

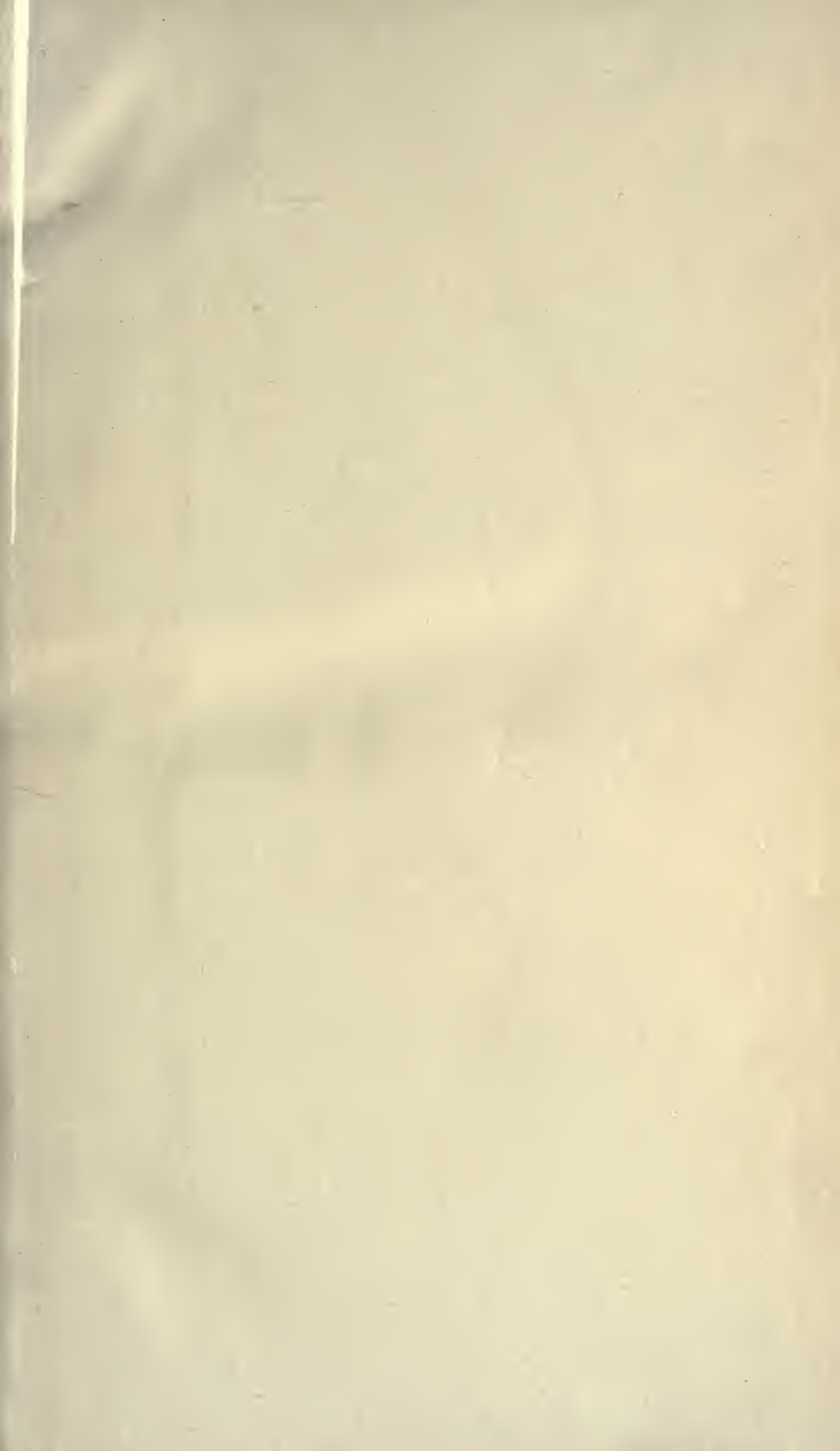
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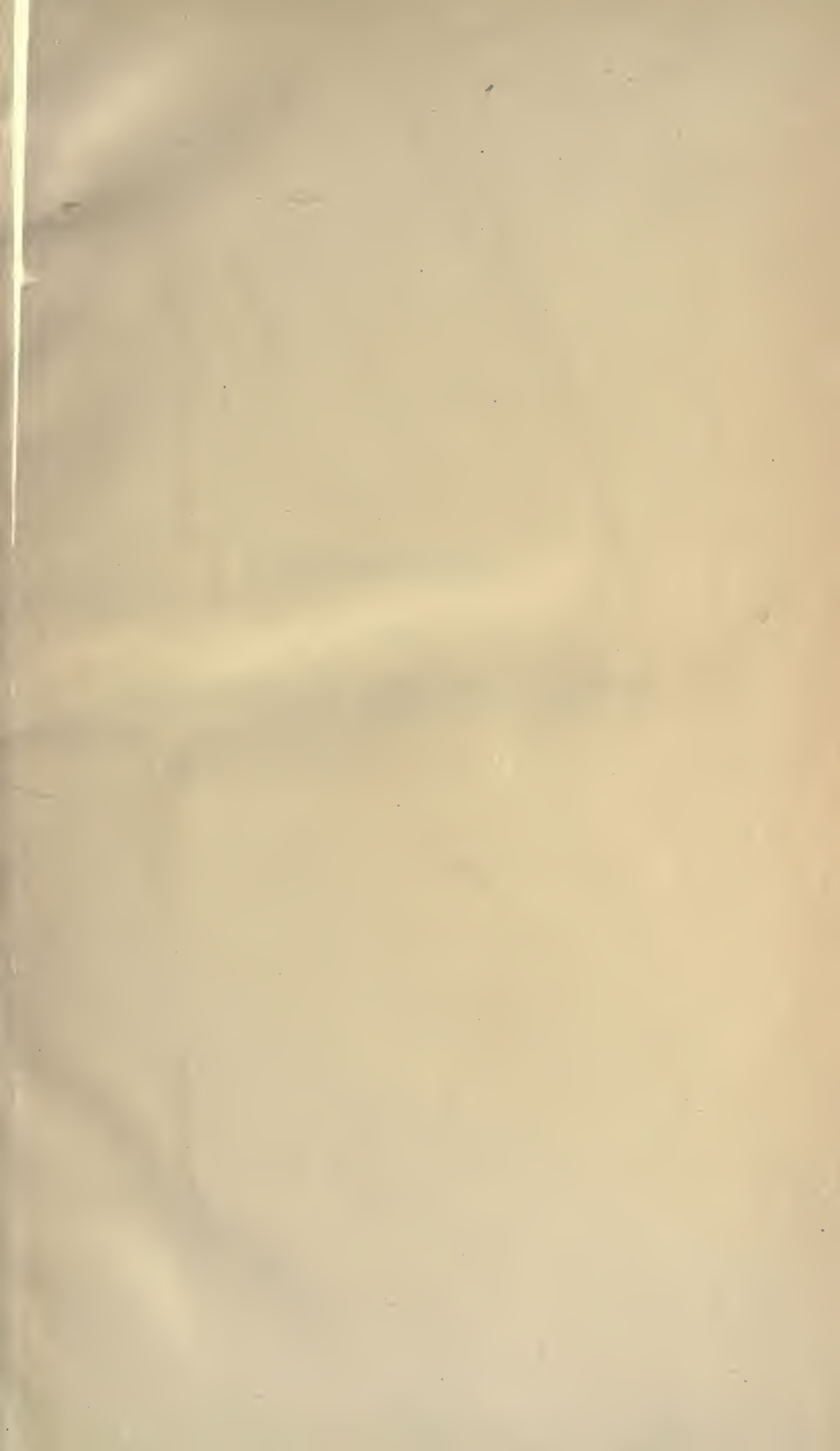




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I Rest  
your obliged friend  
Samuel Sewall.



# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

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VOL. V.—FIFTH SERIES.



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DIARY  
OF  
SAMUEL SEWALL.

1674-1729.

VOL. I.  
1674-1700.

*The Engraving of JUDGE SEWALL, here presented, is from what is supposed to be an original Portrait of him, in possession of his descendants, the Misses Ridgway, of Boston. They have very kindly permitted the Society the privilege of having this engraved copy made from the painting. The Editors are endeavoring to trace the origin and history of the Portrait, with its date, and the name of the artist whose work it is.*



## INTRODUCTION.

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INASMUCH as in the following Diary there is so frequent mention of family affairs, and reference to relatives whose affinity is not readily discernible, it may be well to devote some pages to the genealogy of the Sewall family, and of those allied to it.

For convenience we will treat first of the main family and of such of the blood-relations of the Chief Justice as were alive in his time; secondly, of the family of his mother, the Dummers, and of the Hull connection, through his wife; thirdly, of his own descendants.

### OF THE MAIN LINE OF SEWALLS.

First in importance in this branch is a letter written by Samuel Sewall to his son, dated Aug. 26, 1720, and printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I. pp. 111-113. This letter was in the possession of the late Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Mass., and is now in that of his son. This printed copy, however, has been collated with a transcript made by Samuel Sewall, Jr., to whom it was addressed, and the very trifling differences noted.

BOSTON, April 21, 1720.

DEAR SON,— You have often desired, that I would give you some account of the family of which you are. And although I am much less able to doe any thing of this nature now when I have been left of my dear Parents very near Twenty years, yet considering the longer I stay, the more unfit I shall be, take what I have to say as follows :

Mr Henry Sewall, my great Grandfather, was a Linen Draper in the City of Coventry in Great Britain. He acquired a great Estate, was a prudent Man, and was more than once chosen Mayor of the City.

Mr Henry Sewall, my Grandfather, was his eldest Son, who out of dislike to the English Hierarchy sent over his onely Son, my Father, Mr Henry Sewall, to New England in the year 1634, with Net Cattel and Provisions sutable for a new Plantation. Mr Cotton would have had my Father settle at Boston; but in regard of his Cattel he chose to goe to Newbury, whether my Grandfather soon followed him. Where also my Grandfather Mr Stephen Dummer and Alice his wife likewise dwelled under the Ministry of the Reverend Mr Thomas Parker and Mr James Noyes.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1646, Richard Saltonstall, Esq. Grandfather of Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq. now Governour of Connecticut, joined together in Marriage my father Mr Henry Sewall and my Mother Mrs Jane Dummer, eldest Child of Mr Stephen Dummer aforesaid and Alice his wife: my Father being then about 32, and my Mother about 19 years of age.

But the Climat being not agreeable to my Grandfather and Grandmother Dummer, (whose Maiden name was Archer) they returned to England the Winter following, and my Father with them, and dwelt awhile at Warwick, and afterwards removed to Hampshire. My Sister Hannah Tappin, their eldest Child, was born at Tunworth May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1649. Baptised by Mr Haskins.

I was born at Bishop Stoke, March 28, 1652; so that the light of the Lord's Day was the first light that my Eyes saw, being born a little before day-break. I was baptised by Mr Rashly, (sometime Member of the Old Church in Boston) in Stoke Church May 4<sup>th</sup> 1652. Mr Rashly first preached a Sermon, and then baptised me. After which an entertainment was made for him and many more. Some months after, my Father removed to Badesly, where my Brother John Sewall was born Oct. 10. 1654, and was baptised in my Father's House Nov. 22 by Mr Henry Cox, Minister of Bishop Stoke.

My brother Stephen Sewall was born at Badesly Aug. 19<sup>th</sup>, 1657, baptised in my father's house by the said Mr Cox. My Father had made one Voyage to New England to visit my Grandfather Mr Henry Sewall. And in the year 1659 he went thither again; his rents at Newbury coming to very little when remitted to England. In my father's absence, October 25, 1659, my Sister Jane Gerrish was born at Badesly and was baptised by Mr Cox at Bishop Stoke in the house of Mr Boys.

At this Badesly, by the merciful goodness of God, I was taught to read English. And afterwards was educated in the Grammer School at Rumsey of which Mr Figes was Master.

My Father sent for my Mother to come to him to New England. I remember being at Bishop Stoke and Badesly, April 23, 1661, the day of the Coronation of K. Charles the 2<sup>d</sup>, the Thunder and Lightening of it.

Quickly after my Mother went to Winchester with 5 small Children, Hannah, Samuel, John, Stephen and Jane; and John Nash and Mary Hobs her Servants there to be in a readiness for the Pool Waggon. At this place her near Relations, especially my very worthy and pious Uncle Mr Stephen Dummer took leave with Tears. Capt. Dummer of Swathling treated us with Raisins and Almonds. My Mother lodged in Pumpyard, London, waiting for the going of the Ship, the Prudent Mary, Capt. Isaac Woodgreen, Commander. Went by water to Graves-End where the Ship lay. Took in Sheep at Dover. Passengers in the Ship at the same time were Major Brown, a young brisk Merchant and a considerable Freighter; Mr Gilbert and his wife, He was Minister at Topsfield; Madam Bradstreet, then Gardener; Mrs Martha, Mr Pitkins Sister, who died lately at Windsor, and many others. We were about eight weeks at Sea, where we had nothing to see but Water and the Sky; so that I began to fear I should never get to Shoar again; only I thought the Capt. and Mariners would not have ventured themselves if they had not hopes of getting to Land again. Capt. Woodgreen arrived here on Satterday. I was overjoyed to see Land again, especially being so near it as in the Narrows. 'Twas so late by that time we got to the Castle, that our men held a discourse with them whether they should fire or no, and reckoned 't was agreed not to doe it. But presently after the Castle fired; which much displeased the Ship's Company; and then they fired. On the Lord's day my Mother kept aboard; but I went ashoar, the Boat grounded, and I was carried out in arms July 6, 1661. My Mother lodg'd at Mr Richard Collicott's. This week there was a publick Thanksgiving. My Father hastened to Boston and carried his Family to Newbury by Water in Mr Lewis. Brother Tapan has told me our arrival there was upon Lecture-day which was Wednesday. Mr Ordway carried me ashore in his Canoe. We sojourned at Mr Titcomb's. My Father presently sent me to school to the Reverend and Excellent Mr Thomas Parker, with whom I continued till my entrance into the College; being admitted by the very learned and pious Mr Charles Chauncey.

Sept. 3, 1662, Mother was brought to bed of Sister Anne, Mr Joshua Moodey the Minister's Mother being her Midwife. Baptised by Mr Parker.

May, 8, 1665, Sister Mehetabel was born: Baptised by Mr Parker. She became wife to the midwife's Grandson, Mr William Moodey. Dorothy Sewall (now Northend) was born Oct. 29, 1668. Baptised by Mr Parker.

At this time the commencement was in August. In the year 1667 my father brought me to be admitted, by which means I heard Mr Richard Mather of Dorchester preach Mr Wilson's Funeral Sermon. "Your Fathers where are they?" I was admitted by the very learned and



pious Mr Charles Chauncey, who gave me my first Degree in the year 1671. There were no Masters in that year. These Bachelours were the last Mr Chauncey gave a decree to, for he died the February following.

In July 1672, Dr Hoar came over with his Lady and sojourned with your Grandfather Hull. He was my Aunt Quincey's Brother; and preached, as an assistant, to the Rev. Mr Thomas Thacher at the South Church. The College quickly called him to be President. He was installed in the College Hall in December 1672. Gov. Bellingham lay dead in his House, and Dep. Gov. Leverett was the Chief Civil Magistrate present at that Solemnity. The March following Mrs Bridget Hoar, now Cotton, was born in Cambridge. In 1674 I took my 2<sup>d</sup> Degree and Mrs Hannah Hull, my dear Wife, your honoured Mother, was invited by the Dr. and his Lady to be with them a while at Cambridge. She saw me when I took my Degree and set her affection on me, though I knew nothing of it till after our Marriage; which was February 28th. 1675-6. Gov. Bradstreet married us in that we now call the Old Hall; 't was then all in one, a very large Room. As I remember, Madam Thacher and Madam Paige, with whom Gov. Bradstreet boarded, visited us the next day.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> of April, 1677, it pleased God to favour us with the birth of your brother John Sewall, our first-born. In June 1678 you were born. Your brother lived till the September following, and then died. So that by the Undeserved Goodness of God your Mother and I never were without a child after the 2d of April 1677.

In the Fall 1678, I was seized with the Small Pocks and brought very near to death; so near that I was reported to be dead. But it pleased God of his Mercy to Recover me. Multitudes died, two of my special Friends viz. Mr John Noyes, and Ensign Benjamin Thirston, who both died while I lay sick: and Mr William Dummer, Son of Jeremiah Dummer Esq. aged about 19 years.\* Presently after my Recovery, in December, Col. Townsend and I were bearers to Mr Joseph Tappin one of the most noted Shop-keepers in Boston.

And now what shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits? The

\* By some oversight in copying, this line regarding Dummer was omitted in the Register. The following note was printed, however, in that magazine, being an endorsement made by the recipient of the letter, Samuel Sewall, Jr.:—

“June 30th, 1729. Rec<sup>d</sup> the following acc<sup>t</sup> of my Hon<sup>d</sup> Father: viz. my Great Grandfather Sewall lived at Newbury at Old Town Green, where the first Meeting House stood: and upon the Removal of the Meeting House where it now stands (being Mr. Tappin's Meeting House), He sold his House and Ground and moved to Rowley where he died and was Buried.”

—Eds.

good Lord help me to walk humbly and Thankfully with Him all my days ; and profit by Mercies and by Afflictions ; that through Faith and Patience I may also in due time fully inherit the Promises. Let us incessantly pray for each other, that it may be so !

SAMUEL SEWALL.

AUGT. 26. 1720.

Recently, at the request of a descendant, investigations have been made in England by our well-known Corresponding Member, Col. Joseph L. Chester ; and, by the kindness of the gentleman who procured the search, the main results are here submitted.

The family cannot, as yet, be traced beyond the two brothers, Henry and William Sewall, both Mayors of Coventry ; and Col. Chester expresses a doubt if any earlier generations will hereafter be identified. We assume that these brothers were the true founders of their race.

A strong argument against the supposition that Henry Sewall was of ascertained gentle birth is the following fact: His youngest son, Richard, of Nuneaton, county Warwick, married Mary, only sister of Sir William Dugdale, Garter King of Arms. Yet Dugdale nowhere terms him any thing beyond "youngest son of Henry Sewall, Alderman of Coventry." So the "Visitation of Warwickshire" (Harleian Society) of 1619 gives this match (p. 327), and terms him "of Coventry."

On the other hand, the arms of which we annex a copy from Hurd's engraved portrait of Rev. Joseph Sewall, dated 1768, are said by a writer in the American Quarterly Register for 1841, p. 238, note, to have been handed down among the Sewalls in New England and Canada, and, with a difference in the crest, among the Sewalls in the Southern States.



There was, in England, a family named Seawale, whereof John Seawale was Sheriff of Essex and Herts in the fourth year of Richard II. (A. D. 1381), said by Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," to bear *sable*, a chevron between three gad-bees *argent*, being the same arms as those above engraved. (See a reference to Fuller's book in the Diary, *post*, p. 484.) Papworth gives the same arms to Seewell, of Thingdon, county Northampton, and Sewale, county Chester, 1716. The same arms, with bees for gad-flies, he credits to Sewell, of Newport, Isle of Wight.

We have no example of the use of these arms by Chief-Justice Sewall himself, nor are they depicted on a portrait of his brother, Stephen Sewall, now preserved in the Essex Institute at Salem. What amount of authority appertains to this use of these arms by the American family we will not attempt to decide. It is possible that some seal-engraver or herald-painter of New England may be alone responsible for it; but this supposition lacks proof equally. Of course, in theory, no coat-of-arms is of value unless recognized by Heralds' College, or fortified by centuries of public use. Yet it may be presumed that the descendants of any person holding in England a position equivalent to that of Judge Sewall would use any arms which he might have borne, without scruple or challenge.

One little trace we discern. Sewall himself (*post*, p. 305) speaks of seeing at Coventry "the City Hall where [I] saw my great-grandfather's name without any *alias*." On the same page he speaks of his "namesake, Mr. Shewell," a clergyman.

Again, in the "Visitation of Warwickshire," 1619, p. 289, in this generation we find that Anna, daughter of Henry Wagstaffe, of Harbery, married William Shawell, of the city of Coventry. This we presume to be the brother of Henry; and we infer that any future search must be under the name of Shewell or Shawell.

We now proceed to the pedigree as traced:—

1. HENRY<sup>1</sup> SEWALL, born about 1544, Alderman of Coventry, Mayor in 1589 and 1606. Will dated 1 Sept., 1624; proved 30 June, 1628. Died 16 April, 1628, aged 84. Buried in St. Michael's Church, Coventry. Married Margaret, eldest daughter of Avery Grazebrook, of Middleton, co. Warwick, about 1575. Will dated 7 May, 1628; adm. 23 Nov., 1629. Buried in St. Michael's.  
Issue, two sons and two daughters, of whom hereafter.



2. WILLIAM<sup>1</sup> SEWALL, vintner, Mayor of Coventry in 1617. Will dated 29 June, 1624; proved 11 Sept., 1624. Married Ann (probably Wagstaffe, see above), who died 20 Dec., 1609, aged 46, and was buried in St. Michael's.

They had three daughters, all living in 1624, viz.:—

- i. Elizabeth,<sup>2</sup> wife of Thomas Symes, of Coventry, brazier.
- ii. Lucy,<sup>2</sup> wife of Henry Tadlow.
- iii. Anne,<sup>2</sup> unmarried then.

1. HENRY<sup>1</sup> SEWALL, already mentioned, and Margaret Grazebrook, had issue.

3. I. Henry,<sup>2</sup> of whom presently.

II. Richard,<sup>2</sup> of Nuneaton, co. Warwick; admin. 2 Jan., 1638–39; married Mary, sister of Sir William Dugdale; bapt. 7 Dec., 1597; died about 1648.

They had issue:—

- i. Richard,<sup>3</sup> of Nuneaton; will dated 11 Aug., 1642; proved 29 April, 1648.
- ii. Henry,<sup>3</sup> an apprentice in 1642; living 1648.
- iii. Samuel,<sup>3</sup> a minor in 1648.
- iv. Margaret,<sup>3</sup> aged 4 in 1619; d. young.
- v. Mary,<sup>3</sup> b. 1616; living in 1642; wife of ——— Dudley.
- vi. Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> b. 1618; m. Edmund Seare, Notary Public; living 1648.
- vii. Anne,<sup>3</sup> living 1648.
- viii. Prudence,<sup>3</sup> living 1648.
- ix. Sarah,<sup>3</sup> living 1648.

III. Anne<sup>2</sup> (Sewall), m. before 1 Sept., 1624, Anthony Power, of Kenilworth, co. Warwick, gent. He d. between 21 Dec., 1632, and 15 January following. Her will is dated 15 January, and proved 1 May, 1633.

They had:—

- i. Henry,<sup>3</sup> in 1632.
- ii. Stephen,<sup>3</sup> living 1646.
- iii. William,<sup>3</sup> m. 1632.
- iv. Anthony,<sup>3</sup> living in 1648.
- v. Hannah,<sup>3</sup> wife of Thomas Lee in 1646.
- vi. Mary,<sup>3</sup> wife of William Holbech in 1646.

IV. Margaret<sup>2</sup> (Sewall)\* m. Abraham Randall, of Coventry, gent; d. *s. p.* before 1646. Her will dated May 4th, proved May 22, 1646.

3. HENRY<sup>2</sup> SEWALL, of Coventry, married Anne Hunt. He was bapt. at St. Michael's, 8 April, 1576; emigrated to New England, and died at Rowley, Mass., in 1657, aged 81 years.

Their only child was:—

---

\* Sewall (*post*, pp. 305, 306) visited some of these cousins, though most of his relatives whom he mentions were on his mother's side, and so one generation nearer. We have endeavored to distinguish the two classes in this genealogical sketch.



4. HENRY<sup>3</sup> SEWALL, of Newbury, Mass.; born at Coventry, in 1614; came to New England in 1634; married at Newbury, 25 March, 1646, Jane, daughter of Stephen and Alice Dummer, and died 16 May, 1700, aged 86. His widow died 13 Jan., 1701, aged 74.

Their children were:—

- |     |       |                         |                |           |                 |
|-----|-------|-------------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 5.  | i.    | Hannah, <sup>4</sup>    | b. in England, | 10 May,   | 1649.           |
| 6.  | ii.   | Samuel, <sup>4</sup>    | ”              | ”         | 28 March, 1652. |
| 7.  | iii.  | John, <sup>4</sup>      | ”              | ”         | 10 Oct., 1654.  |
| 8.  | iv.   | Stephen, <sup>4</sup>   | ”              | ”         | 10 Aug., 1657.  |
| 9.  | v.    | Jane, <sup>4</sup>      | ”              | ”         | 25 Oct., 1659.  |
| 10. | vi.   | Anne, <sup>4</sup>      | ”              | New Eng., | 3 Sept., 1662.  |
| 11. | vii.  | Mehetable, <sup>4</sup> | ”              | ”         | 8 May, 1665.    |
| 12. | viii. | Dorothy, <sup>4</sup>   | ”              | ”         | 29 Oct., 1668.  |

*Generation in which Samuel Sewall belongs, with his Nephews and Nieces.*

5. HANNAH<sup>4</sup> SEWALL married, 24 Aug., 1670, Jacob Tappan, or Toppan, of Newbury, and had:—

- i. Jacob,<sup>5</sup> b. 20 May, 1671.
- ii. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 30 Sept., 1672; d. 25 Aug., 1691.
- iii. Jane,<sup>5</sup> b. 28 Sept., 1674.
- iv. John,<sup>5</sup> b. 29 Jan., 1677.
- v. Hannah,<sup>5</sup> b. 4 March, 1679.
- vi. Elizabeth,<sup>5</sup> b. 20 Dec., 1680.
- vii. Abraham,<sup>5</sup> b. 29 June, 1684.
- viii. Ann,<sup>5</sup> b. 16 May, 1686.

His wife died 11 Nov., 1699, and he married secondly Hannah, widow of John Sewall, his brother-in-law, and died 30 Dec., 1717. His widow died 4 April, 1723.

6. SAMUEL<sup>4</sup> SEWALL, the writer of the Journal, married first Hannah, only daughter of John Hull, and had:—

- i. John,<sup>5</sup> b. 2 April, 1677; d. 11 Sept., 1678.
13. ii. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 11 June, 1678.
- iii. Hannah,<sup>5</sup> b. 3 Feb., 1679–80; d. unm., 16 Aug., 1724.
14. iv. Elizabeth,<sup>5</sup> b. 29 Dec., 1681; m. Grove Hirst.
- v. Hull,<sup>5</sup> b. 8 July, 1684; d. 18 June, 1686.
- vi. Henry,<sup>5</sup> b. 7 Dec., 1685; d. 22 Dec., 1685.
- vii. Stephen,<sup>5</sup> b. 30 Jan., 1686–87; d. 26 July, 1687.
15. viii. Joseph,<sup>5</sup> b. 15 Aug., 1688.
- ix. Judith,<sup>5</sup> b. 13 Aug., 1690; d. 21 Sept., 1690.
16. x. Mary,<sup>5</sup> b. 28 Oct., 1691; m. Samuel Gerrish.
- xi. Jane,<sup>5</sup> b. 7 Aug., 1693; d. 13 Sept., 1693.
- xii. Sarah,<sup>5</sup> b. 21 Nov., 1694; d.
- xiii. A still-born child, b. 21 May, 1696.
17. xiv. Judith,<sup>5</sup> b. 2 Jan., 1701–2; m. Rev. William Cooper.

His wife died 19 Oct., 1717, and he married secondly, 29 Oct., 1719, Abigail, daughter of Jacob Melyen, who had been married twice before;

viz., to James Woodmansey and William Tilley. She died 26 May, 1720, and he married thirdly, 29 March, 1722, Mary, daughter of *Henry Shrimpton*, and widow of Robert Gibbs. He had no children by the last two wives. He died 1 Jan., 1730. His widow died \*

7. JOHN<sup>4</sup> SEWALL, of Newbury, married, 27 Oct., 1671, Hannah Fesenden, of Cambridge, probably his cousin, and had:—

- i. Hannah,<sup>5</sup> b. 21 Dec., 1675; d.
- ii. Hannah,<sup>5</sup> b. 26 Dec., 1677; m. Rev. Samuel Moody.
- iii. John,<sup>5</sup> b. 10 April, 1680.
- iv. Henry,<sup>5</sup> b. 7 Sept., 1682.
- v. Stephen,<sup>5</sup> b. 17 Jan., 1685.
- vi. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 9 April, 1688.
- vii. Nicholas,<sup>5</sup> } b. 1 June, 1690.
- viii. ———<sup>5</sup> } ; d.
- ix. Thomas,<sup>5</sup> b. 5 March, 1693; d. at college, 18 July, 1716.

He died 8 Aug., 1699, and his widow married Jacob Toppan, who had married first Hannah, sister of her husband, and died 4 April, 1723.

8. STEPHEN<sup>4</sup> SEWALL, of Newbury, married, 13 June, 1682, Margaret, daughter of Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, and had:—

- i. Margaret,<sup>5</sup> b. 7 May, 1687.
- ii. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 24 Nov., 1689.
- iii. Susanna,<sup>5</sup> b. 24 Oct., 1691.
- iv. Jonathan,<sup>5</sup> b. 7 Feb., 1693.
- v. Jane,<sup>5</sup> b. 10 Feb., 1695.
- vi. Mehetable,<sup>5</sup> b. 21 May, 1697.
- vii. Mitchell,<sup>5</sup> b. 29 Oct., 1699.

\* The following extracts are from the note books of Samuel Sewall, Jr. —EDS.

“1717. H. S. dies. October 19, my dear mother dies, a quarter after 4 in the afternoon; buried the 23d instant. 27th. Dr. C. Mather preaches a funeral sermon.”

“October 29th, father Sewall married by brother Sewall to Madam Abigail Tilley. Brother prayed and married them; then Mr Prince prayed, then sung a psalm. 30th, a great dinner provided for Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council with many others.”

“1720 May 26. Mother Madam Abigail Sewall dies suddenly, being taken a little after 10 at night, and expired about 12 in the night. Her maiden name was Melyen, and then Tilley, and then Sewall.”

“March 29th, 1722. Brother William Cooper marries F [ather] Sewall to Madam Mary Gibbs; my wife and I present, with brethren and sisters. Brother Cooper prayed before marriage and brother Sewall after.”

“August 16th, 1724. Forenoon about 11 of the clock, my dear sister Hannah dies, after a long languishment. 18th buried; pall bearers Habijah Savage, Esq<sup>r</sup> Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Pain, Mr. Boydal, Mr Franklin, Mr John Walley, and Mr Henry Gibbs. Father puts his children into mourning. Gave B[rother] Gerrish mourning. Put into the tomb. Brother Sewall prays at the house after the funeral. Gave us rings.”

- viii. Henry,<sup>5</sup> b. 25 Oct., 1701.
- ix. Stephen,<sup>5</sup> b. 18 Dec., 1704.
- x. Benjamin,<sup>5</sup> b. 6 April, 1708.

He died 17 Oct., 1725.

9. JANE SEWALL married, 24 Sept., 1677, Moses Gerrish, of Newbury, and had:—

- i. Joanna,<sup>5</sup> b. 3 Oct., 1678.
- ii. \* Jane.
- iii. Joseph,<sup>5</sup> b. 20 March, 1682.
- iv. Sarah,<sup>5</sup> b. 25 Dec., 1683.
- v. Elizabeth,<sup>5</sup> b. 27 Dec., 1685.
- vi. Mary,<sup>5</sup> b. 20 Sept., 1687.
- vii. John,<sup>5</sup> b. 2 April, 1695.
- \* William.<sup>5</sup>
- \* Moses.<sup>5</sup>

He died 4 Dec., 1694; she died 29 Jan., 1716-17. †

10. ANNE<sup>4</sup> SEWALL married first, 10 Nov., 1678, William Longfellow, of Newbury, and had:—

- i. William,<sup>5</sup> b. 25 Nov., 1679.
- ii. Stephen,<sup>5</sup> b. 10 Jan., 1681; d.
- iii. Ann,<sup>5</sup> b. 3 Oct., 1683.
- iv. Stephen,<sup>5</sup> b. 22 Sept., 1685.
- v. Elizabeth,<sup>5</sup> b. 3 July, 1688.
- vi. Nathan,<sup>5</sup> b. 5 Feb., 1690.

And two more died before July, 1692. See *post*, p. 361.

He died in Phips's expedition against Quebec, Oct., 1690. His widow married secondly, 11 May, 1692, Henry Short, of Newbury, as his second wife, and had:—

- vii. Jane,<sup>5</sup> b. 4 March, 1693.
- viii. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 18 Nov., 1694; d.
- ix. Mehitable,<sup>5</sup> b. 12 Jan., 1696.
- x. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 22 Feb., 1699.
- xi. Hannah,<sup>5</sup> b. 2 March, 1701; d.
- xii. Joseph,<sup>5</sup> b. 8 April, 1702.

She died 1706.

11. MEHITABLE<sup>4</sup> SEWALL married William Moody, of Newbury, 15 Nov., 1684, and had:—

- i. Mary,<sup>5</sup> b. 30 May, 1685.
- ii. Dorothy.<sup>5</sup>
- iii. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 21 March, 1689.
- iv. Mehitable,<sup>5</sup> b. 15 Feb., 1691.

He died 23 Feb., 1700 (Coffin seems to say so).

She died 8 Aug., 1702.

\* These three, Jane, William, and Moses, are added from Sewall's own note, *post*, p. 361. — Eds.

† "1716-17. January 29th. Aunt Gerrish dyed about one or two a clock in the afternoon. Went to Newbury to her interment, which was 31 instant.

"S. S. jr."

12. DOROTHY<sup>4</sup> SEWALL married first Ezekiel Northend, of Rowley, 10 Sept., 1691, and had:—

- i. John,<sup>5</sup> b. 10 Oct., 1692.
- ii. Edna,<sup>5</sup> b. 10 Jan., 1694.
- iii. Ezekiel,<sup>5</sup> b. 25 Jan., 1696.
- iv. Jane,<sup>5</sup> b. 17 March, 1699.
- v. Dorothy,<sup>5</sup> b. 20 March, 1701.
- vi. Hannah,<sup>5</sup> b. 31 Jan., 1703.
- vii. Mehitabel,<sup>5</sup> b. 2 March, 1705.
- viii. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> b. 12 Jan., 1707.
- ix. Elizabeth,<sup>5</sup> b. 15 Dec., 1710.

He died 23 Dec., 1732; his widow married secondly Moses Bradstreet, of Rowley.

She died 17 June, 1752.

We do not propose to trace the general history of the family farther. John, brother of our journalist, had numerous descendants in Maine, among whom were several very distinguished bearers of the name. We may refer those interested to a valuable tabular pedigree in Drake's "History of Boston."

Samuel's brother Stephen was father of Stephen, Jr., who, like his uncle, became Chief Justice of Massachusetts. A cousin of Stephen, Jr., was Jonathan Sewall, Attorney-General of Massachusetts; a refugee, whose sons were Jonathan, Jr., Chief Justice of Canada, and Stephen, Solicitor-General of that province.

We have thought it proper, secondly, to trace the family of Samuel's mother, and that of his wife; *i. e.*, the Dummers, and the Hulls with the Quineys.

#### THE DUMMER FAMILY.

Our first authority on this subject is the following paper, entered by Samuel Sewall, Jr., in his memorandum book, now in the possession of the Misses Ridgway, of Boston:—

"The Genealogy of the Dummers, Taken July, 1712, from a copy taken by Mr. Will<sup>m</sup> Dummer, son to Jeremy Dummer Esq., when in England, of one of his aunts at Rumsey.

"Thomas Dummer our grandfather, that lyeth interred in Bishop Stoke church in Hampshire, had six sons:

"John, who had three sons and four daughters; Edmund and Thomas Dummer the younger, that now are in London, are grandsons to John.

"Richard was the father of Jeremy Dummer, Esq., now living in New England.



"Thomas, whose daughter Jane was grandmother to Samuel Storke: Jane, daughter to the same Thomas, was mother to Samuel Carter: this Thomas Dummer was my father, also. M. D. [ummer].

"Stephen Dummer: his eldest daughter was mother to Samuel Sewall, Esq., now living in New England.

"My grandfather had also two Williams, his sons, one of whom left one son which hath children living. M. D."

It seems, then, that there were four brothers, of whom Stephen came here in 1638, with wife, Alice, and children: Jane, aged 10; Dorothy, aged 6; Richard, aged 4; and Thomas, aged 2. Here he had Mehitable, born Jan. 1, 1640, and returned to England in 1647, accompanied, probably, by all his family except Jane, who had married Henry Sewall, Jr.

We presume that, of Stephen's children, Richard is the one called by the Judge "uncle Richard" (*post*, p. 300), and that there was another brother, "uncle Stephen" (*ib.*). Then there are "uncle Nathaniel," cousin Nathaniel Dummer, "aunt Alice," cousin Abigail, cousin John, cousin Stephen, cousin Sarah, all mentioned by Sewall in this connection; and, on p. 294, we find mention of aunt Rider. Again (p. 293), Sewall speaks of aunt Fessenden, her son John, and daughters Mary, Elizabeth, and Jane; cousin Jane Holt. On p. 295, he mentions aunt Hills and cousin Thomas Dummer, cousin Mary, cousin Newman, cousin Bear; p. 298, cousin John Stork, or Stock, cousin Thomas Holt; p. 302, cousin Richard Cornish, aunt Mehitable Holt.

We cannot explain all these relationships, though cousin Storcke may have been only a distant cousin.

Richard Dummer, grand-uncle to our journalist, came to New England, and his descendants are named quite often in these pages. He had sons Jeremiah,<sup>2</sup> Richard,<sup>2</sup> William,<sup>2</sup> and Shubael,<sup>2</sup> and daughter Hannah.<sup>2</sup> Jeremiah<sup>2</sup> came to Boston, was an apprentice of John Hull, married, and had sons Jeremy,<sup>3</sup> agent for the Colony, William,<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant-Governor, Samuel,<sup>3</sup> and Ann,<sup>3</sup> wife of John Powell.

Richard<sup>2</sup> Dummer, Jr., of Newbury, married Elizabeth Appleton, and had sons John,<sup>3</sup> Richard,<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel,<sup>3</sup> and Shubael;<sup>3</sup> daughters Hannah<sup>3</sup> and Elizabeth.<sup>3</sup> His descendants continue the name.

Rev. Shubael<sup>2</sup> Dummer was of York, was married, but probably had no issue.

With this outline of the family it will be easy for the reader to trace any of the Dummers mentioned by Sewall.

#### THE HULL AND QUINCY FAMILIES.

As Sewall so often refers to his wife's relations as his own, some statement of these may be serviceable.

Hannah (Sewall) Hull was the only child, arriving at adult age, of John Hull and Judith Quincy.

Her father, John Hull, was the son of Robert Hull, by his first wife, widow Elizabeth Storer.

John<sup>2</sup> Hull had an own brother, Edward<sup>2</sup> Hull, of Braintree (who had a son Edward,<sup>3</sup> according to Savage), and a half brother, Richard Storer.

Robert<sup>1</sup> Hull married secondly Judith —, who had been first the wife of Edmund Quincy, and secondly of Moses Paine. Thus John Hull had a step-brother, Edmund Quincy, Jr., and a step-sister, Judith Quincy, whom he himself married. And a still more remote connection is to be found in the fact that this second wife of Robert Hull had been the second wife of Moses Paine, a widower with three children; Moses, Jr., Stephen, and Elizabeth Paine.

In the next generation, the own cousins to Mrs. Sewall were the children of Edmund Quincy, by his wife Joanna Hoar. These were: —

Mary, m. Ephraim Savage.  
 Daniel, m. Hannah Shepard.  
 Joanna, m. David Hobart.  
 Judith, m. Rev. John Reyner, Jr.  
 Elizabeth, m. Rev. Daniel Gookin.  
 Ruth, m. John Hunt.  
 Experience, m. William Savil.

And also Edmund Quincy's children by his second wife, Elizabeth Gookin, widow of John Eliot, Jr., viz.: —

Edmund, 3d, m. Dorothy Flynt.  
 Mary, who m. Rev. Daniel Baker.

The following pages are evidence of the interest which Sewall felt in all of these Quincys, who were, indeed, his wife's only near relatives. Later on, we shall see that Sewall's grandson married Elizabeth Quincy, grand-daughter of Edmund, 3d, and Dorothy (Flynt) Quincy.

TABLE I.

*Male lines of Sewalls, descended from Judge Samuel the Diarist.*

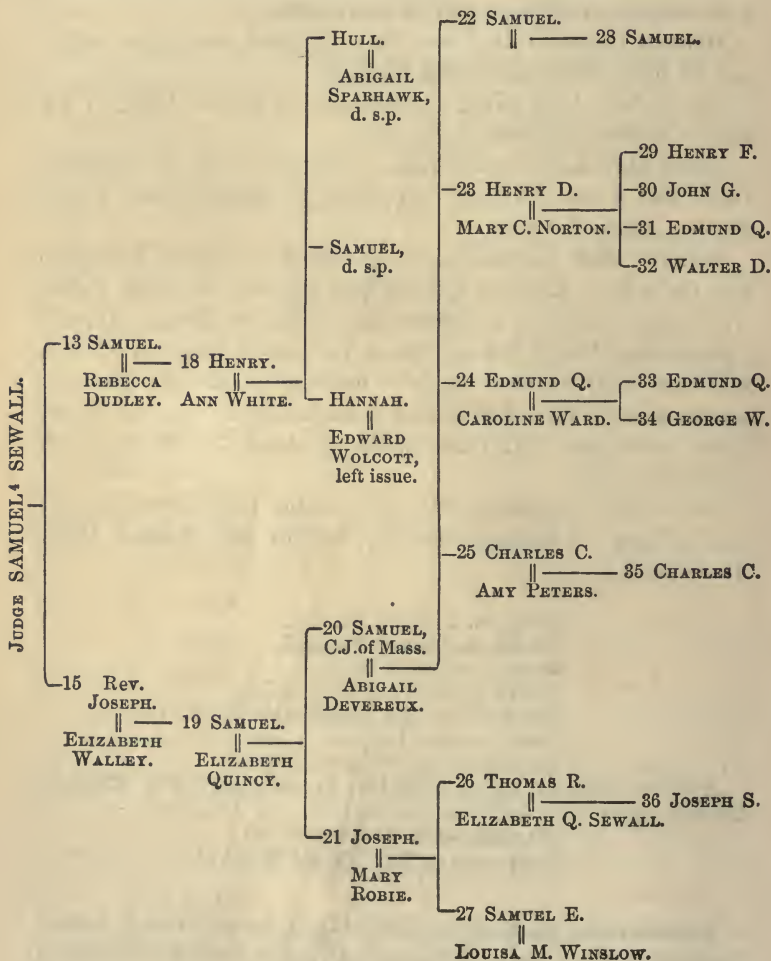
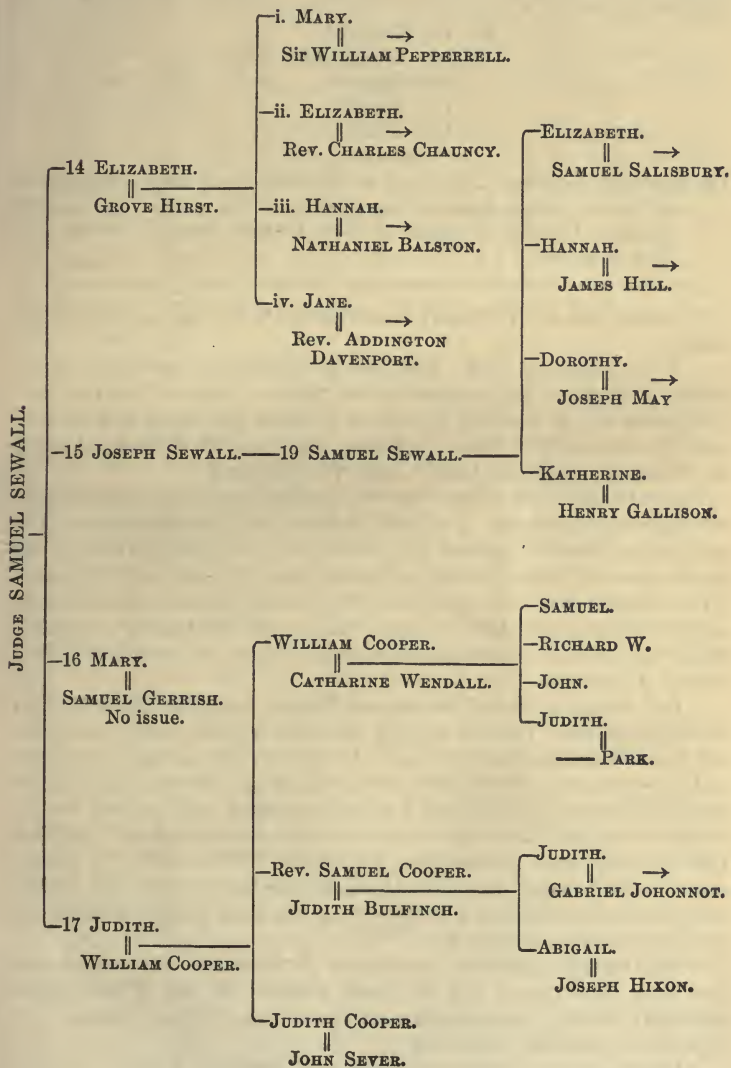




TABLE II.

Showing the principal female lines of the descendants of Judge Samuel Sewall, Sr.



## THE DESCENDANTS OF JUDGE SAMUEL SEWALL.

We will now return to the regular course of the genealogy, and trace the issue of the five children of Judge Sewall who left descendants. These were:—

- No. 13. Samuel.<sup>5</sup>
- 14. Elizabeth.<sup>5</sup>
- 15. Joseph.<sup>5</sup>
- 16. Mary.<sup>5</sup>
- 17. Judith.<sup>5</sup>

13. SAMUEL<sup>5</sup> SEWALL, JR., lived at Brookline, and does not seem to fill a very large space in the history of the time. He married Rebecca Dudley, daughter of Gov. Joseph Dudley.\* Their children were:—

\* Samuel Sewall, Jr., Family Record as entered in various parts of his book:—

“ Roxbury Sept. 16, 1702. Sept. 15 was celebrated my marriage with Mrs Rebeckah Dudley. Was married by Mr Walter. Present, The Gov: and Lady, with Mr. Dudley and Brothers and sisters, My Father and Mother, sister Hannah and Bro. Joseph and sister Mary, also Mr Willard and Lady, Mr White, Mr Lynde and Lady. About 7 of the Clock.

“ July 19, 1703. Roxbury. My wife brought forth a son 10 minutes before six in the afternoon. A very hot day and a tedious painfull time. The 25th instant he was baptized per Mr Walter. Was named Hull for my grandfather Hull's sake, to bear up his name, that it might not be forgotten. I pray God he may live and doe worthily in his generation, and that he may credit the name which he bears: that he and [his] father may follow their ancestors steps as they followed Christ. Entered his name in the Town records of Roxbury.

“ Hull Sewall, the son of Samuel and Rebecca Sewall died Dec. 11, 1703 of convulsion fits. The first two was ten daies distance each. Nov. 20th. one fitt, 21st another, 22nd another. All three in the morning about day, and three more the Sabbath after; two about day and one at noon. Thanksgiving December 9th, 1703, had a fit at ten a clock at night, and so continued till Satterday following at about six and seven a clock at night, and then died, after great pain and sore struggling in his fitts, with great skreaking. So that he finished a short and painfull life before he was five months old. He had some an hour's distance, some less, some quarter an hour; and the last very sore and painfull.

“ Was buried at Boston in Grandfather Hull's tomb. His bearers were Mr. Nath. Oliver, junr., and Mr David Stoddard, the son of Mr. Symion Stoddard; a pretty large company attended him to his long whome. . . . Was buried December 15th, 1703.

“ Came to live at my house December 17th, 1703, on a Friday.

“ Tuesday, November 18, 1707. About 5 in the morning my wife was

- i. Hull,<sup>6</sup> b. 19 July, 1703; d. 11 Dec., 1703.
- ii. Rebecca,<sup>6</sup> b. 30 Dec., 1704; d. 3 Aug., 1710.
- iii. Samuel,<sup>6</sup> b. 18 Nov., 1707; d. 18 Dec., 1708.
- iv. Hannah,<sup>6</sup> b. 25 Oct., 1709; d. 21 Oct., 1719.

brought to bed of a lusty son. Mr Walter baptized him Samuel on the 23d. instant. . . .

“ Daughter Rebecca was born Satterday, Dec. 30, 1704, about three quarters after seven in the morning. Was baptized by Mr Walter Dec. 31, 1704, on the day following.

“ December 18, 1708. A little before 9 in morning, my son Samuel dyed of a fever. Was interred Wednesday, 22d. instant, in my grandfather Hull’s tomb, being carried from my father’s house by Mr. Joshua Chickly and Mr Timothy Ruggles. Gave them black scarves and gloves. Gave Mr. Walter, Doctor Noyes and Mrs Baily scarves. Gave 22 pairs of Welsh leather gloves to watchers and people of the house. My wife and I went into mourning.

“ Tuesday night about 7 or 8 a clock, October 25, 1709, my wife brought me a daughter. The Sabbath following, Mr Walter baptized it Hannah, for mother Sewall’s sake.

“ An Account of my daughter Rebekah’s death.

“ Aug. 2, 1710. In the afternoon she was taken ill at the Govr! Sent for Doctor Noyes and Mrs Baily; so continued ill; in the morning after, her mother and myself were sent for: gott there about 6 of the clock. Doctor Noyes and Mrs Baily applying those things which they thought most proper. My daughter Rebeckah dyed Aug. 3, 1710, ten minutes before nine in the morning; being lamented by all that knew her. Friday, Aug. 4, she was carried from the Govr! house pr Dan! Allen, Sam! Wainwright, Thomas Berry, Increase Walker to the Govr! tomb, where she was interred. Gave them white scarves and gloves. Gave Mr. Walter a scarf and gloves; also Mrs Bayly scarf and gloves. My wife and I went into deep mourning. Gave gloves to several relations, Govr! servants and mine. Gave Mr Tompson a pair; he made 2 coppies of verses on her. Gave Doctor Noyes a scarf. She lived 5 years, 7 months and 4 days.

“ July 20, 1711. Friday, a quarter of an hour after one of the clock in the morning, my wife was brought to bed of a daughter. Sabbath following Mr. Walter baptized it Mary for sister Mary Gerrish’s sake.

“ August 24, 1712. Sabbath day morning, about one or two, dyed my daughter Mary, after a long continued flux, and afterwards a feavour with it. Interred in my grandfather Hull’s tomb; Monday evening, August 25th. Bearers, William Cooper and Col. John Appleton’s second son. Gave nurse Davis, Doctor Whear, Galusha, 3s each to buy them gloves. Gave at Govr! maid Mary, Betty Brill, two and sixpence each; gave Sarah Davis and Beck, Sarah Cummings and Kitty Hill, two and sixpence each. Coffin, 10 plates and making.

“ January 22 1714–15 went to Boston, intending to live at my father’s untill I could find better treatment in my own. Lived at Boston till Marcl 3, 1717–18, at which time I returned home.

“ 1717, July 22, my wife came to see me at my father’s and confesseth



- v. Mary,<sup>6</sup> b. 20 July, 1711; d. 24 Aug., 1712.  
 18. vi. Henry,<sup>6</sup> b. 8 March, 1719-20.  
 vii. John,<sup>6</sup> b. 9 April, 1723; d. 19 Aug., 1724.

her faults, with tears, with promises of amendment. The Lord instruct me in my duty and give me a heart to perform it.

“1717-18 March 3 Returned to live at Brooklin. The Lord give me a heart and ability to doe my duty to my wife, and make us mutual blessings each to other.”

1719. October 21st, his daughter Hannah died. There is a copy of a letter to his father about it, which we do not transcribe. She had been sick with a cold and fever for some ten days. Funeral at Boston, October 24th; buried in Hull's tomb. She was the only child at that time.

“[1719-20.] March 8th. My wife brought me a lusty boy betwixt six and seven at night, she being very weak and ill the most of the time. Did not carry him forth to be baptized till the 20th instant, by reason his mother was so very ill and weak. Mr Allen baptized him Henry for my grandfather Sewall's sake. My wife was desirous of having it named Dudley, but her relations were very averse to it. Madam Dudley, March 19th, told me at Roxbury, that there were two sons and they were young enough to have a great many children; the Gov<sup>r</sup>'s father had children when he was old. I told her I had no design to gett any thing by it, for I had names of my own relations enough to name it, and I would not do any thing to trouble them. Brother Col. W<sup>m</sup> Dudley sent a letter to my wife which disturbed her very much, and made her so ill that she could not rest for 3 nights.”

“April 9th, 1723, my wife brought me a son about 2 houres before day. 14th, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr James Allen of Brooklin baptized him John; his name being for my grandfather Hull.

“1724 August 18th. Mrs Ruggles sends her daughter to acquaint us, that our son John had a flux and vomited. As we went to Boston, we called to see him, he being considerable ill. As we goe by Dr Tompson's we asked for him and he was not at home. Call as we came back and take the Dr. with us. The Dr. did not perceive any danger, but we thought he was better, and so left him and went home.

“August 19th, being a very stormy, rainy morning, it having rained abundance in the night and continuing stormy with a great deal of rain, Mrs. Ruggles' son came to acquaint us, early in the morning, that the child had been very bad all night. Matthew carried my wife forthwith in the calash, and by the time she could gett into the house he fetched his last breath and died. Mrs. Woods laid him out, who watched with him the night before. 20th, Mr. Craft and Matthew put him in his coffin, and in the evening Matthew carried it in my calash to Boston.

“August 21st, went with wife and Henry to the funeral. Four young gentlemen carried him to the tomb with napkins, viz Mr Addington Davenport, jun<sup>r</sup>. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Mr Edmund Quincey, and Mr Samuel Mather, son of Dr. C. Mather. Gave them rings and gloves. Gave Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Rugles son and daughter, and Matthew, a pair of gloves. A large funeral for a child. Put his coffin upon my sister Hannah's in grand-

He died 27 Feb., 1750-51, of numb palsy; his widow d. 14 April, 1761. As his branch expired so soon in the male line, we will finish that portion at once.

18. HENRY<sup>6</sup> SEWALL, of Brookline, H. C. 1738, married 18 Aug., 1743, Ann White, and had:—
- i. Hull,<sup>7</sup> b. 9 April, 1744; H. C. 1761, m. 20 March, 1766, Abigail Sparhawk, and d. *s.p.* 27 Nov., 1767. His widow m. Palsgrave Wellington.
  - ii. Samuel,<sup>7</sup> b. 31 Dec., 1745; H. C. 1761, lawyer in Boston, a loyalist; went to England and d. unm., 6 May, 1811.
  - iii. Rebecca,<sup>7</sup> b. 19 Oct., 1747; d. 29 Nov., 1747.
  - iv. Henry,<sup>7</sup> b. 19 Jan., 1749; d. 17 Oct., 1772, unm.
  - v. Hannah,<sup>7</sup> b. 2 Sept., 1751; m. Edward K. Wolcott.

Henry Sewall died 29 May, 1771; his wife d. 5 Jan., 1755, in her 32d year.

HANNAH<sup>7</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Henry) married Edward Kitchin Wolcott, and had:—

Samuel,<sup>8</sup> ; died unmarried.

Hannah,<sup>8</sup> m.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ 2 \end{array} \right.$  Folsom.

Ann,<sup>8</sup> b. 4 Sept., 1778.

Daughter,<sup>8</sup> m. Barber, and had no children.

Rebecca,<sup>8</sup> m. Adams, and had a son and a daughter.

Mrs. Wolcott's obituary is in Boston Advertiser, 27 Aug., 1832.

ANN<sup>8</sup> WOLCOTT, above named, married Philip Reynolds Ridgway, 6 Dec., 1801, and had:—

Philip R.,<sup>9</sup> b. 26 Aug., 1802; d. 10 Nov., 1803.

Samuel S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 Oct., 1803; d. 8 May, 1871.

Philip R.,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 Nov., 1804; d. 4 Dec., 1831.

Edward W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 15 Sept., 1805; d. 24 Sept., 1805.

John W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 17 Feb., 1807; d. 24 Sept., 1864.

Ann S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 14 Feb., 1808; m. Dr. Daniel Gilbert.

Henry W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 20 April, 1809; d. 16 April, 1859.

Edward W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 6 July, 1810.

Sarah,<sup>9</sup> b. 24 Aug., 1814; d. 25 Sept., 1814.

Sarah A.,<sup>9</sup> b. 10 Jan., 1816; d. 19 Feb., 1817.

Joseph C.,<sup>9</sup> b. 8 Nov., 1816; d. 22 March, 1819.

Anthony B.,<sup>9</sup> b. 9 March, 1819; d. 19 Oct., 1866.

father Hull's tomb, whose name he bore. I asked brother Cooper to goe to prayer after the funeral. Son John had severall convulsive fitts, and, as I am informed, died in one.

“Monday, July 10th, 1727. Moved with my family to Boston. Hired a house in Deacon Williams's Court, next house to Deacon Williams. N. Gates and N. Gleason bringing my household stuff.”—Eds.

## SEWALL LINE RESUMED.

15. REV. JOSEPH<sup>5</sup> SEWALL, H. C. 1707, was minister at the Old South Church, Boston. He married 29 Oct., 1713, Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. John Walley,\* and had:—
19. Samuel,<sup>6</sup> b. 2 May, 1715.  
Joseph,<sup>6</sup> b. 13 July, 1719; d. 18 Aug., 1719.  
He died 27 June, 1769; his wife died 27 Oct., 1756.
19. SAMUEL<sup>6</sup> SEWALL, of Boston, H. C. 1733, was a merchant. He married 18 May, 1749, Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Quincy, and had:—
- i. Elizabeth,<sup>7</sup> b. 12 March, 1750; m. Samuel Salisbury. See later.
  - ii. Hannah,<sup>7</sup> b. 15 March, 1753; m. James Hill. See later.
  - iii. Sarah<sup>7</sup>, b. 14 Jan., 1756; d. unm., 14 Sept., 1780.
20. iv. Samuel,<sup>7</sup> b. 11 Dec., 1757.  
v. Dorothy,<sup>7</sup> b. 23 Dec., 1758; m. Joseph May. See later.
- vi. Katherine,<sup>7</sup> b. 5 June, 1760; m. Henry Gallison, and had John,<sup>8</sup> b. 24 Oct., 1788; d. 24 Dec., 1820.
  21. vii. Joseph,<sup>7</sup> b. 9 March, 1762.  
He died 19 Jan., 1771; his wife died 15 Feb., 1770.
20. SAMUEL<sup>7</sup> SEWALL, of Marblehead, H. C. 1776, Judge of Supreme Court, 1800; Chief Justice, 1814; m., 8 Dec., 1781, Abigail Devereux, and had:—
22. i. Samuel,<sup>8</sup> b. 1 June, 1785.
  23. ii. Henry Devereux,<sup>8</sup> b. 21 Aug., 1786.
  - iii. Joseph H., b. 5 Oct., 1788; d. 17 Feb. 1795.
  - iv. Lydia Maria,<sup>8</sup> b. 14 April, 1791; m. Samuel Greele.
  - v. Anne Henchman,<sup>8</sup> b. 18 March, 1793; d. 6 Feb., 1848.
  - vi. Joseph Henchman,<sup>8</sup> b. 6 Feb., 1795; d. unm., 26 Sept., 1813.
  24. vii. Edmund Quincy,<sup>8</sup> b. 1 Oct., 1796.
  - viii. Elizabeth Quincy,<sup>8</sup> b. 10 June, 1798; m. Thomas R. Sewall.

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\* Extracts from Diary of Samuel Sewall, Jr.:—

“Thursday, 29th of October, 1713, was celebrated the marriage betwixt Mr. Joseph Sewall and Mrs Elizabeth Walley, daughter to Judge Walley, esqre, deceased. Gave my wife and daughter Hannah with myself, gloves. Mr. Pemberton married them.

“May 2, 1715. Sister Sewall at 3 in the morning was brought to bed of a stately son. 8<sup>th</sup> inst. brother baptized him Samuel.

“1719, July 13th, sister brought to bed of a son, called him Joseph.

“August 19th. My wife and I went to the burial of my brother Sewall's son, Joseph. Dyed 18th instant in the morning.” — Eds.



25. ix. Charles Chauncy,<sup>8</sup> b. 10 May, 1802.  
He died 8 June, 1814; his widow died 22 Feb., 1847.

21. JOSEPH<sup>7</sup> SEWALL, of Boston, was State Treasurer from 1827 to 1832. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas and Mary Robie, 21 Sept., 1788, and had:—

- i. Mary,<sup>8</sup> b. 1 July, 1789; d. unm., 21 April, 1816.
- ii. Elizabeth, b. 9 April, 1791; d. Sept., 1791.
- 26. iii. Thomas Robie,<sup>8</sup> b. 29 July, 1792.
- iv. Joseph, b. 7 July, 1794; d. 2 Sept., 1797.
- v. Elizabeth Q., b. June, 1796; d. Feb., 1797.
- vi. Joseph, b. 24 Dec., 1797; d. 20 Sept., 1800.
- 27. vii. Samuel Edmund,<sup>8</sup> b. 9 Nov., 1799.
- viii. Edward Bradstreet,<sup>8</sup> b. 24 Sept., 1801; d. unm., 12 Sept., 1827.
- ix. Martha Higginson, b. 11 Dec., 1803; d. unm., 12 Dec., 1832.
- x. Elizabeth Salisbury, b. 20 Dec. 1804; d. unm., 2 Sept., 1827.
- xi. Frances R., b. 17 Nov., 1807; d. 30 June, 1830.

He died 5 May, 1850; his wife d. 23 July, 1834, aged 70.

22. Rev. SAMUEL<sup>8</sup> SEWALL, of Burlington, Mass., married, 1 Jan., 1818, Martha, daughter of Rev. John Marrett, and had:—

- 28. i. Samuel,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 Nov., 1819.
- ii. Martha M.,<sup>9</sup> b. 31 Oct., 1823; m., 26 Nov., 1861, Luther P. Martin.
- iii. Abigail D.,<sup>9</sup> b. 7 Sept., 1830.

He died 18 Feb., 1863.

23. HENRY DEVEREUX<sup>8</sup> SEWALL, of Watertown, N. Y., married Mary C. Norton, 22 Jan., 1816, and had:—

- 29. i. Henry F.,<sup>9</sup> b. 31 Oct., 1816.
- ii. Frederick N.,<sup>9</sup> b. 24 Sept., 1818; d. 8 Nov., 1819.
- iii. Mary,<sup>9</sup> b. 15 July, 1820; m. Charles Goodale.
- 30. iv. John G.,<sup>9</sup> b. 2 Nov., 1822.
- v. Ann Elizabeth,<sup>9</sup> b. 4 Aug., 1824; m. Talcott H. Camp.
- 31. vi. Edmund Q.,<sup>9</sup> b. 1 July, 1826.
- vii. Grace,<sup>9</sup> b. 4 Oct., 1828; d. 6 Jan., 1837.
- viii. Frank D.,<sup>9</sup> b. 25 Feb., 1833; d. 15 Nov., 1852.
- 32. ix. Walter D.,<sup>9</sup> b. 28 Aug., 1837.

He died 8 June, 1846; his wife d. 30 Dec., 1840.

24. Rev. EDMUND QUINCY<sup>8</sup> SEWALL, of Barnstable, Mass., Amherst, N. H., and Scituate, Mass., married, 23 Aug., 1820, Caroline Ward, and had:—

- i. Ellen Devereux,<sup>9</sup> b. 10 March, 1822; m. Rev. Joseph Osgood.\*

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\* Married 20 May, 1844. Children: Caroline W. Osgood,<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth,<sup>10</sup> Joseph O.,<sup>10</sup> Edmund Q.,<sup>10</sup> George,<sup>10</sup> Ellen D.,<sup>10</sup> Mary F.,<sup>10</sup> William S.,<sup>10</sup> Frances P.,<sup>10</sup> and Louisa L.<sup>10</sup> Of these Joseph O. Osgood is married and has issue. — Eds.



33. ii. Edmund Quincy,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 Feb., 1828.
34. iii. George Ward,<sup>9</sup> b. 7 Feb., 1834.  
He died 15 Sept., 1866; his widow died 8 Dec., 1867.
25. Rev. CHARLES CHAUNCY<sup>8</sup> SEWALL, of Danvers and Medfield, married Amy, daughter of William Peters, Esq., in Medfield, 1 Oct., 1823. Mrs. Sewall died in Medfield, 15 Aug., 1872. Their children were:—
- i. Mary Abigail,<sup>9</sup> b. 4 Oct., 1825; d. 4 Oct., 1829.
  - ii. Elisabeth Salisbury,<sup>9</sup> b. 10 Aug., 1827.
  - iii. Mary Abigail,<sup>9</sup> b. 4 Oct., 1829.
  - iv. Rebecca Phillips,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 Feb., 1831; d. 20 May, 1855.
35. v. Charles Chauney,<sup>9</sup> b. 24 May, 1834; m. Mary Fairbanks,<sup>9</sup> in Medfield, 25 Nov., 1859.
- vi. Ellen Frances,<sup>9</sup> b. 28 May, 1836; d. 19 Jan., 1858.
  - vii. William Peters,<sup>9</sup> b. 6 Oct., 1839; d. 17 Nov., 1860.
  - viii. Edward Upham,<sup>9</sup> b. 3 March, 1843.
  - ix. Alice Orne,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 March, 1847.
  - x. Henry Devereux,<sup>9</sup> b. 3 July, 1850.
26. THOMAS ROBIE<sup>8</sup> SEWALL, of Boston, broker, married, Feb., 1825, his cousin Elizabeth Quincy<sup>8</sup> Sewall, and had:—
36. i. Joseph S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 26 May, 1827.
  - ii. Mary R.,<sup>9</sup> b. 14 March, 1829.
  - iii. Edward B.,<sup>9</sup> b. 26 Dec., 1830; d. 18 Jan., 1837.
  - iv. Francis E.,<sup>9</sup> b. 21 Feb., 1834; d. 20 April, 1857.
- He died 30 Sept., 1864; his wife died 19 June, 1848.
27. SAMUEL EDMUND<sup>8</sup> SEWALL, of Boston, lawyer, married, 8 June, 1836, Louisa M., daughter of Nathan Winslow, and had:—
- i. Lucy E.,<sup>9</sup> b. 26 April, 1837.
  - ii. Louisa W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 3 June, 1846; m. Edward C. Cabot, and has issue.
- His wife dying 4 Nov., 1850, he married secondly Harriet, daughter of Nathan Winslow, 18 June, 1857, by whom he has no children.
28. SAMUEL<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of Burlington, Mass., married, 21 March, 1844, Elizabeth Brown, and had:—
- i. Samuel B.,<sup>10</sup> b. 17 Aug., 1846, who m. Louisa E. Far-  
rington, and has:—  
Nellie L.,<sup>11</sup> b. 8 April, 1873.  
Samuel F.,<sup>11</sup> b. 6 Feb., 1875.  
John M.,<sup>11</sup> b. 2 Sept., 1877.
  - ii. Martha E.,<sup>10</sup> b. 18 May, 1858.
29. HENRY FOSTER<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of New York, married, 20 Sept., 1843, Sarah Allyne Rich, and had:—
- i. Mary N.,<sup>10</sup> b. 21 July, 1844; d. 17 Sept., 1845.
  - ii. Henry D.,<sup>10</sup> b. 24 July, 1846.
  - iii. Charles J.,<sup>10</sup> b. 9 Aug., 1849.
  - iv. Samuel,<sup>10</sup> b. 25 Jan., 1853; d. 31 Jan., 1854.
  - v. Dora M.,<sup>10</sup> b. 13 Jan., 1855.

30. JOHN GALLISON<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of New York, married Joanna White Gannett, 23 June, 1853 (who died 18 Jan., 1874) and had:—
- i. Frank,<sup>10</sup> b. 14 April, 1854; d. 14 April, 1854.
  - ii. William G.,<sup>10</sup> b. 22 Jan., 1856.
  - iii. John,<sup>10</sup> b. 17 Jan., 1858; d. 20 Jan., 1861.
  - iv. Katherine,<sup>10</sup> b. 31 Aug., 1863.
31. EDMUND QUINCY<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of Watertown, N. Y., married Kate Cynthia Smith, 28 June, 1866, and had:—
- i. Grace F.,<sup>10</sup> b. 16 June, 1867.
  - ii. Katherine E. N.,<sup>10</sup> b. 24 Aug., 1870.
  - iii. Josephine D.,<sup>10</sup> b. 14 Oct., 1875.
32. WALTER DEVEREUX<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of Watertown, N. Y., married Ellen Carina Houghton, 6 May, 1875, and has no children.
33. EDMUND Q.<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of St. Paul, Minn., married Louisa K. Lovett, 27 Nov., 1852, and had:—
- i. Theodore L.,<sup>10</sup> b. 20 Sept., 1853.
  - ii. Edmund D.,<sup>10</sup> b. 12 April, 1855.
  - iii. Caroline W.,<sup>10</sup> b. 28 Nov., 1860.
  - iv. Samuel L.,<sup>10</sup> b. 27 June, 1862.
  - v. Frederick F.,<sup>10</sup> b. 7 Jan., 1867.
  - vi. George Q.,<sup>10</sup> b. 27 April, 1868; d. 18 Dec., 1869.
  - vii. Louise L.,<sup>10</sup> b. 16 Oct., 1871.
34. GEORGE W.<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, of \_\_\_\_\_ married Mary F. Cottingham, 17 Jan., 1872, and had:—
- i. George C.,<sup>10</sup> b. 1 July, 1873; d. 26 Sept., 1873.
  - ii. Alfred C.,<sup>10</sup> b. 16 Jan., 1875.
- Mr. Sewall is at present attached to the U. S. Survey.
35. CHARLES CHAUNCY SEWALL, JR.,<sup>9</sup> of Medfield, married Mary Fairbanks, 25 Nov., 1859, and had:—
- i. Frank,<sup>10</sup> b. 10 June, 1862.
  - ii. Lily,<sup>10</sup> b. 24 Oct., 1863; d. 7 Nov., 1863.
  - iii. Amy P.,<sup>10</sup> b. 20 Aug., 1865.
  - iv. Mary,<sup>10</sup> b. 31 Jan., 1868.
36. JOSEPH SEWALL<sup>9</sup> SEWALL, married, 20 Dec., 1860, Mary-Vashon, daughter of Elizur Wright, of Medford, and had:—
- i. Hannah R.,<sup>10</sup> b. 22 Oct., 1861.
  - ii. Susan W.,<sup>10</sup> b. 4 Nov., 1862.
  - iii. Elizabeth Q.,<sup>10</sup> b. 5 July, 1865.
  - iv. Mary F.,<sup>10</sup> b. 20 Feb., 1867.
  - v. Margaret L.,<sup>10</sup> b. 5 June, 1868.

*Descendants in the female lines from Rev. Joseph Sewall.*

HANNAH<sup>7</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Samuel<sup>6</sup> No. 19) married James Hill, and had:—

James, b. 1 March, 1772.  
 Samuel S., b. 13 Feb., 1774; d. 25 Dec., 1775.  
 Margaret F., b. 12 Aug., 1775; d. 28 Feb., 1833.  
 Joseph S., b. 2 March, 1777; d. 8 Aug., 1788.  
 Sewall, b. 20 March, 1779; d. 26 Aug., 1833.  
 Samuel, b. 8 Dec., 1780.  
 Joseph, b. 1 Jan., 1783; d. 19 Feb., 1809.  
 Richard S., b. 15 Sept., 1785.  
 William R., b. 9 Nov., 1787; d. 19 Oct., 1788.  
 William R., b. 20 Sept., 1790; d. 8 Oct., 1792.

He died 19 June, 1824; his widow d. 24 July, 1827.

## SALISBURY DESCENDANTS.

ELIZABETH<sup>7</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Samuel<sup>6</sup> No. 19) married Samuel Salisbury, of Boston, 29 Sept., 1768, and had:—

- i. Samuel,<sup>8</sup> b. 13 Aug., 1769; m. 1st, Elizabeth Green May, 1802, and had:—  
     Samuel,<sup>9</sup> b. 5 March, 1803; m. Maria Morgan.  
     He m. 2d, Nancy Gardner, 18 July, 1806, and had seven children; viz.,—  
         Elizabeth S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 5 July, 1807; m. Nathaniel Chauncy.  
         Ann G.<sup>9</sup>  
         Sarah,<sup>9</sup> m. Elbridge G. Austin.  
         Stephen,<sup>9</sup> b. 12 Sept., 1812; m. Elizabeth P. Clark.  
         Francis G.,<sup>9</sup> d. young.  
         Rebecca.<sup>9</sup>  
         Daniel W.<sup>9</sup>
- ii. Martha,<sup>8</sup> b. 14 March, 1771; m., Aug., 1794, Stephen Higginson, and had:—  
     Elizabeth S.,<sup>9</sup> m. Rev. Reuel Keith.  
     Martha S.,<sup>9</sup> m. Rev. I. Nichols.
- iii. Elizabeth,<sup>8</sup> b. 15 Aug., 1772; m. John Leverett, and had issue, seven children. See Leverett Memorial, p. 156.
- iv. Rebecca Waldo,<sup>8</sup> b. 15 Aug., 1776; m., 30 Sept., 1805, Jonathan Phillips, of Boston, and d. 13 March, 1828. Their only surviving child was William<sup>9</sup> Phillips, b. 11 Jan., 1819, who died 8 April, 1873, leaving a vast property to a distant cousin, the heir male of the name.
- v. Stephen,<sup>8</sup> b. 27 Feb., 1778; d. 16 Dec., 1786.
- vi. Joseph Sewall,<sup>8</sup> b. 1 Nov., 1779; d. 9 Dec., 1779.

- vii. Josiah,<sup>8</sup> b. 15 Feb., 1781; H. C. 1798, m. Abigail, daughter of Judge Samuel Breese, and had:—  
 Elizabeth M.,<sup>9</sup> b. 30 Nov., 1812, m. Theodore D. Woolsey, of Yale College.  
 Edmund E.,<sup>9</sup> b. 6 April, 1814; m. 1st, his cousin Abigail S. Phillips, 27 April, 1836; 2d, Evelyn McCurdy, 23 Nov., 1871.
- viii. Sarah,<sup>8</sup> b. 19 Nov., 1782; m. John Tappan, of Boston, and had:—  
 John G.,<sup>9</sup> b. 5 Feb., 1808; m. Eliza L. Trask.  
 Samuel S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 2 Sept., 1809; m. Eveline Stearns.  
 Sarah S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 1 March, 1811; m. Thomas Denny.  
 Rebecca W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 5 Nov., 1812; m. Henry E. Davies.  
 Lewis W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 3 Aug., 1814; m. Mary C. Swift.  
 Mary S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 3 April, 1816; m. James W. Kimball.  
 Francis W.,<sup>9</sup> b. 29 Dec., 1817; m. Laura B. De Peyster.  
 Elizabeth S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 28 May, 1819.  
 Lucy P.,<sup>9</sup> b. 8 April, 1821; d. 13 Aug., 1839.  
 Henry E.,<sup>9</sup> b. July, 1823; d. 1823.  
 Henry M.,<sup>9</sup> b. July, 1825; d. 1825.  
 Josiah S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 20 Jan., 1836; m. Helen De Peyster.
- ix. Abby,<sup>8</sup> b. 14 May, 1785; m. Aaron P. Cleaveland, of Boston, and had:—  
 Stephen H.,<sup>9</sup> b. 23 March, 1811; m. Rebecca B. Vose.  
 Rebecca S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 17 Feb., 1814; m. Edward McLellan.
- x. Mary,<sup>8</sup> b. 18 May, 1787; m. Edward Phillips (brother of her sister's husband) and left only one child, Abigail S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 3 Nov., 1814, who m. her cousin Edward E. Salisbury.

DOROTHY<sup>7</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Samuel,<sup>6</sup> No. 19) married, 28 Dec., 1784, Joseph May, of Boston, and had:—

- i. Charles,<sup>8</sup> b. 2 Nov., 1785; d. 16 April, 1786.
- ii. Catherine,<sup>8</sup> b. 30 Dec., 1786; m., 10 April, 1808, Charles W.<sup>9</sup> Windship, and had Charles M., b. 23 March, 1809.
- iii. Charles,<sup>8</sup> b. 19 March, 1788; m., 1845, Caroline M. Gove; d. 21 March, 1856.
- iv. Louisa,<sup>8</sup> b. 11 Sept., 1789; m. Samuel Greele, 19 Oct., 1823, and had:—  
 Samuel S.,<sup>9</sup> b. 11 Oct., 1824.  
 Louisa M.,<sup>9</sup> b. 1 Jan., 1827.
- v. Eliza S.,<sup>8</sup> b. 23 Dec., 1790; d. 21 Oct., 1791.
- vi. Louisa,<sup>8</sup> b. 31 Dec., 1792; d. 14 Nov., 1828.
- vii. Samuel J.,<sup>8</sup> b. 10 Aug., 1794; d. 28 Dec., 1795.
- viii. Edward,<sup>8</sup> b. 26 Aug., 1795; d. 29 April, 1802.
- ix. Samuel J.,<sup>8</sup> b. 25 Oct., 1796; d. 17 Sept., 1797.



- x. Samuel J.,<sup>8</sup> b. 12 Sept., 1797.  
 xi. Elizabeth S.,<sup>8</sup> b. 5 Dec., 1798; m. Hamilton Willis,  
 and had:—  
     Hamilton,<sup>9</sup> b. 10 Aug., 1818; m. Louisa M.,  
     daughter of C. W. Windship by a second  
     wife.  
     Elizabeth S.<sup>9</sup>  
 xii. Abigail,<sup>8</sup> b. 8 Oct., 1800; m. A. Bronson Alcott, and  
 had:—  
     Anna B.<sup>9</sup>  
     Louisa M.<sup>9</sup>  
     Elizabeth P.<sup>9</sup>  
     Abby M.<sup>9</sup>

He died 27 Feb., 1841; his wife died 31 Oct., 1825.

SAMUEL J.<sup>8</sup> MAY, of Boston, married, 1 June, 1825, Lucretia F. Coffin,  
 and had:—

- Joseph,<sup>9</sup> b. 27 June, 1827; d. 12 Dec., 1828.  
 John E.,<sup>9</sup> b. 7 Oct., 1829.  
 Charlotte C.,<sup>9</sup> b. 24 April, 1833.  
 Joseph,<sup>9</sup> b. 21 Jan., 1836.  
 George E.,<sup>9</sup> b. 25 Sept., 1844.

We will now return to the issue of the daughters of Judge Sewall who married.

#### HIRST LINE.

14. ELIZABETH<sup>5</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Judge Samuel) married, 17 Oct.,  
 1700, Grove Hirst, of Boston,\* and had:—

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\* Extracts from notes of Samuel Sewall, Jr.:—

“October 17, 1700 Mr Grove Hirst was married to Mrs Elizabeth Sewall by Mr Cotton Mather.

“November 28, 1702 sister Hirst brought to bed at Salem dead born.

“Jan’y 31, 1703-4 Mary Hirst born.

“June 22, 1727 Hannah Hirst married to Mr N. Balston.

“May 9, 1728 Mr C. Chauncy married to Mrs. Eliz. Hirst.

“Thursday April 9th, 1713, went to Boston to the burial of brother Hirst’s son William, about 9 months old. Sent my wife and I gloves. Dyed the 6th instant, about 10 at night.

“August 5th 1714. My sister Hirst was brought to bed of a son; named it William for its father Hirst’s sake.

“13th March 1714-15. Brother Hirst’s son William (the second son of that name) dyed about eight at night, being 7 months old. Buried the

- i. Still-born, 28 Nov., 1708.
- ii. Mary, b. 31 Jan., 1703-4; m. Sir Wm. Pepperrell.
- iii. Samuel, b. 23 Oct., 1705.
- iv. Elizabeth, b. 20 Oct., 1706; m. Rev. Charles Chauncy.
- v. Hannah, b. 4 May, 1708; m. Nathaniel Balston.
- vi. Jane, b. 4 Sept., 1709; m. Addington Davenport, Jr.
- vii. William, b. 9 July, 1712; d. 6 April, 1713.
- viii. William, b. 5 Aug., 1714; d. 13 March, 1714-15.

He died 28 Oct., 1717; his wife died 11 July, 1716.

The only son, Samuel, died suddenly, 14 Jan., 1726-27. See Prince's sermon.

Jan. 18, 1730 (Suff. Deeds, lib. 45, f. 79), there was a division of the Hull property among the Sewall heirs. It was then noted that the only issue of Elizabeth Hirst were her four daughters; viz.: Mary, wife of William Pepperrell; Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Charles Chauncy; Hannah, wife of Nathaniel Balston; and Jane, wife of Addington Davenport.

Of their descendants we will speak briefly.

- I. William Pepperrell was the famous baronet, who left an only daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel Sparhawk. For a record of numerous descendants, see Usher Parsons's *Life of Pepperrell*.
- II. Rev. Charles Chauncy, D. D., minister of the first church in Boston, had three wives. The first wife was Elizabeth Hirst, by whom he had one son, Charles, and two daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth, married Benjamin Greenleaf, and had issue. For a full record of the descendants, see the *Chauncy Memorials*; the list comprises many well-known names; among them, Gen. Fitz-John Porter.

16th inst. in grandfather Hull's tomb. Gave my wife and I gloves. My wife not come to the funeral.

"July 11, 1716. Last night at 12 a clock, dyes my dear sister Hirst, after a long sickness and languishment. 13th inst. interred in grandfather's tomb; being in her 35th year.

"1717, October 28. between 3 and 4 in the morning dies my dear brother, Grove Hirst, esq: being taken of a violent feavour just after my mother's death.

"February 21st, 1722-23. At night betwixt 7 and 8, was married per Father Sewall, couz. Mary Hirst to Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Pepperrell of Kittery. B[rothers] Sewall and Cooper prayed, one before and the other after the wedding. Wife and I present, with little Henry. Gave us gloves.

"January 14th, 1726-7, Samuel Hirst dies, suddenly on the Long Wharff. See *News Letter*, *Weekly News Letter*, No 3; See sermons printed. 18th, buried in grandfather Hull's tomb; pall bearers, Balston, Welsteed, Fellow; Mr Chauncy, minister, Mr Andrew Oliver, Mr T. Cooper and Mr Palmer. Gave us rings and gloves.

"June 22d, 1727. Couz. Hannah Hirst married to Mr Nathaniel Balston by her grandfather, at her unkle J. Sewall's. Gave us gloves." — Eds.

III. Addington Davenport, Jr., H. C. 1719, Rector of Trinity Church, married, 23 Dec., 1729, Jane Hirst for his first wife. Their children were:—

Addington, b. 1731; m. Ann; d. 24 Feb., 1761.

Jane, b. 1733; m. Benjamin Faneuil, Jr., a refugee.

Elizabeth, b. ; m., 17 Sept., 1751, Nathaniel Lloyd;  
and 2nd, Nathaniel Hatch, 4 Aug., 1755.

Jane (Hirst) Davenport died prior to 1738.

IV. Nathaniel Balstone, of Boston, was son of Captain Nathaniel Balstone, by his second wife, Rebecca, and was grandson of Jonathan Balston, merchant. He was born 6 Sept., 1691, married Hannah Hirst 22 June, 1727, and was living 28 April, 1796 (Suff. Deeds, lib. 78, f. 142), when he and wife Hannah sold Hull lands on Beacon hill.

I find record of only two children, viz.: Hannah, b. 2 Oct., 1730; Nathaniel Balstone, who, with wife Eunice (Nathaniel Balstone, and Mrs. Eunice Brown, of Salem, were pub. 23 July, 1751, at Boston), sell, 7 July, 1770, Sewall lands; and Mary Thornton, called sister by Nathaniel in his will, proved 30 April, 1773 (Suff. Wills, lib. 72, f. 538), when he gives her the interest on £100, and gives all the rest of the estate to wife Eunice.

Probably this line is extinct.

16. MARY<sup>5</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Judge Samuel) married Samuel Gerrish, 24 Aug., 1709. The husband was son of Rev. Joseph Gerrish, of Wenham, and nephew of the Moses Gerrish who married Mary Sewall's aunt. The following extracts, from Samuel Sewall Jr.'s notes, sums up the record:—

“Aug. 24, 1709. Was celebrated the marriage of my sister, Mrs. Mary Sewall, to Mr. Samuel Gerrish, youngest son of Mr. Gerrish, minister of Wenham. Married per Mr. Pemberton. Present my wife and daughter Beck.

“Nov. 9th, 1710. Sister Gerrish brought to bed of a daughter. 12th inst. baptized it Hannah. Nov. 17th Father Sewall writes me word of the sad newes of the death of my sister Gerrish. She expired about 4 hours after midnight, dying in childbed very suddenly. Was interred in grandfather Hull's tomb, Nov. 18th, 1710, being Saturday. Next day Father putt up a note for a sanctified use of the early death of my sister for himself and family. I and my wife was there at the funeral. Pal bearers, Paul Dudley, Esq; Mr Daniel Oliver, M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Philips, Mr John Winthrop, Mr John Smith, Mr Giles Dyer. Given scarves and gloves. Born October 28th lived 19 years, 20 dayes.”

Gerrish was a bookseller in Boston, and Town Clerk. His second marriage is thus recorded by S. S. Jr.:—

“Thursday night, May 8, 1712, Dr. I. Mather married brother Gerrish to Mrs Sarah Coney. I was there present; gave my wife and I gloves.

“1715. May 22, brother Gerrish's son Samuel, baptized.”



17. JUDITH<sup>5</sup> SEWALL (daughter of Judge Samuel) married Rev. William Cooper,\* 12 May, 1720, and had:—

William,<sup>6</sup> b. 1 Oct., 1721.

Samuel,<sup>6</sup> b. 28 March, 1725.

Thomas,<sup>6</sup> b. living in 1753; sold his share of estate.

Judith,<sup>6</sup> b. m. 1st Dr. John Sever, of Kingston, 13 Dec., 1753; had one daughter, Judith; m. 2d, William Rand, Jr. (Seaver Genealogy.)

Judith (Sewall) Cooper died 23 Dec., 1740; her husband died 13 Dec., 1743. Of the children:—

I. Rev. SAMUEL<sup>6</sup> COOPER was minister at Brattle Street Church, Boston; married Judith Bulfinch, 11 Sept., 1746.

His will (Suff. Deeds, lib. 83, f. 8) mentions wife Judith, grandson Samuel Cooper<sup>9</sup> Johonnot, daughter Abigail,<sup>7</sup> wife of Joseph Hixon (Joseph Hixon, of Montserrat, and Abigail Cooper, were published 2 Jan., 1777. They have issue, whom we have been unable to trace). Of the other daughter, we learn by the N. E. Hist. Register, VII, 142, that Gabriel Johonnet married, 18 Dec., 1761, Judith Cooper, and had two sons, Samuel C.,<sup>9</sup> baptized 13 March, 1768, H. C. 1783, went to Demerara, and died in 1806, leaving issue, and Zachary,<sup>9</sup> baptized 12 Feb., 1769.

Gabriel had a second wife (married in 1774), and died 9 Oct., 1820.

II. WILLIAM<sup>6</sup> COOPER, son of Rev. William and Judith<sup>5</sup> (Sewall) Cooper, was the famous Town Clerk of Boston, the friend of Hancock and Adams. He married Catherine Wendell, 25 April, 1745. Their children, who were alive when his estate was distributed in 1813 (Suff. Wills, lib. iii, f. 40) were:—

Samuel.<sup>7</sup>

Richard W<sup>7</sup> [ybird].

John.<sup>7</sup>

Judith,<sup>7</sup> wife of Matthew Park.

William Cooper died 28 Nov., 1809.

We have been unable to trace his brother Thomas<sup>6</sup> Cooper, or his son Richard W. Cooper. Of the other children we can give the following account:—

\* Notes by Samuel Sewall, Jr.

1720 May 12. Sister Judith Sewall married to the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Cooper, by her father. Brother Sewall prays. Mr Colman prays after marriage. None but brothers and sisters, with Mr. Colman and his wife, Mr Stoddard and wife, Mr Cooper's mother.

1721 October 1st, Sabbath-day morning, between twelve and one, sister Cooper brought to bed of a son at Brooklin, in our best lower room. 8<sup>th</sup> brother Cooper preach'd at Brooklin and baptized his son William, taking him in his arms.

June 28th, 1723, sister brought to bed of a daughter; named it Mehittabel for his mother's sake.

September 15th, 1724, sister Cooper's daughter, Mehittabel, dies after long languishment. Buried in grandfather Hull's tomb the 17th.

