, suggested by his personal intercourse with those eminent men, spoke with modest pleasure of his own relation to the weighty duties of the Bench, and closed with saying, — “I bid you an affectionate adieu, thankful for all your kindness, and for the gratifying and improving opportunities which it has been my favored lot to enjoy in the connection now to be dissolved. It is painful to employ the solemn word *dissolved*. Our official connection will cease; but reciprocal esteem and good-will will, I trust, remain in continued exercise. I shall rejoice in all I may see or hear of your prosperity and honor; and may the Father of mercies, the Giver of every good gift, sustain, animate, and guide you in your assiduous progress in the path of arduous duty.” This was an occasion of such hearty interest as seldom occurs in the history of public life. “The scene which the court-room presented,” says Dr. Gannett, “will not be forgotten by those who were in attendance. The whole Bar crowding with the affectionate curiosity of children around the place on which the aged judge sat, and listening in profound silence to the low tones of his voice, was in itself a proof of what Mr. Dexter had just declared, that their filial respect and affection had constantly increased with his increasing years.” *

praise. Having spoken of the period when the Judge assumed his duties, he said, — “A few years after that time, the system of commercial restriction adopted by the general government threw this portion of the country into a state of unparalleled distress and exasperation. An abundant and overflowing commerce was suddenly checked in all its issues and enterprises, and the revulsion threatened to break down the barriers of law by which it was restrained. It was in the District Court, and under your administration, that this struggle took place; and although juries refused to execute the obnoxious restrictions in cases required by the Constitution to be submitted to them, yet the supremacy of the law suffered no detriment in the hands of the court. Few of us can remember this *civium ardor jumentum*; but all can imagine how painful a duty it was to be thus placed in opposition to the feelings and interests of this community.” Mr. Dexter then recalled to the minds of the Bar the beautiful language in which the Judge at that time expressed his regrets, when he “felt obliged to declare, that, disastrous as its consequences were to the country, the embargo was still the law of the land, and as such to be obeyed.” The words which were quoted portray with striking eloquence the importance and the blessings of that commercial activity, the check upon which then filled the community with gloom and indignation.

* Sermon occasioned by the Death of Hon. John Davis, LL. D., p. 29.

Having thus closed his official cares, Judge Davis withdrew to spend what might remain of life in the bosom of his beloved family, where his happiness was cared for by daughters whose delight it was to watch over him with devoted solicitude. With a mind still strong, with affections fresh as ever, and with an interest in all good things yet undiminished, he continued to receive and to impart much tranquil enjoyment. His sight soon became so dimmed, that he could no longer fill his leisure with the pleasure of reading, — to him always one of the greatest pleasures. This trial he met with the undisturbed cheerfulness so characteristic of his whole life. One would scarcely have known the privation from any word of his; and it seemed that for him the better light so much the rather shone inward. While his vision was thus clouded, the air around him would sometimes appear to be filled with agreeable pictures and images, which he took pleasure in describing as a compensation for his blindness. The end was at hand; and it was as tranquil and gentle as those who loved him best could desire. No agonizing pains, no distressing imbecility, visited his last days. For a few hours only, disease with mild touch laid its hand on his aged frame; and then, in the midst of his children and grandchildren,

“ Like a shadow thrown
Softly and lightly from a passing cloud,
Death fell upon him.”

He died on Thursday, January 14th, 1847. Had he lived to the 25th of that month, he would have been eighty-six years old. On the next Monday the funeral services were attended, in the Federal Street Church, by a large concourse of those who had loved and honored him in life. These services were conducted with a very touching and impressive effect by his pastor, the Rev. Dr. Gannett, whom he had always justly regarded with the highest respect and most affectionate confidence.

The story of Judge Davis's life is itself the picture of his character; for such was his directness, his singleness of mind, that the impress of his soul uniformly shone through his conduct. He was “an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.” When those who knew him recall what he was and what he did, they have precious remembrances of

noble principles and of spotless integrity, of an amenity of temper which was a perpetual benediction, of a manly gentleness which imparted grace to strength of character, of an unaffected modesty that never impaired energy of thought or action, of a kindness that blessed each circle in which it moved and each individual whom it touched, of a piety which lifted up his other excellences above the rank of merely reputable qualities and made them sacred. Simplicity and truthfulness were essential elements of his whole being. No provocation could tempt him to be unjust to any person or subject. He was a man of decision and individuality, without heat or rigor. The evenness of his mind and the serenity of his spirit had a sedative effect on the ruffled feelings of others, and silently corrected their one-sided exaggerations. His mild impartiality exerted a regulating power over those with whom he conversed. Impetuous prejudices were held in check, harsh judgments were rebuked, by the very atmosphere of his presence. A tone of quiet humor, and the intermixture of racy anecdote, sometimes gave to the wisdom which he uttered the advantage of a playful appearance. A kindly warmth, without unhealthy excitement, imparted to his conversation a bland, mellowed character. To enjoy it was to withdraw from disturbing influences to a retired spot, where all was wholesome and truthful. There was nothing opaque in any of his processes of thought; and his mind was clear, not because it was shallow, but because strong good-sense never allowed it to be turbid. Bold reformers might think him timid or cold; but it is more true to say, that his temperament and judgment inclined him to cautious circumspection rather than adventurous movement. With regard to important innovations and rapid changes, he might be disposed to adopt the spirit of Lord Bacon's maxim: — "Use Argus's hundred eyes, before you raise one of Briareus's hundred hands." Yet he looked upon all new proposals and new modes of thinking with great fairness and freedom from prejudice. No harsh word, no scornful epithet, with regard to the theories and plans of others, ever passed his lips; and nothing could better exemplify the character of his spirit than his own quotation from Malebranche, — "Truth loves gentleness and peace."

A late biographer of Lord Eldon has mentioned, as a misfortune to his judicial reputation, "his utter relinquishment of literature from the time when he began to study law." * No regret or complaint of this kind could have place with regard to Judge Davis. Through the whole of life, his fresh interest in literary and scientific studies was very remarkable. Professional labors never quenched or dulled his strong native love of these pursuits; and the rich and varied stores of his mind were opened with such modest simplicity, that his knowledge seemed to be a part of his virtue. Classical learning, which had been an early love, continued one of the delights of his manhood and old age. With some of the best treasures of Greek literature he was well acquainted; and with those of Latin he cultivated such a constant familiarity as has been attained by few of our professional men. He read the French much and with the greatest ease, was conversant with the Spanish, and was not without a knowledge of other modern tongues. The general philosophy of language he regarded as a subject of curious interest, and bestowed upon it much attention. He had frequent correspondence with Mr. Du Ponceau, the distinguished philologer of Philadelphia, particularly with reference to the Indian languages of North America. At an early period in the course of this correspondence, he suggested, with much learning and ingenuity, some doubts as to Mr. Du Ponceau's opinion, that the Indian tongues are generally destitute of the substantive verb *to be*. † Another eminent scholar, Hon. John Pickering, found in Judge Davis a mind congenial with his own; and they had a pleasing intercourse and sympathy in philological pursuits.

Judge Davis was a botanist at a time when botany was hardly known or thought of among us; and he loved flowers with the fondness of personal friendship. Mineralogy and conchology attracted much of his attention, and his knowledge of them was more than superficial. As his tastes were all simple, pure, and natural, one of his dearest pleasures was to ramble in the fields, over the hills, and on the

* Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, Vol. VII. p. 620.

† *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Second Series, Vol. IX., p. xxv. of Du Ponceau's *Notes on Eliot's Indian Grammar*, where an extract from Judge Davis's letter is given.

sea-shore, especially in various parts of Plymouth county, to collect interesting plants, shells, and minerals. He gave an impulse to these delightful studies among his young friends, who were always happy in bringing him rare and curious specimens to be classed and named. With the theories and principles of chemistry he was well acquainted, and took note of the progressive discoveries in that science. Among scientific pursuits, it may be said, perhaps, that his strongest partiality was for the several branches of natural history. Astronomy continued always to interest him deeply, as we have seen it had done during his college life. Though the pressure of other duties did not allow him to be a practical observer of the heavens, yet he made himself acquainted with the observations of astronomers, and understood their principles. Few scholars loved better or were more conversant with English literature in general. Amidst severer pursuits, he cherished a taste for the best poetry, and has left a few pleasing specimens of his own poetic talent. His Ode* and Hymn † for the 22d of December are among the best which that inspiring occasion has called forth; and even as late as the summer before his death, he inclosed in a letter to his illustrious friend, Hon. John Quincy Adams, some very interesting stanzas on his own failure of sight, which were among the last words he ever penned. Judge Davis bestowed much well-directed attention, not only upon religious questions in general, but upon some of the more recondite topics which occupy theological scholars. The extent of his inquiries in this way surprised those who had opportunities of observing them. With his son-in-law, Rev. Mr. Goodwin of Sandwich, who was an excellent scholar in theology, as well as a beloved, honored, and lamented clergyman, Judge Davis had frequent correspondence on questions of Biblical criticism and other kindred subjects. Mr. Goodwin often expressed his astonishment at the large amount of his information, and the accuracy of his investigations, on these points; nor was he alone among the clergy in bearing this testimony. The religious opinions which Judge Davis uniformly cherished were those designated as Liberal, or Unitarian; and these he

* For the Anniversary Festival, 1792.

† 1799.

had not accepted without patient and conscientious inquiry. He testified his regard for the Divinity School at Cambridge by a valuable bequest of books to its library. How highly he was esteemed and loved as a member and one of the officers of the Federal Street Church in Boston, the pastor of that church has well told in his just and beautiful tribute to the memory of the venerable man. It was rare indeed that his seat in that house of worship was vacant on the Sabbath, and no one could take a more devout and heart-felt interest in its services.

In his large and well-selected library, which contained many rare and curious books, he took great pleasure, and of its treasures he made diligent use. When I consider the multifarious character of his intellectual attainments, I am surprised at the graceful ease with which he mastered so many subjects, in connection with devoted attention to the duties of his official station; and I readily assent to the testimony of one* who knew him intimately, that "in the number and variety of his pursuits he was perhaps unequalled."

There is yet another department particularly to be mentioned, in which Judge Davis was probably more distinguished than in any other except his professional studies, — that of History, especially the history and antiquities of New England. His taste for these inquiries sprung from an early and always continued love. No man was more frequently or more satisfactorily consulted for information of this kind. His antiquarian lore was known to be large and thorough, the result of minute and sedulous investigation. With the doings and characters of the Pilgrim band, and of their successors in the olden times, his familiarity was such as to possess the charm of an affectionate domestic interest. Himself a worthy descendant of that honored company, he dwelt, with warm love of the subject, upon the annals of the Plymouth settlement, — "*gentis cunabula nostræ*," — a place to which his feelings always reverted with the reverent regards of a son. He delivered the Oration at the Anniversary of the Plymouth Landing in 1800, which, it is to be regretted, he did not consent to publish. The Massachu-

* Hon. Nathaniel Morton Davis.

setts Historical Society owes much of its large amount of usefulness to the labors performed and the spirit diffused by Judge Davis. He was elected a member of that Society in the year of its organization, 1791; and from his long-continued connection with it resulted highly valued service to its important interests. In April, 1818, he was chosen President of the Society, to which office he was constantly reappointed till April, 1835, when he declined a reëlection, and tendered his resignation amidst the grateful regards of all the members of the association. No one of them would fail to bear testimony to the urbanity of his official deportment, and to his distinguished usefulness in that body.

Judge Davis was for many years a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, sustained at different times the offices of Recording Secretary and of Counsellor in that Academy, and contributed to its Memoirs. The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and several other associations for literary and scientific purposes, also graced their list of members with his name.

The honor and welfare of Harvard University, the place of his own education, were always dear to him. In the spirit of an enlightened love of learning, he regarded the interests of that institution as closely interwoven with the best interests of the whole community. He was called to take an important part in the management of its concerns, by being chosen one of the Fellows of the University in 1803. This position he occupied till 1810, when he was elected Treasurer of the University, and consequently still retained his place as a member of the Corporation. The office of Treasurer he resigned in 1827, and received from the Corporation a vote expressing "their high respect and regard for his character, their sense of the value of his services as a Fellow of the Corporation for successive years, and of his care and fidelity in the exercise of his office, and their regret at the loss of an agreeable associate, so qualified and disposed to assist their counsels and exertions for the good of the University and the interests of education." His connection with the care of the institution, however, did not yet cease. In 1827 he was elected a member of the Board of Overseers, and retained his seat in that Board till he resigned it in 1837. In 1842 he received from Harvard

the honorary degree of LL. D. Dartmouth College had honored him with the same degree in 1802.

Those who were best acquainted with the diversified attainments and the fine mind of Judge Davis naturally regretted that he wrote so little for the public. But it is not alone by making books that wise and learned men exert an extensive agency. The fruits of their minds are diffused in other forms, if more silently, perhaps quite as permanently. Their intellectual activity is sometimes to be measured more by a general influence constantly put forth through multiplied relations, than by numerous volumes. The published writings of Judge Davis are few. He was too modest to be ambitious of authorship, and more desirous of studying the wisdom of others than of calling the attention of the community to his own. What he did give to the public in this way is all marked with the qualities which might be expected from the known character of his mind and heart. It is worthy of the scholar and the sage. His style, evincing a classical and well-matured taste, is lucid, chaste, and terse, not deficient in vigor, and full of expressiveness. His ripe, well-considered thoughts often possess a striking beauty. His mode of treating a subject always displays patience of investigation, accuracy of statement, select learning, undisturbed candor, and frequently a pleasing originality and freshness. We have few better writers. The following is a list of his publications, so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

Address before the Members of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, May 31, 1799.

Eulogy on George Washington before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, February 19, 1800.

An Attempt to explain the Inscription on Dighton Rock. Published in the *Memoirs of the American Academy* (1809), Vol. III. p. 197. In this ingenious and interesting essay, Judge Davis supposes the figures on the rock to have been designed to represent and commemorate exploits of Indian hunting, — an opinion also entertained by General Washington, who in early life had opportunities of observing similar inscriptions in the Indian country.

A new edition (1811) of Professor Winthrop's *Two Lectures on Comets*, and A. Oliver's *Essay on Comets*. This

republication Judge Davis enriched with Sketches of the Lives of Winthrop and Oliver, and with "a Supplement relative to the present Comet of 1811." The latter happily illustrates his familiar acquaintance with astronomical science.

A Discourse before the Massachusetts Historical Society, December 22, 1813, at their Anniversary Commemoration of the First Landing of our Ancestors at Plymouth. Published in the Mass. Hist. Coll., Second Series, Vol. I.

A new edition (the 5th) of Morton's New England's Memorial, 1826, with "large Additions in Marginal Notes, and an Appendix." Judge Davis bestowed much time and labor on this edition of Morton. His additions in the Appendix, besides his very copious and valuable marginal notes, fill 132 pages, and are replete with important and curious information. The Memorial, first published in 1669, by the annotations of so learned and able an antiquarian, has become an historical treasure of great authority.

Besides the above, the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and some periodical publications, contain articles by Judge Davis, which cannot now be traced.

In the beautiful life and worthy services of which I have attempted a sketch, a rich legacy is bequeathed to our community. We rarely find a man in whom the qualities we spontaneously respect were adjusted to each other in such fine harmony. His virtues had all the ease and naturalness of kindly instincts. Goodness had become the quiet, unconscious habitude of his being. What an ancient historian has said of Marcus Cato was well exemplified in him, — "Qui nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat."* He had the privilege of a genial, well-tempered spirit, to be always young. His long life has left us nothing to regret, and every thing to love. His memory is the cherished treasure of the good. We think of him as one who, blessed to the last with the gratitude and reverence of his fellow-men, passed by a gentle transition to that higher enjoyment which is without imperfection and without end.

* Velleius Paterculus, II. 35.

MEMOIR OF HON. JOHN PICKERING, LL. D.

By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, Esq.

THE great object of these Collections is to assemble such facts as, from their antiquity, their obscurity, or their peculiar local significance, have not been generally known, and which yet, under proper management, may serve the purposes of general history. The similar action of the sister societies in other States has led to the permanent record of a multitude of facts of much local interest, which would otherwise have faded from memory; and the historian is thus enabled, by assembling these scattered lights, to illuminate even the most obscure portion of the national annals.