JOHN<sup>7</sup> COOPER, of Machias, was the first sheriff of Washington County, Maine, married, in 1788, Elizabeth Savage, sister of James Savage, of Boston,\* and had:—

John T.<sup>8</sup>

William,<sup>8</sup> m. Eliza Dutton, and had:—

William S.

Elizabeth D.

Emma P.

Caroline P.

Helen M.

Mary.

Harriet C.

Emma E,<sup>8</sup> m. Rufus K. Porter, and had issue.

Charles W.<sup>8</sup>

Samuel.<sup>8</sup>

James S.,<sup>8</sup> m. 1st Mary E. Savage; 2d, Abby I.

Girdler; had:—

Mary E.

Elizabeth S.

James I.

Charles W.

Alice G.

Caroline S,<sup>8</sup> m. William J. Newman, and had issue.

SAMUEL<sup>7</sup> COOPER, of Boston,† was a lawyer, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk, 1800–9, and died between 1810 and 1820. He married his cousin Margaret, daughter of William Phillips; she died 19 Feb., 1844. Their children were:—

Samuel T.<sup>8</sup> Cooper, of Andover, who married and left issue.

William P.,<sup>8</sup> who went to Illinois, and left two sons, now residing there.

George,<sup>8</sup> who was a lieutenant in the Navy, and died unm., at Charlestown, about 1825.

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\* See his letter, in the Machias Centennial of 1863, p. 80, from which book the above facts are copied. — Eds.

† By some confusion of names, Mr. Drake has entered in his biographies of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, this son of the Town Clerk; thus wrongly identifying him with Gen. Samuel Cooper of New York. — Eds.

## DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL.

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[MR. SEWALL graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1671. Most of the other ten members of his class were his intimates or associates during their joint lives. Under the usage which then prevailed he became, soon after graduation, a Resident Fellow of the College. March 1, 1674, it was "ordered by the Corporation that Sir Sewall shall be from henceforth the keeper of the College Library." April 15, 1674, "Ordered that Mr. Gookin and Sir Sewall, Fellows of the College, have half a year's salary of their proportion forthwith paid them of the Piscataway gift now in the Treasurer's hands. Also, fifty shillings a peece due in February last by Mr. Glover's gift." He appears to have taken up his residence in Boston in 1674-5, at the house of his father-in-law, undecided whether to enter the ministry or to follow merchandise. April 1, 1675, he writes that he preached in the afternoon, in Newbury, "being afraid to look on the [hour] glass: ignorantly and unwillingly I stood two hours and a half." He married, Feb. 28, 167 $\frac{4}{8}$ , Hannah, daughter of Captain John Hull, Mint-master, Treasurer of the town of Boston and of the colony of Massachusetts.

In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vols. VII. and VIII. (1853-54), were published extracts from some interleaved almanacs formerly in the possession of Judge Sewall, the annalist, and then owned by Frederic Kidder, Esq. As these were evidently the first notes made by him, afterwards reproduced in his Diary, we have copied the omitted portions in such places as seemed best.

The almanacs for 1671 and 1672 contain no notes. In 1673, prior to the date of our text, we find the following:—

" 1673, May 12, 3 [i.e. third day, Tuesday] morning Seth Flynt dyed.

June 5, 5, Elder *Jo. Caysty* [?] dyed.

21, 7, night Ruth Flynt dyed.

Sept. 5, 6, Joyce went to Jo. Dassitt.

6,-7, Then Leah Nucom came.

Oct. 10, 6, Joyce came from Jo. Dassitt.

Nov. 15, 17, 14 day night, Mrs. Coleborn dyed, buried the 17th."

In almanac for 1674 no notes. — Eds.]

Dec. 3, 1673. I read to the Junior Sophisters, the 14th Chapter of Heerboords Physick, i.e. part of it, which beginnes thus, Sensus Communes &c. I went to the end, and then red it over from the beginning, which I ended the 24th of March, 1673 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Feb. 20, 1673 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Brother Stephen admitted. My Father brought down my Brother Stephen to be admitted, which was done the 23d of that month.

March 9, 1673 $\frac{3}{4}$ . I sent my Brother Stephen's cloaths to be washed by Mrs. Clark.

Mar. 23. I had my hair cut by G. Barret.

„ 24. My Father came down; Harry Summerby attending him; brought my Sister Jane to the Dr's. My Sister Anne was brought to Mr. Butler's to live by my B. John, March 20, 1673 $\frac{3}{4}$ . In the Evening the Townsmen of Cambridge had a meeting and Mr. Gookin and I being sent for went to them. They treated us very civilly and agreed that the School boyes should sit no longer in the Students hinder seat. It was also consented to by us that some sober youths for the present might be seated there. *Hæc hactenus.*

March 25, 1674. My Father went away and Henry Somerby with him intending for Salem. It rained hard in the afternoon. Madam How brought to bed of a daughter in the afternoon.

April 2. Benjamin Gourd of Roxbury (being about 17 years of age) was executed for committing Bestiality \* \* \* N. B. He committed the filthines at noon day in an open yard. He after confessed that he had lived in that sin a year. The causes he alledged were, idlenes, not obeying parents, &c.

April 6. Mr. Ganson, M<sup>r</sup> of a Catch set sail for Liverpool, in which Mr. Higginson went.

April 7. The D., Mr. Gookin and myself were invited and went to dinner with the Magistrates in the Court Chamber. Mr. Sherman and Mr. Willard came with me to my chamber.



April 8. Mr. Gookin and I gave Mr. Nehemiah Hobart a visit, 6<sup>d</sup> to the P'ts man.

April 9. Mr. Gookin and I went down to Boston. I went to visit my Couzen Duñer and his wife my Couzen, who lay in of Mary Dummer, born the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 167 $\frac{3}{4}$ . To the Nurse 2<sup>d</sup>, for a pair of sizers 4<sup>d</sup>

April 10. 3<sup>d</sup> milk, 6<sup>d</sup> for spice &c.

April 15, 1674. 4<sup>d</sup> Beer. News of Peace in Lecture time. 3<sup>d</sup> for Wine, 6<sup>d</sup> to Onesiphorus. Tobacco Pipes 3<sup>d</sup>. At night I lay with Sir Adams at Mr. Oakes's. Memen. it thundered and lightened and rained very much.

Friday, April 17. My Brother went to Boston and bought me an Hour-glasse and penknife 1. 1. 3<sup>d</sup>. One shilling. to my Brother. 23, A pair of Glovs from Goodman Fissenden. Laurence and Hannah Oakes were at my chamber in the evening. Received my Quarter pay; borrowed money subducted, 2<sup>l</sup> 12<sup>s</sup> 9<sup>d</sup> Mr. Henry Short married the 30<sup>th</sup> March '74. Mr. Treat to Mr. Maihos [Mayo's]<sup>1</sup> Granchild the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, '74.

June 5, 1674. Mr. Oakes gave me to understand that though he respected and loved me as formerly, yet he desired that I would refrain coming to his house, and that he did it *se defendendo*, least he should be mistrusted to discourage and dissettle me.<sup>2</sup>

Monday, June 15, 1674. Mr. Thatcher, Fellow. The Corporation met and chose Sir Thatcher Fellow, Mr. Johnson, Printer. N. B. There were this day two boyes killed at Watertown with the tumbling of a load of brush

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<sup>1</sup> Enclosures in square brackets, in the text, indicate conjectural corrections or explanations. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Urian Oakes, pastor of the Cambridge Church, and afterwards President of the College. The reference probably is to the difficulty existing at the time between Oakes, who was also a Fellow of the College, and President Hoar. — Eds.

on them, on which they road: the one was about the age of 12 years, and the other 9.

Thomas Sargeant was examined by the Corporation: finally, the advice of Mr. Danforth, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Mather (then present) was taken. This was his sentence.

That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the H. G. he should be therefore publicly whipped before all the Scholars. 2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelour (this sentence read before him twice at the Pr<sup>ts</sup> before the committee, and in the library 1 up before execution.) 3. Sit alone by himself in the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the Colledge. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr. Danforth, Jr. being present) before the Scholars. He kneeled down and the instrument Goodman Hely attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President. July 1, 1674. Sir Thacher Commonplaced, Justification was his head. He had a solid good piece: stood above an hour, and yet brake of before he came to any use. By reason that there was no warning given, none (after the undergraduates) were present, save Mr. Dan Gookin, Sr. the President and myself. July 3, 1674. N. B. Mr. Gookin, Jr. was gone a fishing with his brothers.

Had my hair cut by Goodman Barret, July 6.

July the 8th being Cambridge lecture day, Mr. Wallie set sail, with whom went Mr. Chauncy and Mr. Epps.

July 10. I Commonplaced. Nobody save the 6 plm. [placemen?] was present.

July 17. Sir Weld commonplaced. His subject was Man as created in God's Image.

July 21. Sir Bowles<sup>1</sup> Commonplac'd. His subject was the Creation of the Soul.

August 7, 1674. New Colledge raised. John Francis helping about raising of the new Colledge had his right legg (both bones) broke a little above his anckle, and his left thigh about 4 inches below the joint, by a peece that fell on him, and had like to have killed several others and yet hurt none.

Friday, August 14. I with my two Brothers went home to Newbury.

Tuesday, August 18. Visited Mr. Parker, Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Richardson.

Aug. 19. Tim. Woodbridge visited me.

Thorsday, Sept. 3. Mrs. Martha Noyes dyed.

Sept. 4. Buried. Her death suddain, the 5<sup>th</sup> day after her Travail.

Monday, Sept. 7. First Frost. Sept. 8<sup>th</sup> Generall Training. My Brother John went down and had discourse with my Sister Hannah, (that now is).<sup>2</sup> Brought up my Sister Jane, Sept. 11. About the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month my Father went down, carried my Sister Jane, and brought up the Publishment.

Monday, Sept. 28<sup>th</sup>. My little Neece Born.

Sept. 29. Broth. John went to Boston, and B. Stephen to Mr. Batters, upon Tryal.

Tuesday, Oct. 6. My Father went to Cambridge.

Oct. 8. My Father was at Boston, on which day he spake sconcerning my Buisines to a Gentleman there.

1674. Tuesday, Oct. 13. I went to Cambridge, being summoned to wait on the Court the next day.

Oct. 16. by Mr. Richardson's means I was called to speak. The sum of my Speech was that the causes of

<sup>1</sup> John Bowles—sometimes written Bowels—and Thomas Weld were Sewall's classmates. The title *Sir* designated graduates before they took the Master's degree.—Eds.

<sup>2</sup> John Sewall married Hannah Fessenden of Cambridge, probably sister of Nicholas F., both being called "cousin" by John F.—Eds.



the lownes of the Colledge were external as well as internal.

The first day of my coming to Boston at night, I lay with my Couzen Duñer. The Thursday Oct. 15 I rode first to Charlestown Ferry, thinking to have my horse over, and so accompany Mr. Gookin, but could not, and so was fain to ride round in the night.

Oct. 17. Nicol. Fissenden came with me home.

Tuesday, Oct. 20. My Father went down to see how things were after my information. Nic urged to have my Brother [who?] has gone too. My Mother and I withstood it. Father (as it was thought he would) set the match forward, her friends earnest.

Oct. 23. Brother Stephen came to visit us.

Oct. 26. Brothers John and Steph, with Father Lumacks, went down the next day, Tuesday, Oct. 27. Brother was married by Mr. Danforth.

Oct. 29. They came home, it being a rainy day.

Saturday, 31<sup>st</sup>, They returned. Goodman Cheyny, Nic. Fissenden, and Thomas Cheyny. Stephen my Brother to Salem.

Nov. 3. Mr. Adams married. Mr. William Adams and Miss Mary Manning, his wife, coming from Salisbury came to visit me. Memen. They were married by Mr. Danforth on Wednesday, the 21 of Sept. [Oct.?] Mr. Taylor married.

Thursday, Nov. 5, Mr. Edward Taylor, of Westfield is married (as he gave out.)

Copys of Letters in Almanack, 1672.

Memento, that about Novem. 12 I wrote four Letters to England. *Imp.* one to my Aunt Rider.<sup>1</sup> *It.* one to my Aunt Mehetabel Holt. *It.* one to my Cousin Thomas Dummer. *It.* one to my Landlord Marice. In that of my Aunt Holts were also enclosed one of my Mothers to

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<sup>1</sup> For the various relations of Sewall, the reader is referred to the preliminary sketch. — Eds.



my Unckle, St. Dummer, one of my Brother John's to be sent to my Aunt Sarah Holt. The Copies of mine are in the Almanack for the year '72. My Bro. went to Salem Nov. 13, intending for Boston Saturday, Nov. 14 to give these Letters to Mr. Hull by him to be sent for England.

Thursday, Nov. 19, My Mother and Self went to see Goodman Moody, whom we found extream ill of the yellow jaundice. We visited Goodman and Goodwife Little also.

Tuesday, Nov. 24. My Father received a letter from Capt. Pike, of Woodbridge,<sup>1</sup> by which he solicited my Father for my coming thether to be their Minister. Letters date, Sept. 10. '74.

Monday, Nov. 30<sup>th</sup>. My Father and self went to Salem. The next day my Brother Stephen was bound Apprentice to Mr. Edmund Batter, Merch. His time expires on the 29<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1679 (unless Mr. Batter dye before).<sup>2</sup> At the time specified he is to receive ten £ in good and currant pay.

Tuesday, Dec. 22, 1674. Lieutenant Way, Mr. Weaver, Tho. Norman came to our house. The Lieuten. related distinctly several things about Mr. Nicolets Church gathering at Lin.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday, Dec. 23. I was at an Arbitration between Tho<sup>s</sup>. W. and John W. Weaver: was cast 300 and odde £ in W<sup>s</sup> debdt. The Arb. were Mr. Den, C<sup>p</sup>l. Saltonstall, Mr. Pike, C<sup>p</sup>l. Gerrish, and Mr. Doel. The last set not his hand at all. Mr. Pike but to part.

Friday, Dec. 25. Sam. Guile of Havarel, ravished Goodwife Nash of Amesbury, about G. Bailyes Pasture at the white Bottoms.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably, Rev. John Woodbridge, of Andover. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Batters did not die until 1685, when he was seventy-six years old. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> See History of Lynn (ed. 1865), p. 261. — Eds.

Mond. Jan. 25, 1674 $\frac{4}{5}$ . Mr. Smith came to visit us, and brought with him one Mr. Bradly, who is allso a Southton<sup>1</sup> man, and told me that he went to old Mr. Goldwire's to school at Broadling, with 34 more. He allso told me that Thos. Warren was Apprentice to an Orange Merchant at Billingsgate, and Sam. to a Coal-seller at Cheapside.

Thurs. Feb. 13. There was a Fast held at Sam. Moody's, principally upon the occasion of his sicknes: whereat were present, Mr. Woodbridge, Mr. Philips, Mr. Moody, Mr. Reinor, Mr. Richardson. The 3 first mentioned seemed to be very sensible of the state of things and of the plots of papists, Atheists: and Mr. Phillips spake how the Ministers in England, when they had their liberty, look after their own houses, quarrelled, &c. I carried my Mother to the Fast, and there we with many more, had (I hope) a feast day.

A Scotchman and Frenchman kill their Master, knocking him in the head as he was taking Tobacko. They are taken by Hew and Cry, and condemned: Hanged.

Nicolas Feaver, born in the Ile of Jersey, Robert Driver, born in the Ile of Orknye in Scotland, Executed, Mar. 18, 1674 $\frac{4}{5}$ .

Monday, March 15, 1674 $\frac{4}{5}$ . I visited Mr. Parker.<sup>2</sup> He told me what one Mr. Stockman related to Mr. Parker his father, at the table of the Earl of Pembrook. This Stockman went into Spain with the Embassadour, and there hearing of one that could foretell things went to him to enquire concerning England. He showed in a glass for K. Henry 3 time, the Cross leaning, and stooping: for

<sup>1</sup> Southton means, of course, Southampton. Sewall was born at Bishop's Stoke, in the county of Hampshire [or Southamptonshire], a parish some eight miles north of the city of that name. Baddesley, where he went first to school, was a mile or two west of Stoke, and Broadlands (possibly, the Broadling of the text) was a few miles farther west. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Thomas Parker, pastor of the church at Newbury. Having lost his sight, he devoted himself to teaching Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Sewall had been under his tuition. — Eds.

K. Edward the Wizard showed a Child, a cloud drawn over his head. Q. Mary, *Ferro et Flam̄is*: Q. Elizabeth, *Excellentissima*: K. James, one coming over a river with the crown on his head, *Infelix pacis amator*.

<sup>1</sup> April 3. 1675. About one of the clock at night, Sam. Moody dyed quietly, having lyen sick of the jaundice by the space of half-an-year. He was buried on Monday. There was a great funeral.

April 4, Sab. day. I holp preach for my Master, [Mr. Parker] in the afternoon. Being afraid to look on the glass, ignorantly and unwillingly I stood two hours and a half.

April 29 Brother John and Sister Hañah Sewall begin to keep house at the Falls.

My Father having found things out of order at the Little Farm, viz, Fences down, ground Eaten and rooted up by Cattle and hogs, and wanting a good Tenant, the Season of the year now spending, resolves and goes to live there, notwithstanding the littleness and unpretines of the house.

<sup>2</sup> Saturday, May 15. Brothers house was raised, at the raising of which I was. Two Pins lower Suñer.

<sup>1</sup> The following items are supplied from the interleaved almanacs. — Eds.  
 “1675. March 29, 2. Now a [] Capt. Alli [] of Charl [] dyes. T. [] frater.

March 30, 3. Brother brought home Sister Jane from the Dr. at Cambridge.

March 31, 4. No Lecture, because Mr. Rich f. home. I visited Mr. Parker and Mr. Wood. Mr. Parkerus natus et baptizatus die Pentecoste, Año 1595, being y<sup>2</sup> June 8<sup>th</sup> as I take it.”

<sup>2</sup> “May 1, 7. Beans planted.

5. 4 Diet Sisters.

June 3. 5 David Perkins. Brt. Arad.

June - Two troopers pressed to go against the Indians: Noyes, Tho. Thurrel. I went to the farm in the evening.

July 18, 1. News of Niñicrafts yeelding.

27. 3. John Godfrey.

Aug. 25, 4. The fight was of two hours, 12 miles from Hatfield. John



Friday, May 21. Goodman Adams (coming to visit his Mother Woodman) was invited by and came over and lodged with me.

N. B. Tuesday, May 4 C'p<sup>n</sup> Scarlet, Mr. Smith, Mr. Freak killed by a blow of powder on Ship board. Mr. Freak killed outright.

July 31, at midnight, Tho. Wood, Carpenter of Rowly, had his house and goods burnt, and, *væ malum*, a daughter of about 10 years of age, who directed her brother so that he got out, was herself consumed to ashes.

This said Saturday night, in a dream, I fancied myself to have Mrs. Richardson's child in my arms, and herself following me up a pair of stairs going to heaven, all sorrowfull and weeping. I went up innumerable steps and still saw nothing, so that I was discouraged, doubting with myself whether there was such a place as *sedes beatorum*. Yet I strengthened myself as well as I could, considering how apt things only heard of are to be doubted (if difficultly obtained and not of a long time) though they be never so true. Thus thinking, I went on; at last I came to a fair chamber with goodly lodgings. When I saw that was all, I earnestly prayed that God would help us, or else we should never get to our journey's end. Amazed I was, not being able to conceive how furniture should be brought up those stairs so high. Afterward it was a chamber in the N. Building, [at the College], after, part of an old [house] (Goff, as I take it) that joined to it, of the same height. A schollar told me that those things were drawn up by a pully, and so took in at a window which was all ranshacled like that in Goff Colledge over the Fellows' chamber, and all things began to seem more

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Plūmer dies. Steven Greenleaf wounded. Ex literis S. Greenleaf.

Sept. 18. Capt. Latrop.

Oct. 13. Marsh. Skerry.

Oct. 6. 4. Springfield, 32 houses, with their barns." Almanacs.

—Eds.



vile. Herabout I waked, being much troubled at the former part, and much wondring at the latter of my dream. '*Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*' *Deus det, deus misericors et benignus, me, et comites meos, non tantum et de somnis, sed vere tandem divinis gradibus ad cælum usque ascendere.*

Novem. 10, 1675. Lecture day. Remember the courteous speech and behaviour of Tho. and Will Noyse. Ingenious men. Will came to me (speaking with Tim. Woodbridge) and excused his not coming to see me, &c.

Nov. 11. Morning proper fair, the wether exceedingly benign, but (to me) metaphoric, dismal, dark and portentous, some prodigie appearing in every corner of the skies. Father went to Attach Ben Goodridge, at which (as all) so especially Mother, troubled and disswaded him. Nothing moves, at which Mother was exceedingly troubled, and, e. h. w. o. L. w. h. [every hour wishes our Lord would help?]

N. B. Tuesday, Dec. 21, 1675, about the time of the Eclips Sister Sewall was delivered in my chamber of a daughter, Goodwife Brown being Midwife.

Sept. 13. Saturday, was that lamentable fight, when Capt. Latrop with sixty-four killed.

<sup>1</sup> Decem. 19. Sabbath day, that formidable engagement at Narraganset, 34 Eng<sup>lish</sup> put in one pit, 3 after

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<sup>1</sup> "Nov. 29, 1. Dr. Hoar dies.

Dec. 14. 3. Judith March.

Dec. 19. Sunday. Engagement.

— 29, 4. Mr. Reyner came in the evening to our house, delivered me a letter. Lodged here; in bed we had much and various discourse.

— 30, 5. Mr. Jer. Hobart lodges here. I at sisters with little Jacob.

30<sup>th</sup>. 5. Rainy m. mist, hold up. Mr. R. goes on his journey. Gave him letters of Dec 28 for Boston.

13 Jany. Brother John Sewall.

29 Feb. (Tues.) Miss Thatcher, Senior, and Miss Page visit us, they the first." [Sewall was married the preceding day.]

Almanacs. — Eds.

Joseph Plum̄er, 26 gon already, 75 more pressed; advance towards Ipswich.

Lecture day Jan. 5. Hints of discourse. One (speaking of twelve +ide) said it may be we knew not 11 from 12. I said it was best if (in that sense) we did not. In defence of Mr. Graves I said that the Application of Xt's merits was a greater wonder than the sending of Xt. into the world. That no person could be said to be mankind: that such an one was not, which was thought very ridiculous.<sup>1</sup> Jan. 3, cold wether hindred writing till now.

Jan. 10, 167 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Felled the oak at the E. end of the house. *Matre et Sorore valde plangentibus.*

Nota bene. Friday about 3 in the afternoon, April 21, 1676, Capt. Wadsworth and Capt. Brocklebank fall. Almost an hundred, since, I hear, about fifty men, slain 3 miles off Sudbury: the said Town burned, Garrison houses except.

Sabbath day, evening, 23 April, considerable thunder shower. Monday 24, about 6 afternoon, a Woman taken, and a Man knocked in the head, at Menociticot, Braintrey.

<sup>2</sup> April 5, Wednesday, Governour Winthrop dyes. Interred old Burying place Monday following.

April 25 Tuesday, Major Willard dyes at Charleston, buried 27<sup>th</sup>. April 26. Mr. Lidget dyes: interred the 28<sup>th</sup> 1676.

Monday, May 8. Considerable Thunder and rain in the night. Mrs. Wharton Dyes: Buried Wednesday afternoon.

Tuesday, Fast, Magistrates, Deputies. Sisters sail toward Newbury.

<sup>1</sup> The reader can hardly fail to think the same, on account of the obscurity of the text. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> "1676. Feb. 10, 7. Mr. Sanford dyes.  
 Mch. 10. 6. Mr. Ransford. 26. Marlborough.  
 June 20. 3. No lecture, but past the week at Mr. Mathers."'  
 Almanacs. — Eds.

Friday, May 5. 16 Indians killed: no English hurt: near Mendham. 19 May. Capt. Turner, 200 Indians. 22 May, about 12 Indians killed by Troop.

Monday, May 9. Cold encreases mightily, all night burning Fever: next night rested indifferently.

Sabbath, May 14, 1676. 2 or 3 in the morning, Mr. Usher dyes. At night Mr. Russel dyes, being drowned in flegm. Mr. Tho. Shepard buried Tuesd. 5, afternoon. Wednes: aftern. Mr. Usher buried. Tuesd. 16. Mr. Atwater dyes: buried Thursday following, after Lecture. Three such Funerals, one after another, imediately, I never before saw. Mr. Atwater was at meeting in the forenoon and afternoon the Sabbath before. N. B. As we came from the Funeral, we saw an huddle of persons, who were bringing Jabez Eaton that died just then in the street.

Wednesday, May, 24, about 10 M., Capt. Davis dies, fever, he had been delirious severall times between while before his death.

Mr. Willard preaches the Lecture.

Mr. Woodrop, Hobart Ger., Nehem. Phips, Weld, Faild, came after lecture and sat with me. God grant we may sit together in heaven. May 25. Mr. Adams had a very pithy and pertinent discourse from Nahum 2. 2. Old Church.

Monday, June 5. Mr. Hutchison chosen Capt., Mr. Turin, Lieut., Mr. Bental, Ensign of the Artillery.

Tuesd. 6, late in the Afternoon, a violent wind, and thunder shower arose. Mr. Bental, Mrs. Bental, Mr. James Edmunds, and a Quaker female were drowned: their Boat (in which coming from Nodle's Iland) being overset, and sinking by reason of ballast. Mr. Charles Lidget hardly escaped by the help of an oar.

Wednesday, June 7., 5 Afternoon Mr. Bental, Mrs, carried one after another, and laid by one another in the same grave. Eight young children. Tuesday, June 6,



Hatfield fight, 5 English killed, about 14 Indians. Wednesday, June 7, Ninety Indians killed and taken by Connecticut ferry: 30 and odd by C. Henschman.

June 10<sup>th</sup>., Received a Letter from Unckle St. Duñer, dated March 24, 1675 [6] i. e. last March, for it was in answer to one wrote, Oct. 29. '75. Aunt Sarah died about a year and  $\frac{1}{2}$  before. Peace and plenty. Nothing of Father's buisness.

June 16, 1676. Went with my Father to Mr. Smith's, there to see the mañer of the Merchants.

June 22. Two Indians, Capt. Tom and another, executed after Lecture.

Note, at the Execution I delivered 2 Letters, one to Unckle Steph, another enclosed to unckle Nath, unto John Pike, to be by him conveyed. Last week two killed by Taunton Scouts, as they were in the river, fishing.

Note. This week Troopers, a party, killed two men, and took an Indian Boy alive. Just between the Thanksgiving, June 29, and Sab. day, July, 2, Capt. Bradfords expedition 20 killed and taken, almost an 100 came in: Squaw Sachem. July 1., 9 Indians sold for 30£. Capt. Hincksman took a little before. The night after, James the Printer and other Indians came into Cambridge. Father Sewall came Tuesday June 27. Went home Friday last of June.

Saturday, July 1, 1676. Mr. Hezekiah Willet slain by Naragansets, a little more than Gun-shot off from his house, his head taken off, body stript. Jethro, his Niger, was then taken: retaken by Capt. Bradford the Thursday following. He saw the English and ran to them. He related Philip to be sound and well, about a 1000 Indians (all sorts) with him, but sickly: three died while he was there. Related that the Mount Hope Indians that knew Mr. Willet, were sorry for his death, mourned, kumbed his head, and hung peag in his hair.

Saturday, July 8, 9 Indians, 2 English sallied out, slew



5 and took two alive. These Indians were killed not many miles from Dedham.<sup>1</sup>

July 9, 10, &c. This week Indians come in at Plymouth to prove themselves faithful, fetch in others by force: among those discovered are some that murdered Mr. Clark's family: viz, two Indians: they accuse one of them that surrendered to the English. All three put to death.

Saturday, July 15. Quaker marcht through the town, crying, "Repent, &c." After, heard of an hundred twenty one Indians killed and taken. Note. One Englishman lost in the woods taken and tortured to death. Several Indians (now about) come in at Plymouth, behave themselves very well in discovering and taking others. Medfield men with volunteers, English and Indians, kill and take Canonicus with his son and 50 more.

July 27. Sagamore John comes in, brings Mattoonus and his sonne prisoner. Mattoonus shot to death the same day by John's men.

Friday, July 28. Mr. Chickery dyes, about 5, afternoon. Comencement day: Mr. Phips married.

Saturday Even. Aug. 12, 1676, just as prayer ended Tim. Dwight sank down in a Swoun, and for a good space was as if he perceived not what was done to him: after, kicked and sprawled, knocking his hands and feet upon the floor like a distracted man. Was carried pickpack to

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<sup>1</sup> The reports and rumors which are entered on the Journal are but a few of those daily reaching Boston of the direful horrors of Philip's War. "James the Printer" above referred to, was a native Indian, son of a deacon of the church of "Praying Indians" at Grafton. He had been educated at the Indian School in Cambridge, and was an apprentice to Samuel Green, printer in that town, helping in the printing of Eliot's Bible. He ran off to join his own people in their assaults on the settlements of the English, but availing himself of the Declaration put forth by the Court of Massachusetts in 1676, promising mercy to all who would come in within fourteen days, he returned and was soon allowed to resume his trade. His name, with that of Green, is on the title-page, as printer, of the Indian Psalter, printed in 1709. — Eds.

bed by John Alcock, there his cloaths pulled off. In the night it seems he talked of ships, his master, father, and unckle Eliot. The Sabbath following Father went to him, spake to him to know what ailed him, asked if he would be prayed for, and for what he would desire his friends to pray. He answered, for more sight of sin, and God's healing grace. I asked him, being alone with him, whether his troubles were from some outward cause or spiritual. He answered, spiritual. I asked him why then he could not tell it his master, as well as any other, since it is the honour of any man to see sin and be sorry for it. He gave no answer, as I remember. Asked him if he would goe to meeting. He said, 'twas in vain for him; his day was out. I asked, what day: he answered, of Grace. I told him 'twas sin for any one to conclude themselves Reprobate, that this was all one. He said he would speak more, but could not, &c. Notwithstanding all this semblance (and much more than is written) of compunction for Sin, 'tis to be feared that his trouble arose from a maid whom he passionately loved: for that when Mr. Dwight and his master had agreed to let him goe to her, he eftsoons grew well.

<sup>1</sup> Friday, Aug. 25. I spake to Tim of this, asked him whether his convictions were off. He answered, no. I told him how dangerous it was to make the convictions wrought by God's spirit a stalking horse to any other thing. Broke off, he being called away by Sam.

Sabbath day, Aug. 20, we heard the amazing newes of sixty persons killed at Quinebeck, by barbarous Indians,

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<sup>1</sup> "Aug. 3. 5. Capt. Henschman began.

Aug. 12. 7. Philipus exit.

16. 4. Mr. Buckley. Mr. Zech. Long, Comr.

31st. 5. The great ship stops in launching; falls on one side out of her cradle.

Sept. 11. 2. Mock Fight. Indian Fight.

14. 5. Miss Brown. —16, 7. Wheler Henry." Almanacs. — Eds.

of which were Capt. Lake, Mr. Collicot, Mr. Padashell.  
*Dilati sunt in futurum.*

Aug. 27. We hear of Major Talcots coming on Indians travelling towards Albany, to dwell on this side Connect. river. He slew some, took others with most of the plunder.

Aug. 31. Cousin Añah Quinsey is taken ill of the flux, accompanied, as it is said, with a Fever. Note, Aunt Quinsey is providentially here. My dear Mother, Mrs. Judith Hull grows sick the same night and is extreemly distrested.

Sept. 1. Her Face very much swelled. Night following, Mother's pains something abated: humours dissipated.

Sept. 3. Anna Quinsey Died about ten of the Clock, A. M. Buried Monday Sept. 4. N. B. Cousin Aña's Water was carried to Dr. Snelling on Sab. morn. He affirmed her not to be dangerously ill. My Father-in-Law from the first feared her death, from her trembling pulse, restlessness, Wormes coming away without amendment, and the well-looking of her Water, when she was manifestly very ill.

Relations at the Funeral: Unckle and Aunt Quinsey, Parents, Epr. Savage, Ruth Quinsey, germans, Experience, whom my Father led, Sam. and Hannah Sewall, Cousin Henchman, Pounden. Bearers, Henry Philips, Tim. Dwight, Joseph Tappi[n], John Alcock. Note. This is the first person that I know of buried out of an house where I was then dwelling. The Lord in his mercy Sanctify it to me, and overcome death for me by Jesus Christ.

Sept. 13. The after part of the day very rainy. Note, there were eight Indians shot to death on the Coñon, upon Wind-mill hill. This day a Souldier, Thom. Fisk, leaves part of a Libel here by accident. His debent. was signed to Muddy River, when it should have been to Cambridge, which he came to have altered. The paper



he wrapt them in was wet, wherefore I profered him dry, that so his writings might not be spoyled. He accepted it and left his old wet paper, which, coming after into the room, I read.

Sept. 14, at night my Mother Hull, praised be God, had comfortable Rest.

Sept. 15. Friday, received Letters by Mr. Clark from my Unckle St. Duñer, to Father and Mother Sewall, where in he informs, "We do through some difficulty hear Mr. Cox most Lords dayes." Letter to Mother of May 29, '76. In that to my Father of same dates, "Mr. Quinsey is copying out your Writings. He shall also take my Account. I am at a weak Hand. Something hangs about me like a consumption. You must imploy some other man in your Buisness, for I think I shall not be able to doe it. You may see that the Leases (in that of June 20, mentions onely Stoak Lease) of your Bargains are almost run out. You must take some course to new Let your Land, or come and live in it, or else it will lye to the wide world, and nothing will be made of it &c." *Paulo ante*. "The Bill of £20 you ordered me to pay Tho. Papiil. of London, I have paid, also Dr. Oakes, Jno. Saunders' Bills. Mrs. Hatten's Bill is not yet paid. I am out of purse already, and if I pay hers I must borrow money, the which I think to doe this time, but hope that you or some other of my Cousins will come over, or get some other to doe your business here. I have done it a long time, and am unwilling to meddle of paying or receiving any more. I desire you would send me in your next what Goods and money you have received of mine. Before finishing my Letter in comes Mr. Quinsey, &c."

DEAR BRO., &c., Jonas Clark being at my house about Miss. Hatten's Bill, &c. I have been sick this Spring, and am at a weak Hand still. Therefore did desire you and doe still, that you will now take some speedy course to have your Business done by some other. I have sent you an Account, with Copyes of your Leases and Lee



Deeds. Stoak Lease (you may see) will quickly be out. The Tenant is a good Tenant, but tells me he will not give so much Rent, when his time is out. Amongst all your Writings, I can't find, nor never did see the Copy of your Bargain at Stoake. Mr. Clark told me you were resolved, or minded, to come over with him. I should be glad to see you. It seems you have charged another Bill upon me, payable to Mr. Papil. [Papillon] or his order. I shall leave that for some other. I told him he would be paid as soon as the money could be gotten. I have paid all the other Bills that I could hear of. Thus with my love, &c.

Your loving Brother,

STEPHEN DUMER.

June 20, 1676.

“DEAR SISTER,—From what I heard from Mr. Clark I have great hopes that your enemyes, the Indians, are conquered before this. Yourselves and troubles have been much upon my spirit. I should be glad to hear of the prosperity of New England. I have so much love to you and the Country that, had I my health, I could willingly undertake the journey to see you. But I was very glad to hear that God had preserved you and yours, when so many have lost their lives and Estates. Its a time of great sufferings in many places of the World. London and several other towns have had great loss by fire this summer. Its said a 1000 houses burnt at London, in Southworke; and its judged set on fire by Rogues. Yet, through great mercy, we enjoy the Gospel, though it be with some hazard. I hope it will please God to continue his Gospel to poor England, for I hope here are many thousands that have not bowed the knee to Baal. I think I writ to you in my last of the death of sister Sarah. She hath left two children. They are far from us, 8 miles beyond Chichester, and so can hear from them or see them but seldom, &c. I have desired my Brother, your Husband, to receive, and send you your Rents. My Reason chiefly is because I am very unhealthy.

Yours, &c.,

STEPHEN DUMMER.”

June 20, '76.

In the Letter to Father of May 24, '76: “I find that you are Debtor, £24. 4. 2. which, when I have received, Ile meddle no more.” Here followeth a Copy of the Account.

Disbursements at several times and for several things . £515. 14. 2.  
 More to Mrs. Hatten, . . . . . 010. 00. 0.  
 This Account till March 26, 1676.

## Receipts:

Fifteen years Rent at Lee. . . . . £300. 00. 00.  
 Thirteen years Rent at Stoke . . . . . 275. 10. 00.  
 Two years at Stoke when the land was cast on me, . . . 020. 00. 00.  
 The Total . . . . . 495. 10. 00.  
 This Account is till Lady-day, 1676.

From me

STEPHEN DUMER.”

My Aunt Mehetabel writes to Mother, May 26, '76. Informs that she hath four children living, viz: Thomas, Robert, Jane and Mehetabel. Cousin Thomas, enclosed “We have been in many fears for you, because your enemies are many, both at home and abroad. But I hope the Lord will deliver you out of all their Hands, in his due time.”

Unckles of May 29, saith “before I finished my Letter, in comes Mr. Quinsey. Mr. Quinsey's to me from London, is dated May 27, so that Mr. Quinsey made very little stay at Bishop Stoke: *ex consequentia*.

Sept. 16, '76. Mother Hull rested not so well on Friday night, as before. Mrs. Brown was buried, who died on Thursday night before, about 10 o'clock. Note. I holp carry her part of the way to the Grave. Put in a wooden Chest.

Sept. 18. Mr. Broughton and his son George being here, said Mr. George agreed to deliver up his Writings of the Mills, and give up the management of it to Father Hull. Mement. sent Letters to Newbury by Mr. G. B. *imprimis*, a little packet 6 Letters, Stoke Lease, Unckles Account, one letter, which had enclosed two from England to my Father, Unckle Riders, Mary Gouldings: one to Mrs. Noyes, the last to Richard Smith.

Mr. Reyner, of Sept. 25, saith that their Indian Messengers returned the night before, and informed they saw

two Indians dead, their Scalps taken off; one of them was Canonicus his Captain. 'Tis judged that Canonicus himself is also killed or taken by the same Hand, viz, of the Mohawks.

This day, viz, Sept. 18. Goodman Dull, meets with a Lively Spring, the Well 23 foot deep.

Sept. 19. Mane, Eliza Alcock informs that Mother had a good night, though she Rested ill on Sabbath day night. *Laus Deo qui orationem non vult non exaudire.*

Sept. 20. Judith Hull slept better last night than at all since her sickness. Note, mark Kerseyes, &c.

Sept. 21, '76. Stephen Goble of Concord, was executed for murder of Indians: three Indians for firing Eames his house, and murder. The wether was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed: four others sate on the Gallows, two men and two impudent Women, one of which, at least, Laughed on the Gallows, as several testified. Mothers last nights rest was inferiour to the former. Dr. Brackenbury called in here. Note. Mr. Joseph Gillam comes in from St. Michaels, five weeks passage, Loading, Wheat, Wine.

Sept. 22, Spent the day from 9 in the M. with Mr. [Dr.] Brakenbury, Mr. Thomson, Butler, Hooper, Cragg, Pemberton, dissecting the middlemost of the Indian executed the day before. × [Hooper] who, taking the ♡ in his hand, affirmed it to be the stomach. I spent 18s., 6d, in Ale, 6d in Madera Wine, and 6d I gave to the maid.

Sept. 23. Looked into Mr. Russels Accompts. Mother rests indifferent well now a-nights. Father ill of a pain caused in his shoulder, and then on his left side, by reason of taking cold.

Mr. Reynor, in a Letter dated at Salisbury, Sept. 21, '76., hath these passages: "God still is at work for us. One-ey'd John, with about 45 of your Southern Indians, have been apprehended since the Souldiers went Eastward. They we judge them All of our Southern Indians.



And nothing yet lately heard of damage in the Eastern parts. A Sagamore of Quapaug is one of the Indians taken and sent. Canonicus we believe was killed by the Mohawks, when his Captain was slain. N. B. We have in our Business here great discoveries of our shameful Natures. Pray that the Sanctification and Reconciliation by Xt. may prevail to his honour."

Sep. 26, Tuesday, Dr. Hawkins takes away from my Mother Hull about 4 ounces of blood. Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Goble is drawn in a Cart upon bed cloaths to Execution. T. Mat. Tep. pomor.[?] One ey'd John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quapaug, General at Lancaster, &c, Jethro, (the Father) walk to the Gallows. Note. One ey'd John accuses Sag. John to have fired the first at Quapaug, and killed Capt. Hutchison. Mothers two last nights were very restless.

Sep. 27, Brother John Sewall came to visit me. Told me of my friends Wellfare, and of the death of Goodman Titcomb last Sabbath day, after about a fortnight sickness of the Fever and Ague. One week or thereabout lay regardless of any person, and in great pain.

Sep. 28. Brought my Brother John going so far as the little Locust tree, beyond the Causy, on the Neck.

Sept. 30. This morn. about the dawning of the day, H. Sewall is called up by the Flux, which it seems troubled her Friday in the afternoon, though unknown to me.

Oct. 1, Sabbath day. The last night H. Sewall rose twice. Had sundry Stools this day. Mother recovers more and more. Oct. 2. H. S. had a very ill night and day. Oct. 3. Last night I watched. Han. S. had an extream restless night. 8 or 10 Stools. Dr. Brackenbury advises to Diacodium to move Rest, and approves Peppar boyled in Milk and Water, alike of each. Diacod. 6 ounces. Mother hath scarce any Rest. Oct. 4. Mrs. Herlakendine Simonds watches: two stools. Considerable sleep. 6 ounces Diacod. I lodge in the Chamber over



the Kitchen. Mother hath a very ill night: concerned for her daughter. I should have noted before that Dr. Brackenbury said such malignity in the lower bowels was most times accompanied with an extream binding in the upper, and therefore things tending to solubility most proper, though he was loath to give an absolute purge unless necessity required. Monday, first visit in the even. Tuesday two visits, to-day one.

Oct. 5. Wednesday. I lodge with my wife. Nurse Hurd watches. But one Stool, that in the morn., tho. slept not all night, yet rested indifferently. Note. Mother had very little or no sleep. Chirur. Hawkins Breaths two veins in her Foot, takes away about 7 or 8 ounces of blood. Drs. Brakenbury and Avery present. Dr. Avery saith the Diacodion would render persons faint. News of Canon. Squaw and Sonne taken at Salmon Falls Mill, being seen as they went over the Boom. Information of Canon. being killed by Mohawks, (according with the first Story, and that they had not seen a fire of some weeks eastward. Wife rose in Lecture time.

Oct. 6. One Stool. I rose about 10., went not to bed again. Betty is taken ill. Mother rests finerly, had not Betty been ill. My wife sits up almost all day, without faintness: so that I mistrust Diacodion. Oct. 7. last night, H. and S. S. sleep together (small intervals except) till break of day, then I rise. She hath one Stool. Mother hath little or no sleep: Betty no good night. Cousin Mary Savage dies about noon. Oct. 8. Last night no Stool: all 3 sick persons had a very good night, praised be God. Note. this Even. Mr. [Dr.] Brak. visits Mother, Wife; Dr. Alcock, Betty: both together at our chamber. Oct. 9. Sabbath night a good night of all hands. An hard Frost, *Teste Isabele Pierce Nutrice.*

Oct. 9. Cousin Mary Savage buried in the afternoon. Father and I at the Funeral.

Bro. Stephen visits me in the evening and tells me

of a sad accident at Salem last Friday. A youth, when fowling, saw one by a pond with black hair, and was thereat frightened, supposing the person to be an Indian, and so shot and killed him: came home flying with the fright for fear of more Indians. The next day found to be an Englishman shot dead. The Actour in prison.

Mr. Dwight tells that the Minister, Mr. Woodward, dyed ravingly distracted. *Dei Semitæ investigabit.*

Oct. 10. Last night, H. S. somewhat feverish, slept not so well as formerly, yet indifferently; cheerly notwithstanding, this day. Violent rain and cold. Oct. 11. Had a comfortable night, tho. rose once. Oct. 12. Had a comfortable night. Betty extream ill of the bloody Flux, which almost casts Mother down.

<sup>1</sup> Note, went not to Lecture Two Indians executed.

Oct. 13. Mother and wife had a good night. Betty indifferent. Mement. Made an Hen Coop. Mr. Clark came and stood by me. He, Capt. Henchman, C. Green, Mrs. Flint, Mrs. Plaisted, dined with me.

Gave Mrs. Williams Letter and my own to Mr. Broughton to be given Mr. Hill for conveyance.

Oct. 14. Last night very comfortable to wife and Mother. Oct. 15, a good night. This day we have intelligence that the Garrison at Blackpoint is surrendered to the Indians. Note, Capt. Scottow at home, here at Boston.

16. Good night. Mr. Brackenbury, the 17<sup>th</sup>. Best night that mother has yet had, slept without so much as dreaming. 18, 19, 20, all Good nights. Mother conversant in the Kitchen and our chamber. My Wife every day since the Sabbath goes to Mothers chamber without hurt. 21 Good night, all Hands. Cousin Reynor comes

<sup>1</sup> "Oct. 12 (Thurs.) turned to a fast, and two Indians executed.

— 30, 2, Anderson sets sail.

Nov. 4, 7, Mugge comes in.

Dec. 4, 2. Gillam sails." Almanacs. — Eds.

to Town: in the night passes to Braintree, because of 's wife there.

A Copy of the first Letter I ever wrote to my Cousin, Mr. Edward Hull:

MR. EDWARD H. AND LOVING COUSIN, Although I never saw you, yet your Name, Affinity to me, and what I have heard concerning you, make me desirous of your acquaintance and Correspondence. Your Remembrance to me in my Father's I take very kindly. And I, with your Cousin, my Wife, do by these, heartily re-salute you. My Wife hath been dangerously ill, yet is now finely recovered and getting strength. It hath been generally a sick summer with us. The Autumn promiseth better. As to our enemies, God hath, in a great measure, given us to see our desire on them. Most Ring leaders in the late Massacre have themselves had blood to drink, ending their lives by Bullets and Halters. Yet there is some trouble and bloodshed still in the more remote Eastern parts. What is past hath been so far from ushering in a Famine, that all sorts of Grain are very plenty and cheap. Sir, my Father in Law hath consigned to yourself two hh of Peltry, to be for his and my joint Account, as you will see by the Letter and Invoice. I shall not need to entreat your utmost care for the best Disposal of them according to what is prescribed you: which shall oblige the writer of these Lines, your loving friend and Kinsman,

SAMUEL SEWALL.

Boston, Oct. 23, 1676.

Now dies Capt. Tho. Russel, well the preceding Sabbath, and intended for England in Mr. Anderson. *Homo prop. Deus disp. Omnia.* Mother slept not so well as formerly, yet went to Church in the Afternoon.

Oct. 23. Went from Boston about five T. P.<sup>1</sup> to Milton, there accidentally meeting with Moses Collier, Mr. Senderlen and I went on to Hingham, to John Jacobs. Oct. 24, Tuesday, went from thence to Plymouth, about noon; refreshed there. Note, James Percival met us there, and so we went cheerfully together from thence about 2. T. P.; got to Sandwich about a quarter of an

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<sup>1</sup> This same contraction occurs below. We find, by the entry on p. 489, that it stands for *tempore post-meridiano*. — Eds.



hour by sun: lodged at Percivals with Mr. Senderlen. Oct. 25, Wednesday, Breakfasted at Stephen Skiphs. He, Percival and I rode out about 12 miles, within sight of Marthah's Vinyard, to look Horses: at last happily came on 11, whereof five my Fathers, viz, three chesnutt coloured Mares, and 2 Colts: put them in Mr. Bourns sheep-pen all night. Note. Supped at Mr. Smiths, good Supper. Oct. 26, Thursday, Took up the young four year old Mare, slit the two near ears of the Colts, their colour was a chesnutt Sorrel, whiteish Manes and Tails. The Bigger had all his Hoofs white: the Lesser all black. Both Stone-Colts. The Hair of the Tails cut square with a knife. After this Mr. Smith rode with me and shewed me the place which some had thought to cut, for to make a passage from the South Sea to the North: said 'twas about a mile and a half between the utmost flowing of the two Seas in Herring River and Scusset, the land very low and level, Herrin River exceeding Pleasant by reason that it runs pretty broad, shallow, of an equal depth, and upon white sand. Showed me also the 3 Hills on the which 4 towns kept Warders, before which was such an Isthmus of about 3 miles and barren plain, that scarce any thing might pass unseen. Monument Harbour said to be very good. Note. Had a very good Supper at Mr. Dexter's. Being in trouble how to bring along my Mare, in came one Downing and Benjamin his son, who, being asked, to my gladness promised Assistance. Oct. 27, Got very well to Plymouth, Tailing my Mare, and Ben strapping her on, though we were fain to come over the Clifts the upper way because of the flowing Tide. There saw Acorns upon bushes about a foot high, which they call running Oak; it is content with that Stature. From Plimouth Ben and 's father mounted a Trifle before me, I waved my Hat and Hankerchief to them, but they left me to toil with my tired jade: was fain at last to untail and so drive them before me, at last ride and lead the Mare with great diffi-



culty. When came to Jones his Bridge, (supposing the house had been just by) put the bridle on the Horses neck, drove him on the Bridge, holding the Halter in my Hand. When I came on the other side, could not catch my Horse, but tired myself leading my tired Mare sometimes on the left Hand into the Marsh, sometimes on the right Hand: at last left him, went to the Bridge to ensure myself of the path, so led her to Tracies about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. He not at Home, could scarce get them to entertain me, though 'twas night. At length his son John put up my Mare, then took up his own Horse, and so helped me to look for mine, but could not find him: after his Father and he went on foot, and met him almost at the House, Saddle Cover lost, which John found in the Morn. Oct. 28, Saturday, Goodman Tracy directed and set me in the way, so I went all alone to the end, almost, of rocky plain, then, by God's good providence, Mr. Senderlen overtook me, so we came along cheerfully together, called at my Aunt's [in Braintree], refreshed, left my tired jade there, set out to Boston ward about half an hour by Sun, and got well home before shutting in, Praised be God. Note. Seeing the wonderfull works of God in the journeye, I was thereby more perswaded of his justice, and inability to do any wrong: put in mind likewise of Mr. Thachers Sermon, Oct. 22.

The Humble Springs of stately Sandwich Beach  
 To all Inferiours may observance teach,  
 They (without Complement) do all concur,  
 Praying the Sea, Accept our Duty, Sir,  
 He mild severe, I've (now) no need: and when —  
 As you are come: go back and come agen.

Novem. 6. Very Cold blustering wether. Note, I and John went on board. of Mr. Downe, to see Father's Horse and my Mare Shipped. 7, clear wether. Wednesday, cloudy. In the night great deal of rain fell. Thurs. Thanksgiving day, cloudy, soultry, wind, S. E. Friday,

Nov. 10 clears up, westerly, wind roars. Mr. Downe sets sail.

Nov. 11. Brave, mild, clear whether, and fresh Gale of Wind.

Novem. 27, 1676, about 5 M. Boston's greatest Fire<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was the second great fire in Boston, the first being in 1653. HUBBARD, in his "Narrative of the Troubles," &c., p. 115, writes: "After all the forementioned Calamities and Troubles, it pleased God to alarm the Town of *Boston*, and in them the whole Country, by a sad Fire, accidentally Kindled by the Carelessness of an Apprentice that sat up too late over Night, as was conceived; which began an Hour before Day, continuing three or four, in which Time it burned down to the Ground forty six Dwelling Houses, besides other Buildings, together with a Meeting-house of considerable bigness: some Mercy was observed mixt with the Judgment: for if a great Rain had not continued all the Time, (the Roofs and Walls of their ordinary Buildings consisting of such combustibile Matter) that whole end of the Town had at that Time been consumed."

HUTCHINSON (Hist. I. 349) copies from an interleaved almanack, the following account:—

"Nov. 27, 1676. A fire broke out in Boston, about 5 in the morning, at one Wakefield's house, by the Red Lion, by a candle carelessly set, which so prevailed, that it burnt down about 45 dwelling-houses, the north meeting-house, and several warehouses; the wind was at south-east when it began and blew hard; soon after it veered south, and brought so much rain as much prevented further mischief, without which, all that end of the town had probably been laid in ashes, and Charlestown also endangered, by the flakes of fire which were carried over the river."

The church thus burned was that of Rev. Increase Mather, of whom the following story is told by his son in his "Remarkables," pp. 78, 79:—

"In the Year, 1676, he had a strange Impression on his mind that caused him, on *Nov* 19, to Preach a Sermon on those Words, Zeph., iii. 7— . . . and Conclude the Sermon with a Strange Prediction, That a Fire was a coming, which would make a Deplorable Desolation. . . . At the same time, he Earnestly urged upon his Consort, a Speedy Change of Habitation; which could not be Accomplished. On the next Lords-Day, he preached, Not aware of its being so, a Farewel-sermon, on those Words, Rev. iii. 3."

"The very Night following, a Desolating Fire broke forth in his Neighborhood. The House in which he with his Flock, had Praised God, was Burnt with the Fire. Whole Streets were Consumed in the Devouring Flames, and laid in Ashes. His own House also took a part in the Ruines: But by the Gracious Providence of God, he lost little of his Beloved Library: Not an Hundred Books from above a Thousand: Of these also he had an immediate Recruit, by a Generous Offer which the Honourable Mrs. Bridget Hoar made him, to take what he Pleased from the Library of her Deceased Husband. In less than Two Years also, he became Owner of a Better

brake forth at Mr. Moors, through the default of a Taylor Boy, who rising alone and early to work, fell asleep and let his Light fire the House, which gave fire to the next, so that about fifty Landlords were despoiled of their Housing. N. B. The House of the Man of God, Mr. Mather, and Gods House were burnt with fire. Yet God mingled mercy, and sent a considerable rain, which gave check in great measure to the (otherwise) masterless flames: lasted all the time of the fire, though fair before and after. Mr. Mather saved his Books and other Goods. Dec. 12, Mr. Ben. Davis came from on Board Boon at Marthah's Vinyard to Boston on foot. Dec. 13, Cousin Savage, my wife and self, visited Mr. Hezekiah Usher and his wife (Note, that she spake for Jane) where saw Mr. Davis. This day at even went to a private meeting held at Mr. Nath. Williams's. Emaus Smith spake well to Script. Philip 2. 3. latter part. Smith spake more to my satisfaction than before. Note, The first Conference meeting that ever I was at, was at our House, Aug. 30, '76 at which Anna Quinsey was standing against the Closet door next the Entry. Mr. Smith spake to Ps. 119. 9. The next was Oct. 18, at Mrs. Olivers: Capt. Henchman spake well to Heb. 6. 18.

The Wednesday following I was at Sandwich.

The 3<sup>d</sup> at Mr. Hill's. Goodm. Needam and my Father spake to Heb. 3. 12. Nov. 1.

The 4<sup>th</sup>, Nov. 15, at Mr. Wings where Mr. Willard spake well to that proper place, Malach, 3, 16.

The 5<sup>th</sup>, at Mrs. Tappins, where Mr. Sanford and Mr. Noyes spake to 1 Peter, 5. 7. Nov. 22. Mr. Fox prayed after. 6<sup>th</sup>, Nov. 29, at Mrs. Aldens, where Mr. Williams and Wing spake to Heb. 5. 7. Dec. 6. no meeting because

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House: and though his Flock was now Scattered, for several months, God made it an opportunity for him to Preach every Lords-Day in the other Churches, and Entertain successively the whole City with his Enlightening and Awakening Ministry." — Eds.



of the ensuing Fast. The 7<sup>th</sup>. at Mr. Williams's mentioned first.

Dec. 14, 1676, Seth Shove was brought to our House to dwell, i. e. Father Hull's. N. B. In the evening, seeing a shagged dogg in the Kitchin, I spake to John Alcock, *I am afraid we shall be troubled with the ugly dogg*: whereupon John asked which way he went. I said out at the Street door. He presently went that way, and meeting Seth (who went out a little before) took him for the dogg, and smote him so hard upon the bare head with a pipe staff, or something like it, that it grieved me that he had strook the dogg so hard. There arose a considerable wheal in the childs head, but it seems the weapon smote him plain, for the Rising was almost from the forehead to the Crown, grew well quickly, wearing a Cap that night. 'Twas God's mercy the stick and manner of the blow was not such as to have spilled his Brains on the Ground. The Devil, (I think) seemed to be angry at the childs coming to dwell here. Written, Dec. 18, '76.

Dec. 18, Mr. Rowlandson and Mr. Willard came and visited my Father. While they were here, Mr. Shepard also came in and discoursed of Reformation, especially the disorderly Meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists: thought if all did agree, i. e. Magistrates and Ministers, the former might easily be suprest, and that then, The Magistrates would see reason to Handle the latter. As to what it might injure the country in respect of England, trust God with it. Wished, (speaking of Mr. Dean's) that all the children in the country were baptised, that religion without it come to nothing. Before Mr. Shepards coming in, one might gather by Mr. Willards speech that there was some Animosity in him toward Mr. Mather: for that he said he chose the Afternoon that so he might have a copious auditory: and that when the Town House was offered him to preach to his Church distinct, said he would not preach in a corner.



Dec. 20, Went to the Meeting at Capt. Scottows, where Edward Allin and John Hayward spoke to Prov. 3. 11. How get such a Frame as neither to Faint nor Despise. (8) meeting. Mrs. Usher lyes very sick of an Inflammation in the Throat, which began on Monday. Called at her House coming home, to tell Mr. Fosterling's Receipt, i. e., A Swallows Nest (the inside) stamped and applied to the throat outwardly.

*Væ malum.* Dec. 21, being Thursday, Worthy Mr. Reyner<sup>1</sup> fell asleep: was taken with a violent vomiting the Friday before, Lightheaded by Saturday, Lay speechless 24 hours, and then died on Thursday even. We heard not that he was sick till Friday about 9 at night: on the Sabbath morn. comes William Furbur and brings the newes of Death. After last Exercise Father dispatches Tim to Braintry. Monday morn. Uncle and Tim come back. Uncle concludes from the Winter, his own infirmity and my Cousins indisposedness, to dispatch away Wm. Furbur with Letters onely. O how earnestly did I expect his coming hether, and say with myself, what makes him stay so long? I might have seen him as I went to Sandwich, but God had appointed I should see him no more. The Lord that lives forever, grant us a comfortable joyous meeting at Christ's appearance. Note. None of us saw Mr. Reyner Oct. 21, for he posted to Braintrey in the night, and he went back when I was at Sandwich.

I suppose the last time that I saw and discoursed him was — [blank]. He was here with Mr. Broughton earnestly urging to make sure Lands of Mr. Broughton at Dover to my Father, and so take him Paymaster for the Añuity laid on it. Mr. Broughton withstood, and Mr. Reyner feared it was because he would not let it go out of his hands, though he pretended other things and seemed to reflect on Mr. Reyner. Note. Mr. Reyner and I dis-

<sup>1</sup> This was Rev. John Reyner, Jr., of Dover, who married Judith Quincy, own cousin to Sewall's wife. — Eds.

coursed of it in the orchard, and he professed his integrity in it, and that he thought Father would never have it sure, if not that way. Advised me not to keep over much within, but goe among men, and that thereby I should advantage myself.

<sup>1</sup> Decem. 27. Ninth Meeting that I have been at. Which was at Edward Allin's. Script. Jer. 10. 24. N. B. Mr. Moody got me to supply his room: Capt. Scottow concluded.

Dec. 28. Mr. Willard preaches. N. B. I got but just to hear the text. This day pleasant and smiling were it not the day of Mr. Reyner's Funeral.

Dec. 30, Saturday. Capt. Henchman and I witnessed Mr. Dudleyes Cōmission for collecting the Customs.

January 3, 1674. Mr. Nath. Oliver and Elizabetha Brattle, a Simon Bradstreet, *equit. connubio junguntur*. Note. This day we have intelligence of Boon's being at Road Iland.

Jan. 6. Note. Mr. Dean came hether this morning, and spent a considerable time in discoursing my Father. Advised me to Acquaint myself with Merchants, and Invited me (courteously) to their Caballs. A great deal of rain last night and former part of this day.

Jan. 8. Bro. Stephen came to see us in the even: I walked out after Sūper and discoursed with him.

Jan. 9. Tuesday, at noon stepped out and visited Mr. Nath. and Eliza. Oliver. Snowy day.

Jan. 10. Cloudy, Cold, noren wind. Note, went on foot to Mr. Flints at Dorchester, there to be in the company of Ministers: but none came save Mr. Torry. Mr. Fisk was gone to his sick Father: Mr. Hubbard and Adams hindred (as conjectured) by the wether. So that there was Mr. Flint, Mr. Torry, Elder Humphreys, John Hoar, Mrs. Stoughton, Mrs. Flint, Senior, Junior, Mrs. Pool and

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<sup>1</sup> "Dec. 24. 1. Wm. Furbur. 25. Visi Sim. Gates." Almanacs.—Eds.

her daughter Bethesda,<sup>1</sup> with a Nurse named Clap. Notwithstanding the fewness of persons, the day (thro. Gods grace) was spent to good purpose. Mr. Flint prayed, then preached singularly well from that place, Cant. 1. 6. But my own Vineyard have I not kept; which he handled well, Pressing every particular person to look to their own Souls. Elder H. prayed. After some pause (because the day much spent and I to goe home) Mr. Torrey prayed onely: which he did divinely, that we might not think strange of fiery Tryal, might be sure not to deceive ourselves as to our union with Christ. Indeed, the exercise was such, preaching and praying, as if God did intend it for me. I prayed earnestly before I went that God would shew me favour at the meeting, and I hope he will set home those things that were by him Carved for me. Mr. Flint sent his Man after the Exercise, so when I had well supped, comfortably rode home. Chief design (it seems) in Meeting to pray for Mr. Stoughton.

<sup>2</sup> Jan. 17. Wrote a letter to my Uncle St. Duñer, to desire him to pay Mr. Papil. Bill, and at present (at least) take care of my Fathers Lands, espec. Lee, writing down all his Receipts and payments, &c. Sent it in Father H's Packet to Cousin Hull.

Jan. 17. Went to the Meeting at Mrs. Macharta's, which is the 10<sup>th</sup> I have been at. The Script. spoken to was Hoseah 6. 3. Then shall we have knowledge and endeavour ourselves to know the Lord (as in the Translation I have by me). Capt. Henchman handled it.

Jan. 19. Father and self went to visit Mr. Sanford, who was very short-winded. He said he had been a careless Xn. And when I mentioned Mr. Dod's words, he said

<sup>1</sup> The combination of Bethesda and Pool has had similar examples. Buenos Ayres lived in Brookfield a century ago, and Virgil Delphini Parris was a member of the Legislature of Maine. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> "Jany. 13. 7. Mr. Alford buried.

17. 4. Thanksgiving at Cambridge." Almanacs. — Eds.



that was his very case, *viz*: he feared all he had done for God was out of hypocrisy. If so gracious and sober a man say so, what condition may it be expected many will be in on a Death-bed.

Monday, 2 of the Clock, P. M. Jan, 22. 167 $\frac{6}{7}$ . went to Mr. Thacher's, and spake to him about joyning to his Church.

Wednesday, Jan. 24. Went to the 11<sup>th</sup> Meeting at Mr. Haywards, in the Chamber over Mr. Brattles Room, where G. James Hill and Joseph Davis spake to Job, 22. 21. Acquaint thyself with him, &c. Note. Mr. Brattle and his Son-in-Law Mr. Oliver were there. See the Copy of the Letter wherein the Houses of some were threatened to be burnt. Jan. 23. 7 $\frac{6}{7}$ .

Thursday, Jan. 25, Mr. Numan was here, to whome and to Mr. Serjeant (who staid here near an hour) I showed the Copy of the Letter cast into the Governours the Tuesday before.

Jan. 26. Went to Charlestown Lecture, was  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour too soon, so went in to Sir Allin, whether came also the Governour, his Lady, Mr. Mrs. Dudley, Mr. Hubbard, &c.

Jan. 30. Sent a letter to Cousin Quinsey, which enclosed a piece of Gold that cost me 23<sup>s</sup>. Gave the Letter to Mr. Josson. In it ordered to buy 2 pair of Silk Stockings, pink colored, black, 1 pair Tabby Bodyes, cloath-coloured,  $\frac{1}{2}$  wide and long wastied: also Turkish Alcoran, 2<sup>d</sup> Hand, Map of London. Sent him a copy of verses made on Mr. Reynor. Jan. *ult.*, sent a letter to Mr. Thacher, by the Bagg, in which Salutations, and some newes. Wednesday, 31 Brother John Sewall brought down Sister Jane to live with Mrs. Usher, but the next morn I went to her and she gave me to understand that she thought Jane would not come, and so had supplied herself. Father Hull kindly invited her to stay here till she should change her condition if she so liked. Note. Just now wanted a Maid very much,



courted Goodwife Fellows Daughter: she could not come till spring: hard to find a good one. So that Jane came in a critical time.

Feb. 2. Brother journeys homeward. Had him in to Dr. Brakenburyes as he went along, who judgeth he may cure him.

Feb. 8. John Holyday stands in the Pillory for Counterfieting a Lease, making false Bargains, &c. This morn. I visited Mr. Sanford, who desired me to remember his Christian (he hoped) Love to my Father Sewall, and mind him of Discourse had between them at Belchers, Cambridge, which he professed pleased him as much or more than any he had heard from any person before.

Feb. 10. Mr. Sanford dyes about 9 in the morning. Buried Sabbath day after Sun-set.

Feb. 7. Went to the 12<sup>th</sup> meeting at Mr. Morse his House, where Mr. Gershom Hobart spake well to James 1. 19. Feb. 14, 13<sup>th</sup> Meeting at Goodman Davis's, where G. Tappin and Cousin Savage spake to 1 Peter 1. 6. By which words I seriously considered that no godly man hath any more afflictions than what he hath need of: *qua meditatione mihi quidem die sequente usus fuit: nam socer (jam pene fervidus propter avenas sibi inconsulto oblatus) de stipite æquo grandiore quem in ignem intempestive (ut aiebat) conjeci mihi iratus fuit, et si ita insipiens forem dixit se mihi fidem non habiturum, et ventosam mentem meam fore causativam. Deus det me sibi soli confidere, et creato nulli. Psal 37. 3. 4. 5, principium hujus psal. canebam conscius, quem propter ea quæ dicta sunt mæstus petivi.* [See translation in Hull's Diary, p. 253.]

In the thorsday even Mr. Smith of Hingham speaks to me to solicit that his Son, and my former Bedfellow, Henry Smith, might obtain Mr. Sanfords House and authority therein to teach School. Sister Jane brought us in Beer. Friday morn Feb. 16, I go to Mrs. Sanford and (by her hint) to Mr. Frary, one of the overseers, who

gave me some encouragement, and said that within a day or two, I should have an Answer.

Wrote a Letter to Mr. Smith that Frary had given an encouraging answer, and that I thought no Delay was to be made least the Scholars should be lodged elsewhere. Feb. 18. The seats full of Scholars brought in by a Stranger who took Mr. Sanfords place: this I knew not of before.

Friday, Feb. 16. Brewed my Wives Groaning Beer.

Feb. 21. Went to the 13<sup>th</sup> Meeting at Cousin Savage's; where my Father-in-Law and Goodman Needham spake to Psal. 6. 1.

Feb. 23, 167 $\frac{6}{7}$ . Mr. Torrey spake with my Father at Mrs. Norton's, told him that he would fain have me preach, and not leave off my studies to follow Merchandize. Note. The evening before, Feb. 22, I resolved (if I could get an opportunity) to speak with Mr. Torrey, and ask his Counsel as to coming into Church, about my estate, and the temptations that made me to fear. But he went home when I was at the Warehouse about Wood that Tho. Elkins brought.

Satterday, Mar. 3, 167 $\frac{6}{7}$  went to Mr. Norton to discourse with him about coming into the Church. He told me that he waited to see whether his faith were of the operation of God's spirit, and yet often said that he had very good hope of his good Estate, and that one might be of the Church (i. e. Mystical) though not joined to a particular Congregation. I objected that of Ames, he said *vere quarentibus*, the meaning was that such sought not God's kingdom in every thing. I said it was meant of not at all. He said, was unsettled, had thoughts of going out of the country: that in coming into Church there was a covenanting to watch over one another which carried with it a strict obligation. And at last, that he was for that way which was purely Independent. I urged what that was. He said that all of the Church were a royal Priest-

hood, all of them Prophets, and taught of God's Spirit, and that a few words from the heart were worth a great deal: intimating the Benefit of Brethrens prophesying: for this he cited Mr. Dell. I could not get any more. Dr. Mason (whom I have often seen with him) came in, after him Mr. Alden, so our Discourse was broken off. March 6.

March 6, O great Menasseh, were it not for thee,  
In hopes of Pardon, I could hardly be.<sup>1</sup>

March 7. A pretty deal of Thunder this day. Went to the 14<sup>th</sup> Meeting at B. Needham's, where Mr. Noyes and Mr. Alden spake to 1 Sam. 15. 22. To obey better than Sacrifice, &c.

March 9, 167 $\frac{6}{7}$ , Cold and Clear. N. B. The corner House in the Street called Conney's,<sup>2</sup> next the Harbour, toward the North end of the Town, was set on fire about four in the Morn, as is rationally conjectured: for the middle of the roof onely was fired, and upon a Roof of a Leanto that came under that there were several drops of Tallow. It was discovered by an ancient Woman rising early, and so prevented, praised be God.

March 11. Thanks were returned by the Selectmen in behalf of the Town, for its preservation.

March 12. Went to the first Town Meeting that ever I was at in Boston. Capt. Brattle, Capt. Oliver, Mr. Joyliff, Mr. Lake, Mr. Turell, Mr. Allen, Deacon, Mr. Eliot,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xli. 51. An application to God of the epithet, The Great Forgetter of Sins. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> Coney's street or lane seems to have been overlooked in 1708, when the Selectmen passed their order establishing the names, as printed in the "Historical Magazine" for September, 1868. From deeds on record (Suff. Reg. xxiii. 93), it seems that Coney's lane was known in 1704, when the heirs of John Mellows sold their father's estate there. It seems as if this land was on the north side of Sudbury street, on the curve from Hanover street to Portland street. If so, Coney's lane *may* have been the name of part of Sudbury street; or it may have been some lane, now obliterated, leading across or through that land above described. Sudbury *end* is on our Town Records in 1636, and Sudbury street in the Book of Possessions, dated c. 1643-1650. — EDS.



Deacon: the last pleaded hard, but could not get off. Severall Constables, Fin'd, as Mr. Hez. Usher, Mr. Jonath. Corwin [for not being willing to serve].

March 13. Capt. Lake, the Remainder of his Corps, was honourably buried: Captains and Commissioners carried: no Magistrate save Major Clark there, because of the Court. I was not present because it was Tuesday.<sup>1</sup>

March 14. Visited Mr. Willard, and so forgot to goe to the Meeting at Mr. Smith's.

March 15. *Mane, oravit Socer (indefinitè) ne simus oneri tentationi crucis locis quibus posuit nos providentia.*

March 16. Dr. Alcock dyes about midnight. Note, Mrs. Williams told us presently after Dutyes how dangerously ill he was, and to get John to go for his Grandmother. I was glad of that Information, and resolved to goe and pray earnestly for him; but going into the Kitchin, fell into discourse with Tim about Mettals, and so took up the time. The Lord forgive me and help me not to be so slack for time to come, and so easy to disregard and let dye so good a Resolution. Dr. Alcock was 39 years old.

March 19, 167<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub> Dr. Alcock was buried, at whoes Funeral I was. After it, went to Mr. Thachers. He not within, so walkt with Capt. Scottow on the Change till about 5, then went again, yet he not come. At last came Elder Rainsford, after, Mr. Thacher, who took us up into his Chamber; went to prayer, then told me I had liberty to tell what God had done for my soul. After I had spoken, prayed again. Before I came away told him

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Lake was, with several others, surprised and killed by the Indians, on Aug. 14, near a fort on Arowsick Island, Maine, during the continuance of the war at the eastward. He had escaped to another island, and his fate was not known, nor his mangled body recovered, till many months afterwards. His monument may be seen on Copp's Hill, where he was interred, though it is not decorated with the coat of arms shown in Bridgman's Inscriptions. — EDS.



my Temptations to him alone, and bad him acquaint me if he knew any thing by me that might hinder justly my coming into Church. He said he thought I ought to be encouraged, and that my stirring up to it was of God.

March 21, 1677. Father and self rode to Dorchester to the Fast, which is the first time that ever I was in that Meeting-House. So was absent from the private Meetings.

March 22. 23. Plenty of Rain after a great deal of dry and pleasant wether. In the afternoon of the 23<sup>d</sup>, Seth and I gather what herbs we could get, as Yarrow, Garglio, &c.

March 26, 1677. Mr. Philips arrives from Scotland, brings the Newes of the Messengers Arrival about the beginning of December. They send Letters of the latter end of January. Brought likewise the lamentable newes of Mr. Samuel Danforth's Death, of the Small Pox.

March 30, 1677. I, together with Gilbert Cole, was admitted into Mr. Thacher's Church, making a Sole<sup>m</sup> covenant to take the L. Jehovah for our God, and to walk in Brotherly Love and watchfulness to Edification. Goodm. Cole first spake, then I, then the Relations of the Women were read: as we spake so were we admitted; then alltogether covenanted. Prayed before, and after.

Mar. 31. Old Mr. Oakes came hether, so I wrote a Letter to his Son, after this tenour:

SIR, I have been, and am, under great exercise of mind with regard to my Spiritual Estate. Wherefore I do earnestly desire that you would bear me on your heart tomorrow in Prayer, that God would give me a true Godly Sorrow for Sin, as such: Love to himself and Christ, that I may admire his goodness, grace, kindness in that way of saving man, which I greatly want. I think I shall sit down tomorrow to the Lords Table, and I fear I shall be an unworthy partaker. Those words, *If your own hearts condemn you, God is greater, and knoweth all things*, have often affrighted me.

SAMUEL SEWALL.

April 1, 1677. About Two of the Clock at night I waked and perceived my wife ill: asked her to call Mother. She said I should goe to prayer, then she would tell me. Then I rose, lighted a Candle at Father's fire, that had been raked up from Saturday night, kindled a Fire in the chamber, and after 5 when our folks up, went and gave Mother warning. She came and bad me call the Midwife, Goodwife Weeden, which I did. But my Wives pains went away in a great measure after she was up; toward night came on again, and about a quarter of an hour after ten at night, April 2, Father and I sitting in the great Hall, heard the child cry, whereas we were afraid 'twould have been 12 before she would have been brought to Bed. Went home with the Midwife about 2 o'clock, carrying her Stool, whoes parts were included in a Bagg. Met with the Watch at Mr. Rocks Brew house, who bad us stand, enquired what we were. I told the Woman's occupation, so they bad God bless our labours, and let us pass. The first Woman the Child sucked was Bridget Davenport.

April 3. Cousin Flint came to us. She said we ought to lay scarlet on the Child's head for that it had received some harm. Nurse Hurd watches. April 4. Clear cold weather. Goodwife Ellis watches. April 7, Saturday, first laboured to cause the child suck his mother, which he scarce did at all. In the afternoon my Wife set up, and he sucked the right Breast bravely, . . . .

April 8, 1677. Sabbath day, rainy and stormy in the morning, but in the afternoon fair and sunshine, though a blustering Wind. So Eliz. Weeden, the Midwife, brought the Infant to the third Church when Sermon was about half done in the afternoon, Mr. Thacher preaching. After Sermon and Prayer, Mr. Thacher prayed for Capt. Scot-tow's Cousin and it. Then I named him John, and Mr. Thacher baptized him into the name of the Father, Son, and H. Ghost. The Lord give the Father and Son may

be convinced of and washed from Sin in the blood of Christ.

April 9, morn. hot and gloomy with scattered Clouds: about 11 o'clk there fell a considerable Storm of Hail, after that it thundered a pretty while. The Child . . .

April 4<sup>th</sup> was at the 15<sup>th</sup> Meeting, kept at our house in the little Hall, because of my wives weakness. Mr. Scottow spoke to Is. 27. 9. *prin.*

April 11 Stormy, blustering fore part, left raining a little before night. Went to the 16<sup>th</sup> Meeting at B. Easts, where Br. Edward Allen and John Hayward spake to John 6. 57, which was very Suitable for me, and I hope God did me some good at that meeting as to my Love to Christ. We heard after of the Slaughter of some persons at York by the Indians, among whom was Isaac Smith, who went thether about boards. This is Isaac Smith of Winnesimēt.

April 9, 1677. Seth Shove began to goe to School to Mr. Smith. April 18. My Father-in-Law and I went on foot to Dorchester, so were not at the Meeting. 'Twas a cold blustering day, as the last of March, and almost all this month has been very cold. Mr. Adams at Supper told of his wife being brought to bed of a Son about three weeks before, whom he named Eliphelet.

April 25. even. Mr. Gershom and Nehemiah Hobart gave me a visit.

April 27, Friday. Hannah Henschman and Susannah Everenden with two Eastern women taken into Church. Warm fair wether these two dayes. April 28. Considerable Claps of Thunder.

April 28, 1677. Mr. Moody was here, he told me that Mr. Parker dyed last Tuesday, and was buried on Thursday. Mr. Hubbard preached his funeral Sermon. The Lord give me grace to follow my dear Master as he followed Christ, that I may at last get to heaven whether he has already gone.



April 30. Went to Mr. Oakes, carried him 50<sup>s</sup>, discoursed largely with him concerning my temptations: he exhorted me to study the Doctrine of Xt. well, to read Dr. Goodwin. Spake to him of the Doctor's death: he told me that he died of a Cough and Cold which he caught standing in the cold after being hot in going from the Ferry. Told me 'twas not safe to conceive a resemblance of Xt. in ones mind any more than to picture him. Read to me occasionally part of his Sermon yesterday, wherein he amply proved the confirmation and gathering together in a head the elect Angels in Xt. Heb. 12. 22, 33: *cum multis aliis.*

Note. [May Training No date] I went out this morning without private prayer and riding on the Co<sup>m</sup>on, thinking to escape the Souldiers (because of my fearfull Horse); notwithstanding there was a Company at a great distance which my Horse was so transported at that I could no way govern him, but was fain to let him go full speed, and hold my Hat under my Arm. The wind was Norwest, so that I suppose I took great cold in my ear thereby, and also by wearing a great thick Coat of my Fathers part of the day, because it rained, and then leaving it off. However it was, I felt my throat ill, the danger of which I thought had been now over with the winter, and so neglected it too much, relapsed, and grew very sick of it from Friday to Monday following, which was the worst day: after that it mended. Mr. Mather visited me and prayed on that day.

May 5, Saturday: Mr. Gillam arrived from the Streights. May 9, Mr. Tanner arrived from London, wherein came Mr. Thacher who brought news of the death of Mr. George Alcock, he dyed of the Pocks: also Mr. Thacher and his Sister Davenport were here.

May 15. Mr. Anderson's Vessel Arrived; as for himself, he dyed yesterday about 4 of the clock. *T. pomer.* [*i.e., tempore post meridiano.*]



May 16, went to the 17<sup>th</sup> Meeting at B. Hills, where B. Tapin and Cousin Savage spake to Heb. 10. 24.

May 30, went to the 18<sup>th</sup> Meeting at Mr. Wings, where Mr. Thacher spake to the 4 last verses of 92 Psal.

June 4. Went to Plimouth. June 6. Returned.

June 13.<sup>1</sup> Went to the 19<sup>th</sup> Meeting at B. Williams, where G. Needham and my Father spake to Ps. 119. 11.

June 17. Sabbath day about 7 m, John Sewall had a Convulsion Fit. He was asleep in the Cradle, and suddenly started, trembled, his fingers contracted, his eyes starting and being distorted. I went to Mr. Brackenbury, and thence to Charlestown, and set him to the child.

June the nineteenth he had another about noon.

June 21, 1677. Just at the end of the Sermon (it made Mr. Allen break off the more abruptly) one Torrey, of Roxbury, gave a suddain and amazing cry which disturbed the whole Assembly. It seems he had the falling sickness. Tis to be feared the Quaker disturbance and this are ominous.

July 8, 1677. New Meeting House [the third, or South] *Mane*: In Sermon time there came in a female Quaker, in a Canvas Frock, her hair disshevelled and loose like a Periwigg, her face as black as ink, led by two other Quakers, and two other followed. It occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw. Isaiah I. 12, 14.

Wednesday May 19, 1675. [so dated] that place of the 1 Sam. 15. 26. came to my mind (as I came down from my Brother,) which gave me great comfort, especially for that presently after reading Mr. Caryl on course, I found it there parenthetically paraphrased. Thursday, May 20. relieved by reading what he saith on the same verse, about limiting God in works of Spiritual Mercy, p. 257.

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<sup>1</sup> "1677. April 24, 3. Dear Mr Parker dyed; 26th, buried  
 May 5, 7. Gillam *appulit*. 9th, 4. Tanner *appulit* [arrived].  
 15, 3. Robert Anderson *appulit*  
 June 12, 3. Goodm. Adams. 15, 6, Gerrish. 14 to 23, Extreme hot weather, person much adoe to live."  
 Almanacs. — Eds.

Note: Wednesday Decemb. 29. '75 Mr. Reyner came hether in the even. Lodged with me. Upon enquiry he told me that one might not resolve to forsake such and such sins by reason of a jealousy that one should fall into the same again. He himself had experienced this, feared that he was not willing, because not resolved, till he saw it was through a foresight of the effects of his corrupt nature and infirmity.

May 23, 1676. Fast at Mr. Gibbs for Mr. Thacher. 24, he grows better, having taken reasonable [medicine for] health. N. B. Being distressed with melancholy and troubled concerning my State — I was relieved by Mr. Willards Sermon, especially at two places quoted, Ps. 16. ULT quoted for the latter part, which I (having a Bible) turned to and saw the beginning: I will shew thee the path of life. Jude 5. 24. Comfort against falling away.

Oct. 22. Musing at Noon and troubled at my untowardness in worship, God, he help me to pray, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly to put me into a better frame, taking possession of me. Troubled that I could love Xt. no more, it came into my mind that Xt. had exhibited himself to be seen in the Sacrament, the Lords Supper, and I conceived that my want of Love was, that I could see Xt. no more clearly. *Vid.* Mr. Thacher Dec. 10. 2<sup>d</sup> Answer to the objection under the 2<sup>d</sup> Reason. *Vid.* Mr. Shepard, Dec. 15. Use 3. *Vid.* Mr. Thacher, Dec<sup>r</sup> 17. Direction 9. which I am sure was spoken to me. The Lord set it home efficaciously by his Spirit, that I may have the perfect Love which casts out fear.

Jan. 13, 167 $\frac{6}{7}$ . Giving my chickens meat, it came to my mind that I gave them nothing save Indian corn and water, and yet they eat it and thrived very well, and that that food was necessary for them, how mean soever, which much affected me and convinced what need I stood in of spiritual food, and that I should not nauseat daily duties of Prayer, &c.

Jan. 22. Went to Mr. Thachers, found him at home, mentioned my desire of communion with his Church, rehearsed to him some of my discouragements, as, continuance in Sin, wandering in prayer. He said 'twas thought that was the Sin Paul speaks of, Rom. VII. At my coming away said he thought I ought to be encouraged.

Feb. 15. Having been often in my mind discouraged from joining to the Church by reason of the weakness, or some such undesirableness in many of its members: I was much relieved by the consideration of 1 Cor. 1. 26, 27. which came to my mind as I was at prayer. What is spoken there was set home on me, to take away my pride and be content with God's wisdom: thought it might seem to uncovenanted reason foolishness.

Having often been apt to break out against God himself as if he had made me a person that might be a fit subject of calamity, and that he led me into difficulties and perplexing miseries; I had my spirit calmed by considering what an absurd thing it was to say to God — "Why hast thou made me thus?," and startled at the daring height of such wickedness. These thoughts had reference to Isaiah XLV. 9, 10. This was at prayer time, Feb. 19. *Mane*. Death never looked so pleasingly on me as Feb. 18 upon the hearing of Mr. Thachers 3 Arguments. Methought it was rather a privilege to dye, and therein be conformed to Christ, than, remaining alive at his coming, to be changed.

Mar. 1. Was somewhat relieved by what John read occasionally out of Antipologia,<sup>1</sup> concerning the unwarrantable excuse that some make for not coming to the Sacrament: viz. unworthiness.

Mar. 15, even. Was help affectionately to argue in

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<sup>1</sup> In 1643, the Independents published an "Apologetical Narration." It was answered by Mr. Edwards (author of the "Gangræna"), minister of Christ Church, London, in an "Antapologia." Neal, Hist. Pur., Part III. Ch. 4. — Eds.



prayer the promise of being heard because asking in Christ's name.

March 19, 1673. Accidentally going to look about the woman of Cana, Mr. Chauncey's Sermons on her, I at first dash turned to that Sermon of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 14 March.

March 21. *Mane*. God help me affectionately to pray for a communication of his Spirit in attending on him at Dorchester, and the night before I read the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of Nehemiah, out of which Mr. Mather happened to take his Text, which he handled to good purpose, and more taking it was with me because I had perused those chapters for my fitting to attend on that exercise. Mr. Flint prayed admirably in the morn, & pressed much our inability to keep Covenant with God, and therefore begged God's Spirit. Mr. Thacher began the afternoon: then Mr. Flint preached and so concluded.

March 1673. Note. I have been of a long time loth to enter into strict Bonds with God, the sinfulness and hypocrisy of which God hath showed me by reading of a Sermon that Mr. Burgess preached before the House of Comons, Nov. 17, 1640, and by the forementioned Sermons and prayers. *Omnia in bonum mihi vertas, O Deus*. I found the Sermon accidentally in Mr. Norton's Study.

Remember, since I had thoughts of joining to the Church, I have been exceedingly tormented in my mind, sometimes lest the Third church [the South] should not be in God's way in breaking off from the old. (I resolved to speak with Mr. Torrey about that, but he passed home when I was called to buisness at the Warehouse. Another time I got Mr. Japheth Hobart to promise me a Meeting at our House after Lecture, — but she that is now his wife, being in town, prevented him.) Sometimes with my own unfitness and want of Grace: yet through importunity of friends, and hope that God might communicate himself to



me in the ordinance, and because of my child (then hoped for) its being baptised, I offered myself, and was not refused. Besides what I had written, when I was speaking [at his admission to the Church] I resolved to confess what a great Siñer I had been, but going on in the method of the Paper, it came not to my mind. And now that Scruple of the Church vanished, and I began to be more afraid of myself. And on Saturday Goodman Walker<sup>1</sup> came in, who used to be very familiar with me. But he said nothing of my coming into the Church, nor wished God to show me grace therein, at which I was almost overwhelmed, as thinking that he deemed me unfit for it. And I could hardly sit down to the Lord's Table. But I feared that if I went away I might be less fit next time, and thought that it would be strange for me who was just then joined to the Church, to withdraw, wherefore I stayed. But I never experienced more unbelief. I feared at least that I did not believe there was such an one as Jesus Xt., and yet was afraid that because I came to the ordinance without belief, that for the abuse of Xt. I should be stricken dead; yet I had some earnest desires that Xt. would, before the ordinance were done, though it were when he was just going away, give me some glimpse of himself; but I perceived none. Yet I seemed then to desire the coming of the next Sacrament day, that I might do better, and was stirred up hereby dreadfully to seek God who many times before had touched my heart by Mr. Thacher's praying and preaching more than now. The Lord pardon my former grieving of his Spirit, and circumsise my heart to love him with all my heart and soul.

[Here closes Volume I. of the Journal.]

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<sup>1</sup> This was probably Robert Walker, of Boston, whose affidavit, taken in 1679 (printed in N. E. Hist.-Gen. Register, VII. 46), states that he knew Henry Sewall in Manchester, England, and that his only son was Henry S., of Newbury (father of Samuel). — Eds.

[It will be noted that the last few pages contain items not in regular course. It has seemed best to add in this place all the entries in the interleaved Almanacs before mentioned. Sewall was in the habit of making these brief entries in his Almanacs, to be afterward expanded in his Journal.]