It is fortunate that in these Collections a place has been reserved for the portraits of those members of the Society who, by their exemplary lives and well-directed labors, have contributed to the advancement of science and the best interests of humanity. What, indeed, is more worthy of commemoration than the lives of such men, or what part of a nation's history can form so rich an inheritance for its children? The details of ordinary events present themselves like barren abstractions to the mind, leaving a comparatively feeble and transitory impression; but the biography of the individual, in whatever sphere he has moved, touches us as akin to ourselves. We are moved by the same passions, beset by the same temptations, warmed by the same generous impulses; and when we see him nobly devoting his powers to the cause of science and

humanity, and courageously overcoming the obstacles and allurements in his path, we feel a kindred ambition kindled in our own bosoms, and confess the efficacy of the example. Such an example, whether of the statesman or the man of science, is, in truth, of scarcely less worth than the best he may have said or written.

No brighter example need be sought than that afforded by the subject of this memoir, who, in the midst of engrossing professional duties, found time for various acquisitions, and for the composition of laborious works, that might have tasked the energies of the most industrious scholar.

Before entering on any biographical details, it is proper to remark, that I am exclusively indebted for them to the excellent discourse of the Hon. Judge White, pronounced before the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and to a paper in the *Law Reporter* for June, 1846, from the pen of Charles Sumner, Esq.; the latter containing, amidst much biographical incident, the outlines of a character which, in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, has since been filled up with the strong colors of eloquence by the same skilful hand.

John Pickering, the oldest of ten children, was born at Salem, February 7, 1777. He was of an ancient and respectable family, one of whom, of the same name with himself, we find as early as 1642 in possession of the very property in Salem still occupied by his descendants. His father was that eminent statesman, Colonel Timothy Pickering, who filled the offices of Postmaster-General under Washington, and of Secretary of State under Adams, and who in every station stood forth as one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Federal party. His life, for which ample materials would probably be afforded by his correspondence, still remains to be written. It was the purpose of his son to perform this labor of filial love. But different avocations interfered to prevent him, and the task is now left to other and stranger hands.

The first years of childhood were passed by the subject of our memoir in Salem, under the care of his mother; a woman of mild and amiable disposition, which no doubt contributed to form a similar temper in her son, whose out-

ward deportment, at least, bore greater resemblance to that of his mother than to the more austere demeanour of his father. At the age of six, young Pickering removed with his family to Philadelphia, where he was placed in a school, at which he learned the rudiments of French, as well as English. Even at this early age, it is said he discovered somewhat of the fondness and aptitude for acquiring languages which became his characteristics in after life.

He did not continue many years at Philadelphia, but at the age of nine returned to Salem, where he resided with his uncle John Pickering, an elder brother of his father, who had filled the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and enjoyed deserved consideration with his townsmen. Under his paternal care, the nephew was educated for college, and in 1792 entered the Freshman class of Harvard University. It is a proof of the promise which he gave at this early period of his life, that he was the youth to whom Dr. Clarke addressed the work which, a few years later, was published under the title of "Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge,"—in which he forms the most favorable augury of the academic career of the young scholar. The prognostic was justified by the event.

The four years of college life form, perhaps, the most critical epoch in the existence of the individual. This is especially the case in our country, where they occur at the transition period in which the boy ripens into the man. The university, that little world of itself, shut out by a great barrier, as it were, from the past equally with the future, bounding the visible horizon of the student like the walls of a monastery, still leaves within them scope enough for all the sympathies and the passions of manhood. Taken from the searching eye of parental supervision, the youthful scholar finds the shackles of early discipline fall from him, as he is left to the disposal, in a great degree, of his own hours and the choice of his own associates. His powers are quickened by collision with various minds, and by the bolder range of studies now thrown open to him. He finds the same incentives to ambition as in the wider world, and contends with the same zeal for honors, which to his eye seem quite as real—and are they not so?—as

those in later life. He meets, too, with the same obstacles to success as in the world, the same temptations to idleness, the same gilded seductions, but with not the same power of resistance. For in this morning of life, his passions are strongest, his animal nature is more sensible to enjoyment, his reasoning faculties less vigorous and mature. Happy the youth who, in this stage of his existence, is so strong in his principles, that he can pass through the ordeal without faltering or failing, — on whom the contact of bad companionship has left no stain, for future tears to wash away.

Mr. Pickering's academic career, from first to last, left nothing, — perhaps that is too much to say of any human being, — left little, to be repented of. He was steeled by early education and his naturally fine temperament against the coarser seductions of pleasure. He bent his faculties to the great purpose of making himself a scholar, and this in the most opposite departments of knowledge. He now laid the foundation of his critical acquaintance with the classics, and acquired that reverence for the immortal masters of antiquity which strengthened with his years. He became distinguished, also, by his proficiency in mathematics; and is said to have derived peculiar satisfaction from some academic honors awarded to him for this proficiency. He may have felt, perhaps, that this was not within his peculiar and legitimate province. He established, moreover, during his collegiate career, a reputation for those manly virtues, for modesty, candor, love of truth, simplicity of purpose, and winning courtesy of manner, which endeared him to all who approached him, and to many bound him with the ties of an enduring friendship.

On leaving college, he joined his father in Philadelphia, where he then resided as Secretary of State. Mr. Pickering at once began the study of the law, under the direction of Mr. Tilghman, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He did not remain long in Philadelphia, however, but, on the mission of William Smith, of South Carolina, to the court of Lisbon, he accompanied that distinguished statesman as Secretary of Legation. The American minister took up his residence at the capital. But the summer months were spent at Cintra, the delicious shades of which offered an agreeable retirement,

most favorable to the purposes of the student. Mr. Pickering, both in the capital and the country, pursued his studies with diligence. He began a course of the civil law, devoted himself to the Continental languages and literatures, and showed a faculty for acquiring the pronunciation of foreign idioms, which seems to be as much of a natural gift, as an ear for music.

The residence at Lisbon of a native of Damascus, where the Arabic is spoken in purity, afforded him the means of opening an acquaintance with that language, and, as he had some prospect of being employed in a projected mission to Constantinople, he endeavoured to acquire some knowledge of the Turkish. So decidedly had his literary tastes now manifested themselves, and his love of languages asserted its predominance.

He was not destined, however, to visit Constantinople, but, after two years' residence in Portugal, was transferred to London, where, through his father's influence, he obtained the place of private secretary of Rufus King, then minister at the Court of St. James. In this new situation Mr. Pickering pursued his studies with unabated diligence. He gave particular attention to classical literature, for which he had here every facility. Other countries have produced more abundant commentaries, and more numerous and elaborate editions, but in none have the ancient masters been held in higher reverence, and nowhere has a familiarity with them been deemed more indispensable in the education of youth. With the study of the classics in so congenial an atmosphere Mr. Pickering combined that of the civil law, which he had commenced on the Continent. His literary labors were relieved by the pleasures of social intercourse, — especially with the family of the accomplished minister to whom he was attached, as well as with one of the most cherished companions of his college life. This was Dr. James Jackson, who was then in London, acquiring the rudiments of that profession which he was to pursue through a long series of years with so much honor to himself and such widely extended benefit to the community. The intimacy thus renewed in a distant land cemented a friendship which continued unbroken and unabated to the close of Mr. Pickering's life.

In 1801, after two years' residence in the British metropolis, he returned to his native country, with mental resources greatly enlarged by study and intercourse with the world, and with a valuable collection of books, made with much care, such as was probably possessed at this period by few private gentlemen in the country. His father had then retired from office, and Mr. Pickering found him so far straitened in his circumstances, that he had the mortification of being compelled to part with the greatest portion of his library, in order to defray his own expenses;—a mortification which may have been somewhat mitigated by the consideration of the good influence which the diffusion of so rich a collection must exert on the community, to whom such stores of written wisdom were not then too easy of access.

On taking up his residence at Salem, he resumed the study of the law, under the direction of Samuel Putnam, who, in the retirement of private life, still lives to enjoy the recollection of years well spent in the discharge of active professional duties, first at the bar, and afterwards on the bench.

Mr. Pickering, however, still found time for the indulgence of his literary tastes, while engaged in preparation for his profession. In 1804, he edited, with the assistance of his friend and fellow-student, Mr. White, the works of Sallust, with original notes, and an introduction, both in Latin. It was one of the first attempts in our country to exhibit an ancient classic in so learned a form, and the work was performed in a scholar-like manner, that reflected much credit on the parties.

The first years of a professional career, unless commenced under extraordinary circumstances, are not likely to find the young aspirant engrossed by active business; and Mr. Pickering doubtless had much leisure for hiving up stores of learning, both literary and legal. His first important contribution to letters was in 1815, consisting of a communication to the American Academy, on phrases peculiar to the United States. The memoir was entitled, "Vocabulary of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America. To which is prefixed an Essay on the Present State of

the English Language in the United States." The Essay, of great length for such a collection as that in which it first appeared, was published, the following year, in an independent form, and, subsequently, portions of it were translated and printed in Germany. It attracted much attention, as the first attempt to ascertain the comparative state of the language, as spoken here and in the mother country. For this Mr. Pickering's experience as well as studies had given him obvious advantages; and his intimacy with the good society of the English capital had supplied him with an accurate standard for detecting the corruptions which had taken place in both the written and spoken idiom, on this side of the water. Thus his philological inquiries were not limited to foreign tongues; and he manifested early, what through his whole life he strove to maintain by precept and example, a conformity to the highest and purest standard of English composition.

Some there are who consider such a solicitude as superfluous, and who regard the language as open to innovations, especially in this country, demanded sometimes by the exigencies of our peculiar situation, but depending in a great degree on the caprice of the writer. But this ill accords with the judgment of the best critics of antiquity, one of whom discovers in this latitude of phraseology a great source of the corruption of true eloquence. Nor has such a license been found compatible with an advanced stage of literary cultivation among the moderns. In Italy, for example, where the number of independent states early led each to assume for itself the right of determining the classic standard of diction, it was at length arranged by general consent that this honor should be conceded to the Tuscan, as the purest and most perfect of the various dialects; and while other idioms were applied to light or local purposes, the Tuscan was made the vehicle of whatever aspired to the rank of a classic composition.

In a country like France, with one acknowledged capital at its head, the grand resort of wit, fashion, and learning, the matter has been regulated with little difficulty, and the Parisian standard, both of writing and speaking, has become the standard of the higher and educated classes throughout the country. To London the same deference

has been conceded by all quarters of the empire, as the great focus to which naturally converge the scattered rays of genius and learning, where, under the influence of education and fashion, the language takes its highest polish, and the standard of purity is fixed. Yet the American writer feels reluctant to defer to a foreign tribunal, and would rather settle his own standard of purity for himself. In the consciousness of political independence, he regards this homage, even in literary matters, as a sort of colonial servitude. But what will he gain by establishing a different standard? And where shall that standard be found? Each of the great and growing capitals of the East and of the West may assert its literary pretensions; and when literature comes to be more widely cultivated as a profession, as many conflicting dialects might arise as in Italy, until the language, distorted into an endless variety of fantastic forms, would become alike destitute of harmony and refinement. There is, in truth, no cause for such jealousy of our father-land. The noble brotherhood of scholars makes one large republic of letters, without reference to geographical lines or national distinctions. The great object — so far as language is concerned — is to convert it into the most perfect and beautiful instrument for the expression of thought; and as the highest standard of this is to be found in the writings of the greatest masters, and in the idiom of that society which, from its higher education, as a body, and from the circumstances of its situation, is enabled to give greatest attention to forms of expression, it is to these authorities that we are to look for settling the classic forms of our language. Should the day ever come when the light of learning shall fade away in the home of our fathers, to be rekindled with a brighter splendor in our own, another standard may arise and be maintained by our advancing civilization. But till then we must be content, unpalatable as it may be to some of our prejudices, to defer to the metropolis of the Anglo-Saxon race as the metropolis of its language. The same tongue cannot have two standards of purity.

It is worthy of notice, that very many of the words and phrases introduced into Mr. Pickering's Vocabulary were found not to have originated on this continent, but

in England itself; especially in those quarters of the country whence our ancestors most freely emigrated, but where many of these words have since become obsolete. The fact furnishes an additional evidence of what has been established on other grounds, that the Anglo-Saxon stock has been maintained in New England in greater purity, and less affected by foreign influences, than in the mother country itself.

But the object which engaged most of the attention which Mr. Pickering could spare from his professional avocations was the study of the Greek. In 1818, he published, in the volumes of the American Academy, a memoir on the pronunciation of the Greek language; in which he endeavoured to prove that this pronunciation should be accommodated to that of the modern Greeks themselves. It was an ingenious essay, and excited much attention among the learned.

The great end of his labors in this branch of literature, however, was the compilation of a Greek Lexicon with an English interpretation, instead of the Latin before exclusively used by us. This was its principal distinction, though in other important particulars it had greatly the advantage of previous compilations. It was formed on the general plan of the Lexicon of Schrevelius, then in popular use in our schools. The catalogue of words, however, was much enlarged; their definitions were both copious and precise; while his knowledge of jurisprudence enabled the author to supply much useful information in respect to the phraseology of that science. The whole work showed, not only the painstaking industry of an humble lexicographer, but the results of a long and critical study of the best models among the ancients, as well as of those modern philologists, especially the German, who have given to this department the dignity of a science.

The first part of the work was conducted by himself, but in the latter and much the larger portion of it he was aided by the late Dr. Daniel Oliver, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Dartmouth College. A prospectus of the Lexicon was issued in 1820; but it was not till six years later, that the work, commenced in 1814, was given to the public. Its reception was such as fully repaid the learned labors of

its author. It was acknowledged by all to have supplied a most important desideratum, not only as an elementary book for the student, but as a manual for the scholar. The first edition was exhausted in less than three years; and a second, prepared wholly by Mr Pickering, and containing many thousand new terms, was given to the public in 1829. It was afterwards republished, with additions, in Edinburgh; and, as it is said, was liberally used, with slender acknowledgments, in the preparation of similar works on that side of the water. A third and more enlarged edition was reserved, as we shall see hereafter, for the closing labor of Mr. Pickering's life.

Yet, while he was thus appropriating such of his leisure hours as were left him by his profession to the preparation of his great work, his attention was drawn in another direction, and one most opposite to the cultivated language of ancient Greece. This was the unformed dialects of our own aborigines. Mr. Pickering's attention was first called to the subject, as he himself informs us, by Mr. Du Ponceau's Report on the Indian languages, addressed to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. An elaborate article, which appeared in the *North American Review* in 1819, on that memoir, from the pen of Mr. Pickering, led to a correspondence between these eminent philologists, and to a personal intimacy which terminated only with life. Side by side, as it were, the two scholars entered on this wide, but hitherto untrodden field, smitten with the same ardor for discovery, and by their frequent correspondence facilitated each other's progress, and compared the results of their observations before they were matured for the public.

One of the first fruits of Mr. Pickering's studies was the publication of *Eliot's Indian Grammar*, with *Introductory Observations on the Massachusetts Language*, which appeared in 1822, in the volumes of this Society. It was followed the next year by the publication in these *Collections* of *Edwards's Observations on the Mohegan Language*, with *Notes* by the Editor. Both memoirs showed that the author had already far advanced in a critical study of the aboriginal dialects of America, while they made an important contribution to the science of philology.

But the production of greatest importance from Mr. Pickering's pen, in relation to this topic, was an Essay on a Uniform Orthography of the Indian Languages of North America, which appeared in 1820, in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the American Academy. The author had not proceeded far in his own researches in this new direction, when he found that the different sounds attached to the same letters by the scholars of different European nations led to inextricable confusion and misunderstanding, in their attempts to reduce to writing the barbarous idioms of the New World. The same vowel, used by a German, was intended to convey a very different sound from what it would receive from the lips of an English or American writer. To avoid this embarrassment, he formed the scheme of a common system of orthography, in which the letters should have determinate and conventional values assigned to them, and such as would be perfectly recognized by scholars of every nation. To the Essay he annexed an alphabet to be applied to the Indian tongues, in which he retained most of the Roman letters in use by us, and when he would express a compound sound he attached a *cedilla*, as it is called in Spanish, or some simple mark, to one of the original letters. This arrangement he rightly regarded as more simple, and easier to be mastered, than an entirely new alphabet of purely arbitrary signs.

The Essay, which he published in a separate form the following year, attracted great attention among scholars, both at home and abroad. Sir William Jones, had he lived to this period, might have rejoiced in the realization of his wishes in regard to the existence of some intelligible and universal medium of communication for the languages of the East, since he would have found such a medium now afforded by a simple contrivance, the more beautiful, like all other skilful contrivances, from its very simplicity. The success of the scheme, as shown by its practical application, must have exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its author. Thirty years have not elapsed since the publication of the memoir, yet the alphabet has been applied to eleven of the aboriginal languages of this continent, and in some of them newspapers are regularly printed in these characters. Two of the African dialects,

and that also of the Sandwich Islands, have been reduced to writing on the same system of orthography, and various works, including the Scriptures, published in them; and the Syrian Mission of Jerusalem has proposed to extend the same system, so widely countenanced by the learned, to the languages of the East. Thus, by the ingenuity and industry of the American philologist, the means have been devised for a free communication between the scholars of different countries engaged in these obscure investigations. They can now profit by one another's assistance in subjecting the fruits of their researches to philosophical analysis; while the untutored savage is furnished with a medium of communication, by which the light of civilization may be poured in upon his darkened intellect.

It is not easy to comprehend how Mr. Pickering could have rescued the time for these philological researches from that demanded by his professional duties; for he was all this while a lawyer, in as great practice, almost, as any in the country. It could have been accomplished only by incessant toil, and a judicious distribution of his hours. But he felt that his literary tastes, however ennobling and useful in their results, could no longer be indulged to the same extent without detriment to his professional business. In 1829, he decided to remove to Boston, as opening a wider theatre for a lawyer, and at the same time to confine himself more exclusively to his profession.

So soon as he had established himself in his new residence, he was complimented by receiving the appointment of City Solicitor, a post which he continued to fill with equal integrity and ability till the year previous to his death. In his devotion to the law, he did not decline the offer made to him of a seat in the Senate of Massachusetts. He had never shown a love of political life, or aimed at its honors. But a sense of what, as a good citizen, he owed his country induced him to accept a situation in the legislative councils, for which his legal education had well qualified him. When in Salem, the confidence of the community had been shown by their thrice sending him as representative from that town, and twice as Senator from Essex. He had also been a member of the Executive Council, and, on coming to Boston, again took his place in

the Senate from the county of Suffolk. But he remained no longer in the political arena than seemed to be demanded by a sense of duty. While there, he attended with conscientious fidelity to his legislative functions. He was frequently placed on committees, where the burden of preparing the reports devolved principally on himself; on which occasions, he performed his task with acknowledged ability and fairness. His manner of speaking before the legislature was distinguished by the same general characteristics as at the bar. He was temperate and dignified; addressing the reason rather than the feelings; opening expansive views of policy, and resting on high moral grounds; strong in the assertion of truth, and ever prompt to maintain the right, even, as in the case of the Charlestown Bridge, when the right was not too popular.

Though much absorbed by the practice of the law, after he had changed his residence to Boston, he still found time for other occupations, some of them of great moment, having a more general relation to his profession. In 1833, he was appointed by the legislature, together with Judge Jackson and the late Professor Stearns of Cambridge, to revise the statutes of the Commonwealth. The first part, relating to the internal administration of government, fell to Mr. Pickering. It was a work, like all the rest involved by the commission, of great labor and responsibility; and the thorough and able manner in which he executed his portion of the task was such as richly entitled him to the gratitude of his countrymen.

Neither was his pen idle on topics having a bearing on his profession. Two papers, having reference to the Roman law, showed the diligence with which he had cultivated this department of legal science. A still more memorable example is afforded by his celebrated paper on the McLeod affair, which appeared in the *Law Reporter* in 1841. It was on occasion of the unhappy troubles on our Canadian frontier, which for a time, as every one remembers, menaced the most serious consequences. No little part of the difficulty arose from the conflict of State rights with the national. Mr. Pickering made a full and fearless examination of the disputed point; defined the boundary line between the two authorities with precision; and supported his views

by an appositeness of legal illustration, solidity of principle, and cogency, and at the same time fairness, of reasoning, that brought conviction to every candid mind. It was admitted by those conversant with the subject, to take precedence of every other disquisition which had appeared on it.

Nor was Mr. Pickering, at this period, wholly withdrawn from the studies which in earlier life had engaged so much of his attention; and from time to time he gave abundant evidence that in his leisure he could turn with his former fondness to those philological researches which to him were soothing recreations. Among his contributions to the department of Indian languages may especially be noted an edition of Father Rasles's Dictionary of the Abnaki tongue, with an Introductory Memoir and Notes, printed in the first volume, new series, of the Transactions of the American Academy; and a disquisition on the North American languages, prepared for the *Encyclopædia Americana*. The last treatise unfolds with careful precision the grammatical structure of the Indian tongues, in a manner that renders a subject, which may be thought somewhat repulsive to the general reader, sufficiently interesting by the philosophical spirit with which it is discussed, and the comprehensive results to which we are led by the details. The essay, which no American scholar, probably, except Du Ponceau and the venerable Gallatin, would have been competent to write, was, on account of its length and importance, printed separately in the Appendix. It has since been translated into German.

Nothing but systematic application and a careful economy of time would have enabled Mr. Pickering to run through such a wide circle of professional and philological labors. Even this would scarcely have sufficed, had he not been blessed with an excellent constitution, invigorated by habits of temperance; while his equanimity of temper and a life of tranquillity exempted him from many of those corroding cares which sour the happiness, and too often shorten existence. But in the summer of 1845, he felt the approaches of a disease, which, at first, had nothing very alarming in its aspect. Indeed, his long period of uninterrupted health made it difficult for him to comprehend his own condition; and as the disease gained ground, and he grew weaker in body, he still showed reluctance to relinquish his

literary occupations, — as a veteran, unused to defeat, unwillingly retreats before odds too great to be resisted. An occupation which accompanied him to the last was the preparation of a new and enlarged edition of his *Lexicon*, and, like his illustrious friend *Bowditch*, he continued to employ his declining strength in perfecting those tasks for the good of others, of which he could never reap the benefit himself.

In the following spring, his health failed so sensibly, that it was evident the end could not be long protracted. He prepared to meet it, however, in the true spirit of a Christian philosopher, — in the spirit in which he had always lived. He experienced all the alleviations to his illness which the sympathy of friendship and the endearing attentions of his own family could afford. His wife, disabled by bodily infirmities, had for some time been deprived of her sight. But the attentions which she was thus excluded from paying, and which a woman only can pay, were bestowed in full measure by his daughter, whom he had ever regarded — as was due to her admirable qualities — with peculiar fondness and parental pride.

On the fifth of May, 1846, Mr. Pickering breathed his last. He left behind him three children, two of them sons, and a widow, who before the close of the same year followed her husband to the tomb.

Mr. Pickering was tall in stature, and of a commanding presence. His features were regular; his mouth small and well formed; his nose of the Roman cast; his serene and ample forehead seemed to be the fitting seat of contemplation. His whole deportment was such as to command respect, yet tempered by a benignity of manner, which inspired the warmer feelings of regard.

His manner, indeed, was not only courteous, but courtly. He had that courtesy which is seated in the heart; and his good breeding was the form in which he expressed the benevolence of his nature. This is the true good breeding, as superior to that which rests only on the conventional rules of society, as the genuine is to the counterfeit; — for the latter is but the copy of the former.

The more we reflect on Mr. Pickering's character, the more deeply are we impressed with the great variety and amount of his attainments. As a professional man, he had

studied the law profoundly as a science, penetrating to those departments of it which are, for the most part, little consulted by the profession. His mastery of languages was wonderful, and they were not to him, like a bunch of useless keys, never employed to open the rich caskets to which they belonged. He made himself familiar with ancient literature, and with the works of the best masters in the modern; and where the language itself chiefly engaged his attention, it was because, having no literature, it was studied by him for philological purposes. Besides this wide range of scholarship, he had sufficient knowledge of mathematics to be able to read and comprehend Bowditch's *La Place*, a good test of proficiency in this department. He was very fond of music, and had studied its principles as a science. He was a good botanist; had also a turn for mechanics, and early in life had acquired considerable skill in the use of the lathe.

But the most remarkable of his acquisitions was that of languages, already alluded to. In this he rivalled that great Orientalist, Sir William Jones, to whom he has more than once been compared; for both were trained to the law, and could devote to their literary labors only such hours as they could glean from their professional; and both were distinguished by a pure and elevated character, that gave additional lustre to their scholarship. It may be well to enumerate here the number of languages at Mr. Pickering's command, as they are set down in the article in the *Law Reporter* to which I have already referred. "It is certain that he was familiar with at least nine, — the English, French, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, German, Romaic, Greek, and Latin; of these he spoke the first five. He was less familiar, though well acquainted, with the Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Hebrew; and had explored with various degrees of care the Arabic, Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Coptic, Sanscrit, Chinese, Cochin-Chinese, Russian, Egyptian hieroglyphics, the Malay in several dialects, and particularly the Indian languages of America, and of the Polynesian Islands."

Such extensive acquisitions could have been the result only of the greatest industry and perseverance. He had early acquired a power of abstraction, and, the subject of his meditations once fully presented to his mind, he could se-

cure and detain it there, until he had carefully examined it in all its bearings. The time and place were altogether indifferent to him; and his mental processes were equally undisturbed by the bustle of the court-room and the conversation at his fireside. This power of abstraction, so important to every man who would think to any purpose, however difficult it may at first seem, is not very uncommon, since it is easily acquired where circumstances imperatively demand it, — as every school-boy and college tyro will remember, who has deferred the completion of his task till he appears in the recitation-room.

But Mr. Pickering had what was more uncommon, and what, to the degree in which he had it, may be regarded as a real gift of nature, — a most tenacious memory. Most men find it easier to forget than to remember. With Mr. Pickering, to learn and to remember seemed to be synonymous. Such a power, if not genius, is next akin to it. It is to the scholar what imagination is to the poet. It is the arsenal whence he can draw at will the weapons for his intellectual combats. With this power, Mr. Pickering could pass from one subject to another, finding each where he had left it. Nothing had been lost in the interval. No step was to be retraced; but each new step carried him still onward in the interminable march of knowledge.

Mr. Pickering's character may be surveyed under two aspects, — as a lawyer, and as a man of letters. His regular occupation was the law. This was the business of his life, and during the greater part of his life he was in full practice. It was only such intervals as he could snatch from business that he devoted to literature. His literary achievements, therefore, regarded in this point of view, become truly wonderful.

As a lawyer, he stood high in the consideration of the community, and deservedly, for no man in the profession did more to elevate its character. At the bar, as everywhere else, his demeanour was courteous. His manner of addressing the jury was plain and impressive. He was well instructed in his case, and expounded with logical precision the legal principles that applied to it. He was, however, not an eloquent nor a stirring speaker, and to some his temperate manner might appear cold. He addressed the understand-

ing, rather than the passions of his audience. Neither his modesty nor his good taste would have led him to affect the rhetorical display, which he considered as ill-suited to the gravity of the court-room. A lover of truth, he had not that specious sophistry at command by which a bad cause is made to bear the semblance of a good one. He was strong only in defence of the right. He could not be brought to regard the law as a cunning weapon, at the service of the most skilful fencer. He looked on it as a noble science, resting on the broad basis of natural justice, and designed for the protection of human right. He loved, therefore, to ascend from its trivial details to its higher principles, and regarded it with the eyes of a philosophic jurist, rather than those of the mere practising attorney. His disposition was far more contemplative than active; better suited to the tranquil occupations of the study, than to the strife, either of the forum or the senate-house.

He was, indeed, as has been said of him, the model of a scholar. Patient and persevering, he toiled incessantly after truth, content with earning this as the best reward of his labors. It was his maxim, that the greatest obstacles are to be overcome by unintermitting efforts, in the moral world equally with the physical. The motive which directed his labors was as elevated as the object of them. Some men toil from ambition, others from the love of gain. If they succeed, they have such reward as the world can give. If they fail, they are left without consolation. But Mr. Pickering proposed the nobler end of benefit to mankind. That he was influenced, to some extent, by motives of worldly prudence, is no doubt true. For who is not? But the dominant impulse in his breast was the good of his fellow-men. This sentiment, which he inculcates in one of his last discourses as the true motive of the scholar, was not with him an empty boast. His whole life showed it to be sincere. The works to which he devoted himself were not those that catch the popular eye. He was content to toil in the obscure mines of literature, where his labors were almost hidden from observation. Most of his contributions to science were free offerings, without compensation, and are to be found embodied in the collections of learned societies. His pen was ever prompt in the service of others. Nor did

his good offices stop here ; and more than one author can recall to mind the assistance which he gave him when coming before the world, and the sympathy which he never failed to manifest in his success. The success of another, indeed, whether friend or rival, filled him only with satisfaction. He had a soul too large for envy, and he hailed with delight every real contribution to science, from whatever quarter it came.

Mr. Pickering's inquisitive mind drew in knowledge from every source within its reach ; — from books, meditation, society ; from the educated traveller, or the simple mariner who brought back tidings of some distant island, the language of which still remained to be explored. Strangers having such information resorted to his house, eager to impart their stores to one who could so largely profit by them. In this way he obtained the materials of his last communication to the American Academy, being a very interesting account of the remarkable race who inhabit Lord North's Island, and of the language spoken by them.

It is gratifying to reflect, that the services thus rendered by the American philologist to the cause of science were duly appreciated by his contemporaries ; and that he received testimonials to his deserts from numerous learned bodies, both at home and abroad. In 1806, when not thirty years of age, he was offered the chair of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages in Harvard College. Seven or eight years later, he was appointed to the Eliot Professorship of Greek Literature in the same University ; — both of which he declined. In 1822, he received the degree of LL. D. from Bowdoin College, and in 1835, from Harvard. Besides being a fellow of this Society, he was the President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Foreign Secretary of the Antiquarian Society, in this his own State. He was also a member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of numerous literary associations in other parts of the country. In Europe, he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Berlin ; of the Oriental Society of Paris ; of the Academy of Sciences and Letters at Palermo ; of the Antiquarian Society at Athens ; and titular member of the French Society of Universal Statistics.

Mr. Pickering was too modest to require this blazonry of his literary honors, but it is proper to record them here, as evidence of the high respect in which his character was held by the most competent tribunals, both in Europe and his own country. Such an indorsement, indeed, will not be necessary to secure his fame with posterity. That must rest, not on what others have done for him, but on what he has done for himself;—on his writings, especially those which have helped so much to enlarge the boundaries of philological science; and on the influence of his example, wide among his generation. For he lived in an age when true scholarship was rare, and he set the example of a learning various and profound, sustained by a lofty morality, and recommended by the graces of manner which give to learning its greatest attractions.

List of the Published Writings of John Pickering, LL. D.

1804. Oration delivered at Salem, July 4, 1804.

“ Sallust; edited with Latin Notes. Salem.

1815. Vocabulary of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America. To which is prefixed an Essay on the Present State of the English Language in the United States of America.

1818. Memoir on the Pronunciation of the Greek Language. Memoirs of the American Academy.

1819. Translation of Professor Wytttenbach's Observations on the Importance of Greek Literature, and the Best Method of studying the Classics. North American Review.

1819. Article on Du Ponceau's Report to the American Philosophical Society. N. A. Review.

1820. Article on Dr. Jarvis's Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America. N. A. Review.

1820. Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America. Mem. of Amer. Acad.

1822. Edition of Eliot's Indian Grammar; with Introductory Observations on the Massachusetts Language. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1822. Article on Adelung's Survey of all the Known Languages and their Dialects. N. A. Review.

1823. An Edition, with Notes, of Edwards's Observations on the Mohegan Language. Coll. Mass. Hist. Society.

1825. Remarks on Greek Grammars. American Journal of Education.

1826. Two Articles on American Indians. New York Review.

“ Greek and English Lexicon.

1827. Edition of Roger Williams's Key to the Indian Language. Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society.
1828. Article on Johnson's Dictionary. *American Quarterly Review*.
1829. Remarks on the Study of the Civil Law. *American Jurist*.
 " Agrarian Laws of Rome. *Encyclopædia Americana*.
1830. Edition of Cotton's Vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indians. *Coll. Mass. Hist. Society*.
1831. Introductory Essay on Newhall's Letters of Junius.
 " Indian Languages of North America. *Encyclopædia Americana*.
1833. Revised Statutes of Massachusetts. Part First. Of the Internal Administration of the Government.
1833. Lecture on Telegraphic Language, before the Boston Marine Society.
1833. Review of Williams on the Law of Executors. *Amer. Jurist*.
 " Edition of Father Rasles's Dictionary of the Abnaki Language, with Introductory Memoir and Notes. *Mem. of Amer. Acad.*
1834. Lecture on the Alleged Uncertainty of the Law. *Amer. Jurist*.
 " Article on the History of Harvard University. *N. A. Review*.
1838. Article on Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella. *N. Y. Review*.
 " Eulogy on Dr. Bowditch. *Mem. of Amer. Acad.*
1839. Article on Chinese Language. *N. A. Review*.
 " Article on Curtis's Admiralty Digest. *Amer. Jurist*.
1840. Article on Egyptian Jurisprudence. *N. A. Review*.
1841. Essay on National Rights and State Rights. *Law Reporter*.
 " Article on the Cochinchinese Language. *N. A. Review*.
1843. Address before the American Oriental Society.
1846. Memoir on the Language and Inhabitants of Lord North's Island. *Mem. of Amer. Acad.*

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM LINCOLN.