1677. Sept. 12, 4 [day of the week]. Legg *appulit* [arrived].  
 16, 1. Eliezer Danford arrives. 19, 4, Hatfield. 23, 1. Sam. Bridgham. 24, M. G. J. S.  
 Oct. 20, 7. Capt. S. Mosely. 31, 4. Dorchester.  
 Dec. 14, 6. T. Smith. 21. Shephard.
- 1677-8. Jan'y 17, 4. Brackenbury. 22, 3. Dorchester.
1678. May 3, Frid. Welcome arrived from London.  
 — 23. Johnson and Knott arrived.  
 June 11, 3. Sam. Sewall *natus*. 16, 1. *Baptizatus*.  
 Aug. 23, 6. Watch begins to be warned out of my precincts.  
 Nov. 9, 7. Mr. Jno. Noyes dies. 10. Buried. E. Thurston dies. *Teste* Sarah Noyes.  
 Dec. 15, 1. Returned to my own bed after my sickness of the Small Pox.
- 1678-9. Jan. 18, 7. Visit Public Houses.  
 Feb. 15, 7. Visit Public Houses.  
 March 16, 1. Governour Leverett dieth. 25, 3. Is buried.
1679. [On back of title of Almanac.<sup>1</sup>]
- |         |                   |      |                 |      |
|---------|-------------------|------|-----------------|------|
| Esqs. { | Sim Bradstreet    | 1216 | Tho. Clark      | 443  |
|         | Dan. Gookin       | 1051 | Humph. Davie    | 577  |
|         | Dan. Denison      | 1127 | Tho. Savage     | 530  |
|         | Tho. Danforth     | 1217 | Jno. Hall       | 467  |
|         | Wm. Hawthorn      | 796  | Laurenc Hamond  | 405  |
|         | Jno. Pynchon      | 1195 | Rob. Pike       | 281  |
|         | Edw. Tyng         | 1146 | Jno. Woodbridge | 231  |
|         | Wm. Stoughton     | 1174 | 1679            |      |
|         | Jos. Dudley       | 1189 | Apr. 8.         |      |
|         | Peter Bulkley     | 1118 | Jno. Leverett   | 1203 |
|         | Nath. Saltonstall | 954  |                 |      |

<sup>1</sup> This undoubtedly represents the vote for the government. Bradstreet was chosen governor; Danforth, deputy-governor; and ten Assistants out of the first thirteen names; *i.e.*, through H. Davie and omitting T. Clark. Hutchinson (I. 326) mentions, that in this very year the King's Letter required the Colony to appoint the charter number of eighteen Assistants, as the practice had become fixed to choose only eight or ten. This was obeyed in the following year. — Eds.]

- [1679. Mch. 18, 3. Const. Collation deferred.  
 April 15, 3. Perambulation.
1679. April 30. Hanah Hitte.  
 June 12, 5. Laurenc Oakes dyes at night of the Small  
 Pocks.  
 24, 3. Miss Mary Adams dyed.  
 25, 4. Mr. Samll. Haugh dyed S. S. C.  
 July 10, Balston ar.
- 1679-80. Feb. 3, 3. Hannah Sewall born. 8th, baptzd.
1680. Aug. 24, 3. His Excellency, Thomas, Lord Culpeper,  
 Baron of Thorsway, Gov. of Virginia, came to  
 Boston. Lord Culpeper, Dorchester. [His  
 title was Baron Colepeper of Thoresway,  
 co. Lincoln, and he d. *s. p. m.* in 1688.]
- Sept. 16. Sergt. Wait.  
 19. Marthah Clark, widow, 85 years old.  
 23, 5. Dorch. Elder Bowld *occiditur a curru.*  
 [This means undoubtedly Elder John  
 Bowles of Roxbury.]
- 1680-1. Jan. 11. D. Lawson.  
 10. Charles River frozen over, so to Nod[dles]  
 Island.
- Feb. 28. Coragious South wind breaks the ice between  
 Boston and Dorch? Neck. Hath been a  
 very severe winter for snow and a constant  
 continuance of cold weather; such as most  
 affirm hath not been for many yeers.
1681. July 28. Barrett arrives.  
 Sept. 9, 6. *Autor* John Foster *obit.* [Evidently the Dor-  
 chester school-master "that made the then  
 Seal or Arms of the Colony, namely an In-  
 dian with a Bow and Arrow, &c.," as Blake's  
 Annals inform us. It was in a copy of the  
 Almanac "by John Foster, *Astrophil*," that  
 Sewall was writing, and he notes down  
 "The Author Dyed Sept. 9. 1681." Several  
 of the Almanacs are marked "*ex dono Au-  
 thoris.*"]
- 1681-2. Feb. 14, 3. Major Savage dyes, Rox.
1682. July 12, 4. Wm. Taylour, Merc. *exit.*  
 July 22, 7. Col. Robert Richbell.  
 Aug. 17, 5. Blazing St[ar.] 23, 4. Seen in evening,  
 plain.]



- [— 21, 2. The Rev. Mr. Isaac Foster buried. [A classmate of Sewall.]
- Nov. 9, 5. *Doma Brattle aufugit*. [Mrs. Brattle dies. See p. 56.]
- 28, 3. Ship cast away, 7 men of 13 lost.
- Dec. 5, 3. Gov. Cranfield. 20, 4. Fast at Mr. Mather's.
30. Mr. Joseph Pynchon dyes.
- 1682-3. Jan'y 12, 6. Landlady, Jane Fissendē dyes. Bur'd. 16, 3. (Tuesday.)
- 17, 4. Mr. T. Weld, Roxb. dyes. Buried 19th, 6.
25. Fast, O[ld] Meet[ing] House.
- Flocks of Pigeons are seen this month at Newbury.
- 1682-3. Feb. 2, 6. Edw. Dudley F. 6. 3. Calf Braintrey.
- [The Almanac for 1683 is by Cotton Mather, printed by S. G. for S. S., *i.e.* Samuel Green for Samuel Sewall. In it is written, "the last half sheet was Printed with my Letters at Boston. S. S." The last four leaves of the Almanac are in different type, which explains this reference.]
1683. Aug. 14, 3. My father watched his last.
1684. [Items in two Almanacs.]
- Mch 27, 5. Jack, Negro. 22, 7. An extraordinary high tide.
- May 6, 3. Commissioners Court. June 10, 3. Henry Pease.
- June 21, 7. Thos. Powes drowned.
- July 2, 4. Præses obit. [Prest. John Rogers of Harvard.]
- Sepultus est July 3d.*
- The President dies July 2d, just as the sun gets from being eclipsed.
- July 8, 3. Hull Sewall *natus*.
- 22, 3. Special Court of Assistants.
- 30, 4. Mr. Nath. Gookin.
- Oct. 2, 5. Mr. Philip Jones buried. 8, 4. Clark arrives.
- 18, 7. Gardener arrives. 20, 2. Foy arrives.
- Nov. 8, 7. *Dom Wade Sepult. est.* 15, 7. Jolls Belcher.
- 18, 3. Mehetabel. 19, 4. Capt. Johnson *obit.*
- Nov. 25, Tues. A very high tide, begun to run into our Cellar. Filled C. Hills.
- Dec. 4, 5. Capt. Berry sails.
- [The Almanac for 1685 begins with an entry in regard to the deputies, which is copied into the Journal and stands in the text.]



[Having had an opportunity to examine certain notes upon the preceding portion of the Diary, prepared by the late Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Mass., the custodian of the MSS. for so many years, the editors have judged proper to make the following extracts therefrom.]

On p. 2, line 2. "Herboord's Physick." Mr. Sewall notes that it was probably the book entered on the "College Catalogue," of 1790, under Metaphysics, — "Heerboord, (Adrian) Meletemata philosophica, 4to. Ams. 1665."

P. 2, line 16. "Mr. Gookin." A reference is made to N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., IV. 79, where was printed an extract from the "College Book," No. 3, to the effect that, "Novemb. 5, 1673, S<sup>r</sup> Sewall was chosen fellow and together with M<sup>r</sup> Daniel Gookin, installed before the overseers, Novemb. 26."

P. 3, line 25. In addition to our footnote, we may give Mr. Sewall's opinion, that, at this interview with Mr. Oakes, the diarist expressed his intention of resigning his fellowship, as Joseph Brown and John Richardson had done the year before, and Dr. Oakes feared that it would be attributed to his influence.

P. 4, last line but one. "Sir Weld commonplaced." Mr. Sewall writes that "commonplac<sup>ing</sup>" denotes the reducing and treating of topics of theology, philosophy, &c., under certain common places or general heads, and is recognized as follows in "Laws, Liberties, and Orders of Harvard College," 1642-46, as an exercise expected at certain times of Resident Bachelors as well as Sophisters among the undergraduates. "No. 5. And all Sophisters and Bachelors (until themselves make common place) shall publicly repeat sermons in the Hall, whenever they are called forth."

Mr. Sewall also says that the title "Sir," until within the memory of the last generation, was given to one who had taken his degree as Bachelor until he took his degree of Master, when his style became "Mr." The same custom prevailed in England.

P. 5, line 4 from bottom. "Summoned to wait on the Court." Reference is here made to the Col. Rec., V. 20, wherein is printed the order of the General Court in this matter.

P. 6, line 19. "Goodman Cheny, Nic. Fissenden." Here Mr. Sewall refers to "Book of the Lockes," p. 313, and thus enables us to add to the footnote on p. 5. It seems by Locke, that Nicholas Fessenden married Margaret Cheney, and had a child born July, 1676. Hence his wife may well be Margaret, daughter of Thomas Cheney, of Cambridge, born November, 1656, who had a brother Thomas. The Cheney's would thus be connected with the bride, Hannah Fessenden. Jan. 18, 1688-89, Judge Sewall notes: "Ar-]

[rived at Canterbury, visited Aunt Fissenden, her son John, and daughters Mary, Elizabeth and Jane." This *may* imply a previous connection between the Sewalls and Fessendens in England.

P. 13, line 20. Mr. Willard's lecture. Mr. Sewall notes that this was not the famous Boston Thursday Lecture, but a stated monthly lecture at the Third, or South, Church, delivered on the Wednesday preceding Communion Sunday, every fourth week.

P. 13, line 21. "Mr. Woodrop," &c. Mr. Sewall reads these names, "Hobart, Ger. Nehem." meaning Rev. Gershom and Rev. Nehemiah Hobart, both sons of Rev. Peter H., of Hingham. He adds, the next three were probably Sewall's classmates, Samuel Phips, Rev. Thomas Weld, and Rev. Edward Taylor, — the latter name being wrongly read by the transcriber (all this being an old copy of a lost original) as *Faild*. This seems the more probable, as Savage records no such surname as Faild; and the nearest approach to it, Fales, is not prominent on our records till later.

P. 16. Timothy Dwight and his uncle Eliot. On this point, Mr. Sewall says he has discovered nothing. We take the opportunity, however, to record the result of our later searches. It seems certain that this Timothy Dwight was that son of Captain Timothy Dwight, of Dedham, who was born Nov. 26, 1654, was a goldsmith in Boston, and *d. s. p.* in 1691. (Dwight Genealogy, I. 105.) From the reference here, on p. 31, line 16, and p. 38, line 18, we conclude that Timothy was an apprentice of Hull's, and lived in the house, as did John Alcock.

Captain Timothy Dwight, of Dedham, married, for his second wife (he had six), Sarah Powell, who was the mother of our Timothy. It has been already shown (N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXIX. 25), that Deacon Jacob Eliot married Mary Powell, widow of William Wilcox. Mrs. Eliot was, therefore, aunt of Timothy Dwight, being his mother's sister. Both were undoubtedly the children of Michael Powell, of Boston, as the following will of Michael's widow shows: Suff. Wills, VI. 190, will of Abigail Powell, widow, dated March 4, 1677, gives to her four daughters, Abigail Howlett, Elizabeth Hollingsworth, Dorothy Perry and Margaret Howard, each £50. To Joseph Elliot, eldest son of Dea. Jacob E., £20. To Timothy Dwite, eldest son of Timothy D., of Dedham, £20. To Michael Perry, £5, to Samuel Howlett, £5. Son-in-law Anthony Howard and Seth Perry, *exec<sup>ors</sup>*; four daughters residuary legatees.

As Mrs. Eliot was alive, we may fairly conclude that she and Mrs. Dwight were Powell's daughters by a previous wife.

But our Timothy undoubtedly came into the Hull connection in another way. His father was then living with his third wife, Anna]

[Flynt, who was niece of Edmund Quincy, Hull's brother-in-law and step-brother. The evidently close connection between Hull and Quincy would account for Dwight's employment.

P. 34, line 25. "Mr. Josson." This name should be Jesson.

P. 46, line 5 from bottom. "Japheth Hobart." Mr. Sewall notes that Savage says that Hobart went to England before 1670, intending to go to the East Indies, and was never heard of; and that this statement does not agree well with the text.

[The following notes in regard to setting the watch are found at the end of the first volume of Sewall's Diary, and are printed as giving valuable information not to be found on the town records.

This South Company was that of Captain John Hull. In the First Report of the Record Commissioners of Boston, published by the City Government in 1877, there are tax lists of 1676 and 1681. This list of 1679 covers a different year, and may be compared with that printed on p. 75 of the Report. — EDS.]

A list of Persons belonging to the South Company of Boston liable to Watch themselves, or by their money to procure Watchmen; as they were marshalled by the Lieutenant and myself Oct' 13. 1679, in two lists, that each Clark might have half and warn no more at one turn.

#### 1679 CLARK VERGOOSE HIS LIST.

1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Corp<sup>n</sup> Raynsford</li> <li>Edward Ellis</li> <li>Jonathan Wales</li> <li>John Howen</li> <li>Francis Smith</li> <li>Jno. Brandon W<sup>m</sup> Middleton</li> </ul>	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sergt Jn<sup>o</sup> Pell</li> <li>Tho Paddy</li> <li>Jn<sup>o</sup> Balston</li> <li>Richard Keats</li> <li>Roger Burgess</li> <li>Nic Neal</li> </ul>
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jn<sup>o</sup> Baker</li> <li>James Jn<sup>o</sup>son</li> <li>Alexander Baker</li> <li>Josiah Baker</li> <li>Tho. Pritchett</li> <li>Wid. Goose</li> </ul>	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sergt Jno Bull</li> <li>Tho Hill</li> <li>W<sup>m</sup> King</li> <li>Tho Gent</li> <li>Charles Perry</li> <li>Dan<sup>n</sup> Gent</li> </ul>
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Samuel Mason</li> <li>James Lindon</li> <li>Jn<sup>o</sup> Sibly</li> <li>Tho. Plimly</li> <li>Digory Sargent</li> <li>Jane Bernard</li> </ul>	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James Townsend</li> <li>Alex<sup>r</sup>. Bogle</li> <li>Jos. Holms jun<sup>r</sup></li> <li>W<sup>m</sup> Obison</li> <li>Tho Rumly</li> <li>Abel Porter.]</li> </ul>



[7	Joseph Wheeler Peter Wyer Jos Warren Tho Thurston Eben Danforth Eliza Till	}	8	Jno Holman W <sup>m</sup> Goddard J <sup>n</sup> ° Hurd Jos Hurd Benj Smith Prudence Morse
	Daniel Quinsey Samuel Clark J <sup>n</sup> ° Newman Matthias Smith Joseph Brisco Elenour Evans			

For the better Inspection of the several Watches, and the four several Guards in this Town of Boston. It is Ordered, Agreed and Concluded by the Committee of Militia for the said Town, that the eight Foot Companies by their Commission Officers and Serjants (being seven in each Company) or for want thereof, or by reason of any other hindrance, a Sufficient Supply be made at the discretion of the rest of the Officers of said Company: Also the Officers of the Troop that live in the Town (eight) or for want thereof to be supplied of their Troopers, as abovesaid: Which said Sixty four Men shall each in their respective turn as hereafter mentioned take unto them one or two more that live in the Precincts of their own Company who shall walk every Night (in their several Turn) throwout the Town in every Quarter, and shall take Inspection of the several Guards and Watches, how they are managed, and give such Directions as to them shall seem meet for the better discharge of their Duty according to Law, Taking the care and charge of all the Watches in the Town in their respective nights; Who shall march with an Half Pike with a fair head, by which he may be known to be the Commander of the Watch, and in the morning leave the same with him whoes Turn is next, which shall be accounted a sufficient Warning or notice to the next Commander to take his Turn.

Have entered the Order of the South Company onely.

This is conceived to be the best Method for regulating of the Watch that hath been hetherto agreed on	October	Decemb.	March	May	July	Sept	Trooper preceding Mr. Saffin
	24	27	1	4	7	9	Commanders
	25	28	2	5	8	10	Capt John Hull
1 Sergt.	26	29	3	6	9	11	Lieutenant
2							Ensigne
3							4 Sergants
4							Trooper Arthur Mason.]



[The order of the several Persons watching in the several Nights is to be as above expressed, and the time to begin is this night following Monday Sept 6. 1680, which is Agreed by the Committee of Militia, as doth Attest Thomas Savage, Clark of the said Committee.

An extract of the Major's warrant, dated Aug. 19, 1680:—

Impress twenty able Souldiers two of them Carpenters, all well Armed with fixed fire-lock Arms— one pound of Powder, 3 pounds of Shot. for Service of the Country at Casco Bay; to appear at the Town House at 12 of the Clock the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant,

Proportioned the Men at the Town House, Captains meeting, or some of them

1 Major Clark	3	6 Lieut Pen Townsend	2
2 Major Savage	3	7 Capt Hull	2
3 Capt. Hudson	3	8 Capt Hutchinson	2
4 Capt Henchman	2		—
5 Capt Richards	3		20

Had one from Muddy River; and Joshua Atwater offered himself to us as Volunteer; so furnished him with Arms; but his carriage was such formerly and now, that he was dismissed.

Monday, April 18, 1681, Capt John Hull gave Andrew Gardener of Muddy River, his Halbert in Token of his having constituted him a Serjant; and declared him (as to his Place) to be the Second; viz 1 Jno Bull 2. Andrew Gardener; 3 John Pell; 4 Solomon Rainsford, This was done in the Evening, after Training, in the little Hall, present Lieutenant, Ensigne, Serjents, Corporal Odlin, Clarks, Drummers.

The Ceremony of delivering a Halbert having been a good while since been performed to the three Serjants, and not to Serjant Gardener, some began to mutter that Serjant Gardener was none, and some, that 'twas not intended he should be any: and none knew what his place was. Now said Gardener was made a Corporal of the South Company when W<sup>m</sup> Hudson Captain, on the same day with our Lieut. Frary and Ensigne Thurston; and he hath proved constant and diligent; wherefore 'twas agreed on as mentioned p. ( ) ; though Serjt Gardener disabled himself, modestly and earnestly desiring to have the 4th place, according to the date of the Ceremony.

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Since there is a gap in this Diary, from July, 1677, to March, 1684–85, caused by the loss or disappearance of one or more volumes, it may be well to remind the reader that John Hull, Sewall's father-in-law, kept a similar record, which ends Sept. 20, 1682. This]

[record, which embraced a private and a general diary, was published in Vol. III. of the "Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society," in 1857. We copy from the private or personal record a few items relating to Sewall:—

- 1673-6, "Feb. 28, being Monday, Mr. Broadstreet married my daughter Hannah to Samuel Sewall, in the evening."
- 1677 "2d, 2d, being Monday, at ten o'clock at night, my grandchild, John Sewall, was safely born into the world."
1678. "June 4, on the third day of the week, in the morning, half an hour before six o'clock, Samuel Sewall was safely born."
1678. "Sept. 10, John Sewall had a vomiting, continuing that day and the night following, and then taken with convulsion fits, — about seventeen sore fits. He died about twelve o'clock, before the 12th of September."
- 1679-80. "Hannah Sewall was safely born into the world, being the third day of the week, about midnight."  
"Elizabeth Sewall was safely born into the world, Dec. 29, 1681, a little after four o'clock in the afternoon."

John Hull died Oct. 1, 1683, leaving a widow, Judith, who lived till 1695.

The following items respecting Sewall's life during this period having been gathered from various sources:—

March 30, 1677, he joined the (Old) South Church in Boston.

May, 1678, he was made a freeman.

March 10, 1678-79, he was appointed by the town of Boston one of perambulators of bounds for Muddy River, now Brookline.

In December, 1680, Hull writes to a correspondent, "I have received your glasses and hats, and have obtained my son-in-law, Samuel Sewall to take your consignment of them. He hath sold" a part, &c.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although Sewall's Diary is lacking for the period 1677-85, it would seem as if some part of it had been known quite recently. In the notes to Hull's Diary, as printed, p. 278, is the following, given as an extract from the Diary of Samuel Sewall:—

"Thursday, Nov. 9, 1682. Daniel Quincey married Mrs. Anna Shepard, before John Hull, Esq. Samuel Nowell, Esq. and many persons present, — almost Capt Brattle's great hall full. Mr. Willard began with prayer; Mr. T. Shepard concluded. As he was praying, Cousin Savage, my mother Hull,]

[Colony Rec., V. 323, Oct. 12, 1681: "Mr. Samuel Seawall, at the instance of some friends, with respect to the accommodation of the publicke, being prevailed with to undertake the management of the printing press in Boston, late under the improvement of Mr. John Foster, deceased, liberty is accordingly granted to him for the same by this Court, and none may presume to sett up any other presse without the like liberty first granted."

Dec. 26, 1681. Samuel Sewall was surety on the town's book for Samuel Green, printer, and his family, that they should not be chargeable to the town. (Boston Records.)

March 13, 1682-83, he was appointed by the town, with John Saffin, Anthony Checkley, and the seven Selectmen, a committee to draw up instructions for its deputies to the General Court. This was, of course, an important trust. Aug. 31, 1683, he was chosen one of the seven Commissioners of the town to assess rates.

Oct. 10, 1683 (Rec., V. 418), "It is ordered, that the Tresurer of the county, as soon as can, satisfy and pay in mony to Mr. Samuel Seawall tenn pounds seventeen shillings, for printing Mr. Samuel Torreys sermon at the last election."

The new edition of Thomas's "History of Printing" contains the titles of some ten pamphlets printed for Sewall.

Sept. 12, 1684, the following order was passed (Col. Rec., V. 452): "Whereas, at a session of the Generall Court in October, 1681, this Court was pleased to intrust Mr. Samuel Sewall with the management of the printing press in Boston, lately under the improvement of Mr. John Foster, deceased, and whereas, by the providence of God, Mr. Seawall is rendered unable to attend the same, he judging it reasonable to acquaint this honnoured Court therewith, desiring that he may be freed from any obligation unto duty respecting that affaire, with thankfull acknowledgments of the liberty then granted. The Court grants the request above mentioned."

Nov. 7, 1683, his name appears on the roll of the General Court, as a deputy from Westfield, a town in Hampshire County, which John Hull represented in 1674.

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my wife and myself, came in. A good space after, when we had eaten cake and drunk wine and beer plentifully, we are called into the hall again to sing. In singing-time, Mrs. Brattle goes out, being ill. Most of the company go away, thinking it a fit. But she grows worse, speaks not a word, and so dies away in her chair. And the strangeness and horror of the thing fills the (just now) joyous house with sorrow and ejection."

This account is repeated in Harris's Genealogy of the Brattles, with a few additions; but we have been unable to trace either version to the original. — Eds.]



[Dec. 5, 1683 (Col. Rec., V. 426): "Upon complaint of Leiftenant Frary, that their company is under much discouragement, by reason of the removing of Mr. Sewall from them to command another company, and other inconveniences arising thereby, this Court judgeth it meete to recall that former order, and doe appoint Mr. Samuel Seawall captaine of that company belonging to Capt. John Hull, and Mr. Frary to remain leiftenant of that company as formerly."]

The two following letters, written by Sewall in the years during which his Journal fails us, are here reprinted from the Mass. Hist. Society's Collections, 4th Series, Vol. viii. p. 516-7:—

*For the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, in Boston.*

BOSTON, March 23, 1682-3.

HONOURED SIR,—If you think it not inconvenient, I have some thoughts what if I should print the Colledge-Laws? that so every student admitted may have a fair *Admittatur* to keep p<sup>r</sup> him, in memory of his Admission. I know that to avoid writing out a copy,<sup>1</sup> many borrow Laws to present at their Admission, which they are fain to return agen awhile after, which is very mischievous, for by that means, they are without both Laws and *Admittatur*. I suppose the Colledge-Orders are not very bulkey, so I could have some stitch't up in Marble-Paper, and (considering the fewness of what shall part with) afford them at a very easy rate.

Sir, Your friend and Serv<sup>t</sup>

SAMUEL SEWALL.

*For his much esteemed Friend, Mr. Cotton Mather, pr. Eliakim M.*

BOSTON, Xr. 25, 84.

SIR,—Would intreat you to send me the little book you spake of to me, which Dr. Owen writt of the Glory of Christ.

Please also, in stead of some Recreation, when you can spare the time, to give me your Reasons why the Heart of America may not be the seat of the New-Jerusalem. The worthy Pastor of Newbury, in his fourth letter to Mr. Meade, (which I thank you for directing me to,) warrants me in such an Inquiry. Your Arguments, briefly laid down under several heads, will be refreshing to me to have them to consider of. Desiring your Prayers, that I may be found in Christ, not having my own Righteousness, I take leave, who am, Sir,

Yours,

SAM. SEWALL.

My son Sam: is still sick.

<sup>1</sup> A specimen of a written copy is in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., for March, 1876. — Eds.]



[Oct. 15, 1684 (Col. Rec., V. 456): "In answer of the petition of Samuel Sewall, Esq. humbly shewing that his house of wood in Boston, at the hill where the Reverend Mr. John Cotton formerly dwelt, which house is considerably distant from other building and standeth very bleake, he humbly desiring the favour of this Court to grant him liberty to build a smale porch of wood, about seven Foote square, to breake of the winde from the fore doore of said house, the Court grants his request."

The house thus mentioned by Sewall was undoubtedly that which had belonged to his father-in-law, John Hull.<sup>1</sup> It had belonged to Rev. John Cotton, as the following statements of title will show.

We give, in the first place, an extract from the will of Rev. John Cotton.

Suff. Wills, I. 52: "And because that south part of my house which Sir Henry Vane built, whilst he sojourned with me, he by a deed gave it (at his departure) to my son Seaborn, I do therefore leave it unto him as his by right, and together therewith liberty of commonage with his mother, in that south garden, which lyeth under it."

To his wife, for life, "the dwelling house wherein I now live." After her death, all houses and lands were to be divided among his children, Seaborn having a double share.

Evidently, therefore, this Cotton mansion was a double house, and John Hull bought the southerly or Vane portion first. The record is as follows:—

Suff. Deeds, VI. 227. Sept. 24. 1664. Seaborn Cotton of Hampton and Dorothy his wife, sell to John Hull for £200 — all that parcel of land given S. C. by the will of his father John Cotton — and confirmed to him by deeds of Mrs. Sarah Mather of Dorchester, and Increase and Mariah Mather of Boston, and John Cotton and Johannah, his wife, of Gilford, — "and likewise the House that was sometimes S<sup>r</sup> Henry Vanes." — which said house and land is situate in Boston and bounded as follows —

"Bounded with the Towne street on the East; Mr. Howard and Mr. Bellingham on the south; Mr. Bellingham and some land belonging to the said Seaborn, Sarah, Increase and John on the west; and by east and west line from the street to the Hill even with the north side of the said House."

May 28, 1677 (Deeds, Lib. 10, f. 108), Seaborn Cotton sold his

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<sup>1</sup> Hull writes, in 1674, "My habitation is greatly disadvantageous for trade; yet because I always desired a quiet life, and not too much business, it was always best for me." — Eds.]

[half of the northerly part of the house and land, "which was the mansion house of the late John Cotton," to Nicholas Paige; and, Aug. 17, 1677 (Deeds, Lib. 10, f. 170), Increase Mather and John Cotton sold to Paige their part of this same northerly half. The boundaries in both deeds are: north by land of Simon Lynde and house and land in which Governor Endicott last dwelt; south by land of John Hull, Bellingham heirs, and heirs of James Davis; east by the highway: west by the foot of Beacon Hill.

April 30, 1678 (Deeds, Lib. 10, f. 338) Paige mortgages to Thomas Deane, by the same boundaries, except that on the south John Wing is instead of heirs of James Davis.

May 1, 1681 (Deeds, XII. f. 49), Paige again mortgages to Deane, bounded north by Simon Lynde and Edward Shippen; south by John Hull and Bellingham heirs; east and west as before. This mortgage was discharged May 29, 1682; and on the same day (Deeds, XII. f. 216) Paige sells the lot to John Hull, bounded north by Simon Lynde and land of Edward Shippen, formerly the dwelling-place of Governor Endicott.<sup>1</sup>

Following these early records with the light thrown upon them by the late N. I. Bowditch, in his "Gleaner" articles in the "Boston Transcript" for 1855-6, we arrive at the following results:—

Where is now Pemberton Square, formerly rose Centry or Sentry Hill. At a very early date evidently, the town had laid out Tremont Row from School Street to Court Street, and Sudbury Street, as it was termed, to Court Street corner.

Probably the hill was not so near the line of the street as to preclude the placing of houses there.

We will begin at the south end of Tremont Row, with John Cogan's lot, which occupied the land covered by the Pavilion and Court, being 76 feet on Tremont Street. It bounded north on Bellingham, running west 322 feet, and nearly reaching Somerset Street.

Then came Bellingham's lot, bounded east on the street (Tremont Row), John Cotton and Daniel Maud, north. According to Mr. Bowditch, this lot was sold in two parts. In 1663, B. sold to Hum-

<sup>1</sup> This corrects another error of Shaw (copied by S. A. Drake, p. 47), who says (p. 291) that Governor Endicott's house stood on the lot owned by Gardiner Greene. Bendall sold to David Yale (Deeds, II. f. 48), whose attorneys sold to Captain John Wall. Wall's widow and son (Deeds, Lib. XI. f. 195) sold, in 1678, to Edward Shippen, a house and two acres of land, bounded on a message now or heretofore of Mr. Cotton, south, and Sudbury Street east. Mr. Bowditch says that this lot was, in 1768, sold to Dr. James Lloyd. (Deeds, Lib. 315, f. 273.) — Eds.]

[phrey Davy the south part, and Davy's heirs sold it (being 140 feet on the street, as Bowditch says), with a stone house thereon, to Andrew Faneuil. Here Peter Faneuil lived and died, and after him John Vassall owned it. The north half was sold by Bellingham's heirs, in 1693, to the deacons of the First Church, and it measured 62 feet on the street. William Phillips bought both lots, 1791 and 1805. A rear lot remained, and was bought by Sewall.

This would seem to make Bellingham's front 202 feet on the street.

Next came Daniel Maud's lot, "137 feet on the street, with an average depth of 80 feet," says Bowditch, bounded north and west by Cotton.

We have thus arrived at Cotton's lot, afterwards Hull's and Sewall's. Bowditch says: "The west line of Cotton's estate coincides with the east line of Bulfinch's pasture, *i.e.* of the Church estate in Ashburton Place. Its north line ran 630 feet in a straight course to Tremont Row, including the house lots on the north side of Ashburton Place, and the whole central portion of Pemberton Square, embracing the fronts of all the houses on its west side south of Mr. Francis's lands, and corresponding portions of the houses on its east side, both north and south of the entrance from Tremont Row.

"Cotton's estate (with Bellingham's united in the Sewall family<sup>1</sup>) measured east on Tremont Row 163 feet or nearly to the south line of the present entrance to the square. It had various jogs outwards on its southerly line, greatly enlarging its contents, adding perhaps 90 feet more to its average width for a depth of over 300 feet."

Cotton's north line was on Edward Bendall, whose lot passed to Edward Shippen, and then in part to Cyprian Southack. This lot measured 103 feet on Court Street.<sup>2</sup> Then came Robert Meeres's lot

<sup>1</sup> We must confess our inability to understand this remark. Bowditch seems to trace both parts of Bellingham's *front* lot into the hands of William Phillips, and thence to Patrick T. Jackson, without touching Hull or Sewall. Probably Mr. Bowditch alluded to the fact that Sewall did buy a back lot of Bellingham's land, Oct. 11, 1697 (Lib. 14, f. 439-442), from Elizabeth (Savage) Bellingham, wife of Samuel, son of Richard B. The sale was confirmed (Lib. 21, f. 110) by her trustees, Edward Hull and John Shelton, both of London. This land was "adjoining to the hill formerly belonging to John Cotton," and bounded north by land of S. Sewall; east by land of Samuel Sewall, and in part by lands belonging to the First Church, now occupied by Mr. John Bayley, south by land lately of Humphrey Davie, and west by land late of Captain John Wing, — being about half an acre. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This remark of "Gleaner's" requires some explanation. The Bendall-Shippen lot seems to have been of an irregular shape. Three lots were sold,]



[of 85 feet on the street, and the corner lot on Howard Street was that of Robert Howen.

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Cotton Hill, therefore, seems to have touched Tremont Street at its south corner, very nearly at the present outlet of Pemberton Square, and to have continued northerly round the curve for 163 feet, the greater part facing Scollay Square. Before citing the deeds which explain the descent of the land, it may be well to say a word about the Cotton house, once occupied by Sir Henry Vane, in correction of errors already in print elsewhere. Mr. S. A. Drake, in his "Landmarks of Boston," p. 51, makes this house to be one which was standing in 1817, when Shaw wrote and so described it, a little south of the entrance to Pemberton Square; and this was evidently the tradition. (See Recollections of S. Breck, p. 41.)

Although Shaw says, in 1817, that Governor Bellingham's house stood on the spot where Faneuil built, this seems to be an error. When Bellingham sold that south lot, he sold land only; but, in selling the north lot, a house and land passed. Hence, it is probable that the venerable mansion referred to was that of Governor Bellingham. The First Church sold the house and lot in 1787 to Sampson Reed. (Deeds, Lib. 160, f. 166.) William Phillips bought it in 1805, having bought the other Bellingham lot in 1797.

Certainly Bowditch held that this old house was not Cotton's, for he writes as follows about this north lot: "Upon this lot stood a most ancient-looking building, with windows of very small panes of glass. I have heard it stated, and have reason to believe it true, that when it was pulled down, a chair was made from some of its timbers for the late Hon. Judge Davis, as possessing great antiquarian interest, under the idea that it was in this house that Sir Henry Vane sojourned. It was within one of being the right house, but a miss is as good (or as bad) as a mile, in such a matter."

The deeds of Sewall's grandchildren seem to show that their homestead, the Cotton-Hull-Sewall-Cooper house, was on the northerly side of the lot, and near the street. It was occupied in 1758 by William Vassall, and probably afterwards by Patrick Jeffrey. We are assured by the family that Gardiner Greene did not alter the Vassall house, which he bought and lived in; and, as it was a large

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measuring 170 feet on Court Street, north of Howard Street, or Southack Court, which Southack laid out; and the other part was of an L-shape, bounded 141 feet on Howard Street north, 440 feet west on Bulfinch, 614 feet south on Cotton, and then coming out to Tremont Row, where it measured 103 feet.  
—EDS.]



[square house of the usual pattern, we may conclude that it was essentially in the form that Cooper, and probably Sewall, gave it. Possibly it was the Hull and Cotton house intact; at all events, as we have shown, if the Cotton-Vane house was not destroyed at an earlier date, this must represent it.

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The title of the land seems to have passed as follows: Sewall seems to have left no will, and his property was divided among his heirs by an elaborate scheme of lot. His daughter Judith, who married the Rev. William Cooper, inherited the house and land at Cotton Hill.

Dec. 30, 1753, the Cooper heirs, William, Samuel, and Thomas and Judith Cooper agreed to a division of the estate. As they soon united in a sale of all their shares (Thomas Cooper's being sold Feb. 2, 1758, to Jacob Wendell, Deeds, Lib. 91, f. 76), it is unnecessary to give the details. It may be noted that the arbitrators set off "a passage way 20 feet wide from Treamount street to the back part of the dwelling house first mentioned, and from thence turning southerly, keeping the same width, and running westerly thirty feet into Valley acre aforesaid, to lye open," &c.

Valley Acre is represented on Lieut. Page's map of Boston in 1777, as a high hill east of Beacon Hill. Mr. Bowditch says that it "embraced the lands on both sides of Somerset street to Bulfinch st. &c., and extended down the hill to the low ground on Court street.

The actual transfer was as follows:—

Lib. 92, f. 52. Sept. 1758. Jacob Wendell, William Cooper and Samuel Cooper of Boston, John Sever and wife Judith of Kingston sold to Wm. Vassall as follows:—

Jacob Wendell sells for £250 house and land a house formerly in the occupation of Samuel Kneeland and now of Mrs. Thorn and Mrs. Montgomery—bound west on house and land formerly occupied by Daniel Bell and now by Peter Mourfield and Mrs Sarah Kenedy, 46 feet; north on land of John Jekyll dec<sup>d</sup> 158 feet; east on Treamont street 70 feet; south on a passage way 166 feet.

Also land adjoining to Valley Achor, bounded east on land of Judith Cooper now Judith Sever, 174 feet; south on garden of Peter Fanueil 120 feet; west on Thompson's pasture and Valley Achor 174 feet; north on a passage way 180 feet.

William Cooper sold for £500 the southerly half of a house and land occupied by s<sup>d</sup> Wm. Vassall, bounded south on land of John Erving and garden of said Cooper, 177 feet from Treamount street up towards Valley Achor; east on Treamount street 33 feet to land of John Erving; west on land of Judith Sever 20 feet; north on the]

[other half of said house belonging to Rev. Samuel Cooper, 177 feet from Tremont st. up towards Valley Achor.

Also a garden adjoining the house, bounded north on the house & yard behind it, 101 feet; east on land of John Erving 120 feet; south on land occupied by Rev. Thomas Foxcroft 97 feet; west on land of Judith Sever 122 feet.

Also one half of land commonly called Valley Achor east on land formerly of Tho<sup>s</sup> Cooper but now of Jacob Wendell, 40 feet; south on Thompson's Pasture 280 feet; west on Joseph Sherburn 17 feet; south on Sherburn 35 feet; west on land formerly of Sam. Lynde now of heirs of Thomas Bulfinch 80 feet; north on a passage way 320 feet. [This was a passage, 20 feet wide, lying in common, set off at the division.]

Samuel Cooper sold for £250 the north half of the house occupied by Vassall & land bounded east on Tremont street 40 feet; south by the other half of the house 177 feet; west on Judith Sever 16 feet; north on a passage way 177 feet from s<sup>d</sup> street up towards Valley Achor.

John Sever and wife Judith for £250 sold the house now occupied by Mr Mourfield & Mrs Kennedy — bounded east on the house occupied by Mrs Thorn and Mrs. Montgomery 46 feet; south on a passage leading up to Valley Achor 170 feet west on Valley Achor 63 feet, north on heirs of John Jekyll 150 feet.

Also one half of Valley Achor adjoining said house, bounded east on said land 63 feet; south on land of William Cooper 320 feet; west on land of Lynde now of Bulfinch heirs 36 feet; north on land formerly of Capt Cyprian Southac now of John Tyng, 320 feet.

Also a lot near the house occupied by Vassall bounded north on a passage way up to Valley Achor 70 feet; east on land of Wm & Samuel Cooper, and of Rev Tho<sup>s</sup> Foxcroft 220 feet; south on garden of Peter Faneuil 70 feet; west on land of Jacob Wendell 174 feet.

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All the aforementioned houses and lands being the estate of the late Judith Cooper, mother of the grantors, which was bounded as follows:—

East on Tremont street 163 feet.

North on heirs of John Jekyll 311 feet, and of Capt Cyprian Southac (now John Tyng) on Valley Achor 295 feet, and heirs of Bulfinch 20 feet — the whole line from Treamount street up to and cross Valley Achor being 626 ft.

West on heirs of Tho<sup>s</sup> Bulfinch 116 ft.

South on Joseph Sherburn 36 feet; west on Sherburn 17 feet. South on Thompson's Pasture 271 feet, east on a bend of 11 feet, then]

[west on Thompson's Pasture 114 feet ; then south on garden of Peter Faneuil 190 feet ; then east on land occupied by Rev Tho<sup>o</sup> Foxcroft 63 feet ; then south on said Foxcroft 98 feet ; then east on John Erving 112 feet ; then south on said Erving 96 feet.

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William Vassall was born in the West Indies in 1715, and came with his father Leonard Vassall to Boston. He was of H. C. 1733 ; sheriff of Middlesex, a mandamus counsellor, and a refugee. He sold the Cooper estate to his nephew Leonard Vassall Borland, as appears by the following deed :—

L. 179, f. 240. 23 March, 1787. Wm. Vassall formerly of Boston, now of Battersea co. Surrey, Eng. sold for £4000 to Leonard Vassall Borland of Boston — house and land bounded north on Dr. James Lloyd, 211 ft., John Tyng on Valley Acre 295 ft. and Thomas Bulfinch 20 feet ; west on Bulfinch 116 feet ; southwest on heirs of Thomas Sherburne ; south on said heirs, on Isaiah Doane, on land belonging to the parish of the Old Brick Meeting house, and on heirs of John Ervine ; (distance not given) ; southeast on said land (of Ervine) and east on Tremont st. 133 feet — including land bought of Joseph Sherburne and recorded Lib. 118 f. 170. Also sundry small houses bounded south on the Writing School &c.

There was probably some informality about this, but April 19, 1790, John Lowell as attorney for William Vassall sold (Deeds, 179, f. 241, 242, 6, 7, 8) to Patrick Jeffrey, uncle of the famous Francis, Lord Jeffrey. This Patrick came to Boston and married a widow, Madam Haley, sister of notorious John Wilkes.

Jeffrey, in 1801, conveyed to the town a strip of his land taken for Somerset Street, which was extended to Beacon Street. (Deeds, Lib. 277, f. 297.)

He then sold east of the street, in 1802, to Jonathan Mason for \$36,000 (Deeds, Lib. 203, f. 32) ; and, in 1804 (Deeds, Lib. 210, f. 138), he sold the part west of Somerset Street to Asa Hammond.

Jonathan Mason, in 1803, sold the eastern lot for \$41,000 to Gardiner Greene. (Lib. 205, f. 252.) This estate in Mr. Greene's possession became one of the most noted sites in Boston.

Mr. Greene acquired in 1824 the Maud estate, already noticed as lying next south of Cotton's lot, and thus obtained about 300 feet front on Tremont Street. (Deeds, 293, f. 196.)

Finally, in 1835, the Phillips and Greene estates with others were sold to Patrick T. Jackson, and Pemberton Square was laid out.]

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[It may be well to say a word about Sewall's political position, as he is found acting as a magistrate or deputy when his Diary recommences. He was chosen a deputy in 1684, probably out of respect to the long services of his father-in-law, then recently deceased.

Hutchinson writes (Hist. I. 341) : "There were all the symptoms, notwithstanding, of an expiring constitution. Several of the towns neglected to send their deputies in the year 1684. Little business was done at the court. The people, indeed, showed some resentment against the magistrates, who had been forward for surrendering. Mr. Dudley, Richards and Brown were dropped, Cooke Johnson and Hutchinson chose in their stead. Mr. Bradstreet, the governor, Mr. Stoughton, Bulkley, Saltonstall and Gidney had fewer votes than usual. (The Governor had 690 votes. Danforth had 631 for Governor.)

"There seems to have been as much indifference in the legislature about public affairs in 1685, expecting every day to be superseded."

The great political issue during these years was, of course, that of the surrender of the charter of the Colony. It is impossible to read Sewall's own account of the progress of affairs in 1685 and 1686, without concluding that, though his sympathies were with the supporters of the charter, he refrained from taking any prominent part, and that he was personally on friendly terms with Dudley and Stoughton. — Eds.]

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[The Journal is now continued from the autograph manuscript of the Second Volume, in the Cabinet of the Society. — Eds.]

Wednesday Febr. 11, 1684-5. — Joshua Moodey and self set out for Ipswich. I lodge at Sparkes's. Next day, Feb. 12, goe to lecture which Mr. Moodey preaches, then I dine with Mr. Cobbet, and so ride to Newbury; visit Mr. Richardson sick of the dry Belly ake. Monday, Febr. 16, Get Mr. Phillips and Payson to Town and so keep a Fast-day, Mr. Moodey Preaching Forenoon, Mr. Phillips Afternoon, Mr. Woodbridge and Payson assisting in Prayer; was a pretty full Assembly, Mr. Moodey having given notice the Sabbath-day, on which he preached all day. At Wenham and Ipswich, as we went, we were told of the Earthquake in those parts and at Salem (Feb. 8). the Sabbath before about the time of ending Afternoon Exercise; That which most was sensible of was a startling



dolefull Sound; but many felt the Shaking also, Peter and Jane Toppan. Mr. Phillips had not finished his Sermon, and was much surpris'd at the Sound, expecting when the House would have Crackt. In several places Exercise was over.

Tuesday Febr. 17, I and Brother, sister Stephen Sewall Ride to Sparkes's by the Ferry, great part in the Snow; Dined with Ipswich Select-Men. 18<sup>th</sup> I Lodged there; the Morn was serene; came to Salem, seeing Mrs. Hale by the way; staid Lecture, came to Boston, found all well. *Laus Deo.*

Tuesday March 10th. 1684-5. Deputies for Boston are Mr. Isaac Addington votes 90 and odd, Mr. John Saffin 70 and odd, Mr. Timothy Prout 50 and odd, Mr. Anthony Stoddards passed by, who hath been annually chosen about these twenty years: Mr. John Fayerwether left out. Am chosen for the year. Mr. Addington chosen a Commissioner also to seal up the Votes and carry them. In the Afternoon I carried my Wife to see Mrs. Flint; wayes extream bad.

Thursday, March 12, 1684-5. Mr. John Bayly preached from Amos 4. 12, and Mr. Willard from 2 Cor. 4. 16-18; both Sermons and Prayers Excellent. In the even 2 first Staves of the 46 Ps sung. Watched with Isaac Goose and Sam Clark, had a pleasant Night, Gave each Watch 12*d.* to drink. Satterday March 14th. went to Mr. Goddard of Watertown to buy Hay, Dined as I went with Thomas Danforth, Esq. and Lady; visited Mr. Sherman as I came back. Wednesday March 25th, 1685. went to Cambridge with Capt. Elisha Hutchinson, there meet with Lieut. Johnson; at Mr. Cotton's Chamber the Deputy Governor tells how Major Bordman dyed that morning; he had been College Cook a long time. Dined with the Commissioner of Middlesex at the Ordinary, then proceeded in our Errand to Mr. Sherman from the Council to enquire when Easter Day was, and consequently our

Election,<sup>1</sup> because by the Rule in the Prayer Book it should be a Week sooner. Mr. Sherman was pleasant and took it for granted 'twas as the Almanack had set it, *i. e.* an English Almanack, which I shewed him. Deputy Governour told the Commissioners this was the last time they were like to convene for such a purpose.

Thursday March 26th. 1685. Went to the Gathering of the Church at Sherborn and ordaining Mr. Daniel Gookin their Pastor. But six Brethren and three of the Names, Mors. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Adams and Mr. Nathaniel Gookin of Cambridge managed the Work; Mr. Nathl Gookin the younger introduced the Elder, a happy Type of the Calling the Jews. Mr. Torrey, Brinsmead, Fisk, Estabrooks, Man, Moodey, Hubbard, West, Sherman, Woodrop, Rawson, Grindal, Wilson jun<sup>r</sup> there, and Fellows of the Colledge: Only Major General and self of Magistrates. No Relations were made, but I hope God was with them. I put up a Note to pray for the Indians that Light might be communicated to them by the Candlestick, but my Note was with the latest, and so not professedly prayed for at all.

Tuesday, March the last, went to Weymouth, heard Mr. Brinsmead preach from Prov. 10. 29; see my Book of Records. After Lecture I took the Acknowledgment of many Deeds. In the even Angel Torrey brings word that little Hull was seized with Convulsions; His first Fit was when I was at Watertown, 25th March. Lodged with Mr. Brinsmead.

Wednesday morn April 1. Speaking to Mr. Brinsmead to pray for drying up the River Euphrates,<sup>2</sup> he told me he

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<sup>1</sup> By the Charter, the annual election was to be held on "the last Wednesday in Easter terme yearely." This plan made the day vary each year, the extremes being May 2, 1638, and June 2, 1641. In 1685, the day observed was May 27. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Judge Sewall, as the numerous references in his papers indicate, continued through his whole life to pursue those biblical and theological studies to which his attention had been drawn when he had in view the work of the

had prayed that God would reveal to some or other as to Daniel of old, the Understanding of the Prophecies of this time, that so might know whereabouts we are. Went home : Mr. Torrey accompanied me to Monotocot Bridge ; found things pretty calm at home and the Child sleeping. — Friday April 3rd, Mr. Joseph Eliot and I Graft some Walnut Trees. Apr. 14th 1685. A Ship arrives from New castle and brings News of the death of Charles the 2nd, and Proclamation of James the 2nd, King. Brought a couple of printed Proclamations relating to that affair. News came to us as we were busy opening the Nominations just before Dinner ; it much startled the Governour and all of us. In the morn before I went the Governour said that a Ship master had been with him from Nevis, who told him Gov<sup>r</sup> Stapleton should say, we should have a new Governour before he got to Boston. Master dined with Magistrates and Commissioners at Capt. Wing's. Carried my wife to George Bairsto's yesterday, April 13th. — Thursday, April 16th, a Vessel arrives from London. Mr. Lord, commander, brings Orders to the several Colonies to proclaim the King. Mr. Blathwayt writes to Simon Bradstreet, Esq. superscribed For His Majestie's Service, advising that 't would be best for us early to doe it ; and our Charter being vacated in Law and no Government settled here, was the reason we were not writt to : Copies and forms sent to us as to the other Colonies, but no mention of Governour and Company. Also another letter was writt to Simon Bradstreet, Wm. Stoughton, Jos. Dudley, Peter

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ministry. He was especially interested in the enigmas of prophetic interpretation, and in solving the question of the Lost Tribes, the Peopling of America, the Two Witnesses, &c. The symbols represented by the river Euphrates, its drying up, &c. (Rev. xvi. 12), engaged his earnest thought, and were frequently the subjects of his correspondence with divines, as bearing upon the triumphs of the Gospel. Two editions were published, the first in 1697, of what he considered his *magnum opus*, under the title of "Phenomena Quædam Apocalyptica," &c. This is one of the many books that are handled only when the shelves which hold them are dusted. — Eds.



Bulkeley, Sam'l. Shrimpton, Richard Wharton, Esquires, to proclaim the King. Suppose this was done lest the Government should have neglected to do it. The Council agreed to proclaim the King before they knew of the Letter. Major Richards counted the Votes for Mr. Dudley, told them twice over, and still found them 666, and so 'twas entered and sent to the Towns. s.s.

Monday April 20th. The King is Proclaimed; 8 Companies, the Troop, and several Gentlemen on horseback assisting; three Volleys and then Canon fired.<sup>1</sup> This day a child falls upon a Knife which run through its cheek to the Throat, of which inward Wound it dies, and is buried on Wednesday. 'Tis one Gees child. — Thursday, April 23, Mother Sewall comes by Water in Stephen Greenleaf to see us. — Sabbath, April 26th, I go to Meeting; staid at home last Sabbath and April 20th by reason of my Sore Throat, with which was taken the night before Mr. Lord came in. — April 27th. Father Sweet buried — Tuesday, April 28th Began to wean little Hull to see if that might be a means to free him of Convulsions; he had one yesterday. — Wednesday, April 29th, The Vessel of which Matthew Soley died Master in London, arrives, and brings Gazettes to the 2d. of March. The King was buried 14th of Febr. in the even privately.

Friday, May the first, Mother Sewall goes to Salem; my Wife and I go with her to visit Mrs. Bellingham, and so to the Ferry Boat in which met with a Hampshire Man

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<sup>1</sup> The entry in the Colony Records, V. 474, adds a little to the picture. The Governor and Council having ordered his Majesty to be proclaimed in the High Street in Boston, it was "donn on 20th of Aprill last, the honourable Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants on horseback, with thousands of people, a troope of horse, eight foote companys, drums beating, trumpets sounding, his majesty was proclaymed by Edward Rawson, secretary, on horsback, and John Green, marshall generall, taking it from him, to the great joy and loud acclamations of the people, and a seventy peec of ordinance next after the volleys of horse and foote. . . God save the King, &c." — Eds.



that had been well acquainted with Mr. Cox and such Hampshire People, several of them, as mother knew: rode to Capt. Marshal's and there took leave. White Oaks pretty much put forth: 'tis a forward very green Spring. An Apsoon<sup>1</sup> man arrives of about 5 weeks' passage, brings word that the King was to be Proclaim'd the 23rd of April, and the Parliament to sit the 4th of May. Mr. Tho. Smith from Barbados brings the Honourable Francis Bond, one of His Majestie's Council for that Island, and of a great Estate, also one Mr. Middleton: Former comes to recover his health.<sup>2</sup> Father Town is buried at Cambridge this first of May. Sundry other vessels come from England, which I mention not. The like has hardly been known as to earliness. — Sabbath May 3rd, a letter read from the N.[orth] Church wherein Mr. Willard and Messengers desired to be sent in order to ordain Mr. Cotton Mather, Pastor of that Church; signed, Increase Mather, at the desire and order of the Church. The Governour and self with the Deacons, nominated to goe. — May 6th, General Court Assembles; Magistrates vote an Address to be sent by the Ship now ready to sail, on which a Negative put. A Committee chosen to Revise the Laws,<sup>3</sup> at

<sup>1</sup> Probably from Bergen-op-Zoom. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Bond, Esq., is mentioned several times in the Barbadoes lists printed by Hotten, in 1874. The main family was of Cornwall; but one offshoot was William Bond, of London, sheriff in 1568, "most famous in his age for his great adventures both by sea and land." His brother, Sir George Bond, and his nephew, Sir George Whitmore, were Lord Mayors of London. Numerous junior branches are indicated in the genealogy. The main branch lived at Sutton, and of this line William was grandfather of Alice Lisle, whose judicial murder is noted in these pages. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> The report of the committee is on record, under date of May 27, 1685. (Col. Rec. V. 476.) At this date, also, was passed a law establishing a Court of Chancery to exercise equity jurisdiction. This revision of the Colony laws, "especially those more lately made," was entered upon and very slowly and grudgingly pursued, in compliance with the peremptory exceptions made to them by the Attorney and Solicitor General of England. Among the laws which were annulled was that which sentenced to death Quakers returning from banishment, and that passed in 1659 "against keeping Christmas." The Records add: "For greater expedition in the present

the earnest Suit of the Deputies, which they would have had them made a Report of next Tuesday, but agreed to be next Election Court. Took the word "*such*" out of the late Law printed Title "*Conveyancies*"; made some Freeman, it may be Twenty: Dissolved the Court on Friday May 8th, 1685. — Thursday, May 7th. a youth was Cut for the Stone and a great one taken out as big as a Hen's Egg. — Friday morn, May 8<sup>th</sup> 1685, the Lad dies, at Neighbour Mason's, and now his Son will not be cut, seeing this stranger fare so ill. Mr. John Bayly preached the Lecture for Mr. Mather, from Ps. 37. 4. Delight thyself also in the Lord &c.

Friday May 8th — past 6, even, Walk with the honored Governour [Bradstreet] up Hoar's Lane,<sup>1</sup> so to the Alms

revisall of the lawes, this Court doth order, that they shall be sent to the presse sheet by sheet, and that the Treasurer make payment to the printer for the same paper and worke, June 10, 1685, and that Elisha Cook and Samuel Seawall, Esqrs., be desired to oversee the presse about that worke." — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> This walk is not easily traced, owing to the indefiniteness of the descriptions. Sewall, of course, starts from his house on Tremont Row; then by Hoar's Lane to the almshouse. This last-named site is well known, being on the corner of Park and Beacon Streets. Hoar's Lane is therefore presumably that part of Beacon Street reaching from Tremont Street to Park Street. Although, by the town's order of 1708, this was termed Beacon Street, yet Bowditch says that, in a deed of 1750 (Suffolk, Lib. 84, f. 8), it was called "the lane leading to the almshouse."

But why called Hoar's Lane? The only supposition is, that the name came from William Hoare, who lived on the south corner of School and Washington Streets. Hoare mortgaged, Dec. 13, 1683 (Deeds, Lib. 13, f. 61), to Mrs. Hull and Samuel Sewall, his land on that corner, bounded east by the street to Roxbury, north by the lane running from said street to the Training Field, south by Arthur Mason, west by Joseph Whiting. Hoar's wife, Hannah, was daughter of Robert Wright, and with her sister, Lydia Griffin, sold land, in 1700-1 (Deeds, Lib. 20, f. 218), inherited from their father. It was bounded east by heirs of John Blowers, west by land of Dr. Elisha Cooke, south by Capt. Samuel Sewall's land, north by "school-house lane, so called."

From the Almshouse they went "down the length of the Common to Mr. Dean's pasture." Presuming this means down Beacon Street, they would reach a lot of about five acres, bought by Thomas Deane, as Bowditch shows; being the lots of Richard Truesdale, sold May 14, 1667 (Deeds, Lib. 5, f. 234),

House ; then down the length of the Common to Mr. Dean's Pasture, then through Cowell's Lane to the New Garden,

and Thomas Miller or Millard, sold May, 1668 (Deeds, Lib. 5, f. 249). Deane, indeed, sold in 1672, to Whitcomb, he to Hawkins, who sold to Savage, from whom Sewall bought, April 2, 1692. (Lib. 15, f. 183.) This estate was then known as Sewall's Elm Pasture, and thereon his heirs laid out, on paper, Bishop-stoke Street and Coventry Street. It reached from Joy Street west, about 440 feet on Beacon Street. (Bowditch.)

Clearly this ought to be the "Deane's pasture" in question; for, doubtless, Sewall walked by it often, and with appreciative eyes, before he bought it.

"Then through Cowell's Lane to the New Garden." Here is a trouble, for we lack any authority for calling the lower part of Beacon Street Cowell's Lane. In fact, the Cowell tribe lived on the corner of Washington and West Streets, and this latter street *ought* to be Cowell's Lane. In 1708, it was Cowell's Corner.

But the "new garden," we must insist, was that spot of most historic interest, where William Blackstone resided before Boston existed. Dunton, who was here in 1686, writes: "On the South, there is a small but pleasant Common, where the Gallants a little before sunset walk with their Marmalet Madams, as we do in Moorfield, &c, till the Nine-a-Clock Bell rings them home; after which the Constables walk their Rounds to se good order kept, and to take up loose people."

Bowditch has conclusively proved that Blackstone's lot was at the foot of the Common, at the corner of Beacon and Charles Streets.

Richard Pepys bought this lot of six acres, Jan. 30, 1655, and sold it to Nathaniel Williams, as appears by a deed of Peter Bracket, who married Williams's widow, conveying the lot to Williams's children (Deeds, Lib. 9, f. 325), and also by the following deposition:—

Lib. 26, f. 84. Anne Pollard, widow, aged about eighty-nine years, testified, Dec. 26, 1711, "That this deponent's husband Mr William Pollard occupied and improved a certain piece or parcel of land, scituate near the bottom of the Common, at the westerly part thereof in Boston aforesaid, and bounded on the Sea south-west, for many years; and that her said husband hired the same of Richard Peepys, late of Boston aforesaid, Gent<sup>r</sup> deceased, who often told this Deponent, that he the said Peepys bought the said land of Mr. Blackstone formerly of Boston aforesaid. And further this deponent saith that the said Peepys built a house thereon wherein this deponent and her husband dwelt for near fourteen years, during which time the said Blackstone used frequently to Resort thereto, and this deponent never heard any controversy between him, the said Blackstone, and the said Peepys about the said land, but the same was always reputed to belong to him as this deponent understood. And she further says, That soon after the sale thereof, as she supposeth, the said Blackstone removed from this town of Boston. And she further saith not."

Bowditch shows that the Williams sold, Jan. 29, 1703-9 (Deeds, Lib. 24,



then to our House, then to our Pasture by Eng's, then I waited on his Honour to his Gate and so home. This

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f. 103), to Thomas Banister, their orchard and pasture. He also shows that the next lot eastward belonged to Francis East; and, in 1694, this lot measured 12 rods 13 feet on the south line on the Common, with Sewall's land east. East's lot "extended on Beacon Street to just about the east line of Spruce Street, and the west boundary of East's pasture extended in a beveling line to Mount Vernon Street, which street is intersected a little west of the division line between the two elegant mansions of Messrs. John E. and Nathaniel Thayer."

The Blackstone lot "bounds south on Beacon Street to the original channel, which was many hundred feet west of Charles Street, or about the lowest long block of dwelling-houses now [November, 1855] completed on the Mill Dam. On the east line it extended along East's pasture and beyond it on land of Allen or Wheelwright, and to within a few feet of Pinckney Street, at a point which is nearly in the range of the westerly part of the School House Estate, at the corner of Centre Street. It thence extended along in the direction of Pinckney Street westerly, so as to include all Louisburg Square, till it met a line about 50 feet west of the west line of Louisburg Square, where it was bounded on the pasture of Zechariah Phillips, on which pasture it afterwards bounded northerly by a line running to the water."

It is evident that there was a small projection of land here, — "Blackstone's Point," — the water sweeping in over the Parade Ground south, and behind Beacon Street north. The orchard, planted first by Blackstone, is clearly indicated on Bonner's map; and, in fact, when Banister's heirs sold, in 1733, the land is said to be "improved as a garden."

We may presume, then, that Sewall's walk was "down the length of the Common," on Beacon Street, to Williams's garden, and that he returned the same way; or, as he writes, "then to our house."

Then he starts on a fresh trip, — "then to our pasture by Eng's." As to this we are less confident. It seems that Maudit Ingles, Engles, or Engs, evidently a foreigner, was an original grantee on Summer Street, near the corner of High Street.

At a little later date, Sewall had a lot here, and the coincidence is worth noting. The record is (Deeds, Lib. 26, f. 84): 20 Dec. 1711, W<sup>m</sup> Hickinbotham, of Boston, Knacker, and wife Anna, widow of Samuel Engs, sell to James Marshall, a house and land in Summer street, bounded south on said street 17 feet north on other land of Engs' heirs 29½ feet; east by a passage way between land of Engs and land of Capt. Samuel Sewall, Esqre, 102 feet; west on land of said Engs.

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"Then I waited on his Honour to his gate and so home," says Sewall. We find no record of Governor Bradstreet's home. He was then living with his second wife, Anne, daughter of Emmanuel Downing, and widow of Joseph Gardner of Salem. He had made an antenuptial settlement of her estate; and from a remark he makes in his will about the small amount of



day our old Red Cow is kill'd, and we have a new black one brought in the room, of about four years old and better, marked with a Cross and slit in the Left Ear, and a Cross off the right Ear, with a little hollowing in. As came with his Honour through Cowell's Lane, Sam. came running and call'd out a pretty way off and cried out the Cow was dead and by the Heels, meaning hang'd up by the Butcher. At which I was much startled understanding him she had been dead upon a Hill or cast with her heels upward, and so had lost her; for I was then looking for her and 't was unexpected, Mother having partly bargained and the Butcher fetcht her away in the Night unknown. Had served this family above Ten years, above Nine since my dwelling in it.

Satterday May 9th, Brother Stephen Sewall visits me. — Monday, May 11th, 1685, I accompanied Mr. Moodey to Mr. Eliot's [the "Apostle to the Indians"] to persuade Mr. Benjamin to go to the Ordination of Mr. Cotton Mather, in which I hope we have prevailed; the mentioning of it drew Tears from the good Father so as to hinder his Speech. The Father was abroad and preached yesterday. Visited Mr. Dudley also. Deacon Parkes dyed last night, and Goodman Woodward of Dedham,

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household goods which he had bought since his marriage, and the want of mention of a house in Boston, we infer he only hired a house in town. The only land which he seems to have owned was on the north side of Court Street, and apparently there was no house standing on it. This lot is described in the following deed:—

Lib. 17, f. 25, 27. Jan'y 23, 1694-5. Simon Bradstreet and wife Ann sell to William Clarke a piece of land in Prison Lane, bounded south on the lane, west on land of Manasseh Beck, north on a pasture of Mrs. Penelope Bellingham, east on land of John Dasset. This land was mortgaged by Sampson Sheaffe in 1687 who surrendered same.

But we do find Bradstreet taxed, in 1687 and 1688, in division or ward No. 7, which went down School and State Streets and up Summer Street. We may infer that, as he is named next to William Hoare, he lived near the Old South, on Washington Street or on School Street. If in either place, Sewall might have left him as he came back from the foot of Summer Street.

— Eds.

father to the Minister, is dead within 's day or two. At Mr. Dudley's was Wm. Hahaton and David Indian, who Acknowledged the Papers I offered him in Feb. Court, at Capt. Paige's, speaking English. — Tuesday, May 12th, I weary myself in walking from one end and side of the Town to t'other to seek our lost Cow. — Wednesday, May 13, 1685, Mr. Cotton Mather is ordained Pastor by his Father, who said, My son Cotton Mather, and in 's sermon spake of Aaron's Garments being put on Eleazer, intimating he knew not but that God might now call him out of the World. Mr. Eliot gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, calling him a Lover of Jesus Christ. Mr. Benjamin Eliot<sup>1</sup> was there who hath not been at Town these many years. — Thursday May 14th, Mr. Torrey and Uncle Quinsey dined here. Have agreed to have a Fast here at our house next Friday. 'Twas first to be on Tuesday, but altered it. I invited all the Magistrates: to most writ the following words — “To Samuel Nowell, Esq “Sir — The Ministers of this Town are desired to Pray and Preach at my House next Friday, to begin about half an hour past Nine; which I acquaint you with that so yourself and Wife may have the opportunity of being present. Sam. Sewall. May 18. 1685.”

Tuesday May 19th. 1685 went to Roxbury Lecture, invited Mr. Eliot and his Son to be with us on Friday next. When I come home I find Hullie extream ill having had two Convulsion Fits, one of them very long: the Child is much changed. — Friday May 22d. 1685, had a private Fast: the Magistrates of this town with their Wives here. Mr. Eliot prayed, Mr. Willard preached. I am afraid of Thy judgments — Text Mother gave. Mr. Allen prayed; cessation half an hour. Mr. Cotton Mather prayed; Mr. Mather preached Ps. 79, 9. Mr. Moodey prayed about an hour and half; Sung the 79th Psalm from the 8th to the

<sup>1</sup> He was the assistant of his father in the church at Roxbury, and died in 1687, his father surviving him. — Eds.

End: distributed some Biskets, and Beer, Cider, Wine. The Lord hear in Heaven his dwelling place. — Satterday May 23d, morn, Thunder and Lightening. Saturday 5 p.m. Mr. Wharton and Saffin offered me an Address, which I saw not cause to sign. Governour had signed, J. Winthrop, Capt. Fones and some others interested in the Narraganset Lands. Mr. Lynde, Mr. Smith (Nar.) and Mr. Brindley were by at the same time. Sabbath May 24th, we read the ninety-seventh Psalm in Course: Mr. Francis Bond at our House. — Tuesday May 26th, 1685, Mary Kay comes hither to dwell in Hannah Hett's stead, who is upon Marriage. — Wednesday, May 27th, 1685, Election day, being very fair Wether all day. Mr. William Adams preaches from Isa. 66, 2. Capt. Blackwell and Mr. Bond dine with us: Mr. Philips craves a Blessing and returns Thanks, in which mentions the Testimony of Jesus, that God would make us faithfull in it. Governour chosen without counting; Mr. Nowell (I think) came next. Mr. Danforth Deputy Governour clear. Assistants,<sup>1</sup>

	Esqrs.		Esqrs.
D. Gookin	1312	P. Tilton	1234
J. Pynchon	1257	S. Appleton	1200
Wm. Stoughton	757	R. Pike	1168
J. Dudley	694	Elisha Cooke	1067
N. Saltonstall	1080	Wm. Johnson	932
H. Davie	1131	John Hathorn	1031
J. Richards	1267	Elisha Hutchinson	777
S. Nowell	1257	S. Sewall	1065
J. Russell	1263	Oliver Purchas	683

## Commissioners United Colonies

Mr. Stoughton	307
Mr. Nowell	485

## — Reserves

Mr. Danforth
Mr. Dudley.

<sup>1</sup> As Sewall has preserved some lists of the votes for magistrates, it may be well to note that the list for 1683 is printed in the Hutchinson Collection, p. 541. — Eds.



Persons left out this year

Mr. Bulkeley 667 }  
Mr. Woodbridge 559 } in last year — In the room now

Mr. Dudley, Oliver Purchas. Mr. Brown had votes 398, Mr. Gedney 598, John Smith 608, Dan! Pierce 471. Major General and Treasurer, no telling; Mr. Addington had a great many Votes for Secretary. My dear child Hull had a Convulsion Fit in Lecture Time. Mr. Adams, prayed after the Election over. The Governour, Deputy Governour and about nine Assistants sworn, of which myself one: Court adjourned till Thursday 8 of the clock.

Thursday about noon, one Jonathan Gardner of Roxbury commits Bestiality with a mare; he is sent to Prison, but one Witness. Hull hath two Convulsion Fits which bring him extreme low; Mr. Philips prays with us. — Friday, May 29th. Mr. Nowell and I go to Mr. Stoughton and Dudley to acquaint them with the Freeman's Choice of them, in the Court's Name, and to desire them to come and take their Oaths: I doubt Mr. Bulkeley's being left out will make them decline it. Mr. Eliot was ill and not at this Election, which knew nothing of till Mr. Philips told me the last night.

Monday June 1, 1685. Artillery Election day; Eliakim sets out to see his mother at N. Hampton, Connecticut. I Train not. Mr. John Phillips is chosen Captain. Capt. Hill Lieutenant, Mr. Benj. Alford Ensign, Henry Deving eldest Sergeant, Crick second, Seth Penn third, Sam. Chickly fourth, Roby, Clark. The 46th Psalm sung at Mr. Wing's, from the 6th verse to the end. About 3 of the clock in the Afternoon this day, Cousin Anne Quinsey is brought to bed of a Daughter. June 2, 1685. In the Afternoon Mr. Stoughton and Dudley come and confer with the Council thanking them for their respect in acquainting them with their choice, and to say they were not of another mind as to the Substance than formerly, relating to the great Concerns of the Country, lest any might be deceived in desir-



ing them to take their Oaths. Also that if things went otherwise than well in that great Trial [we] were like shortly to have, all the blame would be laid upon them. Said, supposed things would be so clear when the day came as that [there] would be a greater unanimity what to do than now was thought of. Deputy Governours Cloud and Pillar. Seemed, through the importunity of friends, Ministers and others to incline to take the oath.<sup>1</sup> Take leave. When gone Deputy Governour relates a saying of his Wife. — June 3, very seasonable Rain. Wednesday June 3d, '85, at night very considerable Thunder and Rain. *In somniis visum est mihi, me rediisse Novoburgo vel alio aliquo oppido; et me absente, uxorem mortuam esse Roxburiae vel Dorcestriae; quam narrationem aegerime tuli Nomen saepius exclamans. Dum percontarer ubi esset socer dixerunt eum in Angliam profecturum; Filia scilicet mortuâ liberum esse ei ut iter faceret quo vellet. Hanc mortem partim ex incuria mea et Amoris indigentia accidisse, Elizabetha susurravit quod adhuc me gravius pressit. Excusso somno pro gaudio uxorem quasi nuper nuptam amplexus sum.*

*To the Kings Most Excellent Majestie.*

The Humble Address of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Assembled in Generall Court at Boston, 28th January 1684-5, Showeth,

That your Majesties poor and distressed Subjects of this Colonie have been long since transported and planted here under the most Gracious and Princely Encouragement of your Majesties Royall Ancestours of Blessed Memory: and since your Majesties happy Restauration, have had many Gracious Intimations of your Majesties Favourable regard and Inclination towards us, and our good Settlement and Security here, for which wee renew to Almighty God and your Majesty most humble Thankes, as wee ought alwayes.

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<sup>1</sup> These are intimations of the anxieties and misgivings, and of the differences, even alienations of feeling, of some of the old magistrates consequent on the unsettled state of the Government. — Eds.

That since it hath pleased your Majesty to proceed in Law against the Charter of this your Majesties Province in order to the vacating thereof upon the *Scire facias* late brought against us in the Chancery, of which wee never had any legall notice for our Appearance and making Answer: Neither was it possible in the time allotted that wee could. Had wee had opportunity it would have been easie to demonstrate our Innocency in what is objected against us. And wee hope that heavy charge is beyond believe, that wee have raised £50,000 *pr Annum*, converting it to our own use. Inasmuch as the ordinary Charge for the necessary Support of the Government doth not amount to £1200 a year: nor was there ever more raised on that Account. And wee most humbly beseech your Majestie to allow us sincerely to profess that not one of the Articles therein objected were intended, much less continued to be done, in Derogation of your Majesties Royall Prerogative, or to the Oppression of your Subjects.

It is matter of great grief and Sorrow to our hearts that by being misrepresented as disloyall and disobedient Subjects, wee are fallen under your Majesties Displeasure; wee implore your Majesties Favour, and humbly entreat that our great distance from your Majesties Royall Court, our poverty and many evill circumstances may be so graciously considered as that, of your Sovereigne Grace you would please to grant a Pardon and Amnesty of all our Errors, and the Continuation of our Liberties and Immunities granted in our Charter, under the Security of which our Worthy Predecessors undertook so great an Adventure, and left their Dear and Native Land and very desirable Enjoyments there, that so they might gain an inoffensive Retirement to Worship God according to the dictates of their Conscience warranted by the Word of God, which wee also account more precious than all our outward Concerns, the Continuance of which will erect for your Majestie a lasting Monument of Praise and Thanksgiving in the hearts of the present and succeeding Generations.

Wee humbly take leave to add, that notwithstanding the many ill Representations and Informations that ly against us, wee are true Lovers of your Majesties Person and of the English Government, and do render unfeigned thanks to Almighty God for your most happy and miraculous Preservation hitherto, and shall not be wanting to doe our utmost endeavour to promote your Majestie peaceable and prosperous Reigne for which also as in duty bound wee shall ever pray.

[COPIE.]

*Letter to Mr. Humphreys.*

MR. HUMPHREYS :

Worthy Sir, — Although we have received no particular information from yourself concerning our Affairs, yet being by rumour informed that our Charter is condemned and Judgement entered up against us, our General Court have agreed upon this inclosed Address to be presented to his Majestie, and do request your Assistance for its speedy Presentation. How far wee are indebted to yourself we know not till wee hear from you; Wee would willingly discharge our debts while wee have it, especially to yourself, to whom for your friendship as well as service, wee are deeply indebted. Our Treasurer hath given order to Mr. John Ives to be making payment of our debt in part as far as our effects will goe; And the General Court do hereby with all thankfulness acknowledge their obligations to yourself and those honored and worthy Gentlemen who are of Council for us, still requesting of [you] and them that by the first opportunity wee may be informed from yourself what may be needful for us to doe under our present circumstances, as also what is past concerning us; not to give you further trouble at present remain,

your assured Loving friends,

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary  
in the name and by the order of the General Court.<sup>1</sup>

1685. Thursday, June 4th, Mr. Mather preaches from Isa. 14. 32. Doct. The Church of God shall stand and abide for ever. Probable that N. E. Church shall doe so. The 87th. Psalm sung. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley dine with us. Mr. Stoughton inclines to take his Oath; Mr. Mather, Capt. Scottow and Capt. Gidney dine with us likewise. This day the Chancery Bill is passed.

Monday, June 8th. 8 Companies Train: in the morn. between 7 and 8 o'clock. Asaph Eliot comes in and tells me a Rumor in the Town of the New Governour being come to New York, and the certain News, doleful news of Mr. Shepard of Charlestown, his being dead, of whoes illness I heard nothing at all. Saw him very well this day sennight; was much smitten with the News. Was taken

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<sup>1</sup> This address and letter are printed in Col. Rec., V. 466, 468. — Eds.



on Friday night, yet being to preach and administer the Lord's Supper on Sabbath day, forbore Physick, at least at first. This day Mr. Stoughton and Dudley come in, and in their places at Court in the afternoon, take their Oaths. N[ote]. Charlestown was to have had a great bussle in Training on Tuesday with Horse and Foot, Capt. Hammond engaging some of Boston to be there; but now 'tis like to be turned into the Funeral of their Pastor: he dying full and corpulent. Mr. Bayly, Sen'r dined with us at Mr. Pain's. The reverend Mr. Thos. Shepard was ordained May 5, 1680 by Mr. Sherman, Mr. Oakes giving the Right Hand of Fellowship. Mr. Sh.'s Text Heb. 13. 20 — That great Shepherd of the Sheep.

On the Sabbath June 7<sup>th</sup> '85, Cous. Quinsey had his Daughter Anne baptized.

Tuesday, June 9<sup>th</sup> The Reverend Mr. Tho<sup>s</sup> Shepard buried: Governour, Deputy Governour and Magistrates there. Mr. Bulkely dined with us and was there. Bearers, Mr. Mather, Mr. Simes, Mr. Willard, Mr. Hubbard of Cambridge, Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, Mr. Cotton Mather: the two last preached at Charlestown the last Sabbath day. It seems there were some Verses; but none pinned on the Herse. Scholars went before the Herse. A pretty number of Troopers there. Capt. Blackwell and Counsellor Bond there.

Tuesday, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1685. Gov<sup>r</sup> Edw. Cranfield sails away in his Sloop from Portsmouth. It is like is gone to Barbados. *Teste Petr. Weare.*

Thursday Even, June 11<sup>th</sup> Brother Steven Sewall lodges here: hath been extream ill.

Satterday, June 13<sup>th</sup> Capt. Benj<sup>n</sup> Gillam buried. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet's Effigies hung up in his best Room this day.

Wednesday, June 17<sup>th</sup> a Quaker or two goe to the Governour and ask leave to enclose the Ground [on the Common] the Hanged Quakers are buried in under or near the Gallows, with Pales: Governour proposed it to the



Council, who unanimously denied it as very inconvenient for persons so dead and buried in the place to have any Monument.

Thursday, June 18. A Quaker comes to the Governour and speaks of a Message he had which was to shew the great Calamities of Fire and Sword that would suddenly come on New-England. Would fain have spoken in the Meetinghouse, but was prevented. Eliakim comes home this day, brings word that Capt. Henchman is coming away from Worcester with his Family.

Noyes this day of a French Pirat on the Coast, of 36 Guns.

Satterday, June 20<sup>th</sup> 1685. The Court not agreeing about the Proviso in the end of the 2<sup>d</sup> Section of the Law, title Courts, adjourns till Tuesday July 7<sup>th</sup> except Occasion be, and then the Governour is to call them sooner. Also the Dep<sup>t</sup> Governour goes to keep Court at York next week with Mr. Nowel, and several other Magistrates will go out of Town. The final difference between the Magistrates and Deputies is: The Governour and several with him would Repeal the Proviso, letting the rest of the Law stand as it does; the Deputies have voted the Repeal of the Proviso; and withall that the Remainder of the Law have this alteration, viz: in stead of greater part of the Magistrates, — greater number of the Magistrates present — so to make the Law new as [it] might be construed contrary to the Charter: the Governour, Mr. Stoughton, Dudley and several others could not consent.

Voted. the 16<sup>th</sup> of July to be observed as a Fast.

Satterday, P. M. Carried my Wife to Dorchester to eat Cherries, Rasberries, chiefly to ride and take the Air: the Time my Wife and Mrs. Flint spent in the Orchard, I spent in Mr. Flint's Study, reading Calvin on the Psalms &c. 45. 68. 24.

Sabbath, June 21, 1685. Mr. Solomon Stoddard preaches in the Afternoon from Gal. 5. 17. shewing that there is a

principle of Godliness in every true Believer; and how it differs from Moral Vertue, &c. Some little disturbance by a Quaker about the time of Baptism.

Wednesday, June 24, 1685. Carried my Wife to Cambridge-Lecture; Mr. Willard preached from those words, He that knows and does not his Master's will, shall be beaten with many Stripes. Dined with Mr. Nathaniel Gookin.

June 25. Mr. Russel of Hadley preacheth the Lecture from Zech. 7. 5. Did ye at all fast unto me, even to me?

Publick Fast, By the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in N. E. at a Gen<sup>l</sup> Court held at Boston May 27. 1685.

This Court having taken into their serious consideration, that in respect of afflictive Sickneses in many Places, and some Threatenings of Scarcity as to our necessary food, and upon other Accounts also, we are under solemn Frowns of the Divine Providence; being likewise sensible, that the People of God in other parts of the World are in a low Estate,

Do therefore appoint the Sixteenth day of July next, to be set apart as a Day of publick *Humiliation* by Fasting and Prayer throughout this Colony, exhorting all who are the Lord's Remembrancers, to give Him no rest, till Isai. 62. 7. He establish and make Jerusalem a Praise in the Earth: And do hereby prohibit the Inhabitants of this Jurisdiction all servile Labour upon the said Day.

By the Court, Edward Rawson Secretary. Copied out of the Print.

June 25<sup>th</sup> A Ship comes in to Marble head, and brings news of the King's Coronation.

June 26. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Cotton, and Mr. Solomon Stoddard dine here.

Satterday, June 27<sup>th</sup> It pleaseth God to send Rain on the weary dusty Earth.

Wednesday, July 1, 1685. Commencement day; Peter Butler comes in from London, brings news of the King's Coronation, Sermon and Formalities, with a Letter from Mr. Humfryes, and a Copy of the Judgement entered up against us that [is] about 145 pages, cost 5<sup>lb</sup> 10. having Pengry's Rec<sup>t</sup> upon an outside Leaf.

Cous. Nath. Duñer is brought by Cous. Jer. to our House this day, he came in Mr. Butler who came in Late Last Night; so came not ashoar till this morn. Goes to the Commencement with Eliakim. Besides Disputes there, are four orations, One Latin by Mr. Dudley; and two Greek, one Hebrew by Nath Mather, and Mr. President after giving the Degrees made an Oration, in Praise of Academical Studies and Degrees, Hebrew Tongue: Mr. Collins, Shepard, &c. Dept. Governour and Mr. Nowell absent; not returned from keeping Court in the Province of Mayn. Governour there, whom I accompanied by Charlestown. After Diner the 3<sup>d</sup> part of the 103 Psalm was sung in the Hall.

Thursday, July 2<sup>d</sup> 1685. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches from 2. Cor. 5. 5. In's Father's Turn, who keeps at Cambridge.

After the County Court is over, is a Conference at his Honours; present the Governour, Mr. Stoughton, Dudley, Richards, Sewall, Mr. Torrey, Brinsmead, Willard, Adams. Were unanimous as to what discoursed relating to our Circumstances, the Charter being Condemned. Every one spake.

Satterday, July 4<sup>th</sup> 1685. Little Hull hath a Convulsion Fit: it took him sleeping in the Cradle after Diñer.

I was taken ill myself very feverish so as feared the Fever and Ague, took some Cardnus Drink at night, Sweat pretty well, and so it went off, blessed be God.

Satterday, about 4 *mane* Isaac Woode dyes pretty suddenly: for was abroad the day before tho' had been not well a 14 night.



Monday, July 6<sup>th</sup>. I am taken with a Feverish Fit; yet go to Court in the Afternoon, the County Court, where was read Major Pynchon's Letter to the Council; which is that 5 Men came to one of the Houses of Westfield (I think) about midnight 28<sup>th</sup> June, knockt at the door, the Man bid him come in, so in they came all Armed with drawn Swords, and threatened to run the man and his wife through if they stirred: so plundered that House, and another in like manner: told they had 60 Men in their Company and that if they stirred out of door, they would kill them; so stayd in a great part of Monday, then when thought the Coast was clear told the Neighbours and some were sent to Search after them; at last found them: one of the 5 snapt and missed fire, another shot, then one of ours shot so as to shoot one of theirs dead: another of the 5 fought one of ours with his sword, till another of ours knockt him down. One or two that were taken are brought to Boston, one at least is escaped. Major Pynchon his Works will cost near an hundred Pounds.

An Indian was branded in Court and had a piece of his Ear cut off for Burglary.

Tuesday, July 7<sup>th</sup> Brother Moody visits us. General Court sits in the Afternoon. Time is spent in ordering a Drum to beat up for Volunteers about 30. Samson Waters, Capt., to go with Mr. Patteshal's Brigenteen to fetch in two Privateers that this morn are said to be in the Bay, a Sloop and Shalop, in the Shalop, Graham.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday I take a Vomit, after 12 Sweat much, when cold fit past. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley visit me and Mr. Secretary. Thorsday morn take Cortex Peruvianus

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<sup>1</sup> The Col. Records, V. 488, 489, show that this fright was caused by the pirates Veal and Graham. A drum was beat for volunteers, not exceeding forty, for manning Mr. Richard Patteshall's brigantine, and they were to meet at Mr. John Vvall's, at the Ship Tavern. By the next order, the Court decreed, that, as men did not readily enlist, "free plunder be offered to such as shall voluntarily lyst themselves, or that a sufficient number of men be forthwith impressed to that service." — EDS.



in a glass of Wine. Marshal Gen<sup>l</sup> comes to speak with me, being sent to call me to Court because all the Magistrates might be together to give their sence what to do when Col. Kirk comes, and how to receive him. Brother and Sister Gerrish lodged here last night. I had very little sleep. Brother and Sister Gerrish Lodged here.

Now about News comes to Town that Panama is taken by one Banister an English Man ; and that by the help of the Natives he intends to hold it.

Friday, July 10<sup>th</sup>. I take another dos of the Cortex : my Fit staves away. Brother and Sister Gerrish go home. Between 2 and 3. P. M. as Mr. Fisk and Mr. Wyllys were talking with me, it grew darkish, thundered, and a very sudden, violent storm of Rain, Wind and Hail arose which beat so upon the Glass and partly broke it, as startled us. The Window of Mothers Bed-Chamber next the Street hath many Quarrels broken in it, all over, except the sidelong Pane next the Shop. We were speaking about Col. Kirk's coming over.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Stoughton visits me and tells of the Court's Adjournment till next Tuesday Señight and then the Elders to meet them and advise.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bullivant visit me at the same time. Mr. Stoughton also told me of George Car's Wife being with child by another Man, tells the Father, Major Pike sends her down to Prison. Is the Governour's Grandchild by his daughter Cotton.

One Vicars drowned, the boat he was in being sunk in the Harbour by the Gust ; our Washer's Son.

<sup>1</sup> The ever infamous Colonel Piercy Kirk, already known as employed at Tangier, was designated by James II. as governor of the colony. Palfrey writes (III. 395), "that campaign in the West of England had not yet taken place, which has made the name of Kirk immortal; but fame enough had gone abroad of his brutal character to make his advent an anticipation of horror to those whom he was to govern." But Massachusetts was spared the infliction. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This conference with the Elders of the several towns was a matter of formal vote. Col. Rec., V. 492. — Eds.

Jn<sup>o</sup>. Balston arrives ; when was below, was some rumor that the Governour was come. July 10<sup>th</sup> '85, brings news the Parliament had sate, and were adjourned for a day or two. Dr. Oates has been whipt and set in the Pillory. Was set in the Pillory before the Exchange, May 19, the day of the Parliament Sitting: 'Tis for Perjury.

Sabbath-day, July 5. Mr. Sherman the Father is taken delirious in Sudbury Pulpit ; so fain to be born away ; is now sick of the Fever and Ague. Orders go out to Towns that have not sent, to send a Deputy or Deputies at their peril against the 21. Instant, and the Elder warned also to appear ; I read the paper to Watertown. The Deputies that were present on Friday, are to warn the respective Elders.

Wednesday, P. M., July 15. Very dark, and great Thunder and Lightening.

One Humphry Tiffiny and Frances Low, Daughter of Antony Low, are slain with the Lightening and Thunder about a mile or half a mile beyond Billinges Farm, the Horse also slain, that they rode on, and another Horse in Company slain, and his Rider who held the Garment on the Maid to steady it at the time of the Stroke, a coat or cloak, stounded, but not killed. Were coming to Boston. Antony Low being in Town the sad Bill was put up with [regard] of that Solemn judgment of God ; Fast-day Forenoon. July 15, 1685. 2 Persons, 2 Horses.

July 17. Mr. Allin makes me an Issue in my left Arm.

July 19<sup>th</sup> By accident the Spear was not sent on Saturday, but this night ; I not being very throughly recovered, Mr. Goose Watches accompanied by Sam. Clark, and Cous. Nath. Du<sup>m</sup>er. This Sabbathday Mrs. Sarah Noyes's House broken up in time of Afternoon-Exercise ; and Money Stolen ; Ens. Pecker's the Sabbath before.

A Bristow-Man comes in this day, and fires five Guns at the Castle, which a little startles us.

Tuesday July 21. Cous. Nath. Du<sup>m</sup>er goes to Salem

in order to pass to Newbury next day, Brother Stephen coming for him.

This day about 31 Ministers meet, Mr. Higginson Prayes excellently: Governour gives the Question. Dine all together at Monk's.<sup>1</sup> After Diñer about 3 or 4 aclock, they give their Answere, i.e. Mr. Hubbard Speaks in behalf of the rest, that their Opinion was the Government ought not to give way to another till the Generall Court had seen and judged of the Coñmission; so should be called if not Sitting at the Arrival of a Coñmissioned Governour. But several expressed some Dissent: And after, shewed themselves extreamly dissatisfied, saying that Mr. Hubbard had greatly abused them and that he was not ordered by the Ministers that they knew to speak their minds, which six gave in under their Hands. The Meeting has been uncomfortable, and I doubt will breed great Animosities.