By JOSEPH WILLARD, A. M.

DURING the year 1843, five of our members were called to their rest;* — individuals of worth and esteem, several of whom had served faithfully the cause of letters and religion in their lifetime, and their memories should not be forgotten by their associates.

Among these honored ones, it has fallen to me to pay a brief tribute to the memory of Lincoln, a long-trying and esteemed friend.

WILLIAM LINCOLN, the youngest son of the late Hon. Levi Lincoln, was born in Worcester in this State, September 26, 1801. His early years were spent in his native town, where the social position of his family and connections gave him all the external facilities which could be of advantage in his preparation for the University.

His father, having retired from the professional and political arena, after a long and distinguished career, devoted his declining years to a wide and liberal course of reading, and to the classical studies of his youth. At this time his son was in his early training, and the father took the entire charge of his instruction. The pupil was diligent and apt, and did justice to the care and painstaking that were exercised in his behalf.

* Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., August 2; Rev. Jonathan Homer, D. D., August 11; Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D. D., September 22; William Lincoln, Esq., October 5; Samuel P. Gardner, Esq., December 18. This, probably, is the largest inroad upon our number in any one year since the first organization of the Society.

He entered Harvard University in the Junior class in 1820, and was graduated in 1822. While at Cambridge, he maintained a very respectable rank as a scholar, and acquired the general esteem of his classmates by his gentlemanly and scholarlike deportment.

His Commencement performance was a poem, and its subject, "The Land of the Pilgrims," was an early evidence and foreshadowing of his future taste. His rank as a scholar, I have said, was respectable. It might have been higher, and his general assiduity would have asserted the right, had he regarded class recitations as his chief aim. I do not understand that he placed any estimate upon them other than such as would insure him a wholesome reputation for diligence and good standing, and leave him time to pursue his particular bent in other departments of liberal culture. This was a strong feature in his character, and quite distinctive afterwards, when he came to the active business of life. Entering college at a late period, I believe I may say that he failed to acquire those habitudes and that class and college association usually so strong with those who go through the whole course. Indeed, it may be doubted, whether, with his cast of mind and disposition, he would have formed many intimacies during a residence of four years.

On leaving college, he returned to Worcester, and immediately commenced the study of law, under the tuition of his brother, Hon. Levi Lincoln, at that time the leading member of the bar in the county of Worcester, and engaged in a very extensive practice. He pursued his professional studies with enlightened and successful zeal. One every way competent to form and express an opinion upon the subject bears testimony "to his fidelity and assiduity, his quick and clear perceptions, and the singularly discriminating judgment with which he detected sophistry and error, and comprehended and embraced sound learning and safe principles"; while, at the same time, "his fine taste, varied reading, and rich acquisitions, and a vein of wit and never-failing good-humor," rendered him an agreeable and instructive companion. This is high praise, and strongly expressed; but I cannot say that it is exaggerated. I knew nothing, indeed, personally of his laborious preparation for the bar, but I carefully observed the results of that prepara-

tion, and they justify in full the remarks I have just quoted. He came to the bar in 1825, arrayed wisely and well for its exhausting duties; and forming a connection in business with his relative, the Hon. Rejoice Newton, in Worcester, he found himself at once surrounded by clients and engaged in full practice. The law was not his favorite pursuit; he embraced it, perhaps, in part, because in New England there is no consideration unless there is specific employment, and in part to add by its emoluments to a respectable patrimony. I do not mean that he disliked the profession, — far from it. He revered the science, and honored the great names that had added lustre to it. He attended faithfully to the duties of the office, and was as prompt, assiduous, and thorough in the detail of business, as he was sagacious and persevering in his legal investigations; so that whenever he appeared before the court and jury, he gave manifestations of those qualities whose further cultivation would have led him in after life to distinction as a jurist and advocate.

For many years he performed an amount of labor that few constitutions could have endured. The lawyer's daily life was engrossed with its employments, but when these were over, the greater part of the night would be occupied with literary avocations, and historical and antiquarian research. Nor, in the midst of these things, were the claims of friends forgotten or postponed, or the love of nature shut out from his heart. He loved horticulture, and engaged actively in adorning and improving his patrimonial acres, — not by mere superintendence, but by being act and part in what he guided, and thereby producing beautiful results. God first planted a garden, said Bacon, and we naturally are prepossessed in favor of the simple taste of the man whose bent is in that direction. With all these avocations, he found or redeemed time enough, in his early years at the bar, to write largely for the newspaper press, and for several years before he assumed the office, was substantially the editor of the *National Ægis*. At this period there was a class of the younger professional men in the county of Worcester, who began to devote much of their time to the cultivation of history, and more especially to the history of portions of their native land. Ardent among these were William Lincoln and Christopher C. Baldwin, the late enthusiastic and

devoted librarian of the American Antiquarian Society; both fresh at the bar, and brought into close communion by kindred tastes and pursuits. In the year 1825, sharing equally a generous ardor in historical investigations, they projected the publication of a periodical journal,* which, with some miscellaneous matter, should be chiefly devoted to historical narrative, and should contain "a minute and particular account" of each town in the county of Worcester. The plan was a good one, and the work was conducted with much cleverness and spirit from October, 1825, to October, 1826, inclusive. It embraced minute sketches of several of the towns in the county, and doubtless was the means of preserving some important material of local interest and of substantial worth to the future general historian. Had it been continued, every town in the county, or most of them, would have been commemorated by affectionate memorials, and their history, industry, and thrift, becomingly set forth, would have embodied a wide collection of interesting detail, increasing in value as time was busy with his effacing fingers in the records of past generations. But so it was, that twenty years ago this journal fell, as many other journals have fallen, for want of patronage. There did not exist a sufficient demand for this species of literature. The community had not then been educated up to the point of zeal in local history that it has since reached; and now, in turning back to its pages, limited in extent as the journal was, there is much found in them that will be hereafter wrought to good purpose, when a hearty laborer shall arise to chronicle the history of the noble county. Many of the articles — about an eighth part of the whole of the first volume — are from the pen of Mr. Lincoln.

In 1835, the American Antiquarian Society sustained a very heavy loss in the sudden death of their librarian, Mr. Baldwin. From the intimacy which had existed between them for a period of twelve years, Mr. Lincoln was selected by the society as the most suitable person to deliver an address on the character and services of the late librarian. This address, while instinct with the warm feelings of personal friendship, portrays the character of Mr. Baldwin, and

* *The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal.*

his services in the important trust committed to him, in terms of entire justice. It is written with great good taste and discrimination, avoiding that tone of exaggeration so frequent in productions of this class, and describing Mr. Baldwin, as he appeared to the daily observer, of simple and unpretending excellence, abounding in innocent and pleasing peculiarities, and deserving of great commendation for his incessant and far-reaching exertions in the field of American antiquities. Mr. Lincoln did many things well, but this may be set down as the best written of his productions; and from my own intimacy with the subject of the delineation, I can bear testimony to its truthfulness.

In 1837, he delivered the annual address before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. This was very favorably received when it was spoken, and rewards a subsequent perusal. Horticulture, as I have before remarked, was much to his taste, and as he had at one time entered largely into its practical details, not contenting himself with a general love of nature, he had his word in season to utter to those of kindred sympathy.

Mr. Lincoln was engaged for many years in the preparation of a history of his native town. I believe that it was originally his intention to publish it in the pages of *The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal*, but that work having been suspended for want of the patronage it deserved and should have received, he wisely took time to make his collections, that he might present them to the public with entire accuracy, and in a form to be perpetually preserved. He well knew that the labor of preparing a town history was of no slight amount; that the materials would not always come at the bidding, and that while some facts would be obtained, as it were, accidentally, which were necessary for the links of the narrative, and many dates in the same way, a wide field must be traversed in the direct pursuit of that which was known to exist in State, county, town, and parish records, and among the masses of papers in the neglected waste-rooms of ancient families. The delay was of great service, as he was thus enabled to gather in from all sides large treasure, and to supply the many deficiencies that would have existed in an early and hasty publication. Instead, therefore, of a meagre and sterile

compilation, he gave to the public in 1837, as the result of his long and patient toil, a goodly volume of nearly four hundred octavo pages, the contents of which were well considered and systematically arranged. It was a worthy offering of respect for his native town, and may be considered, both in its plan and execution, a model for town histories. It stands at the head of works of a class, by some indeed slightly valued, but containing much of the genuine ore out of which are to be wrought the more imposing volumes embracing the history of our beloved Commonwealth.

Under a resolve of the legislature of Massachusetts, March 10, 1837, Governor Everett, by whose recommendation the measure was adopted, was authorized to procure the publication of the Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and of such papers connected with those records as would illustrate the patriotic exertions of the people of the State in the Revolutionary contest. Mr. Lincoln was selected by the governor as a suitable person for the undertaking, and with characteristic industry he immediately devoted himself to the task of preparing the Journals for the press. In order to carry out the views of the Executive and of the legislature more fully, he prepared and sent to each town a detailed statement of what seemed to him necessary for the purpose of obtaining the entire narrative of municipal proceedings during the Revolution in those republican corporations, together with some of the numerous documents that lie scattered among the forgotten recesses of the families of that period. These, however, in the progress of his undertaking, were found to be too voluminous, and were not introduced into the publication. The volume was published in 1838, embracing the Journals of the Provincial Congress and of the Committee of Safety, the proceedings of the several county conventions, narratives of the events of 19th April, 1775, numerous papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and other valuable Revolutionary documents, accompanied with notes illustrative of the text, preceded by a full table of contents, and followed by a thorough index of twenty well-compacted pages. It is evident that a great amount of labor was expended in the preparation of this compilation, which contains a fund of information concerning the large and generous

efforts and sacrifices made by the people of Massachusetts during the contests of the Revolution. It is prepared with entire fidelity, and demands the critical examination of the future historian of that period.

All the publications of Mr. Lincoln, it is believed, have now been mentioned, excepting sundry agricultural and legislative reports, an oration delivered at Worcester, July 4, 1816, produced at the age of fifteen out of the abundant patriotism that filled the youths of that period in our political existence, and numerous articles in the *National Ægis*, of which he was the editor from 1838 to 1841. His *editorials* were well considered and carefully written, and many of them are of permanent value from the amount of statistical, historical, and other information they contain. In the palmy days of the lyceum, he was called upon for lectures and addresses, and contributed his full share to this species of popular entertainment. I am not aware, however, that any of them have been published.

For several years Mr. Lincoln represented the town of Worcester in the General Court. He is remembered as an active and laborious member, particularly in the early period of his legislative career, possessing the confidence and esteem, not merely of his own political friends, but of those also who differed from him; giving exact and enlightened attention to the duties of his situation, and maintaining a highly dignified and respectable position. The numerous reports that issued from his pen are marked by that spirit of faithful research which so generally characterized his labors.

Mr. Lincoln was an early and efficient member of the American Antiquarian Society. He was chosen an associate within three years after leaving the University, and continued his constant and disinterested efforts to raise the society to an eminent distinction from that period throughout his life. The monthly meetings of the Council — that body in the society having the management of its chief concerns — bear testimony to his punctuality and assiduity. He was ever ready to spend and be spent in promoting its interests in every way that he could devise, and no one, I suppose, except the librarian, gave so much of his thoughts and of his time to its varied concerns. Indeed, he was the librarian for two years before Mr. Baldwin's election, and

served also as corresponding secretary when the foreign and domestic departments were united, and after their division as secretary of domestic correspondence. He was also a member of the Committee of Publication. In January, 1832, he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Thus usefully did he fill up the measure of his days, — a long life, if we consider all that he accomplished, but short, when we remember that he was cut off in the midst of his years, in full intellectual strength and vigor, and with purposes, it may be hoped, of continuing useful in his generation. But it was otherwise ordered. Misplaced confidence in another involved his estate, so that his last years were but too familiarly versed in perplexities, and clouds obscured the future. Through this, as a primary instrumentality, his path was encumbered, and though at times it was illumined with a brighter ray, the brave heart at last yielded, where it could not resist, and he went to his rest on the 5th of October, 1843, in the forty-third year of his age.

I first became acquainted with William Lincoln when he began his professional studies in Worcester, in the year 1822. There was a precision in his manner and conversation that struck me somewhat singularly, but not unpleasantly, at our first interview. It formed no barrier to intercourse, but was rather an incentive to it. The very gentlemanly quality of his bearing, and his strong good-sense and instructive conversation at once drew me towards him, and we formed a friendship that continued without shade or diminution throughout his life. His character seems spread out before me like a map, on which I can trace all its headlands, the rise and course of its beneficent streams, and its diversified surface of sunshine and shadow, all distinctly marked out.

Mr. Lincoln was a ripe scholar in various departments of learning. He had read and studied liberally and wisely, and the stores he treasured up were gathered not merely in the walks of his profession, but in the more diversified field of literature, and his conversation and writings were imbued with the results. This comprehensive culture imparted fullness to his resources, and refinement to his taste. He loved prose, I should say, better than poetry, while he was not neglectful of the latter, and occasionally indulged in that

species of writing. He had, perhaps, no high poetical development and aim, or rather, it would be more just to say, that he did not cultivate poetry so assiduously as to produce those high results that would have followed upon ardent and persevering effort. He certainly wrote classic verse, — such poetry as men of education and refinement elaborate from their good scholarship and chastened imagination. He was no mean proficient in the harmony of numbers, and might have written and published more to acceptance, if his prevailing inclination had been in that direction. His longest poem, which was to have been delivered at Lancaster in February, 1826, in commemoration of the destruction of that town in Philip's war, was omitted by reason of his illness, and his modesty forbade its publication in his Magazine, with the prose address of Mr. Goodwin, delivered on the same occasion. In prose he wrote and published largely, as we have already seen, and here he shone as a clear and vigorous writer. His style, to some, has the appearance of effort, but it is in appearance wholly. There was the same precision and seeming care in framing his conversation, but his conversation was simple and perspicuous, and he wrote as he conversed; the apparent effort was merely the preparation of a ready and well-furnished mind. He wrote rapidly and corrected little. In conversation, for which he had a great relish, he was well furnished, and was an interesting and instructive companion. He possessed, also, an exceedingly pleasant vein of wit and humor, and could say very queer things in a sober manner. But his wit never gave offence, and his humor was confined to its proper subjects. He was too considerate of the feelings of others to wound them, and had too much self-respect to make the attempt. His mind was under good regulation and discipline, and was perfectly well balanced. Its leading qualities were judgment, independence, and discrimination. He was a clear thinker; he never "resigned his right of thought." He gave to the subjects of his investigation their due proportion, and allowed no false colors to lead him astray. In a profession where a man of mere authorities, however learned, may err by relying upon false analogies, he was skilful to discern the right and the true. He could be relied upon for eliminating the true principle from a confused mass

of adjudged cases, rejecting the false, establishing the real principle. Hence he was a safe and enlightened adviser. Few men at the Worcester bar stated their points, or reasoned them out, with more clearness and precision. Inconclusiveness and confusion had no part or lot with him. Defering to others so far as an honest and conscientious man may, his opinions, when deliberately formed, were his own, and were maintained, whenever the occasion required, with mingled dignity and courtesy, and with entire independence.

Whenever you required an exercise of his judgment, you might feel sure that the subject submitted to it would receive the most careful consideration, and the result would be carefully and freely given. The wisdom of his judgment saved him from the delusions of fine-spun speculations and loose and rash generalizations, which he saw were becoming rife in the community. It saved him, also, from being imposed upon by external considerations, by the outside glare of society, whereby so many are led captive to their own hurt. Discriminating nicely in character and weighing men by their worth, — charitable to the imperfections of others, and knowing how often they come from defective organization, or neglect, or bad influence, — respecting the opinions of others, so far forth as conscientiously formed, and perhaps even more tender towards them than they deserved, — he attached himself to his friends with hooks of steel, and justified them as his choice treasure. He possessed a warm and affectionate heart, responsive to the calls of humanity and to the claims of friendship. He had emphatically a large heart, in the right place. Of an ardent temperament, he was strong in his friendships and strong in his dislikes; not inveterate in the latter, nor unreasonable, but feeling indignation at wrong, from whatever quarter or eminence, and avoiding the alliance of any when the true man did not appear. Of such he would not unnecessarily make enemies, but he would give them none of the opportunities of friendship. I never knew him to desert a friend, though he suffered long and bitterly from misplaced confidence. He would postpone himself, he would make, and did make, in other instances, in hours of need, when friendship was something more than a name, — was worth something, — was real, — sacrifices that engraved his name on the heart as true

to this character. Manifestly was this quality exhibited in his disinterestedness. Others saw it besides friends. The community around him knew and appreciated his generous nature, his devotion to the public, in giving his time, his knowledge, his opportunities, his talents, his labors, to whatever might contribute to the healthful progress of society.

Such is an imperfect view of the life and character of William Lincoln. His memory is frequently called up, his memorials are around me. I think of him in his happier hours, and scenes of enjoyment pass in review, that had their period and their delight, and are gone for ever. I think of him in his darker moments, when life had become sad, and my sorrow arises afresh that one so gifted, one who bade fair to run a long and prosperous course with his associates and friends, has gone down to the grave in the midst of his years, and with purposes half accomplished.

NOTE.

IN the 8th vol., p. 209, line 14, for "*October*," read "*December*."

The General Court held at Boston on the 7th day of 8th mo. [October], 1641, was adjourned to the 10th day of the 10th mo.* [December], and the first volume of the Colony records concludes with the proceedings of this adjourned meeting. At the end of the volume are these words, in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop:—

"At this Court the Bodey of Lawes formerly sent forth amonge the ffreemen &c. was voted to stand in force &c."

This escaped the notice of the writer of the article on the Early Laws, because, from the dilapidated state of the original volume, he did not think it right to handle it in searching for entries relating to the laws, but used for this purpose the ancient transcript, made about a hundred years ago under an order of the Legislature, now in the State Library, collating his extracts with the original for correction; and it so happens, that the above entry is wholly omitted in this transcript, which is in other respects very incorrect.

* Original record, p. 320.

RESIDENT MEMBERS
OF
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
ELECTED SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LIST AT THE END OF VOL. IX.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR., Esq., CHARLESTOWN.
NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M. D., BOSTON.
HENRY WHEATLAND, M. D., SALEM.
THADDEUS WILLIAM HARRIS, M. D., CAMBRIDGE.
REV. WILLIAM IVES BUDINGTON, CHARLESTOWN.
HON. DAVID SEARS, BOSTON.
SYLVESTER JUDD, Esq., NORTHAMPTON.
THOMAS H. WEBB, M. D., BOSTON.

NOTE. — The first volume of the Fourth Series will contain a complete list of Resident and Corresponding Members from the first institution of the Society to the time of the publication of that volume.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THE TEN VOLUMES.

[NOTE. — The Year begins with the first day of January.]

- A. M. 3720 to A. D. 1673. Chronological Observations of America, by John A. D. Josselyn, iii. 355.
- 1121, Sept. The Church of St. Peter, the oldest in Leyden, consecrated, ix. 71.
- 1492, Sept. Christopher Columbus sails from Palos, on his first voyage, discovers the island of San Salvador, viii. 8.
- 1493, March 23. Arrives, on his return, at Palos, viii. 14.
Sept. 22. Sails, on his second voyage, from Cadiz, with seventeen vessels, viii. 15.
- 1494, May. Alexander VI., Pope of Rome, grants to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain all the lands west of a line drawn from the south pole one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands, ix. 201.
- 1506, May. Christopher Columbus dies, viii. 63.
- 1550, Dec. 15. By a treaty between Mary, Queen of Scotland, and Charles V. of Germany, Scotch merchants, while in the Netherlands, are allowed all the rights and privileges of the Dutch themselves, ix. 63.
1559. The Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of France received and enacted by their first National Synod, in the city of Paris, ii. 5.
1560. Admiral Coligny petitioned the king for the free exercise of their religion. He was the first nobleman in all France who dared to profess himself a Protestant, ii. 6.
1562. Admiral Coligny attempts to settle a colony of French Protestants in America, ii. 6. By his influence, an attempt had been made by the French Protestants, with those of Geneva, to settle a colony at Brazil. This year he sent over a small number of Protestants to Florida, who built a fort near Port Royal in South Carolina, but soon returned to France. The attempt was renewed about two years after, but his colony were principally massacred, ii. 7.
Nov. 12. Adam Winthrop, probably the grandfather of Gov. Winthrop, buried, viii. 297.
- 1572, Aug. 24, St. Bartholomew's Day. Admiral Coligny the first victim, ii. 9, 10. 70,000 Protestants massacred in eight days, ii. 11. Considered as a fit subject of joy and triumph at Rome, ii. 13.
1589. Henry III. of France assassinated, succeeded by Henry IV., ii. 16. Protected the Protestants until his death, ii. 17.
- 1591, April. Roger Conant born, vii. 254.
- 1598, April 13. The Edict of Nantes signed by Henry IV., ii. 16.
1600. Canada, or Nova Francia, settled by the French, i. 232.
1602. Bartholomew Gosnold (first mover of the permanent plantation of Virginia in 1606, viii. 69) settles on the west part of "Elizabeth's Island," viii. 77. Planters diminishing, returns to England, viii. 81.
1603. James VI. of Scotland ascends the English throne, vi. 49.
1605. Capt. George Weymouth makes a voyage "in the discovery of the land of Virginia," viii. 125.
1606. L'Acadie settled by the French, i. 232.
Capt. Henry Challoung [Challons] sent by Sir Ferdinando Gorges to settle in New England, vi. 51. Is taken and carried into Spain, vi. 52.
The royal authority obtained for settling two plantations upon the

- coasts of America, by the names of the First and Second Colony, vi. 53.
- 1607, May 31. Capt. Popham, as President of the Second Colony, with Capt. Raleigh Gilbert "and divers other gentlemen of note in three ships, with one hundred landmen," leave the coast of England, and arrive at their rendezvous the 8th of August following, vi. 54.
1608. In the spring of this year, Gov. Bradford and others of the Pilgrims arrive at Amsterdam, and at the end of this or beginning of the next year remove to Leyden, ix. 45.
- Manadaes or Manahanet discovered by Mr. Hudson, and sold by him to the Dutch, iii. 313.
- 1609, June 2. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Geo. Somers, and others, leave England "to repossess the parts of Virginia," vi. 53.
- The Church at Leyden formed, Robert Durie pastor, ix. 49.
- 1610, May 14. Henry IV. of France assassinated, ii. 17.
1614. The Dutch begin to plant at Manadaes and call it New Netherlands, iii. 313.
- April. Capt. John Smith, with two ships from London, arrives at the Isle of Monahiggan in New England, in 43° of northerly latitude, vi. 103. Gives a description of New England, Florida, and Virginia, vi. 104. (His map in Vol. III.)
- 1614-1630. Proceedings of New England in fishing and planting during this period, description of the coast, harbours, habitations, &c., by Capt. John Smith, iii. 1.
- 1615, Oct. Sir Richard Hakings [Hawkins] receives a commission and instructions as President of the Second Colony upon the coasts of America; leaves England, vi. 61.
- 1620, July 23. Sir Thomas Coventry, Solicitor-General, required to prepare a patent for incorporation of "the Adventurers of the Northern Colony in Virginia," vi. 64. This patent, dated Nov. 3, 1620, is the Great Charter of New England, and the foundation of all grants made within its territory. The adventurers were incorporated by the style of "The Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America," vi. 65. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the procurer of this patent, was the next year, 1621, called to answer at the bar of the House of Commons, the patent being complained of as a grievance of the com-
- monwealth and a monopoly, vi. 66. To which Sir Ferdinando answers, that it was "for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of our nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of all sorts of people," vi. 67.
1620. Settlers arrive at New Plymouth, vi. 73.
- John Carver, Governor of Plymouth, ii. 266.
- 1620-1689. A Brief Relation of the Plantation of New England, from the founding of that Plantation to the Year 1689, i. 93.
1621. L'Acadie or New Scotland, or Nova Scotia, granted to Sir William Alexander by James I. of England, i. 233; vii. 90.
- 1621-1632, and several subsequent years. William Bradford Governor of Plymouth, ii. 266.
1623. Christopher Levett, one of the Council of New England, makes a voyage to New England, viii. 159. Stays about a month at Mr. Thomson's plantation, meets with the Governor there, viii. 164. Builds a house at York, viii. 171.
- A grant is made by the Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, to John Pierce, in trust for the Colony of New Plymouth, vi. 73.
- Dec. 30. Patent granted by the Council for the Affairs of New England to Capt. Robert Gorges, vi. 75.
- 1625, March 27. Accession of Charles I. to the throne of Great Britain, iii. 375.
- John Robinson dies at Leyden, ix. 54.
- Roger Conant, at Cape Ann, superintendent of the fishing and planting of the Dorchester company, vii. 254.
1626. Roger Conant and others remove from Cape Ann to Salem. Owing to his firmness, resolution, and perseverance, the settlement of Salem is maintained until the arrival of Gov. Endicott in 1628, vii. 254.
- 1627-1628. The French expelled from both sides of the River of Canada by Sir David Kirk, i. 232.
1628. Gov. Endicott arrives in Salem with about one hundred colonists, iii. 325; vii. 254, 257. "Chosen their first governor," iii. 326.
1629. Admiral Kirk sent from England to subdue the French at Canada, takes possession of the city of Quebec and fort for the English, and returns home, vi. 215.
- The Council established at Plymouth make a grant to William Bradford and his associates, vi. 73.

- 1629, March 4. The Charter of Massachusetts provides that the freemen or members of the company shall choose from their own number a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants, who shall hold monthly or oftener a meeting called the COURT OF ASSISTANTS, and, together with such freemen as choose to attend, four times in a year, a great and GENERAL COURT, viii. 200. The patent and government, on motion of Matthew Cradock, first Governor in England, being transferred to New England, John Winthrop and others arrive here with the Charter, in 1630, viii. 201.
- 1630, March. Six good ships leave England, with three hundred and fifty colonists, men and women, to settle in Salem, iii. 34.
- “Modell of Christian Charity,” written by Gov. Winthrop, in his passage to New England, vii. 33.
- June 12. Gov. Winthrop arrives at Salem in the Arbella, ix. 119.
- June 17. With Sir Richard Saltonstall travels to Charlestown to select a place of settlement, ix. 120.
- Sir Richard Saltonstall, Rev. George Phillips, and others commence a plantation and call it Watertown, and enter into a church covenant, July 30, 1630. “That excellent knight, Sir Richard Saltonstall,” subscribed this instrument, and the next year he returned to England, ix. 120.
- Beverly settled about this time, vii. 250.
- 1630 - 1636. Roger Williams arrives at Boston, goes to Salem, invited to settle as colleague with Mr. Skelton, broaches opinions dangerous to the existence of the Massachusetts Colony, ix. 206. Goes to Plymouth and is settled in the church there, returns to Salem, ix. 207. Elected teacher there, prevails upon Endicott to cut the cross out of the banners, separates from the church, goes to Providence, ix. 209.
1631. The Earl of Warwick obtains from Charles I. a grant of forty leagues of sea-coast westward from the mouth of Narraganset River, assigned to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, ix. 204.
1632. Puritan ministers persecuted by the Bishops in England, i. 236 - 239.
- Two deputies chosen from each town to attend the General Court, to advise with the Governor and Assistants about raising money, viii. 201.
- General Court of Plymouth begin to keep a regular journal of their proceedings, ii. 265.
- Nov. 19. Massachusetts “the largest, best, and most prospering” of all the plantations in New England; about two thousand people, young and old, have in three years done more in building and planting than others have done in seven times that space, and with at least ten times less expense; “by their loving, just, and kind dealing with the Indians, have gotten their love and respect,” viii. 322. The Governor, a discreet and sober man, giving good example to all the planters, wearing plain apparel, drinking ordinarily water, when not conversant about matters of justice putting his hand to any ordinary labor with his servants, ruling with much mildness. Sir Christopher Gardiner and others, “by casting reproaches upon the plantation, doe address themselves to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who by their false informations” is projecting to deprive the plantation of its privileges and to subvert their government, viii. 323.
1633. Popery increases in England. Many Papists grow very insolent to boast over Protestants, i. 244.
- July 8. Mr. John Cotton, late vicar of Boston in England, yields up his place of being vicar, viii. 343.
- Sept. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, elevated to the Primacy, viii. 276.
- 1633, 1636, 1644. Edward Winslow Governor of Plymouth, ii. 266.
- 1634, 1638, 1657 - 1672. Thomas Prence Governor of Plymouth, ii. 266.
1634. The wife and family of the Rev. Dr. William Ames remove to New England, x. 169.
- April 1. There are eight towns in the Colony of Massachusetts, viii. 201.
- Capt. Stone and his company killed by the Indians, vi. 158.
- Rev. Nathaniel Ward removes to New England, x. 167.
- Mr. Cradock's house at Marblehead burnt, vii. 249.
- Roger Williams buys of Canonicus and Miantonemy a tract of land, and with others settles a town and calls it Providence, i. 211.
- Freemen from the towns in Massachusetts deputed to meet to consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the General Court, to be held May 14th, “having met, desired a sight of the patent,” and conceive thereby that all their laws should be made at the General Court, ix. 203.
- 1634 - 1760. Narrative of the Wars in New England with the French and Indians in the several parts of the country, by Rev. Samuel Niles, vi. 154.

- 1634, 1635. Many passengers for New England take the oath of allegiance; names of such, viii. 252, 319; x. 140 - 144. A list of names of some who sailed without taking the oath, x. 144, 145.
1635. Capt. Oldham, with all his company, killed by the Indians at Block Island, vi. 153. About this time two men were killed by the Indians on Long Island, vi. 159.
- Sixty leagues of territory, including the Connecticut River, granted by the Council at Plymouth to James, Marquis of Hamilton, ix. 204.
- May 6. The General Court of Massachusetts agree "that some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to a Magna Charta," viii. 204. John Haynes, Governor, Richard Bellingham, Deputy-Governor, and John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, Esquires, deputed to perform this service, *ib.* Subsequently other committees were appointed, but the object is not attained until the appointment of a committee of which Mr. Nathaniel Ward being one, he drew up the Body of Liberties established by the General Court in 1641, viii. 193.
- Sir Richard Saltonstall sends over a bark with twenty laborers, to make settlement at Connecticut, of which he is one of the patentees, ix. 121.
- July 10. Lion Gardener sails from Holland, x. 174.
- Nov. 28. He arrives at the mouth of Connecticut River, x. 174.
- Motion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to resign the Grand Patent of New England to the King, vi. 82.
- Hingham settled, ii. 84.
1636. Settlement of Connecticut commenced by Mr. Hooker, ix. 204.
- Miantunnomu keeps his court at Roger Williams's house, i. 159. Roger Williams advises as to the course to be pursued in the war with the Pequots, i. 160. His interview with Canonicus and Miantunnomu, with their council, i. 162.
- July 4. Commission sent by the Massachusetts government to John Winthrop, Jr., to treat with the Pequots, iii. 129.
- A code of laws is made in Plymouth Colony, ii. 265.
- 1636 - 1637. At Wethersfield, on Connecticut River, the Indians killed six, and took seven more. "Those they took they tortured to death in a cruel and barbarous manner," vi. 159.
- 1637, April 23. They killed nine more, and took two young women captive.
- In consequence of these outrages and slaughters committed on the English by the Pequots, a court was called at Hartford, May 1, and it was concluded to send ninety men of the Colony, under command of Capt. John Mason, vi. 159. Capt. Mason assisted by Uncas, the Mohegan Sachem, vi. 160. Capt. John Underhill, being at Saybrook fort, joins Capt. Mason with nineteen men, vi. 161. The Court of Massachusetts, in consequence of the murder of Capt. Oldham, send one hundred and twenty men under the command of Capt. John Endicott, with Capt. Underhill and Capt. Turner, who are to search into the reasons of the murder of Capt. Oldham, and also to treat with the Pequots and know the reason of killing Capt. Stone and others on Connecticut River, who obtain no satisfaction. They kill an Indian and burn some of their wigwams, which enrages the Pequots, who kill divers of the English at Saybrook and elsewhere, for which reason Capt. Mason is sent down to Saybrook fort, as before is noted, vi. 162. A fort taken by the English, seven hundred Pequots killed, and three hundred die of their wounds afterwards, vi. 165. One hundred and twenty men, under the command of Capt. Israel Stoughton, sent from Massachusetts to assist the Connecticut forces, vi. 170. Twelve of the Pequots' petty sachems and chief captains killed, and the head of Sassacus, their grand sachem, brought to the English as a present, by means of Ninicraft, the Narraganset sachem, vi. 171. Wequash, a captain among the Pequots who had revolted to the Mohegan Indians, who from the beginning were special friends to the English, was converted to the Christian faith, and afterwards a preacher among the Indians; time or manner of his death not known; a special friend to the English, a strict professor of the same religion with them; supposed to have been murdered by the Indians, vi. 172. About one hundred and eighty or two hundred Pequots remaining, they send some of their chiefs to mediate for them with the English, offering to be their servants and to be disposed of as they please, who being given to Uncas, Miantinomo, and to Ninicraft, the Pequots covenant not to inhabit their native country nor be called Pequots any more, but Mohegans and Narragansets for ever, vi. 1, 29, 159, 173.
1637. Hartford, Windsor, and Wethers-