Thursday 23<sup>d</sup> July. Five Ministers gave under their Hands that Mr. Hubbard was aṑointed by the Ministers to deliver their mind, and that [he] had delivered it right. First five were, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Sam. Chiever, Joseph Estabrooks, Nicholas Noyes, Tho. Barnard.

The Governour goes from Lecture sick of a Cold, and dines not with us, nor comes to Court. Col. Pye dines with us, who comes hether by Land from Mary-Land.

Friday, July 24. Governour not abroad, very sharp debates about submission &c. upon a Governour's Arrival, occasioned by a vote from the Deputies to the purpose that the Court be Adjourned till 3<sup>d</sup> Wednesday in August except some demand of the Government from His Majestie be made before, then that effectual Order be taken for convening the Court by Governour, Dep. Governour or 3

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<sup>1</sup> George Monk kept the Blue Anchor Tavern, which was on Washington, north of the store now occupied by Little, Brown, & Co., one estate, forty feet wide, intervening. The place and the man are noted in Dunton's "Letters from New England," reprinted in 1867 by the Prince Society. — Eds.



Magistrates of Boston, and no Answer to be given till then. Magistrates past a Negative and another Vote for Adjournment till 2<sup>d</sup> Wednesday in October. Address is past but several did not vote, of which Self one.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Houghton and Dudley called as went home.

Mr. Higginson gave in his Opinion for Submission this day in case a Comissioned Governour come over.

Satterday, July 25. Governour is prevailed with to sign the Address. Court is Adjourned by the Dept. Governour (for Governour at home) till the 2<sup>d</sup> Wednesday in August at one a'clock: Several Freemen first made.

July 29<sup>th</sup> Cous. Duñer returns, and brings word of Mr. Batters Death this morn. He went from Court, as Mr. Addington the Speaker remembers, last Thursday. Mr. Nath. Green arrives this day, come from London June the 6. Jolls arrived in whom went the Letter concerning the Kings Proclamation.

Tho. Fayrewether a day or two before, by whom we hear of Argyle's Rising in Scotland, Landing there from Holland with the preparations against him. Act of Parliament for Settling the King's Revenue, as to the former King.

Thursday, July 30. Actions (33) being heard, Court is Adjourned till Tuesday next, Jury not dismissed because of Several Criminals.

Friday, July *ult.* Condey arrives, hath had the Small Pocks of which Jn<sup>o</sup> Cutts, his own Son, a youth, and one more are dead; but 'tis said have been well a 14 night. When came a little above the Castle, took in the Colours and cast Anchor, and a Man coming from on Board would not tell what the matter was, so began to noise it that the new Governour was come, flocking to the waterside. Not considering that Condey came out before Green.

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<sup>1</sup> The Record gives a copy of the address as voted, and the Court adjourned to the second Wednesday in August. At that date, nothing important was done, and an adjournment was made to Sept. 16, and then to Oct. 14. — Eds.

Satterday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 1. An order from the Council is signed to cause the Ship to remove lower to Lovel's Iland, and there the Passengers, Ship, and Goods between Decks to be Aired: None to come to any Town till further Order. And None to entertain persons coming from the Ship. Yet Mr. Vaughan and Wyar gone homeward. Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Epps dyed in London last April. It seems upon the 30<sup>th</sup> of July Mr. Eliot riding home his Horse stumbled and threw him, by which means his Collar-Bone is broken near his shoulder which puts him in great pain.

Wednesday, Augt. 5. rode to Dorchester Lecture with Cous. Nath. Du<sup>m</sup>er; was kindly entertained at Mr. Stoughton's after Lecture. Going thither I saw a few Feet of Ground enclosed with Boards, which is done by the Quakers out of respect to som one or more hanged and buried by the Gallows: though the Governour forbad them, when they asked Leave.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Eldridge Sails for London, wherein goes the Address to King James the 2<sup>d</sup>. Hath been hindered from July 27. by running on a Rock, essaying to go out at Broad Sound.

Satterday 8. at night August 8. 1685. The Reverend Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Sherman dyes: seemed to be cheerly in the morn and on Friday: the wether extream hot: Is buried on Monday August 10. 1685. Not many Ministers there, I supose knew not of it. Dept. Governour, Major General Gookin, Mr. Stoughton, Dudley, Davie, Richards, Nowel, Russel, Hutchinson, Cook, Sewall, there: Governour not present. I saw one or two Coaches. He is much Lamented as a Godly, prudent, peacable Man. By Ed. Oaks I understand Mr. Adams is seised again with his Fever-Ague, so that said Oaks preach'd there all day on the Sabbath. When return from the Funeral, I find my little Hull extream ill.

Augt. 12. General Court meets: Thursday Augt. 13. Adjourns till 3<sup>d</sup> Wednesday in September, excepting

Emergency. This Court ordered Court of Assistant Jurymen from Salem, and other Towns, not of late usual. The Treasurer refused to send out Warrants for Valuation, without a special order of Court, lest thereby he should seem to accept of that Office; so in his Bill he drew up, mentioned their providing a Treasurer against October. So the Secretary is ordered to give forth Warrants to the Towns to send in Votes for Treasurer to be presented to October Court. Is a Rumor that a Commission will be granted to some Gentlemen here, before the Governour come.

Augt. 14. I go to the Funeral of Robert Saunderson's young Son. At night Mr. Willard, Eliot Jacob, Rob<sup>t</sup> Walker, Frary, Nath. Oliver, Benj. Davis meet here to discourse. Because the two last named desire to come into the Church without making any Relation at all; or having Mr. Willard report the Substance of what they said to him.

Tuesday, Augt. 18. The Posthumous Daughter of James Richards Esqr. is to be buried this day, died very suddenly.

Monday Morn. Augt. 17. The sad and unexpected Newes of Mr. Adams's<sup>1</sup> Death came to Town. Is to be buried on Wednesday. Relations of the young Nymph above, are also Relations to Mr. Adams.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Adams sate down to Sup̄er with us on Thursday even Augt. 6. in Company with Mr. Torrey. Mr. Torrey craving a Blessing, thanked God for the Interview. This day his Election Sermon came out, and Augt. the 7<sup>th</sup> Friday morn, he gave me the Errata, which was chiefly carried *away*

<sup>1</sup> A classmate of Sewall. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This hint of a connection between Rev. William Adams and the daughter of James Richards by his wife Sarah, daughter of William Gibbons, is not to be explained now. James was possibly son of Thomas and Welthian Richards; but of Adams we know only that his father, William, was of Ipswich. — Eds.



in stead of carried with ambition. Suped with a new sort of Fish called Coñers, my wife had bought, which occasioned Discourse on the Subject. Mr. Adams returned Thanks.

Wednesday, Aug. 19<sup>th</sup> 1685. I ride to the Funeral of the Reverend Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Adams from Roxbury, in the Company of Mr. Hutchinson, Sergeant and their wives. Magistrates there, Dept. Governour, Mr. Stoughton, Dudley Richards, Cook; Four of our Class, viz: Mr. Thacher, Bowls, Norton, Self. I took one Spell at carrying him. Is laid in Mr. Lusher's Tomb. Mr. Wilson prayed with the Company before they went to the Grave. Dyed a strong Death about Sun-Rise on Monday morn.

Aug. 20, 1685. Mr. Moodey preaches from Ps. 74. 9. There is no more any Prophet: With respect to four Ministers taken away in less than twice so many Moneths: Shewed that 'twas a peculiar Aggravation to all other Afflictions and Fears. Mr. Edw. Taylor lodges here this night, he hastened to Town against Lecture-day that so might see Mr. Adams among the Ministers after Lecture; but coming, found me gone to His Funeral.

Aug. 26. Mr. Condey the Shipmaster dyes about 9. last night. Hath been sick but a little while.

Aug. 27. Mr. Thomas Bayly preaches in Mr. Mather's Turn. After Lecture Capt. Condey buried. Gloves given to the Magistrates. Eight Companies warned to Train next Monday. Capt. Eliot also warns the Troop.

Friday, Aug. 28, 1685. Mr. Foy arrives from London, about 8 weeks Passage, brings News of Argyle's being taken: and of Monmouth's being in Arms in England, with Rumors of a great Engagement and 30 or 40.000 slain, which Solomon Raynsford told us at Dinner. 'Tis said there are Black Boxes sent to Mr. Stoughton, Dudley, Bulkly, and Wharton. Many are clapt up in London, so that the Halls [of the Companies, *e. g.*, Fishmongers, Plumbers, &c.] full.

This day Augt. 28. is a Church Meeting at which 'tis consented that Persons may be taken in, the Church only being present, and not the Congregation: at the same time Mr. Benj. Davis, Mr. Nath. Oliver and Mr. Sam! Checkly were propounded.

Monday, Augt. 31. Eight Companies and the Troop Train. Dine with the South-Company, Capt. Blackwell, Mr. Brown of Barbados, Mr. Tho. Bayly, Capt. Gerrish, Capt. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Higginson, Cous. Duñer Trained. This morn Coñis-sioners chosen, and by reason of the Training, persons came and delivering their Votes went away, and some came not at all, so that was but Nine Persons when they were proclaimed and but eleven at any time in telling. Most had 61 Votes, generally 50 odd. Mr. Nowell and my self present for 2.

After went to see my sick Ensign, and staid while Mr. Willard went to prayer with him, his Life is feared. A Ten-pound Horse was stab'd and killed with a Pike this day, Jn<sup>o</sup>. Bemis's: Company made a Gathering 16s. In the South-Company, Mr. Allen Prayed, 5-9 verses 149 Ps. sung.

Thursday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> My Ensign Mr. Asaph Eliot dyes about 3 past Meridian, of a Fever. Is to be buried next Satterday about 2 of the Clock. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Bayly preached the Lecture. Several desirable persons are lately dead at Watertown in a week or two.

Friday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 4, '85. about 6 aclock Mr. Asaph Eliot, Ensign of the South-Company was buried: 'twas rainy wether, but had 7 Files Pikes and 6 Musketeers. Mr. Eliot was about 34 years old.

Sabbath-day, Sept<sup>r</sup> 6. in the time of Afternoon-Exercise, a considerable Gust of Thunder, Lightening, Rain.

Supose this to be the day that a Barn was burnt by it at Roxbury.

Tuesday Sept. 8. A Porpus was pursued and taken within the inward Wharfs.

Wednesday, 7: 9<sup>th</sup> Dined at Mr. Dudley's in Company of Counsellor Bond, Mr. Stoughton, Blackwell, Davie, Torrey, Willard, Shrimpton, El<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Paige, King, Allen, Mrs. Willard, Mrs. Paige. Mr. Hutchinson shewed me his Letter concerning his Mill at Piscataqua, wherein is solicited to build a Fort, lest the Indians burn it. When came home heard of a Body of Indians near Chelmsford, 3 or 400. The Rumors and Fears concerning them do much increase.

The Indians are near Albany: Wonolanset brings the news to Chelmsford; and mistrusts of their mischievous Designs.

Thursday 7: 10<sup>th</sup> Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Cotton preaches the Lecture. After Lecture Counsellor Bond dines with the Court, Thanks them all for their curtesy and kindness to him. Goes off in Mr. Smith.

Sabbath-day Sept<sup>r</sup> 13, 1685. Mr. Benj. Davis, Nath<sup>l</sup> Oliver, Sam<sup>l</sup> Checkly and his wife are received into the Church, which is a Sabbath or 2 sooner than I expected: The Lord's Super not being to be administered till Oct<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Checkly had most in 's Relation: two wear Perriwigs: <sup>1</sup> viz: Davis, Checkly.

Mr. Bond with us to day. Were first propounded Augt. 28.

Sept. 14, 1685. Go to Cambridge, and there hear Mr. Wigglesworth preach excellently from those words, Fight the good Fight of Faith, Lay hold on eternal Life. *vid.* Notes.<sup>2</sup> Capt. Hill chosen Capt. Mr. Lynde Lieut. Mr. Williams of New-Cambridge [Newton] Ensign. Mr. Hill I think will not accept. Coming home, hear of Meadfield Mill being burnt, and their confusion at Malborough last

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<sup>1</sup> Many evidences of Sewall's intense dislike of "Perriwigs" appear in his papers. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> In the Cabinet of the Historical Society are several small MS. volumes, which prove Mr. Sewall's zeal and diligence in making full notes of sermons heard by him. — Eds.



Satterday night. A suspected Indian is put in Prison. It seems were in Arms last Sabbathday at Dedham, somway knowing of Meadfield Mill being burnt. People are much perplexed.

Tuesday, Sept: 15. Take leav of Mr. Bond and give him Mr. Oakes's Artillery Sermon to read at Sea, stitched in Marble paper. Sails in Mr. Smith.

Tuesday, Sept: 15, 1685. Mr. Barns tells me the Governour of Carolina is come to Town this day for his health: is so weak that stumbled at a pebble and fell down. Name, West. Mr. Willard speaks to the 7<sup>th</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>andment, condemns naked Brests: and seems to be against the Marriage of First-Cousins.

Thursday, Sept: 17. News comes to Town of the rising of the Negros at Jamaica. Proves nothing answerable to the Rumor.

Generall Court having Voted that care be taken to see that all Persons are furnisht with Arms and Amunition according to Law because of Indians, that Wonolanset have £10. given him to a<sup>p</sup>ease, [him] because he alledges some of his carried away contrary to safe Conduct, and for his late Service; that the West end of the Town-House be secured with Lead at the Country's Charge, Court is adjourned to the 2<sup>d</sup> Wednesday in October at one of the Clock. Tim<sup>e</sup> Prout made surveyor general in Mr. Stoddard's Room, to look after stock of Powder &c.

Mr. Dudley, Saltonstall, Buckley, to say whether they will accept their Commissions as Majors.

Sabbath-day night, Sept: 20. 1685. Watch with Isaac Goose, and Cous. Nath. Du<sup>m</sup>er. Sam. Clark keeps on Board his Brother's Ship, intending a Voyage to Sea, having no work in the Shop.

Note, Sabbath-day, Sept: 20. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Baily preaches with us all day: Mr. Willard at Watertown. In the Afternoon from those words of Job, Till my Change come. Doct. Death a very great Change.

Monday, 7<sup>r</sup> 21. Shewed Mr. Tho. Chiever, Schoolmaster, in the Evening, what had received from Jamaica concerning Zadori. [a stranger from Hungary.]

Tuesday, 7<sup>r</sup> 22. 1685. Jn<sup>o</sup> Gardener came in late last night; this morning the News he brings runs thro' the Town, viz. that James late D. of Monmouth was beheaded on Tower-Hill on the 15<sup>th</sup> July last. Argyle drawn, hanged and quartered. Neighbour Fifield brought me the News, who had it from the Cryer of Fish.

Mr. Nowel and Moodey called here, having been to see sick father Porter, this morn 7<sup>r</sup> 22.

7<sup>r</sup> 22. This day Mr. Morgan, his Lady and Family arrive from Barbados intending to dwell here for some time.

By the same Ship word is brought of the death of Mr. Henry Higginson of the Small Pocks.

7<sup>r</sup> 22. In the Afternoon I visit Father Porter, and Mr. West late Governor of Carolina, who comes hether for cure of the Dry Gripes.

Wednesday 7<sup>r</sup> 23. Cous. Nath. Duñer and I ride to Milton Lecture. Before Lecture, I went to Anthony Gulliver and got him to go with me to Penny-Ferry and shew me the Marsh [he] was to buy of Mr. Gardener. He owned that he hired the Marsh 6 Acres of my Father at fifty shillings and would see me paid; seemed to say he hired it for his Son. Dined at Mr. Thacher's.

Wednesday night, Sept<sup>r</sup> 23. Mr. Clutterbuck Arrives from New-Castle and brings word that he saw Argile's head cut off June the last; and the certain Newes of the Death of Monmouth about the middle of July. Dissenters in the North released, and Scotland in quiet.

'Tis remarkable that Clutterbuck should from Ocular Testimony contradict diametrically the Rumors that were spread in Town Friday was Señight and strongly propagated, said to come by Clutterbuck: which was a meer Lye.

Laurence Vandenbosk Fr.[ench] Minister Marries  
——, Sylvester and Widow Gillam; though had promis'd the Court to do no more such things: this about the beginning 7<sup>r</sup>: is since gone to New York.<sup>1</sup>

7<sup>r</sup>: 25. Brother and Sister Stev. Sewall visit us. His Honour visits the Carolina Governour.

7<sup>r</sup>: 26. Jn<sup>o</sup> Turner arrives from Newfoundland, brings above 20 Passengers, though his vessel so very small. 14<sup>nts</sup>. Passage.

Monday, Sept<sup>r</sup>: 28, 1685. Meeting of Boston-Freemen to chuse a Treasurer for the Country. Mrs. Stanbury buried last night.

The last high Tide carried away the Bridge at Cambridge [to what is now Brighton], part of it; so that Cous. Fissenden now keeps a Ferry there. Seth tells me 'tis that part the Town was to maintain. Friday was Señight, by a Raft of Boards.

Sept<sup>r</sup>: 29. Cous. Nath. Duñer goes to Salem in Capt. More to try to sell what remains of his Goods, for Fish there. Cous. Fissenden calls in, all were well lately at Newbury, he having visited them.

Thorsday, Oct<sup>r</sup>: 1. 1685. Mr. Samson Stoddard arrives, who came from London the 25. July: brings the particulars of the Taking and Executing of the Late Duke of Monmouth whoes Head he saw struck off. Persons confined are now released.

Friday, Oct<sup>r</sup>: 2. go to Andrew Gardener's at Muddy River

<sup>1</sup> This matter is referred to in the printed "Vindication of New England," presumed to be mainly written by Increase Mather, reprinted in "Andros Tracts," Vol. II. It is there written, that "'tis confessed that once or twice a Debauched Priest has appeared amongst them; particularly one Vardenbosch, who besides the good work of Baptizing a noted Whore or two of his acquaintance, made private Marriages without any previous publication of Banes (which is a nuisance and Bane to all humane society); and yet so tender was the Government as only to give them some Orall Rebukes, upon which the guilty Knaves have run away." Savage calls him Lawrence Vandenbosk, a Huguenot clergyman. — Eds.



to gather Chestnuts in Company Mr. Dudley, Shrimpton, Lidget, Luscomb: 3 last I knew nothing of till came to Roxbury. Made us Eat there after came from Nutting.

Monday Oct: 5. Cloudy Lowring day, yet the Artillery Company goes over to Charlestown: the 2 Companies Train: we divide into 2, and with Cambridge Artillery oppose them upon the Hill in prospect of the Harbour. Mr. Cotton Mather prayed with us in the morn, and at breaking up. Capt. Wade with his Troop there: the Major Generall with a small Guard. Major Richards, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Nowel, Cook, dine with us at Jackson's. Mr. Cotton Mather Craves a Blessing and Returns Thanks. Got over about dark.

Wednesday, 8: 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting at our House, Mr. Zech. Walker speaks from Gen. 6. 8, 9. to very good purpose, shewing how may walk to be in a way of finding favour in God's Sight. Last Direct. was to carry it as inoffensively as might towards Men, that our own Rashness and indiscretion might not be the cause of our suffering.

Thursday, Oct: 8. Dolebery arrives being 7 weeks this day from London: brings little News that I hear of; only 'tis rumored, we are not like to have an alteration of the Government this year. A youth about nine years old, Son to Emanuel Wishart, drowned this day. County Court dissolved.

Satterday, Oct: 10, 1685. We read in course the defeat of Adonija; and the illustrious Coronation of King Solomon.

Sabbath-day, Oct: 11. A day of Sore Rain almost all day Long: Rained very hard going to and from Meeting forenoon and all Meeting time till 2 aclock, and great part Afternoon, and now at dark Rains hard. Hath been cloudy, Rainy, dark Wether above this week: but this Day exceeds. Eliza. Foxcroft Baptised this Afternoon.

Monday, Oct: 12. South-Company Trains, rest discour-

aged by the wet because thought could not perform their intended Exercise.

Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 13. Is a rumor in Town of Jolls's being cast away on the Cape and all the Passengers Lost but five Persons; Mr. Randolph drowned: but suppose all groundless.

Friday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 16. The Reverend Mr. Michael Wigglesworth is chosen by the Magistrates to Preach the next Election-Sermon.

Satterday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 17. Yesterday Mr. Stoughton and Dudley were grossly abused on the Road by James Begelo [Bigelow] of Watertown, and others. Begelo lay in Gaol all night, and to day bound over to the County Court first Tuesday in November. Court adjourned till Tuesday Morning next; partly because of the designed Training. Before Adjournment the Deputies sent down a Smart Bill, alledging that they were no blameable cause of the Laws not being Printed.

Monday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Training of Six Companies. Exercise was Taking of the Fort and advancing White Colours with Red Cross, above the Red Colours: so it stood while went to Dinner. Then Retaken. Firings on the Common: Vollies to the Governour. About Nine a'clock at night News comes to Town of Capt. Henchman's Death at Worcester last Thursday; buried on Friday. Very few at his Funeral, his own Servants, a white and black, carried him to, and put him in his Grave. His Wife and children following and no more, or but one or two more.

Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> Mr. Torrey here, prays with me and my Wife in the Morning. Great Rain and Storm.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 21, 1685. Capt. Jn<sup>o</sup> Phillips finally refuses to be Treasurer; the Magistrates chuse Mr. Nowel: but the Deputies would have it done by the Freeman, that their Priviledges may not be clipt, as many of them have of late been. Mr. Walker speaks at Mrs Oliver's from Isa. 59, 19. When the Enemy shall come in like a Flood, &c.,

being the place propounded by said Oliver. Very rainy day.

Wednesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 21. '85. very high Tide, went into our Cellar over the Wharf: but did not fill it: filled several other Cellars.

Thursday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 22. Deputies reassume their Vote as to the Treasurer and consent with the Magistrates, provided it be not drawn into an Example: so after Lecture Mr. Nowel took his Oath as Treasurer, having first made a worthy Speech. The Bill is passed that Persons must be Arrested 14 days inclusive before the Court. Court Adjourned to the 3<sup>d</sup> Tuesday in November at one a'clock: except there be some great Occasion to convene sooner. A Half Money-Rate and whole Rate in Country-pay passed. Mr. Mather preached from Ps. 73. 28. first part: 'Tis good for all to draw near to God. No Thanks-Giving this Session. [See note, p. 105.]

Oct<sup>r</sup> 31. 1685. Mrs Prout, the Mother, is buried; Rain part of the way, so but a few comparatively at the Grave; Rainbow seen. Note, Little Hull had a sore Convulsion Fit this day about Noon, so that I was sent for home from Court: had another near Sunset.

Satterday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 31. in the even I read in course in the Family Mr. Norton's Sermon on Jn<sup>o</sup> 8. 20. Lib<sup>r</sup> 22. 8<sup>th</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1659. Doct. All Engagements of Spirit, and Advantages notwithstanding; the Changes that befall Men, they come neither before nor after, but in the appointed Hour, or the precise Time, foreappointed of God. Sometime this Week a virulent Libel was fixed on Mr. Dudley's Fence, extremely abusive, especially to Him.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Capt. Brown Dines with the Court. Giles Goddard is brought in Not guilty respecting Mr. Nowel's Trunks, lost in Time of the Fire. 1679.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> James Begelo fined 10£ and Stebbin 5£ for their Abuses to Mr. Stoughton and Dudley. To find Bond for good Behaviour till next Court, then Appear; Fees of Court, standing Committed till performed.



Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> The County Court was Adjourned to Thursday come Señight at 2 aclock.

Mr. Allin preached Nov<sup>r</sup> 5. 1685 — finished his Text 1 Jn<sup>o</sup> 1. 9. mentioned not a word in Prayer or Preaching that I took notice of with respect to Gun-powder Treason. Part of the 132<sup>d</sup> Ps. sung; viz. from 11<sup>th</sup> v. The Lord to David Sware — to the End. In the Even I met at Serj<sup>t</sup> Bull's with Capt. Frary, Serj<sup>t</sup> Gardener, Pell, Raynsford, Corp<sup>l</sup> Odlin, Quinsey, Paddy, Clerk Mason, Wheeler; Ten mentioned sate down to Su<sup>p</sup>er, Serj<sup>t</sup> Bull and his Wife waited: After by the Fire spake as to an Ensign, all said they were unanimous for Serj<sup>t</sup> Gardener upon Serj<sup>t</sup> Bull's refusal, who alledged, as formerly, the loss of 's 4<sup>th</sup> Finger of 's right Hand, and a Pain in the same Shoulder: and as to me, is not of any Church, nor a Freeman, nor of Estate, besides the former Objections. Although it rained hard, yet there was a Bonfire made on the Co<sup>m</sup>on, about 50 attended it.

Friday night being fair about two hundred hallowed about a Fire on the Co<sup>m</sup>on.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 6. Mr. Willard calls in and tells me of a Thanks-Giving intended by the Ministers through the Colony upon the 3<sup>d</sup> of the next Moneth: Go to the Governour to get his Approbation, which He doth not presently grant; but will speak of it in Council on Thursday next; whether convenient for the Churches generally to attend such a Day without an Order from Authority, as usual. The difficulty of Printing an Order is, lest by putting in, or leaving out, we offend England. Having occasion this day to go to Mr. Hayward the Publick Notary's House, I speak to him about his cutting off his Hair, and wearing a Perriwig of contrary Colour: mention the words of our Saviour, Can ye not make one Hair white or black: and Mr. Alsop's Sermon. He alledges, The Doctor advised him to it.

Sabbathday Nov<sup>r</sup> 8. By Mr. Willard's Prayer in the

Morn, I understood some Minister was dead: Enquiring at Noon was told by my Wife, from Mr. Willard, that it was Mr. Nathaniel Chauncy of Hatfield. Was a Learned Godly Man.

In the Afternoon Mr. Willard Ordained our Brother Theophilus Frary to the Office of a Deacon. Declared his Acceptance Jan<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> first, and now again. Propounded it to the Congregation at Noon: Then in Even propounded if any of the Church or other had to object they might speak: Then took the Church's Vote, then called him up to the Pulpit, laid his Hand on 's Head, and said I ordain Thee &c., gave Him his Charge, then Prayed, and sung the 2<sup>d</sup> part of the 84<sup>th</sup> Ps. 4 Children Baptised before the Ordination. Thomas Eyre; William, Eliza, Joseph. So God in some measure is building our House when pulling down others.

Going to Mr. Willard's I understand Mr. Thomas Cobbet died last Thorsday Even, to be buried tomorrow Nov<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>; was abroad at some of his Neighbours the Monday before. Mr. Chauncey died on Tuesday last. So two Ministers dead this last week.

Monday Nov<sup>r</sup> 9. Mr. Cobbet buried about 4. in the Afternoon. Flight of snow. This day about 6 or 7 at night a Male Infant pin'd up in a sorry Cloth is laid upon the Bulk of Shaw, the Tabacco-Man: Great Search made tonight and next day to find the Mother. So far as I can hear this is the first Child that ever was in such a manner exposed in Boston.

Thorsday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 12. Mr. Moodey preaches from Isa. 57. 1. Mr. Cobbet's Funeral Sermon; said also of Mr. Chauncy that he was a Man of Singular Worth. Said but 2 of the First Generation left.

After, the Ministers of this Town Come to the Court and complain against a Dancing Master who seeks to set up here and hath mixt Dances, and his time of Meeting is Lecture-Day; and 'tis reported he should say that

by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Mr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not a time for N. E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt Dances.

An order is made to summon Mr. Shrimpton to Answer Mr. Sergeant by virtue of the new Law : about the Fathers Will, next Monday 14 night, which is the last of Nov<sup>r</sup>. Mr. Shrimpton and Sergeant differ about Will. Ecclips at night. County Court adjourned till this day 14 night. Governour's Hat blew off and fell flat on the Ground just as went to go in at 's Gate. Hath a new Border which began to wear Catechising day or Sabbath last, as I take it. Dept. Governour not in Town. New Almanack comes out this Day intituled New-England's Almanack, by Mr. Danforth.

The Ship Capt. Berry went out Master of to Jamaica, came in this day: He dyed in the Voyage, and was buried in the Sea.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 13. Barington arrives, brings word of the beheading my Lady Lisle, Mrs. Hez. Usher's Mother, at Winchester.<sup>1</sup> 4 Executed at London, Mr. Jenkins's

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Alice, or Alicia, Lisle, was the wife of John Lisle, who was bred to the bar, and, being returned to the Long Parliament, became a sturdy opponent of the King. He entered the army, attaining only the rank of Major. He became legal adviser to the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles I., and a Commissioner of the Great Seal under Cromwell. On the Restoration, he took refuge in Lausanne, with other refugees, and there he was assassinated. His widow, the Lady Alice, was arraigned in August, 1685, before the infamous Lord Chief Justice, George Jeffries, on the charge of High Treason, for having, merely on grounds of humanity, given hospitality to a lawyer and a clergyman suspected of complicity in Monmouth's insurrection. She was beheaded in September. Her daughter Bridget was the wife of Dr. Leonard Hoar, third President of Harvard College. After his decease, Nov. 28, 1675, she married, Nov. 29, 1676, Mr. Hezekiah Usher, a merchant of Boston. Not being happy in this marriage, she went to England with her daughter, Bridget Hoar, and did not return here till after Mr. Usher's death, July 11, 1697. Under date in his journal, Sewall records her death in Boston, May 25, 1723, and her interment, by her own request, in the grave of Dr. Hoar, at Braintree. Her daughter, Bridget Hoar, born at Cambridge, March 13,



Son, Alderm Hayes Son, and 2 more, and whipping the Taunton Maids. Capt. Jolls dead in London. Is a Rumor that the Government will be Changed, this Fall or Winter, by some Person sent over, or a Comission to some here.

It seems there was a Thanksgiving kept at Deacon Allin's this Day, which knew not of till Satterday. Madam Usher there. Have a Gazette to the 24<sup>th</sup> of August which mentions the raising the Sieg of Grann, taking Newheusel, defeating the Turkish Army by the Imperialists.

This Friday night began to read the Revelation in Course, having begun Pareus just about the same time though not on purpose.

Sabbath-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 15, 1685. In the Afternoon Mary Smith, Widow, Mr. Wheelwright's Grandchild, was taken into Church; then Mr. Willard mentioned what the Elders had done as to a Thanksgiving, and propounded to the Church that we might have one on the First Thorsday in December: because had Fasted, and God had graciously answered our Prayers; so should meet Him in the same place to give Thanks for that, and any other Providence that hath passed before us. Silence gave Consent, no one speaking.<sup>1</sup>

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1673, married, June 21, 1689, Rev. Thomas Cotton, of London. See Campbell's *Lord Chancellors*, Vol. III. p. 62, and Sibley's "Graduates of Harvard University," Vol. I. pp. 244-248. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> For a considerable number of years last past, covering the lifetime of all now on the stage, the executive authority of Massachusetts has annually designated, by proclamation, a day for a public thanksgiving and another for a public humiliation and fast. The usage has become so much a matter of course, or routine, that the last Thursday of November and the first Thursday of April are regarded by the executive as appropriated to these occasions. The proclamations are phrased in general forms, and, for the most part, if not in set terms, yet by implication, the usage for our modern times is commended as a tradition and as a conformity with the ways of the fathers of the colony. But a very important and distinctive fact has been lost sight of. These days of observance were not appointed by "the fathers" with any thing like our modern regularity and generalities of phrase. A special reason and occasion for each of them at any season was always emphatically stated, and that reason or occasion was of such a character as to secure the fullest

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 16. Brother Stephen here, and gives an Account of what had done at Kittery, for which was glad, but sorely saddened by Hullie's being taken with Convulsion Fits at Even. Gave of Dr. Winthrop's Physick and Cordials.

Tuesday Even Mr. Moodey here, prays with us; then I go with him to see Madam Usher, expecting to have seen some Prints; but had only a Letter from a Sister which reached to the day of Condemnation [of her mother]. Mr. Moodey prayed there: took leave.

Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 18. Uncomfortable Court day by reason of the extream sharp words between the Deputy Governour and Mr. Stoughton, Dudley and Others. Some Essay to have put a Sanction upon the A<sup>p</sup>ointment for a Thanksgiving; but it fell throw. I argued 'twas not fit upon meer Generals, as (the Mercies of the year) to Co<sup>m</sup>mand a Thanksgiving and of Particulars we could not agree. Governour would have had one Article for the Peace of England, according to His Majesty's Proclamation.

Hollowells business heard, as to Land: about that grew the fierceness in discourse. Mr. G. Boroughs dined with us.<sup>1</sup> Major Generall not well. Mr. Shove comes to Town today; but I see him not.

Thursday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 19. Mr. Mather Preaches from Numb. 25. 11. Shewed that Love was an ingredient to make one zealous: those that received good People, received Christ, Mat. 25. Said that if the Government of N. E. were zealous might yet save this People. 2<sup>d</sup> Part of 79<sup>th</sup>

and profoundest sympathy of the people in the observance. An examination of the records will abundantly show how, instead of generalities, there was always a specific and pointed mention of one or more matters directly engaging the feelings of the people, in reference to which they should unite in glad thank-offering or consecrate the fears, the gloom, or the disasters which they had to encounter. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sewall did not foresee that, some seven years afterwards, he would sit in judgment of his guest, the Rev. George Burroughs, at his condemnation for witchcraft. — Eds.

Ps. sung. Madam Usher, her Daughter and Husband in Mourning. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley called here. 'Tis reported that a Frigot is to come yet before Spring with a Cōmission for a Governour here, upon the place: Mr. Dudley is talked of and 'tis said Healths are drunk to the new Governour already, and were so Nov<sup>r</sup> 17. the day the Ship came in. I presented a Bill for Serj<sup>t</sup> Andrew Gardener to be Ensign of the South-Company, which past the Magistrates, the whole Court.

Mr. Tho. Weld is āproved by about 11 Magistrates Nov<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> in his intended Work of Gathering a Church the 16<sup>th</sup> of December next, Wednesday.

Friday Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> a very rainy and dark day, and in the Afternoon turns to a storm of Snow: Court is adjourned to Tuesday, February 16<sup>th</sup> at One of the Clock, except some Frigot or Ships Arrival from England with His Majesty's Cōmands that may call for one sooner; then the Secretary, or if he sick or dead, the Treasurer, to send forthwith to the Members of the Court, and to such others as Freemen may chuse to convene two days after the Date of such Signification, to which time the Court is adjourned in such Case. No Freemen made, nor Prayer. Ground covered with Snow by that time Court done, which is een quite dark. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley not here today. 'Twas Essayed again to have had a Sanction put on the Thanksgiving: but 'twas again pleaded, to do it without mentioning particular causes would be to impose too much on those Cōmanded: So fell.<sup>1</sup>

Monday night Nov<sup>r</sup> 23. 1685. I go the Rounds with Cous. Quinsey and Isaac Goose, a very severe night for Cold, yet 'twas fair and comfortable: came home at 5. *mane.*

Nov<sup>r</sup> 25, Wednesday. Just before I went to the Meet-

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<sup>1</sup> The court was carefully non-committal on matters of English politics, to which a reference was proposed in the proclamation. — Eds.



ing at Brother Hayward's, where I was to speak from Ps. 79. 8, Jn<sup>o</sup> Turner, Master of the Brigenteen, came in and told me that James Mudge, one of his seamen, having carried a Pass to the Castle, coming on Board again, fell between the Boat and Brigenteen into Water and was drowned. He several years since gave his Daughter to Capt. Mass Daurter at Charlestown.<sup>1</sup> Thawing Wether.

Nov: 26, Thursday. Nurse Goose dyes about 2. or 3. aclock in the night; having lien sick about a Week: was here it seems Wednesday was Señight. Was helpfull to her self all along till this last sickness: washt her own Cloaths. She saw her great Grandchildren: was a good Woman.<sup>2</sup>

Mary an Indian, James's Squaw, was Frozen to death upon the Neck near Roxbury Gate<sup>3</sup> on Thursday night Nov: 27<sup>th</sup> '85, being fudled.

<sup>1</sup> We can interpret this only as meaning that James Mudge (who is not on record elsewhere apparently) gave his child, for bringing up, presumably, to Captain Mass's daughter. But we cannot identify Captain Mass nor his daughter. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This was doubtless Susanna, widow of Peter Vertigoose, Vergoose, or Goose. She had a son Peter, who lived in Norwich, England, and it is probable that the family was not of English origin. Her son, Isaac Goose, of Boston, was twice married, his second wife being Elizabeth Foster. By her he had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Thomas Fleet, the Boston printer.

Of late years persistent efforts have been plied by descendants to make out that this wife of Isaac Goose was the veritable Mother Goose of the "Melodies." Much will be found in the "N. E. Historic and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXVII. The facts remain, that no one can produce a copy of Fleet's presumed edition of the "Melodies;" that no contemporary evidence of such publication is found; and that the sole authority for the story is a *reported* statement of the late Edward A. Crowninshield that he saw a copy at Worcester. Diligent and repeated search has failed to rediscover the sheet, and the story must be held unproven. On the other hand, the French had, long before this, termed fairy tales, "stories of Mother Goose;" and Boston must abandon any claim to originating that title. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> "Roxbury gate" is a term which appears often on the early records. In 1635 (Town Rec., printed ed., p. 4), it was voted that bro. Wilbore see to the gate and style next Roxburie. P. 43, in 1639, Samuel Sherman was

Nov: 30. Nurse Goose buried. Was not well yesterday, Feverish and tossing most of the night; so not at the Court nor meeting of Magistrates, nor at the Funeral. Mr. Willard here, I returned Alsop of Scandal. Mr. Secretary here.

At night viewed the Eclips, which in the total obscuration was ruddy; but when began to receive some Light,

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allowed to keep up a cow-house he had built "by the gate next Roxbury." In 1640 (p. 53), the license was renewed, and he was warned to set his fence straight, so as not to encroach on the highway. In 1643 (p. 74), William Colbron and Jacob Eliot were ordered to repair the common gate and fence next Roxbury. In 1644 (p. 80), James Penn was to have three acres next to William Hibbins's lane, near Roxbury Gate. In 1645 (p. 84), Widow Howen was allowed to cut hay on some part of the marsh near Roxbury gate, where cattle cannot come to feed. In 1650 (p. 99), Peter Oliver had £15 a year to maintain the highways from Jacob Eliot's barn to the farthest gate by Roxbury Town's end.

All these possessions seem to have centred in the Eliots. May 31, 1652 (Deeds, Lib. I. f. 211), William Hibbins sold to Margery, widow of Jacob Eliot, five acres of land near Roxbury Gate, bounded east by the highway to Roxbury, west by Boston Common, land of Eliot north and south.

On the same day (Lib. I. f. 211), James Penn sold to widow Margery Eliot five acres at Roxbury Gate, part upland, part marsh, bounded east by the highway to Roxbury, west by Roxbury Creek, Boston Common north, and Mr. William (*sic*) south.

She had already bought land of the deacons of the church in Boston, as administrators of Samuel Sherman (William Colbron being one), which was confirmed to her as against Sherman's children, May, 1662. Col. Rec., III. 274, and IV. pt. 11, p. 47.

The Eliots, whose homestead and field was near Eliot Street, long owned this land at the extreme south of the town, Colbron's field lying between these possessions.

It is said by competent authorities that there were two Roxbury gates. The farther gate was at the Roxbury line, just beyond Arnold Street, on Washington Street, where there is a memorial stone. This was near the Bull Pasture. The inner gate was just outside the line of fortifications, and therefore just above Dover Street. The Neck was at its narrowest at this gate; and between the gates were upland and swamp, the subject of many grants, deeds, and plans, as the records show.

It is a question, perhaps, as to where the first road to Roxbury was placed. In 1680 (Deeds, Lib. 12, f. 188), widow Mary Salter sold half of her house, bounded east by the sea, west by the highway to Roxbury, south by the old highway to Roxbury, and north by land of Deacon Jacob Eliot. This would seem to show two roads on the Neck, the old one perhaps following the shore. — Eds.

the darkish ruddiness ceased. Horizon somewhat Hazy. Read in course the Eleventh of the Revelation.

30. Nov<sup>r</sup> Cous. Nath. Duñer visits us.

Wednesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 2. Elias Parkman comes in, and hath a man drowned near the Castle, as E<sup>m</sup> tells me. See last Wednesday.

Friday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Being at Mr. Addington's upon Business, He tells me Mr. Shrimpton's Answer in writing last Monday was, that the Court proceeded upon a Law made since the vacating the Charter, and therefore he should not attend: so that this Monday we begin palpably to dye [*i. e.*, the Government by the Colony Charter].

Sabbath-day, December 6. Hull hath a Convulsion Fit as he sits in his Grandmother's Lap at Table, dining, with which we are much surprised.

Monday, Decemb<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1685. About One in the Night my Wife is brought to Bed of a Son, of which Mother Hull brings me the first News: Mrs. Weeden Midwife.

Wednesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1685. Our Neighbour Gemaliel Wait eating his Breakfast well, went to do something in his Orchard, where Serj<sup>t</sup> Pell dwells, there found him Self not well and went into Pell's his Tenant's House, and there dyed extream suddenly about Noon, and then was carried home in a Chair, and means used to fetch him again, but in vain: To the Children startled about him he said, here is a sudden Change, or there will be a great Change, to that purpose. Was about 87 years old, and yet strong and hearty: had lately several new Teeth. People in the Street much Startled at this good Man's sudden Death. Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkley sent for me to Mr. Rawson's just as they were sending a great Chair to carry him home.

Satterday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 12, '85. Father Wait buried: Magistrates and Ministers had Gloves. There heard of the Death of Capt. Hutchinson's Child by Convulsions, and so pass to the Funeral of little Samuel Hutchinson about Six weeks old, where also had a pair of Funeral Gloves.



Peter Butler comes in this day, Several have had the Small Pocks; buried a Negro. Several very green, hardly recovered; among whom Nathl Parkman is one. Snowy day.

Esther Kein at her Time, falls into Convulsion Fits, and dyes last Thursday: No likelihood of the Child's being born.

Sabbath-day, Decemb<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1685. Mr. Willard baptizeth my Son lately born, whom I named Henry: David Stoddard, the son of Mr. Simeon Stoddard, was baptized next, and then Several other grown Children. Nurse Hill came in before the Psalm was Sung, and yet the Child was fine and quiet: Mr. Willard preached from John 15<sup>th</sup> 8. Herein is my Father glorified, that you bear much Fruit, so shall ye be my Disciples: which is the first Sermon my little Son hath been present at.

Monday, Dec. 14. County-Court meets about Mr. Sergeant's Business chiefly: Mr. Shrimpton's Letter is read: but 'tis not agreed on to proceed, and some Heat, the Vote being in a mañer equal. Mr. Stoughton and Maj<sup>r</sup> Richards not there. Mr. Shrimpton pleads that he has fulfilled his Father's Will dated July 17<sup>th</sup> One Thousand Six hundred Sixty and Six: and cañot submit to this arbitrary way, especially the Law being made since the Dissolution of the Charter of this Place. Gov<sup>r</sup> seems somewhat resolute: the Court Adjourned till Thursday. Something of Bushnell, the Barber's, relating to his Estate was now also done: He dyed in '67. just about the same Time Mr. Wilson did, as I remember.

This Monday a Jury is suñmond who sit on the Body of Joseph Johnson, and the verdict they find, a wound an inch or 2 above his Navel which they judge to be the cause of his Death, and that they were informed James Morgan did it with a Spit. So were Sworn in Court Dec<sup>r</sup> 14. 1685., and James Morgan ordered to have Irons put on him. He comitted the Fact last Thursday night.

Wednesday, Dec. 16. A very pleasant Day for gathering the Church at Dunstable, and Ordaining Mr. Thomas Weld.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Mr. Mather preacheth from Mat. 16., former part of the 25<sup>th</sup> Verse. For whosoever will save his Life shall Lose it. At County-Court nothing done in Mr. Sergeant's Business: So he makes a Speech when the Court open, that if the Court did nothing they would give him a Record of it, that he might go elsewhere for he would not be kept out of 's Money; speaking warmly.

Mr. Francis Stepney, the Dancing Master, desired a Jury, so He and Mr. Shrimpton Bound in 50£ to Jan<sup>r</sup> Court. Said Stepney is ordered not to keep a Dancing School; if he does will be taken in contempt and be proceeded with accordingly. Mr. Shrimpton muttered, saying he took it as a great favour that the Court would take his Bond for £50.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath, Dec<sup>r</sup> 13. 1685. Jn<sup>o</sup> Maryon, the Father, faints in the Old Meetinghouse, in time of Worship, which obstructs Mr. Allen, and makes considerable disturbance.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 17. One Trescot, an ancient woman of Dorchester, riding over the Neck, Tide being high, her Horse drowned and she hardly saved: questioned whether she may live or no. This night Little Hull hath a Convulsion Fit, as he lay with me in Bed. Henry very restless.

Friday, Decemb<sup>r</sup> 18, 1685. Father John Odlin,<sup>2</sup> one

<sup>1</sup> Francis Stepney — auspicious name for one of his profession — seems not to have been successful here. He is entered on the town book of persons not admitted to citizenship, as follows: "1685, Sept. 24. Francis Stepney at Jno. Birge, Dancinge Master." As his name is not on the very full tax-lists of 1687 and 1688, he probably took no root here. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> John Odlin was one of four survivors of the earliest inhabitants of Boston, who testified before Sewall himself, June 10, 1684, as to the purchase, "in or about 1634," of the peninsula of Boston from William Blaxton. Odlin said he was eighty-two years old when he gave this testimony. The three others were respectively seventy-eight, seventy-six, and sixty-eight. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d S., IV. 203. — Eds.

of the very first Inhabitants of Boston, dies ; know not of above one more besides the Governour [Bradstreet].

Satterday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Father Jn<sup>o</sup> Odlin buried in the first Burying place [corner of Tremont and School Streets] as father Wait the Satterday before.

Friday Dec. 18. Begun in Course to read the New-Testament, having ended the Revelation the night before.

Satterday Dec. 19. Mr. Willard Prayes with my little Henry, being very ill.

Sabbath-day, Dec. 20. Send Notes to Mr. Willard and Mr. Moodey to pray for my Child Henry.<sup>1</sup>

Monday, about four in the Morn the faint and moaning noise of my child forces me up to pray for it.

21. Monday even Mr. Moodey calls. I get him to go up and Pray with my extream sick Son.

Tuesday Morn, Dec. 22. Child makes no noise save by a kind of snoring as it breathed, and as it were slept.

Read the 16<sup>th</sup> of the first Chron. in the family. Having read to my Wife and Nurse out of John: the fourteenth Chapter fell now in course, which I read and went to Prayer: By that time had done, could hear little Breathing, and so about Sun-rise, or little after, he fell asleep, I hope in Jesus, and that a Mansion was ready for him in the Father's House. Died in Nurse Hill's Lap. Nurse Hill washes and layes him out: because our private Meeting hath a day of Prayer tomorrow, Thorsday Mr. Willard's Lecture, and the Child dying after Sunrise (wether cloudy), have determined to bury on Thorsday after Lecture. The Lord sanctify his Dispensation, and prepare me and mine for the coming of our Lord, in whatsoever way it be. Mr. Tho. Oakes our Physician for this Child. Read the 16<sup>th</sup> Chap. of the First Chronicles in the Family.

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<sup>1</sup> Parts of the family worshipped in the Old, or First, Church; and others, with Sewall, in the Third, or South. — Eds.



Tuesday night read the 15<sup>th</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> in the Chamber, out of which Mr. Willard took his Text the day Henry was baptized: in the Family, the 3<sup>d</sup> of Matthew, both requiring Fruit.

Wednesday, Dec. 23. Go to the privat Fast at Brother Williams's. Capt. Scottow begins and is enlarged and fervent in praying for the Church and Christ's Witnesses: Made me conclude. Sung part 137. Ps. But if I Jerusalem, &c. Just before I went, Brother Longfellow came in, which was some exercise to me, he being so ill conditioned and so outwardly shabby. The Lord humble me. As I remember, he came so before; either upon the funeral of my Father or Johñy.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1685. We follow Little Henry to his Grave: Governour and Magistrates of the County here, 8 in all, beside my Self, Eight Ministers, and Several Persons of note. Mr. Phillips of Rowley here. I led Sam., then Cous. Savage led Mother, and Cousin Duñer led Cous. Quinsey's wife, he not well. Midwife Weeden and Nurse Hill carried the Corps by turns, and so by Men in its Chesnut Coffin 'twas set into a Grave (The Tomb full of water) between 4 and 5. At Lecture the 21. Psalm was Sung from 8<sup>th</sup> to the end. The Lord humble me kindly in respect of all my Enmity against Him, and let his breaking my Image in my Son be a means of it. Considerable snow this night. At night little Hull had a sore Convulsion Fit.

Friday-morn Dec. 25. had another; Wave upon Wave. Mr. Phillips Prayes with Hullie. Receive Newes this 25<sup>th</sup> Dec. that Bro<sup>r</sup> St. Sewall hath a Son.

Dec. 25. Friday. Carts come to Town and Shops open as is usual. Some somehow observe the day; but are vexed I believe that the Body of the People profane it, and blessed be God no Authority yet to compell them to keep it. A great Snow fell last night so this day and night very cold.

Satterday, Dec. 26. Dreamed last night of Mr. Chauncy, the President, and of Sam. Danforth.

Dec. 27. Dr. Oakes had like to have had his little Son killed with the Jack's falling almost on top of 's head. Upon which was hastily called out as the Psalm was Singing after the Lord's Sup̄er.

Dec. 28. Cous. Fissenden here, Saith he came for Skins last Friday, and [there] was less Christmas-keeping than last year, fewer Shops Shut up.

Dec. 30<sup>th</sup> An Indian Man is found dead on the Neck with a Bottle of Rūm between his Legs. Fast at Charlestown this day. Mr. Cotton Mather Preaches forenoon, mentions the Notion Mede has about America's Peopling. Mr. Moodey preaches Afternoon excellently. Hull (as suppose) hath a sore fit in the night; but I asleep, and find it by the Effects.

Dec. 31. Mr. Allen preaches from 2 Tim. 2. 19. Saith should pray for the Natives that they may name Christ. Spoke against Observing the 25. Instant, called it Antichristian Heresie: Spoke against the Name. Canker began in the Tongue.

Satterday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> [168 $\frac{5}{8}$ ] Last night had a very unusual Dream; *viz.* That our Saviour in the dayes of his Flesh when upon Earth, came to Boston and abode here sometime, and moreover that He Lodged in that time at Father Hull's; upon which in my Dream had two Reflections, One was how much more Boston had to say than Rome boasting of Peter's being there. The other a sense of great Respect that I ought to have shewed Father Hull since Christ chose when in Town, to take up His Quarters at his House. Admired the goodness and Wisdom of Christ in coming hither and spending some part of His short Life here. The Chronological absurdity never came into my mind, as I remember. Jan<sup>y</sup> 1. 168 $\frac{5}{8}$  finished reading the Godly Learned ingenious Pareus on the Revelation.

Satterday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 2. discoursed with Ralf Carter about *Lignum Vitae*. He saith thinks 'tis found no where but in America, there a common Wood at Antego and other places. Is physical [medicinal].

January 5<sup>th</sup> The Infant exposed the beginning of the winter, is buried this Day. Mr. Moodey and his wife visit us after the Catechising. He full of great pain.

Thursday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Mr. Moodey preached excellently from those words, Ye are my Friends if ye do what I command you: Exhorted not to disown Christ when in adversity, i.e. his Members in a low Condition. A very blustering, snowy day that hindered many from going to Meeting, which took special notice of in Prayer; and God's letting us stand another year in His Vineyard. At his lecture this day twelvemonth we had the newes of our Charter's being condemned, just as going to Meeting. Some coming over the Neck to day, had much ado to find the way.

Satterday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> A very great Storm of Snow and Wind. Mr. Tho. Oakes here, who tells me there is news come to Town of the French King's Death.

Sabbath-day Afternoon. My Wife goes to Meeting, which is the first time since her Lying-in.

Tuesday, January 12. I dine at the Governour's: where Mr. West, Governour of Carolina, Capt. Blackwell, his Wife and Daughter, Mr. Morgan, his Wife and Daughter, Mrs. Brown, Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, and Wife, Mr. Peter Sergeant, and Wife, Mr. Secretary, and S. S. Mrs. Mercy sat not down, but came in after dinner well dressed and saluted the two Daughters. Madam Bradstreet and Blackwell sat at the upper end together, Governour at the lower end. I sat next Mis Frances, Capt. Blackwell's Daughter. After Dinner Madam Blackwell Swowned, or very ill, so was lead into the Chamber.

Wednesday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> very cold day. Meeting at Brother Allen's: I speak from Eph. 4. 3.



Thursday exceeding cold: Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Bayly preaches the Lecture for Mr. Mather from Eccles. 9. 10. Whatsoever thy hand, &c. After Lecture the Court sat, and adjourned till Tuesday 1. a'clock, to hear Mr. Shrimpton's Case, i. e. Mr. Sergeant's Complaint against him.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shrimpton resolves to appeal to the Court of Assistants upon the Pleas he hath made. Mr. Stoughton, Dudley, and Mr. Thomas call'd. here; their Horses all broke away, and fain to run beyond Capt. Frary's before any had stopt, it being night and excessive cold.

Satterday, January 16. Notwithstanding the three very severe Nights last past and Snow in abundance lately fallen, yet, by reason of the Spring Tides, and wind 2 of the nights, the Harbour remains fairly open, and the Chañel between the Castle and Dorchester Neck; though much loose Ice floating up and down. Isaiah Tay told me yesterday, that the 17<sup>th</sup> January last year he went on the Ice to the Castle, and Nine hundred were told by their Company going and coming on the Ice, and at the Iland.

Sabbathday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1685. Rain and Thaw all day. This day Mr. Willard begins to preach upon the 11<sup>th</sup> of the Hebrews. Faith is the substance, &c.

Wendnesday Jan<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> Went to Dorchester Lecture. Mr. Danforth preached from Rev. 22. 17. Said that Chapter treated of Heaven, that Christ dy'd for Mankind.

On Tuesday last the Court sat, and as it fell out, I was not there. Agitation was about Mr. Shrimpton's Business. 2 *pro*. 2 *con*. of those that pretended to vote; Mr. Addington knew not what to enter. Governour, Mr. Stoughton and Dudley went away thinking the Court ended; 'tis said Mr. Davie gon also but called back, and he Mr. Cook and C. Hutchinson adjourned the Court to the Governour's that evening, and from thence 'twas adjourned to the

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<sup>1</sup> See, on this case, General Sumner's History of East Boston. — Eds

Town-House on Thursday after Lecture, Jan<sup>r</sup> 21. Was very hot discourse about the irregular pretended Adjournment of the Court. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley fell especially on Mr. Cook. After much hot Dispute nothing at last done as I know. Mr. Stoughton argued the new Law was not determinal and so worth nothing: and that the Ordinary could not act after 'an Award and mutual agreement as was produced in this case: must be relieved by some Superiour Court, as Chauncery. Thus the symptoms of Death are on us. This morn about 5, Hull had a Fit. Mr. Willard preached excellently from *Buy the Truth*. Must have a care of being cheated, our Natures encline to falshood. Must not take Great Men, Rulers, for our Rule, but the written Word of God. Must have no man's person in admiration. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley called here.

It seems Mr. Hubbard's Son of Long Iland, presented a Gun at his Sister and it went off and killed her. Cous. Fissenden tells me there is a Maid at Woburn who 'tis feared is Possessed by an evil Spirit. Mr. Eliot not at Lecture Jan<sup>r</sup> 21. which I think is the 3<sup>d</sup> day of his absence.

Friday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 22. Hull hath another Fit about 5 or 6 *mane*, and is extream ill after it. Mr. Willard prays with him in the Even, Capt. Scottow present.

Friday, January 22. Joseph Redknep of Lin buried, being about 110 years old: was a Wine-Cooper in London, was about 30 years old at the Great Frost. Ralph King *teste*.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath, Jan<sup>r</sup> 24. Friday night and Satterday were extream cold, so that the Harbour frozen up, and to the Castle. This day so cold that the Sacramental Bread is frozen pretty hard, and rattles sadly as broken into the Plates.

Monday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 25. I call in Andrew Gardiner and de-

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<sup>1</sup> Here is a case for Mr. Thom to investigate, in his researches on "Longevity." — Eds.

liver him his Commission for Ensign, he disabling himself, I tell him he must endeavour to get David's heart; and that with his stature will make a very good Ensign. Capt. Scottow present, to whom have lent my Gr. Testament, and Governor Pen. Mrs. Harris and Baker present their mutual offences against each other as to their seating [in Cambridge Meeting-house], before Mr. Willard and the Overseers.

Tuesday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 26. Walked with Isaac Goose and Cous. Quinsey: though the Snow extream deep by reason of this day's snow and what was before, yet had a very comfortable night. Nehemiah Perce's Wife is brought to bed of a Daughter.

Wednesday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 27. Peter Butler is Non-suited in suing for his 500 £ Legacy, at which I doubt Mr. Nowell and his wife grieved.<sup>1</sup> Is talk of a Ship below and some think it may be Jenner from London.

Thursday, January 28. Mr. Jenner having lodged at Capt. Clap's last night, with Mr. Belcher and others, come near twenty together to Serj<sup>t</sup> Bull's over the Ice and bring the News of the Rose Frigot ready to come and bring Mr. Randolph, who is to be Deputy Governour, and Mr. Dudley Governour. Sheriff Cornish executed [in London], and a woman burnt about the [Popish] Plot and such like Treason. The Town much filled with this discourse. Jenner came from Ile Wight the 13, of November. When Mr. Jenner came in the Magistrates went all off the Bench to hear his News in the Lobby. Mr. Addington also came in. Isa. 33. 17. was preached from, by Mr. Cotton Mather. Thine eyes shall see the King, &c. whoes Sermon was somewhat disgusted for some expressions; as, sweet sented hands of Christ, Lord High Treasurer of Æthiopia,

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Butler, Sr., of Boston, married Mary, daughter of William Alford. She married secondly (as his third wife) Hezekiah Usher, Sr., who died May 14, 1676. She married thirdly Rev. Samuel Nowell, of Charlestown, and outlived him, dying a widow, Aug. 14, 1693. — Eds.



Ribband of Humility — which was sorry for, because of the excellency and seasonableness of the subject, and otherwise well handled. Doct. 'Tis a matchless priviledg to behold Christ in his Beauty. Mr. Eliot not at Lecture. Mr. Jenner rumors that the Oxford Frigot is to come in the Spring, and bring a Governour from England, and that one Vincent, Brother to the Minister, most talked of; which Mr. Dudley laughs at.

Friday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Isaac Goose proves his Mother's Will. Mr. Belcher dines with the Court. It seems there's a discourse that the K. should motion to have all the Negroes at Jamaica baptized. Mr. Francis Stepney has his Jury to try his speaking Blasphemous Words; and Reviling the Government. 'Tis referred till next Tuesday.

Sabbath, Jan<sup>r</sup> 31, 1688 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 125<sup>th</sup> Psalm Sung by us in course in the family, They that trust in the Lord, &c. In publick *mane* the 56<sup>th</sup> from 8<sup>th</sup> verse, *ad finem*, of all my wanderings, &c. Mr. Willard speaking of Faith, instanced in things past before we had a being, and Things to be, as Destruction of the Man of Sin. Seemed very much concerned for God's People. Madam Br. Usher taken into the first Church, and Mr. Royse taken in and baptized in the North Church. Gallant warm thawing weather.

Feb. 1. Nath. Man brings me a Letter wherein am told of my Brother St<sup>n</sup> Child's Death last Friday about noon. Had from the Satterday before till then more than 200 Fits.

Feb. 1. In the Afternoon a great Cake of Ice comes from Cambridge-ward and jostles away the Body of Ice that lay between the outward Wharfs and Noddle's Iland: so now our Harbour open again.

Feb. 2. Several Ships Sail. This day Return Wait is by Sentence of Court turned out of his Marshal's Place, many complaints coming against him. The Persons injured left to their remedy in Law against him.

Wednesday, Feb. 3. Mr. Henry Phillips is buried with Arms, he having been an Ensign at Dedham, and in Boston several years of Capt. Oliver's Company. Capt. Hutchinson led the Souldiers, his and Capt. Townsend's Company springing of said Oliver's. Capt. Townsend and Capt. Hill each of them Trailed a Pike: were about 24 Files, 4 deep. Snow very deep; so in the New-burial Place [Copp's Hill], 3 Paths, 2 for the 2 Files of Souldiers, middlemost for the Relations. Edw. Cowel and Mr. Winchcomb go before the Governour. Return Wait is refused though I see he was there. About eight of the South-Company there attending. Bearers, Deacon Eliot, Saunderson, Allen, Bridgham; Frary, and Mr. Chiever.

Thursday, Feb. 4. Francis Stepney fined 100£. 10£ down, the rest respited till the last of March, that so might go away if he would. He appeals: Mr. Shrimpton and Luscombe his Sureties. Mr. Moodey preaches from Luke 12. 4. Especially this day from those words, My Friends.

Friday, Feb. 5. Fast at Cous. Dummer's: I and Mother there.

Sabbath, Febr. 7<sup>th</sup> 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Went to the first Meeting House both parts of the day, sat down there at the Lord's Table. Mr. Moodey preached from Isa. 12. 1. beginning upon that Scripture this day—In that day thou shalt say, &c. Shewing that 'twas chiefly a Directory of Thanksgiving for the Conversion of the Jews; and that should get our Praises ready before hand. Very warm day, and so till Wednesday Feb. 10., when Mr. Willard Preaches at Maccartas from Rom. 8. 1. Seems very sensible of the Countries Danger as to Changes.

Febr. 12<sup>th</sup> Ice breaks up from Gill's Wharf.

Febr. 13<sup>th</sup> Satterday, pretty well clear our Dock of Ice by a Passage Cut open. Shut up about 7 weeks. Balston sails. An Indian Squaw died on the Neck last night. Mr. Eyre's little Son dyed, went well to Bed: dyed by that in the Bed. It seems there is no Symptom of Overlaying.

Sabbath-day, Febr. 14. Little Hull speaks *Apple* plainly in the hearing of his Grand-Mother and Eliza Lane ; this the first word. At the Burial of Mr. Eyr's Child, Mr. Moodey discoursed of the grievous spreading of the Small Pocks in, and round about Portsmouth, at Exeter, &c.

Tuesday, Feb. 16. 1688 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Generall Court meets. Dine 3 times. Is a discourse this day of a strange Beast killed at Middletown, or 4 miles off that place, last Dec., 10 foot long his Body, 10 foot his Tail, as tall as a two year and vantage Horse ; Had a dead Horse and two Dear lay at 's Den, and Indians waiting for him, at last saw him coming with another in 's Mouth, as a Cat carries a Mouse almost. Indian shot him down. [Sewall writes in the margin — all untrue.] Great disorder in the Town by Cock-skailing : I grant 2 warrants. Tho. Barnard has one, and James Barns the other, whereby several Companies broke up : but for want of a Law and Agreement shall find much ado to supress it.

Mr. Eliot at Meeting on Lecture day.

The Arrow against Dancing comes out.<sup>1</sup>

Friday the Court adjourns to the 11<sup>th</sup> of May on the Conditions of former Adjournment. The Law about Wills is made in a new Edition.<sup>2</sup> Some Freemen made, and I think Sam. Chekly an Ensign. Order for a Fast to be on March 25. 1686. Great Heat about the Libel, and Mr. Clark's Fine the occasion of the Discourse at this time.

Satterday, Febr. 20. I send for Edw. Cowel and blame him for his ill carriage at Richd. White's Wedding, Dec. 10. He denys the fact, and saith he came not nigh her

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<sup>1</sup> Probably this was a second edition of the pamphlet noted by Sibley ("Harvard Graduates," pp. 445, 446), "An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing. Drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures. By the Ministers of Christ at Boston in New England. Boston, printed by Samuel Green and are to be sold by Joseph Brunning, 1684. Sm. 8vo. pp. 30." It was the work of Increase Mather. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This law is in the printed Records, V. 508. — Eds.



(i. e. the Bride) and stooped down only to take up his Hat taken off in the Crowd.

Wednesday, Feb. 24. Privat Meeting at our House: Mr. Willard preached excellently from Act. 1. 7. I had pray'd before, privatly, and he prayed at the Meeting in the very same words, that God would make our Houses Bethels. Question was, How shall we attend known Duty with cheerfullness and Constancy: though God impart not so much of his Counsel to us as we could desire? Which Mr. Willard propounded and opened excellently, shewing the reference to the foregoing and following verse, as was desired. Many People present.

Thursday, Feb. 25. The Law about Wills and Administrations is published; and almost as soon as the Drumm had done beating, Mr. Serj<sup>t</sup> comes with his Petition: and an order is made for a Hearing next Monday, 3 weeks, the 22<sup>d</sup> of March: some would have had it sooner, and Mr. Nowel and Self thought it very indecent that it was so soon, especially considering, the Order made upon a Law scarce yet out of the Marshal's Mouth.

Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Winchcombe is made Marshal of Suffolke, his Oath is given him; and the Marshal Generall declares it. Very rainy fore-noon, and dark most part of the day.

Sabbath-day, Feb. 28. A Jury is summoned to sit upon the Body of Sarah, the Daughter of Henry and Mary Flood, about 13 weeks old, for that said Mary was suspected of Murder. So now 3 in Prison for suspected Murder.

Tuesday, March 2. Brother St. and Wife visit us. Mr. Chickly is cast in his Attaint. Morgan, Indian and Flood put upon Tryal.

Wednesday, March 3<sup>d</sup> James Morgan is brought in guilty by the Jury, Sam<sup>l</sup> Phips Fore-Man. Mr. Wyllys cast by Anna Haugh, as to Haugh's Farm. Mr. Stoughton calls at night and shews me the Names of the Persons in the Commission, telling me that a Copy of the Commis-

sion is come to Town. Comes by Eldridge, who bore away to Montserrat. The Address sent to his present Majesty, is sent back to Mr. Dudley by Mr. Humphrys. Sabbath-day, or Monday, we hear of the Death of Abel Porter and above 60 more, going from Scotland to Pensilvania. Tuesday, March 2, hear of the Death of Jeremiah Green at Salt Taboodas [Tortugas]; was a hopefull young Shipmaster, Mr. Nathaniel's Son.

Thursday, March 4. Mr. Moodey preaches. After Lecture, James Morgan is condemned to dye: He said was murdered; but spake not of Appealing, which I expected he might.

Friday 5. Joseph Indian is acquitted. James Morgan is sent to, and acquainted that he must dye next Thursday, and ordered that Mr. Mather be acquainted with it who is to preach the Lecture. Note. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley voted not in the Judgment, and went off the Bench when Sentence was to be passed. Major Richards slid off too. Judgment was voted at George Monk's before rose from Table, on Thursday.

Friday, March 5. Capt. Clap's Son, a very desirable Man and Gunner of the Castle, though Mr. Baxter hath the name, at the Castle Iland hath one of his eyes shott out, and a piece of his Scull taken away by the accidental firing of a Gun as he was going a fowling.

Satterday, March 6. James Morgan sends a Petition by one Vaughan, signed with said Morgan's own hand, wherein he acknowledges his own sinfull Life, the justness of the Court's Sentence; and desires longer time to live, but 'tis not granted.

Sabbath-day, March 7<sup>th</sup>. P.M. Capt. Clap hath a Bill put up, wherein he desires Prayers that the untimely death of 's Son may be sanctified to him; dyed this day.

Monday, March 8<sup>th</sup> 1685<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>. Anniversary Town-Meeting: Select-Men as last year; Mr. Cooke, Hutchinson, Joyliff, Prout, Frary, Allin, Fayerwether, Wyllys, Turell. Mr.

Hutchinson had 86 Votes, which were the most: Capt. Frary 82. Constables; W<sup>m</sup> Sumner 90. votes, the highest; Jabez Negus, W<sup>m</sup> Rawson, Isaiah Tay, Tho. Adkins, Henry Emes, Joshua Windsor 51. Sam<sup>l</sup> Marshall 37., being chosen after the refusal of Joseph Parson, Edw. Bromfield, Benj. Alford, Humphry Luscombe, which 4 last fined. Mr. Wyllys chosen Treasurer by the Town, and Mr. Joyliff Recorder. Meeting very comfortably held, being not so full as sometimes, and not such contention about Priviledges. Mr. Nowell begun with Prayer, and I, by mere accident being left, was fain to conclude. 7. Sworn by Major Richards same day, viz: all save Isaiah Tay. The Governour seems to mention it with some concernment that the 18, said to be of the Commission are publickly to be seen at the Notaries; so there is a Nomination before we put in votes.

Tuesday, March 9<sup>th</sup> 1685 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Supply Clap, Guñer of the Castle, is buried at Dorchester by the Castle-Company about Noon; after the VOLLIES there, Several great Guns were fired at the Castle; both heard by the Town.

Mr. Tho. Kay our Maid's Father, dyes about 8. or 9. a'clock. An Order is given for the Execution of Morgan next Thursday; which the Marshal Generall acquaints him with.

Court sits, so the Votes for Nomination are put in, in the other Room. Dine 5 times.

Note. Wednesday Morn about 5. a'clock, little Hull hath a Convulsion Fit in Bed. March 10<sup>th</sup> About 8. a'clock this evening Father Abel Porter dyeth. Mr. Kay buried this day. Robert Orchard comes to town.

Thursday, March 11. Persons crowd reach into the Old Meeting-House by reason of James Morgan;<sup>1</sup> and before I got thether a crazed woman cryed the Gallery or Meet-

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<sup>1</sup> According to custom, a condemned culprit was brought to the meeting-house to be made the subject of discourse, on the Sunday preceding his execution, or at the Thursday Lecture. — EDS.



inghouse broke, which made the People rush out with great Consternation, a great part of them, but were seated again. However, Mr. Eliot, the Father, speaks to me that I would go with him back to the Governour, and speak that the Meeting might be held in our Meeting-House [the South] for fear of the worst. Deputy Governour forwarded it, so Governour proceeded, met Mr. Mather, paused a little and then went to our House, the stream of People presently following and deserting the Old: first part of the 51. Ps. Sung. Mr. Mather's Text was from Num. 35. 16. And if he smite him with an Instrument of Iron, &c. Saw not Mr. Dudley at Meeting, nor Court; suppose he might not be in Town. Mr. Stoughton here. Morgan was turn'd off about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour past five. The day very comfortable, but now 9. a'clock rains and has done a good while.

Know not whether the mad woman said the House fell, or whether her beating women made them scream, and so those afar off, not knowing the cause, took it to be that; but the effect was as before; and I was told by several as I went along, that one Gallery in the old Meetinghouse was broken down. The mad woman was the Daughter of Goodm. Bishop, master of Morgan. She went in at the Southwest Dore, beat the women, they fled from her: they above supposed they fled from under the falling Gallery. Mr. Cotton Mather accompanied James Morgan to the place of Execution, and prayed with him there.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, March 12. Father Porter laid in the Old Cemetery; is acknowledged by all to have been a great Man in Prayer. A very winterly day by which means many hin-

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning this execution of Morgan, Dunton has much to say in his letters from New England. Dunton visited Morgan while under sentence, and prints his dying speech. He also gives abstracts of the three sermons preached; one by Cotton Mather (the first of his three hundred and eighty-three publications), and one by Joshua Moody, on the Sunday preceding the execution. The third was by Increase Mather on the Thursday of the execution. All are in print. — Eds.

dered from coming to the Funeral. I perceive there is a considerable disgust taken at the use of our House yesterday.

Sabbathday. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Bolt, and Jn<sup>o</sup> Nichols are received into our Church. Mr. Bolt mentioned profan Courses he had been entangled in after Conviction. Relations of both well accepted, being such as gave good hope.

Monday, March 15<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Wigglesworth here, speaks about a Council respecting Mr. Thomas Chiever.

Tuesday, March 16. 1688 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Went to Muddy-River and met with the Deputy Governour to adjust the matter of fencing: measured from a Stake by the Crick 16 Rods Marsh, then Upland 40, 40, 52. which reached a little above the Dam, then guess'd that might be 16 Rods to the beginning of the Ditch. Then measured from the Dam to about a Rod below an Elm growing to Boston-side of the Fence, which accounted the middle: Deputy Governour to fence thence upward above the Dam 16 Rod to the Ditch: Simon Gates to fence downwards to the Stake by the Crick where by consent we began. Had a good Dinner at Simon's; Capt. Scottow accompanied me. Deputy Governour expressed willingness for Simon and his Wife to go on foot to Cambridge Church directly throw his Ground.

When came home, found all well; but they told me the Small Pox was in Town, one that came in Peter Butler being sick of it at one Wolf's, whos House stands on some part of Capt. Oliver's Land, in the Town-House-Street.

Wednesday, March 17. 1688 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Little Hull had a Sore Convulsion between 5. and 6. a little after his Mother and I gon to our privat Meeting. A cry of Fire this night but not one House burnt quite down; 'twas Bachelour White's that fell on fire thereabouts where Mr. Sanford dwell'd.

Generall Court on Adjournment Febr. 16. 1685. Publick Fast. This Court considering how apparent the threatening Hand of God is, by reason of the spreading

of that infectious Disease of the Small Pox in some Towns in the Countrey; (Portsmouth, Exeter.); together with other Evils impending our selves and the Churches of Christ abroad, as also the more than ordinary severity of the Winter, and the Loss of many of our Cattell occasioned thereby:<sup>1</sup> Have appointed the 25<sup>th</sup> Day of March next to be kept as a Day of Solemn Humiliation and Prayer throughout this Colony; That we may obtain Favour from God for the diverting these Tokens of his Anger, and his Smiles towards us in the Spring and Seed-Time approaching: And to this end do recommend it to the Elders and Ministers of the respective Churches, to promote this work on the said day; forbidding Servile Labour to all People within this Jurisdiction, thereon.

EDW. RAWSON Sec<sup>r</sup>.

Monday, March 22. 168 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Went to Braintrey, viewed Abbies Farm, and treated with Jonathan Paddleford about Letting of it to him: Lodged in the Lower Room of Unkle Quinsey's new House.

Tuesday, March 23. Went and run the Line between us and Tho. Faxon: and between us and Jn<sup>o</sup> French, the Father; came home in Company Ephr. and Jn<sup>o</sup> Hunt; found all well; but hear of the sad consequences of yesterday's County-Court, Mr. Shrimpton's saying there was no Governour and Company. Heat between the Members of the Court. I can't yet understand that Mr. Nowell, Cook, or Hutchinson were there. Some are much offended that Mr. Shrimpton was not sent to Prison.

Fast-day, March 25, 1686. Mr. Willard exerciseth all day, Mr. Bayly being constrained to keep house by reason of the Gout. Tho. Hollinsworth, sick of the Small Pocks, prayed for.

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<sup>1</sup> The special and emphatic statements of the reasons for a day of penitential observance, as so distinctly presented in this proclamation, illustrate what is affirmed in a previous note. — Eds.



Friday, March 26, 1686. Court of Assistants. Go to the Governour's and accompany him to Court; was slow to go out till knew the Court pretty full: Deputy Governour and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  Duzen went down, among whom Mr. Stoughton: Mr. Dudley went not. At the Town-House debated what was best to do respecting Mr. Shrimpton: Mr. Stoughton related matter of fact. Governour had adjourned the Court from Thiorsday to Monday, beside the Appointment to hear Mr. Sergeant, which was done Feb. 25. The Court not being full as the Governour alledged, several malefactors were call'd and sentenced, before which ended, Mr. Stoughton and Dudley came in; a while after the Governour said to Mr. Sergeant, Will you have your case called now, Here is but a thin Court, — which was somewhat grievous to Mr. Stoughton; At length Mr. Sergeant and Shrimpton called, Mr. Shrimpton in a great fury, said he was no Thief, &c. though called among them; and he perceived he was to Answer Mr. Sergeant and not the Court, because of the Governour's speech above; told the Governour he had wronged him much, which some apply to his Arbitratorship, some otherwise: said there was no Governour and Company, and the Governour had notice of it from Mr. Humphryes, and would not Answer: substance was what subscribed before in 's Paper given in more silently; but now spoken, in a great Croud with contemptuous Pride and Rage. Gov<sup>r</sup>, Stoughton, Dudley, Davie, Richards. Court cleared the Room, debated among themselves. None but the Governour Spoke to send Mr. Shrimpton to Prison, one reason was because he had given the Essence of it in writing long before, and nothing had been done to him: But would have spoken to him and the People, desiring the Governour to begin; Governour said he despised it, or the like, speaking to Mr. Davie who propounded it inconveniently: So went away angry, and rest followed him; So is extream Displeasure among the People, against Stoughton and Dudley chiefly: This 26<sup>th</sup> Shrimp-

ton sent for, not coming, (was not at home) Court and Council is Adjourned to the next Thursday after Lecture, and Marshal ordered to Summon him.

Satterday, March 27<sup>th</sup> Capt. Eliot, Mr. Wyllys, Allin, Frary go to the Governour's to comfort Him and strengthen his Hands, seeming to be extreemly concerned. I vindicated Mr. Stoughton, being the Senior Magistrate, all that ever I could; but I question whether it takes much place or no. Mr. Addington entered nothing, and professed before the Council that was so surprized and 'twas such a sudden Gust, that scarce knew what he said: and all say 'twas extream sudden and tumultuous: I perceiv Sundry Oaths are taking, what avail they'll be of as to things done in Court, I know not.

Ship comes in from Dartmouth to Salem this week, about 8 weeks passage, brings news of horrid progress of the Persecution in France;<sup>1</sup> of severals relating to England, Parliament prorogued to May; Rose-Frigat set out for Portsmouth, &c.

*Natalis.* March 28. 133 Ps. sung in the morn in course: The Lord give me a holy godly Life without End. Letter read from Maldon directed to the three Churches in Boston, desiring Council respecting their Pastor Mr. Tho. Chiever, who is charg'd with scandalous immoralities, for which hath not given satisfaction.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Eliot and my Self to accompany Mr. Willard thither next Wednesday come Sennight, 7<sup>th</sup> April.

<sup>1</sup> The Edict of Nantes was revoked in October, 1685. The revocation had been preceded and was followed by great severities against the Huguenots. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> From the "Bi-Centennial Book of Malden," p. 157, it seems that Rev. Thomas Cheever was son of the famous schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever. He was ordained July 27, 1681. Charges were made and sustained before a council, and he was dismissed May 20, 1686. He afterwards recovered the public confidence, and was ordained pastor of the church at Chelsea, in 1715, where he continued for about thirty-five years, dying at the age of ninety-one years. — EDS.

March 29. I visit Mr. Mather, and Mr. Nowell confined by his Lameness. About 6 a'clock P. M. Hull hath a very sore Convulsion Fit.

March the last walked with Isaac Goose and Cous. Quinsey, had a very pleasant Moon-shiny night.

Thursday, April 1, 1686. Mr. Shrimpton comes before the Council, gives in a Paper shewing that March 22. he did say there was no Governour and Company in being in this place, which he still did averr, and was ready to prove if called to it. Council adjourned to April 15<sup>th</sup> and the Essex Magistrates writt to, to be here. Mr. Shrimpton said he never did disown a Government here, but honoured them. Mr. Secretary in writing the Letter writt *Henry*, in stead of *Samuel*. Am afraid little can or will be done, we shall only *sentire nos mori*; for Governour seemed to own before the People that the Charter was vacated in England, and insisted upon a Proclamation sent him: And the Deputy Governour said the Government must not be tumbled down till His Majesty call'd for it, or to that purpose: Such discourses and arguings before the People do but make us grow weaker and weaker. Said 'twas voided as much as London's; and they durst not since hold a Comon Council.<sup>1</sup>

April 2, 1686. Mr. Thomas Thacher dyes about 9 or 10 a'clock. Hath had a pretty long Indisposition. Buried on the Sabbath Afternoon.

Monday, Apr. 5. Mr. Nehemiah Hobart chosen to preach the next Election-Sermon Artillery, hardly any other had Votes, though Mr. Cotton Mather is even almost Son in Law to the Cap<sup>tn</sup> and a worthy Man.

Apr. 7. 1686. Get up about 4 *mane* to go and accompany Mr. Willard to Maldon, went most by Water, some by Land. Those that went by Water were

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<sup>1</sup> The judgment against the city of London on a *quo warranto* was pronounced by the Court of King's Bench, in June, 1683. — Eds.



landed at Switzer's Point, then went about 2 miles on foot.

Apr. 8. Came home about 4 or 5 P. M. Visited Mr. Nowell. Mr. Tho. Bayly preached the Lecture. *Vide Locos Comunes, quoad Concilij factum.*

Monday, Apr. 12. Mr. Lewis (in whom Mr. Wear goes for England to answer for Hampshire,) going out, runs on Shore upon a Rock a little below the Castle, at high-Water: so judg'd the Voyage may be much obstructed. High wind, and flurries of Hail.

Tuesday, Apr. 13, 1686. Have news by Madera that Col. Kirk was set sail in order to come hether.

#### NOMINATION.

S. Bradstreet Esq.	1144.	Rob. Pike	1113
T. Danforth	1052.	E. Cooke	1121.
D. Gookin	1002.	W. Johnson	872.
I. Pynchon	1097.	I. Hathorn	983.
W. Stoughton	656.	E. Hutchinson	978.
I. Dudley	619.	S. Sewall	868.
P. Bulkly	475.	I. Smith	619.
N. Saltonstall	852.	I. Addington	510.
H. Davie	1127.	O. Purchis	507.
I. Richards	896.	D. Pierce	474.
S. Nowell	1203.	Jn <sup>o</sup> Blackwell	331.
Jam. Russell	1095.	Left Out,	
P. Tilton	1125.	W <sup>m</sup> Brown	99.
Bar. Gedny	387.	Jn <sup>o</sup> Woodbridge	325.
S. Apleton	1129.		

Persons that came next are — Capt. Phillips of Charlestown, 307 — Lt. Thurston of Meadfield, 207 — Sam<sup>l</sup> Partridge of Hadley, 176 — Capt. Daniel Epps 146. Mr. Saffin had very few Votes. Mr. Stoughton not present. Mr. Dudley dined (as I think) at Mr. Shrimpton's, which

will go near to give great offence. Commissioners dined at Wezendunk's,<sup>1</sup> Governour gave us his Company there, and Mr. Dudley came and abode with us some time; said remembered not 'twas the Day for opening the Nomination.

Thursday, Apr. 15. After Lecture the Court meets, Mr. Shrimpton sent for, Evidences sworn. Considered how to hear him, as County Court, I voted for the County Court, and three more, or Assistants. When some were for Saterdag, others for next Thursday: first carried it because of Major Appleton and Pike: so Juries to be summoned then to appear. Mr. Shrimpton would not take any blame to himself as to substance of what had said, and pleaded that might be heard by the County Court, else refused to give Bond to appear. The Deputy Governour said his Case was Capital, which Mr. Stoughton earnestly spake against. In the hurry Deputy Governour Adjourned the Court, bid the Marshal Generall look to Mr. Shrimpton; Marshal Generall required a Warrant which Secretary would not grant because the Court Adjourned: So Mr. Shrimpton under no obligation to appear. Boston to chuse Jury-Men for the County Court, Friday 3 a'clock all under one [ballot] and read the Nomination-Bill. This Thursday 15. April, Capt. Ephraim Savage's Maid is known to have the Small Pocks, to the great saddening of the Town, besides all our other Deaths.

Warrants run for the Jury to appear 17<sup>th</sup> *Inst.* at 8 a'clock *mane* to try a Case that concerns Limb, Life, or

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<sup>1</sup> This was Warner Wesendunk, or Werendunk, whose name appears on the Boston Tax List of 1685. Administration was granted Aug. 12, 1690 (Suff. Wills, viii. 151), on estate of Warner W., Taverner, to Thomas Walter, at the request of the creditors, as the widow and relations did not desire it. His widow is on the list of inhabitants in 1695. There was also a Stephen W., who appears on the same lists. In 1693, he terms himself "merchant, of London," now resident in Boston, and makes Francis Foxcroft his attorney. In 1707, he makes John Oulton his attorney. (Suff. Deeds, Lib. 14, f. 242; Lib. 26, f. 220.) — Eds.

Banishment; and for a Grand jury. Doubt the terms of the Warrant extream inconvenient.

Thursday, 15. April, *pomerid.* The Companies warned to Train. News is brought by Mary-Land that Mr. Randolph alone was come for N. England. Am told a Letter from Mr. Ive of Dec. 10. saith was then in the Downs waiting for a wind. So that the Report that the Devil Kirk was coming (as was said the Mariners called him) now abates.

Satterday, April 17, 1686. After much discourse an Indictment is drawn up, the Grand jury find the Bill *per* Pen Townsend, Foreman. Mr. Shrimpton appears not: so an Attachment ordered to goe out for him against next Thursday, upon which the Marshal is to take Bond of him with Sureties of 1000. which if refuse to give, to carry him to prison. The Towns sent to as far as Weymouth sent their Jury Men very soon Satterday Morn; which was to me a very rare sight, seeing the warrants to arrive a Thursday night. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley call'd here. Mr. Stoughton said would not come again till after the Election, [if it] should make me lose all my Votes.

Sabbath, Apr. 18. Capt. Ephr. Savage puts up a Bill to have God's hand sanctified in sending the Small Pocks into his Family.

Apr. 19. Mr. Seaborn Cotton dyes.

Thursday, Apr. 22. Court Assistants. Mr. Shrimpton gives no Bond, but is sent to Prison, Marshal did not light on him before. In the afternoon pleads against the illegality of the Indictment it having no Date: which suppose will be granted; is dismissed tonight on 's Parol to appear tomorrow. Acknowledged was ashamed of the manner of 's behaviour in the County Court, but stood to the Substance, that no Governour and Company.

Mr. Tho. Smith comes to Nantasket; was much feared to be lost. Cous. Nath. Dummer here. Mr. Cotton's Sermon printed off. Apr. 22, 1686.



Satterday, Apr. 24. Court makes a Decree in the Admiralty Case. Mr. Shrimpton's Paper satisfies not; Court overrules his Plea as to the Indictments not having a Date; because alledge the giving in to Court makes it have a Date sufficient and determines 22<sup>d</sup> March last past, and order the Secretary to underwrite it when Received in open Court: near half the Magistrates could not vote for either. Court is adjourned to the 14<sup>th</sup> May, 8 aclock, Mr. Shrimpton promises then to appear, and Jury ordered to attend. Is a Rumor that the Frigot hath been long at Sea. Gave the Magistrates one of Mr. Cotton's Sermons on 2 Sam. 7. 10., each of them one, being now just come out. Ap. 24. 1686.

Monday, Apr. 26, 1686. I and my wife set out for Newbury with little Hull; Brother St. Sewall meets us at the Gate next the little Bridge near where Boston and Cambridge Rode join: yet Eliakim went on to Salem, whether we got well in good time. Was kindly entertained by Capt. Gedney, Mr. Hathorn, Epps; Visited by Mr. Noyes.

Tuesday, Ap. 27. Being in a strait for a Horse, Brother accidentally meets with Stephen Jaques, who had a Horse exceeding fit for our purpose, and was a Newbury Man; so got to Newbury very well in good time.

Wednesday, May 5, came home-ward, took Rowley-Lecture in the way. Text—Denying the Power, shewed that true Goodness was a powerfull Principle. Came to Salem, Gilbert Cole to our great Benefit overtaking and accompanying us, and bringing my wife from Salem, else must have Troubled Brother.

Thursday, May 6, 1686. Got home about four aclock, found all well, blessed be God. 'Twas Lecture-day at Lin too and is so once a Moneth, but we have miss'd both: And indeed my wives painfull Flux such, that had we known of Lin Lecture before past the Place, could not have took it. Mr. Wharton buried a Child since our

going : and Mr. Cotton Mather married Mrs. Margaret Phillips before Major Richards (Mr. Russell and Capt. Hutchinson also present.) Tuesday May 4<sup>th</sup> 1686. 'Tis said was a great Wedding, but Eliakim not bidden.

· Going to Newbury, at Ipswich Farms met with Richard Waldron, who told me what an Eastward Master reported about the coming out of the Rose-Frigot, shewing me a Letter written to the Capt. of the Rose at Boston in N. E. which causes great thoughts and expectation. Left Hull well at our coming away. God did graciously help us out and home this journey, and answer Prayer. Capt. Frary met us and bid us wellcom Home.

May 10<sup>th</sup>. Went to Charlestown and wished Mr. Cotton Mather Joy, was married last Tuesday.

Monday, 10<sup>th</sup> May, Night and Tuesday Morn, plenty of warm refreshing Rain which was extreemly wanted.