- field settled, and a fortification built at Saybrook, vi. 157.
1637. Mr. Charles Chauncy publishes his *Retraction*, proving "the unlawfulness and danger of Rayling in Altars or Communion Tables," for the satisfaction of any who might be offended by his submission made before the High Commission Court, Feb. 11, 1635, viii. 285.
- John Clark, Roger Williams, and others go to Plymouth, meet with the magistrates, viii. 291. Who advise them to settle on the island of Aquedneck, viii. 292.
- The Colony of New Haven settled, ix. 205.
1638. Capt. John Underhill writes and publishes a history of the Pequot War, vi. 1.
- Rev. Ezekiel Rogers removes to New England, x. 163.
- 1639, Jan. 14. The inhabitants of the towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, Connecticut, form a compact or constitution of government, ix. 204.
- Rev. John Ward removes to New England, x. 163.
- April 3. A patent granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges of the Province of Maine, vi. 83.
- First English settlement in the present State of New York, x. 178.
- Nov. 5. The General Court order that all letters brought from beyond seas, or to be sent thither, shall be left at Richard Fairbanks's house in Boston, vii. 48.
1640. Bounds between Massachusetts and Plymouth settled, ii. 267.
- Rev. Samuel Ward, about this time, dies in Holland, x. 167.
- 1640-1660. A collection of Books and Pamphlets printed during this period, being an exact collection consisting of "neere Thirty Thousand severall peeces," in the British Museum, viii. 280.
- 1641, Nov. 17. Inhabitants of Providence, R. I., write to the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts, complaining of Samuel Gorton and his company, and asking for assistance, i. 2.
- Dec. The General Court of Massachusetts establish one hundred laws, called the "Body of Liberties," composed by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, author of "The Simple Cober of Aggawam," viii. 193, 196; x. 235.
1642. Conspiracy of Indians for the destruction of the English generally throughout New England, iii. 161.
- 1643, May 29. Confederation formed between the four New England Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, ix. 199. The model and prototype of the North American Confederacy of 1774, ix. 219.
- June 22. Pumpham and Sacanocho put themselves under the government of the Massachusetts, i. 212.
- Sept. 15. Randall Holden writes an abusive letter to the General Court of Massachusetts, i. 5.
- Dec. 10. Massachusetts procures a charter for the government of the Narraganset country. Afterwards Roger Williams procures another charter for the same tract of land, both invalid, i. 212.
1644. Several Indian sachems make submissions to the Massachusetts Colony, i. 212.
1645. The case of Monsieur La Tour to be sent to the Elders for their advice, vii. 107.
- 1646, Oct. 28. Rev. John Eliot visits the Indians and preaches to them, iv. 3, 4.
- Dec. Edward Winslow goes to England as agent of Massachusetts. Answer's Gorton's book, called "Simplicities defence against Seven-headed Policy," ii. 136.
- 1646-1654. Tracts relating to the attempts to convert to Christianity the Indians of New England, iv. 1-287.
1647. Edward Winslow publishes "New-England's Salamander discovered," in answer to aspersions cast upon New England in a pamphlet called "New-England's Jonas cast up at London," ii. 110.
- Feb. The King of France grants a commission to D'Aulney as Governor and Lieutenant-General of L'Acadie, vii. 110.
- Oct. 27. First law establishing public schools in America passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, viii. 214.
1648. Margaret Jones of Charlestown, the first person that suffered on account of witchcraft, executed, vii. 263.
- Settlement of East Hampton on Long Island commenced, x. 180.
- 1649, March 5. The General Court of Massachusetts desire Mr. Rawson and Mr. Hills to "compare the amendments of the Books of laws passed, and make them as one," "for the speedy committing of them to the press," viii. 212.
- Marblehead a part of Salem until this year, vii. 249.
1651. Mons. Charnizay, appointed Governor of Acadie in place of D'Aulney, deceased, renews the alliance with Massachusetts, vii. 114.

- 1652, Oct. 20. The Governor and Council of Massachusetts write to Sir Henry Vane, in regard to the course pursued in relation to William Pincheon, whose book, and doctrine therein contained, they abhor as pernicious and dangerous, i. 35.
- 1653, Aug. 30. Woburn inhabitants and church-members petition the General Court in relation to an order, "that no person within this jurisdiction shall undertake any course of public preaching or prophesying without the approbation of the elders of four the next churches, or of the county court," i. 38.
- Johnson's Wonder-working Providence printed in London, viii. 284.
- Rev. Nathaniel Ward dies, x. 167.
- A letter of Nathaniel Briscoe to Thomas Broughton, complaining of the Parliament's proceedings, sent by the Council of Massachusetts to the Hon. Wm. Lenthall, Speaker, i. 32.
1654. Major-General Harrison confined by Oliver Cromwell and the Council, x. 2. Sir Henry Vane retired into Lincolnshire, "yet dayly mist and courted for his assistance," x. 3.
- "The Christian Commonwealth," by Rev. John Eliot, published in London, viii. 198.
- 1655, Jan. 31. Sir Kenelme Digby writes to John Winthrop, Jr., earnestly entreating him to return to England, x. 5.
- Sir Henry Vane publishes "The Retired Man's Meditations," x. 19.
- "The Pope endeavours the uniting of all his slaves for his guard, fearing the Hereticks," x. 19.
- April. Capt. John Leverett commissioned by Oliver Cromwell to command several forts taken from the French in America, vii. 122.
1656. A meeting-house on the north side of Bass River, now Beverly, vii. 250; which was incorporated Oct. 14, 1668, vii. 251. A church organized Sept. 20, 1667, and Rev. John Hale settled as the minister, vii. 250.
1657. The General Court appoint a committee to inquire concerning the maintenance of ministers of churches in the county of Suffolk, i. 49.
- July 22. Hingham contains about one hundred families; Weymouth, about sixty; Braintree, about eighty; Dorchester, about one hundred and twenty; Roxbury, about eighty; Dedham, about one hundred and sixty-six; Medfield, about forty; Hull, twenty, i. 49-51.
- Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Fenwick die, i. 184.
- 1658, Jan. 23. Samuel Vassall of London petitions the Parliament, having endured imprisonment in several prisons for about sixteen years, for opposing the illegal taxes of Charles I., viii. 294.
- Oliver Cromwell dies, i. 192.
- Oct. 19. The Book of Laws of Massachusetts, revised and corrected by Major-General Daniel Denison, is to be printed forthwith, viii. 213.
- Sir Richard Saltonstall dies, ix. 122. Has been justly styled "one of the fathers of the Massachusetts Colony," was a patron of Harvard College, ix. 121.
- 1658-1675. Mr. John Hull and company purchase lands at or about Point Judah; other lands bought of the Indians by John Winthrop and others, i. 213, 214.
1659. Isaac Allerton, who had rendered great services to Plymouth Colony, dies in New Haven, vii. 243.
- Wyandanch, Sachem of Montaukett and Pamanack, dies, x. 183.
1660. Lion Gardener writes a Relation of the Pequot War, iii. 136; x. 177.
- May 30. The General Court of Massachusetts order that the Law Books, when they shall be printed, shall be distributed among the towns, viii. 213.
- Sundry vessels about Boston suffer much hurt by a storm, x. 33.
- Messrs. Whalley and Goffe come to Massachusetts, having escaped pursuit in England narrowly, x. 39.
- Oct. Intelligence of the imprisonment of the judges of Charles I. received in New England, x. 42.
- Rev. Hugh Peter executed, x. 27.
- Francis Newman, Governor of New Haven, dies, x. 44.
- 1661, Jan. 23. Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, dies, x. 163.
- Feb. 15. Charles II. writes, "We shall not come behind any of our Royal predecessors, in a just encouragement and protection of all our loving subjects" in New England, vii. 267.
- May 12. The General Court order the copies of Eliot's Christian Commonwealth to be cancelled and defaced, ix. 128.
- May 17. The General Court of Massachusetts order that diligent search be made for Col. Whalley and Col. Goffe, vii. 124.
- May 24. Mr. Eliot makes an acknowledgment in relation to his book, which was written ten years before, as to expressions concerning kingly government, ix. 128.

- 1661, May 28. The Governor of Massachusetts resolves to send some persons presently in pursuit of Whalley and Goffe, "who were newly fled out of this jurisdiction"; Kellond and Kirke selected, and go "hence the same day by post," viii. 325. Whalley and Goffe supposed to be in this country, concealed in some of the southern parts, i. 51; vii. 124; viii. 326. They come to New Haven, and stay two days, to yield themselves to be apprehended, viii. 329.
- July 4. At a council held at Boston, two hundred and fifty acres of land were granted to Mr. Thomas Kelland, and the same quantity to Mr. Thomas Kirke, for going to Connecticut, New Haven, and Monhatoes in search of those gentlemen, vii. 126.
- Nov. 9. William Brenton writes to John Endicott, Governor, in relation to Pequot land taken by Massachusetts, and claimed by Rhode Island, i. 54.
1662. The General Court of Massachusetts grant leave to French Protestants, expelled from their habitations, to settle here, ii. 27.
- 1663, Aug. 6. Adventurers, belonging to New England, for carrying on a plantation in Charles River, on the coast of Florida, decline the hazard of that undertaking, i. 55.
- Lion Gardener dies, x. 184.
- 1664, Jan. 21. Charles II. grants a commission to Col. Robert Nicholls, Sir Robert Carr, Knight, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, and constitutes them commissioners to examine and compose all differences between Colony and Colony, who the next year order that the Narraganset country should for the future be called the King's Province, declare the purchases of Mr. Atherton to be void, and order the inhabitants to quit their habitations, but afterwards reverse this last order, i. 219-221.
- Oct. 25. Conjunction of the planet Mercury with the sun, x. 47.
- New Amsterdam, now New York, taken from the Dutch by the Commissioners of Charles II., iii. 313.
- 1665, March 15. Governor Endicott dies, vii. 287.
- Oct. A remarkable meteor or falling star seen at Seabrook, x. 57.
1666. Three suns and four rainbows seen at New York, x. 58.
- Divisions in the Church at Hartford concerning baptism, x. 60.
- July 10. The Governor and Council of Connecticut write to Gov. Bel-
 lingham, that the French are marching from Canada towards Albany, x. 63.
- 1666, Sept. 3. Great fire in London, x. 66.
- Oct. 27. Capt. George Denison writes to John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, in behalf of the Indians at Causattuk, who are about to be removed, x. 64, 68.
- Oct. 12. Petitioners to the General Court against the sending over a general governor by Charles II. censured, i. 59.
- 1667, Aug. 7. Rev. John Wilson dies. He was the first minister of Boston, and came with Governor Winthrop in 1630, vii. 289.
- 1669, March 8. Rev. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown sends an account to John Winthrop, Jr., of a remarkable conjunction of Venus (Nov. 20, 1668) with the moon, x. 70.
- June 28. Bryan Rosseter, physician, claims to be freed from taxes, x. 73.
- The bounds of Rhode Island stated by the Governor and Council of R. I., i. 221.
1670. The Duke of York prohibits Dutch ships from coming to New York, x. 77.
- Oct. 11. John Winthrop sends to Lord Brereton an account of a hill in Maine removed from its place, x. 123, 125.
- 1671, May 23. Roger Conant, in a petition to the General Court, states that he has been a planter in New England "fortie eight years and upwards," the first that had house in Salem, desires that Beverly may be called Budleigh, the name of a market-town in Devonshire, near unto the sea, where he was born, vii. 252, 253.
- Plymouth laws printed, ii. 266.
- Second Indian Church (Natick being the first) gathered, ii. 59.
- Letter to Col. William Goffe from his wife, i. 60.
- Col. Blood steals the crown, i. 61.
- Sir George Downing sent to the Tower, i. 61.
1672. Richard Saltonstall, one of the few persons who knew where Whalley and Goffe were concealed, gives them fifty pounds, ix. 122.
- June 25. Notice of declaration of war by England against Holland sent from Rhode Island to Connecticut, x. 82.
- 1673-1680. Josiah Winslow Governor of Plymouth, ii. 266.
1673. John Josselyn's Account of Two Voyages to New England. Descrip-

- tion of the country, government, &c., iii. 211.
- 1673, July 30. New York stormed and taken by the Dutch, x. 86, 87.
- Connecticut aids the inhabitants on Long Island against the Dutch, x. 89.
- Sept. 6. News of the taking of New York by the Dutch received in Boston, x. 88.
- 1674, Feb. Major Fitz-John Winthrop defends Long Island against the Dutch, x. 94, 95, 99.
- March 14. The General Court of Massachusetts, at the request of Connecticut, send armed vessels to clear Long Island Sound of the Dutch, x. 96, 97, 100, 101.
- May 8. News of peace between England and Holland, and of vigorous preparations for war by the French and Dutch, x. 104.
- Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, arrives, x. 112, 115, 116.
- June. The country alarmed by two men being killed on the mainland, not far from Rhode Island. Philip's War began, vi. 178.
- June 24. Nine people killed at Swanzy, and in the course of this month several others killed, by the Indians, vi. 178. Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler went upon a treaty of peace with the Nipmuck Indians. Capt. Hutchinson mortally wounded, and eight of his company killed by them on the spot, vi. 179.
- Aug. 25. A party of men sent out at Connecticut under the command of Capt. Robert Treat, vi. 179.
- Capt. Church and Capt. Fuller go from Plymouth in quest of the Indians in that quarter, vi. 179.
- Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope, draws into his assistance several tribes of Indians, who make great spoil in the country, vi. 180.
- Sept. Springfield beset by the enemy, who fired thirty-two houses, about Sept. 18. In December, "fourteen Englishmen were slain in Narraganset, now South Kingston, in Bull's garrison there." The forces from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, fifteen hundred men, commanded by Major-General Josiah Winslow, march towards a fort to which the main body of the Indians in that part of the country had retired, vi. 181. Make themselves masters of the fort, destroy seven hundred fighting men, vi. 182.
- 1675, Feb. 10. The Indians burn many houses in Lancaster, and murder and carry away more than forty of the inhabitants. Soon after, do much mischief at Marlborough, Sudbury, Chelmsford, and Medfield. They burn almost all the houses in Groton, with the meeting-house, barbarously cut off two families in Plymouth, and burn all the houses in Warwick, vi. 83.
- 1675, May 1. Donations to Harvard College, i. 62.
- May 25. Monsieur Chamble, Governor of Acadie, and others, prisoners in Boston, i. 64.
- June 29. The first public Fast appointed in Massachusetts, on account of Philip's War, vi. 187.
- 1675, June, to Oct., 1676. The sacrifice of life and property is greater in Massachusetts, in proportion to her population, than in the whole eight years' war of Independence, ix. 181.
- July 1. Notice of Philip's War received in Connecticut, x. 117.
- Nov. Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, commissioned by the United Colonies as Commander-in-chief of the forces raised in said Colonies, i. 66.
- 1676, March 16. Major Thomas Savage writes that the Indians had made an assault on some at Westfield, and had fiercely assaulted North Hampton, i. 68.
- March 26. Capt. Peirce and fifty Englishmen, and twenty friendly Indians, "overpowered by a far greater number of the savages," fall in the field of battle, after they have slain one hundred and forty of the enemy, vi. 183.
- March 29. The Indians burn about thirty houses in Providence, vi. 183.
- April 18. Assault Sudbury, and kill twelve men coming from Concord, vi. 184.
- April 19 or 20. Capt. Wadsworth, coming to the assistance of Sudbury, with Capt. Brocklebank and more than fifty of their men, killed. Capt. Turner, with thirty or more of his men, slain. Capt. Denison and sixty-six volunteers, and about one hundred Christian Indians, kill seventy-six of the enemy. Mischiefs done about this time at Plymouth, Taunton, Chelmsford, Concord, Haverhill, Bradford, Woburn, and other places, vi. 184.
- June 29. Thanksgiving throughout the Colony of Massachusetts for successes against the Indians, vi. 187. Philip, the Indian king, slain, vi. 190.
- Aug. 14. Capt. Thomas Lake and ten or twelve more slain by the Indians at Arowsick Island in Kennebec River; others killed at Casco, vii. 202.
- Sept. 6. Four hundred of the In-

dians surprised at the house of Major Waldron in Quochecho, by Major Hawthorn and others, sent by Massachusetts, vi. 202.

1676. Sir Edmund Andros orders those who had Indians in custody to release them, with their guns and all they had, without the exchange of any English prisoners, an encouragement to the French and Indians to pursue their cruel designs, vi. 203.

Oct. 16. Roger Williams writes to the Governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island in relation to the captivity of an Englishman and his wife by the Pequots and Monhigins, and desires that there may be no difference between the Colonies and Rhode Island in regard to land, i. 70.

1677, May 23. The General Court appoint John Hayward Postmaster, vii. 50.

July 20. The right of government in Maine confirmed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges by an Order in Council, viii. 242.

1678, March. The last meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, ix. 222.

July 9. Edward Randolph appointed collector, surveyor, and searcher of his Majesty's customs in New England, vii. 130.

Some of the brethren of Charlestown church dissent from those who have called Mr. Daniel Russell to office, i. 248.

1679, Nov. 19. Roger Conant dies, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, vii. 255.

1680. The inhabitants between Merrimac and Naumkeag Rivers thrown into great consternation and distress by the claim of the heirs or assigns of John Mason to all the lands between those two rivers, vii. 265.

Misinformation presented to Charles II., that the inhabitants of New England have no right to land or government, but are usurpers; that they violate acts of trade and navigation, "whereby his majesty is damaged in his customs to the value of 100,000 £. yearly, and the kingdom much more." Mr. Randolph, his Majesty's collector here, very active and diligent in the discharge of his trust; the people show him little respect or good affection, look at him "as one that bears no good-will to the country, but sought the ruin of it," by being a means to incense the King and his Council against the place and people, viii. 331.

The Massachusetts Colony consists of four counties, in each of which are held county courts, their power not

extending to life, member, or banishment, with liberty of appeal to the Court of Assistants; about forty towns, in each a company of listed soldiers, trained six times a year, in Boston eight companies, in Salem two, in each county a serjeant-major, and over the whole a major-general; six or seven troops of horse, one castle upon an island about three or four miles from Boston, with about thirty guns, viii. 333. Principal towns of trade, Boston, Charlestown, and Salem; as many precincts and divisions within the government as towns, viz. about forty; in Boston three large churches or meeting-houses; chief rivers, Merrimac and Charles River; harbours, Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Gloucester, and Marblehead; few or no manufactures; staple commodities, fish, peltry, horses, provisions, cider, boards, timber, pipe-staves, mackerel; fish was formerly more beneficial for trade with other plantations in America than now; some pipe-staves, fish, mackerel, &c., sent to Madeira and Western Islands, viii. 335. Commodities imported from England, about 40 or 50,000£. yearly; near twenty English merchants "bred up to that calling," within the government; no foreign merchants; very few English have come to plant in this jurisdiction for seven years past and more, few or no Scots, Irish, or foreigners in the like space, viii. 336. No company of blacks or slaves brought into the country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of fifty years; about two years since, betwixt forty and fifty negroes brought here from Madagascar and sold; here are now about one hundred and twenty negroes, and it may be as many Scots, and about half as many Irish; two or three merchants here worth sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds apiece; he is accounted a rich man that is worth one thousand or fifteen hundred pounds, viii. 337. About one hundred and twenty ships, sloops, ketches, and other vessels; the French at Nova Scotia or Acadia interrupt our Fishers in those parts, and Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, doth the like betwixt the French and Pemaquid, requiring duty to be paid, viii. 338. Massachusetts expended above £40,000 in the late Indian war, and the two great fires in Boston consumed above two hundred and seventy dwelling-houses, with many warehouses; the third part (at least) of the wealth of Boston, it is

- thought, was consumed; in the time of the Indian war were obliged to have ten or fifteen rates upon all men's estates in a year, which hath much impoverished the country, viii. 339. About eighty or one hundred Anabaptists, and about half as many Quakers, in Massachusetts, viii. 340.
- 1681 - 1692. Thomas Hineckley Governor of Plymouth, ii. 266.
- 1682, June 23. Charles II. writes to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, signifying his pleasure that Robert Mason be admitted to prosecute his right before the courts in Massachusetts, i. 72.
- 1683, July 19. Edward Cranfield, William Stoughton, Edward Randolph, Nathaniel Saltonstall, and others, appointed by Charles II. to examine and inquire into the titles, &c., to the King's Province, or Narraganset country, i. 226. Report in favor of the purchases and partners with Major Atherton, i. 227.
- A meeting of deputies from different towns to be held at Ipswich to advise about securing their lands and possessions against Mr. Mason's claim, vii. 263.
- Nov. Magistrates of Massachusetts opposed to relinquishing the charter, i. 74.
1685. Plymouth Colony divided into three counties, viz. Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, ii. 267.
- Sept. 21. James II. appoints Edward Randolph "Secretary and sole Register" "of all our Territory and Dominion in New England commonly called or known by the names of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, the Province of New Hampshire and Maine, and the Narraganset Country," vii. 161.
- Oct. 8. The Edict of Nantes revoked, and the Protestants banished from France, ii. 20. Eight hundred thousand Protestants compelled to leave the kingdom, ii. 27.
- Thirty French Protestant families settle in Oxford, Massachusetts, ii. 29.
- 1686, May 15. The Rose frigate arrives, with a commission from James II. to [Joseph] Dudley, as President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Narraganset, vii. 138.
- Sir Edmund Andros constituted Governor of New England, lands in Boston, and publishes his commission, vii. 138.
- Aug. 19. Lieut. John Gould, sen., of Topsfield, indicted for speaking treasonable words against the government of Sir Edmund Andros, vii. 150.
- Upon payment of fifty pounds in money and charges of prosecution, the remainder of his fine to be respited, and he released from his imprisonment, vii. 153.
- 1686, August 23. Edward Randolph writes to the Lord Treasurer, that he "has brought this people to a nearer dependance upon the Crown," and has "likewise served 2 writs of *Quo Warranto* upon the other 2 Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island," vii. 154. "Unless his Majesty in a very short time send over a General Governor from England, all that is already done will be of little advantage to his Majesty's interest," vii. 155.
- Sept. 13. Sir Edmund Andros authorized by James II. to demand the surrender of the charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, the Governor and Company of that Colony having "submitted themselves and their Charter to our Royal determination," and Sir Edmund to take the Colony under his government, and, if Connecticut "shall be induced to make surrender of their charter," to receive such surrender and take the Colony under his government, vii. 163.
- Sept. 15. Land in Casco Bay granted to the Eleutherians, vii. 159 - 163.
- Sept. 19. James II. orders that the jurisdiction of Pemaquid be in the hands of Sir Edmund Andros, vii. 160.
- Dec. 8. A committee appointed by the Council in Boston to receive "the records of the country, now in the hand of Mr. Edward Rawson, late Secretary," vii. 162.
- Dec. 30. First meeting of the Council under Andros, vii. 166.
- 1687, Jan. 13. A tax of one penny in the pound assessed "on all the late Colonies and Provinces towards defraying the public charges of this Government," produces great excitement, vii. 171.
- Jan. 28. Mr. Dudley, late President, appointed Licensor of the Press, vii. 171.
- Feb. 18. The town of Bristol petitions to be excused from the tax recently ordered, vii. 171.
- June 13. Sir Edmund Andros advises the Governor and Council of Connecticut to surrender their charter, vii. 177.
- July 3. Ship Fortune, belonging to "Prince Frederick Cassimir, Duke of Courland," arrives at Boston, in distress, vii. 180.
- Aug. 6. Sir Edmund Andros sends

- to the Governor of Port Royal to demand redress for the taking of two fishing-ketches by a French man-of-war, vii. 184.
- 1687, Aug. 24. Commission granted by Sir Edmund Andros to Nicholas Inglesby, commander of the barque *Rose*, to visit wrecks lying to windward of the Island of Jamaica, vii. 188.
- Aug. 30. Shadrach Wilbore, town clerk of Taunton, imprisoned for publishing a writing calling in question the late tax law, vii. 190.
- 1688, June 2. Rev. William Hubbard appointed by Sir Edmund Andros to officiate as President of Harvard College at the next Commencement, i. 83.
- 1689, Jan. 25. The 30th of January appointed to be kept as a day of fasting and humiliation, i. 83.
- March 24. Sir Edmund Andros appoints a committee to ask and receive contribution from the inhabitants of Boston towards building "a house or place for the service of the Church of England," i. 84.
- April 18. Subversion of the government of Sir Edmund Andros in New England, i. 85; vi. 206.
- June 28. *Cocheca* attacked by the Indians, i. 87. Notice sent immediately, by the General Court, to our out towns to provide for their security and defence, i. 89.
- Sept. 27. Major Benjamin Church writes to Simon Bradstreet, Governor of Massachusetts, for more troops, i. 91.
- July. Three French privateer vessels come to Block Island, vi. 263. Continue about a week plundering houses, vi. 265. The people at Newport fit out two vessels with volunteers, vi. 263. Who "chase them off the New England coast," vi. 270.
- July 30. William III., King of England, orders Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, and others, seized by the people of Boston, to be sent to England, vii. 191.
- The minister and wardens of the Episcopal Church in Boston, in an address to William III., state that they have, "to their great horror and amazement, been forced to behold a well established and orderly government here subverted and overthrown," vii. 193. And beseech the King to appoint a Governor and Council, vii. 195.
- 1690, April 28. A fleet of thirty-two sail equipped at Boston, and land forces raised by New England and New York, to subject Canada to the crown of Great Britain, under the command of Sir William Phips, Governor, begin their voyage August 9, but are defeated, vi. 214.
1690. William III. of England sends a large body of French Protestants to Virginia, ii. 35.
- The declaration of Sylvanus Davis, inhabitant of the town of Falmouth in the Province of Maine, concerning the cruel, treacherous, and barbarous management of a war against the English in the eastern parts of New England, i. 101.
- Nov. 29. A treaty of peace, at Sagadahock, with the Eastward Indian Enemy Sagamores, i. 112.
- M. de Meneaul, Governor of Acadia, petitions the Governor and Council of Massachusetts for the restoration of silver and effects alleged to have been kept back from him by Mr. Phips, and that their arms and liberty should be given to the soldiers of his garrison, and their passage to Quebec or France, in virtue of his capitulation, i. 114-117.
- 1690 or 1691. Several persons, having considerable interest in New England and the Jerseys, petition the King that the respective charters of the Colonies of New England and the Jerseys may be restored, i. 120.
- Reasons against sending a Governor to New England, i. 121.
- 1691, Feb. 20. Boston not so healthful for divers years as now, i. 118.
- June 8. The Governor and Council offer proposals to Capt. Kidd and Capt. Walkington in relation to suppressing an enemy privateer, i. 122. Propositions of Captains Kidd and Walkington, i. 123.
- Political Fables of New England, i. 126-133.
- 1692, Aug. 10. Examination of several persons, on a charge of witchcraft, before Dudley Bradstreet, Justice of the Peace, i. 124, 125.
- 1693, June 9. The General Court pass an act establishing "A General Letter Office" in Boston, the master to be appointed by Andrew Hamilton, Esq., vii. 50, 51.
- Aug. 11. A treaty of peace with the Indians "concerted, and pursued upon false and treacherous designs on the part of the French and Indians," vi. 234, 235.
- Oct. 2. Increase Mather and other ministers petition the Governor and Council for aid in propagating the Christian faith among the Indians in the eastern parts of this Province, i. 133.
- 1690, April 28. A fleet of thirty-two sail equipped at Boston, and land forces raised by New England and New York, to subject Canada to the crown

1693. Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, dies, x. 168.
- 1694, April 20. Richard Saltonstall dies, ix. 122.
- June 19. The General Court of Massachusetts allow £25 per annum towards the encouragement of the post-office for the next two years, vii. 58. The same sum was granted in 1696, vii. 60.
- July. The French and Indians kill and capture ninety-four persons, at a place called Oyster River; seventy supposed to have been killed, vi. 235.
- 1695, March. A great mortality prevails among the Indians, vi. 237.
1696. French plantation at Oxford broken up by an incursion of the Indians; many, if not most, of the planters came to Boston, ii. 31. John Johnson of Oxford, and his three children, massacred by the Indians, ii. 60.
1697. Rev. John Hale writes a book upon the subject of witchcraft, which is soon after published, maintaining "that the true evidences of witchcraft had not been insisted upon in the late trials and examinations, and that great errors had been committed by both magistrates and ministers," which, Mr. Higginson says, "cannot be offensive to any, but may be generally acceptable to all the lovers of truth and peace," vii. 262, 263.
- Governor Simon Bradstreet dies at Salem, aged 95, vii. 200.
- 1698, March 15. Thirty persons killed by the Indians at Haverhill, vi. 240.
- Sept. 11. Mr. John Whiting, minister, with twenty of the people of Lancaster, killed by the Indians, vi. 244.
- Nov. 17. John Nelson writes that the French will endeavour to extend their limits unto the River of Kennebec. The River of St. George, about five leagues to the eastward of Pemaquid, their former boundary, i. 135, 136.
- Dec. News of a peace between England and France, vi. 244.
- 1699, Jan. Peace concluded with the Indians, they renewing their submission to the crown of Great Britain which had been come into in 1693, vi. 245.
- Rev. John Higginson, in a good measure of health, "preaches his turns on Sabbaths and Lectures," vii. 205. Salem greatly impoverished by the late war with France and the Indians, which held almost ten years, *ib.* £180 sent to Mr. Higginson, by his son Nathaniel, in the time of the war, from the East Indies, taken by the French, vii. 206.
1699. New England "greatly impoverished, diminished, and brought low by the French and Indian War," vii. 206.
- Many pirates in these parts, vii. 209. Capt. Kidd and some of his men in irons, waiting for a trial, vii. 210.
- It is reported that the King has sent several men-of-war into the East Indies to secure that coast, vii. 210.
- 1700, Aug. 29. It is supposed that a ship may make two trips in a year between England and New England, "but it is seldom done." Molasses at 12*d.* a gallon in Barbadoes, shipped off hence for England this year, cost here 2*s.* a gallon. Boston in some respects a better place for trade than Salem. "Both well improved may do well," vii. 218, 219. Money of late exceeding scarce, vii. 220. Reported that the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of Massachusetts, "is like to be sent for home to England," vii. 221.
- 1702, April 6. Joseph Dudley appointed by Queen Anne Governor of Massachusetts, ix. 101.
- Copies of laws, &c., to be sent to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in England for approbation or disallowance, ix. 103.
- The Governor to endeavour that the Council pass an act for preserving a nursery of trees for the service of the royal navy, ix. 106. To permit a liberty of conscience to all persons (except Papists) so they be quiet and peaceable, not giving offence or scandal to the government, to take care that drunkenness and debauchery, swearing and blasphemy, be discountenanced and punished, ix. 108. The affairs of the inhabitants not to be impeded by frequent trainings, ix. 109. To aid and assist the Province of New York in case of invasion, ix. 112. In case of apparent danger, or other exigency, to take upon himself the superior command of the forces of Rhode Island, Providence Plantation, and the Narraganset Country or King's Province, ix. 112. Inhuman severity towards Christian servants and slaves to be restrained, ix. 114. The conversion of Negroes and Indians to be facilitated and encouraged by the best means the government can find out and settle, ix. 114. No book, pamphlet, or other matters to be printed without the Governor's "Especial leave and License first Obtained," ix. 114.
- Governor Dudley arrives, vi. 247.