Tuesday Morn. Mr. Mather's Maid, a Member of [blank] Church is brought to Bed of a Child. Nothing suspected before that I hear of. 'Tis said He has turn'd her out of 's House.

May 12, 1686. Pleasant day. Governour ill of 's Gout, goes not to Meeting. Mr. Wigglesworth preaches from Rev. 2. 4 and part of 5<sup>th</sup> v. and do thy first works, end of the Text. Shew'd the want of Love, or abating in it, was ground enough of Controversy, whatsoever outward performances a people might have. In 's prayer said, That may know the things of our peace in this our day, and it may be the last of our days. Acknowledged God as to the Election, and bringing forth him as 'twere a dead Man, — had been reckoned among the dead, — to preach. Governour being at Home adjourned to his House, and there the Deputy Governour and Assistants took their Oaths, being much obstructed and confused by the Drums and VOLLIES from which the Souldiers would not be refrained.

Gookin	1107.	Gedny	509.
Pynchon	1295.	Appleton	1272.
Stoughton	664.	Pike	1229.
Dudley	500.	Cook	1143.
Bulkly	436.	Johnson	987.
Saltonstall	1036.	Hathorn	1176.
Davie	1260.	Hutchinson	1066.
Richards	1160.	Sewall	957.
Nowell	1269.	Addington	903.
Russell	1273.	Smith	842.
Tilton	1178.		

Thursday, May 13. Major Richards and I were sent by the Magistrates to wait on Mr. Stoughton to invite him to take his Oath; Called at Major Dudley's for Extract of his Letter.

Friday, May 14. The Rose-Frigot arrives at Nantasket, Mr. Randolph up at Town about 8 *mane*: takes Coach for Roxbury: Major Pynchon and Mr. Stoughton are sent to the Magistrates to acquaint them with the King's Commands being come, and that Mr. Deputy, with whom he pleased to take with him, might go to Capt. Paige's and see the Commission, Exemplification of the Judgment and Seals. Mr. Shrimpton in the morn was sent for and told, by reason of the Governour's absence, and other business, should not now proceed with his Tryal, and that the Court would be adjourned and he should be acquainted with the time. Had a small Admiralty Case. Jury dismissed after Dinner. Major Pynchon has not took his Oath, I saw him not till came in with Mr. Stoughton.

Elder Humphryes of Dorchester buried this day. Major Richards and Self saw his Grave digging when went to Mr. Stoughton's.

Satterday, May 15. Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkley, Major Richards, Mr. Russell and Self sent to by Major Dudley to come



to Capt. Paige's, where we saw the Exemplification of the Judgment against the Charter, with the Broad Seal affixed: discoursed about their acceptance: had some thoughts of shewing their Seals to the Magistrates and Deputies, though not to them as a Court; but before we returned, the Magistrates were gone to the Governour's and from thence they adjourned till Monday one a'clock. Major Generall came home and dined with me. Went to George Monk's and paid him in full, drank half a pint of Wine together.

Friday morn Capt. Townsend is chosen Deputy for Boston in his Brother Addington's room. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Saffin is chosen Speaker the day before. Mr. Nicholas Noyes, the Minister, told me the first News of the Frigot.

Sabbath, May 16. The Lord's Supper administered with us: In the morn the 2<sup>d</sup> Ps. sung from the 6<sup>th</sup> v. to the end. In the family, sung the 139<sup>th</sup> in course. Mr. Randolph at Meeting, sate in Mr. Luscombe's Pue. Mr. Willard prayed not for the Governour or Government, as formerly; but spake so as implied it to be changed or changing. It seems Mr. Phillips at the Old Church, prayed for Governour and Deputy Governour. Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkly, Major Pynchon, Rawson and Self with Mr. Willy in the Fore-Seat at the Sacrament.

Monday, May 17<sup>th</sup> 1686. Generall Court Sits at One a'clock, I goe thither, about 3. The Old Government draws to the North-side, Mr. Addington, Capt. Smith and I sit at the Table, there not being room: Major Dudley the Præsident, Major Pynchon, Capt. Gedney, Mr. Mason, Randolph, Capt. Winthrop, Mr. Wharton come in on the Left. Mr. Stoughton I left out: Came also Capt. [of] King's Frigot, Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkley, Gov<sup>r</sup> West and sate on the Bench, and the Room pretty well filled with Spectators in an Instant. Major Dudley made a Speech, that was sorry could treat them no longer as Governour and Company; Produced the Exemplification of the Charter's Condemna-

tion, the Commission under the Broad-Seal of England — both: Letter of the Lords, Commission of Admiralty, openly exhibiting them to the People; when had done, Deputy Governour said suppos'd they expected not the Court's Answer now; which the Præsident took up and said they could not acknowledge them as such, and could no way capitulatè with them, to which I think no Reply. When gone, Major Generall, Major Richards, Mr. Russell and Self spake our minds. I chose to say after the Major Generall, adding that the foundations being destroyed what can the Righteous do; speaking against a Protest; which some spake for. Spake to call some Elders to pray tomorrow which some think inconvenient, because of what past, and the Commissioners having several times declared themselves to be the King's Council when in the Town-House.

Tuesday, May 18. Mr. Willard not seeing cause to go to the Town-House to pray, I who was to speak to him refrain also. Major Bulkley and Mr. Jonathan Tyng came to Town last night. Mr. Phillips had very close Discourse with the President, to persuade him not to accept: 'twas in Mr. Willard's Study Monday after noon just at night. Mr. Stoughton and Mather there too. Now are reading the beginning of the Psalms and the Acts.

Tuesday, May 18. A great Wedding from Milton, and are married by Mr. Randolph's Chaplain, at Mr. Shrimpton's, according to the Service-Book, a little after noon, when Prayer was had at the Town-House: Was another married at the same time. The former was Vosse's Son. Borrowed a Ring. 'Tis said they having asked Mr. Cook and Addington, and they declining it, went after to the President and he sent them to the Parson. In the even Mr. Moodey, Allen, Willard, Addington, Frary visit me. It seems neither of the Mathers, nor Baylys, nor Major Richards were at the Fast.

Wednesday, May 19. Capt. Eliot tells me that he hears Salem Troop is to be here on Friday, Capt. Higginson is Mr. Wharton's Brother in Law, and Capt. Gedney is of Salem, commands one of the Companies. Mr. Higginson and Mr. Noyes steady for Submission; the former is the Captain's Father. My Son reads to me Isa. 22 in his course this morning. In the Afternoon Major Richards and Self sent for to Capt. Winthrop's, and desired to have our Companies in Arms next Tuesday, Boston Troop to bring the President from Roxbury; what was thought of the former notion is now laid aside.

Friday, May 21, 1686. The Magistrates and Deputies goe to the Governour's. I was going to them about 11. a'clock, supposing them to be at the Town-House, and seeing a head through the Governour's Room, and, Brisco in the Street, I asked if Magistrates there; so went in and they were discoursing about delivering the Keys of a Fort which had been asked, seemed to advise him not to do it till the Gentlemen Sworn. Mr. Nowell prayed that God would pardon each Magistrate and Deputies Sin. Thanked God for our hithertos of Mercy 56 years, in which time sad Calamities elsewhere, as Massacre Piedmont; thanked God for what we might expect from sundry of those now set over us. I moved to sing, so sang the 17. and 18. verses of Habbakkuk.

The Adjournment which had been agreed before, Second Wednesday in October next at 8 a'clock in the Morning, was declared by the Weeping Marshal-Generall. Many Tears Shed in Prayer and at parting.

This day the Præsident goes on Board the Frigot a little below the Castle, so the Flagg is hung out at the Main Top. About 4. or 5. P. M. She comes up with a fair wind, Castle fires about 25 Guns; a very considerable time after the Frigot fires, then the Sconce and Ships, Noddles Iland, Charlestown Battery, Frigot again, Ships with their Ancients out, and Forts their Flaggs. Not very many Spec-



tators on Fort Hill and there about, I was for one, coming from the Warehouse. I waited on the Præsident in the morn to speak with him, and so accompanied Him to Town. Wednesday, Major Richards and I were sent for to Capt. Winthrop's to speak with us about attending with our Companies on Tuesday; this was near night. Were advised to consult our Officers; Major Richards objected the discontent of the Souldiers and may be it might prove inconvenient. On Thursday, before Lecture, at Capt. Paige's, I told the President thought I could do nothing to the purpose: On Friday waited on him on purpose and propounded Lieut. Hayward: when came home, after Dinner went to speak with Lieut. Hayward, found him at George's. There he was speaking with his Capt., the Præsident having spoken to him; he was to return an Answer to the Præsident. I hear no more of it, so I suppose 'tis left with him. On Wednesday Major spake of warning by Corporals not Drum.

May 25, *mane* we read the seventeenth Psalm in Course, a precious seasonable Prayer for this Day.

Wednesday, May 26. Mr. Ratliff, the Minister, waits on the Council; Mr. Mason and Randolph propose that he may have one of the 3 Houses to preach in. That is deny'd, and he is granted the East-End of the Town-House, where the Deputies used to meet; untill those who desire his Ministry shall provide a fitter place. No Body that I observed went to meet the President at his first coming to Town that I know of.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It seems proper, at this point, to mention a curious literary performance, which promised to throw light on the events of this date. In the "St. Chrysostom's Magazine," Vol. II. Nos. 11 and 12, published in New York, December, 1874, and February, 1875, appeared two letters, purporting to be written by Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, the Episcopal clergyman who preceded Andros. The editor of the magazine wrote to an inquirer that these letters were printed from the originals, but further responses to all questions were refused.

In the first of these letters, addressed to the Bishop of London, Ratcliffe

Thursday, May 27. Lieut. Checkly and I wait on the President and Mr. Stoughton to Mr. Allin's. Mr. Whiting of Hartford preaches. Mr. Danforth sits in the Gallery, Major Gookin with me. Ministers generally dine with the President and Co.

Friday, May 28. I pay my Respects to Mr. Stoughton as Deputy-President, break fast with him, and ride part of the way to Town. Then I goe with Capt. Eliot and adjust the Line between him and me at Muddy-River. Visit Mr. Benj. Eliot as we come back. Yesterday a very refreshing Rain.

Sabbath, May 30<sup>th</sup> 1686. My Son reads to me in course the 26<sup>th</sup> of Isaiah — In that day shall this Song, &c. And we sing the 141. Psalm, both exceedingly suited to this day. Wherein there is to be Worship according to the Church of England as 'tis call'd, in the Town-House, by Countenance of Authority. 'Tis deferred 'till the 6<sup>th</sup> of June at what time the Pulpit is provided; The pulpit is

is made to give a full account of the proceedings at the Council Chamber on May 26, when the late Governor Bradstreet made a long prayer. Ratcliffe, as represented, asked for a place in which to hold Church of England services; and Bradstreet rose, and, after upbraiding Dudley, left the hall.

It appears, from the Council Records, that, on the 25th May, there were twelve present, viz., Dudley, Stoughton, Mason, Fitz Winthrop, Pinchon, Dudley, Wait Winthrop, Wharton, Gedney, Hincks, E. Tyng, and Randolph.

On May 26, eleven were present; Hincks not named, and Stoughton was made deputy.

On May 27, eleven present; Hincks attending and Gedney absent. On the 28th, eleven; Usher being present. On June 18th, Jonathan Tyng appears. The names of Simon Bradstreet, Dudley Bradstreet, and Nathaniel Saltonstall do not appear on the records.

It would have been strange, if, after the meeting of May 21, herein recorded, Bradstreet should have attended the Council meeting; almost incredible that, if he had done so and had enacted so striking a part, Sewall should not record it.

For these and other reasons, especially the inexplicable retention of the originals, we are compelled to concede no authority to the transcripts, and must continue to stand by such details only as these journals furnish to us.  
— Eds.

movable, carried up and down stairs, as occasion serves; it seems many crowded thither, and the Ministers preached forenoon and Afternoon. Charles Lidget there.

Satterday, June 5<sup>th</sup>. I rode to Newbury, to see my little Hull, and to keep out of the way of the Artillery Election, on which day eat Strawberries and Cream with Sister Longfellow at the Falls, visited Capt. Richard Dummer, rode to Salem, where lodged 2 nights for the sake of Mr. Noyes's Lecture, who preached excellently of Humility, from the woman's washing Christ's feet. Was invited by Mr. Higginson to Dinner, but could not stay, came alone to Capt. Marshal's, from thence with Mr. Davie, who gave me an account of B. Davis Capt., Tho. Savage Lieut. and Sam Ravenscroft Ensign, of the Artillery; Jn<sup>o</sup> Wait was chosen but serv'd not. Mr. Hubbard preached from Eccles., There is no Discharge in that War.

Friday, June 11. Waited on the Council, took the Oath of Allegiance, and rec'd my new Commission for Capt. Was before at a privat Fast at Deacon Allen's: so Capt. Hutchinson and I went about 5. aclock, and all the rest were sworn, Capt. Hutchinson at present refuses. I read the Oath myself holding the book in my Left hand, and holding up my Right Hand to Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, June 18. My dear Son, Hull Sewall, dyes at Newbury about one aclock. Brother Toppan gets hither to acquaint us on Satterday morn between 5 and 6. We set out about 8. I got to Newbury a little after Sun-set, where found many persons waiting for the Funeral; so very quickly went; Mr. Woodbridge and Richardson there: Bearers Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Tompson, Jn<sup>o</sup> Moodey, Jn<sup>o</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This matter of holding up the hand in taking an oath, as opposed to the English custom of holding the Bible or kissing it, became very soon one of the trivial but irritating questions in dispute between the colonists and the Andros faction. In 1689, Rev. Samuel Willard printed a discourse on the point, and the grievance of using the English mode is brought forward in the pamphlets of the day. See Andros's Tracts (Prince Society, Boston, 1868), Vols I. pp. 15, 47, 179. — Eds.



Toppan, Johnny Richardson. Had Gloves. Gave no body else any because 'twas so late.

Sabbath-day Morn. Goodman Pilsbury was buried just after the ringing of the second Bell. Grave dugg over night. Mr. Richardson Preached from 1 Cor. 3, 21.22, going something out of 's Order by reason of the occasion, and singling out those Words *Or Death*.

On Monday I distributed some Gloves, and in the Afternoon about 6 a'clock came with Deacon Coffin to Salem about 10. at night. From thence early in the Morn by reason of the flaming Heat, and got to Winnisimmet before the Ferry-men up, Got home about  $\frac{3}{4}$  after seven, found all well. Hullie was taken ill on Friday Morn. Mr. Clark of Cambridge had a Son of 9 years old drownd the Tuesday before. Two women dy'd suddenly in Boston. James Mirick that lived just by my Father at Newbury, had his House suddenly burnt down to the Ground on Sabbath-day Even before this Friday.

The Lord sanctify this Third Bereavement.

Tuesday, June 22, 1686. Betty Lane's Father dyes suddenly.

Wednesday, *Junij ult<sup>o</sup>* Went to a Fast at Dorchester, Mr. Danforth and Williams exercised, and no other. In the Evening supped with Major Gidney, Mr. Moodey, Allin, at Mr. Stoughton's.

Friday, July 2. Mrs. Chaney, widow, dyes having been sick a day or two, of a Flux. Her Body is carried in the night to Roxbury there to be buried.

July 9. Mr. Richard Collicot buried.

Monday, July 12. Mr. Thomas Kellond dyes, is to be buried on Thursday between 4 and 5. Is the only son of Madame Kellond, and Mrs Luscombe is now her only child. Conversed with Mr. Thomas when at Newbury in the beginning of June. He was so fat and corpulent that most thought he could not live.

Wednesday, July 21. Went to Cambridge-Lecture and

heard Mr. Morton. Considerable Rain this Day. Dined at Remington's.

Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Bayly preaches his farewell Sermon from 2 Cor. 13, 11. Goes to Watertown this week. July 25, 1686.

July 26, 1686. More Rain this day. Major Richards and most of the Captains gave in some Military Orders for the Council's Approbation and Passing: and before the Council agreed that this day fortnight be a Training-Day.

July 27, 1686. Mr. Stoughton prays excellently, and makes a notable speech at the opening of the Court. The Foreman of the Grand-Jury, Capt. Hollbrook, swore laying his hand on the Bible, and one or two more. So Mr. Ballard, Foreman of the Petit Jury, and one or two more. Others swore lifting up their hands, as formerly. Attorneys are sworn and none must plead as Attorneys but they.

July 28. A considerable Troop from Watertown come and fetch Mr. Bayly, some of ours also accompany them. Francis Stepney the Dancing Master runs away for Debt. Several Attachments out after him.

Thursday night, July 29, 1686. I goe the Grand Rounds with Isaac Goose and Matthias Smith: Comes eight dayes sooner than it ought because Capt. Lidget's Lieut. refuses, and so the rest of the Company.

Friday, July 30. Church Meeting, at which Richard Draper, Mrs. Clark, Sarah Chapin, and Eliza Lane admitted.

About the same time W<sup>m</sup> Johnson Esq<sup>r</sup> is sharply reprov'd by the Council for his carriage on the Fast-day, staying at home himself and having a Duzen Men at's House.<sup>1</sup> Told him must take the Oath of Allegiance; he

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<sup>1</sup> It seems, from the "History of Woburn, Mass.," written by the late Rev. Samuel Sewall, p. 168, that William Johnson was a prominent citizen of that town. He was the son of Captain Edward Johnson, the author of

desired an Hour's consideration, then said he could not take it; but when his *Mittimus* writing, or written, he consider'd again, and took it rather than goe to Prison. Objected against that clause of acknowledging it to be Lawfull Authority who administred; would see the Seals.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 4. Mr. Moodey exercises at our House, being our Meeting-day. Mr. Shove in Town.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 5. W<sup>m</sup> Harrison, the Bodies-maker, is buried, which is the first that I know of buried with the Common-Prayer Book in Boston. He was formerly Mr. Randolph's Landlord. This day Capt. Paige hath a Judgment for Capt. Keyn's Farm: Mr. Cook Appeals. Mr. Morton preaches the Lecture. One Jn<sup>o</sup> Gold, Chief Commander of the Military Company at Topsfield, is sent to Prison for Treasonable Words spoken about the change of Government, is to be tryed this day fortnight. Council said he was notailable.

Sabbath-day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 8. 'Tis said the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered at the Town-House. Cleverly there.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 9. Pretty sharp Thunder and Lightening.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 10. Ridd to Braintrey in Company of Mr. Pain, and Mr. Joseph Parson, and home agen. 'Tis said a Groton Man is killed by 's cart, Bowells crushed out; and a Boy killed by a Horse at Rowley; foot hung in the Stirrup and so was torn to pieces; both about a week ago.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 10. at night. Two Brothers die in one Bed, the Mate and Purser of the Ship which brought the Frenchmen. Died of a Malignant Fever. Aug<sup>t</sup> 11. Buried together. Mr. Parris spake at Mrs. Noyes's.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 18, 1686. Went and came on Foot to Cambridge-Lecture. Dined at Mr. Gookin's in Company of Mr. Hub-

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"Wonder-working Providence," and was noted for his zeal for the old charter. A full sketch of his life and character will be found in the above-cited history. — Eds.



bard, N. Cambr. [New Cambridge, now Newton] and others.

Augt. 21. *mane* Mr. Randolph and Bullivant were here, Mr. Randolph mentioned a Contribution toward building them a Church, and seemed to goe away displeas'd because I spake not up to it.

Friday, Augt. 20. Read the 143, 144 Psalms *mane*, and Sam Read the 10<sup>th</sup> of Jeremiah. I was and am in great exercise about the Cross to be put into the Colours, and afraid if I should have a hand in 't whether it may not hinder my Entrance into the Holy Land.

Sabbath-day, Augt. 22. In the Evening seriously discoursed with Capt. Eliot and Frary, signifying my inability to hold, and reading Mr. Cotton's Arguments to them about the Cross, and sayd that to introduce it into Boston at this time was much, seeing it had been kept out more than my Life-time,<sup>1</sup> and now the Cross much set by in England and here; and it could scarce be put in but I must have a hand in it. I fetcht home the Silk Elizur Holyoke had of me, to make the Cross, last Friday morn; and went and discoursed Mr. Mather. He judg'd it Sin to have it put in, but the Captain not in fault; but I could hardly understand how the Command of others could wholly excuse them, at least me who had spoken so much against it in April 1681, and that Summer and forward, upon occasion of Capt. Walley's putting the Cross in his Colours. Augt. 22. Balston arrives.

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<sup>1</sup> The English colors at that time, of course, bore St. George's cross; and the use thereof, as savoring of idolatry or Popery, aroused Puritanic feelings at an early date. In 1634, Endicott and Davenport had altered the ensign used at Salem by removing one part of the red cross. Palfrey points out that this act placed the colonial government in a difficult position, since the act would be construed in England as a defiance, and yet at home it had the sympathy of the people. Finally, it was decided to leave out the cross on the colors of the military companies, but to keep it on the flag at Castle Island. Hutchinson writes (I. 38): "This scruple afterwards prevailed; and the cross was left out of the colours and generally condemned as unlawful." — EDS.

Monday, Augt. 23. At even I wait on the President and shew him that I cannot hold because of the Cross now to be introduc'd, and offer'd him my Commission, which he refus'd, said would not take it but in Council. Receiv'd me very candidly, and told me we might expect Sir Edmund Andros, our Governour, here within six weeks ; for ought I know that might make him the more placid. Came over the Neck with Mr. Sherman. *Laus Deo.*

Balston arrives Augt. 22 : came from Graves-End June 24, 1686. Had news there by several vessels that the Rose-Frigot was arrived here. Mr. Lee<sup>1</sup> and another Minister come over with many Passengers.

<sup>1</sup> This was the Rev. Samuel Lee, born in London in 1623, bred at Oxford, and a proctor there in 1651. He was settled at Bristol, Mass. ; embarked for home in 1691 ; was taken by a French privateer to St. Maloes, and died there soon after. As Savage's account of his family relations is incorrect, we offer the following statement from records :—

In the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society, 4th Series, pp. 540-542, are some letters from Lee to Mather ; and in one of them, dated Aug. 25, 1687, Lee thanks Increase Mather for admitting his daughter Anne to his church. In Robbins's History Sec. Ch. she stands as admitted April 24, 1687. Again, Oct. 14, 1687, Lee writes : " My wife and daughters present their hearty respects, especially Annie."

Again (4th Series, VIII. 373), Joshua Moodey writes, Nov. 19, 1688 : " Mr. Saffin has lately married Mr. Lee's eldest daughter." From many sources, as, for example, a deed in the Suffolk Registry, XIX. 237, Sept. 24, 1691, to John George from John Saffin and wife Rebecca, we learn her name.

In Rev. Samuel Mather's Life of his father, Cotton Mather (p. 131), he writes :—

" In his fifty-third year, July 5, 1715, he was married to his third Wife. She is the Daughter of the renowned and very learned Mr. Samuel Lee. She was the widow of Mr. George, a worthy Merchant, when Dr. Mather pay'd his Respects unto her in order to be Marry'd. She is a Lady of many and great Accomplishments, and is the Doctor's disconsolate Widow." Her name was Lydia, and she died Jan. 22, 1733-34. (Hist. and Gen. Reg. VI. 20.)

In Suffolk Deeds (Lib. 17, f. 146), under date of Nov. 1, 1695, is an indenture between Henry Wyrley of New Bristoll in the county of Bristoll in New England, Fellmonger, and Anne his wife, one of the Daughters and coheirs of the Rev. Samuel Lee, late of Bristoll, clerk, deceased, of the one

Augt. 29. Lord's day. Mr. Lee, the Minister, now come over, came to our Meeting in the Forenoon, and sate in my Pue.

part, and John George of Boston, merchant, of the other part; by which the Wyrleys sell their one fourth part (the whole in four equal parts to be divided), of the following messuages, &c. :—

One message ferme or tenement situate near Bissitree in the co. of Oxford, Eng. commonly called Bignell's farm, in the holding of one Richard Wilson;

And of several other parcels of land called Brill lands, in the parish of Brill, co. Bucks, viz:

Riddo Hill in the tenure of Peter Baker; the upper part of Little Park, in the tenure of John Gregory; the close next Mr. Dormers, in the tenure of one Smith; the close next Mr. Smith's close, in the tenure of Mr. Hunt; the Poltree meadow in the lane by the wood and

Hazelcomb near Poltree wood, in tenure of John Gregory; the Hazelcomb by Spring Copps, in tenure of Richard Turner; and the woods of Poltree and Spring Copps.

The land is estimated at one hundred acres, more or less.

We thus establish that Lee had, Rebecca, who married John Saffin; Lydia, who married John George, and second, Cotton Mather; Anne, who married Henry Wyrley; and undoubtedly a fourth daughter.

We now turn to a letter printed in the N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, I. 191, dated Nov. 7, 1728, from Dr. Isaac Watts. It is addressed evidently to the wife of Major Samuel Sewall, who was Katherine (George), widow of Nathan Howell, and step-daughter of Cotton Mather. It was occasioned by the death of her two children, George and Nathan Howell, drowned Jan. 8, 1728, while skating.

John George's will (Suff. Wills, XVIII. 196), dated March 16, 1711, proved Nov. 27, 1714, mentions his widow; his only child, Katherine Howell; her husband, Nathan Howell; and his own sister-in-law, Mrs. Rebecca Saffin.

Katherine George and Nathan Howell were married by Dr. Colman, Aug. 11, 1708; and had George, born Nov. 1, 1712, and Nathan, born March 21, 1713-14. These were the two children who were drowned. From Sewall's Diary (quoted in 4th Series, II. 125), it seems that Nathan Howell, the father, died May 2, 1716, and his widow married Samuel Sewall, Jan. 1, 1716-17. Sewall had no children by this wife; and as her mother, Katherine George, had none by her second husband, Mather, this line of Lee's issue became extinct.

As to the letter, Dr. Watts writes as follows: "Mr. Lee, your Venerable Grandfather was Predecessor to Mr. Thomas Rowe, my Honour'd Tutor, and once my Pastor in my younger years. Mr. Peacock who married your eldest Aunt, was my intimate Friend. Mrs. Bishop and Mrs. Wirley were both my Acquaintance, though my long Illness and Absence from London has made me a Stranger to their Posterity whom I knew when Children. But now I know not who of them are living or where. Doc<sup>r</sup> Cotton Mather, your



Augt. 30. Eight Companies Train, but I appear not save to take leave in the morning, getting Mr. Willard to goe to Prayer. Lieut. Holyoke led the Company which had Lt. Col<sup>s</sup> Colours: in the morn Lt. Way came to me and told me the likelihood of Mr. Lee's being my Tenant; so invited said Way to Dinner. Gave each Souldier a Sermon: God's Promise to his Plantations; and 20s. [to the Company for a Treat].

Augt. 31. Mr. Nowell, Moodey and Rawson visit me and comfort me.

Augt. 31. Mr. Lee views the House at Cotton-Hill in order to taking it.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 1. Went to Natick Lecture, Simon Gates shewing me the way; called as went at Noah Wiswall's; came home accompanied by Major Gookin and his Son Sam. till the way parted. Mr. Dan<sup>l</sup> Gookin preached; were about 40 or 50 Men at most, and a pretty many Women and Children [at the Indian Meeting-house]. Call'd at the President's as came home, who was very pleasant; Excus'd my giving himself and the Deputy President occasion to say what they did on Thursday night. Met with there, Capt. Blackwell and Mr. Hubbard and his wife, with whom I came over the Neck.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 3. The report about Sir Edmund Andros coming, is refreshed by Martin in his way to N. York.

Friday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 3. Mr. Shrimpton, Capt. Lidget and oth-

late Father-in-Law was my yearly Correspondent, and I lament the loss of him."

We have here a distinct statement that Mr. Peacock married the oldest aunt; and, as all the reference is to Lees, undoubtedly she was the oldest daughter of Rev. Samuel Lee. Mrs. Bishop and Mrs. Wyrley are mentioned in the same connection; and, as the latter was Anne Lee, we may presume Mrs. Bishop to be also. Yet if so, who was she? Rebecca (Saffin) is said to have married, July 26, 1712, Rev. Joseph Baxter, of Medfield (born 1676, H. C. 1693; died May 2, 1745). Can Bishop be an error for Baxter, or was there a fifth daughter? If there were five, one may have died without issue before Wyrley inherited the fourth part of Lee's estate, already described as sold by him. — Eds.

ers come in a Coach from Roxbury about 9. a'clock or past, singing as they come, being inflamed with Drink: At Justice Morgan's they stop and drink Healths, curse, swear, talk profanely and bauldily to the great disturbance of the Town and grief of good people. Such high-handed wickedness has hardly been heard of before in Boston.

Monday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 6. Artillery Training. Not one old Captain there. Dartmouth Frigot arrives from Barmudas last night. Lieut. Holyoke's little Daughter buried today: died on Satterday.

Tuesday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> The Dartmouth Frigot comes up. I goe with my wife, Cous. Ruth, Savages and Mrs. Baker and their Children to Hog-Iland. We put off just as the Frigot and Ships and Town Salute each other mutually. Got home by 9. a'clock.

I little thought of its being the day signed by the Almanack for the Court of Assistants, till coming home I accidentally spyed. It has been a great day of feasting on Board Capt. Head. Mr. Lidget and Shrimpton there. I suppose they are little concerned for being bound over in the morn for their Friday night Revel.<sup>1</sup>

Monday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 13, 1686. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches the Election Sermon for the Artillery, at Charlestown, from Ps. 144. 1. made a very good Discourse. President and Deputy President there. As I went in the morn I had Sam. to the Latin School, which is the first time. Mr. Chiever received him gladly. The Artillery Company had like to have been broken up; the animosity so high between Charlestown and Cambridge Men about the Place of Training. Were fain at last to vote the old Officers to

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<sup>1</sup> General Sumner, in his "History of East Boston," suggests that Sewall does not write of this alleged misbehavior of Shrimpton as of his own personal knowledge, but probably heard of it as an exaggerated rumor. There is no record of any further proceedings in the court against Shrimpton on this charge. — Eds.

stand for next year, in general. Major Gookin, Richards and Self, by as Spectators. Major Gookin to order.

Wednesday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 15. Mr. David Geffries<sup>1</sup> marries Mrs Betty Usher before Mr. Ratcliff.

Monday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 20. The President, Deputy President, Capt. Blackwell, Councillour Usher, Mr. Moodey, Lee, Morton, Allen, Willard, Cotton Mather, and Self, goe and visit Mr. Baylye at Watertown, and there dine.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 23. Lecture day. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet is gone with his Lady to Salem. President and Deputy President call'd here.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 24. Friday. Capt. Clapp leaves the Castle; about nine Guns fired at his going off. It seems Capt. Clap is not actually come away, but Capt. Winthrop, and Lieut. Thomas Savage did this day there receive their Commissions.

Satterday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 25. The Queen's Birthday is celebrated by the Captains of the Frigots and sundry others at Noddles Iland. King and Council's Proclamation of Nov<sup>r</sup> 6. last, was published by beat of Drum throw the Town to hinder their making Bonfires in the Town however. Went with their Boats to the Ships and Vessels and caused them to put out their Ancients. Many Guns fired. A kind of Tent set up at the Iland and a Flagg on the top on 't. Made a great Fire in the Evening, many Hussas.

Sabbath, Sept<sup>r</sup> 26. Mr. Willard expresses great grief in 's Prayer for the Profanation of the Sabbath last night. Mr. Lee preaches with us in the Afternoon from Isa. 52. 7. Said that all America should be converted, Mexico overcome, England sent over to convert the Natives, look you

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<sup>1</sup> David Jeffries was a new comer, born at Rhoad, in Wiltshire, who arrived here May 9, 1677. A full account of his descendants can be found in the N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XV. 14-17. Among them we may note David Jeffries, town treasurer; his son, Dr. John Jeffries, who made the celebrated balloon voyage across the English Channel; and his son, the late eminent physician, John Jeffries, Jr. — EDS.



do it. Read in course this day Cant. 6. vid. Bright'm.<sup>1</sup> fol. 121.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 27. Hannah clambring to the Cupboard's head upon a chair breaks her forehead grievously just above her left Eye: 'twas in the morn.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 28. Mr. Edward Grove who kept the Salutation, dyed this day of the bloody Flux. Yesterday's Training was hindred by the Rain. No Drumms beat.

Wednesday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 29. Set forth toward Narraganset, went to Woodcock's.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Joseph Eliot and I went from Joseph Stanton's to Stonington and kept the Sabbath with Mr. Noyes.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 6. Went with Mr. Byfield to Rode-Iland about the middle on't, go to Bristow, there lodged. Oct<sup>r</sup> 7. Went to Newport and back again to Mr. Byfield's. Oct<sup>r</sup> 8. Rode to Plat's Farm. Oct<sup>r</sup> 9. Satterday. Mr. Eliot and I got home about one a'clock, and found all well. *Soli Deo gloria.*

Sabbath-day, Oct<sup>r</sup> 10. By reason of the Fires the Meeting-Houses are much filled with Smoke; so 'twas a Lecture-day, one might feel it in ones eyes. Mr. Willard preached in the afternoon from Ps. 43. *ult.*

Wednesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 6. Mr. Bayly is ordain'd at Water-town, but not as Congregational Men are.

Thursday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 7. Deacon Bright carrying home chairs, &c. used at Mr. Baylys, is hurt by his Cart none seeing, so that he dyes Oct<sup>r</sup> 9. Satterday. It seems he was the only Officer left in that Church. Several of his Ribs broken.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 12. Mr. Shove dines with us.

Wednesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>. Carry Mistress Bridget Hoar behind me to Cambridge-Lecture, where Mr. Lee preached.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brightman (called by Fuller *William*, by Neal *Thomas*) wrote a Commentary on the Song of Solomon.—Eds.

After Lecture was invited to Dinner by the late Deputy Governour; at his Table sat down Deputy Governour and his Lady, Mr. Lee, Morton, Bayly, Hubbard of the Village, Russell, Sewall, Wylie, Ballard, Leverett, Brattle, Williams, [of] Derefield. Mr. Lee craved a Blessing and returned Thanks. Came home in Company Mr. Hez. Usher and Lady, and from widow Clark's, with Capt. Eliot and his Sons Elizur Holyoke and Mr. Joseph: got home about 8. a'clock at night. Went in Company of the same save Mr. Hez. Usher and Lady who were not ready.

Wednesday, Sept<sup>r</sup> 29. Capt. Clap went to Dorchester-Lecture, so to Boston, where he dwells, having actually left the Castle this day 29<sup>th</sup> September. Guñer Baxter also is here, having laid down his place, and both aged.

Thursday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 14. Many Guns fired, and at night a Bonfire on Noddles Iland, in remembrance of the King's Birth-day; 'tis the more remarkable because Wednesday Oct<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> was the day the Generall Court was adjourn'd to at 8 a'clock. Upon Thursday before Lecture the Guns fired; some marched throw the Streets with Viols and Drums, playing and beating by turns.

Satterday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 16. Accompanied Judge Stoughton as far as Dorchester Burying place, at his return from the Eastward.

Monday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 18. Pretty deal of Rain. Sabbath, Oct<sup>r</sup> 17. Mr. Edw. Taylor preaches in the Forenoon.

Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 19. Wait on Major Richards to Braintrey, where He joins in Marriage his Cousin John Hunt and Cousin Ruth Quinsey; present, Capt. Quinsey the Father, Mr. Fisk who pray'd before and after, his wife, Cap. Daniel Quinsey and Exper. Quinsey, wife, Capt. Savage and wife, Lieut. Tho. Hunt and wife, Hunt of Weymouth and wife, Mr. Sam. Shepard. Came home after Diñer. Wedding was about one of the Clock. This day Mr. Smith and Butler come in from London. I receive Gazetts next morn to the 26<sup>th</sup> of August. 'Tis

reported that the King-Fisher<sup>1</sup> rides no longer Admiral in the Downs as being ready to sail and bring Sir Edmund Andros our Governour.

Satterday night, Oct<sup>r</sup> 23, about 7 aclock the Frigot fires many Guns, Drums and Trumpets going. I heard the Guns.

Sabbath-day, Oct<sup>r</sup> 24. A Man Swoons in our Meeting-House, and falls down, which makes much disturbance, yet Mr. Willard breaks not off preaching.

Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 26. I set sweet-briar seeds at the Pasture by Mr. Saunderson's, next the Lane at the upper end. Little red Heifer is this day brought from Braintrey to be killed.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 29. Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Danforth preaches at the Meeting at Cousin Quinsey's, Luke 3. 8.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 5. Mr. Morton is ordained the Pastor of the Church at Charlestown; Propounded to the Church and to all if any had to object; then the Churches Vote was had; Mr. Mather gave him his charge, Mr. Allen, Moodey, Willard pray'd. Mr. Morton's Text was out of Rom. 1. 16. Took occasion to speak of the 5<sup>th</sup> of November very pithily, and said the just contrary to that Epistle was taught and practised at Rome. Mr. Mather spoke in praise of the Congregational way, and said were [he] as Mr. Morton, he would have Hands laid on him. Mr. Moodey in 's prayer said, though that which would have been gratefull to many was omitted, or to that purpose.<sup>2</sup> I dined about 3. or 4. aclock at Mr. Russel's.

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<sup>1</sup> The "Kingfisher" was the vessel which brought Andros hither. She is not in the navy list of 1677, but, in 1692, is called a fourth-rate, 664 tons burthen, with 220 men and 46 guns. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> In using the word *ordained* in connection with the induction of the Rev. Charles Morton to the pastorate of the church in Charlestown, Sewall obscures the explanation of what seems to have been objectionable to him, as well as to Mr. Mather, in the services on the occasion. Mr. Morton was at the time sixty years of age. He was born at Pendevy, Cornwall, in 1626. His father and two of his brothers were clergymen of the Church. As a Fellow of



Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 5. One Mr. Clark [of the English Church] preaches at the Town-House. Speaks much against the Presbyterians in England and here.

Satterday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 6. One Robison Esqr., that came from Antego, is buried; first was had to the Town-House and set before the Pulpit, where Mr. Buckley preached. The President and many others there. Common-Prayer used.

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 8. Lewis arrives. I have a Gazett to the 6<sup>th</sup> of September, by which are inform'd of the taking of Buda [by the Imperialists], which heard of before by a vessel from Bilbao.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 9. Mr. Shove at our house, went on to Roxbury, after had sat with me awhile. I am ill of a Cold I took on Friday, lies much in my head.

Thursday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 11. I deliver'd my Commission to the Council, desiring them to appoint a Captain for the South-Company; left it with them to put 'em in mind on't. As was coming home Capt. Hill invited me to his House where unexpectedly I found a good Supper. Capt. Hutchinson, Townsend, Savage, Wing and sundry others to the number of 14 or 15, were there. After Supper sung the 46<sup>th</sup> Ps.

Wadham College, Oxford, where he was distinguished for mathematical and general scholarship, he was also very zealous for the church rites and ceremonies. Siding afterwards with the Puritans, he was ejected from his ministry at Blisland by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Removing to London, he for several years had a most successful academy at Newington Green, educating many ministers and many distinguished pupils, among them the famous De Foe. He came to this country with a view to the Presidency of Harvard College; but, as under the rule of Andros he was politically obnoxious, the office of Vice-President was created for him. The earlier ministers of the colony, beginning with Wilson, though they had been regularly ordained in England, considered a reordination, by the imposition of hands, requisite when they assumed the pastorate of a particular church. Though the feeling in favor of the precedent was a strong one, Morton objected to it, and he set the example of a method which has since been known among Congregationalists in the resettlement of a minister previously ordained as an *installation*. — EDS.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 12. I go to the Meeting at the School-house.

Jn<sup>o</sup> Griffin is this week buried with the Co<sup>m</sup>on-Prayer: Which is the third funeral of this sort, as far as I can learn.

In the Preamble to the Order for the Thanksgiving, are these words — As also for that His Majesties Kingdoms, and other His Majesties Plantations, flourish in all happy peace and tranquillity. It is therefore ordered &c.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 10, 1686. Second year of His Majesties Reign.

Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 16. I goe to Roxbury Lecture, and hear Mr. Eliot, the father, pray and preach. Came home with Mr. Moodey. This day Gardener arrives and brings Gazetts to the 16<sup>th</sup> of September, in one of which is that on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September His Majestie accepted of Rode-Iland Surrender by their Address. At night Brother Longfellow lodges here.

Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 17. At parting I give him 2 French crowns and 15<sup>s</sup> English money, and writt to Stephen to furnish him with cloths to the value of £5., and charg'd him to be frugal.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 18. Jn<sup>o</sup> Neponet, alias Nemasit, executed. Mr. Eliot hopes well of him.

This day sent for my Coat home from Capt. Gerrishes, where I suppose I left it the 25<sup>th</sup> May, and now the cold wether made me look after it.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 19. Went to Capt. Gerrish and paid him 18d., which laid out for crying my Coat, from thence Elia-kim calls me to Mr. Moodey, so we together viewed the Eclips. As to the time and digits the Cambridge Almanack rightest; had he not unhappily said 'twould not be visible. Clouds hindered between whiles that could not so well see how much the Moon eclipsed, but when near half darkened, and when emerging, had a good view.

This night Eliza Damon, servant to Nash the Currier, dyes about midnight of the small pocks, to our great start-

ling, lest it should spread as in 1678. Had hop'd the Town was clear of it. But one that I know of dyed on't before, and that a great while since.

Satterday, Nov<sup>r</sup>: 20. Capt. Davis buries his Serjeant, Henry Messenger, in arms.

Tuesday night, Nov<sup>r</sup>: 23. Mr. James Whetcomb dyes.

Wednesday, 24. Robert Combs taken up drown'd.

Thorsday, 25. Public Thanksgiving.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup>: 26. Marshal arrives from England.

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup>: 29. Mr. Whetcomb buried. Coffin was lin'd with Cloth on the outside, and below the Name and year a St. Andrew's Cross made, with what intent I can't tell. Bearers, Mr. Wharton, Joyliff, Hutchinson J<sup>ms</sup>. Paige, Sergeant, Nelson. Gave scarvs to the President, Mr. Bradstreet and the Ministers, and Mr. Oakes. Should have been buried on Friday, but the storm of rain hindered.

This day W<sup>m</sup> Clendon the Barber and Perriwig-maker dies miserably, being almost eat up with Lice and stupified with Drink and cold. Sat in the watch-house and was there gaz'd on a good part of the day, having been taken up the night before.

Dec<sup>r</sup>: 8, 1686. Going to Cambridge-Lecture, a little beyond Daniel Champney's I saw a Rainbow to the North, being just about Noon: only Here. Simons with me just then; but Capt. Eliot and Mr. Tho. Oliver saw it, with whom rid over the Causeys. Mr. Oliver said he had not before noted a Rainbow in the North. Cloud rose suddenly very black and hail'd afterward. Ministers pray together at Boston this day.

Sabbath, Dec<sup>r</sup>: 12. Clutterbuck arrives, brings news of Capt. Jeñer's death, Widow Winsley's Son:<sup>1</sup> and that the

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<sup>1</sup> Capt. Thomas Jenner, of Charlestown, has been traced by Mr. W. S. Appleton, in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XIX. 246, but without success as to explaining the relationship with the Wensleys. Jenner was a noted shipmaster, and brought John Dunton to this country. — Eds.



Capt. of the Kings-fisher expected to sail in a day or two: this was Oct<sup>r</sup> 13, and then in the Downs. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches with us.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 13. Mr. Mather, Willard, Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Moodey, Allin visit me. Very pleasant wether.

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 14. Capt. Legg arrives, who brings 60 Beds for Soldiers, and a considerable quantity of Goods for the Governour. 120 Soldiers to come. This day Mrs. Crines, Mr. Dering's Daughter, dies of the Small Pocks.

Sabbath, Dec<sup>r</sup> 19, 1686. Day of the Fort-fight. As I was reading the Exposition of Habakkuk 3<sup>d</sup>, which this morn sung and read in the family, I heard a great Gun or two, as I supposed, which made me think Sir Edmund might be come; but none of the family speaking of it, I held my peace. Going to Mr. Bradstreet's, Tho. Baker told me Sir Edmund was below, which Winchcomb and Brisco confirmed; said they saw the Frigot with the Flagg in the main Top, and sundry gon down. President and Deputy come to Town; President comes and hears Mr. Willard, whoes Text was Heb. 11. 12. Therefore sprang there of one &c. 113. Psalm sung. Mr. Willard said he was fully persuaded and confident God would not forget the Faith of those who came first to New England, but would remember their Posterity with kindness. One Doct. Faith usually reaps the greatest Crops off the barrenest Ground. Between Sermons, the President and several of the Council goe down. Mr. Lee preaches with us in the Afternoon from Zech. 3. 9, 10.

Mercy Lincorn and [blank] Dinsdale baptized. Jn<sup>o</sup> Eastman taken into Church, Mrs. Harris as to her owning the Covenant dismissed. A youth, one Bradish, of about 10. years old, that was drowned, buried. Fine, serene, moderate wether.

Mr. Secretary indispos'd, so I wait on Madam Bradstreet morn. and even. Capt. Wing absent.

Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 20. 1686. Governour Andros comes up

in the Piñace, touches at the Castle, Lands at Gov<sup>r</sup> Leveret's wharf about 2 P.M. where the President, &c. meet him and so march up through the Guards of the 8 Companies to the Town House,<sup>1</sup> where part of the Commission

<sup>1</sup> The Town House of Boston has been the scene of so many stirring events as to merit a slight sketch of its history. In 1636, mention is made of the market-place; and the "Book of Possessions" shows that this was the space at the head of our present State Street. In 1642, as Lechford tells us, "the general and great quarter courts were kept in the church meeting-house in Boston." This was undoubtedly the first meeting-house which stood on the south side of the market-place, where Brazer's block now is. In 1640, this house was abandoned for one on a new site, now covered by Joy's building, on Washington Street.

Robert Keayne, by his will, proved May 2, 1656, gave money for building a hall over the market-place, "with rooms for the Courts, the Town's men and Commissioners and a Library, also an Armory and a place for Merchants."

Jan. 9, 1656-7, "Capt Savage, Mr. Howchin and Mr. Ed. Hutchinson, sen., are chosen a committee to consider of the modell of the towne house, to bee built, as concerning the charge therof, and the most convenient place, as also to take the subscription of the inhabitants to propogate such a building, and seasonably to make report to a publick townes meeting." Boston Records, printed ed., p. 134.

Jan. 28, 1660-1. "In reference to the accounts of Tho. Joy and partner for the building of the towne house, stayre cases and Conduit and the compleating of the said worke," it is ordered that the Treasurer pay him £680 in full. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

May 19, 1658, the General Court passed an order, as follows (Rec., IV. part 1, p. 327):—

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

We may presume that the Legislature soon took possession of the room provided; certainly Josselyn, in his "Two Voyages to New England" (London, 1675), writes, that there is a "Town house built upon pillars, where the merchants may confer; in the chambers above they keep their monthly courts." Dunton, eleven years later, copies this account.

Oct. 9, 1667, the Legislature ordered "the necessary full and suitable repair of the Town and Court House in Boston, founded by the late Captain Robert Keayne," one-half of the expense to be paid by the country, one-quarter by the county of Suffolk, one-quarter by the town of Boston. May 31, 1671, they ordered, on the same terms, "by a firm, whole wall to the

read: He hath power to suspend Councillors and to appoint others if the number be reduced to less than Seven.

bottom of the braces, with brick or stone, to repair the Court or Town house, so that all inconveniences by rotting the timbers &c be prevented." As the place of meeting of the Council, as well as the representatives, the old town-house was the scene of great events. On Dec. 20, 1686, Governor Andros landed, and was escorted to the town-house. Here he and his Council, for some twenty-eight months, ruled New England. Here, '90, on the 18th April, 1689, began the revolution which overthrew arbitrary government. About noon, in the gallery at the Council House, was read the "declaration" deposing Andros, and here he was brought as a captive that day.

In November, 1693, the Legislature provided for keeping up the building, the province paying one-half the expense. The preamble is as follows:—

"Whereas the town house in Boston, within the county of Suffolk, has formerly been, and is still continued to be, made use of for the holdings of councils, courts of judicature and other public assemblies for the whole province, and has been accustomed to be upheld and repaired in part at the charge of the late colony, etc."

This building, of wood, was destroyed by fire in 1711. The next year, a brick town-house was built on the same spot and for similar uses. In 1719, Neal described it as "The Town House or Exchange, a fine piece of Building, containing, besides the Walk for the Merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons and another spacious room for Sessions of the Courts of Justice. The exchange is surrounded with Booksellers' shops, which have a good Trade."

The booksellers, we may add, had long been in that locality. Avery, Phillips, Wilkins, Browning, Elliot, Perry, and several others, before 1700, had shops under or near the town-house.

On Dec. 9, 1747, a fire took place, which destroyed all of the building except the walls. Many of the original records of the Legislature to that date were destroyed, and probably some other offices suffered to a certain extent. In the "Historical Magazine" for September, 1868, will be found a copy of the contemporary statement about the fire.

In 1742, the town of Boston received the noble gift of Faneuil Hall, intended for a market and a town-hall; and the separation of the town and province buildings must have been effected at that time.

Although from that date of 1742 the town memories may cling to Faneuil Hall, the Old State House was, for fifty years longer, the seat of government. Here the provincial Legislature sat and organized revolution; here, also, the first sessions of the State Legislatures were held. Finally, on the 11th of January, 1798, the several branches of the General Court marched in procession from the Old State House to the new State House, and the fame of its site was eclipsed. The town continued to use Faneuil Hall, and there the first city government was organized. In 1830, the Old State House was converted into a city hall, and so remained until 1840, when the present locality, before occupied by a court-house, was taken for a structure for that purpose.

— Eds.



He and Council to make Laws. Then took the Oath of Allegiance and as Governour, then about eight of the Council sworn. Court clear'd. Governour stood with his Hat on when Oaths given to Councillours. It seems speaks to the Ministers in the Library about accommodation as to a Meeting-house [for church services], that might so contrive the time as one House might serve two Assemblies.

Last Satterday, Mr. Cook not prosecuting his Appeal, Possession was given by Major Bulkly and Marshal Green, of the Farm to Capt. Paige and his wife. The Constables were ordered this day to come and take new Staves, little thinking the Government should have been before altered, or at this time. Mr. Nath. Oliver was the person first spyed the Frigot under sail about 7 *mane* Sabbath-day, knowing her by the Flag; he went to Capt. Davis, Capt. Davis to the President. Governour was in a Scarlet Coat Laced; several others were in Scarlet. Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Danforth there, to meet the Governour at the Wharf. At Dinner Mr. Mather crav'd a Blessing. The day was serene, but somewhat cold. Major Richards made the South-Company change their Colours for the 8<sup>th</sup> Colours. Andrew Gardner led them.

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 21. There is a Meeting at Mr. Allen's, of the Ministers and four of each Congregation, to consider what answer to give the Governour; and 'twas agreed that could not with a good conscience consent that our Meeting-Houses should be made use of for the Common-Prayer Worship.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 22. Kings-fisher comes up but neither salutes the Castle nor the Town. In the evening Mr. Mather and Willard thorowly discoursed his Excellency about the Meeting-Houses in great plainness, showing they could not consent. This was at his Lodging at Madam Taylor's.<sup>1</sup> He seems to say will not impose.

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<sup>1</sup> Madam Taylor was undoubtedly Mrs. Rebecca, widow of that William Tailer or Taylor, who was a great Boston merchant, and who committed sui-

Friday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 24. About 60 Red-Coats are brought to Town, landed at Mr. Pool's Wharf, where drew up and so marched to Mr. Gibbs's house at Fort-hill.

Satterday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 25. Governour goes to the Town-House to Service Forenoon and Afternoon, a Red-Coat going on his right hand and Capt. George on the left. Was not at Lecture on Thursday. Shops open today generally and persons about their occasions. Some, but few, Carts at Town with wood, though the day exceeding fair and pleasant. Read in the morn the 46. and 47. of Isa., and at night Mr. Norton from Jn<sup>o</sup> 9. 3. Neither this Man nor his Parents.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 30. The Council meets. Gentlemen from Plimouth and Rhode-Iland here and take their Oaths without any Ceremony, perhaps for sake of the Quakers, who have promised to deliver up their Charter. Mr. Lee preaches the Lecture from Isa. 4. 5, 6. But the

cide July 12, 1682, as is fully stated in Noadiah Russell's diary, printed in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, VII. 56. She was daughter of Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester (see Register, Vol. XVII. p. 289), and sister and co-heiress of William Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor.

By Suffolk Deeds, Lib. 21, f. 622, it seems that Stoughton's heirs divided his estate July 17, 1704, and they were William Tailer, of Dorchester; John Nelson and wife Elizabeth, of Boston; Rev. John Danforth and wife Elizabeth, of Dorchester; Thomas Cooper and wife Mehitable, of Boston.

These four represent the two sisters of Stoughton, William Tailer and Elizabeth Nelson being the children of Rebecca Tailer, and Elizabeth Danforth and Mehitable Cooper being the children of Hannah Stoughton and James Minot.

William Tailer, the son, was lieutenant-governor, and died March 1, 1731-2, aged fifty-five. He married first a daughter of Nathaniel Byfield, and secondly, Abigail, widow of Thomas Dudley and daughter of Benjamin Gillam (Register, XIX. 254), by whom he left issue.

The Stoughton property was mostly in Dorchester; but Cooper received a brick house, called the Green Dragon, occupied by Samuel Tyley; a brick house next it, occupied by — Duncan; a wooden house below it, next to the Mill Pond, occupied by John Draper and John Garrett; and a house on Mill-Bridge Street, over against the Star Tavern, occupied by James Fowler.

The question of the location of Mrs. Tailer's house, occupied for a time by Andros, will be considered later. — Eds.

Governour and most of the Councillours absent. Mr. Stoughton, Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkley, Mr. Usher and some other at Lecture.

Satterday, January 1, [1687]. Took Capt. Elisha Hutchinson with me and went to Jn<sup>o</sup> Alcocke, talked througly with him about his ill courses. Told him by reason of our fear of the Small Pocks must fetch his chest away; would have had him done it then, but he would not, yet promis'd to do it Monday next.

Monday, Jan. 3, 1688 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Jn<sup>o</sup> Alcocke not coming, Robert Saunderson carries home his Trunk and Chest with Cloaths, Books, Papers.

Wednesday, Jan. 5. Sam. is taken ill of a Fever and we fear the Small Pocks.

Jan. 6. I sup at Capt. Wing's with Capt. Hutchinson, Phillips, Townsend, Turell, Prout, Sugars, Hill. Major Wally came in afterward.

Friday, Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>. I went to Capt. Winthrop's upon business, and the Governour happen'd to be there, Capt. Winthrop had me up to him, so I thankfully acknowledged the protection and peace we enjoyed under his Excellencie's Government. Capt. Wing waited on him at the same time about a Man slain at Worster yesterday by a Logs rolling upon and over him which he just before had cut off. Capt. Davis carries his wife out of Town for fear of the Small Pocks, she being with Child. This day Dame Walker is taken so ill that she sends home my Daughters, not being able to teach them.

Sabbath, Jan. 9. Goe to Mr. Mather's Church and there sit down with them at the Lord's Su<sup>p</sup>er. Mr. Cotton Mather preach'd and administred. Text was the Words of Thomas, My Lord and my God. 'Twas a comfortable day. Mr. Brown, the Scot, preached in the afternoon. Micah 4. 5. Scope was to shew that the Errors of the Times should incite them to more strict Godliness in their whole conversation.



Thursday, January 13, 1684. Cous. Savage's wife buried in Major Savage's Tomb. Capt. Hutchinson, Self, Townsend, Turell, Davis, James Hill, Bearers. Died yesterday morn about 4. a'clock of the Small Pocks; came out upon her about a week ago, two or three dayes after her Travail. Suppose this to be the first Funeral Gov<sup>r</sup> Andros has been at, Blew-Coats going before him. The Charter is demanded and the Duplicate, last Monday or Tuesday. Though some say 'tis not so.

Tuesday, January 18, 1684. Between two and three in the Afternoon, for near an hour together, was seen in a clear Skie such a Rainbow, Parelions and Circles as ware on January 2. 1684. In the night following falls a snow, not much. I was at the North-end when I first saw it. People were gazing at it from one end of the Town to tother.

Wednesday is snowy storm, but not much falls. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley and Capt. Eliot and Self, go to Muddy-River to Andrew Gardener's, where 'tis agreed that 12£ only, in or as Money, be levyed on the people by a Rate towards maintaining a School to teach to write and read English. Andrew Gardener, Jn<sup>o</sup> White, Tho. Stedmand are chosen to manage their affairs. Boilston Clark, Capt. Eliot and I, formerly chosen with Stedmand, refuse.

Thursday, January 20. Mr. Lee preaches the Lecture. Eccles 7. 13. From whence exhorted to quietness under God's hand: about middle of Sermon fire was cry'd, which made a great disturbance, by many rushing out. 'Twas only a chimney I think. Spake of the inverted Rainbow, God shooting at somebody. And that our Times better than the former, and expected better still, Turks going down, a sign on't: Jews call'd, and to inhabit Judea and old Jerusalem.

Satterday, 22. Governour and Mr. Dudley ride in a Sled. Zebit's Letters came to hand last Thursday, Janu-

ary 20. brings Gazetts to the 4<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. came out of the Downs 16<sup>th</sup>. In them is the Parliaments Prorogue to 15<sup>th</sup> February, and Taking of Napoli di Romania [by the Venetians from the Turks].

Sabbath, Jan. 23. Sun rises extreamly red so as I think I have not seen it before.

Tuesday, January 25. This day is kept for St. Paul, and the Bell was rung in the Morning to call persons to Service. The Governour (I am told) was there. Court sits in the Afternoon; suppose through the extraordinary cold, snowy, blustering wether yesterday, Persons concern'd were not got together.

Thursday, Jan. 27. At night between 10. and 11. was a grievous Alarm of Fire, by reason of Mistress Thacher's chimney greatly blazing out.

Friday, Jan. 28. Mr. Moodey and I goe to visit Mr. Morton at Charlestown, went on the Ice from Broughton's Warehouse. I came home upon a Streight Line from his House to Boston.

Satterday, Jan. 29. Hañah not well, vomits and hath Qualms.

Sabbath, January 30<sup>th</sup> 168<sup>6</sup>. About  $\frac{3}{4}$  past eight at night my wife is delivered of a Son, Eliza. Weeden, Midwife. Was fine moderate wether though had been very severe for near a week together before. My wife sent not for the Midwife till near 7. at night. But one staid at home with her, though was not well most part of the day. The child large, so my wive's safe delivery is much to be heeded, considering our former fears. 'Twas much another had not intercepted the Midwife, to whom went from us.

Monday, January 31. There is a Meeting at the Townhouse forenoon and afternoon, Bell rung for it, respecting the beheading Charles the First. Governour there, very bad going by reason of the watery snow. Joseph Brisco's wife gives my son suck.

Feb. 1. Last night, or very early this morning, Mistress Luscomb dyes, so that now Mr. Kellond hath neither Child nor Grandchild left.

Thursday, Feb. 3. Spring Tides shake the Ice and carries away part; near night it suddainly breaks away to the outward Wharfs more suddenly than hath usually been known.

Friday, Feb. 4. A woman found dead under the Ice within the Wharfs. A Souldier falls into the Ice and is drowned. Mrs. Luscomb buried.

Satterday, Feb. 5. I visit Mr. Stoughton.

Thursday, Feb. 3. Mr. West comes to Town from New York.

Sabbath, Feb. 6. Between  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour after 11. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour after 12. at Noon, many Scores of great Guns fired at the Castle and Town, suppose upon account of the King's entring on the third year of his Reign.

Feb. 6, 168 $\frac{6}{7}$ . Between 3. and 4. P.M. Mr. Willard baptiseth my Son, whom I named Stephen. Day was Lourcing after the storm, but not freezing. Child shrunk at the water but cryed not. His Brother Sam. shew'd the Mid-wife who carried him, the way to the Pew, I held him up. Thomas Bumsted was baptiz'd at the same time. This day the Lord's Su $\bar$ per was administered at the middle and North Meeting-Houses; the ratling of the Guns during almost all the time, gave them great disturbance. 'Twas never so in Boston before.

Feb. 15, 168 $\frac{6}{7}$ . Jos. Maylem carries a Cock at his back, with a Bell in 's hand, in the Main Street; several follow him blindfold, and under pretence of striking him or 's cock, with great cart-whips strike passengers, and make great disturbance.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As this was on Tuesday, we presume that the objectionable sport was in honor of Shrove Tuesday. This is the day prior to the beginning of Lent. and may occur on any day between February 2 and March 8. The name is



Friday, Feb. 25. Last night Mr. Elijah Corlett,<sup>1</sup> School-master of Cambridge, died.

Satterday, Feb. 26. There begins to be a talk of the new Captains.

March 3. Mrs. Abigail Moody buried in the old place near Messenger's house. This week the new Officers of the Militia receive their Commissions; viz: Lieut. Col. Shrimpton, Major Charles Lidget, Capt. Humph. Luscomb, Capt. Antho. Haywood, Capt. Benj. Davis, Capt. Tho. Savage, Capt. W<sup>m</sup>. White, Capt. Sam<sup>l</sup> Ravenscroft. 'Tis said Mr. Nelson and Foxcroft refus'd; else I suppose Savage and Davis had dropt. Left out Richards, Checkly, Dummer. Sewall had returned his Comission before the change of Government, as see in August. This week also, the Law for annual publick Charges is anew engross'd. Written Satterday, March 5, 1684.

Satterday, March 5, 1684. The Massachusetts Books and Papers are fetcht away from Mr. Rawson's to the Town-House by Mr. Lynde and Bullivant.<sup>2</sup>

derived from the Catholic custom of being shrived or shrove (*i.e.*, obtaining absolution), and the day is observed as a holiday.

The custom described in the text was in vogue in England, and was a variation of the widely spread sport of throwing at cocks on that day. Reference to this particular game will be found in English books, as Chambers's "Book of Days" and others.

Sewall's keenness in noting, and his sensitiveness in observing, any token, however trivial, of the presence and manifestation for the first time in the old Puritan town of observances associated with the English Church, are equally significant with his despondent view of the changes in civil affairs. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> Master Elijah Corlet. This eminently serviceable and faithful man, through whose patient training in the Cambridge Grammar School so many youths, Indian and English, passed into the college, deserves that his name should always be mentioned with gratitude and reverence. Born in London, in 1611, and graduating at Oxford in 1627, he presided over the Wilderness Academy in Cambridge forty-six years. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians paid a portion of his slender compensation for work done in love and piety. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless we owe to this jealous care of the magistrates, in the anxieties and upturnings of their revolutionary epoch, to do what in homely phrase is

Thursday, March 10, 1684. Mrs. Margery Flint dyes at Braintree, this morn. Mr. Mather preaches the Lecture. Speaks sharply against Health-drinking, Card-playing, Drunkenness, profane Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, &c. Text [Jere. 2. 21], Degenerat Plant. Mr. Stoughton treated the Governour and Council March 9<sup>th</sup>.

Saturday, March 12. Went to the burying of Mistress Flint, in Company Mr. Hez. Usher and Lady, Capt. Eliot, Cous. Quinsey carried Mrs. Bridget. Mr. Torrey and Thacher there, Mr. Torrey prayed. Was buried about Noon. This day several Orders published at Boston, Governour and Council standing in Mr. Usher's Balcony.<sup>1</sup> Refer to Ministers, Moneys, Pirates, &c. as Eliakim tells me.

March 14, 1684. Anniversary Town-Meeting. Select-Men chosen — Mr. Elisha Cook, Mr. Elisha Hutchinson, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Joyliff, Mr. Tim<sup>o</sup> Prout, Mr. Theoph. Frary, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Fayrewether, Mr. Henry Allin, Mr. Edw. Wyllys, Mr. Daniel Turell. Constables — Arthur Smith, Robert Cumby, Richard Kates, James Hawkins, Tho. Hunt Turner, Jn<sup>o</sup> Nicholls, Benj<sup>a</sup> Walker, Edmund Brown. Select-Men had, most of them, I think all, save Deacon Allen, above a

called "saving the pieces," the preservation of many of our colonial records which have come down to us.

Almost the closing entry on the Records of the General Court of the Colony, as published by the State in 1854, is the following (Vol. V. p. 516):—

May 20, 1686. "Ordered by this Court, that Samuel Nowell, Esq. Mr. John Saffin, and Capt. Timothy Prout be a Comittee for a repository of such papers on file with the Secretary [Edward Rawson], as refer to our Charter and negotiations from time to time, for the security thereof, with such as refer to our title of our land, by purchase of Indians or otherwise: and the Secretary is ordered accordingly to deliver the same unto them."

There was shrewdness in thus falling back on the Indian release of land, under the apprehension of that arbitrary construction which, in vacating the charter of the colony, invalidated every act and grant made under it. The plain-spoken Andros said that a title from the Indians was worth no more than the scratch of a bear's claw. But it seems that even that was thought better than nothing. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that this was the same house in which, two years later, Andros was confined over night as a prisoner, upon the success of the rising against his government. — Eds.

hundred Votes apiece. Capt. Gerrish begun and ended with Prayer. Capt. Winthrop and Mr. Wharton of the Council present. Governour was busy.

This day Mrs. Willard removes to Roxbury with a great part of the family and Goods for fear of the Small Pocks, little Betty Willard lying sick of it.

Monday, March 14. Capt. Thaxter of Hingham sinks down and dyes as went to fodder his Cattel.

Tuesday, March 15. Mrs. Ballard, Mr. Lee's Sister, dyes suddenly.

March 16. About 1. a'clock Mr. Anthony Stoddard dyes, was the ancientest shop-keeper in Town.<sup>1</sup>

March 17. Father East dyes. Both good men.

March 18. Dr. W<sup>m</sup> Avery dyes. I go to Charlestown-Lecture, and then with Capt. Hutchinson to see dying Major Gookin. He speaks to us.

March 19. Satterday, about 5. or 6. in the morn, Major Daniel Gookin dies, a right good Man.<sup>2</sup>

Sabbath, March 20. Dr. Stone and Abraham Busby dye.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stoddard was one of the substantial men of the town. He and John Coggan, as traders, were the earliest in the line of those afterwards known as the "merchants" of Boston. Stoddard was a "linen-draper," was "allowed as an inhabitant" in 1639, and licensed to trade with the Indians. He was a Selectman of Boston, and one of its deputies in the General Court. He was one of a committee to provide a town-house and to procure subscriptions "to propogate such a building." He was also a foremost opponent of the intermeddling Randolph. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> These epithets applied to Daniel Gookin deserve an emphasis, for he was a man of noble soul, of many virtues, especially those which are the hardest to acquire and to practise, and his life was devoted to ends of public service. Having as a child emigrated with his father from England to Virginia, he there defended his plantation at Newport News in the Indian massacre. Drawn hither, in 1644, by his Puritan sympathies, he was called to military office, and made successively deputy, speaker, and assistant. As the Indian magistrate he was Eliot's most trusted friend and helper. On a visit to England he had the confidence of Cromwell; and on his return here the regicides Whalley and Goffe, who were his fellow-passengers, received his strong protection. What he wrote about the efforts in behalf of the Indians and of their sad fate is of the highest value. — Eds.



Monday, March 21. Mr. Stoddard and Dr. Avery buried. Mr. Avery about 3, Stoddard between 5. and 6. a'clock. Father East was buried on Satterday, On 's Rail 'twas said was 94 years old.

Tuesday, March 22, 1687. Major Gookin and Abraham Busby buried. This day his Excellency views the three Meetinghouses.

Wednesday, March 23. The Governour sends Mr. Randolph for the Keys of our Meetinghouse, that may say Prayers there. Mr. Eliot, Frary, Oliver, Savage, Davis and my Self wait on his Excellency, shew that the Land and House is ours, and that we can't consent to part with it to such use; exhibit an Extract of Mrs. Norton's Deed, and how 'twas built by particular persons, as Hull, Oliver, 100.£ apiece, &c.

March 22. a considerable Snow on the ground, that fell last night. Mrs. Eliot of Roxbury dyes. Now about Goodm. Francis an ancient and good Man indeed, of Cambridge, dies.

Friday, March 25, 1687. Mrs. Nowel, Samuel Nowell Esqr's, Mother, dies.

Satterday, 26. Eliza. Scot, a good ancient Virgin, is buried at Boston.

Friday, March 25, 1687. The Governour has service in the South Meetinghouse. Goodm. Needham [the Sexton], though had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to Ring the Bell and open the door at the Governour's Coñand, one Smith and Hill, Joiner and Shoemaker, being very busy about it. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Usher was there, whether at the very beginning or no, I can't tell.

March 28. Went to Mrs. Eliot's Funeral, which was a very great one; no Scarfs.

March 29. To Mrs. Nowell's [Funeral], the widow of Mr. Increase Nowell a Patentee. Mr. Danforth, Davie, Richards, Russell, Cook, Sewall, Bearers. None else of the old Government were there but Mr. Secretary Rawson. I help'd

to lift the Corps into Mr. Shepard's Tomb, and to place it there, carrying the head. Mr. Nowell went not in: 84 years old. Note. Last Sabbath-day, March 27, Governour and his retinue met in our Meetinghouse at Eleven: broke off past two because of the Sacrament and Mr. Clark's long Sermon; now we were appointed to come  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour past one, so 'twas a sad Sight to see how full the Street was with people gazing and moving to and fro because had not entrance into the House.<sup>1</sup>

Satterday, April 2. Mr. Lee goes to Dedham in order to his going to Bristoll next week, to settle there if can compose their differences respecting Mr. Woodbridge.

Monday, Ap. 4. Great Storm of Rain, Thunders several times. No Artillery Training; and I think would have been none if it had not rain'd. Capt. W<sup>m</sup> White appoints the Serjeants and Corporalls to meet him at Serjeant Bulls at 3. a'clock Ap. 4. In the Even Mr. Willard, Eliot, Frary and Self have great debate about our meeting for the Lord's Supper [on account of the seizure of their place of worship].

April 7. 1687. Weare sails, in whom Mr. Clark, the Church of England Minister, goes, Mr. Sheaf, &c.

April 8. I goe to Hog-Iland with Cous. Savage, to view the place.

April 10. Mr. Moodey helps Mr. Willard in the Forenoon. Text Job 23. 10. Shewed that Afflictions were for Tryal, and where the Tryal met with sincerity, the issue would be glorious. Mr. Solomon Stoddard here.

April 9. One W<sup>m</sup> Sargent of Almsbury is trapand into a Tipling house about 9 at night and robbed of Money, a Gold Ring and several papers. Affidavit taken before Mr. Bullivant.

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<sup>1</sup> Though it would have been a graceful courtesy on the part of the proprietors of the South Meeting-house to have accommodated those who wished to use it for the Episcopal service, it was none the less an arbitrary act to assume it when denied. — Eds.

April 12. Goe to Weymouth-Lecture accompanied by Capt. Eliot. Mistress Torrey very ill, Mr. Rawson there.

April 15. Grafted the Button-pear tree stock, which dies at the lower end of the Garden, and several Apple Trees.

Tuesday, Apr. 19. 1687. The Eight Companies are warn'd to Train next Satterday, being the 23. Instant. Serjeant Bull warns the South-Company *now under the Comānd of Capt. Will<sup>m</sup> White*: those the words; and so, *Satterday next being the 23<sup>d</sup> of April, at the 2<sup>d</sup> Beat of Drumm.*

Thursday, Apr. 21. Mr. Winchcomb is sworn Deputy to Mr. Sherlock, who is this week made high Sheriff of the Dominion.

Mr. Shove died on Thursday about 9. *mane*; was buried the Friday following. Mr. Fisk, Keith, Anger, Woodbridge there and Major Walley.

Friday, 22. Seth Shove comes to Town in the morn, and brings news of 's father's death yesterday, I let him have my Horse to ride to Taunton. Mr. George Shove was a principal Light in those parts, and the death of their Saint George at this time calls for special mourning.

Thursday, Apr. 21. Mr. West of New York, and his wife and family come to Town in the even. Mr. Cotton Mather preach'd the Lecture from Heb. 6. 20. Jesus being our Fore-ruñer.

Friday, 22. Two persons, one array'd in white, the other in red, goe through the Town with naked Swords advanced, with a Drum attending each of them and a Quarter Staff, and a great rout following as is usual. It seems 'tis a chaleng to be fought at Capt. Wing's next Thursday.

Satterday, Ap. 23. Eight Companies Train: Many persons: some officers have red paper Crosses fastened to



their Hats. The Governour<sup>1</sup> rode by and among the Soldiers, accompanied by the President, Mr. Davie and others. Major Lidget, the Chief Commander, Col. Shrimpton, he,

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<sup>1</sup> Although the general history of the administration of Andros has been admirably given by Palfrey, it may be of some assistance to our readers to have a brief summary of the matter.

The old charter of Massachusetts was undoubtedly construed by the colonists to give them a degree of political independence without a parallel in English history. During the reign of Charles II., repeated attempts were made to procure the repeal of this charter, which was, indeed, of no greater sanctity in the eye of the law than any other royal grant. The colonists strove to maintain their privileges, and were aided by their obscurity and remoteness. But at last, owing largely to the exertions of Randolph, the charter was vacated by a decree of the Court of Chancery, June 21, 1684, confirmed and made final Oct. 23, 1684.

Charles II. died on Feb. 6, 1684-5, and no change in the Massachusetts government had been arranged up to that time. James II. at first simply confirmed all existing arrangements, and Bradstreet was chosen Governor in May, 1685, as usual. Again, in May, 1686, Bradstreet was elected; but two days later Randolph arrived, with commissions for a new government. This was to consist of a President (Dudley), Deputy-President (Stoughton), and sixteen Counsellors.

On May 25, 1686, this new government, which extended over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province, was proclaimed.

On the 20th December, 1686, Andros arrived, with a commission superseding Dudley's, and placing the government on a new basis.

Sir Edmund Andros was the representative of a family which had been for some generations settled in Guernsey, and he was at this time about fifty years old. In 1666, he was major of a regiment employed in America, and in 1672 was commander of the forces in Barbadoes. In 1674, he was appointed governor of the colony of New York, then the property of the Duke of York, and held that position through the year 1680. Returning to England, he was in favor at court during the remainder of the reign of Charles II. He was a favorite with the new king, and was commissioned, June 3, 1686, as governor-in-chief in and over the dominion of New England. As we have seen, he arrived here at the close of that year, and took possession of a jurisdiction comprising all New England.

In 1687, and till August, 1688, his duties were mainly to consolidate the provincial affairs; but in the autumn of 1688 he was called to the eastward, to defend the settlers from the Indians.

On the 4th of April, 1689, the news was received in Boston of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England. On this encouragement, aided also by a party which had already resolved on revolt, the inhabitants of Boston and its vicinity determined to rebel. On the 18th of April, 1689, the people seized Andros at the fort on Fort Hill, and on the following day they pro-

and Luscomb on Horse-back. Gave a Volley or two on the Common, march'd out about one a'clock to the Market place. The Rose fired and others. Companies gave three Vollyes, broke off about 3. in the afternoon. In the night a Bonfire or two were made on Fort-hill. After followed fire-works with Huzzas, ended about 11. or 12.

His Excellency on Mr. Shrimpton's House to behold the works.

Monday, Apr. 25. Another Challenge goes with his naked Sword through the Street with Hitchborn Drummer, and a person carrying a Quarter-Staff.

On Sabbath-day Old Meeting and ours much disturbed in Sermon-Time the afternoon by a distracted Fr. [French?] Man. Mr. Willard fain to leave off for some time. The same afternoon the Governour's Meeting was broken up by the Fire of Capt. Paige's chimney: and rallyed not again.

Tuesday, 26. Court sits, President in the Governour's seat, Mr. Stoughton at his right hand, Col. Shrimpton next him; Mr. Lynde at his left hand, Major Lidget next him. One Haman, Clerk, Massy Cryer: Sheriff, Justices, Constables, waited on the Judges to Town with other Gentlemen.

Ap. 28. After the Stage-fight, in the even, the Souldier who wounded his Antagonist, went accompanied with a

cured the surrender of the castle and the dismantling of the royal frigate in the harbor.

A temporary government was formed, and was continued until a new charter was received from William and Mary, bearing date of 7th October, 1691.

Andros was kept prisoner until he was sent to England in February, 1690, by order of the English government. There an attempt was made to try him; but nothing came of it, and he was favorably received by the new king. In 1692, he was made governor of Virginia and Maryland, and held that post acceptably for six years. In 1704, he was made governor of Guernsey; and died, in February, 1713-14, at London, aged seventy-five years.

A careful examination of the life of Andros will probably convince the student that he was a brave and loyal servant of the crown, a devout but not bigoted churchman, and very far from being the tyrant that New England traditions have portrayed. — Ebs.

Druṁ and about 7. drawn Swords, Shouting through the streets in a kind of Tryumph.

Monday, May 2. I go to Hog-Iland. Mr. Moodey, Oakes, Capt. Townsend and Seth Perry in one Column; Capt. Hill, Mr. Parson and Mr. Addington in the other, witness my taking Livery and seised of the Iland by Turf and Twigg and the House.

As we went met with Mr. Barns just come in. Hail'd the Brigenteen as sail'd along, and after spoke with them and drank with them, lashing to their side. Came from Antego; they told us the Parliament was not to sit till the latter end of April, having had February Newes. Went first to Capt. Townsend's who hath a goodly situation; then to Hog-Iland. After Diñer take possession, and then I planted some Chesnuts for a Nursery. Mr. Moodey dropt several of them. Gave every of the witnesses one of Mr. Lee's Books apiece. It was past 9. before we got home.

May 3. Sign'd the Leases. Mr. Addington, Robert Saunderson and Elisa. Lane, Witnesses.

May 4. I spend a pretty deal of time in the burying place to see to the Graver of the Tombstone: Push Catterpillars off the Apletrees; goe to the Meeting at Mistress Aveyes; read out of Dr. Sibs about submitting to God's Providence, Sing the 110. Psalm.

May 5. Mr. Mather preaches against Covetousness. Text, Thou Fool, &c. Speaks against neglecting Prayer, pressing the Instance of Daniel. It seems was no Prayer last County-Court. A paper is found by Haman, the Clerk, which, pasted up at the Townhouse, giving an account of an Election yesterday.

May 6. Brother Stephen visits us.

May 9. Hamilton, Capt. of the Kingsfisher dies. 'Tis said the North Bell was toll'd as he was dying.

Tuesday, May 10. Mr. Bullivant having been acquainted that May 15<sup>th</sup> was our Sacrament-day, he writt to Mr. Wil-



lard, that he had acquainted those principally concern'd, and 'twas judg'd very improper and inconvenient for the Governour and his to be at any other House, it being Whit-Sunday and they must have the Cōmunion, and that 'twas expected should leave off by 12. and not return again till they rung the Bell, that might have time to dispose of the Elements. So remembering how long they were at Easter, we were afraid 'twould breed much confusion in the Afternoon, and so, on Wednesday, concluded not to have our Sacrament for saw 'twas in vain to urge their promise. And on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May were bid past One a pretty deal.

May 15. Goes out just  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour after one ; so have our Afternoon Exercise in due season. But see they have the advantage to lengthen or shorten their Exercises so as may make for their purpose.

Monday, May 16. 1687. I go to Reading and visit Mr. Brock, and so to Salem ; this day Capt. Walker, a very aged Planter, buried at Lin.<sup>1</sup> Visit my Sister and little Cousin Margaret.

Tuesday, May 17. Brother and I ride to Newbury in the rainy Dusk ; this day Capt. Hamilton buried with Capt. Nicholson's Redcoats and the 8 Companies : Was a funeral-Sermon preach'd by the Fisher's Chaplain : Pulpit cover'd with black cloath upon which Scutcheons : Mr. Dudley, Stoughton and many others at the Cōmon Prayer and Sermon. House very full, and yet the Souldiers went not in.

Wednesday, May 18. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches Newbury-Lecture, Ps. 39. I am a Stranger with Thee. This day Mr. Foye comes in and brings the Kings Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

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<sup>1</sup> This was Capt. Richard Walker, said by Lewis, in his "History of Lynn," to be aged ninety-five years at his death. No relationship is known to exist between him and the next named "as Father Walker."  
—EDS.

Thursday, May 19. Goe to Salem in company with Capt. Phillips and Mr. Cotton Mather.

May 20. Went home and found all well, as found them at Newbury to our great comfort.

Monday, May 23. Am invited to the Funeral of Mrs. Bowls.

May 24. Mr. Fisk, Thacher, Denison, Self and two others bore Mrs. Bowls to her Grandmother's Tomb.

May 25. A Fast is kept at Cambridge. This day Mr. Bayly marries Mary Kay.

May 26. Marshal Green visits me, and tells that he is wholly left out of all publick employment. Sam! Gookin Sheriff for Middlesex. Said Green told me he knew not of it till today, and that he was undone for this world. It seems the May-pole at Charlestown was cut down last week, and now a bigger is set up, and a Garland upon it. A Soldier was buried last Wednesday and disturbance grew by reason of Joseph Phips standing with 's hat on as the Parson was reading Service. 'Tis said Mr. Sam! Phips bid or encouraged the Watch to cut down the May-pole, being a Select-Man. And what about his Brother and that, the Captain of the Fisher and he came to blows, and Phips is bound to answer next December, the Governour having sent for him before Him yesterday, May 26. 1687.

May 27. Went to Charlestown-Lecture and heard Mr. Morton from those words — *Love is a fruit of the Spirit.* [Gal. 5, 22.] Mr. Danforth sat in the Deacon's Seat.

Friday, May 27, between 5. and 6. Father Walker is taken with a Lethargy as was shutting up his shop to goe to their privat Meeting: His left side was chiefly struck with a kind of Palsy: His speech came to him something between 6. and 7. He told me there was plenty of Lavander in the Town where he was Prentice. He overheard some discourse about the May-Pole, and told what the mañer was in England to dance about it with Musick, and that 'twas to be feared such practices would be here. Told

me he had been liable to be overtaken with Sleep for three-score years, and that 'twas his Burden which he something insisted on. Had a blistering plaister to his neck, Drops of Lavander in 's mouth and his neck chaf'd with Oyl of Amber.

May 28. Mr. Cook scrapes white Hellebore which he snuffs up, and sneizes 30. times and yet wakes not, nor opens his eyes. Hot wether.

May 29. Sabbath. Dame Walker desires me to pray with her Husband, which I do and write two notes, one for our House and one for the Old. Sam. carries the first. Between 12. and one Robert Walker<sup>1</sup> dies, about a quarter after Twelve. He was a very good Man, and conversant among God's New-England People from the begining. About one, several great Guns were fired.

Tuesday, Maij *ult.* Goodm. Walker is buried, Capt. Eliot, Frary, Hill, Deacon Allen, Mr. Blake, Pain, Bearers; Mr. Saunderson and Goodm. Serch lead the Widow, Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet, Mr. Cook, Mr. Addington, with the chief Guests, were at our House. Burial over about four a'clock. Mr. Torrey came to Town yesterday, and supp'd with us this night. Mrs. Long of Charlestown buried to-day.

June 3. The widow of Gemaliel Wait buried, Thunder Shower took us at the Grave, the mourners went into the Schoolhouse; I to Mr. Chiever's. When broke up a Rainbow appeared: was great Thunder in the night. All my married Cousins were in Town yesterday.

Wednesday, June 1. A privat Fast of the South-Church

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Walker has already been mentioned (p. 47, note) as an old acquaintance of the Sewalls in England. Besides his fame in connection with the deposition cited, Walker will be noted as the person mentioned on the Boston town records, under date of March 1, 1639-40. It was then voted that no more land should be granted out of the common field which is left between the Centry Hill and Mr. Colbron's end, except three or four lots to make up the street from Robert Walker's to the Round Marsh. This was the foundation of Boston Common. — Eds.



was kept at our house, Mr. Willard pray'd and preach'd in the morn. Mr. Cotton Mather pray'd first in the afternoon, Mr. Moody preach'd and pray'd. Mr. Willard dismiss'd with a Blessing. Mr. Willard's Text, Deut. 32. 36. For the Lord shall judge his People, &c. Mr. Moody's Text, Ps. 46. 10. Be still &c. Occasion of the Fast was the putting by the Sacrament the last Turn, and the difficult circumstances our Church in above others, regarding the Church of England's meeting in it.

Note. Monday, June 6. Ebenezer Holloway, a youth of about 11 or 12 years old, going to help Jn<sup>o</sup> Hounsel, another Boston boy, out of the water at Roxbury, was drown'd together with him. I follow'd them to the Grave; for were brought to Town in the night, and both carried to the burying place together, and laid near one another. Eben, as I take it, was the only Son of Mr. Holloway by his deceased wife, and was boarded at Roxbury with his Aunt Swan to goe to School, and be the better looked after.

June 8. Went to Dorchester-Lecture. Din'd at Mrs. Flint's, who tells me that her Son Henry is in a Consumption. This day the Quarter-Sessions is held at Boston, Col. Shrimpton Judge, Tho. Dudley Clerk, Hudson Lev-erett Cryer. Judge Shrimpton sat in the Governour's Seat. No Civil Action try'd today.

June 9. Mr. Willard preached from Prov. 29. 27. Shew'd there was a radicated Antipathy between the Wicked and Godly.

June 10. Carried my wife to M.[uddy] River. This day Mrs. Willard and her family return from Roxbury.

Sabbath, June 12. Lord's Sup̄er at the South-Church. But Church of England men go not to any other House: yet little hindrance to us save as to ringing the first Bell, and straitning the Deacons in removal of the Table.

Munday, June 20. Went to Muddy-River with Mr. Gore and Eliot to take a Plot of Brooklin.

Tuesday, 21. June. Is a great Training at Cambridge: His Excellency there.

Wednesday, June 22. Went to Muddy-River. Mr. Gore finishes compassing the Land with his plain Table; I do it chiefly that I may know my own, it lies in so many nooks and corners. Went to Cambridge-Lecture.

June 28, 1687. Went to Roxbury and heard Mr. Cotton Mather preach from Colos. 4. 5. Redeeming the Time. Shew'd that should improve Season for doing and receiving good whatsoever it cost us. His Excellency was on the Neck, as came by, call'd Him in and gave Him a glass of Beer and Claret and deliver'd a Petition respecting the Narraganset Lands.

July 1, 1687. Went to Hog-Iland; had Eliakim thither: went to see where to make a Causey to land handsomly: brought home a Basket of Cherries: As went, saw a Surveyor with two red-coats, and another measuring and surveying Noddles-Iland. Came home about  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour after four aclock. About 6. aclock Abigail Saunderson is buried, who died yesterday.

Wednesday, July 6. Waited on his Excellency to Cambridge. Eleven Bachelors and Seven Masters proceeded. Mr. Mather, President, Pray'd forenoon and afternoon. Mr. Ratcliff sat in the Pulpit by the Governour's direction. Mr. Mather crav'd a Blessing and return'd Thanks in the Hall.

July 8. Carried my wife to Cambridge to visit my little Cousin Margaret, they were going, so went to Mr. Leverett's Chamber, the Library, Hall, Sir Davenport and Mitchel's Chamber, and so home well, blessed be God. Little Stephen hath a Tooth cut two or three dayes agoe.

Monday, July 11. I hire Ems's Coach in the Afternoon, wherein Mr. Hez. Usher and his wife, and Mrs. Bridget her daughter, my Self and wife ride to Roxbury, visit Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Eliot, the Father, who blesses them. Go and sup together at the Grayhound-Tavern

with boil'd Bacon and rost Fowls. Came home between 10. and 11. brave Moonshine, were hinder'd an hour or two by Mr. Usher, else had been in good season.

Tuesday, July 12. I go to Mr. Usher's about 5. *mane*, Wan<sup>1</sup> having been here: about 7. or eight we goe on Board, the Ship being under Sail. Go with them to Alderton's Point,<sup>2</sup> and with our Boat beyond, quite out of the Massachusetts Bay, and there catch'd fresh Cod. Went to Nantasket, in which way lost my hat, and for fear of running the Boat on the Rocks, left it. From Nantasket, in less than an hour and half sail'd home between 7. and eight. Goe in the Ship Mr. Wharton, Sam. Newman, Mr. Charles Morton, Mr. Wooddrop, Mrs. Bridget Usher, and her Daughter Mrs. Bridget Hoar, and others. Had an extraordinary good wind. Mr. Usher wept at taking leave of 's Wife and Daughter. Before went from Mr. Usher's, Mr. Moodey went to Prayer in behalf of those going to sea, and those staying behind, in a very heavenly manner.

Wednesday, July 13. Mrs. Eyre, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Eyre's Mother dies; and Jn<sup>o</sup> Davis, a hopefull young Man.

Thursday, July 14. Much Rain. Mr. Allen preaches. None save Mistress Bayly, Self and Mr. Usher in his Pue.