A Congress appointed in Casco, where the Governor and others meet the heads of the Indian tribes with about two hundred and fifty men, well armed. The sagamores seem to act in an amicable manner, and subscribe articles of their submission to the crown of Great Britain, vi. 247. But intended "to make the Governor and the counsellors with him the victims of their treachery that very day," vi. 248. Several missionaries lately sent among them from the friars endeavour to break the union and seduce them from the crown of England, vi. 248.

1702. Aug. 10. About five hundred Indians, with a number of French, make a descent on the inhabitants from Casco to Wells, sparing none of any age or sex, vi. 248.

Many persons killed or taken prisoners by the Indians, vi. 248.

1703, May 26. John Campbell, Postmaster of Boston, in a memorial to the General Court, states that Thomas Neale, Esq., has lost £1400 in settling the post-office, and that Colonel Hamilton was necessitated to take a mortgage of the patent before mentioned, vii. 61.

June. Aid granted to Mr. Campbell, vii. 64.

June 16. Col. Robert Quarry, Judge of Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania, a kind of government spy in this country, vii. 222. In a memorial to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, writes that the President and Council of Pennsylvania "would readily comply with the Queen's orders, in what lay in their powers and not contrary to their consciences," thinking Mr. Penn has great interest with the Queen and ministry, vii. 224. Finds no powers of government conveyed to Mr. Penn; has found the law or act of Assembly made here, which is the foundation of all his pretences, vii. 225. Reducing all the coins of America to one standard would tend greatly to the increase of trade; exchange in some places thirty, forty, and in Pennsylvania fifty per cent. worse than sterling, vii. 226. Great disorders in the government of South Carolina since their disappointment and miscarriage against St. Augustine; the reducing St. Augustine will put a stop to the French designs, who are endeavouring from Canada to secure the inland parts of the whole main, vii. 227. The disorders in Carolina were occasioned by the illegal voting; a great

riot for many days, vii. 223. Sir Nathaniel Johnson publishes his commission, vii. 229. The present constitution of the government of New England has a great influence on all the governments in America; "Commonwealth notions and Principle, is too much improved within these few years," vii. 229. The reducing all the Provinces on the main of America to one standard rule and constitution of government will make them easy, satisfied, and happy; Col. Dudley has been forced to dissolve two Assemblies, they being resolved to choose the very same men, and also resolved to oppose him, vii. 230. Governor ought to have his support immediately from the crown; a meeting of all the Governors once a year would be of very great service; "A good correspondency" between the Governors of Virginia and New York, vii. 231. The Governor of Virginia borrows money in New York, "to answer the Quota of Virginia" for the support of Albany, vii. 232. The people of Virginia very numerous; their almost sole business is planting and improving tobacco; "have always been respectful and obedient," *ib.* On every river of Virginia from ten to thirty men of competent estates, who take care to keep the poorer sort always in their debt, and dependent on them; they consider that this Province is of far greater consequence than all the rest; are uneasy because New England has greater privileges, *ib.* The Assembly claim all the rights and privileges of an English Parliament; the Council "have vanity enough to think that they almost stand upon equal Terms with the Right Honourable the House of Lords"; Governor Nicholson has put a stop to this growing evil, "except a few factious spirits in the Council," vii. 233. "Now or never is the time to maintain and support the Queen's PREROGATIVE" in Virginia, vii. 234. New York in "miserable, distracted, and unhappy circumstances" during the government of Lord Bellamont and those that succeeded him until the arrival of Lord Cornbury; then "a happy change of affairs"; in debt £10,000; credit of the government ruined; charge of supporting and defending this government very great; "Commonwealth notions improve daily," vii. 235. Lord Cornbury has laid the foundations of a stone fort at Albany, vii. 236. The Jerseys have been for a long time in confusion,

- having no government; the contests of West Jersey, betwixt the Quakers and those that are no Quakers; the Quakers, less in number, supported in the government, have for many years insulted and tyrannized over the others. The contest in East Jersey, "whether the country shall be a Scotch settlement or an English settlement," vii. 239. Quakers in Pennsylvania, "finding that Mr. Penn cannot secure them in their lawless power of Government," are willing to be under her Majesty's Government, vii. 240. Commanders of ships of war in some of the governments here, by ill usage of their men, force them to run away from their ships, and then, by pressing men, ruin the merchants and trade of the place, vii. 241. Complaints against the commanders of her Majesty's ships are become general, *ib.*
- 1704, Feb. 29. Deerfield attacked by the Indians, vi. 252.
- April 7. The French send out a shallop with twenty-seven men to intercept our Southern trade by vessels bringing corn and other provisions from thence, which is cast away on Plymouth shore, vi. 254.
- The Virginia fleet take a French store-ship of forty guns, twenty officers, and two thousand small arms and ammunition answerable, vi. 254.
- Gen. Church, with Col. Gorham and other officers, with five hundred and fifty men in fourteen transports, and with thirty-six whale-boats, guarded by three ships of war, sails to Piscataqua, vi. 255, 256. Goes to Passamaquoddy and Mount Desert; ordered to sail for Port Royal, vi. 256. Returns, has the thanks of the General Court, and lives to an advanced age, vi. 257.
- April 24. The Boston News-Letter, the first paper printed in the English Colonies, commenced by John Campbell, vii. 66.
- Aug. 18. Capt. Gill of Charlestown, in a ship of fourteen guns and twenty-four men, at Newfoundland, furiously attacked by about one hundred and forty French and Indians, bravely defends himself, vi. 260.
- The French send out seven hundred men, with two friars, under command of Monsieur Boncore, on purpose to fall on Northampton, who, falling into a mutiny among themselves, disperse, vi. 259.
- Indians do much injury at Amesbury, Haverhill, and Exeter, vi. 259.
- Mr. Leverett, from Massachusetts, Capt. Gold and Capt. Livenston, from Connecticut, sent to renew the ancient friendship with the Five Nations of Indians, the French having sent missionaries to draw them into their interests; they promise to "take up the hatchet" against the French, which is not permitted by the Governor of New York, by reason, as conjectured, of a secret intrigue between him and the Governor of Canada, vi. 260.
1704. Col. Hilton, with two hundred and seventy men, by order of government, goes to Norridgewock in the depth of winter, vi. 261.
- 1705, May. Measures concerted for exchange of prisoners; the commissioners obtain but sixty out of one hundred and eighty-seven of our prisoners, vi. 262.
- Monsieur Supercass [or Subercase] comes from Canada, and, with five hundred and fifty French, exclusive of Indians, ransacks and lays waste all the southern English settlements; falls on St. John's, and in a few hours makes nearly all the inhabitants prisoners of war, vi. 262.
1706. Capt. Rouse of Charlestown, sent by government to fetch captives from Port Royal, carries on a private trade with the French. Many indicted with him of treasonable correspondence with the enemy, vi. 276.
1707. Nathaniel Saltonstall dies, ix. 123.
- Gov. Dudley sends an army, under the command of Col. John March of Newbury, as General, to Port Royal, "to reduce that fort, and with it Acadie or Nova Scotia, to obedience to the crown of England," v. 189. The whole number of the forces consists of about eleven hundred and fifty men, v. 191.
- 1708, Dec. 9. Rev. John Higginson dies, in his ninety-third year, vii. 196. Came with his father to New England in the year 1629; was the first person admitted to the church in Salem after its formation, vii. 222. Desires his children to read often his little book *Of making Peace with God*, as containing the "substance of all saving truth," vii. 222.
- 1709, Sept. 10. Jeremiah Dummer, agent of Massachusetts, presents a memorial to the English government, showing that the French possessions on the River of Canada belong to the crown of Great Britain, i. 231.
- 1710, Feb. 10. Rates of postage established by the House of Commons in England, vii. 70-79.
- 1711, Oct. 9. The post-office and Allen's printing-house burnt, vii. 82.

1713. [New North] Church organized in Boston, v. 215.
- 1714, May 23. Meeting-house dedicated, v. 216.
Rev. Thomas Prince, author of *New England Chronology*, visits Leyden, ix. 48.
1715. Elisha Cooke dies, ix. 124.
- 1717, Nov. 23. Rev. George Curwin, co-pastor with Rev. Nicholas Noyes, at Salem, dies, v. 185.
Elisha Hutchinson dies, viii. 195.
- 1720, April 20. Jeremiah Dummer, agent of Massachusetts in London, opposes the passage of an act of Parliament, petitioned for by the Virginia merchants, for the free importation of iron from the Plantations, i. 140. Had addressed a memorial to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for confirmation of our right to gather salt at Tortugas, and that a liberty to cut wood at Campeachy and Honduras be granted us at the ensuing treaty of peace, i. 141.
Mr. Andros, the nephew and executor of Sir Edmund, it was believed, would make some new motion at the Council-board for the pretended arrears due to him as executor to his uncle, i. 143.
Sir Hovenden Walker publishes a *Journal of the Expedition to Canada*, in which are many things relating to New England, i. 143.
People in England, from reading the *Journals of the Assembly's votes*, are jealous, and fancy us to be a little kind of sovereign state, i. 145. Mr. Dummer advises that the *Journals* be not printed, i. 145.
New England ships sequestered at the suit of Mrs. Watts, in England, i. 145.
Sir William Ashurst dies, i. 146.
- 1721, July 13. Cohasset church organized, ii. 86.
1724. Gurdon Saltonstall, Governor of Connecticut, dies, ix. 123.
- 1728, June. The General Court of Massachusetts appoint a committee to lay out lands "to the officers and soldiers who were in the Narraganset fight," ii. 274.
- 1730, Nov. 18. Congregational Church in Concord, N. H., the oldest in the county of Merrimac, organized, i. 154.
1732. Additional grant to Narraganset soldiers, ii. 275.
1733. Land granted to Narraganset soldiers divided into seven townships, ii. 276.
- 1734, June 27. Thanks of the Royal Society voted to John Winthrop, Esq., for curiosities from New England, x. 122.
- 1737, May 30. Rev. Edward Holyoke chosen President of Harvard College, v. 221.
Dec. 5. Ministers of Boston address the Duke of Newcastle, in consequence of a forged letter purporting to be dated at Boston, 10 July, 1737, stating that the appointment of a new Governor by the King had occasioned joy to the people of Massachusetts, "and the ministers of all sorts," ii. 271. They feel bound to bless God, and to thank the King and his ministers for the continuance of Gov. Belcher in the chair, ii. 272.
1740. Peter Faneuil made an offer to build, at his own expense, a complete edifice in Boston, to be improved for a market, which was finished in about two years, ii. 53.
- 1743, March 3. Peter Faneuil dies suddenly, ii. 54.
1744. Secretary Willard writes to Mr. Whitefield, that many papers had been published against him since his leaving town, and advises him to publish something in answer, and to consult with his brethren in the ministry, i. 147.
1753. Major George Washington's first visit to the French commander of the troops on the Ohio, v. 101.
1754. Congress held at Albany, v. 5.
1756. Josiah Cotton of Plymouth, eminently skilled in the Indian languages, dies, ii. 147.
- 1757, Nov. 23. Congregational Church in Hopkinton, N. H., organized, i. 153.
- 1761, Jan. 25. Hon. John Davis, LL. D., born, x. 186.
- 1767, Sept. 9. Gov. Pownall applied to have Gov. Hutchinson named as one of the Board of Revenue in America. Gov. Hutchinson to have a handsome salary fixed, as Chief Justice, as soon as the American revenue shall create a fund. Gov. Pownall, "from principle of affection and gratitude," supported and defended the people of Massachusetts Bay at the last session of Parliament, i. 148, 149.
1769. American Philosophical Society founded, ix. 165.
Oct. 12. Congregational Church in Hillsborough, N. H., gathered, i. 155.
- 1770, Jan. 24. Rev. John Barnard dies, v. 177.
Gideon Hawley writes to Lieut.-Gov. Hutchinson, giving an account of the longevity of some of the Mashpee Indians, i. 150.
- 1775, April 19. "Affair of Lexington." "Boston surrounded by American troops, and all intercourse with the country cut off," viii. 278.

1775. Letters from Dr. Franklin to Rev. Dr. Cooper, from 1769 to 1774, carried to England; are in the British Museum, viii. 278.
 May 25. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts take the concerns of the Massachusetts post-offices into their hands, vii. 89.
 Aug. Treaty with the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, v. 75.
 Aug. 7. Gen. Washington, at Cambridge, thinks "it sound policy to bestow offices indiscriminately among gentlemen of the different governments," and recommends that provision be made for volunteers from Philadelphia, viii. 345.
 Aug. 22. In a letter from Cambridge, Gen. Washington writes, "we have only 184 barrels of powder in all, which is not sufficient to give 30 musket cartridges a man, and scarce enough to serve the artillery in any brisk action a single day," viii. 346.
- 1776, March. British troops evacuate Boston, v. 257.
- 1777, Feb. 7. Hon. John Pickering born, x. 205.
- 1780, Oct. Observations of a solar eclipse taken at Long Island, in Penobscot Bay, by Professor Williams of Harvard College, x. 187.
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences founded, ix. 166.
- 1783, Nov. 10. Improved construction of the air-pump, by Rev. John Prince of Salem, Mass., v. 274.
1784. The American Congress resolve that a letter be written to the King of France, expressive of their high sense of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de la Fayette, ii. 40.
 The first volume of the History of New Hampshire, by Dr. Belknap, published, ix. 166.
1787. A regiment raised in Massachusetts by order of the Continental Congress, to suppress an insurrection in the western part of the State, i. 205.
1790. Gov. Bowdoin bequeathes one hundred pounds and his valuable library to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which society had been formed under his influence, ii. 50.
- 1791, Jan. 24. Massachusetts Historical Society organized; act of incorporation dated the 19th of the following month, ix. 167. Collections placed in the upper chamber of the centre building of the Tontine Crescent, on the south side of Franklin Street, in 1794, ix. 167. Where they remained until 1833, when the present accommodations were provided, vii. 9; x. 163.
- 1792, Oct. 23. A Discourse delivered by Dr. Belknap in the church in Brattle Square, on the completion of three centuries since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, ix. 163.
1793. Treaty with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverley Randolph, and Timothy Pickering, Commissioners, v. 109.
- 1795, Feb. Brig.-Gen. Francis Marion dies, ii. 56.
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- 1796-1823. Instances of longevity in New Hampshire, i. 155.
1798. Naval force prepared to defend the United States, i. 206.
- 1802, Feb. 5. Joseph Orono, chief of the Tarratine Indians on the River Penobscot, dies, ix. 89.
1805. Holmes's American Annals, first edition, printed, vii. 277. The new and enlarged edition printed in 1829, vii. 278.
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1809. Successful experiment in Milford, Massachusetts, of vaccination as a preventive of the small-pox, iii. 206.
- 1814-1820. The Legislature of Massachusetts contribute largely to the publication of Hubbard's History of New England, copying of Plymouth Colony Records, and the publication of Winthrop's Journal, ii. 258.
- 1815-1826. Bill of Mortality for Amherst, N. H., ii. 298.
- 1818-1824. Abstract of the Bills of Mortality for the town of Boston, i. 278-286.
1821. Cohasset contains eleven hundred inhabitants, ii. 109.
- 1824, March 7. Gamaliel Bradford, Esq., dies, i. 202.
 Oct. 17. William Jones Spooner dies, i. 270.
1825. Documents having reference to the Battle of Bunker's Hill, fought 17th June, 1775, and other documents to illustrate the important events which separated the United States from England, placed under the western pillar of the United States Branch Bank in State Street, Boston, i. 271-277.
1826. Prince's New England Chronology, edited by Hon. N. Hale, vii. 7.
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- 1833, Feb. 5. Rev. Ezra Shaw Goodwin dies, v. 233.
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- 1833-1836. Bills of Mortality for the city of Boston, v. 288.
- 1835, Nov. 14. Rev. James Freeman, D. D., dies, v. 269.
- 1836, June 7. Rev. John Prince, LL. D., dies, v. 272.
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- 1837, June 4. Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., dies, vii. 280.
- 1839, Oct. 22. Gamaliel Bradford, M. D., dies, ix. 77.
- 1842, July 3. James Grahame, author of the History of the United States of North America, dies, ix. 39.
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- 1843, Aug. 2. Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., dies, x. 225.
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- 1847, Jan. 14. Hon. John Davis, LL. D., dies, x. 196.

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