July 15, Friday. Thunder-Shower in the Afternoon. Mrs. Eyre buried: Bearers, Mr. Rawson, Joyliff, Cook, Addington, Wyllys, Oakes. Governour not there. This same day Andrew Bordman,<sup>3</sup> Steward and Cook of Har-

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<sup>1</sup> Under this date, Sewall notes in his almanac (N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, VIII. 20), "Harris sails." *Wan* is very clearly written in the journal, but Sewall may have intended *Harr*. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> All authorities seem to agree that this name, "Alderton," is an old error for "Allerton," and that the cape was really named by discoverers from Plymouth, in honor of Isaac Allerton, one of the most active of the "Mayflower" colonists. The rocky islands called the "Brewsters" are believed to have been named similarly, in honor of Elder Brewster, of Plymouth. — EDS.

<sup>3</sup> Three generations of Bordmans — father, two sons, and a grandson — served as stewards and cooks of Harvard College, from 1663 to 1747. An



vard Colledge, is buried. Sore Tempest of Wind and Rain this day in the afternoon, blew down Trees and Barns.

Satterday, July 16. At night a great Uproar and Lewd rout in the Main Street by reason of drunken raving Gāmar Flood, came from about Wheeler's pond, and so went by our House into Town. Many were startled, thinking there had been fire, and went to their windows out of Bed between 9. and 10. to see what was the matter.

Monday, July 18. Was startled in the morn as was at prayer in the Kitchen, at a sudden unusual noise; which prov'd to be two Cows running into our little Porch; the like to which never fell out before, that I know of.

July 18. Mr. Mather had two Venice Glasses broken at our Meeting.

Massie is some weeks since made Prison-keeper, and Earl dismissed; viz: June 17. 1687.

July 20. One of the Fisher's Men is found dead, suppos'd to be murder'd. Two men are stab'd (not mortally) at Charlestown last night, viz: Capt. Hunting, and one Adams; <sup>1</sup> occasion was their going into street upon a stone's being thrown into Adams' House, which endangered his child.

July 25. Town-Meeting to choose a Commission. Mr. Addington chosen had 16 votes; Mr. Saffin 8; Col. Shrimp-

account of them is given in the Proceedings of the Society for February, 1861. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> In regard to this affair, Frothingham ("History of Charlestown," p. 220), writes as follows:—

"The constables waited on Sir Edmund Andros, related the circumstances and asked for advice. Adams deposed: 'Hereupon he fell into a great rage, and did curse us, saying, "d—n you, you deserve to be indicted," and called us ill names, and threatened to send us to jail.' Addressing Phillips, Andros said: 'Look to yourself and have a care, for you are marked men;— never come to trouble me more with any such stories.'"

The authority given is the deposition in Massachusetts archives. See also "The Andros Tracts," Vol. II. p. 153. — Eds.

ton 2; Col. Lidget 2; and I think Mr. Foxcroft, One. Town was generally dissatisfied, partly said were not all warn'd, and partly at the work it sett; so most of them that were there went away and voted not. Mr. West there and Voted. In the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Willard visit us. He prays with little Stephen who is very sick.

Tuesday, July 26, 1687. About Nine aclock my dear Son Stephen Sewall expires, just after the Judges coming to Town; died in his Grandmother's Bed-Chamber in Nurse Hill's Arms. Had two Teeth cut, no Convulsions. Mr. Willard pray'd with him in the Morning, Mr. Moodey coming in when at Prayer.

Wednesday, July 27, 1687. Between 6. and 7. after Noon, The Body of my dear Son Stephen is carried to the Tomb by Jn<sup>o</sup> Davie, Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard, Joseph Eliot and Samuel Moodey. Samuel Clark and Solomon Rainsford put him into Tomb. Sam. had the head; Solomon's foot, on a loose brick, slipt, and he slid down the steps and let go the Coffin; but the end rested upon Joñy's stone set there to show the Entrance, and Sam. held his part steadily; so was only a little knock. I led my wife, Brother Stephen led Mother Hull, Sam. led Hañah, Billy Duñer led Betty, Cous. Quinsey led his wife, Cous. Savage and Dummer went together. Got home between 7. and 8. Mr. Torrey visited us but could not stay the Funeral. Sam. and his sisters cryed much coming home and at home, so that could hardly quiet them. It seems they look'd into Tomb, and Sam said he saw a great Coffin there, his Grandfathers.

July 28. Mr. Cotton Mather, and Mr. Bayly visit me.

Monday, Augt. 1, 1687. Brother comes to Town and brings word that two Salem Catches are taken by the French, of which his Newbury Ketch is one, and the whole Fare due to him, so that his Livelihood is in a

manner taken away. Here is wave upon wave. I writt to Mr. Nelson to see, if Brother might have his Ketch again. Mr. Lidget buried a Daughter yesterday in the even, with the Service-Book.

Tuesday, Augt. 2. W<sup>m</sup> Rawson's little Ebenezer dies ; He was about a week old, baptiz'd the last Sabbath. This day Brother writes me word that his Catch, the Margaret, is return'd, parting from the Frigat in a Fogg and leaving the Master behind, and bringing a Frenchman hether that was put on board of them. Laus Deo.

Wednesday, Augt. 3. Capt. Gerrish is carried in a Sedan to the Wharf and so takes Boat for Salem, to see if there he may find amendment of his Distemper. It seems the French and the confederat Indians made war upon the Mohawks and theirs ; and Mohawks have killed about a Thousand of them. This about a month or three weeks agoe. Gov<sup>r</sup> Dungan is concern'd, it seems, to animat the Mohawks and hinder the French from coming on this side the Lake, which they give out they will doe.

Tuesday, Augt. 9, 1687. Sam. Toḗan comes to Town and brings me a Letter signifying that Capt. Gerrish died this day about Noon, so that Mr. Willard, if he sail'd yesterday, is gon to his Funeral.

Thursday, Augt. 11. I ride to Salem with Cous. Savage and Mr. Dering to the Funeral of Capt. Gerrish. Major Rodney, Major Brown, Mr. Hawthorn, Weld, Dering and Self, Bearers. Was laid in Capt. Price's Tomb. Capt. Winthrop, Edw. Tyng, Mr. Willard were by accident there. Mr. Higinson, Willard, Noyes had Scarfs and the Bearers. Hardly above two of Newbury there, viz: Nath. Clark, James Smith. Was late before done, so lodg'd there.

Augt. 12. Cous. Savage and I come home by Reading and visit Mr. Brock. Come home just to the Funeral of Isaac Goose's Child which dyed suddenly. Went to the Grave.



Augt. 15. Went into Water alone at Blackstone's Point.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday night, Augt. 16, 1687. Elder Wiswall dies, having liv'd, as is said, fourscore and six years. This day goe to Charlestown to make an addition to Col. Lidget's Farm out of the waste Lands; or on Monday.

Augt. 19<sup>th</sup> Mr. Morton's Text, out of the Fruits of the Spirit, falls in course to be PEACE, indeed very seasonably, as to the Exercise that Town is under respecting the Comon, part of which was laid out and bounded to particular persons. Just a little before Sunset Elder Wiswall is buried. Gov<sup>r</sup>: Bradstreet, Mr. Saltonstall the Father, Mr. Davie, Major Richards, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Cook, Capt. Hutchinson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Addington and my Self, ten of the old Government, followed to the Grave. Wooburn Church is under much disquiet.

Tuesday, Augt. 23. Balston arrives and brings Gazetts to June 13, and a Privy Seal whereby Capt. Nicholson is added to the Council, being sworn.

Augt. 24, 1687. Bartholomew-day. Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience published here.<sup>2</sup>

Augt. 25. Mr. Mather preaches from the 5<sup>th</sup> verse of Jude, shewing that persons deliver'd, yet through Unbelief left to eminent Judgments. Praised God for the Liberty good People enjoy in England. Said, 'tis marvellous in our Eyes. Mr. Dudley tells me His Father and Mr. Stoughton are petitioning for Patents. After Lecture, I visit Mr. Benjamin Eliot,<sup>3</sup> who is much touch'd as to his

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<sup>1</sup> We have already expressed the opinion that Blackstone's Point was a little projection on the line of Beacon Street below Charles Street. It is interesting to find that, as late as 1688, the name was in use, and the place suitable for bathing. Evidently the Braman's Baths of our day were an unconscious perpetuation of an old Boston custom at this spot. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This is King James's first Declaration of Indulgence, April 4, 1687. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> This was the youngest son of Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, of H. C. 1665. He died soon after, as will be noticed, and some obscurity has always hung over his history, to be explained probably by the fact stated in the text. It is to be noticed that Sewall not only speaks often of the family of Rev. John

Understanding, and almost all the while I was there kept heaving up his Shoulders: would many times laugh, and would sing with me, which did; he read three or more staves of the Seventy first Psalm, 9 verses, his Father and Jn<sup>o</sup> Eliot singing with us; Mr. Benjamin would in some notes be very extravagant. Would have sung again before I came away but 's Father prevail'd with him to the contrary, alledging the children would say he was distracted. Came with me to the Gate when took horse.

Monday, Augt. 29. Carried my wife to Braintree, Cous. Savage and Quinsey in Company.

Augt. 30<sup>th</sup>. Carry her to Weymouth, Unkle Quinsey in Company. Ly at Mr. Torrey's: Preach'd from Ezek. 36. 37. Mr. Fisk is sent for to bury his Brother.

Augt. 31. Carry'd my Wife to Hingham, Unkle Quinsey and Cous. Hunt accompanying, visited Cous. Hubbard, saw their two little Daughters; saw the Meetinghouse and Mr. Norton and Mrs. Came home with Unkle to Braintree. He brought my wife on his horse.

Sept: 1. Mr. Torrey comes thether to us early and accompanyes us to Boston. Find all well, and are so ourselves. Mr. Willard preaches from 1 Peter, 4. 4. wherein they count it strange, &c. Gov<sup>r</sup>: Hinkly came in and lodged at Mr. Torrey's the same night as we did.

Thursday, Sept. 1. This day we receive a Sloop Load of Boards from the Salmon-falls Saw-mill, and the same day, I think by the same Boat, I receive a Copy of a Writt of Ejection which Mr. Mason has caus'd to be serv'd on John Broughton respecting the said Mill.

Friday, Sept. 2. One Wakeam falls down in the Street

Eliot, but also of that of Jacob Eliot, brother of John. This latter included Eliots, Frarys, Downes, and others, who lived at the south end of the town. Two other brothers of Rev. John, Philip Eliot of Roxbury, and Francis Eliot of Braintree, left no sons. As mentioned in a previous note, Benjamin Eliot assisted his father at Roxbury, but, his name not being *italicized* in the College catalogue, he probably had not been ordained as a minister. — Eds.

and dies without speaking a word. I accompany Mr. Torrey to Roxbury, visit Mr. Benj. Eliot, and consult with Mr. Dudley, and then ride to Dorchester and consult with Stoughton about my Law-Suit.

Friday, Sept. 9<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Cook and I set out for Portsmouth. Dine with Brother Sewall at Salem, call on Mr. Phillips. Lodge at Brother Gerrishes.

Satterday, call on Major Pike at Mr. Wears, of Hampton, stay a good while. Our Horses well baited, in this time the Judges got before us, overtook them at the Ordinary at Diñer. Din'd with them at the Sheriff's cost. Went, But Mr. Cook and I cast behind by alighting to take off our Coats, so rode alone till overtook Mr. Hutchinson, who staid for us. Went into Town another way than they did, so miss'd of the Invitation and lay at the Ordinary in the Porch of the great Chamber alone.

Sabbath. Mr. Loree preaches from James 5. 16. Dine at Mr. Waldron's with Mr. Stoughton and there goe to Duties and Sup. Mr. Stoughton pray'd. Lodge this night at Mr. Vaughan's with Mr. Cook.

Monday, Sept. 12. The Court sits. Our case is deferr'd till March next. Was no Declaration filed, no Jury out of the Province of Main, and we had no time to provide. Court was kept at Partridge's and there we dine at Sheriff's cost again, unwittingly. Lodge at Mr. Vaughan's.

Tuesday, 13<sup>th</sup>. Breakfast at Mr. Grafford's. After, a Fellow plays Tricks. Cook, Hutchinson and Self ride to Bloody Point, so to Hilbon's point over the Ferry; visited Mr. Pike while Mr. Hutchinson and Broughton came over; Boat would not carry all. Mr. Pike not at home, but his wife and two Sons. Call'd at Major Waldron's, where Mr. Cook lodg'd, but Hutchinson and Self rode to the Salmon-falls, George Broughton being our Guide, who was accidentally at Otisses. Lodge at W<sup>m</sup> Love's in a very good House and Bed.

Wednesday, See the Mill, get a Cut, visit Mrs. Rainer



and her Daughter Broughton. Breakfast there. Ride into Swamp to see a Mast drawn of about 26 Inches or 28; about two and thirty yoke of Oxen before, and about four yoke by the side of the Mast, between the fore and hinder wheels. 'Twas a very notable sight. Rode then to York, through very bad way, Jn<sup>o</sup> Broughton Pilot. Saw Mr. Sawyer's singular Saw-mill. Lodg'd at Cous. Duñer's with Mr. Martin. Rode to Wells on Thursday 15<sup>th</sup>, to view the Records. Din'd at the Ordinary, (call'd at Mr. Wheelrights in the way.) Then I rode with Jn<sup>o</sup> Broughton to the Salmon-falls, got thether about 8; Lodg'd at Love's.

Friday 16. See Hobs his Hole, Quamphegen.<sup>1</sup> Stay a little at George and Jn<sup>o</sup> Broughton's: by then at Capt. Wincoll's; by this time Mr. Cook come. Din'd at Wincoll's. Came to Hampton, by that time 'twas dark. Supped there, then to Newbury. Mr. Cook and I lodge at Brother Gerrishes.

Satterday, 17. Ride homeward. Dine at Mrs. Gedney's: whether send for my Brother. Major sends a Letter by me to his Excellency: we ride round by Charlestown, and get home between 7. and 8. finding all well, blessed be God. Note, The Friday we set out, at night, a Shallop riding at anchor in the Sea was run over by a Brigantine, and two Men drown'd. This day the Justices get a Town-Meeting at Ipswich; but they adhere to the former votes. And as we come home find Jn<sup>o</sup> Appleton Clerk, Lt. An-

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<sup>1</sup> Sewall was at this time on the Piscataqua River, which rises in a pond in Wakefield, N. H., and is about forty miles long. Quampegan, so called by the natives because fish were taken here with nets (Williamson, I. 22), is the great landing place, having falls or rapids above it, and being at the head of tide navigation. A mile and a half above it are the Salmon Falls.

Quampegan is now the village part of the town of South Berwick, Maine, and here the family of Hobbs has been settled for several generations. Inquiries, however, have thus far failed to obtain any information as to "Hobbs's Hole," which we can only suppose to have been some remarkable eddy or other natural curiosity in the river. — Eds.

draws Moderator, and another, in Custody at Mr. Gibbs House<sup>1</sup> under the charge of Souldiers.

Monday, Sept. 12. Mr. John Alden, the ancient Magistrate of Plymouth, died.

Monday, Sept. 19. Capt. Ravenscroft with his Company level Fort Hill.

Tuesday, Capt. White — Wednesday, Capt. Savage — Thursday, Capt. Davis — Friday, Capt. Haywood — Saturday, Major Luscomb.

Wednesday, Sept. 28. Col. Lidget. (Monday and Tuesday it rained.) This day went with Mr. Mather and visited Capt. Bradstreet, who was much distracted last night; but now pretty well; said had not slept in several nights, being confin'd at Fort-Hill.<sup>2</sup> After, I went and visited Major Appleton. Major Saltonstall is gon home this day, giving Bond to appear at Salem-Court.

Thursday, Sept. 29. Col. Shrimpton works, and the School-boys there, my little Sam. among the rest.

Friday, Sept. 30. Capt. Paige and his Troopers work. This day Mrs. Rawlins is buried. Fast at Mr. Allen's, where my mother, wife and self were: Mr. Nowell and Allen exercised.

Monday, Oct. 3. I and my wife ride to Sherborn,

<sup>1</sup> This whole transaction is fully set forth by Palfrey (Hist., III. 525-528). It grew out of the new form of government, by which no legislature was convened, and the taxes were imposed by the governor in council. The commissioners and selectmen of towns were required to assess the taxes so imposed. At Ipswich, under the lead of Rev. John Wise, the town refused to act. Six of the principal resistants — Wise, John Appleton, John Andrews, Robert Kinsman, William Goodhue, and Thomas French — were put in prison; and, Oct. 3, tried before a special court, consisting of Dudley, Stoughton, Usher, and Randolph. They were fined from £15 to £50, and, with exorbitant costs and charges, their expenses reached to £400. This vigorous attack effectually silenced all farther opposition. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Dudley Bradstreet, of Andover, was arrested for neglecting and refusing to act in the matter of the taxes in his town, and was released on his bond for £1,000, after acknowledging his "great imprudence and folly." Palfrey, III. 529. — Eds.

George Bairstow accompanying us. Husk Corn and trace [braid ears of corn by the inner husks].

Tuesday, Oct. 4. Take a view of the Meadow, ride to Joseph Morse's; set an H on a sear Pine, which said Morse shewed me that it was certainly our Bound-Tree, and another little green Pine with Stones at the Roots. It wet, and so rode home. This Night Horse breaks out.

Wednesday, Oct. 5. Ride near round the Farm, Goodm. Holbrook shewing me the Bounds in Company of Joseph Moss and Moses Adams.

Thursday, Oct. 6. Joseph Moss and Goodm. Whitney shew me the Stone-wall, what was wanting to finish it, that so the Meadow might be secured. About Noon my Unkle and Goodm. Brown come from Braintrey. On my Unkle's Horse after Diñer, I carry my wife to see the Farm, where we eat Aþles and drank Cider. Shew'd her the Meeting-house. In the Even Capt. Prentice's Negro brings my Horse. In the Morn Oct. 7<sup>th</sup> Unkle and Goodm. Brown come our way home accompanying of us. Set out after nine, and got home before three. Call'd no where by the way. Going out, our Horse fell down at once upon the Neck, and both fain to scrabble off, yet neither receiv'd any hurt. Laus Deo.

Oct. 10. Between 9. and 10. at night, Seth Shove goes on Board Daniel Lunt at a Wharf over against Mr. Mumford's Shop at the North End: Should have gon away at noon, but the Master Let his Bark fall aground before he was aware.

Thursday, Oct. 13. A Boy of about 5 years old is burnt to death by his Shirt catching fire.

Friday, Oct. 14. Eight Companyes in Arms, and great Guns fired. At night a Bonfire on Fort-Hill round a Mast; The upper works fired not, but the Mast weakened with the fire, bowed and fell. Strong wind at first and so blaz'd not upright. I went this day to Hog-Iland, and carried Plank to make a way.



Saturday, Oct. 15. Mr. Bowls brings word to Town of the death of Mr. Benjamin Eliot this morning. Mr. Saffin buries his only surviving Son this day, Oct. 15. Thomas died of the Small Pocks in London, the news of which came just about the Death of this.

Oct. 16<sup>th</sup>. After Exercise went to the Funeral of Mr. Benj. Eliot, met the Funeral. Many were there, some of which came at noon to hear Mr. Joseph Eliot preach. Had the Sacrament today at the North Church; Mr. Ratcliff also had the Sacrament, and sent to Mr. Willard yesterday to leave off sooner. To which Mr. Willard not consenting Governour sent for him in the night.

Oct. 17, 1687. Weare Arrives, in whom comes the Governour's Lady.<sup>1</sup> Lands about eleven a'clock at Fort-hill; Takes Coach in the narrow way that leads by Mr. Gillam's; Governour, his Lady and one more ride together. Many Guns fired. Mr. Stoughton here.

Oct. 18. Carried Mother Hull behind me to Roxbury-Lecture; Mr. Joseph Eliot preached. Mr. Stoughton, Moodey, Allen, Hobart, Brown and Self there. House not very full because of the rawness and uncertainty of the day. Got home about  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour after Three. Belcher arrives this day, who it's said is Deputy to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Phipps, Provost Marshal. Mr. Eliot said the King was turn'd a Puritan, and he was ravish'd at it; suppose 'twas from something he had heard as to som Nonconformists, Aldermen and Lord Mayor. As came home from Roxbury,

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<sup>1</sup> The Lady Andros, wife of the governor, was Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven. Her brother, Sir William Craven, was a second cousin of the Earl of Craven, and upon him and his heirs the lesser honor of the Barony of Hampstead Marshall was entailed at the request of the Earl. Lord Craven was for many years the favored adviser of the Queen of Bohemia (the daughter of James I.), report even alleging a private marriage between them. Andros had been a gentleman in ordinary to the same queen; and we may thence infer his intimate acquaintance with the family of Cravens.

Under date of April 7, 1688, hereinafter, Sewall mentions Madam Craven's going off from Boston, — probably some relative of the late Lady Andros. — Eds.

I met the Governour's Lady riding in her Coach hitherward. The same day the Governour's Lady arriv'd, word came that Capt. Phips was Knighted, so have two Ladies in Town.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, Oct. 21. I went to offer my Lady Phips my House by Mr. Moodey's, and to congratulate her preferment. As to the former, she had bought Sam. Wakefield's House and Ground last night for 350£.<sup>2</sup> I gave her a Gazett that related her Husband's Knighthood, which she had not seen before; and wish'd this success might not hinder her passage to a greater and better Estate. Gave me a cup of good Beer, and thank'd me for my Visit. The Governour has a Gazett of the 22<sup>th</sup> of Augt, that relates great success of the Imperialists against the Turks in a Battel [battle of Mohacs, in Hungary].

Wednesday, Oct. 26. His Excellency with sundry of the Council, Justices and other Gentlemen, four Blew-Coats, two Trumpeters, Sam. Bligh one, 15 or 20 Red-Coats with small Guns and short Lances in the Tops of them, set forth for Woodcocks,<sup>3</sup> in order to goe to Connecticut to assume the Government of that place.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Neve* (Catalogue of Knights) says that Phips was knighted at Windsor Castle, June 28, 1687. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> Nov. 28, 1687 (Deeds, Lib. 17, f. 221), Daniel Turell and wife Mary, and Samuel Wakefield and wife Elizabeth, sold to Sir William Phips for £350 a brick house and land near unto Charlestown Ferry, bounded on the north-east side by the street leading from the long street up towards the burying-place, 140 feet; south-east by a lane leading from said street down towards Mrs. Carwithin's house, 49 feet; south-west by land of Turell, 145 feet; and north-west by land of William Sumner, 51 feet.

Jan. 7, 1687-88 (ibid., f. 223), Turell sold Phips land bounded north-east by Phips, 145 feet; south-east by Green Lane, 77 feet; south-west by land of Capt. Samuel Sewall, 154 feet; north-west by land of William Sumner, 70 feet. — EDS.

<sup>3</sup> Woodcock's inn appears again in connection with Andros, being mentioned by Captain Prentiss when he had charge of the recaptured governor, in August, 1689. See Andros's "Tracts," III. 101. Barber (Hist. Coll. Mass., p. 111) says John Woodcock was licensed, in 1670, to keep an ordinary at the Ten-mile River, so called, which is in the way from Rehoboth to

Monday before Capt. Tho. Dudley comes with his Company to digg. Tuesday, 25<sup>th</sup> Andrew Gardener; Wednesday, Dorchester Company to shovel, and carry stockados; so the Lecture put by.

Oct. 27. Mr. Joseph Eliot preached the Lecture from 1 Cor. 2. 2. parallels the diseases of New England with Corinth; among others mentions itching ears, hearkening after false Teachers, and consequently sucking in false Principles, and despising, sitting loose from the true Teachers. Advis'd to fly into the Arms of a crucifi'd Christ, because probably might have no whether else to goe. This morn, Mr. Sim̄s thanks me for my kindness to Goodm. Huchins.

Oct. 29. Mr. Taylor rides to Malborough in Company of Mr. Jon<sup>a</sup> Russell.

Oct. 30. Have the Lord's Supper; got home rather before 12. both by my Clock and Dial. Mr. Oliver's James was baptized in the Afternoon.

Tuesday, Nov. 1. Mrs. Elisa Saffin dies after about six years languishing, keeping her Bed a great part of the time. Dies about 5. *mane*. Joseph Cowell is sent away Post to Hartford to acquaint Col. Lidget and Counsellour Usher. They are there waiting on his Excellency. Mr. Willard preached Roxbury Lecture from Job. 1. 21. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, &c. Col. Shrimpton there, and sat by me. Mr. Moodey preaches this day at Reading. Connecticut Government changed.

Nov. 3. Mrs. Anne Williams tells me that an English Maid was Executed last Thorsday at Bristow, for murdering her Indian Child.

Thorsday, Nov. 3. The Long House upon Fort-Hill is raised.<sup>1</sup>

the bay; and that it stood where Hatch's tavern was afterwards, in Attleborough. The old garrison was torn down in 1806. — EDS.

<sup>1</sup> We have seen repeated mention in the text of this work, which was the building of a fort on Fort Hill. Andros wrote to the Secretary of the Admi-



Satterday, Nov. 12. About 5 P.M. Mrs. Elisa Saffin is intombed. Major Richards, Mr. Cook, Mr. Chiever, Mr. Joyliff, Mr. Addington and Sewall, Bearers: had Scarfs and Rings. Rings given at the House after coming from the Grave. The Lady Andros and Phips there. Mother not invited.

Wednesday, Nov. 16. The Governour comes to Town returning from taking the Government of Coñecticut. In the Even sends for the Ministers and so Schools them that the Thanksgiving is put by which was to have been the 17<sup>th</sup>.

Tuesday, Nov. 15<sup>th</sup> Began to lay down the Wharf at Hog-Iland, went thether with Mr. Newgate; prosecuted the same business on Wednesday.

Friday, Nov. 18. I goe over with Cousin Savage, and are so late about the Wharf that I lodge there all night. 'Tis the first time that I have lodged at the Iland.

Satterday Afternoon, come to Town with Cous. Savage. We meet Major Gedney who tells me a Thanksgiving is appointed to be next Thursday Fortnight.

Tuesday, Nov. 22. I goe to Hog-Island with James Mirick. Being late at work, and wind and Tide contrary, I lodge there all night, which is the second time of my Lodging there; on Wednesday come home and hear of Justice Lynde's death yesterday about noon.

ralty, Sept. 5, 1687 (Andros "Tracts," III. 75), "I have made a Battery and am now fortifying a place att the South end of the towne, called Fort Hill, very proper and absolutely necessary for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Service, under which is a good Channell, close to the shore, where convenient Warehouses may be made, and as am advised, a Dry Dock if Occasion. The same commanding the Avenues to the Town by Land or sea." Nov. 28, he wrote to the Lords of the Committee (quoted by Palfrey, Hist., III. 549), "I have now effected a palisade fort of four bastions on Fort Hill, at the south end of this town, commanding the harbor, in which also a house is erected for lodging the garrison, much wanted and necessary for his Majesty's service."

An engraved view of the fort from the water side, made about 1740, has recently been recovered, and is reproduced in the "Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Society" for 1877. — Eds.

Brother Stephen lodged here in my absence, and the next night with Unkle Quinsey.

Friday, Nov. 25. Mr. Willard hath an order for the Thanksgiving left with him.

Satterday, Nov. 26. Mr. Simon Lynde is buried. Bearers, Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Nowel, Justice Bullivant, Justice Hutchinson, Mr. Addington, Mr. Saffin. His Excellency there, went in a Scarlet Cloak. This last week the Companies of Boston work again to finish the Fort. Friday, Nov. 25, Capt. Dudley brings his Company.

Friday, Dec. 2, 1687. About 10. at night Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Hayward dies, having been speechless 48 hours. This Friday Wild sets sail from Marblehead, in whom goes Capt. Hutchinson.

Sabbath, Dec. 4. Mr. Willard baptiseth his little Margaret, born about 8. last night. In the Even Capt. Eliot, Frary, Williams and Self, Treat with Brother Wing about his Setting a Room in his House for a man to shew Tricks in.<sup>1</sup> He saith, seeing 'tis offensive, he will remedy it. It seems the Room is fitted with Seats. I read what Dr. Ames saith of Callings, and Spake as I could, from this Principle, That the Man's Practice was unlawfull, and therefore Capt. Wing could not lawfully give him an accomodation for it. Sung the 90<sup>th</sup> Ps. from the 12<sup>th</sup> v. to the end. Broke up.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1687. Foye Sails, in whom goes Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Nowell. 'Tis reported that Wilde sail'd but this morning.

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<sup>1</sup> This room was undoubtedly one in Mr. Wing's tavern. (Suff. Deeds, Lib. 9, f. 151), William Hudson, vintner, and wife Anne, sold to John Wing, their house and lands, called the Castle Tavern. Hudson was the original owner, as the "Book of Possession" shows. The land was bounded north-east 140 feet 3 inches on the lane called Hudson's Lane (afterwards Wing's Lane and now Elm Street); south-east by the broad street next the dock (*i.e.*, Washington Street to Dock Square), 24 feet 9 inches; north, 56½ feet, on land of Christopher Parbus; south-west by Habakuk Glover and Eliakim Hutchinson, 163 feet 5 inches; west by Thomas Brattle, 58 feet 6 inches. — Eds.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 9. Mr. Palmer at the Coffee-House said Connecticut had received Letters from their Agent by Prentice, gone in to New London, in which desires Money ; and that they are troubled at their hasty Surrender.

Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 12. Col. Mason calls here with Mr. Hutchinson ; I stick at his Reservation of Masts 24 Inches Diameter.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 13. Carry my wife to Roxbury Lecture. Note, Friday Dec<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Major Appleton is by a mittimus comitted to the Stone-Prison, remov'd from Gibbs's House.<sup>1</sup> Sabbath, Dec<sup>r</sup> 11. Mr. Mather propounds his going to England, to his Church for their Consent.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 15. Mr. Mather preaches the Lecture from Judges 8. 27. — which thing became a snare unto Gideon and to his house. Shewed that Good Men might fall into such scandalous Sins as might bring temporal Wrath and ruin upon themselves and upon their posterity. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley not at Lecture.

Sabbath, Dec<sup>r</sup> 18. Is a very Rainy and dark day, a great Thaw. Sung at the Meeting in the Morning the 129<sup>th</sup> Psalm, Many a time, &c. Mr. Willard preach'd from Heb. 11. 36-37, to the word *tempted*, inclusively. Sung in the Family the 34<sup>th</sup>. In the night it thunder'd and lightend pretty much.

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 20. A cold blustering day ; in the even Mr. Eliot and Frary visit me : we sing the 4<sup>th</sup> Psalm. President calls on Horsback but lights not, speaks about Mr. Mason, said Mr. Morton not to be called till next

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<sup>1</sup> This house was a celebrated mansion, built by Col. Robert Gibbs. Josselyn, in his "New England's Rarities" (1672), writes as follows: "There are fair buildings, some of stone, and at the East End of the Town, one amongst the rest built by the Shore by Mr. Gibs, a Merchant, being a stately Edifice, which it is thought will stand him in little less than 3000£ before it be fully finished." From a note in Veazie's edition of Josselyn (p. 34), it seems that this land was formerly Henry Webb's. Dunton also mentions this house. Gibbs' Wharf, to the southward of the fort on Fort Hill, is on the early maps. — EDS.



Term.<sup>1</sup> This day, or Monday, was buried one Mr. Lock in Capt. Hamilton's Tomb. It's thought he kill'd himself with Drink. Was in the Riot that Capt. Hunting was wounded in at Charlestown, as is said.

Friday goe to Charlestown Lecture.

Satterday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup>. Very dark and much warm Rain. The sun appeared not all day that I saw, or yet hear of.

Sabbath, 25. Have the Lord's Supper at the South Church, break up about noon, at which time I hear that Mr. Mather was, on Satterday between 1. and 2. P.M. Arrested<sup>2</sup> by Larkin, to answer for a Trespass on Mr. Randolp, 500.£. damage. Major Richards and Capt. Turell bound. Just as Morn-Exercise ends Mr. Cotton Mather's child dies; yet he preaches at Charlestown in the afternoon.

Wednesday, Jan. 4. Rode to Cambridge-Lecture, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Bayly preached from Ephes. 2. 1.

Visited Aunt Mitchell and Cousin Fissenden, where I dined in company of him, his wife and father Chany. Very cold day, yet got home comfortably.

Tuesday, Jan. 10<sup>th</sup> 1687. Carried Mother Hull on my

<sup>1</sup> See Palfrey's History of New England, III. 547. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> This suit of Randolph's was based upon a curious transaction. Some time before, Randolph had received from a friend in England a copy of a letter which he saw in Amsterdam, signed I. M., and dated in Boston. This letter, which was written in a spirit inimical to Randolph and his party, was attributed to Increase Mather. Mather not only expressly denied the authorship, in a letter to J. Dudley (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VIII. 101), but accused Randolph of being the forger. Later, Mather said that he meant not Edmund Randolph, but a brother. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Palfrey, III. 557, inclines to the opinion that Cotton Mather was the writer. This is opposed in the notes to the Collections above quoted, pp. 108, 109, and the truth will probably never be discovered.

Randolph lost his suit, the jury giving the defendant costs. *Coll.*, VIII. 704. He then, as Hutchinson says (*Hist.*, I. 366), "I know not how, was bringing a new action for the same defamation." Mather was solicited to become the agent to England of the discontented part of the colonists; and, in order to go abroad, he avoided the service of the writ by lying concealed. — EDS.

Horse to Roxbury-Lecture, where Mr. Moody preached from Jn<sup>o</sup> 15. 6. shewing, that not abiding in, or apostatizing from Christ, is a ruining evil. Mr. Stoughton, the President, and Unkle Quinsey there. A very pleasant comfortable day.

Monday, Jan. 9<sup>th</sup>. Lieut. Alford arrested for not Watching.

Wednesday, Jan. 11<sup>th</sup>. Sam. falls ill of the Measles: Joshua Gee, come in Capt. Legg, visits me, and returns thanks for my kindness to him when Captive in Algier.

Thursday, Jan. 12. Eliakim falls ill of the Measles. Joshua Gee dines with us. Mr. Allen preaches the Lecture.

Friday, Jan. 13. Betty Lane falls sick of the Measles. Get Mehetabel Thirston to help us. Sabbath only Mother and self at Meeting: Betty vomits up a long worm: Mehetabel goes home sick.

Friday, Jan. 13. Joshua Gee with Joseph Bridgham, Jn<sup>o</sup> Barnard and Dyar, come to agree with me what I must have for my Money disbursed in London: said Gee presents me with a pair of Jerusalem Garters which cost above 2 pieces  $\frac{8}{8}$  [Spanish dollars] in Algier; were made by a Jew.

13<sup>th</sup> Jan. Mr. Moody hears that Martha, a Grandchild of 4. or 5. years old, is scalded to death at Barnstable. Speaks at Mr. Sarah. [Mrs. Sarah Noyes?] Mother and I hear him.

Monday, Jan. 15 [16]. Mary Draper comes to help us.

Jan. 18. Capt. Ravenscroft having petition'd for a Farm at Blew Hills, Cranes who Rents it, is said, in stead of defending the Towns Interest, joins in petitioning: Complains that the Select Men slighted him and did not take care for his defence. Crane was Sumoned the Thursday before to this Council-day.

Friday, Jan. 20. Coming from Charlestown Lecture, I saw Mr. Wears Ship lying on her Larbord side, fell so on

Wednesday by reason of Melasses between Decks, as she lay at Scarlet's Wharf. Are now by Boats and empty Buts trying to right her again. Is much damage to Sugar that was laden, the water coming into her: besides what damage the Ship may receive. Many people looking at this odd sight. This is the Ship my Lady [Andros] arriv'd in, Oct: 17<sup>th</sup> and in which Mr. Mather hath bespoke his passage for London.

Satterday, Jan. 21. My dear Daughter Hañah is put to bed, or rather kept in Bed, being sick of the Measles. Droop'd ever since Thursday.

Sabbath, 22<sup>d</sup>. Hañah's Measles appear very full in her face: had a restless night, read in course the 38<sup>th</sup> Psalm. My Lady Andros was prayed for in Publick; who has been dangerously ill ever since the last Sabbath. Today I hear that Mr. Brown of Salem, the Father, dyed on Friday last in the afternoon. One of a Dutch Church in London is admitted to the Lord's Supper with us. About the beginning of our afternoon Exercise, the Lady Andros expires.

Monday, Jan. 23. The Clarks take Lists of the Companies, take in the Deacons.

Monday, Jan. 23. The Measles come out pretty full on my dear Wife, which I discern before I rise. She was very ill in the night.

Tuesday, Jan. 24. Betty Sewall keeps her Bed; but is not so full as her Sister Hañah. Capt. Nicholson sat with me an hour or two on Monday night.

Tuesday, Jan. 24<sup>th</sup> About noon, the Physician tells me the Measles are come out in my face, and challenges me for his Patient.

Wednesday, Jan. 25. Harris arrives from London, brings a Gazett to the 5<sup>th</sup> of December wherein is the Address of the N. E. Ministers.<sup>1</sup> I hear the notable firing as I lye abed.

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<sup>1</sup> See Collections, Mather Papers, p. 698. — Eds.



Friday, Jan. 27. Mr. Willard having been at Mr. Brown's Funeral, acquaints me of Brother's being very ill of the Measles, and his family was taken rather before me. In the afternoon I arise to have my Sweaty Bed made and dri'd.

Monday, Jan. 30. Near noon Mr. Bullivant gives a Warrant to the Constables, and causeth the Shops to be shut. [Martyrdom of Charles I.]

Jan. 31. Mr. Randolph, in his Action against Mr. Increase Mather, is cast. Mr. Hale being subpoena'd by Mr. Randolph, pleaded he might not lay his hand on the Bible; must Swear by his Creator, not Creature. 'Twas granted that he only lift up his Hand as customary in New England. Col. Shrimpton lent Mr. Mather his Coach to ride home: He abode there the time of the Tryal, to be at hand if need were.

Feb. 2. Mr. Cotton Mather visits me, and tells me that Col. Shrimpton and Mr. Brown are made of the Council.

Feb. 3. Unkle Quinsey visits us, and tells us that one Withrington, a lusty young man of Dorchester, is dead of the Measles. News comes by Mr. Harris of the Death of Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Collins.

Satterday, Feb. 4. Mr. Stoughton visits us and tells that Mr. Shrimpton and Brown were sworn of the Council last Wednesday. Watertowns Trouble about a Town-Rate.

Sabbath, Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> I go to Meeting after the Measles; read in course at home the 39<sup>th</sup> Ps. I said I will look to my ways, &c. which was also sung in publick. Mr. Willard's Sermon about keeping a Conscience void of offence, in the afternoon when I was there. See Mr. Carre's Letter.

Monday, Feb. 6. Towards noon the Shops are again shut up by a Warrant from a Justice, 'tis said Col. Lidget.

Tuesday, Feb. 7. My Aunt Gerrish dies between 7. and 8. *mane*: Had the Measles lately, and now by Flux,

vapours and others inconveniences, expires before I had so much as heard of her being ill, that I know of. This day, my wife, Sam. and self purge after the Measles.

Wednesday, Feb. 8. Obad. Gill, Jn<sup>o</sup> Atwood, and Jos. Davis are fined by Judge West [blank] Marks<sup>1</sup> apice, for refusing to lay their hands on the Bible in Swearing.

Friday, Feb. 10, 1684. Between 4. and 5. I went to the Funeral of the Lady Andros, having been invited by the Clark of the South Company. Between 7. and 8. (Lychus [Lynchs? *i.e.*, links or torches] illuminating the cloudy air) The Corps was carried into the Herse drawn by Six Horses. The Souldiers making a Guard from the Governour's House<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Coles's Dictionary (London, 1701) we find that a mark of silver was 13s. 4d., and a mark of gold, 33s. 4d. By the entry later, under date of March 30, 1688, it seems they were fined one silver mark each. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> The governor's house was apparently upon Prison Lane, by which we are to understand at that time Court Street, from Washington Street up to the Court-house, or about to Franklin Alley. Andros's first residence was Mrs. Rebecca Tailer's house, as already noted. This house was on the southerly corner of Elm and Hanover Streets, as the following evidence will show.

At the division of the estate of Capt. Thomas Brattle, May 10, 1684 (Deeds, Lib. 13, f. 162), William Brattle had assigned him a house and land, bounded northerly by the lane that leads from the great dock to the house of the late William Tailer, deceased; west by land of Francis Dowse, reserving a twenty-foot passage along said line; south by the pasture of said Thomas Brattle, which is said (Lib. 13, f. 96) to be of about eight acres, near unto Centry Hill.

The main Brattle lot was doubtless that recorded in the "Book of Possessions" as belonging to William Tyng, whose daughter married Brattle.

Feb. 17, 1701-2 (Deeds, Lib. 21, f. 148), William Tailer sells to Edward Lyde his house and lands now occupied by said Lyde, bounded north-westerly by the back street leading from the mill-bridge towards the upper part of Prison Lane, 167½ ft.; north east by Wing's lane, 57½ ft.; east-southerly by heirs of Isaac Walker, 96 ft.; north east by do., 37 ft.; east south by land of — Ingrum, late of Francis Dowse, 73 ft.; south by Thaddeus Maccarty late Tho<sup>r</sup> Brattle, 61 ft.; south west by James Allen, 113 ft.

The various deeds of the Brattles show that the Dowse land was west of theirs and next to Tailer's.

Finally, in 1708, in the order of the selectmen laying out and naming the streets, we find "the way leading from Mr. Pemberton's corner at the end of Dock Square, to Justice Lyd's corner in Hanover street, *Wing's lane*."

Hence Andros lived first on the corner of Elm and Hanover Streets. Did

down the Prison Lane to the South-Meetinghouse, there taken out and carried in at the western dore, and set in the Alley before the pulpit, with Six Mourning Women by it. House made light with Candles and Torches. Was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the House, that might not rush in too soon. I went home, where about nine a'clock I heard the Bells toll again for the Funeral. It seems Mr. Ratcliffs Text was, Cry, all flesh is Grass. The Ministers turn'd in to Mr. Willards. The Meeting-House full, among whom Mr. Dudley, Stoughton, Gedney, Bradstreet, &c. 'Twas warm thawing wether, and the wayes extream dirty. No volley at placing the Body in the Tomb.<sup>1</sup> On Satterday Feb. 11, the mourning cloth of the Pulpit is taken off and given to Mr. Willard. My Brother Stephen was at the Funeral and lodged here.

Satterday, Feb. 11. Cary arrives from Jamaica, 5 weeks Passage: brings word that the Duke of Albemarle was there, and Sir William [Phips] upon the Wreck.<sup>2</sup>

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he live there at the time of the funeral? The text would rather imply that the governor's house was on Prison Lane, and yet it is not incompatible with his living a short distance down Hanover Street.

Some years later, the Earl of Bellomont, then governor, writes to the Lords of Trade (N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, VI. 83) that he paid £100 a year for a house in Boston, besides his charge for a stable. "It is for the king's honor that his governor have a house; there is a very good house plot where Sir Edmund Andros lived, in the best part of the town." — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> It seems, from a statement made in Bridgman's "King's Chapel Epitaphs," p. 318, and repeated by Shurtleff, p. 193, that Lady Andros was buried in a tomb afterwards owned by Dr. Benjamin Church, of Revolutionary fame. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The Life of Sir William Phips, by Cotton Mather, in the "Magnalia," and that by Professor Bowen, in Sparks's Biography, furnish full and interesting information about the extraordinary and romantic career of this very remarkable man. One of twenty-one sons, says Mather, in a family of twenty-six children of the same parents, he was born at what is now Woolwich, Me., Feb. 2, 1651. His father, a blacksmith and shipwright, at his death left this numerous family in the care of the mother, on the sea-coast bordering a wild forest filled with Indians, wolves, and bears. The son William, first a shepherd, then a ship-carpenter, is said to have learned to read and write only when, at the age of twenty-two, he was working at his trade in Boston. Being from his earliest years of a roving and adventurous spirit,



Thursday, Feb. 23. Sam. Toḡan brings word of my sick Mother, and my being sent for to see her.

Friday, Feb. 24. I set out, get to Newbury by 9. at night, ways being very bad. Find Mother something better, so that speaks to me comfortably. Father and Brother Sewall were gone to Bed before I came in.

Saturday, 25<sup>th</sup>. Brother Ste. goes home to Salem.

he was impelled to undertake the recovery of the treasure in a wrecked and sunken vessel in the Spanish Main. Having gone to England in 1684, by zealous persistency, with royal patronage, he obtained a public vessel for his first search, which proving unsuccessful, the Duke of Albemarle was at the charge of a second enterprise for the same end. The result in this case was dazzlingly successful. He recovered treasure exceeding in value a million and a half of dollars, his own share being near a hundred thousand, with a gold cup to his wife of the value of five thousand, as a present from the Duke of Albemarle. Besides knighting him, the King made him High Sheriff of New England. He also succeeded as commander of the fleet which captured Port Royal from the French, in 1690, but met with disastrous failure in his assault on Quebec. He was appointed the first Governor of Massachusetts under the province charter. There was no truth in the rumor that the Duke of Albemarle accompanied him on his voyage in search of the treasure-ship.

Notwithstanding Mather's wonderful story of the twenty brothers of Sir William, Savage points out that only one, John, is ever heard of. It seems certain that this John Phips had a son John, who lived at Wrentham, and left issue.

Lady Phips was the widow of a John Hull (*not* Sewall's father-in-law) and daughter of Capt. Roger Spencer. She had two sisters; viz., the wife of Freegrace Norton, and Rebecca, wife of Dr. David Bennett. Spencer Bennett, nephew of Lady Phips, took the name of Phips, inherited Sir William's wealth, and became Lieutenant-Governor of the province. He died, in 1757, leaving descendants by daughters only.

There was another family of the name, to which belonged Samuel Phips, Register of Deeds for Middlesex, and Solomon, who married Mary Danforth. In this branch is preserved a portrait, said to be that of Sir William (see Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for November, 1870); but as we know of no relationship, we may presume the portrait is that of some real ancestor in this distinct line.

By a strange blunder, Sir William was claimed as an ancestor by the noble family of Phipps, created Marquises of Normanby, 1838, Earls of Mulgrave, 1812; Barons Mulgrave, in England, 1794, in Ireland, 1767. They are descended from Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1710, who was certainly not a son of our Governor. The cousinship now stated in the Peerages is probably doubtful, though both families bear the same arms. — Eds.

Sabbath, 26<sup>th</sup>. I sit down with the Church of Newbury at the Lord's Table. The Songs of the 5<sup>th</sup> of the Revelation were sung. I was ready to burst into tears at that word, *bought with thy blood*. Me thoughts 'twas strange that Christ should *cheapen* us; but that when the bargain came to be driven, he should consent rather to part with his *blood*, than goe without us; 'twas amazing. Before night Dr. Weld comes with Sam. Toṗan, being sent by Brother to see if he could reliev Mother, so he and Mr. Doel consult.

Feb. 28. Dr. Weld and I came to Salem in good wether and ways much mended.

Feb. 29. Come home about 3. aclock and find all well through God's Grace.

Feb. 29. Mrs. Foster is buried, and Mr. Giles Masters, the King's Attorney, dies. Yesterday Mr. West's only child buried.

Thursday, March 1. Mr. Masters is buried.

Tuesday, March 6. Ride to Newbury in Company of Mr. Cook, Hutchinson, and Sam. Walker, Mariner.

Wednesday, went to Portsmouth.

Thursday, March 8. Went up the River to Capt. Ham̄ond who keeps Kittery Town Book. Mr. Hutchinson to Nichewanook.

Friday, March 9. Goe to the Great Iland, saw the Mast-Ship sail.

Satterday, March 10. Rid to Sagamore's Crick. Several went to meet the Judges.

Sabbath, March 11. Heard Mr. Lovie preach from Psal. 45. 7. Going home at noon Mr. Stoughton fell off a Long [?] into water with his right Legg and hand.

Monday, March 12. Mr. Mason discontinues his Actions against Mr. Cook and me, saying, That Mr. Masters being dead, the papers could not be come at.

Tuesday, March 13. Waited on the Judges to Ipswich,

Mr. Cook and Hutchinson going up the river. I lodgd at Sparks's whether Mr. Stoughton and Capt. Apleton came to see me in the evening.

March 14. Came home, riding round by Roxbury, the wind being extream high. Got home between 3. and 4. Met with some Rain between Cambridge and the Town. Found all well. *Laus Deo.*

March 14, about 2 P.M. Mrs. Downs, Mr. Eliot's Sister, dies of Convulsions.

On Monday, March the 12. There was no anniversary Town-Meeting at Boston, to choose Select-Men and Constables, &c. as hath been formerly used. This day Capt. Wait Winthrop falls down his stairs and is grievously hurt.

March 15. Capt. Tho. Dudley is thrown by a Horse, on oxen, and is much endangered.

Satterday, March 16. The order is pass'd about Select-Men, to be of an even number, not exceed Eight any where; if any refuse, Justices to supply. To make Rates approv'd by Justices. To be chosen the 3<sup>d</sup> Monday in May. Not to meet at any other time on any pretence whatsoever, i. e. the Town. Published. March 19. On which day Salem Gentlemen come wilyly to Town early in the morn and buy up a great quantity of Salt, they having advice that none to be had at Salt-Tartoodas [Tortugas].

Thursday, March 22. Mr. Mather preaches his farewell Lecture, from Exod. 33. 15. If thy Presence goe not — mentioned the sound of going on the tops of the Mulberry Trees. Desired Prayers and Presence for Goers and Stayers.

Friday, March 23. Shaller's Still-House<sup>1</sup> with English

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<sup>1</sup> This was the property of Michael Shaller, who was a late comer here. He seems to have owned land at the south end, on both sides of Washington Street. One lot, mortgaged by him two or three times, was on the west side, just north of the corner of Boylston Street. It was a brick house with or-



Hay in the Loft, fell on fire, and had not the wind carri'd the flame into the Commonward in all probability many Houses had been consumed and ours among the rest. 4 P.M.

March 25, 1688. Mr. Increase Mather preaches at the South-Meeting from Ezek. 47. 11. But the mirie places, &c. See the Sermon Preacht in the morning.

March 27<sup>th</sup> 1688. Last night a cold, blustering N.W. wind. Three Indian Children being alone in a Wigwam at Muddy-River, the Wigwam fell on fire, and burnt them so that they all died, youngest bowells burnt out in the Wigwam. Eldest, 10. or 12. years old, got to an English House a little before day; but died quickly.

March 28, 1688. Capt. Davis spake to me for Land to set a Church on. I told him could not, would not, put Mr. Cotton's Land to such an use, and besides, 'twas Entail'd. After, Mr. Randolph saw me, and had me to his House to see the Landscips of Oxford Colledges and Halls. Left me with Mr. Ratcliff, who spake to me for Land at Cotton-Hill for a Church which were going to build: I told him I could not, first because I would not set up that which the People of N. E. came over to avoid: 2<sup>d</sup> the Land was Entail'd. In after discourse I mentioned chiefly the Cross in Baptism, and Holy Dayes.

March 29, 1688. Mr. Moodey preaches from Isa. 9. 12, 13. for all this his anger, &c. This day my wife sitts

chards, and we might conclude it to be the one mentioned in the text, but for Sewall's remark about the danger to *his* house.

This lot seems to have been among the lands of William Colbron, but we fail to find any note of sale to Shaller. Possibly it came to him from his wife; and he seems to have mortgaged it as early as July 5, 1692 (Deeds, Lib. 16, f. 17), when the house was occupied by John Hayward and William Gibbons. Feb. 9, 1696-97 (Deeds, Lib. 14, f. 421), he made a marriage-settlement, previous to his marriage with Hannah, widow of Nathaniel Jewell. She outlived him; and his children, probably not by her, were Michael Shaller, Jr., and Elizabeth, wife of Ebenezer Lowell, June 29, 1709 (Deeds, Lib. 24, f. 211). — Eds.

with, very good liking, in the place I procured for her in Mrs. Baker's Pue: several being dead that us'd to sit there.

March 30, 1688. Obadia Gill, John Atwood and Joseph Davis are by a Writt from the Sheriff imprisoned, because they paid not the 13<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> which each was fined, Feb. 8., for not laying their Hand on the Bible: Judgment run thus — refusing to take the Oath as by Law is required. Though they offer'd to take the same Oath, the oath the others did, that Ceremony set aside. They pay the Fine and charges and Ly not in Prison one night. Mr. Larkin sought after Mr. Mather this week to Arrest him. Mr. Mather on Tuesday was taking Physick and so was free, and since hath purposely avoided him.

Satterday, March 31. I, Daniel Maio and another hand plant Six Chestnut Trees at Hog Iland.

Ap. 2, 1688. Mr. Robert Sanderson rides with me to Neponset and gives me Livery and Seisin of his 8<sup>th</sup> of the powder-mill Stream, Dwelling-House and Land on each side the River, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Fayerwether, Desire Clap, and Walter Everenden, witnesses, having the Deed there and exhibiting it, when he gave me Turf, Twigg and Splinter. Mr. Thacher's Son, Tho., dies this morn. Lodge at Unkle Quinsey's with Cous. Dan! Gookin, who has a Son born last Satterday.

Ap. 3. See the Orchard Jn<sup>o</sup> Hayford has planted, help Mrs. Flint, Sir Shepard and Newman in dividing their Goods. Come home in Company of Mr. Blake, Coroner, who has been at Hingham to view the body of father Beal, a good man of an hundred years old, who was found dead in 's yard the last Sabbath. Note. Mr. Fayerwether's House was near burning when he and I at Neponset: Bells rung, and Town alarm'd.

Wednesday, Apr. 4. At night Sam. Marion's wife hangs herself in the Chamber, fastening a Cord to the Rafter-Joice. Two or three swore she was distracted, and had

been for some time, and so she was buried in the burying place.

Friday, Apr. 6. The Exposition of the Church of England Catechise by the Bishop of Bath and Wells [Ken], comes out printed by Richard Pierce, with the 39. Articles. Foy and Wild are arriv'd as 'tis told on Change today. Sailed Dec. 7<sup>th</sup> 1687.

Satterday, Apr. 7<sup>th</sup> 1688. Capt. Arthur Tañar sails about 10 aclock, a shallop follows quickly after, which 'tis said is to prevent Mr. Mather's getting on Board: 'tis certain all the Town is full of discourse about Mr. Mather.<sup>1</sup> Carie sails a little after. Many Guns fired at Madam Craven's going off.

Friday, March 30. I am told Mr. Mather left his House

<sup>1</sup> We have already seen that Mather had been in trouble with Randolph. His escape from Boston is told by Cotton Mather ("Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather") in the following glowing manner:—

"He waited on Sir Edmund Andros, the governor and oppressor of New England, and acquainted him that he designed a voyage for London. He also gave the country notice of his voyage, in a sermon at the Great Lecture, on Exod. xxxiii. 15. . . .

"Hereupon Randolph again, assisted by one 'Pothecary Bullivant, a memorable Justice (and something else!) privately sent an officer to arrest him once more, (such was the Equity of those times!), upon the former Action of Defamation. But it fell out, that he was just then under the operation of a more wholesome physic than what that 'pothecary had sent him; and so the officer was ignorantly denied admittance. The 'pothecary, as ignorantly, reported that Mr. Mather was arrested, and the report flying like lightning about the solicitous town, it soon reached Mr. Mather's ears, who then kept upon his guard."

"Mr. Mather withdrew privately from his house in a changed habit, unto the house of Colonel Philips in Charlestown; in which withdraw it is remarkable, that a wicked fellow whose name was Thurton, and who was placed as an under-sheriff to watch him and seize him if he stirred abroad, — now saw him and knew him, and yet found himself struck with an enfeebling terror, that he had no power to meddle with him. From thence, he was, by certain well-disposed young men of his flock, transported unto Winisimet; and from thence he went aboard a Ketch, which lay ready to assist his voyage. From which he was on Apr. 7, 1688, gladly received aboard the ship (called the President) on which he had at first shipped himself: and so bore away for England." — Eds.



and the Town and went to Capt. Phillips's at Charlestown. Sabbath, Ap. 1. To Aaron Way's by Hogg-Island, Tuesday, Ap. 3. At night from Aaron Way's to the Boat near Mr. Newgate's Landing-place, so through Crooked-Lane and Pulling Point Gut to Mr. Ruck's fishing-Catch, thence to the President, Capt. Arthur Tañar's Ship, as above.

Tuesday, Apr. 10. Went to Muddy-River to show Mr. Gardener his Bond; to Andrew Gardener, Simon Gates, George Bairstow, Subael Seavers: home. After I came home a Redcoat was buried with Arms in the old burying place.

Apr. 13, 1688. Grafted a Stock next Jn<sup>o</sup> Wait's, pretty high out of the Cows reach, with cions from Mr. Moodey's Orange Pear, and grafted Two Apletree Stocks with Mr. Gardener's Russetings; the Cow having eaten last year's Grafts all save one Twigg. Mr. Moodey, Willard, Cotton Mather, Capt. Townsend, Mr. Eyre were here last night. It seems Mr. Watter and Elisha Odlin were fined last Wednesday, 13. 4<sup>d</sup>, apiece, for refusing to lay their hand on the Bible in Swearing.

Apr. 13, 1688. Elder Chipman visits me, and tells me that the Indian Meetinghouse at Sandwich is raised.

Satterday, Apr. 14. Mr. West comes to Mr. Willard from the Governour to speak to him to begin at 8. in the morn, and says this shall be last time; they will build a house. Soe begin about  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour past 8. yet the people come pretty roundly together. 'Twas Easter-day, and the Lord's Supper with us too.

Tuesday, Apr. 17. First Training of the Eight Companies. I went to Dorchester Lecture, and visited Mrs. Poole.

April 18. Went to Hog-Island, set six Chesnut Trees, and took Livery and Seisin of Mr. Maverick's Marsh. This day about Sun-set, Jack. alias Jacob Negro, dies at my Unkle Quinsey's by the oversetting of the Cart, he

(probably) sitting in it, the Rave<sup>1</sup> fell on 's neck and kill'd him. This day an Order is made that next Sabbath-day se'night be a Thanksgiving for the Queen's being with Child.

April 18. The news about Lima's<sup>2</sup> Ruine comes abroad. Mr. Cotton Mather mentions it on the 19<sup>th</sup> at the Lecture. Above 60.000 persons perished, and now there is a Pool of Water where it stood, if the news be true.

Apr. 19. Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Fayerwether, Cornish and my self goe to Braintrey; have much adoe to get a Jury because of the Training at Weymouth, whether His Excellency went by Water. As came back we treat with Mr. Ryal about setting up a Fulling-Mill at Neponset.

April 20. Joshua Atwater's wife dies. It seems he carried her out of Town but last Monday. She was a worthy Gentlewoman.

Apr. 22, 1688. Mr. Willard having rec'd no Order mentions not the Thanksgiving: though it seems one was sent to him at noon to mention it, but left no Order with him.

Apr. 29. Mr. Willard received an Order about the Thanksgiving on Satterday night; yet read it not this day, but after the *Notes* said such an Occasion was by the Governour recommended to be given Thanks for. Mr. Allen sings the 6 first verses of the 21. Ps. and the first Part of the 72<sup>d</sup>, which gives offence to some of his Church.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Willard prays more particularly and largely for the King, but else alters not his course a jot.

Monday, Apr. 30<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Cotton Mather, my wife, Cous. Anna Quinsey and Self ride to Dorchester in Mr. Emms

<sup>1</sup> Webster, who terms it a New England word, defines "rave" as "the upper side-piece of timber of the body of a cart." — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> See, in the *Modern Universal History*, XXXIX. 177, a short account of the earthquake, in October, 1687. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> The offence seems to have consisted in the gush of loyalty animating those Psalms. — Eds.

his Coach, to visit Mrs. Pool, then goe to Mr. Stoughton's, who sends a Basket of Apples to sick Mr. Nelson.

Wednesday, May 2. Went to Hog-Island with Mr. Newgate, where by appointment we meet with Cousin Savage trying to adjust the difference between them as said Newgate's claim of Marsh. Water the Chesnut Trees. The Bristow man who arriv'd Apr. 29<sup>th</sup> speaks of a Dispute was to be between the Roman Catholicks and Protestants.

Thursday, May 3. Fast at the old Church and several other Churches for Rain. Great likelihood of Rain in the morn and considerable Thunder. Thunder at noon and beginning of the night to the Eastward: but no Rain to speak of. Mr. Willard began in the Forenoon with Prayer. Mr. Phillips of Rowly in the Afternoon. Mr. Allen and Moodey preached.

Friday, May 4<sup>th</sup> 1688. Last night there was a very refreshing Rain; this 4<sup>th</sup> May, a Print comes out shewing the Lawfullness of Swearing according to the English mode, Laying the hand on the Bible. Taken out of Mr. Baxter's Directory, printed by Richard Pierce May the 1. 1688; were publickly known May 4. Sent Mr. Noyes one May 7<sup>th</sup>.

Monday, May 7. Mr. West removes to dwell in the House of Mr. Hezekiah Usher upon the Common. About 7. P.M. begins a plenteous Rain. *Laus Deo.*

Tuesday, May 8. Discourse with Mrs. Woodmancy<sup>1</sup> as to her pretended Marriage, which Mr. Willard, Eliot, Frary and Self find to be nothing at all.

May 10. Mr. Dudley and his Son call here. I speak to him about the mode of swearing, if no remedy might be had, of which had no encouragement, but said Lifting up the Hand was the handsomest way.

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<sup>1</sup> At this time there was living here Elizabeth, widow of John Woodmansey, who married secondly George Monck. Her son James married Abigail Melyen, who took for a second husband William Tilley, and married thirdly Sewall himself, in 1719, as his second wife. — Eds.



May 11. Go to Charlestown Lecture. In the even Mrs. Woodmancy comes to me and says Mr. White and she took each other on the 2<sup>d</sup> of June last, and her child last Monday was 8. weeks old.

Sabbath, May 13. Lord's Suḡer at the South-Church. Near half an hour after twelve by that time I got home, by my Clock: and five by that time got home in the afternoon: Day cloudy. Mrs. Nowel here, sits in our Pue, and dines with us. A fine Rain begins at 7. P.M. Mr. Lawson<sup>1</sup> who came to Town to dwell last week, with us.

Monday, May 14<sup>th</sup> 1688. Put Sam. to Eliezer Moodey to learn to write.

May 15. Mr. Stoughton calls here to discourse about Mrs. Avery who is like to break. Mr. Farwell went to her last Thursday by Col. Lidget's appointment to demand 2 or 3 hundred Pounds Money, for which her House and Ground is mortgaged.

Thursday, May 17<sup>th</sup> 1688. Capt. Leach arrives from London, brings news of the 10<sup>th</sup> of March, or Later. Col. Dongan is to be Governour of Barbados, and New-York añexed to this Government. Fears of War with Holland. Now is talk that no Parliament till October next.

Friday, May 18, 1688. Went to Hog-Island with Capt. Eliot and Frary. This day Cratey comes to Marblehead, brings a Packet for the Governour.

Sabbath, May 20. Mr. Willard preach'd in the morn from Heb. 12. 4. Have not yet resisted unto blood, &c. In the Afternoon rain'd exceeding hard, so that I doubt many staid to hear the Service [the Church Service which followed] who had not been wont.

Monday, May 21, 1688. Town-Meeting. Present, Capt. Wait Winthrop, Col. Sam<sup>l</sup> Shrimpton, Councillors; Major Luscomb, Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Joyliff, Mr. Benj<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This was probably the person called by Calamy, "the unhappy Mr. Deodat Lawson," afterwards prominent in the sad experiences at Salem village, where he had been a preacher. — Eds.

Bullivant, Justices ; Mr. Bullivant said he protested against voting by Papers, and opposed it much, at last voted in the old way. Capt. Tim<sup>e</sup> Prout 85 — Capt. Turell 74. — Mr. Fayerwether 55 — Mr. Wyllys 50. Cook, Joyliff, Hutchinson, Frary, Allin, left out. New chosen — Capt. Penn Townsend 84 — Capt. James Hill 80 — Mr. Addington 44 — Mr. Adam Winthrop 35. Came next, S. Sewall 31 — Peter Serjeant 29 — Rob<sup>t</sup> Howard 24. Of the old, Capt. Frary had 40 — Mr. Cook 37 — Mr. Joyliff 33 — Deacon Allen 25. Mr. Elisha Cook chosen Commissioner. Constables — Jos. Townsend 70. Jarvis Ballard 63. Michael Shaller 59. Abraham Blush 57. Jn<sup>o</sup> Gooding 56. Ambrose Daws 52. Jon<sup>a</sup> Bill 47. Jn<sup>o</sup> Coñey jun<sup>r</sup> 35. Hugh Flood for Rumney-Marsh. Came next, Isaac Griggs 32. James Halsey 27. Joe Atwood 26.

Sam. Plummer. Nota. Jn<sup>o</sup> Coñey and Isaac Griggs at first had 32 each ; so voted again, and Jn<sup>o</sup> Coñey had 35 votes. No Prayer.

About Six aclock went with my wife, being invited, to Mr. Willard's to eat Salmon, where sat down with Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet and 's Lady, Madam Leverett and her daughter Cook, Mr. Joyliff and 's wife, Mr. Willard and wife : came away about 9. at night.

May 23, Wednesday, 1688. Went to Hog-Island with Brother Stephen Sewall, Brother Toḗan and Sam. Shepard : Upon the Hill we agreed that Sam. Toḗan should be bound to Brother Stephen for five years from September next, to be bound to Brother only during his Life. Brother Toḗan chose it rather than that he should be bound to a Trade as a Taylor, or the like ; Hopes by going to Sea or the like after his Time is out, may get a livelihood.

Thursday, May 24<sup>th</sup>. Bell is rung for a Meeting of the Church of England Men, being in their language Ascension day.

May 25. Brother and Sister Toḗan goe home to-day,

came 22<sup>d</sup> This day Mrs. Elisa. Greenough, Elder Rainsford's daughter, is buried; a very desirable woman of about 40 years old.

May 25<sup>th</sup> 1688. Col. Peter Bulkley of Concord dies, having languished for a long time. Died this Friday about eleven a'clock.

Sabbath, May 27<sup>th</sup>. Councillor and Judge Bulkly buried, because could not be kept: word of which was sent to Boston on the same day to prevent persons going in vain on Monday to the Funeral.

Monday, May 28. News comes of his Excellency lying at Newbury last night, so sundry Gentlemen ride out to meet Him coming home this day.

Tuesday, May 29. About 5. *mane*, all the 8. Companies are warn'd by Beat of Drum to be in Arms at the 2<sup>d</sup>. Beat of the Drum. Mr. Joseph Eliot preaches at Roxbury, where I goe. There, Mr. Stoughton and Capt. Blackwell, Capt. Prentice, Townsend, Hill, &c. besides several Ministers.

Wednesday, May 30. Eliakim sets forth with his Brother Williams for Coñecticut. Mr. Joseph Eliot here, says the two days wherein he buried his Wife and Son, were the best that ever he had in the world.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, June 1, 1688. Went to Watertown Lecture in Company of Mr. Moodey and Capt. Townsend. Text 1. Cor. 11. 31. If we would judge, &c. Mr. Dudley, Blackwell, Mr. Danforth, Councillor Usher, Mr. Russel Graves, and many more there, Madam Phipps for one, who was ready to faint at word was brought in by the Coach-man of Sir William's being spoke with at Sea. By that time we got home, we heard that Sir William came in his Pinace from Portsmouth this day. Many of the Town gone to complement Him.

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<sup>1</sup> The kindest construction should be put on this remark of the bereaved husband and father. — Eds.



Satterday, June 2, 1688. I sought God in behalf of my wife and family and of the Country.

Sabbath, June 3. Neither Mr. Bradstreet, nor Mr. Rawson at Meeting, both the places empty. Mr. Bradstreet taken very ill last Satterday night. Sir William not abroad in the forenoon, in the Afternoon hears Mr. Mather; so the Whitsuntiders have not his company.

Monday, about 3. *mane*, June 4. My wife is taken very ill with pains like travailing pains, of which afterward has an abatement. *Laus Deo.*

Tuesday, June 5<sup>th</sup> Mr. Nath<sup>l</sup> Newgate marries Mr. Lynds Daughter before Mr. Ratcliff, with Church of England Ceremonies. Mr. Payson and Mr. Farwell his Bridemen, a great wedding.

Wednesday or Thursday Mr. Graham comes to Town with his wife and family; dwells in Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Howard's brick House.

Thursday, June 7<sup>th</sup> Mr. Dudley and Stoughton call here. In comes Mr. West and hath one Mr. Newton, a newcomer, sworn an Attorney. Mr. Dudley ask'd for a Bible, I ask'd if it might not better be done without. He laugh'd and seeing a Bible by accident, rose up and took it.

Friday, June 8. Sir William at Charlestown Lecture. In the Even Capt. Hill and I discourse with Roger Judd and Mrs. Willy.

Satterday, June 9. Mr. Sheaf is set upon on the Co<sup>m</sup>on in the night by Hamilton and two more, sorely wounded and Robb'd.

Sabbath, June 10. Sacrament with us, finish so that I got home just about a quarter past 12. by the Dial. Governour angry that had done so late, and caused their Bell to be rung about a quarter past one; 'twas rather more before the Bell had done: So 'twas about a quarter past Three before our Afternoon Bell Rung about 1½ hour later than usual.

Monday, June 11. About 3. this Morn Major Luscomb dies of a Fever. He was abroad, I am told, on the 3<sup>d</sup> of June morning and evening and Receiv'd the Lord's Supper.

June 12. In the Afternoon I wait on Sir William Phipps.

June 13. Brother and Sister Moodey visit us. Goodw. Moss of Newbury dead and buried.

June 15, 1688. Major Humphrey Luscomb buried between 7. and 8. P.M. Six Companies attended, viz: all except Col. and Lt. Col. After the Volleys several great Guns fired. None of our family were invited. A considerable deal of Thunder and Lightening with Rain this day. About the Funeral time pretty dry.

Tuesday, June 19. Went to the Funeral of Mr. Brock of Reding, a worthy good Minister, generally lamented. Was very Laborious in catechizing and instructing Youth. Mr. Danforth, Mr. Russel there, Mr. Morton, Wigglesworth, Fisk, Fox, Shepard, Lorie, Pierpont, Lawson, Carter &c.; buried between 2. and 3. Dined at Cousin Savage's. Got home about nine a'clock.

June 22. I goe to Hogg-Island with Mr. Newgate to see if could agree about his Marsh: Father Griggs and Sam<sup>l</sup> Townsend there. When came back, went and bid Sir William welcome to Town, who landed an hour or so before me, being come with his Frigot from Portsmouth. This day Mrs. Joyliff and Mrs. Grecian goe to his Excellency, and expostulat with Him about his Design of meeting first on Sabbath-days in our Meetinghouse.

Satterday, June 23. Capt. Frary and I goe to his Excellency at the Secretaries Office, and there desired that He would not alter his time of Meeting, and that Mr. Willard consented to no such thing, neither did he count that 'twas in his power so to doe. Mr. West said he went not to ask Mr. Willard Leave. His Excellency asked who the House belong'd to; we told Him the Title to the House was on Record. His Excellency turned to Mr. Graham

and said, Mr. Attorney we will have that look'd into. Governour said if Mr. Willard not the Parson, so great an Assembly must be considered. We said He was Master of the Assembly, but had no power to dispose of the House, neither had others, for the Deed expressed the Use 'twas to be put to. Governour complain'd of our long staying Sabbath-day señight; said 'twas the Lord's Supper, and [he] had promised to go to some other House on such dayes; Mr. Randolph said he knew of no such promise, and the Governour seemed angry, and said He would not so break his word for all the Massachusetts Colony, and therefore, to avoid mistakes, must give in writing what we had to say; we answered, Mr. Randolph brought not any writing to those he spake to. Governour said we rent off from the old Church against the Government, and the Land the House stood on was bought clandestinely, and that one should say he would defend the work with his Company of Soldiers. Mention'd folks backwardness to give, and the unreasonableness; because if any stinking filthy thing were in the House we would give something to have it carried out, but would not give to build them an house: Said came from England to avoid such and such things, therefore could not give to set them up here: and the Bishops would have thought strange to have been ask'd to contribute towards setting up the New-England Churches. Governour said God willing they would begin at Eight in the Morning, and have done by Nine: we said 'twould hardly be so in the winter. Mr. Graham said if they had their Service by Candle-Light what was that to any: And that the Service appointed by the Church for morning could not be held after Noon.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath, June 24. We read and sing in course the

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<sup>1</sup> This must have been a very exciting interview, with much frank and strong speech, especially when Andros or Randolph quoted the threat of some outraged proprietor of the South Meeting-house to use force in keeping it. — Eds.



57<sup>th</sup> Psal. Altaschith. They [the Church of England congregation] have done before nine in the morn, and about a quarter after one in the afternoon; so we have very convenient time.

July 1. Governour takes his old time again after our coming out, and Sir William Phips's Chaplain<sup>1</sup> preaches. We were a little hurried and disappointed in the morning, the Bell ringing about quarter before nine.

Monday, July 2. Mr. Joseph Bridgham goes to Newbury.

Thursday, July 5<sup>th</sup>. Tells me of his being there with his Son, but refers me to another time for a full account. This day Foy arrives, brings a Cōmission for Capt. Nicolson to be Lieut. Governour: New-York to be añexed to this Government. Mr. Randolph, a new Cōmission to be Secretary of the whole Dominion.

Wednesday, July 4. Cōmencement managed wholly by Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Hubbard;<sup>2</sup> compared Sir William, in his Oration, to Jason fetching the Golden Fleece. Masters proceeded, no Bachelours. Several French came over in Foy, some, Men of Estates.

Friday, July 6. 'Tis said Sir William is this day sworn to officiat according to his Cōmission [of High Sheriff].

Sabbath, July 8. Wants above 5 Minutes of 12. when I get home.

Thursday, July 12. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Hubbard tells me there is a Writt out against me for Hog-Island, and against several other persons for Land, as being violent intruders into the Kings Possession. George Keith [a Quaker] doth this day send a Challenge to the 4 Ministers of Boston, in an open letter by Edward Shiḗen, to dispute with them about

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<sup>1</sup> We are unable to explain this allusion. As Phips did not join Mather's church until March 23, 1690, when he was also baptized, it is possible that he passed as an Episcopalian in England. Or the "chaplain" may have officiated as such in the vessel which brought Phips over. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> President Mather being on his voyage to England. — Eds.

the false Doctrine they delivered. Wild arrives, 9 weeks from the Downs; Mr. Bromfield comes in him.

Satterday, July 14<sup>th</sup>. Jeremiah Belcher comes and brings me the Information Mr. Sherlock left with him on Thursday last in the Afternoon, when he served on him a Writt of Intrusion. I try'd to goe to the Island yesterday but could not, wind and Tide being against me, and one Oar broke. Went from Winisimmet to the Point, but none fetch'd me over. Wind is out [from the east], and so Sir William comes up and Capt. Belcher.

Satterday, July 14. Writt to Mr. Wharton, Mr. Mather, Capt. Hutchinson, inclosing the state of my case and craving their help to give Check; sent the Letters under covert to Cousin Hull, ordering him to pay them Fifty pounds if they call'd for it.

Monday, July 16. Sir William's Frigot, and the Swan set sail.

July 17. I discourse Mr. Stoughton, with whom I find Mr. Moodey and Mr. Russell. After Catechising I and my wife visit Mrs. Man's.

Thursday, July 19<sup>th</sup>. Eight Companies in Arms, and Sir Edmund's Commission is published, extending his Authority from the remotest eastern parts so as to take in East and West Jersey.

To Sir Edmund Andros Knight, Capt. General and Governour in Chief of His Majesties Territory and Dominion of New-England in America, the humble Petition of Samuel Sewall of Boston, Sheweth.

That whereas your Petitioner stands seized and possessed of a certain Island or Islands, commonly called and known by the name of Hogg-Island, lying scituated near Boston aforesaid, in the present tenure and occupation of one Jer. Belcher, having been peaceably and quietly possessed by your Petitioner and his Predecessors for the space of fourty years or upwards by past: And whereas the said Belcher hath been lately served with a Writt of Intrusion at His Majesties Suit, And your Petitioner not being willing to stand Suit, but being desirous of His Majesties Confirmation for the said Island or Islands:

He therefore humbly prays your Excellencies favour that he may obtain His Majesties Grant and Confirmation of the said Hogg-Island, with the members and Apurtenances thereof, unto your Petitioner his Heirs and Assigns forever under the Seal of this His Majesties Territory. To be holden of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, upon such moderat Quit-Rent as your Excellency shall please to order.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

SAM SEWALL.

Presented the above written Petition to the Governour with my own hand July 24<sup>th</sup> 1688.

July 26<sup>th</sup> 'Twas read in the Council, and an order made upon it for a Survey.

Sabbath, July 22<sup>d</sup>. Read the Sixty first Psalm in course: July 29<sup>th</sup>, the 62. Truly my waiting Soul, &c.

Monday, July 30<sup>th</sup>. With many others I went to Dedham to accompany his Excellency in his way to New-York and Jersy: who goes to take the Government of those places.

July 31. Writt to Mr. Wharton inclos'd to Cous. Hull, to do what he could to settle Proprieties. Towards which if it might be done, was willing to give 50 or a hundred pounds. Writt by a small Bark of which one Mr. Baily Master. If Mr. Wharton not there, give it to Mr. Mather.

Augt. 3. Went to Neponset with Capt. Fayerwether and Mr. Wyllys to see the Fulling-Mill lately set up, and to direct for the right fitting and ordering of it. Placed a Stone in the Column of Sir Williams House next to Mr. Nowells.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Phips's house was at the westerly corner of Salem and Charter Streets. Drake, S. A., says (Landmarks, 219) that the house was of brick, and had a third story added during the present century: also that it was used in 1830 as an asylum for indigent boys. Cotton Mather informs us, in his "Life of Phips," that the future governor "would frequently tell the gentlewoman his wife . . . that he should be owner of a fair brick house in the Green lane of North Boston," and that the prediction was fulfilled. Years afterwards, Robert Calef, with gentle raillery, wrote that "such predictions would have been counted at Salem pregnant proofs of



Monday, Augt. 6, 1688. Mr. James Sherman Married Richard Fifield and Mary Thirston: Mehetabel Thirston; Giles Fifield and Elisa his wife, Elisa Lane and my Self at the Wedding in our Bed-Chamber, about 9. at night, being disappointed by Mr. Willard's being out of Town, and desired Privacy all that might be.

Thorsday, Augt. 9<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Moodey, Willard, Mather, Capt. Townsend here, Mr. Thacher was here before. This day I goe for Mrs. Weeden, my wife having been ill a week or more, and now ready to conclude her time to Travail was come. Midwife staid and went to Bed here; in the night was call'd away by another woman about 2. *mane*. It seems the Monday the Governour went hence towards New-York, Five Indians were killed at Spectacle Pond not far from Springfield, four taken Captive, two escaped. They that did the Murder are some of our late Enemies who have since lived under the protection of the French.

Tuesday, Augt. 7. Capt. Nicholson, Lieut. Governour, returns to Town from New-London, as is said upon this report of the Indians slain; where intended to have gone to New-York and resided there.

Satterday, Augt. 11. Jn<sup>o</sup> Marion buries a Son of about 11 Moneths old. Sam. Clark and Eliakim Mather, Bearers and had Gloves.

Sabbath, Augt. 12. My wife staves at home as last

witchcraft, and much better than what were against several that suffered there."

Besides the house and lands already mentioned in our note on p. 193 as bought by Phips, he bought several other parcels adjacent.

William Sumner, William Harris, Thomas Willis, and Francis Whitmore, Jr., seem to have sold various lots to the governor, to enlarge his gardens and grounds (see Deeds, Lib. 16, ff. 111, 242). He also bought of John Brookings's widow Elizabeth, then wife of William Green, of Malden, a house called "The Salutation," fronting on the street leading to Charlestown Ferry (Deeds, Lib. 15, f. 210), Oct. 27, 1692.

Many other deeds and mortgages attest the fact that Phips's large fortune was used for the benefit of the inhabitants of Boston. — Eds.

Sabbath, but that Mother goes to Meeting and the Children only bear their Mother Company: who hath much pain, yet holds up still.

Augt. 14, 1688. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour past Nine at Night Stephen Greenleaf comes in and brings my Mother Sewall; they set sail from Newbury about 10. in the morning, had a brisk Norwest Gale, turn'd up from Dear-Island and lay aground a pretty while before they could fleet in. Cous. Greenleaf sups with Mother. I give him the Catechise, Day of Doom,<sup>1</sup> &c. bound together in a good Cover, in part for Mother's passage.

Wednesday, Augt. 15<sup>th</sup>. About 4. *mane*, I rise to make a fire, and to call the Midwife, Charlestowns Bell rung for 5. as came away from Mrs. Weeden's House. Very cool day. My Wife is brought to Bed of a Son between 8. 9. while the Service-Bell was ringing. Cous. Anne Quinsey first tells me of it.

Thursday, 16<sup>th</sup>. Put up a Bill for Thanksgiving. About 9. in the night news comes from Salem, by a Vessel from Holland, that the Queen was deliver'd of a Prince, June 10<sup>th</sup>. So from 11. to 1. or 2. is Drumming, Bonfire, Huzas, small and great Guns, Ringing of Bells, at which many startled for fear of fire or an Alarm; because the thing was so sudden, People knew not the occasion. Brother Needham was called out of 's Bed to deliver the Keys, which at first he refus'd, they not telling him the occasion [for a Church service].

Sabbath, Augt. 19<sup>th</sup> 1688. Town is full of the news of 5. English persons killed at Northfield; So the Councillors sent for; and by that means Mr. Stoughton at our House in the afternoon to hear Mr. Willard, who after Sermon, baptized my young Son, whom I named Joseph,<sup>2</sup> in hopes

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<sup>1</sup> The then popular and admired poem, by the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This was afterwards the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall, ordained Sept 16, 1713, colleague with Dr. Pemberton over the South Church. — Eds.

of the accomplishment of the Prophecy, Ezek. 37<sup>th</sup> and such like : and not out of respect to any Relation, or other person, except the first Joseph. The Lieut. Governour goes this day to Woburn to secure some Indians there, now busied in gathering Hops. It seems were met together and praying when secured, or just before.

Augt. 20<sup>th</sup>. Went to Capt. Marshall's and discoursed with Brother Stephen about Sister Dorothy.

Thursday, Augt. 23. Fast at the old Church, respecting the Indians, at which was my dear Mother Sewall, set in Mrs. Baker's Pue, went not out at Noon because of the Rain. Mr. Willard begun with Prayer in the morn. Mr. Mather in the Afternoon; Mr. Allen and Moodey preached.

Friday, Augt. 24. I carried my Mother over Winisimmet Ferry to Salem, there met with Mr. Noyes. Left my Horse at Salem and came home in Mr. Grafton's Sloop the *Lark*. Loosed from the Wharf at Winter-Island about 4. P.M. and got into my own House at Boston about 11. at night. Wind was East if not somewhat Southerly, so, very bare till we got past Marblehead Neck. Had Moon-shine. The Widow Bordman, and Mr. Kitchin's daughter by Mary Bordman, came Passengers, Landed at Scarlet's Wharf. Got to Salem about noon. Left my Horse for Mother to goe to Newbury.

Wednesday, Augt. 29. Mr. Torrey comes to our House, Mr. Sherman there at the same time, who hath bespoke a passage for England in Mr. Gillam. When he was gon Mr. Torrey and I had pretty much Discourse together about England and going thether. I had been wishing to speak with him.

Augt. 31, 1688. Mr. Kitchin and my Brother come to see me, and Inform me that the French King died July 4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1</sup> News came to Salem from Newfound Land.

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<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV. He did not die, however, till Sept. 1, 1715. — Eds.



Thursday, Sept. 6<sup>th</sup> The Duke of Albemarl's Yott arrives, fires in Lecture time. In the even Mr. Cotton Mather comes and prays with my little sick Joseph.

Sept. 7<sup>th</sup> Visit sick Tho. Gardener, the son, bespeak 3 Barrels of Apples of the Father and Andrew; goe to Simon Gates's, from thence to Cambridge to see my little cousin Margaret; visit Mr. Brattle, and then Mr. Leverett, Fellows of the Colledge. Come home and find my own Child somewhat better as is hop'd.

Sept. 10, 1688. There is a press in Boston, of 32 Men, four out of a Company, to goe to the Eastward, by reason of the fears and dispersions people there are under. It seems 10. or 11 English persons are taken away as hostages till those Indians sent to Boston, be return'd. Richard Cornish and his wife come to me about their Money in England.

Tuesday, Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>. Two and thirty Men are press'd in Boston, and 6 from Charlestown and sent away to the Eastward, and a Post dispatcht to acquaint the Governour at Albany.

Sept. 12<sup>th</sup> Rid to Cambridge Lecture, being rainy in the afternoon, Madam Paige invited me, and I came home in her Coach, with Mr. Willard and his wife, and Mrs. Paige's Boy rid my Horse.

Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>. I discours'd largely with my Wife, and 12<sup>th</sup> *mane* with my Mother, Betty being gone on foot to Cambridge Lecture.

Thursday, Sept. 13<sup>th</sup> Major Saltonstall comes to visit me, saith his Daughter married about 2 moneths agoe to Mr. Denison; is equal sharer with Mr. Hubbard in the Work of the Ministry. Mr. Gourdin [Saltonstall] like to settle at New-London; two youngest Sons at Ipswich School where Mr. Rogers's Son teaches.

Sept. 15, 1688. Corrected Sam. for breach of the 9<sup>th</sup> Commandment, saying he had been at the Writing School, when he had not.

Satterday, Sept. 15. at night one who came over a Souldier, and was diverted to a Tañer, being himself of that Trade, hangs himself.

Sabbath, Sept. 16<sup>th</sup> Mr. Willard preaches from Heb. 12. 11. afternoon from Eccles. 7. 29<sup>th</sup> I was too late in the Afternoon; Mr. Willard prayd for His Majesty morn and even, and said, whereas prayers and giving of Thanks commanded, they did so, and prayd that might be a Blessing. 126. Ps. sung morn. Afternoon, 19<sup>th</sup> from 9<sup>th</sup> v. to the end. Even, 84<sup>th</sup> from 9<sup>th</sup> to the end. Had done before Eleven by my Clock; the afternoon, quarter before four. About one, many great Guns fired just as first Bells for afternoon rung; vollies of small shot I think first. At night a Bonfire with the usual Huzzas between 7. and 8. Very cloudy and dark day. I want of Caryl [on the Book of Job] the 30<sup>th</sup>, 31, 32, 33, and 34<sup>th</sup> Chapters.

Sept. 17<sup>th</sup> I speak to Mr. Gillam for a passage in his Ship. This day Capt. Frary sees a Souldier with an Indian Squaw in the Co<sup>m</sup> and open Sun.

Tuesday, Sept. 18. Several persons are Listed of the Governours Life-Guard. Mr. Maccartas Son, of about 10 years old, who was at School on Friday, was now buried Sept. 18, taken with a vehement Fever and Delirium at once. About noon Capt. Gillam falls down, fires Seven Guns, and the Fort answer with five. Capt. Townsend, Gilbert Cole and I look on.

Sept. 19<sup>th</sup> The rain hinders my going to Salem, and so to Newbury. Eldridge comes in, who sais the Amsterdam Gazett reported that Mr. Mather's Petition is granted, said Eldridge sais that one Ales was come out of the Downs, who brings Mr. Palmer of New-York, Chief Judge of the Territory of New England.

Sept. 20. Mr. Lee preaches from Ezek. 47. 11. Shew'd that Edom was on the South side of Asphaltites, and probably they would not be converted. Jews understood it of Italy, called that Edom. This a Prophecy of the great

abundant enlargement of the Church not yet accomplished, 'twas now hastening; but then also, some wicked hardened Wretches. Had not heard of an Edomite converted; though that of the 10<sup>th</sup> Generation implied there might be such a thing. Mr. Mather's last Sermon was on the same Text. Pray'd for Bristow before and after Sermon.

Sept. 21, 1688. The Letters of Ayles come to hand, in whom comes Judge Palmer, about 8 weeks from the Downs. Alba Regalis [Stuhl Weissenburg, in Hungary] surrendered: Belgrade besiegd. This day I ride to Newbury with Mr. Lorie and Penhallow, to visit my friends, and ask them about my going for England; met with my fellow-Travellers at Mr. Moodey's by accident the night before. Brother Stephen there with whom I Lodge. Visit Mr. Woodbridge and Mrs. Noyes.

Monday, Sept. 24<sup>th</sup> Come to Brother Moodey's and dine with him, his wife, Mother and James Noyes; then Brother brings me going to Rowley-Mill; I call at Mr. Payson's; drive a Nail in Mr. Gerrishes Meetinghouse, gave 2<sup>s</sup>. Visit Mr. Higginson,

Sept. 25<sup>th</sup> Visit Mr. Nathl Mather, sick at Salem at Mr. Swinerton's. Come home in Company Major Gedny and Brown, a very fair wind over, went in and drunk at Brookins,<sup>1</sup> came home and found all well, blessed be God.

A Press in Boston of 16 men to send Eastward; several being kill'd by the Indians, which news was at Newbury on Monday morn.

Thursday, Sept. 27. Capt. Goodenough makes an Alarm at Sudbury in the night, which is taken at Concord, Malborough, Sherborn, as am told.

Sept. 28. I go to Charlestown-Lecture, Mr. Lee preaches

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<sup>1</sup> Brookin, the Taverner, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Walford, the first English inhabitant of Charlestown. — Eps.



from Mat. 25. 6. After Lecture din'd at Mr. Russell's. Then went on Board the Duke's Yott with Major Richards, Capt. Phillips, Mr. Cotton Mather, Madam Phips, Richards, Shrimpton, Kelland; Had Sturgeon, Wine, Punch, Musick.

Satterday, Sept. 29<sup>th</sup>. Lydia Moodey comes hether to dwell, helping my wife to nurse the Child Joseph.

Monday, Oct. 1. A Whiping Post is set up by the middle Watch-house. Brother Stephen visits us.

Tuesday, Oct. 2. I goe with Mr. Newgate in the rain to Hogg-Island, having a canvas Tilt [awning, or canopy], and take Livery and Seisin of his Marsh, Joseph Sowle, Ambrose Honywell, John Sweeting and Elisabeth Warren being witnesses; only the first could write his name.

Wednesday, Oct. 3<sup>d</sup>. Have a day of Prayer at our House: One principal reason as to particular, about my going for England. Mr. Willard pray'd and preach'd excellently from Ps. 143. 10:, pray'd. Intermission. Mr. Allen pray'd, then Mr. Moodey, both very well, then 3<sup>d</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> verses of the 86<sup>th</sup> Ps., sung Cambridge Short Tune, which I set. Then had Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet and his wife, Mr. Moodey and wife, Mr. Allin and Mr. Willard and wife, Cous. Duñer and wife, and Mrs. Clark her sister, Cousin Quinsey and wife and Mrs. Scottow, should have reckon'd formerly Mother Hull and Self. My wife was so lately very ill of the Ague in her face, she could not come down out of the Chamber. Fifteen sat down together. Mr. Addington, Mr. Eyre, Capt. Townsend and several others here beside the Meeting.

Thursday, Oct. 4<sup>th</sup>. About 5. P.M. Mr. Willard married Mr. Samuel Danforth and Mrs. Hannah Allen. Mr. Morton began with prayer before Mr. Willard came. Mr. Willard just before married Jonathan Evans and a Daughter of Mr. Bronsdon's. I was at Mr. Danforth's Wedding, being invited by the Father.

Friday, Oct. 5. Mrs. Anger of Cambridge is buried:

Was Sister to Mrs. Toþan of Newbury. Went to Mrs. Williams's Meeting where Mr. Moodey preached. About 9. night, Thomas, an Indian and very usefull Servant of Mr. Oliver, hang'd himself in the Brewhouse.

Satterday, Oct. 6.<sup>1</sup> The Coroner sat on him, having a

<sup>1</sup> The following letter is printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VIII. 518:—

*For the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather at London.*

BOSTON, N. E. Oct<sup>r</sup> 8. 1688.

HONOURED SIR, — On Sept<sup>r</sup> 21. I reed yours of July 6<sup>th</sup>, by which I am much oblig'd. Am glad to hear of the likelihood you have of succeeding in the great concerns you manage for New-England. I writt to you p<sup>r</sup> C. Belchar, of mine and my friend's concerns relating to our Properties, and since p Mr. Curtis, sailing to Bilbao, and from thence to Bristow. In the last I acquainted you, that tho I thought it very hard measure to be serv'd with a Writt of Intrusion; yet my friends not agreeing in their advice, I petition'd for a Patent rather than to stand suit with the King. This was done July 24th; and July 30th the Governour took his journey to New-York, East and West Jersey, Albany, from which voyages is not yet return'd. The Indian troubles falling in, which were begun, as I take it, July 30th, 4 or 5 Indians being slain at a place call'd Spectacle Pond near Springfield Road. Since that, several Englishmen have bee[n] kill'd at Northfied, al<sup>s</sup> Squawheag; and since at North-Yarmouth four or five; of whom Justice Gendal, one: but tis thought sixteen or seventeen Indians were kill'd in the skirmish. Also, an Engl. man was toll'd into the woods, at New-Haven, under pretence of assisting to kill a Dear, and was himself, by the Indian Inviter, butchered in a cruel manner. The murderer apprehended. People are much alarm'd and in many places dwell in garrison'd houses, to their great anoyance and impoverishing. Two Presses have been in Boston, 32 sent the first, and sixteen the second out of this Town, to help those in distress in the eastern parts. The Lord provide.

The Gov<sup>r</sup> and Mr. Secretary West being absent, with other of the Council, here is nothing done as to Patents, so have not any thing farther to add, till I see how I shall be us'd. Have petitioned only for the I sland. Am so sensible of the miseries this people like to undergoe, if that course be follow'd, that I shall be very willing to give more than comes to my share, if some general way of Relief might be obtain'd. I was so concern'd, that I had cast myself on the sea to come for England before petitioning, but knew not how to get away from my friends. My wife was delivered safely of a son August 15<sup>th</sup> vlt. If my many Land-ties (that I know of) hold me not, shall goe near to make an Essay to see my native country, while some that I know are there. 'Tis much that nothing was said of Judge Palmer in any letter, who is like to make a great figure here under that character. He hath so artificially reported the Articles (as they are call'd) against the Gov<sup>r</sup>, as tends to consider-

Jury, and ordered his burial by the highway with a Stake through his Grave.

Wednesday, Oct. 10<sup>th</sup> Went on Board the America, Mr. Isaac Addington one of the Owners, introducing me: took up the Starboard Cabbin, and when came back, met Capt: Clark and gave him Earnest 20<sup>s</sup>; then went to Mr. Moodey's to a Meeting. At night read in course the Seventh of the Romans. Received a Letter from Mr. Taylor this day, and writt to him before I had received it. Both of us concluded alike from Joseph's Blessing, Deuteronomy.

Oct. 11<sup>th</sup> Writt to Mr. Solomon Stoddard to acquaint him with my design.

Oct. 12<sup>th</sup>. Thomas Brown comes from Sherborn and acquaints me of the welfare of our Cousins.

Satterday, Oct. 13<sup>th</sup>. Went to Watertown with Mr. Joyliff, Hutchinson, Serj<sup>t</sup>: Taylor, Samp<sup>s</sup> Stoddard. Din'd at Cambridge, there was trimmd by Barret 12<sup>d</sup>, gave Goodm. Brown 12<sup>d</sup>; visited Sister, her child asleep, so saw it not, 'tis very ill. Visited Mr. Tho. Baily who is recovering. Came home without seeing the Governour, whom went to meet. When I come home here the sad news of a family of 8 persons being cut off by the Indians. Gillam, who sail'd on Thursday, is put back by a Storm, and now stopt to wait the Governour's coming.

Sabbath-Even. Capt. Eliot and Frary visit me, Oct. 14. 1688.

Monday, Oct. 15. Speak to Gilbert Cole to Bottle me a Barrel of Beer for the Sea.

able disadvantage; tho Mr. Nowell's, of . . . 21, gives check to a considerable part of his Relation. . . . of Cambridge was buried last Friday. Suppose . . .

[Two lines mutilated.]

from whence I lately came. Suppose you will have a fuller acc<sup>o</sup> p<sup>r</sup> Mr. Mather. My service to your . . . Mr. Nowell, and my New-Engl<sup>d</sup> friends. Praying God you may hapily finish what you have so well begun, especially about Property, I take leave, who am, Sir. Your friend and serv<sup>t</sup>:

SAM<sup>t</sup>: SEWALL.



Tuesday, Oct. 16. Little Hañah going to School in the morn, being enter'd a little within the Schoolhouse Lane, is rid over by David Lopez, fell on her back, but I hope little hurt, save that her Teeth bled a Little, was much frightened; but went to School; one Stebbin took her in, who lives next Solomon Rainsford's Shop up the Lane, on the left hand as goe up. This day the Ground-Sills of the Church [the first King's Chapel, built of wood] are laid; the stone foundation being finished.<sup>1</sup> Visit Cousin Dummer sick abed.

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<sup>1</sup> The Episcopal Church here mentioned was, of course, the predecessor of our "King's Chapel." The first building was much smaller than its successors, and the land was undoubtedly taken from the burying-ground. To this course no effective objection could be raised, and Andros, by appropriating public land when individuals like Sewall refused to sell private estates, certainly did not abuse his authority. Bowditch has pointed out that in 1748 (Deeds, Lib. 76, f. 82) the town sold some additional land to the wardens and vestry of the church.

The following letter from Sewall in the Mather Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VIII. 517) deals in part with this matter.—EDS.

*For the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Increase Mather in London.*

BOSTON, NEW ENGL. July 24, 1688.

REV<sup>d</sup> SIR,—I writt to London of the 16<sup>th</sup> inst. by Belcher, giving an acc<sup>o</sup> of the serving of several Writts of Intrusion, on Colonel Shrimpton for Dear-Island, on M<sup>r</sup>: Lynde of Charlestown, for land of his there; and on Mr. Russell of the same place, for land of his near old Abraham's. Mr. Lynde quickly made his peace with Mr. James Graham, the Attorney-General. Mr. Russell follow'd not long after, prevaild with by Mr. Stoughton's advice. I was urg'd by my friends two contrary wayes; but at last have this day petition'd for a Patent for Hogg-Island. Mr. Dudley, Stoughton and several principal men having taken Patents, and intend to doe it; some of which were formerly most averse. I had resolv'd once to have come to you by Bilbao, in Mr. Curtis, by whom I send this, but when it came to, my friends would by no means part with me, my wife being very near her time. Twere good if you could come to know whether persons are thus to be compell'd to take Patents. The Judges did as good as tell us we should be cast; and Apealing to England does not hinder the Execution going forth. The generality of People are very averse from complying with any thing that may alter the Tenure of their Lands, and look upon me very sorrowfully that I have given way. There was a Gallery erected last Thorsday, at the east end of the Town House, from whence His Excellency's new Comission was published, 8 Companys being in Arms. About two a clock the Lecture began,

Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1688. Ride in the Hackney-Coach with Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet, his Lady, Mrs. Willard, Mrs. Mercy Bradstreet, Josiah Willard, to Roxbury, to the Ordination of Mr. Nehemiah Walter. Mr. Eliot, Allen, Willard, Danforth of Dorchester, laid on Hands. Mr. Eliot ordain'd. Mr. Allen gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, desir'd he might keep to Christ's Institutions in the Purity of them, for which God's people came over hether. Mr. Walter, giving the Blessing, said, Haḡy are they who are faithfull in the work Christ calls them unto, &c. The 132. Psal. sung from the 13<sup>th</sup> v. to the end. Din'd at Mr. Dudley's, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Eliot sat at the uḡer end of the Table. After Diḡer sung Zech's song from 76<sup>th</sup> v. to the end, and the song of Simeon. At meeting, in the fore-seat, sat Mr. Bradstreet, Danforth, Richards, Cook, Sewall, Wilson, [of] Meadfield, Gookin [of] Cambridge. Note. In time of the first Prayer the Governour came by from his Progress. This day a great part of the Church is raised. Mr. Cotton Mather not there; he stays at Salem to close the eyes of his dying Brother Nathaniel; died this day about one a'clock.

This day a Church is to be gathered, and Mr. Williams ordained at Dearfield.

Friday, Oct. 19. Carried my wife on Horseback to Mr. Air's to a Fast. Mr. Willard pray'd, preach'd from Ezek. 9. 4. pray'd, P.M., Mr. Phillips pray'd, Mr. Moodey preach'd from Psal. 57. 1. Pray'd, Sung the 125<sup>th</sup> Psal. Mr. Wil-

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Mr. Lawson preached. The Governour speaks of setting forth for New-York next Thursday. Deacon Bracket was buried this day. 'Tis finally said that the Chh shall be set between the School-House and Capt. Townsend's corner, many of the Council urging it, that so it might not stand just up with Mr. Moodey's gate, where it would have wholly cut off the way between my fence and Jn<sup>o</sup> Coney's, and have stood upon the cartway that now is, into the ground. We are all indifferent well, and so are yours so far as I know. We have had a very showery summer hitherto, which produces good suplyes of Grass, but Aples fail much by reason of worms in the spring.

I am, Sir, Your obliged friend and serv<sup>t</sup>

SAM. SEWALL.

lard was call'd out to Isaac Walker who lay dying, was taken but last Sabbath-day. Very rainy day. I. Walker dies about 3. P.M.

Monday, Oct. 22. Mr. Isaac Walker is buried. Bearers, Mr. James Taylor, Mr. Francis Burroughs, Capt. Tho. Savage, Mr. Simeon Stoddard, Mr. George Elleston, Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Checkly; Deacon Eliot and I led the young widow, and had Scarfs and Gloves. The Lord fit me, that my Grave may be a Sweetening place for my Sin-polluted Body. Can't see that anything has been done towards raising the Church since Wednesday: Friday and Thursday had so much rain. Rained as went to the Grave.

Tuesday, Oct. 23. Went to Mr. Wilkins and heard Mr. Bayly preach from Numb. 33. 8, 9. Sung the prayer of Jonah. Visited Cous. Du<sup>m</sup>er.

Wednesday, Oct. 24, 1688. Mr. Bayly and his wife, Mr. Moodey and his wife and Cous. Richard Du<sup>m</sup>er dined with us. In the afternoon coming out of Town, I met Mr. Ratcliff, who ask'd me if I were going for England; he ask'd when, I said in Capt. Clark. He pray'd God Almighty to bless me, and said must wait upon me. Capt. Clark tells me at the Coffee-House, that he will sail next week, or Monday come se<sup>n</sup>ight at out-side.

Oct. 25. Presented my final account to his Excellency respecting the French-Contribution [for redeeming captives], as He landed at Mrs. Gillam's stairs, from seeing the Sloops set sail with Souldiers and provisions for the Eastward. Mr. Eliot and I eat together after Lecture. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley call at the Gate as they goe home at night.

Satterday, Oct. 27. The Rose-Frigot comes up, and his Excellency goes off to Charlestown and so to Dunstable: At both which, firing.

Oct. 28. Lord's Su<sup>p</sup>er at the South Church. Mr. Willard preached from Heb. 9. 24. Mr. Cotton of Hampton preached in the afternoon, His Text, Quench not the



Spirit. Note. It seems the Governour took Mr. Ratcliff with him, so met not at all distinct in our House this day. Several of them with us in the afternoon. Col. Lidget, Mr. Sherlock, Farwell in one Pue: went to Contribution.

Monday, Oct. 29. Went to Hogg-Island, had Sam., Hañah and Betty thether, Mr. Oliver's two daughters, Mr. Johnson's daughter, Mr. Balston's daughter: Mr. Oliver himself went; Sam<sup>l</sup> Marshall and his boy carried us. Landed at the Point because the water was over the Marsh and Wharf, being the highest Tide that ever I saw there. Cous. Savage came and din'd with us on a Turkey and other Fowls: had a fair wind home, Landed at Gibbs his Wharf, got home about Sun-set. Visited Mr. Smith who lies very ill.

Oct. 30. We have the news of Herbert Wanton and Blagg being cast away on the Isle of Pines. Very high Tide to day, in so much I feared 'twould have carried away the Island-Dam, and sent on purpose to see: All was firm and sound, blessed be God.

Wednesday, Oct. 31. Went to the Funeral of Mrs. Gookin: Bearers, Mr. Danforth, Mr. Russell, Sewall and Hutchinson, Eliakim, Mr. James Taylor, and Mr. Edw. Bromfield. Note. The Tide was over the Causey, and Mrs. Willard, whom Mr. Pain carried, fell into the water, so that she was fain to goe to Bed presently in stead of going to the Grave, the Horse verg'd to the right, till fell into the Ditch. Mr. Hutchinson's Coach-Horses also plung'd.

Joshua Gee Lanches to day, and his Ship is called the Prince. Bant sails. Capt. Clark treats his Owners and Passengers: I was invited but the Funeral took me up. I help'd to ease the Corps into the Grave. Mr. Torrey goes home. More mischief done at the Eastward by the Indians. Mr. Alden dispatch'd again with Souldiers.

Satterday, Nov. 3. Mr. Offly and Mr. Clark come and speak to me about laying in for the Cabbin. Yester-

day was Cous. Quinsey's Meeting where Mr. Moodey preach'd.

Nov. 3, about two P.M. Capt. White comes and presses me in His Majesties Name to appear at the Townhouse compleat in Arms next Monday at 11. aclock.

Gunpowder-Treason-day 1688. I had sent for Robert Grundy; but his wife being great with child, and Jonathan Wales offering to serve in my stead for five pounds, I agreed with him, and had him to the Market-place at the hour, where Capt. White listed him in my stead and dismiss'd me.

Nov. 7. Brother Stephen comes to Town and brings my Letter of Attorney and other writings. I go with him to the Governour's where the witnesses are sworn, and after that I ask his Excellency if He has any service for me to Hampshire or Coventry: He ask'd where; I said in England. He said none in particular; Ask'd whom I went in; said in Capt. Clark. He said 'twas very well, and passed away out of the Porch.

Nov. 8. Capt. Tho. Smith dies about 5. *mane*; buried

Nov. 10. Where the Corps was set was the room where first my Father Hull had me to see the manner of the Merchants, I suppose now above 12 years agoe. Bearers, Capt. Prout, Fayerwether, W<sup>m</sup> Clarke, Foye, Tañer, Legg; Mr. Serj<sup>t</sup> and Benj. Brown led the widow, buried in the old burying-place. The Lord grant I may be ready when my turn shall come to be becken'd away. There is a considerable snow upon the ground which fell last Thursday night and Friday, near half a foot deep.

Sabbath, Nov. 11. Mr. Moodey preached with us in the forenoon from Luke 12. 47, *knew*: — many got home just about a quarter after 11. Afternoon got home about half an hour by Sun.

Nov. 13. My Unkle Quinsey visits me, and Mr. Torrey, Willard, Mather. I see Mrs. Nowell, Hutchinson, Mathers. America comes to sail this day, and runs aground as turns

up and down but gets off quickly. Governour went out of Town yesterday, or to day, towards the Eastward.

Wednesday, Nov. 14, 1688. Went to the Meeting at Mrs. Averies, Brother Emons pray'd much about Death: I read out of Mr. Allen about the Good, bad Angels, Death, Means of Grace, being given in to the Covenant. Sung the 23<sup>d</sup> Ps. I concluded with prayer. None but Brother Emons, Davis, Self, Mother Hull, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Noyes of the Meeting there, so none to invite the Meeting next time.

Nov. 16. The Upholsterer tells me the Ship is loaden too much by the head and sails badly. About 11 M. The Widow Glover is drawn by to be hang'd. Mr. Larkin seems to be Marshal. The Constables attend, and Justice Bullivant there.

Nov. 16. Went to Capt. Davis's to meeting: Mr. Willard preachd from Job 30. 23. At night read in course the first Chapter 2 Cor. the 9<sup>th</sup> verse, of which have often thought on of late. Sentence of death. Brother Stephen visits me this day. Mrs. Rainsford, the aged Mother, dies.

Satterday, Nov. 17. Brother Stephen and I with Mr. Pole and Capt. Clarke goe on Board the America. It rained before we got aboard, and all the way as we came from the Ship; had a glass of good Madera. Brother comends the Ship, dines with us and returns to Salem.

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[The journal of Mr. Sewall's visit to England is contained in a separate MS. volume, a copy of which here follows.]

The visit seems to have combined two objects on the part of Sewall, one being in reference to his own kindred and the property of his family in England, and the other a desire to be with Mr. Mather, the agent of Massachusetts, and other friends who sought to uphold the interests of the colony, now without a charter or a settled government, and to secure, if possible, a restoration of its privileges.]

The Care of Heaven flourisheth towards you when you Wither. James 1. 1. Dr. Manton's Exposition, p. 6.

When you lose your Dwelling, you doe not lose your



Interest in Christ: and you are every where at home but there where you are Strangers to God. p. 9.

Thursday, November 22, 1688. Set sail out of Boston Harbour about an hour by Sun [before sunset], with a very fair wind. Friday, Nov. 23, *mane*, the wind came up at North-East to our great discomfort. Beñy Harris reads the 21 of the Proverbs, which is the first Chapter I heard read on Shipboard. I much heeded that verse, He that wandereth out of the way of Understanding shall remain in the Congregation of the dead. At night I read the first of the Ephesians, and go to prayer. Saturday, Nov. 24, wind holds North-East, we go away East-South-East and the like, hoping to shape clear of Nantucket Shoals. Mr. Clark reads the two first Chapters of Isaiah, and Capt. Clarke prays. Sabbath, Nov. 25, Strong East wind. In the even reef the Mainsail. I read the 74<sup>th</sup> Psalm, being that I should have read at home in the family. Read four or five verses out of Dr. Manton on the first of James: very suitable for me. Sung the 23<sup>d</sup> Psalm. Monday, Nov. 26, sail generally East-South-East. Mate takes an Observation, and finds that we are in the Latitude of 40<sup>D</sup>. and 13<sup>M</sup>. Tuesday Nov. 27, sail East-South-East, and sometimes East and North. Ait my wives Pastry, the remembrance of whom is ready to cut me to the heart. The Lord pardon and help me. Wednesday, Nov. 28, rains hard in the morning, the other Tack is brought on board, and we sail North-North-East. Just at night the wind blows very hard, just in our teeth, so ly by under the Mizzen, the other sails being furled. Scarce any sleeping all night, things in the Cabbin were so hurled to and again. Thursday, Nov. 29, wind comes up at North, or thereabouts, so steer East-N.-East. This is the first day of a fair wind since our coming out; goe away with fore-sail on our course. Clouds and no observation. About 12 at night, the Ship being under a hard Gale of wind, the whipstaf is somehow loosed from the Gooseneck, which puts us into

great consternation: and the word is given, Turn out all hands. Several go into Gunroom and steer there for awhile, and by God's blessing no great harm. Some of the men said if she had not been a stiff ship would have been overset. Friday, Nov. 30<sup>th</sup>, one Cassemate being left down and the wind astern, a Sea is shipped into the Cabin to our great startling and discomfort. Mrs. Baxter, who lay athwart ships at the bulkhead, the most wet. Very high wind and by flaws, we ly under our foresail not quite hoisted, and sail East. 'Tis a very laborious day by reason of hail, snow, wind and a swoln sea all in a foaming breach. A little before night the foresail is reefed, and Main Top-Mast took down to prepare for the tempestuous night, which proves very stormy, sore flaws of wind and Hail. Saterdag, Decemb. 1, wind very high, frequent storms of Hail and Rain in fierce Gusts. About an hour by sun we are put into great confusion, the iron of the Whipstaff coming out of the said Staff. Some goe down and steer below, but fain at last to take in the foresail and ly by till the staff was fitted. The good Lord fit us for his good pleasure in this our passage.

Sabbath, Dec. 2, goe with our fore courses, and just before night hoist the Top-sail, sailing East-N.-E. Read out of Dr. Preston<sup>1</sup> and Manton,<sup>2</sup> prayed and sung Psalms. Monday, Dec. 3, calm in the morn for some hours, then a South-west wind and Top-sails out. Rain at night. Reef the Mainsail because now the wind very high. Caught two Petterils which Mr. Clark intends to preserve alive. Note, my Erasmus was quite loosened out of the Binding by the breaking of the water into Cabbin when it did. Was comforted in the even by reading the 4. 5. 6. 7. verses espe-

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Dr. John Preston, a distinguished Puritan preacher, born in 1587, died in 1628. At one time he was Master of Emanuel College. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thomas Manton, one of the most noted of the ministers ejected in 1662. His Practical Commentary, or Exposition of the Epistle of St. James, was published in 1651. — Eds.

cially of the Ephesians. About 8 at night the Mate tells me he saw three Corpressants,<sup>1</sup> upon the top of each mast one. Tuesday, Dec. 4. *mane*, a violent North-East storm rises, so all sails taken in and ly by: very troublesome by reason of the frequent seas shipt and throwing the things in the Cabbin into confusion. Mrs. Mar[c ?]y's Chest broken and her things powred out. I put on a clean shirt this morn. Can't dress victuals to day. Wednesday, Dec. 5, wether is moderated: but the wind so contrary that we sailed E.S.E. and South-East. Thursday, Xr. 6<sup>th</sup> wether is comfortable, but wind, E.N.E., so we sail N. or N. and by West. Mrs. Baxter is taken ill with a Flux. Kill a Shoat. Friday, Dec. 7<sup>th</sup>, very fair day: sail N. East. Breakfast on one of my wives Plum Cakes. Read Dr. Preston, Sain<sup>ts</sup> Support of sorrowfull Siñers. One of the Geese dyes yesterday, or to day. Mrs. Baxter is better.

Satterday, Dec. 8, very mild wether. Sail N.E. and E.N.E. In the afternoon veer'd out about 100 Fathom of Line, but found no bottom. Suppose ourselves very near the Banks of New-found-Land, by reason of the multitude of Gulls. Guñer trims me. Sabbath, Dec. 9. South, and South-w. wind; very temperat whether. Just at night Rain and N.W. wind. Cloudy all day. Monday, Dec. 10<sup>th</sup> North Wind. Tuesday, Dec. 11. N. and N. and by W. Pleasant wether. Last night I prayed to God and was somewhat comforted. This day the Captain takes a List of 's Letters. Wednesday, Dec. 12. West wind. Very pleasant wether. Thursday, Dec. 13. Strong S.W. wind. Ship runs between 6 and 7 Knots. Cloudy, dusky day. Friday, Dec. 14, Fast wind. See Birds, and a number of Fishes called Bottle-noses. Some say they are Cow-fish, or Black-fish. Satterday, Dec. 15. N.W. wind. Very pleasant morn. A little before night is a calm, after that the wind comes up at South-East, or thereabouts. Sail East N. East.

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<sup>1</sup> A sort of electrical ball or fire. — Eds.



Sabbath, Dec. 16. Very high wind and swoln sea, which so tosses the ship as to make it uncomfortable: wind after, so Cabbin shut up and burn Candles all day. Shifted my Linen this day, Shirt, Drawers, N. Wastcoat, Binder: only fore course to sail with. Monday, Dec. 17. Strong N.W. wind. Tuesday, Dec. 18, wind N. N. West: many flaws: storms of Hail. Afternoon was a Rainbow. Killed the Sheep to day. Dream'd much of my wife last night. She gave me a piece of Cake for Hannah Hett; was in plain dress and white Apron. Methoughts was brought to bed, and I through inadvertency was got up into the uppermost Gallery, so that I knew not how to get down to hold up the Child. We are in about 48<sup>D</sup>. N. Latitude.

Wednesday, Dec. 19, pleasant, west and southwest wind. Have an Observation. Was a Rainbow in the morn, and in the even Mr. Sampson set the Sun by the Compass. This morn was refreshed in prayer from the Instance of Jonah and God's profession of 's readiness to give his Spirit to those who ask.

Thursday, Dec. 20, strong North wind. Are in 48 D. 36, M. Lat. At night the wind veers a little to the Eastward of the North.

Friday, Dec. 21. Little wind and that is Northerly. See many Porpuses. I lay a [wager] with Mr. Newgate that shall not see any part of Great Britain by next Saturday senight sunset. Stakes are in Dr. Clark's hand. In the night wind at North-East. Saterdag, Dec. 22, wind is at North-East, at night blows pretty fresh. This day a Gañet was seen, and a Purse made for him that should first see Land, amounting to between 30 and 40<sup>s</sup>. N. England Money. I gave an oblong Mexico piece of Eight. Starboard Tack brought on board, and sail, N.E., N.N.E. and North by E.

Sabbath, Dec. 23. Pretty strong East, N. East wind. Sail N. and by E. Saw a Ship about noon some two

Leagues to Leeward of us. A Gañet seen this day. Towards night the Capt. sounds and finds a sandy bottom. The water between 70 and 80 Fathoms deep.

Monday, Dec. 24, wind remains right in our Teeth. See a Ship to Leeward most part of the day which stood the same way we did: but we worsted her in sailing. Tuesday, Dec. 25, see two Ships, one to windward, 'tother to Leeward. About 10, m. a Woodcock flies on board of us, which we drive away essaying to catch him. Wind at North-East. Ly by under the Mainsail all night. Wednesday, Dec. 26. This morn perceive the Rails of the Ships head and the Lion to be almost beaten off, which cost considerable time and pains to fasten again. Ly by with no Sails. A Rainbow seen this day. Thursday, Dec. 27, begin to sail again a little, winding East, N. East. Friday, Dec. 28, wind contrary, yet keep sailing sometimes N. East, sometimes goe South and by West upon the other Tack. Saw three Ships in the Afternoon, which, suppose are bound for England as we are. Satterday, Dec. 29. Have an Observation; are in 49<sup>P</sup> and 50<sup>M</sup>. See a Ship.

Sabbath, Dec. 30<sup>th</sup>. Spake with a Ship 7 weeks from Barbados, bound for London, tells us he spake with an English Man from Galloway, last Friday, who said that the King was dead, and that the Prince of Aurang [Orange] had taken England, Landing six weeks agoe in Tor-Bay. Last night I dreamed of military matters, Arms and Captains, and, of a suddain, Major Gookin, very well clad from head to foot, and of a very fresh, lively countenance — his Coat and Breeches of blood-red silk, beckened me out of the room where I was to speak to me. I think 'twas from the Town-house. Read this day in the even the Eleventh of the Hebrews, and sung the 46<sup>th</sup> Psalm. When I waked from my Dream I thought of Mr. Oakes's Dream about Mr. Shepard and Mitchell beckening him up the Garret-Stairs in Harvard College. Monday, Dec. 30<sup>th</sup>, contrary wind still, speak with our Consort

again. Tuesday, Jan. 1. [1689.] speak with one who came from Keñebeck [?] in Ireland 8 day's agoe: says there are Wars in England. Pr. of Aurang in Salisbury Plain, with an Army Landed with fourscore and 5 Men of War and above two hundred Fly Boats, has took Plymouth and Portsmouth, &c. and is expected at London daily. Read Hebrews 13<sup>th</sup> Wednesday, Jan. 2. Last night about 12 a'clock the Wind comes fair, so that by morning the word was, Steady, Steady. The Lord fit us for what we are to meet with. Wind veered from East to South, and so Westerly. This day eat Simon Gates's Goose. Thursday, Jan. 3, wind comes East again. A gray Liñet and a Lark, I think, fly into the Ship. Friday, Jan. 4, wind not very fair. Some say they saw a Robin-Redbreast to-day. Saturday, Jan. 5<sup>th</sup>, wind is now come to be about Southwest. Sounded and found a red, blackish sand about 50 Fathoms deep. Have a good Observation. This day I finished reading Dr. Manton. Blessed be God who in my separation from my dear Wife and family hath given me his Apostle James, with such an Exposition. Page 8. Honour God in your houses, lest you become the burdens of them, and they spue you out. The tendernes of God's Love! He hath a James for the Xns. of the scattered Tribes. Obj. My affliction for sin, not Christ's. Ans. 'Tis an error in Believers to think that Xt. is altogether unconcern'd in their sorrows, unless they be endured for his Names sake. If you do not suffer for Xt, Xt. suffers in you and for you. We should with the same cheerfulness suffer the will of Xt, as we would suffer for the name of Xt. P. 15. Look then not to the earnestness of your motions, but the regularity of them; not at what you would, but at what you ought. Men think 'tis a disgrace to change their mind and therefore are unplyable to all applications made towards them. But there is not a greater piece of folly than not to give place to right reason. 409. Julian, the Apostat, was a very just, strict, temperat man.



So Swenkfield,<sup>1</sup> a man devout and charitable, notable in prayer, famous for Alms: but of a very erroneous and fanatical spirit. V. 17<sup>th</sup> Cap. 3. p. 400. Sorrow in Heaven a note above Elah, 482. God hath every way provided for the comfort of His people: He hath pity for their afflictions and pardon for their sins. Cap. 5. 11. P. 561. There is no time wherein God doth not invite us to Himself. 'Tis wisdom to perform what is most seasonable. There is a time to encourage Trust. At what time I am afraid, I will trust in Thee. Ps. 56. 3. Cap. 5, V. 13, P. 569. Doves Eyes, Doves peck and look upward: same V. P. 571. Paul's Thorn in the flesh meant of some racking pain, not of a prevailing Lust. Cap. 5. v. 14. P. 584. Must pray in Faith, either magnifying God's Power by counterbalancing the difficulty, or by magnifying his Love, referring the success to his Pleasure. Cap. 5. v. 15. P. 589. In some cases Profession may be forborn, but not in time of publick contest, P. 622. Psa. chiefly respects the feeling of our Consciences. We dread them and God will set them at distance enough, 613. Free Grace can show you large Accounts and a Long Bill cancelled by the blood of Xt. The Lord interest us in this abundant Mercy through the blood of Xt, and the sanctification of the Spirit. Amen. Intend to give my Book to the Ship, and so took out this Note or two. Satterday, Jan. 5<sup>th</sup> 1688 [9] Sounded twice to day. Found 50 Fathom first, then about 70. odd. Wind Souwest. A flock of Sparrows seen today. Psa. 84, or some such small Birds.

Sabbath, Jan. 6. See Capt. James Tucker, Comānder of the Betty of London, about 120 Tons, whom spake with, this day sennight. Saith he saw the Light of Silly last Thursday night. We carry a light and keep company. Monday, Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Clark goes on Board our Consort,

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<sup>1</sup> Kaspar Schwenkfeld, or Schwenckfeld. See Smith's Gieseler's Church History, IV. 378. — Eds.

and brings Oranges and a Shattuck [shaddock]. So steer in the night E. and East and by South. We had no Observation. Capt. Tucker saith he had by a forestaff, and Latitude 49.30. Reckons we shall be abreast with the Lizard by morning. Wind So. west. Tuesday, Jan. 8, *mané*, a brisk west wind. We sound and have 55 fathom: speak with our Consort, who saith he had Lizard Soundings, and would now have us steer East and by N. They were a little to windward of us, and a little astern. By and by they all gathered to their Starboard side, and looking toward us made a horrid Outcry, Land! Land! We looked and saw just upon our Larboard Bow, horrid, high, gaping Rocks. Mr. Clark imagined it to be the French Coast. We asked our Consort. He said, Silly! Silly! Trim'd sharp for our Lives, and presently Rocks all ahead, the Bishop and Clarks, so were fain to Tack, and the Tack not being down so close as should be, were afraid whether she would stay [not miss stays]. But the Seamen were so affected with the breakers ahead that the Mate could not get it altered, or very little. But it pleased God the Ship staid very well, and so we got off and sailed in Bristow Channel toward Ireland, winding Nore, N. West, and N.N.W., westerly. Just when saw the Rocks it cleared a little, and when fix'd in our course thicken'd again. Blessed be God who hath saved us from so great a Ruin. Saw the Light-House, that look'd slender, about the height of a man, and a Rock with a cloven top, not altogether unlike a Bishops Mitre, which I therefore take to be the Bishop. Wind would have carried us between Silly and the Lands End, but durst not venture and could not speak to our Consort, who probably knew better than we. And we Tacking, he Tacked.

Tuesday, Jan. 8, 1688 $\frac{1}{2}$ . About Noon our Consort being astern, Tacked, and we then Tacked, and stood after him, hoping to wether Syilly and its Rocks. Just before night we were in much fear by reason of many Rocks, some even

with and some just above the water under our Lee, very near us, but by the Grace of God we wethered them. In the next place we were interrogated by the Bishop and his Clarks, as the Seamen said, being a Rock high above the water, and three spired Rocks by the side of him, lower and much lesser, which we saw, besides multitudes at a remoter distance. The breach of the Sea upon which made a white cloud. So I suppose the former Rocks near the Land of Syilly not the Bishop. Sailed Souwest, and S.W. by S. At night our Consort put out a Light, and about 8 o'clock began to hall away South-East. We imagined we saw some Glares of the Light of Syilly, but could not certainly say.

Wednesday, Jan. 9<sup>th</sup>. As soon as 'twas light the word was they saw of Man of War, which put us into as great a consternation almost as our yesterday's Danger. Puts out his Ancient [ensign]; coming nearer speaks with us: is a Londoner from the Canaries, who by dark wether for several days had not made the Land, and lost his Consort last night. We told him we came from Syilly last night. He told us that five weeks agoe a Ship told them the Prince of Aurange was Landed in England before they came from Portland. This was at Canaries. Said also, the King not dead. Suppose ourselves abreast with the Lizard. Our Guñer said he saw it. Sail along 3 of us pleasantly, *Laus Deo*.

In the night the Londoner carries two Lights, one in 's poop, the other in 's round Top.

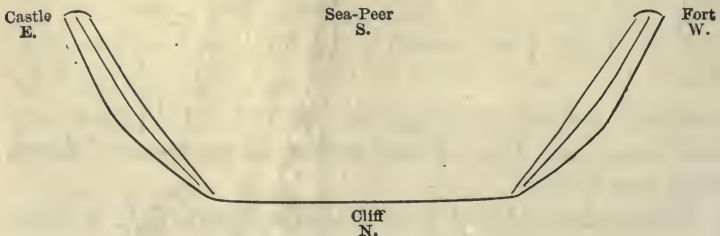
Thursday, Jan. 10, 168 $\frac{3}{8}$ . Very fast wind, sail along with four or five more ships. About Ten o'clock saw the Isle of Wight plain, which is the first Land next to Syilly that I have seen. Next to that saw high white Cliffs: but then Clouds and Fogg took away our Sunshine and Prospect. The Ile of Wight makes a long space of Land, Hills and Valleys.

Friday, Jan. 11. A pretty while before day, a vehe-



ment North wind comes up, so that fain to ly by, and great confusion by reason that the 6 or 7 Ships were so near together that ready to fall fowl one of another. In the morn see that we are over against Beachy [Head]. In a while Tack about to try to gain the Wight, but cannot. A little before night tack again; Seven Cliffs. Make thus cold wether.

Jan. 12. Meet with a Pink 14 days from Liverpool: tells us Prince of Aurange landed about the 29<sup>th</sup> Nov. [really on the 5<sup>th</sup>] in Torbay, with 50 Thousand Men, Six hundred Ships: Sea-Commanders all yielded to him: no bloud shed: King and Prince of Wales gone to France somewhat privatly. Bought three Cheeses of him. He sent us some Bottles of very good Beer, and we him one of my Bottles of Brandy. About 12 o'clock the wind springs up fair, and about 6 in the even we take our leave of Beachey. Saith the occasion of Prince's coming in, that apprehends King James has no Legitimate Son, that that of Pr. Wales is a Cheat. Told us there were Englishmen found dead, drowned, tied back to back: so put us in great fear, because he intimated as if French Men of War were cruising with English Commissions. Sabbath, Jan. 13. Goe ashoar at Dover, with Newgate, Tuttle and Sister. Hear 2 Sermons from Isaiah, 66. 9. — Shall I bring to the birth? Monday morn, Jan. 14<sup>th</sup>, view the fort at the west end of the Town and the Castle: went into the Kings Lodgings. The Town is like a Bow, only the two Ends the thicker parts and the back the thinner, being built as the Sea and Cliff would suffer it.



A small River runs that helps to clear the Dock of Shingle: the Peers also defending. Houses of Brick covered with Tile generally: Some very good Buildings. A handsome Court-House and Market-place, near which the Antwerp Tavern, where we drunk coming out of Town.

Got this night to Canterbury time enough to view the Cathedral, and Kentish Husbandry as went along.

Jan. 15. To Chatham and Rochester, which make a Long Street of Good Houses. A fair Assize-House now building, just over against which we lodged at a Coffee House: no room in the Inn. Dined at Sittingburne.

Wednesday, Jan. 16<sup>th</sup> To Dartford, where had a good Goose to Dinner. 'Tis a considerable place. A river runs into the Thames under a Stone Bridge of four Arches. To Southwark, where we drink and reckon with the Coachman. Hire another Coach for 18<sup>d</sup> to Cousin Hull's. Thursday, Jan. 17<sup>th</sup>, went to the Exchange. Jan. 30<sup>th</sup>, went to the Temple and to White-hall. Saw Westminster Abbey: Henry 7<sup>th</sup>s Chapel. Heard Dr. Sharp<sup>1</sup> preach before the Commons, from Psa. 51. — Deliver me from Blood guiltinesse, &c Saw St. James's Park.

Jan. 31. Heard Mr. Chauncy<sup>2</sup> preach. Writ to Mr. Flavell this day.

Feb. 1. Received one from Mr. Flavell inclosed in Mr. Mather's.

Feb. 7. A Minister who lives at Abbington earnestly invites me to his House with Mr. Mather, and he will go and shew us Oxford. Mr. Brattle shewed me Gresham Colledge, by Mr. Dubois his kindness and Cost. Afterward went to Smithfield, and the Cloisters of the Blew

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sharp, at this time Dean of Norwich, died Archbishop of York. See, in Macaulay's History of England, Chap. X., an account of this sermon. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Isaac Chauncy, one of the ejected ministers. — Eds.

Coat Boys [at Christ's Hospital]. Gresham-Colledge Library is about one Hundred and fifty foot long, and Eighteen foot wide.

Feb. 9, 1688 $\frac{2}{9}$ . Guild-Hall I find to be Fifty yards long, of which the Hustings take up near seven yards, Measuring by the same yard-jointed Rule, Mr. Brattle and I find the breadth to be Sixteen Yards.

Feb. 11<sup>th</sup> Mr. Brattle and I went to Covent-Garden and heard a Consort of Musick. Dined to-day with Madam Lloyd and Usher.

Feb. 12. Saw three Waggons full of Calves goe by together. At the Star on the Bridge, Mr. Ruck's, saw the Princess<sup>1</sup> pass in her Barge, Ancients and Streamers of Ships flying, Bells Ringing, Guns roaring. Supped at Mr. Marshal's.

March 18, wrote to my Wife. 2d to Cousin Quinsey, 3, to Bro. St. Sewall, inclosed in Sir William's into the Downs.

March 19. Writ to Cousin Stoeke to send me a perfect account, Dr. and Cr., and the Balance Money. I took up in Stockings 8, 17, 2 Am willing to allow what's reasonable for receiving my Money.

March 19. To Mrs. Elizabeth Mills, for Pole's Synopsis<sup>2</sup> entire, lacking nothing, will give £4. here.

March 19. Saw Paul's, which is a great and excellent piece of work for the Arches and Pillars and Porches. The Stairs are five foot  $\frac{1}{2}$  long and four Inches deep, winding about a great hollow Pillar of about six foot Diameter. March 20. Went and saw Weavers Hall and Goldsmiths Hall. Went into Guild-Hall and saw the manner of chusing the Mayor. About 16 were put up, though I think but four were intended. Pilkington and Stamp had by

<sup>1</sup> On her passage from Holland, she had taken barge off Greenwich, and was going up to Whitehall. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Matthew Poole, one of the ejected ministers, published, in five volumes folio, a Synopsis Criticorum. He died in 1679. — Eds.



much the most Hands, yet those for fatal Moor<sup>1</sup> and Rayment would have a Pole, which the Court of Aldermen in their Scarlet Gowns ordered to be at four o'clock. They sat at the Hustings. Sheriffs in their Gold Chains managed the Election. Common Sergeant [counsel of the Mayor and Aldermen] made a speech. When the People cry'd, a Hall, a Hall, the Aldermen came up two by two, the Mace carried before them, came in at the dore opposite to the Street dore out of another apartment. I stood in the Clock-Gallery.

March 20. Writt to Mr. John Richardson, of Bristow, to send me Mr. Sergeant's and my Account, and that I would however pay my own. Fear [I] shall never hear of Nath. Man, or the Fidelity<sup>2</sup> any more.

March 25. Writt to Mr. Brown inclosing Mrs. Sarah Woodward's original Receipt by Bant, Copy by Lason. Writt by Lason to Mr. Torry. Mr. Higginson inclosing Mr. Whitfield's Papers.

March 28, To my Wife, inclosing Mr. Henry Hatsel's 2<sup>d</sup> Receipt. 27 To Mother Hull, with a Case of Spectacles, Shagreen.

April 20, 1689. Writt to Mrs. Mary Batter by Bant. Shipped a Duz. Silver Spoons of Mr. Samuel Layfield, Cost £5.13.3. Recieved of Cous. Nath! Dummer for your account £5.16.3. freight, 5.8, so will be somewhat more than I have in my hands.

April 20. Writt to Cous. Nath. inclosing Cous. Nath.'s

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<sup>1</sup> We cannot explain this word, "fatal." The parties to the contest were Sir Thomas Pilkington, who was elected in 1689; Sir Thomas Stamp, mayor in 1692; Sir Jonathan Raymond; and probably Sir John Moore, who had been mayor in 1682, or some relative of his. Sir John Moore had been mayor in 1682. In that year there was a severe struggle at the election of sheriffs. Kennet says: "This great struggle put the court upon considering, and in a manner resolving, to take away the election of sheriffs out of the power of the City; and no other expedient could be found but by taking away their Charter." This may account for the epithet "fatal" attached to Sir J. Moore's name. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> On which vessel Sewall probably had property. — Eds.

Bill for Mrs. Batter's Spoons by Bant. April 20. Went on foot to Hackney through Brick-Lane, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile long, and dined with Mr. Tho. Glover his Son, Read, Thompson, their wives, Mr. French, and several Grandchildren. Eat part of two Lobsters that cost 3.9<sup>d</sup> apiece, 7<sup>s</sup> : 6<sup>d</sup>. both.

[The following entries are on a fly-leaf of the English journal:]

April 20, 1689. Mr. Thomas Gooding would be glad to see me at Piñor.

Disposal of Revolution, the Duz. [dozen] Capt. Hutchinson deliver'd me this day, July 3. 1689 [when in London].

To Dr. Añesley . . . . .	One.
To Mr. Layfield . . . . .	One.
To Cousin Allen . . . . .	1.
To Mr. Gilbert of Oxf. } and Mr. Dauson . }	3.
To Dr. Grew of Coventry . . . . .	1.
To Mrs. Tuckey, Warwick . . . . .	1.
To Madam Horsman . . . . .	1.
Piccadilly	
To Mr. Goldwire, Baddesly, Hampshire . . . . .	1.
To Mr. Alsop . . . . .	1.
Keep one for my self . . . . .	1.
<hr/>	
To Dr. Nehemiah Grew . . . . .	1.
To Mr. Goodwin . . . . .	1.
To Cousin Tho. Duñer, Portsm <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	1.

April 24. Writt to Dr. Grew, inclosing my Psalm-Book, in Turkey-Leather, and 4 of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons.<sup>1</sup> Paid Cous. Hulls Bookseller in full, 15.6. and 2<sup>s</sup> for Pasting and Cover of my Gazetts. Went this day to White-

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<sup>1</sup> Up to this time, Cotton Mather had published but four sermons; viz., two in 1686, one each in 1687 and 1688. The latter two were "Right Thoughts in Sad Hours: on the death of a First-Born," and "Early Piety exemplified in the Life of his Brother, Mr. Nathaniel Mather, with Several Sermons." Probably the latter was the one which Sewall distributed. — Eds.

Hall to attend the Earl of Shrewsbury about New England : are referred to Friday next.

April 23. With Mr. Mather waited on the Lord Wharton,<sup>1</sup> and Sir Edward Harly.

LONDON, April 26, 1689.

HONOURED SIR, Hat in Hand,<sup>2</sup> &c, Necessity puts men upon hard Shifts to find out some pretence or other for making their addresses to those from whom they may expect relief. There was Capt. John Hull, of Boston in N. E., with whom in his life-time you had some Correspondence by way of Merchandize. He died in Sept. 1683, leaving a Widow and a Daughter, who is my wife ; by whom I had an Estate that might afford a competent Subsistence according to our manner of living in N. E. But since the vacating of the Charter, and erecting a Government by Commission, the Title we have to our Lands has been greatly defamed and undervalued : which has been greatly prejudicial to the Inhabitants, because their Lands, which were formerly the best part of their Estate, became of very little value, and consequently the Owners of very little Credit. Sir, I am glad that you are returned again to England, to your Country, Possessions, and dear Relations, and to a Seat in Parliament. I hope your former Distresses will help you to sympathise with others in the like condition. I, and several besides me, are here far removed from our Wives and Children, and have little heart to goe home before some comfortable settlement obtained, whereby we might be secured in the Possession of our Religion, Liberty and Property. I am informed some favorable Votes have been passed in the House of Commons, wherein N. E. was mentioned. I intreat your forwarding of such Votes as you have Opportunity, in doing which you will be a Partner with God, Who is wont to be concerned in relieving the Oppressed. I shall not take up more of your time from your momentous Employments. My hearty Service presented to you, I take leave, who am, Sir, your humble Servant,

SAM. SEWALL.

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<sup>1</sup> This was Philip, Lord Wharton, a staunch friend to New England, "renowned as a distributor of Calvinistic tracts and a patron of Calvinistic divines," father of the notorious Thomas, Earl and Marquis of Wharton. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Under date of August 8 following, Sewall says he is "with Mr. Edward Hull [his cousin], at the Hat in Hand, &c." This may have been either the shop sign of a hatter or a dealer in peltries, or it may have marked a coffee-house. — Eds.



Above is Copy of my Letter to Tho<sup>s</sup> Papillon, Esq.<sup>1</sup>

April 25. Writt to my Unkle Ste. Dummer. Sent the News of yesterday's Acts. Sent John Heifford and Mr. Taylor's Letters.

April 27. Mr. Dauson introduced me, and I visited Mrs. Beck, Mr. Dauche's Daughter, and her daughter, and Madam Horsman, formerly Dulcibella Dunch, and her daughter, near fifteen years old: hath also a Son, and buried two Children. Hath been a widow above ten years. Lives in John's Street in Piccadilly near Jacob's Well.

April 29. went to Greenwich with Mr. Mather, Whiting, Brattle, Namesake: Supped at the Bear. Went through the Park to Mr. John Flamsted's, who shewed us his Instruments for Observation, and Observed before us, and let us look and view the Stars through his Glasses.

April 30. Come to Deptford, where breakfast with Cheescakes: from thence to Redriff upon the River's Bank, where Dr. Avery's Cousin had us to a Gentleman who showed us many Rarities, as to Coins, Medals, Natural and artificial things: from thence by water to Tower-Stairs, about 10 o'clock.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Papillon, M. P. This gentleman can hardly be other than the eminent merchant of London, recorded in Burke's "Landed Gentry." He was son of David P., of Lubenham, county Leicester, grandson of Thomas P., a Frenchman by birth, and a Huguenot refugee. The Thomas of the text was a member of several Parliaments from Dover and London. We presume he also sat for New Romney, as one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports. He died in 1702, leaving a son Philip, M. P. for Dover, who died in 1736. A son of the latter was David Papillon, born 1691, died 1762, from whom are descended the Papillons of Acrisse, county Kent.

Peter Papillon was of Boston, says Savage, in 1679, and in 1722 had command of a ship employed against pirates on the coast. An injudicious reference to him caused the prosecution of James Franklin and the suspension of the "New England Courant."

He had a son Peter, born March, 1681, who died in 1733, leaving a large estate and a widow, Catherine, who died before Aug. 13, 1735. John Wolcott, of Salem, and George Gibbs were sons-in-law, and the daughters Katherine, Martha, and Mary were probably the only heirs. Yet a Benjamin P was one of the subscribers to Prince's "Chronology" in 1736. — Eds.

April 29. In the morn saw the Westminster Scholars; 3 of them made Orations in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, before the Dean and Delegates. Cambridge Delegates sat now on the right hand, for they take turns. Sub-Dean also had an Epistle; as did the Dean and Delegates. The grave Dr. Busby sat by.

April 30. Queen's Birth-Day. Streamers, Flaggs, Guns. Writ to Mrs. Dulcibella Horsman, inclosed Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons bound up in good Calv's Leather. Hat in Hand, &c. Spent 4.3<sup>d</sup> apiece in going to Greenwich.

May the 2<sup>d</sup> went with Capt. Hutchinson, and saw the Crown, Scepter, Armory, Mint, (none to see the Milling) Lions, Leopard. Visited Dr. Annesly. He entertained us standing in the Garden, we went not into the house; carried Mr. Mather's Letter with us. April [May?] 3. went to White-Hall, are referred till Monday. Went to the Glasshouse and visited Mr. Harwood in Prescot Street, Goodman's Fields. His wife speaks French.

May 2. writt to Unkle Richard Dummer, transcribed Copenhagen.

May 3. went to the end of Southwark toward Newington Butts; as returned went into St. Mary Overies, saw the monument of Lockier,<sup>1</sup> who died 1672, in the 72<sup>d</sup> year of his age.

Sabbath, May 5, 1689. Went to Dr. Annesly's<sup>2</sup> in little St. Helena's, with Capt. Hutchinson, where the Lord's Supper was administered. The Dr. went all over the Meeting first, to see who was there, then spake something of the Sermon, then read the words of Institution, then

<sup>1</sup> One of the couplets in the inscription on Lockyer's monument is the following:—

“ His virtues and his pills are so well known,  
That envy can't confine them under stone.” — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Samuel Annesley, noted among the ejected ministers. He died in 1696. — Eds.

prayed and eat and drunk himself, then gave to every one with his own Hand, dropping pertinent Expressions. In our Pue said — Now our Spikenard should give its smell; and said to me, Remember the Death of Christ. The Wine was in quart Glass Bottles. The Deacon followed the Dr., and when his Cup was empty filled it again: as at our Pue all had drunk but I, he filled the Cup and then gave it me; said, as he gave it — must be ready in new Obedience, and stick at nothing for Christ.

Tuesday, May 7<sup>th</sup> went to Windsor, 8<sup>th</sup> Eaton, Hampton Court, and so home.

Thursday, May 9, went to H. Court, to wait on the King and Council. Mr. Mather not there:<sup>1</sup> said he was feverish, yet I perceive was at Change. Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Sawyer spake of the Quo Warranto in Charles the First's time, and supposed we had no Charter: asked if any had seen it. I said I had seen a Duplicate. Dr. Cox craved Day; so are to appear agen next Thorsday, and just as we were going out, by Sawyer's means were called back, and then he spake of the Quo-Warranto for Misdemeanors, and we are ordered to attend the Attorney General with our Charter. As we came home were entertained by Mr. Stephen Mason with Cider, Ale, Oysters and a Neat's Tongue, being ten of us, or 11. This house is at Clapham, wherein Col. Bathe did dwell.

May 10, writt to Mr. John Richardson of Bristow, that had paid Mr. Ive, £10.16.7, for owners of Fidelity and £10.6.0, for my own proper account, as also, £1.6.3, for Mr. Peter Sergeant's proper account — £22.08.10. If any vessel get away from Bristow, give me a hint of it. If

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<sup>1</sup> Increase Mather had been in England for a year, seeking, first from James and then from William, a restoration of the Massachusetts charter. The reader is referred to the preface of the second volume of the Andros "Tracts" (Prince Society, Boston, 1869) for a detailed account of Mather's proceedings. We know that on the 26th of February, 1688-89, and on the 14th of March, he had interviews with King William. — Eds.



any happen to goe before you can send to me, tell Mr. Sergeant his N. E. friends and I were well this day.

Satterday, May 11<sup>th</sup> Declaration of War against France comes out.

Sabbath, May 12, Capt. Hutchinson and I watched with Mr. Wharton at his Sister Pack's in Kirby Street, Hatten Garden. Monday morn, May 13, heard Mr. Read preach.

Tuesday, May 14<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Richard Wharton dyes about 10 *post merid*.<sup>1</sup> He rid to Town the Wednesday before in order to goe to Hampton-Court last Thursday. Monday, May 6, was at Westminster pleading against Mr. Blathwayt, in behalf of N. E. Mr. Brattle and I came down by water with him. Wednesday, May 15, went and dined with Fish at Capt. Kelly's upon Mr. Partridge's Invitation. Capt. Hutchinson, Clark, Appleton, Brattle, Hull, in company. Went to a Garden at Mile End and drunk Currant and Rasberry Wine, then to the Dog and Partridge's, and plaid Nine Pins. At the house a Souldier was shot by his drunken companion the night before. Sir Samuel Dashwood has by the Poll 1000 and odd, and Sir W<sup>m</sup> Ashurst 1700 and odd, for a Citizen to sit in Parliament. Mr. Perry has a new maid come, called Anne, from Chichester.

Thursday, May 16, went to the Old Bailey, the Court was holden by Pilkinton, Mayor, Lord Chief Justice Holt, Lord Chief Justice Pollixfen, Chief Baron Atkins, and 7 more Judges. Sat till 3 o'clock, in which time the London Jury returned and brought in four Verdicts, which they were charged with at once.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wharton was of Boston, and married Bethia Tyng and Sarah Higginson. He was largely interested in the Pejepscoot purchase, but died poor, as his brother-in-law, John Higginson, wrote (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d ser., VII. 198). He was of Andros's Council, but opposed him, and thus was visiting London at this time.

It may be mentioned that he used a seal bearing the arms of the Whartons of Yorkshire, a branch of which family was ennobled, as before noted.—Eds.

May 18, goe to Hampton Court in company of Capt. Hutchinson and Jo. Appleton; Mr. Mather, Sir Sam. Tomson, Mr. Whiting, and Mr. Joseph Tomson ridd in another Coach. Cost 21<sup>s</sup> apiece, besides money to the Drivers. Were dismissed *sine Die*. Mr. Ward and Hook our Council. Entertain Mr. Humphrys too. Just now about a virulent Libel<sup>1</sup> comes out against N. E., the day Mr. Wharton was buried.

Monday, May 20. Meet to answer the Print, and in the evening another accosts us, called an abstract of our repugnant Laws, full of Untruths almost as the former. To comfort me when got home, met with a Letter from my dear Brother, by the way of Bilbao, dated the 12 March; all friends and my wife and Children well, but New England bleeding.

May 21, writt to Mr. Flavell of our N. E. Affairs. Writt of the 20<sup>th</sup> to Cousin Bean and Cous. Nath. Enclosed in a packet  $\frac{1}{4}$  Hundred of Mr. Cotton Mather's funeral Sermons.

May 22. writt to Uncle Nath. to tell him of my Brother's Letter from N. E., dated March 12, and of the Sermons sent to be left at Cousin Bean's *per* Waldern. Cous. Nath, give him two.

May 23. Green Goose Fair. Agreed to pay, as Cous. Hull does, for being trimmed by the Quarter. Begin to-day.

Monday, May 27. Saw the Dutch Embassadors make their public Entrance. Came up through Crouched Friars, were about 50 Coaches, with Six Horses apiece, besides Pages on foot, and youths on Horsback. The main streets thwacked with people, and yet little miss of people in Fenchurch and Lumbard Streets.

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<sup>1</sup> This was doubtless the pamphlet called "Considerations," &c., to show that the charters of the colonies were taken away for good cause, which is printed in the third volume of the "Andros Tracts." Mather wrote a rejoinder. — Eds.

May 30<sup>th</sup> went to the Funeral of Mr. Agust,<sup>1</sup> Non-conf. Minister, who used to preach on the Sabbath where Mr. Alsop<sup>2</sup> keeps his Lecture. Hath left some Thousands to a little Daughter of 2 or 3 years old. Buried at St. Giles' Church from the 3 Compasses, Kirby Street, Hatten Garden, Dr. Gilbert principal Bearer.

May 31. Went to Mr. Papillon to speak to him in behalf of N. E., who entertains me candidly, and promises to promote our Interest, and would have me take off [dissuade] those who may think contrarily. May 31. Is a Fast kept at Dr. Annesly's: they began with singing and sang 4 or 5 times. After all, had a Contribution. When came home, found a Letter from Cousin Quinsey, giving an account of the Health of my Wife, Children and friends, on the 26 March. Came by Woodbery from Bristow. Five Ministers exercised, Mr. Kentish, Dr. Annesly, Mr. Sclater, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Williams [all probably ejected ministers]. Four first wear their own Hair.

June 1. Writt to Cous. Hull for the last at Portsmouth. Writt to Unkle Stephen Dummer acquainting him with our friends welfare, March 26.

June 3, 1689. Capt. Hutchinson, Mr. Brattle and I went to Newington to visit Mr. Saltonstall, at his son-in-law Horsey's. I gave him two of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons. As came home saw one Elisabeth Nash, born at Enfield, about 25 Years old, just about Three foot high, not the breadth of my little finger under or over. Her Hands show Age more than anything else. Has no Brests. By reason of her thickness and weight can goe but very sorrily. Can speak and sing but not very conveniently,

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Benjamin Agus, an ejected minister. He "wrote an handsome sheet," in vindication of Non-conformity. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Vincent Alsop, an ejected minister, "preached once in the Lord's Day, and had a Thursday Lecture, and was one of the six Lecturers at Pinner's Hall." — EDS.



because her Tongue is bigger than can be well stowed in her Mouth. Blessed be God for my Stature, unto which neither I, nor my Dear Mother, my Nurse, could add one Cubit.

June 4. Green Hastings, i. e. Pease, are cry'd at 6<sup>d</sup> a Peck, in little carts. Cous. Hull, Mrs. Perry and Bedford come from Portsmouth. I meet them at the Cross Keys in Gracious Street.

June 10<sup>th</sup> Gave the Ch. Wardens of Cree-church, for the relief of the Protestants of Ireland, four Crowns — £1.0.0. Writt to Richard Cornish copies of Mr. Tho. Read's Bonds, and the Affidavit by Bant, for fear of mis-carriage, that so he might understand how his business lay and not be cheated out of his Money by his Unkle. Cousin Robert Andrews brings me a Letter from my Cousin of Swathling, his Mother-in-Law. Dines with us on a good Line of Veal and Strawberries.

June 11. Green Hastings are cry'd for a Groat [four-pence] a peck.

June 12. Went and dined with Cous. Allen, with Beans, Bacon, and a very good Line Veal roasted. Beans 5<sup>d</sup> a Quart. Cous. Sarah played on her Flute. Cous. Atwell sings well.

June 13. Last night dreamed of Mr. Adams. We sign a Petition for leave to goe home. Write to Unkle Dummer to tell him he must come up to London, if he will make a Letter of Attorney for N. England.

June 15. Being at Mrs. Calvin's alone in a Chamber, while they were getting ready dinner, I, as I walked about, began to crave a Blessing, and when went about it remembered my Cloaths I had bought just before, and then it came into my mind that it was most material to ask a blessing on my Person: so I mentally pray'd God to bless my Flesh, Bones, Blood and Spirits, Meat, Drink and Apparel. And at Dinner, paring the Crust of my Bread, I cut my Thumb, and spilt some of my Blood,

which word I very unusually, or never before, have used in prayer to my present remembrance.

June 16. Last night I dreamed of my Wife, and of Father Hull, that he had buried somebody, and was presently intending to goe to Salem.

June 20<sup>th</sup> Writ to Cousin Stoeke, answering his of the 10<sup>th</sup> *inst.* Last Sabbath day night dreamed of the death of my dear Wife, which made me very heavy.

June 20. Went to hear Mr. Alsop, where, in the utter [outer] part I saw Madam Horsman, who spake very kindly to me. About 10, *mane*, I visited Mr. Nathan<sup>l</sup> Mather, who lives now in Fan[Fen]-Church Street. Betty Ward and her husband visit us June 24. Eat and drink at the 3 Tuns. Mr. Burfort visits us.

June 25. The Statue of Edward the first is set up on the Royal Exchange. See Mr. Lake.

Wednesday, June 26. Mr. Mather, his Son, Cousin Hull and self, set out for Cambridge, 45 miles: got thither by 7 o'clock, with one set 4 Horses. Lay at the Red Lion in Petit Curie.

Thursday, June 27, Mr. Littel, Fellow of E<sup>m</sup>manuel Colledge, shows us the Gardens, Walks, New Chapel, Gallery, Library of the Colledge, in it a Bible MS. of Wickliffe's Translation. Mr. John Cotton and Hooker had been Fellows, as appeared by Tables hanging up. Dr. Preston, Head of it. The Street where it stands is called Preacher's Street, from Black Friars formerly resident there. Note. Said Fellow had in's Chamber, Sir Roger Le Strange, Jesus Salvator and K. Charles, 2<sup>d</sup>, hanging up together. Saw St. John's Colledge, which stands by the River. Hath a good Library and many Rarities, among which was a petrified Cheese, being about half a Cheese. Trinity Colledge is very large, and the new Case for the Library very magnificent, paved with marble checkered black and white; under, stately walk on brave stone; the Square very large, and in midst of it a Fountain. In the Hall

many Sparrows inhabit, which is not known of any Hall beside. At meal-Times they feed of Crums, and will approach very near Men. King's Colledge Chapel is very stately. Went on the top of the inward Stone Roof, and on the top of the outward Lead-Roof, and saw the Town, and Ely about 10 miles off. Below, on the side, under little Arches, is the Library. Mr. Littel dined with us at our Inn: had a Legg Mutton boiled and Colly-Flowers, Carrets, Rosted Fowls, and a dish of Pease. Three Musicians came in, two Harps and a Violin, and gave us Musick. View the Publick Library, which is in form of an L, one part not fil'd with books, some vacant shelves to bespeak Benefactors. Saw the Divinity School over which the Regent House is. The School fair and large. Public Acts are kept in St. Marie's Church, over against which the Schools are. Just before night our Landladie's Son had us along Bridge-Street, and shewed us Sidney-Colledg as I take it, and be sure Magdalen Colledg on the other side of the River, on which side there is none but that. Went to the Castle-Hill, where is a very pleasant Prospect, the Prison and Sessions House just by, which is very ordinary, like a Cow-House. Cattell having free egress and regress there. Gallows just by it in a Dale, convenient for Spectators to stand all round on the rising Ground. Then went | in Trumpington Street, which with this makes a | Most of the Colledges stand on Trumpington Street, | and the oldest of all, Peter House, next to Trumpington. I saw the Chapel in the outside of which 'tis said There was a great deal of Rome in a little Chapel: but Mr. Mompesson, Cousin's friend, not being within, saw not the Inside. 'Tis a small Colledge. St. Maries is a fair Church. In sum Cambridge is better than it shows for at first; the meanness of the Town-buildings, and most of the Colledges being Brick.

June 28. Mr. Harwood and I step'd out and saw Queen's Colledge, which is a very good one, in the Garden a Dial



on the Ground, Hours cut in Box. The River has there also a quicker Stream, being a little below the Mill: have several Bridges to go over to their Groves. Over against it stands Katherine Hall, the New Buildings of which are some of the goodliest in Cambridge. By it, the Printing Room, which is about 60 foot long and 20 foot broad. Six Presses. Had my Cousin Hull and my name printed there. Paper windows, and a pleasant Garden along one side between Katherine Hall and that. Had there a Print of the Combinations. As came Homewards, saw Audley Inn, or End. I can't tell which is the right name. 'Tis a stately Palace. Din'd at Safron-Walden: went out and saw the Safron Roots, which are Ten Shillings a Bushel, about an Acre might yield an hundred pounds and more. Were just dugg up to be planted at Abington, a little place not far off. Have a fair Church. I writt out the Lord Audley's Epitaph. Went into the Vault and saw the Earl of Suffolk's Coffin, who died January last: stands on Tressels, and may see it in the outside at the Grate. Outside is black Velvet, and a small plate of Cop̄er, telling time of 's Death: rest is garnish'd. Lodg'd at Hockerred, pertaining to Bishop-Stafford. In the even, Mr. Sam. Mather and I viewed Trisday's Well and Castle Hill. Set out on Saterdag, about 4 *mane*, breakfasted at Eping. Got to Mr. Croper's about Eleven aclock. He keeps a Coffee House. While Mr. Mather read the Votes I took Thursdays Letter and read the News of Boston, and then gave it Mr. Mather to read. We were surpris'd with joy. At Change Capt. Hutchinson shew'd me Capt. Byfield's Letter, which comes by Toogood. They had the News on Change that day we went to Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

July 1. Writt to Cousin John Dūmer by Walden, the

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<sup>1</sup> The joyful news was, of course, the revolution at Boston and the downfall of Andros. Nathaniel Byfield's account thereof was licensed June 27, 1689, and printed at once by Ric. Chiswell, in London. It is printed in "Andros Tracts," Vol. I. — Eds.

Waggoner, inclosing four of the N. E. Revolutions ; one to Winchester, one to Bishop-Stoke, one to Southhampton, and one to Rumsey. Paid him a Groat. They come out publickly this day, by the Hawkers.

LONDON, July, 2. 1689.

HON<sup>d</sup> SIR, I have just now read the noble Petition of the Citizens of London, in the Comon Hall assembled, the 24<sup>th</sup> past, whereby I hope the honorable Comons of England will be effectually moved to expedite the Bill for restoring Corporations to their Ancient Rights and Priviledges, in doing which I am very glad that yourself is so ready to bear a part. I have met with a Letter written to the Queen when Princess of Orange, in behalf of New England, which I intreat yourself and Lady to accept of, from, Sir, your humble Servant,

S. S.

To THO. PAPILLON, Esq.

July 2, 1689. Writt to Mr. Zech. Tuthill, of Yarmo th. Thanked him and his Sister for their good Company in the America. Enclosed N. E. Revolution, Guild Hall Petition, June 24, and 8 of Mr. Kick's Letters to the Queen. Send by the Coach, Rich'd Oakman. 1<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>

July 4, 1689. Copy of a Letter to Dr. Obadia Grew, at Coventry.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR, My Countrymen and dear Friends in New England, being animated, as I hope, by the Spirit of Life from God, have endeavour'd to write after your Copy here in England, which I counted myself oblig'd to give you an account of, and have accordingly inclos'd it, earnestly entreating your Prayers that God would establish the work of their hands upon them, and give them Light and Direction for every step they have to take. We have some hopes of getting home before winter. The dangers of the Passage are now multiplied. I crave your Remembrance of us that we may be preserved from them all, and carried securely to Boston, or, however, to a better Haven, if that be denied, even to Heaven, which will be the more so to me by reason of meeting yourself there. One of our New-England Gentlemen died the 14<sup>th</sup> of May last, here in Town. The Survivors are in good health. Pray, Sir, present my Service to Mr. Briant, Mr. Blower, and my Namesake, your Assistant, to Mr. King and your own family. Accept the same to yourself from him who is your obliged friend. I have inclos'd the Noble

Petition of the Londoners, the answere of which we are waiting for, New England being much concern'd in 't. Inclosed also Mr. Kick's Letter to the Queen.

Hat in hand,

SAM. SEWALL.

Writt yesterday to Dr. Tho. Gilbert of Oxford, enclosing the Print of N. E. Resurrection, and Mr. Kick's Letter.

July 4, Writt to Mrs. Hannah Tuckey, of Warwick, enclosing a Print of the Revolution in New England, four of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons, and Mr. Kick's Letter to the Queen.<sup>1</sup> Hat in hand.

July 6, '89.

To MR. THO. GOODWIN,

SIR, Capt. Brookhaven did a pretty while since signify to me a desire you had to see me at Pinor [Pinner?], which is to me very obliging, who am a Stranger in this Land. I hope before my return I may have an Oportunity to pay you a Visit. 'Tis little is here to be done, and yet for all that I find it inconvenient to be out of the way, one thing or other presenting of a sudden, wherein we that are here count it our Duty if we can in anything assist Mr. Mather. I have inclosed a printed account of what has lately hapend in New England, which I would fain hope is their Resurrection, and not a precluding of it only. What is there transacted seems to be well resented [regarded] at Court, and the King promises to doe what is in His power towards restoring our Liberties. If you come to Town, I should be glad to see you on the N. E. Walk, or at my Chamber. Desiring your Prayers that all things may work together for Good, respecting N. E. and me, I take leave, who am, Sir, your obliged friend and Servant,

S. S.

Hat in hand, &c. Peny Post.<sup>2</sup>

June 5, 1689. Cousin Hull comes in with a Countenance concern'd, and tells me sad News for me, which was

<sup>1</sup> This letter from Abraham Kick to Queen Mary is dated Feb. 1, 1689. It was incorporated into the "Brief Relation of the State of New England," which Mather published soon after this (licensed July 30, 1689), and will be found in the first volume of "Andros Tracts." — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The provision for a complete system of a penny post was not made by the English government until 1711. The convenience of which Sewall availed himself was that of a private enterprise, devised in 1682 by an upholsterer named Murray, who soon made it over to one Dockwra. — Eds.



that had rated me as a Merchant, £10.0.0. 'Tis inconvenient, but I wish I hear no worse news.

June 7. Goe and hear Mr. Stretton, and sit down with him at the Lord's Supper. He invites me to dinner. Text, Hosea, 2. 14. Before Sermon read the 32 Psalm, the 50<sup>th</sup> of Jeremiah, the 12<sup>th</sup> of Matthew. Had one plate of bread, about 5 Bottles of Wine, and two Silver Cups. At night about 10 a'clock, a great fire breaks forth in Mincing Lane. I was hardly asleep between 10 and 11, before there was a sad Alarm and Noys of Carrs to carry away Goods. A Woman lately brought to Bed was fain to be remov'd to another House. I went and sat a little while with Mr. Mather in Fan [Fen] Church Street.

July 8. Went with Mr. Brattle and swam in the Thames, went off from the Temple Stairs, and had a Wherry to wait on us: I went in in my Drawers. I think it hath been healthfull and refreshing to me.

July 9. Cousin Brattle, his wife and Daughter, Mrs. Shinkfield, Mr. Crossman, were invited to Dinner by Cous. Hull. Afterward, He and I went to Stepney, saw Thomas Saffin's Tomb,<sup>1</sup> one end of 't joins to the wall. 50<sup>s</sup> was

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Saffin was the son of John Saffin, of Boston. His epitaph is as follows (N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, IV. 109): —

“ Here Thomas Saffin lies interred: why?  
 Born in New England, did in London die;  
 Was the third son of eight, begat upon  
 His mother Martha, by his father John:  
 Much favour'd by his Prince, he 'gan to be,  
 But nipt by death at the age of twenty-three:  
 Fatal to him was that we small-pox name,  
 By which his mother and two brethren came  
 Also to breathe their last, nine years before,  
 And now have left their father to deplore  
 The loss of all his children with his wife  
 Who was the joy and comfort of his life.

Deceased June 18, 1687.”

This epitaph is copied and commented upon in the “Spectator,” No. 518, for Oct. 24, 1712. — Eds.

given for the Ground. Tis a very large burying-place. Were to be ten buried this night: we saw several Graves open and the Bones thick on the Top. Saw a Bowling Green where is 3 or 4 Sets of Bowls. The Lord help me aright to improve my Flesh, Bones and Spirits, which are so soon to become useless, and it may be expos'd in one part or other of God's Creation.

Wednesday, July 10<sup>th</sup>. Between 12 and 1 it grows very dark, thunder, Lightning and Rain, much like a N. E. Thunder Shower: but the Thunder not so sharp.

July 12. This day two stood in the Pillory before the Royal Exchange for speaking against the Government. Shears was one. They were exceedingly pelted with dirt and Eggs. Another, that stood for forgery, had none thrown at him that I took notice of. Cousin Hull startled me again this day in the even, saying with a concern'd Countenance, there was bad News for me, which was, that my Suit of Cloaths was in danger of being Moth-eaten. Treated John Rawson at the Clubb to day. He belongs to the Pearl Frigate, a 5<sup>th</sup> Rate, 30 odd Guns.

Monday, July 15<sup>th</sup>. I rid to Tyburn, and saw Eighteen Persons, 16 Men and 2 Women, fall. They were unruly in the Prison, which hasten'd the Execution. Din'd in Great Russell Street, view'd the House and Walks of Lord Montague: then ridd to Hemsted. Montague House makes a goodly Shew that way. Hempsted is a most sweet and pleasant place for Air and shady Groves. Bought the Gazett there. From thence ridd to Highgate, which is about a Mile. There drank at the Crown, and then came home by Islington. Then went to the funeral of Mr. Loves, formerly an Assistant to Dr. Owen. Was buried in a Grave near the Dr.'s Tomb. A pretty many Men and Women there. Was carried from Armorers Hall in Coleman Street to the new burying Ground.

July 16. Saw London Artillery Company pass by about 2 aclock. Most had Buff Cloaths and Feathers in their

Hats. Marched 5. 6. 7. and Eight in a Rank. The Pikes. Had Musick besides the Drums.

July 17. Mr. Mather, on Change, told Capt. Hutchinson and Sam. Apleton that he had put in their Names as Witnesses to Sir Edmund's [Andros] raising Money without an Assembly. Aske'd where was Capt. Hutchinson. I shewed and went with him to him, and Mr. Mather ask'd him to be at Westminster at such a time, but said not a word to me. Afterwards I went home, and then went to Mr. Whiting's and told him that I could testify, and Mr. Walker that collected the Money was in Town. He seem'd little to heed it, and said I might be there: he knew not that I could testify: but he seems plainly to be offended, and for my part I can't tell for what. A Moneth or two agoe Mr. Mather spake something about it, and I said I could not tell whether 'twere so convenient then, because we hop'd every day for the Parliament Act to come forth, and thought Sir Edmund might have friends there, and such a thing as this might make them more desperately eger to hinder the Bill. But now the Bill is even despair'd of, and our friends in N. E. are in for Cakes and Ale, and we must doe all we may and swim or sink with them.

July 18, 1689. Sent Cousin Mary Atwell one of Mr. Flavell's Books to Toothill, a place about 7 miles off, where she is for the benefit of the Aer. Mrs. Katharine Norcott of Hogsden, widow, makes her Will on March 11<sup>th</sup> 1683. Prov'd August 27, 1685. Mr. Tho. Rowe, John Rowe, and William Rowe are Executors. In the Will is this Clause. — *Item.* To my dear Kinswoman Mrs. Jane Poole, in Boston, in New England, five pounds, if she be living, if not, I give it unto her Son Theophilus.<sup>1</sup> — Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Theophilus Pool was probably that son of William Pool of our Dorchester, born in 1660, and brother of the Bethesda Pool, mentioned *ante*, p. 33.

The father is credited with being the founder, with his sister Elizabeth Pool, of our Taunton.

Savage says that nothing is known of Theophilus, but his brother John was a prominent merchant of Boston. — Eds.



Thomas Rowe, who shewed me the Will and executes it, lives in Ropemakers Alley in Morefields. Capt. Hutchinson, Mr. Sam. Apleton and I went to Westminster to give an Evidence for N. E., but there was not an opportunity. So must wait on Mr. Mather again another time. Writt to my Unkle Stephen, thank'd him for his Love, of which I was unworthy, will come down if I can. Writt him the News of the Gazett and the burial of Mr. Loves.

July 19. I was in the Shop to read a Print Cousin Hull had took in about Ireland, and Madam Owen and Madam Usher passed by, so I invited them and they kindly came up to my Chamber. I treated them with a Glass of good Cider. Gave Madam Owen one of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons, the Revolution of N. E., and Mr. Kick's Letter. Advis'd with Mr. Mather about Mrs. Pool's Legacy. He would remit the Money by Bill of Exchange, if it were to Him.

July 21. Went in the afternoon to Stepney, and heard Mr. Lawrence. He fears the Clouds returning after the rain as to Antichristian powers. His heart much upon the 1000 years. Something in this Sermon, and I perceive by them that know: few Sermons without. Gives notice that Mr. Crouch, the Minister, dead, and will be buried tomorrow, 5 a'clock, from Armourour's Hall. Sat with Mr. Paice.

July 23. The White Regiment marches into the Artillery Ground, of which the Lord Mayor is Colonel, and so they have the Preeminence. Consist of Eight Companies, 14 or 15 hundred in the whole, perhaps. Some had Silver Head-pieces: Mr. Layfield for one.

July 24. Benj. Hallawell visits me. I give him my frize Coat, and Right Thoughts, bound with Mr. N. M.'s [Nath. Mather's] Life.

Wednesday, July 24. Dine at Cous. Brattles, in company of Cous. Brattle, his Wife, Cous. Hull, Mr. and Mrs. Perry, Mr. Crossman, Mrs. Shinkfield, Cousin Mary, and

a Gentlewoman of Farnum. Had a Dish of Bacon with Pidgeons, Sauce, Beans and Cabbage. Then roast Veal. Tarts. After, walk'd with Mr. Brattle, Jener, Nicholson, Cooper, Breading, to Blackwall. View'd Sir Henry Johnson's Dock, where the Ships ly afloat at Low water, the Gates keeping in the Water. A very great Ship building there now. From thence went on board the Mehetabel, and then on board the America, at Bugsby hole. So to Blackwall again, which has two little Streets like a Carpenters Square. Walk'd home. I fell down and hurt my right hand and left Legg on the Gravel. Standard out and Bells ringing for joy the Princes Anne is brought to Bed of a Son.

July 25. I begun on Tuesday to drink Northall Waters by advice of Dr. Morton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Maña in the Water each morning. To day he adviseth me to leave off putting in Maña, and to hold on drinking the Water a week or fortnight.

Satterday, July 27 Writt to my Wife, to go by Dartmō, Capt. Lewis advising that there was a vessel going to N. E. from thence.

Monday, July 29, Standing in the Shop about 7. mane, Mr. John Usher comes to the door, which surpriseth me. Foy is at Pezans. Mr. Usher came to Town Satterday night. Sir William [Phips] and Lawson arriv'd; all friends well. He knew not of his coming away till a day or two before. Is very confident, and hopes to be going home in seven weeks, or to be at home in little more than that time. I go and acquaint Mr. Mather, who had heard nothing of it. He hastens to tother end of the Town. The Lord save N. E. I spoke to Mr. Usher not to do harm, as knowing the great King we must finally apear before: because he spake of going to the King. King is proclaim'd at Boston. Mr. Cook had like to have been kill'd with a fall from his horse. This 29<sup>th</sup> July the Jews have great joy by reason of a Priest come to Town

in the Harwich Coach, they having not had one a long time. Mr. Ekins his Wife and Daughter here.

July 31. N. E. Convention printed here, 500 Copies.<sup>1</sup> Visited Mr. James, but found him not at home: Sat a little while with 's Daughter, but he came not in. Left Him N. E. Revolution and Convention.

Aug. 1. News Letter. A Ship is arriv'd at Penzans in Cornwall, from New England, and reports that that Government has in all their Towns and Cities proclaimed William and Mary their rightfull Sovereigns, and caused all Processes of Law, and otherwise, to run in their Majesties Names, and are sending over two persons in the nature of Envoys, to have their Liberties confirmed and to pay fealty for the same. I read the above-written at Temple-Bar, at Cheapside and Algate, in the very same words. Capt. Hutchinson trails a Pike to day under his Cousin, in Sir Tho. Stamp's Regiment, the Green. His is the 3<sup>d</sup> Company—i.e, the 6<sup>th</sup>, reckoning in the field officers.

Aug. 3, 1689. Writt to my Wife by Dartmō, inclosing Thursdays Gazett, this days Scotch Paper, telling of Gov. Bradstreet's Letter by Peck being come to hand from Berwick: though none from Foy, whoes Passengers have been in Town this week. Pay Mrs. Pole 6. 10. 0. for £5 received here, Mrs. Norcott's Legacy, with abstract of the Will.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mather presents his Respects, and says that Sir Henry Ashurst told him the Country had put as much honour on him in sending the Address to him as if the Emperour had made him his Envoy. Corporation Bill

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that this was the tract already cited, the "Brief Relation of the State of New England," by Increase Mather. The letter of Kick, which is printed in it, was probably also issued separately from the same types; and thus Sewall was supplied with the copies he mentions. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> These lines seem to be an abstract of Sewall's letter homewards, and the payments to Mrs. Pool in Boston would imply strongly that Theophilus was dead. — Eds.



sticks in the Birth. Mr. Ratcliff follows his business close. Capt. Nicholson, 'tis reported, will be Governour of New York. Many of us desirous to come home, but judge not fit to come without a Convoy. Service to Gov. Bradstreet, Mr. Willard, Moodey, thanks for their Labour of Love. Glad was a Fast at our House in April. Duty to Parents, Love to Brothers, Sisters, and to thee and our dear Quaternion.<sup>1</sup>

S. H. E. J.

Aug. 6. Writt to Cous. Quinsey by Faymouth, of Foy's Arrival and delivery of the Country's Letters. Writt to Eliakim to the same purpose.

Aug. 7<sup>th</sup> Went with Mr. Mather, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Samuel M. and Mr. William Whiting. Saw the Hall Chapel, Council Chamber, and some of the Lodgings of Chelsea, about 26 in one Gallery. Very lovely Cellar, two rows of Pillars that support the upper floor. Saw the Physick Garden,<sup>2</sup> and in it among other things, an Olive Tree, Orange Tree, Cortex Peruvianus. Cost about 20<sup>s</sup>: When was at Mr. Whiting's, Mr. Lobb<sup>3</sup> came in and spake of hot discourse in Council last Sabbath-day, about sending a Governour to N. E. Sir William Waller, to prevent others as he says, has petition'd to be Governour.

Aug. 8. Writt to Cous. Nath. Duñer, inclosing Bro. Stephen's; bid him send by the first Post any Letters he intends for New England because Ships just ready to sail. Writt to the Widow Brunton of Whitehaven, and to Mr. Robert Johnson of Dunfrey in Scotland that [they] would remit to Mr. Ive for my Account of Money [they] have

<sup>1</sup> The quaternion, S. H. E. J., was, of course, their four children then living; viz., Samuel, Hannah, Elizabeth, and Joseph. Four had also been born up to this date, who had died infants. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The Garden for Medical Plants was instituted at Chelsea in 1673 by the Company of Apothecaries. This was the basis of the subsequent extensions and improvements in the interest of medical botany made by the eminent Sir Hans Sloane, who brought Peruvian bark into general use. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Richard Lobb, who married Nathaniel Mather's wife's sister. See Mather Papers, p. 468. — Eds.

in their hands of Ketch Tryal, of which Mr. John Winslow own'd  $\frac{1}{3}$  and I  $\frac{2}{3}$ : both made Mr. Ive our Attorney: Mr. Addington and Mr. Dan. Quinsey in my behalf, supposing I had been at Sea homeward bound, they being my Attorney: I approve of the Person they have pitch'd on and intreat them to apply to him. Have been great Losers, having receiv'd nothing of Ketch or hire. Am with Mr. Edward Hull, at the Hat in Hand, within Algate, London. If I am gon he will give Mr. Ive the Letters sent first Post.

Aug. 8. Writt to Mr. Zech. Tuthill inclosing a N. E. Convention.

Aug. 9. Visited Madam Usher, Loyd, Harfield, Cous. Bridget, Madam Blackwell, and took my leave of them. Mr. Mather came in.

Aug. 10. Writt to Mrs. Pole that I had received her Legacy given by Mrs. Katherine Norcott: send Acquittances. My hearty service to Mr. Stoughton. Gave her full Instructions as to the Will. Bant [shipmaster].

Aug. 10. Writt to my dear Wife enclosing Mr. Mather's Receipt for £100, use of N. E. Bant.

Aug. 11. Sung, or rather wept and chatter'd, the 142 Psalm, in course. Mrs. Perry ill, kept her Bed yesterday.

Tuesday, Aug. 13. Came with Capt. Hutchinson, Mr. Brattle, Partridge, Appleton from Salutation at Billingsgate to Woolige, where din'd with Mr. Sam. Allen: saw the King's Ropeyard and the Canon in the Waren. Ropeyard nine score paces long. From thence to Graves-End in the even. Went on board the America about 10 aclock, hurting my shin against the end of a Chest going into the Cabbin, from which I suppose in the night issued a pretty deal of Blood, and stain'd my Shirt, which startled me when rose in the morning at Graves-End, where I lodg'd with Mr. Brattle.

Aug. 14<sup>th</sup> Mr. Mather comes down, and chides us severely that none staid for Him, and seeing the Ship not

gone, goes to London again. I gave him my Letter by Cous. Hull, which had writt to inform him, not knowing of 's coming, and beg'd his pardon, thinking I might be more servicable here and at Deal, than at London.

Aug. 15. Write to Cous. Quinsey by Bant, with Invoice and Bill of Lading, Mr. Vaughan's Cheese, his and Bro. Sewall's Añnotations: Wife's Stockings. Mr. Brattle and I ride to Chatham, dine at the Crown, see the Dock and 33 Spiñers of Rope-yarn, goe on board the Britañia, so to Sittingburn, lodge at the George: rains hard in the night. In the morn a good Ring of 6 Bells entertains us: no whether for the Ringers to work.

Aug. 16. From Sittingburn to Canterbury in the Rain, dine at the Crown: Mr. Powell: send for Cou. Fissenden, his Sister dead since my being there, and my Landlady at the red Lion dead. Bought each of us a pair of Gloves of Mr. Chiever. From Canterbury to Sandwich with the Post. Sandwich a large place and wall'd about, 10 miles from Canterbury, in a very flat, level country; Creek comes up to it. From thence to Deal 5 miles, built on the Beach. Land we ride over is call'd the Downs, and the Castle, Sand-Down Castle. Lodge at the 3 Kings. Mrs. Mary Watts, a widow, our Landlady.

Satterday, Aug. 17. Goe to the new Meeting house that is building for Mr. Larnier<sup>1</sup> in the 3<sup>d</sup> and lower street of Deal, towards the north end, which is, within the Walls, 34 wide and 41 foot long: 2 Galleries, one at each end, of 4 Seats apiece. Roof is double with a Gutter in the middle: built with Brick covered with Tile. Went to see Sand-Down Castle: but a Coach was there to bring out a Corps. The little Sand-Cliffs and iñer Sand Hills, something like Plum Iland little hills, give name no Question to that part of the Sea now call'd the Downs. Deal is built be-

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Richard Lardner, father of the distinguished Dr. Nathaniel Lardner. Richard lived at Deal. See Wilson, I. 89. — Eds.



tween the 2 forlands, about 5 mile from the North-forland, 3 parallel Streets, the uppermost built on the very Beach, daring the Sea.

Sabbath, Aug. 18. Hear Mr. Larner in a Barn. Morn read the 8<sup>th</sup> Romans.

Aug. 19. Mr. Brattle and I went and saw Deal and Strolume Church, about a mile off: the Church very old, but set off with a new brick Steeple. That part call'd old, and upper Deal, though some of the Ground between that and the very low Country, Houses and Gardens and Orchards almost all the way.

Aug. 21. Mr. Mather and my Namesake come in a Coach from Gravesend. Intended to have gone to Plymouth: but the Plymouth Coaches full.

Aug. 22. Writt to Eliakim by Clark inclosing a Bill of Lading, Invoice, and Copy of Cou. Hull's Note at Gravesend.

Aug. 20. 22. Writt to Mr. Flavell, inclos'd to Cou. Hull.

Aug. 23. Writt to my Unkle St. Duñer, to take leave of him and friends in Hampshire from Deal. Writt to Mr. Zech. Tuthill, Mr. Perry, Cous. Hull. Exceter come. Exceter comes into the Downs. Mr. Mather, Brattle, Namesake and Self goe aboard the America. Call on Bant. Mr. Quarles dying there.

Aug. 24. Mr. Mather, Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> and Self visit Mr. Larner, who desires Mr. Mather to preach for him tomorrow.

Aug. 25. Mr. Mather preaches for Mr. Larner in the Afternoon.

Aug. 26. Visit Mr. Larner.

Aug. 27. Tuesday. Exceter sumōns all aboard about 4. p.m. Came to us in the Ship-Arbour, Mr. Lamin. Got aboard between 6 and 7. The shifting the wind was unexpected. No publick Prayer in the even. Very sore night for Thunder and Lightening. Were about to sail

at midnight and the wind chopt about, and blew so hard that were glad to drop another Anchor again.

Aug. 28. Mr. Mather reads the 3<sup>d</sup> Matthew: reads the epistle out of my Testament. Prays. Boat comes aboard and brings Gazett signifying the Pope's Death [Innocent XI.].

Aug. 22-26. Enclos'd in Cou. Hull's to me. Mr. Mather, Sam, Mr. Brattle and I came aboard first in a boat: gave 3<sup>s</sup>: Others came aboard in the night.

Satterday, Sept. 14<sup>th</sup>. Went on Board when the Ship under sail, but wind veer'd against us, so came again to Deal.

Sept. 15. Sabbath-Day. Went aboard: the Fleet sail'd, Wind N. West, veer'd fairer and fairer: in the Night was much Lightening and loud Thunder. Exceter convoy. Sail by Dover, Folkston, Rumney.

Monday, Sept. 16. is rainy, so can't well see the Land.

Tuesd. Sept. 17. Come up with Portland, wind at north, or thereabouts, and very strong. We are almost the farthest of all from the Shoar, and had lost the Exceter in the night: find her in the morning. Am ready to wish myself with Mr. Mather and my Namesake, recovering of the Small Pocks at Deal. After, sail with the Barclay-Castle, and on Wednesday morning, between 8 and 9. fair wether. Came to an Anchor in Plimouth Sound, the Tide being made strongest against us, and the wind but bare.

Wednes. Sept. 18. About 6. p.m. the Ship being got up higher, we went ashoar. Mr. Brattle and I lodg'd together at the house of one Mr. John Jennings near the Key. Note. In coming up a Privateer fell foul of us, took off our Ancient-Staff, much discompos'd our wooden Guns, put Will's [Merry's] Thumb out of joint, and some other damage. Nf.L. [?] Convoy have an order not to goe, it being so late in the year.

Sept. 20. Writ to Mr. Mather at Deal, and to Cousin Hull at London, to pay ten pounds to Anne Searle, in

Meeting house Alley. She is a Widow, daughter to my Landlord, John Jennings, of whom I am to receive the Money in way of Exchange.

Sabbath, Sept. 22. I goe and hear Mr. Jacobs. In the morn he reads the 39<sup>th</sup> of Jeremiah. Preach'd a funeral Sermon from 1 Thess. 4. 17. — and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Begun thus — One being lately dead who did belong to this Congregation, but now, we hope, is gone to a better. Afternoon read the 4<sup>th</sup> John, and 1 John 3. 19, was his Text: — The love of the Saints with its genuine effects and fruits, is a good Evidence of real sincere Christianity.

Monday, Sept. 23. Last night Thundered for a great while together, rains this day. Many Souldiers march away to make room for D. Bolton's<sup>1</sup> Regiment lately come hether by sea. Two Serjeants goe out of our house, and two other Souldiers come in.

Sept. 24. Mr. Brattle, Dr. Edwards and I walk to Stonehouse, 1½ Mile from Plimouth, a Causey thither. Visit Capt. Hutchinson and Mr. Partridge, who lodge there in a very mean Chamber.

Sept. 25. Went with Mr. Bedford, who shewed us the Cittadel, and Sir Nicholas Stañing, the Lieut. Governour, who gave order that he should have us into his house, and then came in himself, and drank to us in a Glass of Ale, that being the drink I chose and Mr. Brattle. Two Men were laid Neck and heels. In the afternoon went aboard and fetch'd ashoar my Trunk: Landlady's Brother and Daughter went with us.

Sept. 26. Went with Capt. Hutchinson, Brattle and Partridge to Milbrook in Cornwall, and there din'd well for 6<sup>d</sup> apiece. Went by the Beach and came home the uþer Way by Maker Church, which is a large fair one

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Powlett, first Duke of Bolton, 1689, raised a regiment of foot for the reduction of Ireland. — Eds.



upon the Hill, and so a very good Mark for Seamen. Go over Crimble Passage to Mount Edgecomb. Milbrook is part in Devonshire and part in Cornwall. Dr. Edwards came after us, and overtook us coming home. Milbrook People goe to Maker Church.

Friday, Sept. 27. Landlord receives a Letter from 's Daughter giving an Account of £10, paid her for me by Cous. Hull, but I have no Letter from my Cousin.

Sept. 28. Mr. Brattle and I walk out and see the Course of the Water brought by Sir Francis Drake, Año, 1591, as appears by an Inscription. We are told it is brought so winding about, that notwithstanding the Hilliness of the Country, no Troughs are used to carry it over Valleys. Many very good Overshut Mills driven by it. Upon another Conduit is engraven, *Redigit desertum in Stagnum*,<sup>1</sup> 1593. It's brought 9 or 10 miles, from Ruper Down, deriv'd from a River as one goes to Tavistock, comonly call'd Testick.

Sept. 29. Sabbath. Heard Mr. Sherril [Sherwil] preach forenoon and afternoon, from the 11<sup>th</sup> Isaiah, 6-9, verses; of the taming Men's Dispositions by the Grace of God.

Sept. 30. Mr. Bedford invited Mr. Brattle and me to dinner to Mr. Dracot's. Had a dish of Fowls and Bacon with Livers: a Dish of Salt Fish, and a Piece of Mutton reaching from the neck a pretty way of the back, the Ribs reaching equally from the back bone, Cheese and fruit: no Wine. This evening we are told that 4 Frigots are come into the Sound which are to Convoy the Ships bound to the West Indies.

Octob. 1. Receiv'd Letters from Cous. Hull and Mr. Mather about N. E. See one Mr. Tucker married at the New Church.

Octob. 2. Hear a Stranger preach at Mr. Jacobs's from

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<sup>1</sup> "He turneth the wilderness into a standing water." Psalms cvii. 35.  
—EDS.

Exod. 25. 15, from whence observ'd that God was not oblig'd to continue the Tokens of his favourable presence to any people. At the Fleece Capt. Clarke tells us that he hath this day put Six hundred weight of good Beef aboard, and what is there already is good. Make some essays to get Mr. Edwards again, but he seems resolv'd to the contrary.

Oct. 3. Agree upon putting aboard 5 Shoats, fowls, &c.

Oct. 4. Write to Cous. Hull, which is at least my third Letter. Goe aboard the America: bring Will Merry ashoar. See the Ships in Catwater [the estuary of the river Plym], over against Onson Passage. Dr. Edwards goes aboard Capt. Weare, in order to leave us.

Oct. 5. The Ships inward bound sail for London. Dr. Edwards in Weare. Went to Grimble [Cremil] Passage. Spake to Mr. Jacobs when came home. Saw an Ensign buried. The Company was drawn up in one Rank, Pikes, next the House of Mourning. When ready to goe, rank'd six, came to funeral Posture: Colours cover'd with Mourning went after Pikes, then Captain, then Parson and Corps. Posted the Pikes *ex adverso*, mutually, when Service saying. Gave 3 Volleys, but saw not the Colours open all the while. The Tattoo with which the Watch is set goes thus:—

Dürrera düm  
 Dürrera düm  
 Dürrera düm  
 Dürrera düm  
 Düm düm Düm düm Dürrera düm  
 Düm düm Düm düm Dürrera düm  
 Dürrera düm.

About three Sets of Drums take it one after another.

Oct. 6. Goe to Mr. Jacobs's, and in the Afternoon sit down with him at the Lord's Super: and so I goe from one Pit to another to see if I can find any Water to refresh me in my disappointments and discomforts. Dr.

Edwards comes in again being put back by the wind: is now willing to goe. But, Oct. 7, the Captain and he are like to break off again for 20<sup>s</sup>, and hear of a Frigot being taken by the French off of Silly, so that am wavering as to my going, or else would rather give the 20<sup>s</sup> myself than goe without him. Were four Frigots of the English, and eleven of the French. The Lively taken.

Thursday, Oct. 10. Set Sail out of Plimouth Sound with a fair wind, East, N.E. Capt Allen having left the Ship I was about to leave it too, but he returning I returned.

Oct. 11. Pleasant wether. Two Rogues to windward of us, which the Man of War keeps off but can't come up with them: in the night a meer Calm.

Oct. 12. Fair wether, wind East and somewhat Southerly.

Sabbath, Oct. 13. The Convoys leave us when scarce 40 Leagues from Silly. Night very tempestuous.

Oct. 14. Make a shift to sail West, and West and by South. A Scattering day. I broke my white Plate.

Tuesd. Oct. 15. Is a strong West wind, or West by South. Saw a Rainbow or two this day. Sail to the Northwest.

Oct. 16. The wind is just in our Teeth. Last night presently after going to bed, turn'd out in some Consternation because of a Squawl, and danger of ruining on 2 or 3 Ships. Many Porposes, or Herring Hogs seen this day.

Thursday, Oct. 17. Foggy rainy wether, wind at South pretty strong: Several Ships in sight.

Oct. 18. *ditto*. Oct. 19. Wind westerly. One of the Frenchmen complain'd yesterday and to day of a feverish distemper. Dumenee.

Sabbath, Oct. 20. About sunrise saw a pleasant Rainbow. Matt. 18. 20. This place is to be understood of the least meetings of true Christians in the name of Christ,



as well as of the largest Councils. Preston, Pillar and Ground of Truth, 7. 11. 2 Kings 17. 33. 34. God will not own his own comānded Worship when mingled and compounded with another, *idem*, p. 16 at the bottom.

Monday, Oct. 21. Wind came at South-East some hours before day. By noon was little wind: a little before night it came at Norwest, so brought on board the other Tack, and laid the Ship's head the other way. Found out Mr. Mather's Cake.

Oct. 22. Wind comes contrary: calm.

Wednesday, Oct. 23. Wind N. Nor,-East since 10 last night. 6 or 7 Knots the Ship runs.

Oct. 24. See a Sail to windward. Capt. Dumenee remains very ill. Mr. Edwards took some blood from him to day. Sorted my Letters, giving what belong'd to Capt. Clark inside his bagg.

Oct. 25. Fair wether, but wind in our teeth.

Oct. 26. Fair warm wether, wind Southwest, sail N.W. by W.N.W.: are in  $44^{\text{d}} 30^{\text{m}}$  Latitude. Tis supōs'd a Current sets us to the Southward, or else cant tell how came by this Latitude. Mr. Fañevol sick yesterday: pain in 's ear. Have a very sick Ship. Read in Dr. Preston, of God's Attributes, from 7, A.M. The Lord comfort me by that His Name. Mr. Partridge has forborn coming into Cabin some days, looking on the disease to be contagious.

Oct. 27. Very rainy day: sun shines out pleasantly about an hour before setting: grows a Calm, which makes the Ship roll in a very irksome mañer.

Oct. 28. Capt. du Menee very dangerously ill. See a Ketch ahead of us. Wind in our teeth. We goe to Prayer, and Eat in the Round house by reason of the Frenchman's illness.

Oct. 29. Last night sail'd briskly a good part of it: but this day the wind at South West, and a Swoln Sea. Fair wether.

Oct. 30. Wind N.W. At night Demenee is watch'd with, who has been delirious a great while.

Oct. 31. Strong West wind, so that we hardly have gain'd anything for a considerable time.

Friday, Nov. 1. Contrary Wind, but shifting. Mr. Partridge trim'd me. Will Merry has the Measles, as many have had before him.

Nov. 2. Strong West wind: last night much Lightening and Rain. In the afternoon saw a Ship standing to the Eastward, but when came nearer stood from us to the Southward; we ly N.N.W. Demenee grows better.

Nov. 3. Strong West Wind.

Nov. 4. Wind N.W. Mr. Simons has the Scurvy.

Nov. 5. Wind N.W. Rainbow. Dine in the Cabin again. Mr. Simons has a very bad Legg. Put on my Deal Stockings to day. Nov. 6 North Wind.

Nov. 7. Wind S.S.E., S.W. and S.E. Last night Mr. Brattle was taken with his indisposition of Spitting Blood. Call'd the Doctor, and was about to breath a vein as lay in 's cabin: but it ceasing, defer'd. This day after a slender Dinner, was taken worse than in the night, and had Seven Ounces of Blood taken away.

Nov. 8. Last night about 12 or 1, Mr. Brattle calls me up, thinking to be let Blood again, to prevent his coughing it up: but Dr. Edwards gave him 4 Grains of Laudanum Opiatum dissolv'd in Plantan Water, with which he lies. In the day inclines to vomit, which doth about noon, without Blood. Eats Barly boil'd. Towards night the wind comes fast, but is very little of it.

Nov. 9. Wind is fair, being North, or better, make good way of it: the former part of the night uneasy: Ship passing in the trough of the Sea.

Nov. 10. Wind fair, but towards night veers to the Westward of the North. Capt. Walkington is so sick as to take his Cabin and keep it almost all day. Dr. gives him something to sweat at night.

Nov. 11. Fair Wind. So Tuesday.

Nov. 12. A fairer, but little of it. Strengthen the Bolt-sprit, the Gañon [lashing] of which was loosed.

Nov. 13. Are in 43. Latitude. Sound, but find no bottom; so suppose we are Southward of the Bank, 4. p.m. Birds and coldness of the Water are indications that we are near it.

Nov. 14. Fair Wind and Wether. Sound, but find no bottom. Wether so mild that eat at the Table on the Deck, 4 or 5 times together.

Friday, Nov. 15. 9 *Mane*. Sound, and find ground in 45 or 50 fathoms. Bring the Ship to and put out fishing Lines. Mr. Fanevill only catches a good Cod, which had several small Fish in him, suppose to be Anchoves, however, very much resemble that Fish. Very foggy wether. Judge are on the Southermost point of the Bank. And now we have tasted afresh of American Fare. Lord, give me to taste more of thyself everywhere, always adequately good. Nov. 16. N.W. NN.W. Nov. 17. North Wind. Calm.

Monday, Nov. 18. South Wind, run 7 Knots. See many Porpuses jumping.

Nov. 19. N.W. and North Wind. See two Ships astern, standing right after us.

Wednesday, Nov. 20. East Wind. Sail 6 and 7 Knotts. Note. Last night about 2 a'clock, Mr. Partridge came into Cabin and told us the Ships were come up with us, which made several suspect them to be Rogues, and put us in fear lest they should be Enemies. The small Arms are charg'd. But in the morning, by putting out our Ancients, find them to be Jersey-Men, our Friends. The best Sailer spake with us: he shortens sail for his partner, who sails heavy and hath sprung a Leak. Thinks we are the hindermost of all the Fleet. So, by the good Hand of God, that which cause of Fear and thoughtfulness to us, is turned into matter of Pleasure and Comfort. Blessed be



his Name. Yesterday Observed: found the Latitude 41 and 25 Minutes.

Nov. 20, 1689. If it should Please God, who is Righteous in all his Ways, and Holy in all his Works, to put an End to my Life before I come to Boston, my Desire is that the Rev. Mr. John Hale, of Beverly, have given him the Sett of Pool's Synopsis which I bought of Mrs. Mills, quarto 5 Volumes: And that Mr. Charles, the Son of the Reverend Mr. Israel Chauncy, of Stratford, have given him another Sett of Mr. Pool's Synopsis Criticorum, in five Books: And that the Money laid out with the Winthrops, on account of the Land the South Meeting House stands on, be given the persons concerned, that so I [who?] have done them no good, may doe them no hurt. Provided no damage hapen by a Bond I have given the Winthrops, or one of their Husbands, a Copy of, which is in my Papers. And that my dear Brother, Mr. Stephen Sewall, have given him my new Cloath-colour'd suit with the Chamlet Cloak. And if I have not done it already in my Will, left at Boston, I desire that my Namesakes, Sam. Toppan and Sam. Sewall of Newbury, have Five pounds apiece given them by my dear Mother and Wife, unto whom my other Friends are equally known as to my Self. I desire my dear Wife to accept of my Watch as a Token of my Love. And as to the things mentioned on this and the other side of this Leaf, I leave them to the Discretion and good liking of my dear Mother and Wife, to doe them or leave them undone, because the Estate is theirs. As witness my Hand,

SAM. SEWALL.

Nov. 21. A great deal of Rain. Wind Shifts. Speak with the Jersey Men.

Nov. 22. Friday. Wind comes to Nor West and blows hard. Speak with the Jersey Men.

Nov. 23. Have an Observation and find are in 40 and 33 Minutes, more Southerly much than the Mariners supos'd: so Tack'd immediately, and by night the wind

came to fair, about W. by N. West, and had very fresh way.

Nov. 24. Suppose are now in the Latitude of Cape Cod, or near it: Sound, but find no bottom: Wind at West, but by night veers to the Southward, so as to ly West Nor-west. Very pleasant wether, but no Observation.

Monday, Nov. 25. About Break of Day the Wind carries away our Main-Top Mast, breaking it off just above the Cap: about 8 Foot of the Mast lost. The day spent in fitting the piece, hoisting it into its place, and partly fixing it with Rigging. Intended to have set up a Purse to day, [for the one who should first get sight of land] but this evil occurrent hindred us. Wind comes to the Northward of the East, which makes us bring the other Tack aboard, and by Westward by South, hope the Wind will veer faster.

Tuesday, Nov. 26. Wind abaft; hails and snows, yet not very thick wether. The Main-Top Sail was brought to in the night. In the morn give two half Crowns, a Jacobus, and a Carolus Secundus to the Purse. Sounded in the night, and now about 10, *mane*, but fetch'd no ground: so judge are between the Bank and the Land. A flock of Isle a Sholes Ducks seen to day. When the Lead came up saw we had Ground about one hundred and 30 Fathom: in the night lay by, not knowing our Latitude.

Nov. 27. Wind West and by South. Sail to the Norward: Sound and find all oose at 130 Fathoms. In the night Sound and find small, black, gritty Stones, so in the night stood to the Southward, because came to 70 and 50 Fathom, and had not an Observation.

Nov. 28. Stand to the Norward, N.W. and N.W. and by Nor. E. Have a good Observation: are in the Latitude of 42 and 50, which, it seems, is the Latitude of Cape Anne. Hoist up the Top Sails, to see if can make the Northern Land. See a small Boat gone adrift. About

3. p.m. Samay goes up the Shrouds and on the Top Sail Yard spies Land, and takes the Purse. The Mate Wallis and Guñer say 'tis Pigeon-Hill on Cape Anne. Guñer, who is a Coaster, saith also that he sees Newbury Old Town Hill, and Rowly Hill. All see it plain on the Deck before Sunset. Pleasant wether, clear skie, smooth sea. Sail N.W. Blessed be God who has again brought me to a sight of New-England.

Nov. 29. Most pleasant day. Find the Land we saw yesterday to be Agamenticus Hills. Cañot wether Cape Anne, so goe into Piscataqua River: land at the Great Island: from thence to the Bank in the night. Capt. Hutchinson and I lodge at Mr. Crafford's. Send Madam Vaughan her Cheese.

Satterday, Nov. *ult.* Ride to Newbury. Friends there exceeding glad to see me, being surpris'd at my coming that way.

[The following memoranda are copied from leaves at the end of the book containing the journal of Sewall's foreign trip.]

July 11. 1689. Receiv'd of Mr. Samuel Layfield, by his Servant, £20.0.0.

July 13. Paid Joseph Cliffe, Collector of Poll Money, Ten pounds one Shilling.

[A few lines are illegible.]

Mr. Wotton gave me a very good Book, well bound and Lettered on the Back, of Mr. Flavell's. Mr. Matthew Wotton, Bookseller, sends me by his Servant a parcell of Englands Duty, which are 25, the Sale of which in N. E. I am to warrant, if I doe well get there; not else. Are sent to Mr. Joseph Brañing, at Boston, New England. I pay him the frait for them.

July 22, 1689. Mr. Joseph —aice and I saw Mr. Increase Mather Sign, Seal and Deliver an Obligation to Mr. Stephen Mason for 150 pounds English Money with



Interest this day 2 Moneth, as I take. Gave Bonds signed and sealed of the same tenor. Sealed at the N. E. Coffee house with my *Anchora Spei*.

To 2 ounces Mañæ 0.1.0

To 4 quarts Northall Water, by Dr. Morton's Directions — 0.1.0.

Paid Mrs. Cooper in full for washing my Clothes and making up Linen — 0.1.4.

July 24. paid my Barber 2<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>, Man, 2<sup>d</sup> — £0.2.6.

Borrow'd and rec'd of Samuel Sewall, Money of England, Twenty Shillings. I say, Borrow'd and rec'd *per me*

BENJAMIN B. HALLAWELL.

£1.0.0.

July 26. Bought at Holburn a Greek Testament and Shephard's Abridgment of the Laws — 0.18.6.

July 30<sup>th</sup> Rec'd of Mr. Tho. Rowe, Five pounds English Money. This Money by order and — in account of Mrs. — Pole, widow, of Boston. This five pounds is in full of a Legacy given said Pole by Mrs. Katharin Norcott de'd, in her last Will and Testament; whereof said Rowe is one Executor £5.0.0. *Vide* July 18. at tother end of this Booke.

July 31. To a Map of England, Scotland and Ireland 0.10.6. Large one of London 0.2.6.

Went and was Trim'd by Cousin Henry Ward, and gave his wife, who sat by him in the Shop  $\frac{1}{2}$  Duz. Silver Spoons, marked E. W. 1689. Cost 63<sup>s</sup> of Mr. Layfield, weighing 10<sup>oz</sup>. 11<sup>P</sup> — 8<sup>s</sup> fashion, £3.3.0.

Aug. 1, 1689. To Mr. Wotton, for Baker's Chronicle, £0.17.6.

Aug. 3. Lent and paid John Rawson, five Shillings, as per Receipt. Mother-in-Laws Name is Margaret James, next the Dogg, on the Left hand, without Bishop Gate — £0.5.0.

Aug. 8. To 2 Pole's Añotations and 2 Catechises. £4.8.0. Leusden's Hebrew Bible — 0.18.0

Rec'd of Mrs. Rebeckah Barrett one Letter with a Token to Madame Leverett at Boston, her only Sister.

Aug. 9. To 3 Bushels and 3 pecks very good boiling Pease — £0.13.

Madam Usher sends a small Book to Mr. Moodey by me.

Rec'd of Mr. Layfield — £16.17.0 Cash and the Spoons, July 31., now writt off, which come to £3.3.0 — £20.0.0., which is, as supōse, in whole of my Bill.

To Mr. Increase Mather for New England £27.0.0.

In the Barrel, Aug. 12. '89., one Set Poles Synopsis Criticorum: Two pair Añotations, *ditto*.

Aug. 12. To 2 more Poles Añotations, put up this day, £4.8.0.

Left for Cousin Hull to pay Mr. Parker's Bill: Mr. Alford for my Watch, Mr. Dunton.

Paid 40£ to the Heirs of Mr. Stephen Winthrop for Releases of Meetinghouse Ground and my Warehouse: fain to take up the Money of Mr. Hall and give bond with Cousin Hull, and counterbond to Cousin Hull, £40.0.0: was fain to doe it in a hurry, Capt. Willie not being come from sea till very lately. Gave Mrs. Perry Clarks Exam- ples. To Mr. Walter Peřy in full for Board from June 24 to this day at 8<sup>s</sup> per Week — £2.16. Borrow'd of Mr. Perry, Seven Guineas in Gold — £7.10.6.

Gave a Note to Mr. Stephen Mason that if he would accomodate Madam Usher with £5., I would see it repaid. Left to Cousin Hull, to pay the Lines — £13.16.0. Hooks 0.11.6.

Paid of the Chees . . . . .	0. 8. 0
Lines . . . . .	13.16. 0
Hooks . . . . .	0.11. 6
7 Guineas of Mr. Perry . . . . .	7.10. 6
Mr. Parker . . . . .	25. 2. 9
Mr. Alford, Stockings . . . . .	3.15. 0
Borrow'd to Lend New-England . . . . .	27. 9. 2
	<hr/>
	78.12.11

Hat, for Self and Son 2.7.0.

Muffs, Yarman Serge 5.15.0.

Cousin Hull, Dr. To Cash paid him, which rec'd of Mr.

Whiting . . . . . £5.0.0

Bill to pay Beñet, of Ipswich . . . . . 5.0.0

for which sum of £10, Brother Stephen Sewall is to have Credit, I having rec'd it, or with 20<sup>s</sup> of Cousin Nath Duñer, John Edwards Money.

Deal, Aug. 19. To a pair Home-made Stockings, which weighed 11½ oz. at 3<sup>d</sup> . . . . . 0.2.10

pair Mittins . . . . . 0.0. 5

Quire Paper . . . . . 0.0. 6

To drink with Mr. Clark's Cousin, . . . . . 0.0. 6

Aug. 24. To an English Testam<sup>t</sup> Oxford Print, 0.1.2.

To a Mans and Womans pair of Kid Leather Gloves, which gave Mrs. Lamin for her Brother Clarke, in consideration of his servicableness in dressing our Diet on Ship-board, cost — 0.4.0. Gave Capt. Clarke two Guineas, one of the new Coin. In consideration of my Passage hether 2.3.0. To the Men on Shoar, to drink — 0.1.0.

Aug. 26. To a Bed of Straw to lay under my Feather-bed — 0.2.9.

Aug. 28. To Mr. Brattle, for my Share of Disbursements towards the Cabbin — £4.11.4.

Paid it thus. Discounted his Barrel of Cheese . 1.10.9

Cash in Guineas . . . . . 3. 0.7

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4.11.4

Paid him at the same time, nine Shillings for two pounds of Quick Silver, he hath in his hand for me; I paid him for my Wether-Glass before, 10<sup>s</sup> —: in all, £0.19.0.

Sept. 26. Plimouth, deliver'd to be wash'd 2 Shirts, 2 Handkerchifs, 5 Crevats, 1 Cap, 1 Binder.



London, 168 $\frac{8}{9}$ . Massachusetts Bay, Dr.

Feb. 11.	To Cash Lent Mr. Mather . . . .	£50. 0. 0
May 14.	Cash deliver'd Mr. Rob't Humphrys .	20. 0. 0
	To Mr W <sup>m</sup> Grymes, past Copy Charter . . . .	2.10.10
Aug. 10.	To Mr. Mather . . . . .	27. 9. 2
		£100. 0. 0
Aug. 21.	To 4 parcells <i>per</i> the Deal-Hooker .	£0. 2. 0
	To William Wilbore, Searcher . . . . .	0. 1. 0

Aug. 13. Cous. Samuel Sewall hath aboard the America, Wm. Clark, Commander :

Number S. S. 20 Punchin Books : No. 3 Punchin Cordage ; 4 Barrel Cheese ; 5. Barrel Pease : 6. 7. 8 Three small Trunks with his childrens Names, the first Letters of them and the year of their Birth. 9. Barrel of Books : A Map of England and London : A Sea-Chest : A Bed, Quilt, 4 Blankets ; one large Trunk, mark'd with nails, H. S. one, (the 4<sup>th</sup>) small one, corded with Canvas : One old small Trunk ; one Cheese in Lead, mark'd W. V. for Capt. Vaughan, of Portsmouth, with Thanks for his kind Entertainment of me at his house : one Cheese Store : one Deal Box of Liñen : one Box Biskets : 1 Small Case Liquors ; 1 great Case Bottles (Liquors in Coñon) : Three Pastboard Boxes, with Hats : One Angling Rod : 1 Hat in a Paper : Two Hampers, 1 Beer, 1 Ale : 1 Ladder. Memorandum, that this 13<sup>th</sup> August, '89, I drew a first and 2<sup>d</sup> Bill of Exchange on Cous. Sewall, for £5. payable to Henry Beñet, of Ipswich : which said £5, with Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Whiting's £5. make good Cousin St. Sewall's £10.

4 good Muffs £2.6 : two of the best £1.14.0. Hats unpaid for. Above is Copy of what Cousin Hull writt at Gravesend.

Plymouth, Sep. 23. Borrowed of Mr. Thomas Brattle, Cash, Ten Shillings : fill'd 12 Bottles with Beer at the Ship, the same day £0.10.0.

Sep. 25 paid Mrs. Elizabeth Jennings 3<sup>s</sup> for our Chamber and Lodging to this day,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to me £0.1.6.

[In another hand.]

Plymouth 27<sup>th</sup> September 1689, at Mr. Jennings, neare the Key.

An Account of Severall things on board the America, Wm. Clark, Commander, which Mr. John Edwards saith he put on board said Ship when he came down to Gravesend intending to have gone Chirurgeon to the said Ship, and therefore took no receipt for them. J. E. a box of medicines, cost £15.15.7 store: 1 box with a jack in it, without any mark on't . . . . . 2.10.0  
 1 fishing net call'd a Seyne, put up in a powther barrell, with a canvis over it, and not marked . . . . . 3.0.0  
 J. E. store 1 box with Spice, fruit, &c, . . . . . 2.9.3  
 £23.14.10.

The day above-mention'd Capt Clark was here and told Mr. Edwards that whatever the said Edwards had aboard should be deliver'd to him or to his order, and that he would detain nothing, or words to the same effect, in presence of us,  
 SAMUEL SEWALL, THO. BRATTLE.

[Sewall resumes.]

Sept. 28, paid for washing Liñen at Plymouth, £0.1.4.

Oct. 1. Rec'd of Mr. John Jennings Ten pounds, in consideration of Ten pounds my Cousin Hull paid his Daughter, Anne Searl, in London, of which Mrs. Searl hath advised her Father, £10.0.0.

Oct. 2. paid my Landlady, Mrs. Jennings for my Chamber, 3<sup>s</sup>, —  $\frac{1}{2}$  — £0.1.6.

Oct. 3. To a Urinal, which is in the great Drawer of my Trunk, 0.0.6.

Paid Mr. Partridge, for my Self and Mr. Brattle, 30<sup>s</sup> each, to buy Shoats, &c, for the Voyage — £3.0.0.: my part, £1.10.0.

Paid Mr. Brattle three pounds ten shillings: which, with the 30<sup>s</sup> above, makes five pounds, the sum Capt. Ezek<sup>l</sup> Hutchinson paid Cous. Hull on the said Brattle's Account.

Oct. 8, 1689. Rec'd of Mr. John Jeñings, by the hand of his Wife, Five pounds, for which have drawn a Bill on Cousin Hull of the same sum, payable to Mrs. Anne Searl, daughter of said Jeñings.

Oct. 9. paid 18<sup>d</sup>, my proportion for the Chamber one week, Diet, and Punch last night, to drink with our Host and hostess, 1<sup>s</sup> — 0.2.6.

Nov. 26. paid to the Mariners Purse, £0.5.0.

Dec. 4. paid Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Vaughan fourty shillings N. E. Money, which is in full of what I borrowed of Mrs. Margaret Vaughan at Portsmouth, Nov. 30.

Decr. 12. Tho. Read, Sen<sup>r</sup>, of Sudbury Acknowledged an Instrument to his Son Thomas.

Henry Crane and Elisabeth his Wife Acknowledged a Deed to his Son Ebenezer.

Dec. 27. Lent and paid to Marshal General John Green, Cash, 7 pieces of  $\frac{8}{9}$  — £2.2.0.

Jan. 27 '89 Rec'd of Jno. Edwards, Chirurgeon, ten-shillings. He discounted the other Ten with Mr. Partridge, in whoes behalf I lent it and charg'd it to his Account. *Vide*, Oct. 7, '89.

Jan. 30.	Henry Hatsell . . . . .	£10. 0. 0.
Feb. 1.	Ward, for Books . . . . .	12. 5. 6.
„ 4.	Remainder, passage . . . . .	4. 5. 0.
„ 11.	Books . . . . .	6.10. 0.
„ „	Hat, Gloves, Token . . . . .	2. 9. 6.
„ „	Mr. Mather . . . . .	50. 0. 0.
„ 12.	Shoes and Gloves, . . . . .	1. 1. 6.
„ „	Rapier, Stockings, News, Books, Scales . . . . .	2.14. 8.
	Cloak and Suit . . . . .	4.14. 5.
	Fruit, Cranberries . . . . .	1.10. 0.



	Mr. Ive, for B. Hal'	. . . . .	72. 2. 7.
	Mugg,	. . . . .	2. 2. 0.
May	14.	Massachusetts . . . . .	22.10.10.
"	22.	Books . . . . .	5. 8. 2.
"	25.	Fish Tackle . . . . .	1. 4. 6.
"	27.	pair Stockings . . . . .	0. 5. 0.
"	30.	Books . . . . .	1. 2. 6.
June	10.	Irel. Prot. [Protestants of Ireland]	1. 0. 0.
"	15.	Cloths . . . . .	3.10. 6.
		Books . . . . .	4. 6. 6.
			<hr/>
			£209. 3. 2.
April	27.	Mills, Brattle . . . . .	6. 2. 0.
	30.	Fish Geer, Books . . . . .	10.16. 3.
May	3.	Ashwood . . . . .	5. 2. 0.
"	6.	. . . . .	22. 8.10.
			<hr/>
			£253.12. 3.
To James Warner, for Money rec'd at Boston			5. 0. 0.

[We omitted to note that one of Sewall's fellow-passengers on the voyage home is termed by him (p. 279) Mr. Fañevol, and again (p. 281) Mr. Fanevill. It is not improbable that this was one of the three Faneuils, brothers, one of whom settled in Boston. Savage, following authorities, doubts if Benjamin and John ever resided here, though Andrew was a citizen. But, besides the evidence of their admission, given in the document annexed, we find other proof. In the Boston Tax Lists (First Report of the Record Commissioners), in the tax of June, 1691, in the sixth division or ward, all three brothers are assessed. Benjamin and John are also named in the list of inhabitants for 1695.

The document we have cited is printed by Drake, and is found in a book in the City Clerk's office, containing bonds for the support of persons coming to reside in Boston in the latter part of the seventeenth century. All the persons named are in the tax-levy of June 1, 1691, and we conclude that the entry was made in the February preceding. It is as follows:—]

[“Boston, Feb. 1, 1691. List of Persons of the French nation admitted into the Colony by the Governor and Council.

Peter De Vaux, his wife, daughter and an English maid.

Francis Legare, two sons.

James Montier, his wife and English maid.

Isaac Biscon, his wife.

Benjamin }  
John        }  
Andrew     } Fuñell.

Doctor Basset.

Gabriel Bernon.

William Barbut.

Louis Allare.

Moses Secq.

Peter Uring. to give Security next meeting.”

We may add that Moses Secq figures on the list as Moses le Sec and Moses Dry. Peter Uring was probably a relative of Edward Youringe of 1674, and also of that Captain Nathaniel Uring who visited Boston between 1697 and 1721, and gave a description of the town, reprinted by Shurtleff (434-5), and elsewhere. — Eds.]

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[We have already mentioned the fact that Sewall made notes in the Almanac for each year, perhaps as aids to his more extended diary, and have given such extracts as served to increase our text. By the kindness of John Ward Dean, Esq., the accomplished librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, we have had an opportunity to examine his transcripts of these Sewall almanacs, made years ago.

The volume for 1689, being the period of Sewall's sojourn in England, contains so many interesting items omitted in his diary, that we have accepted Mr. Dean's obliging offer, and have printed nearly the whole. The items have been arranged, so far as possible, chronologically.

The almanac used was that of Thomas Trigg, published in Oxford and London, for the year 1689. It has, besides Sewall's notes, a few by Rev. Thomas Prince. The original is presumed to be in the Brinley Library at Hartford.]

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[Sewall has jotted down in one place the following table :—

[1689.] “ Wednesday, Jan’y 16, came to London.  
 Wednesday, Feb. 13th, went out.  
 Satterday, March 16, into London.  
 Thursday, March 28, went out.  
 Monday, Apr. 15, came into London.”

It will be noted (*ante*, pp. 248, 249) that the diary says hardly any thing in respect to these two journeys; but the entries in the Almanac are very full, and mention many interesting particulars as to Sewall’s relatives in England. — Eds.]

[Sabbath, Jan<sup>r</sup> 13, 1688<sup>§</sup>. Through God’s Grace landed at Dover about 9 or 10 aclock with Mr. Newgate, Mr. Tuthill and his Sister Mary and Monsier Odell. Mr. Newgate and I went and heard one Mr. Goff in a kind of Malt-House. In Afternoon all went. His Text Isa. ult. v. 9th, vid. Sermon-book.

Monday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 14. Rode in a Coach to Canterbury, after had view’d at the West, King’s Lodging &c. ’Tis a piece of work that at first cost Labour and Expençe, but now much decay’d. Getting to Canterbury a little before night view’d the Cathedral, which is a very lofty and magnificent building, but of little use. Visited Aunt Fissenden, her son John and three daughters Mary, Elisabeth, and Jane, as I take it. Cousin Jn<sup>o</sup> sup’d with us at the Red Lion. I should have said before that Dover is a large Town like a Bow, only the back is thīnest, reaching from the Fort to the Castle. A convenient Market-place and Court Chamber. The Harbour not altogether unlike Boston Dock but longer. Two Peers to keep off the small shingle or stones, and that also clear’d in some measure by a small River whoes head is several Miles towards Canterbury, on which two or three villages and Water-Mills for Corn. The Town built chiefly of brick. Houses, most of them old, some very fair buildings. Town built as the Cliff and Sea would admit back of the Bow toward the Cliff. A very handsom square of Warehouses, and another little range, both more newly built, on the Beach, which made a good shew as we came ashore in one of the Boats that came for a Pilot.

Tuesday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 15. Came to Rochester through Sittingburn (where din’d) and Ranam with other little places. No room in the Inn by reason of Souldiers, so lodg’d at a Coffee-House over against the Assize-House that is now building.

Tuesday, May 21, 1689. Elisabeth King was maried to Henry Ward whoes Father keeps a Coffee H. in Bredstreet London. Maried in Duke’s place. Cous. Hull made acc<sup>o</sup> she had been maried some]



[Moneths before to one Wilson. Receives this acc<sup>2</sup> from her June 18, 1689, with the Certificat. und<sup>r</sup> Stephen Denman's Hand.

Feb. 18, 1688 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Writt to Tho. Read of Gillingham desiring him and the Uncle, in whoes hand the Bond is, to give me a meeting at Salisbury. I can give an authentick discharge. Send me an answer by the first oportunity by Penton of Rumsey to be left with Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Storke of said Rumsey.

Feb. 18, 1688 $\frac{3}{4}$  Winchester

To a pr Boots Spurs Sasoons . . . . .	0-15-0
To the Man . . . . .	0- 0-6
A Letter . . . . .	0- 0-2
Tavern . . . . .	0- 0-6

Bought a Bay Horse at Winchester-Fair for which am to pay four pounds. Cous. Storke Cr. for the sum . . . . . £4-0-0

This day Feb. 18, Reed a Letter from Cous. Hull at Winchester which gives an acco. that my N.E. friends well; will send the Letters by the Carrier.

Febr. 19. Went to Winchester into the Hall and Arbour to see the choice of Knights of the Shire. Jarvis, Henly and Fleming stood. It came to the Pole, I offer'd my Voice, but was refus'd because I would not lay my hand on and kiss the book, though I offer'd to take my Oath.

My Rapier was broken short off, I supose coming down the steps into Hall. View'd the king's [troup?] Deliver'd Mr. Goldwier the packet of Letters in the Hall.

Feb. 19. Bought a Bridle, Saddle, Saddle cloath of Cous. Gilbert Bear, for . . . . .	0-6- 0
A new Girt . . . . .	0-0- 6
Driver . . . . .	0-0-10

Febr. 20<sup>th</sup> Went to Baddesly and Visited Mr. Goldwire Father and Son. Mis Goldwire is gone to London. Visited Cousin Rider, but he not at home. Mr. Goldwier invited me to stay there all night.

Saw the Stone of my Aunt Rider's Grave. She died March 21 1688 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Lies in Baddesly burying place.

Thursday, Feb. 21. Cousin Jane Holt came in the morn to invite me to diner. I went with my Aunt Alice and Cous. Nath! Had very good Bacon, Veal, and Parsnips, very good shoulder of Mutton and a Fowl roasted, good Currant suet Pudding and the fairest dish of Apples that I have eat in England. From thence Cous. and I went to the Church, and then up the Street to a Hill where we saw Winchester and Hampton plain; they lye pretty near North and South. Bell was ringing for a Funeral, so Ch<sup>b</sup> open. View'd it. Have three good Bells. Sup'd at Uncle Nath!]

[Friday, Febr. 22, 1688, rid to Southton with Cousin Nath! View'd the City. Deliverd Mr. Biles his Letter, and Mr. Rawling's his Letters to Mrs. Graunt, and to Mis Bernard who lives now with Mr. Lee the Son, she being remov'd from the Water Gate: So had a fair opportunity to see Mis Phoebe Lee formerly Goldwire: She entertain'd us with a great deal of Respect and kindness, Has three children, a Son and two Daughters, eldest ab' six years old.

Visited Aunt Hills and Cousin Thomas Duñer, who is just setting up at his Mother's house. Saw also the House where Cous. served his time and a young Maid, comely enough, whom some allot for my Cousin. Din'd at the Dolphin before these visits, at least before all save Mr. Biles. Cousin treated me.

To the Barber . . . . . £0-0-6

Enquir'd of Capt. Duñer as came home. He is rather worse than when we were there.

Satterday, Feb. 23, ride to Bushnet and get a Shoe set on upon my Horse 4<sup>d</sup>. — This day Cous. Newman's Man comes and tells my Aunt that his Mistress is brought to bed of a Son.

February 23, In the Afternoon Cous. and I goe and see fair Oak where are about 7 or 8 Houses. Drank a Cup of Beer at the Angel. — To a Bag 2.2<sup>d</sup>, Quire Paper at Winchester 3<sup>d</sup>, which Unkle bought £0-2-5.

Sabbath, Febr. 24, Went and heard Dr. May preach from Eph. 5. 11, Have no fellowship &c. Made a good Sermon; among other things mentioned erroneous Worship as a work of Darkness. I went not in till they began to sing. Stoke People sing well. In the Afternoon heard Mr. Leadbeter at Otterburn; rid most part of the way. He Catechis'd and by that means was somewhat hamper'd in his Surplice and Common Prayer because had left some till after Catechising. Text was out of Deut. 32. 36. Shew'd that when God's people lowest and the enemies highest God usually was wont to help. This day Scripture fulfill'd in your ears. God's People never have reason to despair; wicked never secure. Cous. Mary din'd with us.

Febr. 25, 1688. Went to Winchester in the morning, and there met with my Letters from my dear wife and New England Friends, dated January last. Laus Deo.

To a pair of Buckles for Cousin Sarah . . . . . £0-3-3  
Spent in my Journy . . . . . 0-3-7

View'd Winchester Colledge, the Chapel, Library built in the midst of the Green within the Cloisters. Left my Indian Bible and Mr. Mather's Letter there. Was shew'd also the Hall which is above Stairs. Cous. Bear din'd with me at the Checker.

Febr. 26. Recd. of Cous. Nath. Duñer for acc<sup>o</sup> of John Edwards Cash £3-0-0 Three pounds Engl. Money.]

[Feb. 27 [originally written 26 — J.W.D.] Lodg'd in Mr. Goldwire's best Chamber at Baddesly. Febr. 27, din'd there, then went to Rumsey. Febr. 28, Rid to Salisbury and paid Madam Sarah Woodward Nine Engl. Crowns in full for Ten pieces of Eight for William Brown, Esq<sup>r</sup> of Salem, as p<sup>r</sup> Rec<sup>t</sup> writ by Mr. Chauncellors Clerk, said Chauncellor being at London. . . . . £2-5-0

The Chancellor's clerk shew'd me the Cathedral, Chapter House and Cloysters. Chapter H. round with a Pillar in the middle to suport the Roof. Got the Organist to give us some Musick. Bp. Davenant's Tomb. Shew'd as a strange thing (a Bishp I think) that lay North and South. The Cathedral is very neat and stately. Two Crosses in It. Candles on the Co<sup>m</sup>union Table, so at Winchester. The Bells hang in a Steeple distant from the Ch<sup>b</sup>. Tell us are Twelve small Chapels for Prayers every Hour. The Bible over the Passage that leads into the Chorus, that so Persons may hear on both sides. The Spire is excellent for height and beauty. Din'd with the Chancellor's Clerk. His Lady gone to a Christening, that it was invited and could not stay, but shew'd us in a ma<sup>n</sup>er her whole House, first Plate, Library and Bedding. Her Daughter of 4 moneths old whom took out of the Cradle and kiss'd though asleep.

Febr. 28. Rid on the Powny to go to Shaftisbury but rained and wind very bleaky, so returnd to the Wh<sup>t</sup> Hart again. Ab<sup>t</sup> an Hour by Sun went out of the City at Fisherton Bridge to goe along the villages by the Bourn towards Mere. Reach'd to Chilmark. Lay at the Noggin just by the Ch<sup>b</sup> on a Doust [?] Bed; rested very well. Had the ringing of the four Bells. Pretty handsom Ch.; Steeple in the middle. Four Grave Stones like the roof of a House; written on the side.

Half Bush! oats and Su<sup>p</sup>er, Breakfast. . . . . £0-3-6  
 Salisbury . . . . . 1-8  
 is a large place good streets, a very fair Market place besides a butter Cross.

From Salisbury to Wilton, and so on throw some other villages to Chilmark, where lodgd at the Noggin near the Ch. in a doust [down?] Bed.

March 1. From Chilmark to Hendon a Market Town, thence to Fonthill where the Springs rise so thick in the Gravelly high-way that in less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a Mile the stream obtains the reputation of a little river, by Sir Edward Cottington's To Barwick, so to Mere where saw the like out of the Hill and high way. Mere is a compact Town, and the Ch. hath a good handsome Steeple with four Pyramids at top. To Gillingam a convenient place. Lay at the Red Lion. Deliver'd my Letters to mr. Richard and Jn<sup>o</sup> Pern. Satter-]



[day March 2<sup>d</sup> rid to Shaftisbury, a pretty fair Town built with stone, Chimneys and all, some Houses thatcht, some coverd with stone, Two Churches on the Hill, Trinity and St. Peters, great Market of wheat, Barley, Beans, Beef, Mutton, Leather, Cloaths &c. The part of the Town next Gillingam fetches water at the foot of the Hill out of Gill. Liberty in consideration of which pay a Calvs head, Pair fringe Gloves of a Noble.

Gillingham March 2<sup>d</sup> 1688, Recd. of Mr. John Pern One Guiney to give to Mr. Edward Rawson with a Letter.

With Bread and Beer, a Duz. or two Come dancing down the Hill the Monday before ascension day; i.e. the two persons last married whom they call the Lord and Lady, but now generally there is a stated Dancer, a merry arch jocose Man, who procures a Lady. A Horse carries ab<sup>t</sup> Sixteen Gallons in two Tuns, which is worth two pence, to some of the farthest Houses from the Wells. One well is for washing, the other for brewing. I saw a Horse load from the washing well; a furse keeps the water from flapping out. Lodg'd in the Crown at the red Lion in Shaftsbury.

March 4, Went to Gillingham and from thence to Meere, so to Wylie, lay at the Bull. March 5, to Winterburn Stoke a small village by a Bourn four miles from Wilie. When on the Downs ab<sup>t</sup> two mile from W. Stoke saw Yarnborough Castle, which hath ab<sup>t</sup> three ditches, the inermost deep and large q<sup>t</sup> within a great quantity of ground, the ground hath such a descent that being rid in could not see the other Ditch on the contrary side, q<sup>t</sup> a pretty many acres of ground, lies in an orbicular form. From thence to Stonehinge, four miles from W. Stoke are nine transverse stones, three of them together, the other single because I suppose their fellows fallen down and so there is a discontinuance, rid through between some; but others the suporters stand so close canot. Almsbury to the eastward of this place. The suporters have round Tenons, and the transverse pieces mortices. From Stonige rid to Lake and Durnford ab<sup>t</sup> two miles off upon a pleasant Bourn from Almsbury which runs to Salisbury. From thence four miles to Salisbury, went to old Sarum, rid up to the highest sumit. Are very deep Ditches something like Dover Castle, only Sarum's walls all gone save some little part or fragment of Flint wall in one place and other stone in another. From thence to the Plume of Feathers in Salisbury where were entertained in the Lamb. From thence home ab<sup>t</sup> Sunset. Deo Gloria.

Bought a whip at Salsbury 1.6<sup>d</sup>, two p<sup>r</sup> sizers for my Daughters  
 1.2<sup>d</sup> . . . . . 0-3-8  
 At Shaftsbury Gloves . . . . . 0-3-6  
 two p<sup>r</sup> for my Daughters, 18<sup>d</sup>, p<sup>r</sup> for Cous. Mercy.]

[Spent I suppose in the Journy ab<sup>t</sup> 40 or 50<sup>s</sup>. Bore Cous. Stork's charges . . . . . £2-10-0

Wensday March 6. Went to Lee. Saw my House, Barns and Ground, there are Seven Closes, two very fair ones besides the Orchard Ground and Half an Acre just by mr. Nowes's house. Visited him. He offers me four Hundred Pounds for my Bargain. The Tenants wife teaches scholars, One was reading whom I markt and gave them 6<sup>d</sup> to buy A<sup>p</sup>les . . . . . £10-0-6

Thorsday March 7<sup>th</sup> Recd. of Cous. Jn<sup>o</sup> Stark, 8 half Crowns, Engl. Money . . . . . £1-0-0

Thorsday, March 7. Went from Rumsey to Redbridge just below which is the Landing place ab<sup>t</sup> 4 miles from Rumsey. From thence throw Milburn to Southampton. Heard mr. Robinson sitting in mr. Taylor's Pue. Text, as I remember, out of Rom. 6. 3. Know ye not &c. Said they who were call'd to teach were call'd to baptise though they were not settled Officers; They who hold forth the Covenant of Grace, may set the Seal to it. Philip the Deacon: Apostles not Apostles till after Christ's Ascention, for till then sent only to the Jews, yet they baptised. Seem'd to say must be a Sermon or the like at Baptisme. This day Mr. Tomlin baptiseth Warner Newnam at Stoke, Preaches at Unkle Du<sup>m</sup>er's. After Sermon went into mr. Robinson's and sat with him, mr. Thornes, mr. Lee the Father, mr. Watts, mis Robinson. Went home with Jane Kirby, Cous. Tho. Holt's mistress; but I knew it not till he met her; it being late, and I observ'd a boy run parallel with us in the Grounds and ask'd her about it; I took him up; and when set him down by the Mill, Lent him half a Crown to buy Paper and Quills, told him if learnd to write and read well, 'twas his, if not, must have it again with I know not how much interest and put him to a great deal of trouble.

Friday, March 8, Unkle Richard, Cous. Nath. and I went to Hatterworth, there din'd with Fritters at Goodwife Galler's where Mehetabel Holt lives, thence to Rumsey and Lee, take Livery and Seisin of my Tenement. To Stoke.

Satterday, March 9. Ride to Tichfield, view the Church and mr. Oakes's Pulpit, removd from the Pillar where it stood in his time to the other side. Sexton spake much in 's praise and enquired after his Children. Saw Mis. Bromfield's Monument who died 1618. Din'd with Cous. Tho. Du<sup>m</sup>er, bought the first pound of Tobacco which he sold in a Fair. Cous. Nath. accompanied me to Kirbridg, from thence alone, saw my Lord Southampton's seat by the way, is a small Town. From thence I rid alone to Gosport ab<sup>t</sup> 6. miles. Gosport is compass'd with a form'd Bank and Ditch which I walkd all round. Is two or three good streets in 't but they are not long. Pretty good houses.]

[Mar. 10 would have heard mr. Goldwire, but mr. Beamont the Minister of Faream preached from Ps. 45, 15. Doct. Interest and Duty of Christians to rejoice in Chs: made good profitable Sermons; but I think might have been more so, if had us'd the Metaphor of Bridegroom and Bride, which heard not of. Sat in the Afternoon in mr. Lock's seat, who has the best House in Town.

Monday, March 11, Went to Portsm<sup>2</sup>, Mr. Barton shew'd me the Fortifications, with whom din'd, visited Cous. Duñer, saw the Dock, long Storehouse where Cables lye at length, Royal Charles 136 foot by the Keel, to the Sun at the Red Lion again and so to Tichfield, where lodgd at the Bull.

March 12. To Bussledon where a Pink leaving with Charcole out of Tichfield Park for Cornwall, to Itching Ferry after had viewd Peartree Chapel, Madam Mills Daughter and two or 3 more accompanying me, is a plain Chapel of Stone covered with Tile. Rails of Burying place are mostly fasten'd in a circle of living Trees: Is Service there but once a fortnight. Saw no Memorandum of Richard Smith Esq<sup>r</sup> the Builder. To Rumsey, visited Mr. Warren, gave him Twenty Shillings, visited mr. Burbenk. — N. at Portsm<sup>2</sup> saw plenty of Shrimps which are took at Porchester.

March 13, 1688<sup>3</sup> Recd. of Amie Gales Fifteen pounds Money with some Abatements by reason of extraordinary Losses, and extream lowness of the price of Corn, is in full for One years Rent of my Tenement at Lee, ending this present Moneth the five and twentieth day 1689. Abatements relate to several years. S.S. Recd. XV£ £15-0-0.

Recd of Cous. Storke 22 pr. Wom<sup>s</sup> Stockins n<sup>o</sup> 30 at 24<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>

p Duz. . . . .	£2- 5-0
Item 4 Duz. ditto at 20 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> p Duz N <sup>o</sup> 24 . . . . .	4- 2-0
It <sup>m</sup> 16 pr. wom <sup>s</sup> at 1 <sup>s</sup> p pair N <sup>o</sup> 16 . . . . .	0-16-8
7 pr. Mens coloured at 3 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 20 . . . . .	1- 4-6
6 pr. Youths at 18 <sup>d</sup> pr. N <sup>o</sup> 24 . . . . .	0- 9-0
	<hr/>
	8-17-2

8 Duz. 3 pr. in all.

March 14, 1688<sup>3</sup> Recd. of Cous. Nath<sup>l</sup> Dummer Hair Buttons

21 Gross at 2 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> p Gross . . . . .	2- 9-0
9 Gross ditto . . . . .	1- 1-0
Cash . . . . .	2-12-6
Charges reckoning nothing for time: made two journeys to Ashley near Limington ab <sup>t</sup> 30 miles off Feb. 26 . . . . .	-17-6
	<hr/>
	7- 0-0

Which with 3£ before is in full of Jn<sup>o</sup> Edwards's ten pounds.]



[Recd. of Cous. Dūmer on acc<sup>o</sup> of Bro<sup>r</sup> Stephen Sewall Cash  
 Engl. Money . . . . . £0-11-2  
 Recd. of Cous. Dūmer for Mrs. Batter to lay out in Silver  
 Spoons . . . . . 5-16-3  
 five pounds sixteen shillings and 3d.

Mark <sup>B</sup>  
 E M

Thursday March 14, 1688. To Cous. Jane Holt a broad pss £1-3- 6  
 Cousin Mercy Stork yesterday 5.6<sup>a</sup>, and 18<sup>a</sup> before in Shaf-  
 tisbury Gloves . . . . . 0-7- 0  
 To Cous. Jn<sup>o</sup> pr. Buckles . . . . . 0-5- 0  
 Thomas, Cash . . . . . 0-3-  
 3 little sons, Philip, — and Sam . . . . . 0-7- 6  
 Two Girls before had Primers . . . . . 0-0- 6  
 March 15 To Cous. Sam. at Bp. Stoke Gold Crown . . . . 0-5-10  
 Cous. Stephen . . . . . 0-2- 6  
 Cous. Sarah  $\frac{1}{2}$  Crown and pr. Buckles before ab<sup>t</sup> 3 or 4<sup>a</sup> . . 0-6- 0  
 Boy and Maid . . . . . 0-2- 0  
 To Cous. Abigail, Unkle Nath's Eldest Daughter . . . . 0-2- 6

Din'd there with very good Beef, Bacon and rost fowls. Company  
 Unkle, Aunt, Aunt Alice, Cous. Stephen Winchester Butcher —

Left with Mr. Richard Dūmer my Unkle  $\frac{1}{2}$  Crown for Debo-  
 rah Rider, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  Crown to each of Aunt Sarah's Children 0-7-6

Deborah with Tears shew'd my last Letter to her Mother, who I  
 think was dead before it was writt.

Friday, March 15, Unkle Stephen sick on bed with a Crick ins  
 Back. Unkle Richd. goes on foot to Winchester, Cous. Nath. and I  
 ride to see his house at Compton by the way which stands very con-  
 veniently ab<sup>t</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the Ch<sup>h</sup> 2 from Wr.

At the Checker have a Hogs Cheek Souct, Send for Cous. Gilbert  
 Bear and Cous. Jn<sup>o</sup> Dūmer; I treat them with Ale and Wine, but  
 Unkle Richd will Call for one Pint and indeed Cous. Mercy Stork  
 and he seem the most kind of all my Relations. At Winchester recd.  
 Mr. Thorner's Letter of Mrs. Widell, who is a Shipmasters wife and  
 with her Daughter Hunt and D<sup>r</sup>. in law Widell, are going to meet  
 their Husbands, one Winchester Gentlewoman; From Farnum to  
 Bagshet 5 women and one Man — there took in a Souldier instead  
 of the woman. At Winchester had of Mr. Edward Grace by his  
 man Edward Hooker a bill of £20 on Mr. Tho. Abney at the Crown  
 in Cornhill for Twenty pounds 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> paid there £20-2-6, Date March  
 15, 1688.

Satterday March 16. Capt. Widell was at Holburn with his Son]

[and Son in Law to meet their Wives, I drunk a Pint wine with them and took leave. Mrs. Widell the Mother was very good Company and so the rest.

Sabbath March 17. The Ld. Mayor Chapman dyes in the morn.

Monday March 18, Went and saw the Jews burying Place at Mile-End: Some Bodies were laid East and West; but now all are orderd to be laid North and South. Many Tombs. Engravings are Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, English, sometimes on the same stone. Part of the Ground is improv'd as a Garden, the dead are carried through the keepers house. First Tomb is abt the year 1659. Brick wall built abt part. Ont's two sides 5444, Christi 1684, Tamuz 21, June 23, as I remember.— I told the keep'r afterwards wisht might meet in Heaven: He answerd, and drink a Glass of Beer together, which we were then doing.

March 28, 1689. With Mr. Mather and his son Sam went in the Coach of Abbingdon to Hounslo, so to Colebrook and to Maidenhead 22 miles from London. Sam. and I went to Bray-Ch. and writt out 2 Epitaphs by Candlelight. Maidenhead belongs to the Parishes of Bray and Cookam. Is only a Chapel of ease at M. head. A Nonconf. Minister Mr. Brice preaches in a Barn. Outside the Hart is in Bray, other side of the way is in Cookam. I din'd alone at Colebrook with a Bullock's Cheek. Abt 6. aclock Mr. Mather, Son and I sup'd on two Dunghill fowls. Mr. Mather prays and we get to bed just at nine. Bray Ch. a mile off the nearest way.

Friday March 29, to Abbingdon. Lodge with Mr. Dauson, find He has Mis Dulcibella Garbrand, mr. Dunches Grandch., by his Daughter Beck. She has a daughter Martha 4 years old a very desirable child. Mis Jane Cave also lives in the House, a Border. Satterday March 30 Mr. Mather and we ride in the Coach to Oxford 5 miles, little ones, costs us 12<sup>s</sup> of which I pay 5 and mr. Mather the rest. See the Colledges and Halls, New-Colledge, Maudlin and Christ Ch. do most excell. At New-Col. eat and drank Ale, wine, Lent Cakes full of Currants, good Butter and Cheese, by means of Mr. Benj. Cutler the Butler, to whom D<sup>r</sup>. Woodward sent a Letter on my behalf. Saw the Theatre and Schools Congregation-House. To Abingdon. On the Sabbath March 31, Mr. Dauson preaches in the morn. Come to me all weary. Mr. Mather in afternoon. All are siñers, which preach before at Mr. James's, *vide*. Monday Ap. 1, very windy, yet view Abingdon, the river Occe which gives name to Occe-street ruñing at the bottom of the Gardens of one side the street, there Pikes and Perch are catcht, Occ Eels also are famous. On it stands a mill and just where it falls into the Thames there is a Stone Bridge for Horse and foot. Their flat Boat ly there which carry Seven Hundred]

[Quarters of Malts, which they count seventy Tun. Have Flashes to help them over the Shallow places. Tuesday Ap. 2, View the Hospital, old Town-Hall the place where the Abby was which in precedence next to Glastenbury, and in Revenue above it. Ch. hath 5 Iles. Ab<sup>t</sup> 300 Soldiers come to Town, so Horses press'd that could not get out. Mr. Dauson preaches to the Youth at his House, They that seek me early shall find me. —

Copy of a Letter to Edward Barnard of Meer from Shatsbury March 2<sup>d</sup> 1688. Edw. B. Tis rainy wether and late, so that I shall hardly get to Rumsey by night, so purpose to stay at this Town, and being desirous of a peacable Issue as to the business I spake to you of yesterday at your house, intend to be at Gillingam next Monday, where you may meet me at the Red Lion by 9 or 10 in the morn. Farmer Read has his cancell'd Bonds to justify his payment of mine and twenty pounds to you for your Cousin Richd. Cornish, 20<sup>s</sup> abated because the Money paid before the time. It seems your neighbour Tho. Fry was present when the Money was paid you. Is an order from Rich'd Cornish for Three pounds fifteen shillings to Tho. Hooder which is indors'd on one of the Bonds.

Rumsey March 6, 1688 NB. A Deed from my Father to me dated Oct<sup>r</sup> 16, 1680, of Lee Land without any entail is in the hand of Cous. Storke with Widnell's Deed in a black box q<sup>t</sup> in another wooden box. Witnesses, B. Alford, Tho. Barrett, Jer. Du<sup>m</sup>er, Edw. Bromfield, Lancelott Lake, Jn<sup>o</sup> Hayward, Eliezer Moodey.

March 12, 1688 Rec<sup>d</sup> of Gales Thirteen pounds Ten shillings in part for this years Rent . . . . . £13-10-0  
My Aunt Mehetabel Holt died September, 1677, in the 38<sup>th</sup> year of her Age.

[In a different handwriting, or perhaps in two different hands.]

To Captain Humfry South in Crutched fryars Merchant or on the Barbadoes Walk.

Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilmot Bookseller in Oxford.

March 30 Receivd in part of 30<sup>s</sup> five shill by me John Wilmot.

William Lee, late of this Borough of Abbingdon Gent, a principal Burgess and 5 times Mayor, continued a principal Burges 53 years, Gov<sup>r</sup> of Chr<sup>t</sup> Hospital in Abbingdon 52 years, Master of said Hospital 6 times and continued senior Gov<sup>r</sup> 36 years. Was in Religion zealous, in his dealings just, loving to his children, charitable to the poor, courteous to all. Died Nov<sup>r</sup> 5, 1637, Ætat. 94. Had issue from his Loyns in his Life-time two hundred lacking two.]



[By Jane Lapton had two sons, by Katharin Wright four sons and eleven Daughters. His third wife Kath. Liddal had no children.

Mis Jane Cave is of the Father, her fathers name was Thomas Clempson married to Katharin Lee.

Abbingdon Apr. 1, 1689. A Letter from Mis Jane Cave to her kinswoman Davis with  $\frac{1}{2}$  Crown inclosed, dwells with Mr. Morton.

All the above children proceeded from Kath. Wright save 29 from Jane Lapton.

	198
	29
	169
Kath. Wright . . . . .	169
Children . . . . .	17
Grandch. . . . .	78
Great Grandchildren . . . . .	103
	198

Gentlewoman is of Kath<sup>n</sup> Wright, her Grand-child.

Apr. 1, 1689.

Dr. Owen was of Queen's Colledge in Oxon, Dr. Tho. Barlow Bp. of Lincoln still living was his Tutor being then Fellow of said College, said Barlow was afterwards Provost of it. Dr. Owen was afterwards Dean of Christ-Church. Principal only of Brasen-nose, Master, Warden, Præsident, Provost, Dean only of Christ-Ch. — All the Heads of the Halls are by one name call'd Principals. Ap. 2, 1689. Teste Thoma Dauson.

Dr. Goodwin was Præsident of Magdalen Colledge.

Mr. Roe a young Minister can inform concerning the family of the Norcott's. Mr. Gales was his Tutor.

Wednesday, Ap. 3, went to Mr. Jeñings, where had Ale and Cider, thence to Oxford in the Rain. Mr. Gilbert, a Bachelour of Divinity shew'd us the Bodleian Library which is an Ach, H, a very magnificent Thing. The Galleries very magnificent about 44 of my Canes in length and near 8 in Breadth. I lookt in one book, (a came out?) which in Cuts sets forth the Glory of Old Rome. Mr. Gilbert gives us a pint of wine. Lodge at the Bear Inn.

Leave the Horse of William Matthews who keeps the Cross-Keys in Abbingdon, at the Roe Buck in Oxford. Am to pay 7<sup>s</sup> for the Journey and 12<sup>d</sup> a day for every working day beyond seven working days. Give the Keeper of the Roe-buck 6<sup>d</sup> if I leave not the Horse with him on a Market day, Wednesday, Satterday. Agreed with]

[Stiles on the same terms, am to leave his Horse at the Cross Keys in Oxford, to begin to morrow, Ap. 4<sup>th</sup>.

Ap. 4, 89, left my Cane cuzen [?] and Box of Linen, silk stockings, Gloves, with Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilmot of Oxford the Booksellers son.

Dr. Nehemiah Grew son of Dr. Obadiah Grew formerly of Baliol Colledg, Oxford, lives at Racket Court in Fleet-Street near Shoe-Lane.—Leave a Ps. B. there. Dine with Dr. Grew Ap. 8.

Leave Bodicot  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile left H.

Lodge at the Unicorn Mr. Stiles, where also the Lord Brooks Lodges in 's way to London, just by the Market House six Pillars of a side. Abbingdon has a stately market house on square Pillars, in the Town hall the Meeting is.

Ap. 4. Mr. Holland a Fellow of Corpus Christi shews me his Chamber Cellar, Library ab<sup>t</sup> the bignes of our Cha<sup>p</sup>el where saw Dr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Reynolds Monum<sup>t</sup> who was President of said College. Said Holland treated me very civilly though told him was a N. E. Man.

Thursday Aprl. 4. I ride to Kidlington 4 m.

Dedington 10

Attlebury, through a bad Ford, 2

Warwick Apr. 5, 1689. St. Mary's Cha<sup>p</sup>el. Richd Beucamp's Statue in Brass very lively, veins and nails of 's hands. died 1439. Robert Dudley in Alabaster. Spe certa resurgendi in Christo hic situs est &c. Obijt 7, 4, 1588. Earl of Leicester.

Ld. Brook, slain at Leicester, in another part with a stately Marble round the edge of which is engraven,—Fulke Grevil servant to Queen Elisabeth, Councillor to K. James, and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney. No Statue. But Marble Pillars ab<sup>t</sup> the Stone.

Satterday Apr. 6, Got well to Coventry about an hour by Sun. By mistake of the Christian name, I goe to a King that is member of the Ch. to which Mr. Blower preaches. He informs me of Dr. Grew and that they have the Lord's su<sup>p</sup>er. I wait on the Dr. who receives me very candidly and kindly but refers me to Mr. Briant because He cant be abroad. Lodge at the K's Head.

Hic recubat dilecta Philemonis uxor Holandi  
Anna pudicitiae non ulli laude secunda.  
Quadraginta octoque años quæ nupta marito  
Septem illi pueros enixa est tresque puellas  
Lactavitque omnes, Genetrix eadem et pia Nutrix  
Septuaginta duos vitæ numeraverat anos, &c.

Sancta vixit

Sancta obuit

in Festo omnium sanctorum. 1627—  
Out of S<sup>t</sup> Trinity Chh. Coventry, Ap. 8.

Hen. Sewall 1587

Hen; Sewall 1606]

[Ap. 7. went to Leather Hall and heard my namesake Shewell preach in the morn. Mr. Briant administered the Sacrament, Eating and drinking first himself, then Mr. Shewell, then the Deacons, then every one, saying Take, eat this in remembrance of Chr<sup>t</sup>. Might be 200 Co<sup>m</sup>unicants.

Mr. Briant preaches in the afternoon. I hear Mr. Blower between.

Monday Ap. 8. I view Bp Gate street. Mr. Tho. King is dead, was a great Persecutor and help'd to put Dr. Grew in prison. Just above Bp Gate there is a Cistern of ab<sup>t</sup> 17 yards square, the water brought in a leaden Pipe  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile off, depth 5 or 6 foot, from thence the water runs into Brewing Vessels just within the Gate. View'd the Water work, the Wheel is over-shot, 3 Suckers, the water brought from a Spring partly through the Pool in Pipes. Pool serves only to drive the wheel, Water carried to the heart of the City. Went into S<sup>t</sup> Michaels steeple which the Sexton tells me is higher by several yards than the Monum<sup>t</sup>, a wager of 20<sup>l</sup> laid ab<sup>t</sup> it and a man sent on purpose to measure it. The Cross is a noble thing, Gilded, and many Kings, but not high, but little higher than the Houses. Alderman Owen shew'd me the City Hall, where saw my gr<sup>t</sup> Grandfathers name without any alias. Shew'd me St. Mary Hall which is a fair Thing and good Accomodati. for publick Feasts and Treatments.

The Room at entrance of which the Maiors names are, is call'd the Maiors Parlour. Din'd with Dr. Obadia Grew and his Daughter and 2 Kinswomen.

Tuesday Apr. 9, Din'd with mr. Sam Blower and his wife, then went to Capt. King's in Mich-Park Street where was Prayer by Briant, a Bro<sup>r</sup> mr. Wills, and mr. Blower preach'd, Mr. Shewel prayd too. No Singing. Visited Cousin Powers, and Cous. Lapworth, whose maiden name was Ann Lee, hath a son at London Bp. G[ate] Street near the Bull, a Daughter at Eltham in Kent and a Daughter Mary at home of ab<sup>t</sup> 20 years old a handsom maid. I perceiv two Pastures worth ab<sup>t</sup> 40£ p<sup>a</sup> anum are divided between that Powers and 2 daughters of which this Lapworth one. Powers's was first given to his Bro<sup>r</sup>, is call'd Barnfield hard by the City. Is more Land at Stoke given by my Aunt Randall as this was. Told them who I was and offer'd to confirm their Right. Lapworth said he would not give 3<sup>d</sup> Anne his wife knew my father and Mother at Warwick. Wednesday Ap. 10, Had 3 of the City Waits bid me good morrow with their wind Musick.—Went to Warwick found Mis Tuckey still from home, tells me by a Letter that will come home on Friday morn: I sent a Letter to her by W<sup>m</sup> Claridge. Thursday Apr. 11<sup>th</sup> good weather, pretty deal of sunshine and no Rain all day. I went with one Charles Ems to Guy Cliff and saw]



[his Cave, drank at his Well, saw the Cellars cut in the Rock. By the way I found my Pilot was a Quaker. Ab<sup>t</sup> 200 Hundred Soldiers I saw drawn forth in the morn to the westward of the Town, which had their Drums, Cross a Horseneck and a Trumpet being all Horsemen. In the Lord's Hall Guy's Pot was filld with Brandy Punch; when in the field heard the volleys and Huzzas, the Pope caried ab<sup>t</sup>

People, Soldiers and many others exceedingly debauch'd. Was Trim'd by one Jn<sup>o</sup> Jarvis near the Upper parish Church, call'd S<sup>t</sup> Mary as the Lower is call'd S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas, at which Mr. Butler used to preach: Many rememb<sup>r</sup> him, all speak him a very good Man. It seems Guy's Tower which I went up on to view the Town, is the very Tower my Ld. Capel was once Prisoner in. I lodge at the Cross-Keys in Castle-street, in the yellow Chamber next the Castle, fronting to the Street. Effigies of the late Ld. Brooks hangs there. Friday Ap. 12, very pleasant fair morn.

A copy of Mis Randall's tripart Indenture that leads to the Use of her Fine and Recovery, dated Octob<sup>r</sup> 20, 1645. — Mr. Sewall's Will was prov'd Junij ult. 1628, Cur. Prærog. Cant. Lond.

— To the said Margaret during her natural Life and after her decease to the Heirs of her Body issuing, and for want of such issue of her body, to remain to the right heirs of me, the said Henry the Testator, for ever. — Aunt Randall's Will dated May 4, 1646.

Oxford, April 13<sup>th</sup> 1689. Rec<sup>d</sup> of Samuel Sewall the Horse of Jn<sup>o</sup> Stiles of Abbingdon, in good condition, with Bridle, Saddle, Saddle-Cloth and nine shillings 6<sup>d</sup> in full for his Hire, I say Rec<sup>d</sup> p me.

DANILL FORKNER.

[Note by J. W. D. — All of this except the signature in the handwriting of Samuel Sewall.]

Paid mr. Die five shillings Earnest to goe in his Coach next Monday morn, Fare Ten Shillings . . . . . £0-5-0

Apr. 14. Heard Dr. Hall at S<sup>t</sup> Ole's, Dr. Smith at St. Mary's, Dr. Lethbridge at Carpax. Visit Dr. Tho. Gilbert who gives me his Carmen Congratulatorium. Ap. 15, Come to Wickam where dine in K. Ch. 2<sup>d</sup> Bedchamb<sup>r</sup>, 4 Men, so we pay for the 2 Maids 12<sup>d</sup> apiece. Rid through Uxbridge where drunk some Kans of Ale, from thence to London ab<sup>t</sup> 7 o'clock. Passengers shew'd me the House where Uxbridge Treaty was held and say 'tis now haunted that none dare dwell there. A lovely Stream runs throw the Town-House compass'd with a Brick Wall: Great part of the House now pulled down.]

[Apr. 4, was Shew'd the Library and Chapel of Corpus Christi Colledge and the Cellar by Mr. Holland, a Fellow. Library may be ab<sup>t</sup> the bigness of Harvard.

May 8, 1689. Queen's Bed-Chamber, 24 foot sqr. King's publick dining R. 32 ft and near square.

Council Chamber . . . . . 44

Breadth . . . . . 24

3 windows to the River almost the height of the Room. Blew Damask Curtains.

St. George's Hall 32 yards 2 foot long. Breadth eleven yards, Five steps of Marble to an ascent pav'd with Marble, at the end of the Hall Eastward, over, S<sup>t</sup> George painted on the side of the wall. At the West four Men supōrting a Gallery between whom enter into the Chapel. The Comūnion Table at the West End. The floor of the Hall pav'd with coarser stone by much. Ab<sup>t</sup> 32 foot high, 7 narrow windows 14 foot deep looking into the Court where Charles 2<sup>d</sup> on Horseback. Over each window a square window from which the Light descends through an oval lying long ways of the Hall.

Eaton Colledge Library 69 Foot long, the Shelvs four. .

Richardus Allertree Theol. Oxon. Profes. Regius, Æton Col. Præpos. cui rectius visum Ecclesiam defendere. instruere, ornare, quam regere. Obijt Jan<sup>r</sup> 28, 1680, Ætat. 61.

Wednesday June 26. 1689. Journey to Cambridge, Mr. Increase Mather, Sam Sewall, Edward Hull, Sam Mather. Breakfast at Epping in Essex . . . . . £0- 2-3

Dine at the Crown in Hoggevill, a Hamlet of Bp. Stafford.

Two young Ducks in Hartford-shire . . . . . 0- 6-2

Cherries brought from London, 25 Miles . . . . . 0- 0-4

have none at the place. Water of Triesday's well. Ruins of an old Castle In the way from Bp. Stafford to Cambridge . . . . . 0- 2-3

Friday, June 28. Paid at the Red Lion, Cambridge . . . 1-13-0

Safron-Walden, Diner . . . . . 0- 7-0

and view of Audley House Hockevill, Su<sup>p</sup>er, and Maid . . 0- 7-0

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2-18-0

June 29, Breakfast at Epping . . . . . 0- 2-0

So Journey Cost me ab<sup>t</sup> 35<sup>s</sup> besides what gave to persons that shew'd us the Colledges and Audley H.

Henry Sewall late of Coventry Alderman died April, 16, quarto Caroli. Mr. Henry Sewall his Son was then forty years old. As p<sup>r</sup> Decree of Court of Wards.]

[Bound up with the Almanack for 1689, in which the foregoing Journal is contained, there is a handbill advertisement of a dwarf, "for Largeness and shortness exceeding all that ever came from beyond sea." It was "a Gentlewoman five and twenty years of age, and no higher than a child three years old." On the handbill, Mr. Sewall has written: "June 3, 1689. Saw her."]

[The Home Journal is here resumed.]

Nov. 22, 1688. Fast-day, set sail from Boston. Landed at Dover January 13. Sabbath. Came from London Augt. 13<sup>th</sup> 1689. From Plimouth Octob. 10<sup>th</sup>. Landed at the great Island, Pascataqua, Friday, Nov. 29. 1689. Nov. 30. came to Newbury from the Bank. Spent the Sabbath at Newbury. Dec. 2. Came to Boston: Staid so long at the Ferry that it was between 9. and 10. before I got into my own House. Mr. Cook only came with me from Gov: Bradstreets.

Thursday, Dec. 5. Capt. Hutchinson and I took our Oaths; Gov: Bradstreet there: Deputies treated us at Wing's after Lecture, as Major and Capt. Apleton, Mr. Eps and others had done at Ipswich as came along.

Friday, January 3. I treated the Magistrates at James Meers; viz: Dept. Governour, Mr. Winthrop, Richards, Russel, Johnson, Apleton, Hutchinson, Cook, Hawthorn, Smith, Philips, Shrimpton, Addington, Swain, with Mr. Willard, Belcher, Bromfield; I think all these there.

Jan. 9<sup>th</sup>. Tho. Hawkins, Pirat, was Tried and found guilty.

Jan. 10<sup>th</sup>. It falls to my Daughter Elisabeth's Share to read the 24. of Isaiah, which she doth with many Tears not being very well, and the Contents of the Chapter, and Sympathy with her draw Tears from me also. Mr. Dudley went home yesterday, or the night before; but it seems refuseth to pay the Guards except the Council will order the Sum.

Sabbath, Jan. 12. Richard Dumer, a flourishing youth of 9 years old, dies of the Small Pocks. I tell Sam. of it



and what need he had to prepare for Death, and therefore to endeavour really to pray when he said over the Lord's Prayer: He seem'd not much to mind, eating an Aple; but when he came to say, Our father, he burst out into a bitter Cry, and when I askt what was the matter and he could speak, he burst out into a bitter Cry and said he was afraid he should die. I pray'd with him, and read Scriptures comforting against death, as, O death where is thy sting, &c. All things yours. Life and Immortality brought to light by Christ, &c. 'Twas at noon.

Monday, Jan. 13<sup>th</sup> Joseph Eliot goes to Mr. Wiswall at Duxbury, returns with a Letter on Tuesday.

Thursday, Jan. 16<sup>th</sup> He and I ride thether in a very cold day with a Letter from the Council to invite him to goe to England with Mr. Cook.

Friday, 17. Return homeward. Call and see Mr. Torrey and his wife; Cous. Hunt and her Sons Jn<sup>o</sup> and Daniel. Lodge at Unkle Quinsey's, coming in the night from Weymouth for fear of Snow. Got home between 11. and 12. Went after diñer to the Town-House, to Mr. Addington, from thence to Mr. Browning's, from thence with Mr. Cotton Mather to the Prisoners who were condemned on Friday. Spoke to, and pray'd with Pounds and others; then with Coward, Johnson and others. Gave him [Mr. Mather] two Duzen Books bound, viz. Right thoughts. &c. Sermons to his Father Philips, and on the Ark.

Monday, Jan. 27. Five were order'd to be executed, but, chiefly through Mr. Winthrop's earnestness in Reprieving, only Tho. Johnson dies.<sup>1</sup> Had join'd in reprieving

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<sup>1</sup> It seems, from "The Vindication of New England" ("Andros Tracts," II. 54), that there were two sets of pirates at this time. One lot started in a boat from the frigate "Rose," and Thomas Pound was the leader. They were captured by the armed sloop "Mary," under Capt. Samuel Pease and Lieut. Benjamin Gallop. Eight were condemned; viz., Thomas Johnson, Eleazer Buck, John Suklerdam, William Dun, Richard Griffin, Daniel Lander, William Warren, and Samuel Watts.

Later, William Coward headed another crew, and of his men the following

Pounds and Buck at the Governour's, and then got away ; but Mr. Winthrop, Addington, Shrimpton followed me to my house with another Writing for Hawkins, which Winthrop and Shrimpton had signed, and got me to sign : He was ready to be turn'd off before it took effect, which gave great disgust to the People : I fear it was ill done. Governour, Winthrop, Shrimpton, Addington, Phillips, repriev'd Coward, and most seem'd to desire that he and his 3 companions might be spar'd. Some in the Council thought Hawkins, because he got out of the Combination before Pease was kill'd, might live as well as Coward ; so I rashly sign'd, hoping so great an inconvenience would not have followed. Let not God impute Sin.

Feb. 1. Addresses and Letters are read over before the Court, and Agent's in the Deputy's room, and Mr. Stoughton's Declaration. After, Mr. Winthrop mention'd the Reprieves ; I spake for my self that, by Generall Court, intended that which was to sit on Tuesday, the day after Reprieve.

Feb. 2. at Even. Little Joseph sucks his last as is design'd, his Grandmother taking him into her Chamber in order to wean him.

Feb. 7<sup>th</sup> Court adjourned to Wednesday next, to meet at Charlestown, because of the spreading of the Small Pocks at Boston.

About Jan. 29. Sister Gerrishes daughter is buried, and Sister Moodey's Daughter known to have the Small Pocks.

Feb. 8. and 9<sup>th</sup> Schenectady, a village 20 miles above Albany, destroy'd by the French. 60 Men, Women and Children murder'd. Women with Child ripp'd up, Children had their Brains dash'd out. Were surpris'd about

were pardoned ; viz., Peleg Heath, Christopher Knight, Dr. Thomas Storey, and William Coward.

The pamphlet says that one was hung, and Sewall seems to confirm it, giving Thomas Johnson as the only sufferer. — Eds.

11. or 12 aclock Satterday night, being divided, and secure.<sup>1</sup>

In the Storm of Snow that then fell Skiṡar Dotey, his Son Jn<sup>o</sup>, and Elkana Watson, were cast away on Ba[rn]-stable Bar. Bodies not found, and 'tis fear'd they are murder'd by a free Negro and Indians.

Friday, Feb. 21. Charlestown, Generall Court adjourns to the 12<sup>th</sup> March.

Feb. 24. [In margin, Treat.] Monday, Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet and Lady, Mr. Stoughton, Major Hutchinson and wife, Mr. Willard, Mr. Moodey and wife, Mrs. Mather, Maria, Mr. Allen and wife, Cous. Duṡner and wife, Cous. Quinsey and wife, Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Tho. Brattle, who with Mother, wife and Self. made Twenty, Marshal Green waited: Sat all well at the Table. Mr. Cotton Mather returned Thanks in an excellent maṡner: Sung part of the Six and fiftieth Psalm, in Mr. Miles Smith's version, Thou knowst how long I have from home — to the End. Mr. Mather was minded to have that Translation: I set it to Windsor Tune. N.B. The bitterness in our Cups, was that, the Massacre at Schenectady by the French; the amazing news on't was by Post brought to Town this day. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet brought the Papers and read them before and after diṡner. At last, Mr. Danforth, Major Richards, Major General Winthrop, Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Addington came in, and dispatcht Orders to the Majors to stand upon their Guard, To Capt. Price, Sen<sup>r</sup> Capt. in Salem Regiment.

Just about diṡner time Mr. Nelson comes in and gets me to subscribe 100. to the Proposals against the French. I thought 'twas time to doe something, now were thus destroy'd by Land too. Mr. Danforth looks very sorrowfully.

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<sup>1</sup> A very graphic account of this attack upon Schenectady, sent by the mayor of Albany to our government, is preserved in the Massachusetts archives and printed in "Andros Tracts," III. 114-120.—Eds.



Mr. Stoughton thinks best to prosecute vigorously the buisness against the Eastern French.

Feb. 28. Capt. Vaughan, Mr. Martyn and Mr. Fryer are approved Magistrates of the County of New-Hampshire : Mr. Vaughan Sworn.

March 1. I visit Mr. Eliot, who embraces me heartily, and calls me Brother : I present him with Mr. Flavell's Book ; England's Duty [under the present Gospel Liberty]. Mr. Walter sits with me all the while. Visit Madam Dudley. Was coming away, and Mr. Hutchinson call'd after me, and I went in and saw Mistress Hutchinson and Billy. Pray'd excuse for my unmindfulness of them.

Sabbath, March 2<sup>d</sup> I pray'd in the Family, that might have an Interest in God, Signed, Sealed and Delivered, and that all that tended to make it sure, might be perfected. And being in my Pue, I was praying that as God had dispos'd me to put up a Petition some way unusual, so He would doe some unusual thing for me. While these words were in my mind, in came Mr. Moodey, who preach'd from 2. Thes. 3. 1. Doct. Tis the Duty of all, especially of those who have profited by the word, to pray that the Word of the Lord may run and be glorified : And I hope I was included in the Blessing at the Close ; for if I know any thing in this matter, I know that I desire and pray God's word may run and be glorified : which came in my mind when the Blessing was given.

TO THE CONSTABLES OF BOSTON,

AND EVERY OF THEM.

You are Required in their Majesties Names to Walk through the several parts of the Town this day, and take effectual care to suppress and dissipate all unlawfull Assemblies, or tumultuous gathering together of people for the Shailing or throwing at Cocks, and such like Disorders, tending to the disturbance of their Majesties Liege People, and breach of the Peace, contrary to the wholsom Laws on that behalf made and provided, particularly, those entituled Cruelty, and Pre-

scriptions. Hereof you may not fail. Dated in Boston the fourth day of March 16 $\frac{8}{9}$ . Annoque Reg. and Reginae Willielms and Mariae — Secundo.

SIMON BRADSTREET	<i>Gov<sup>r</sup></i>	} <i>Assist<sup>ts</sup></i>
WAIT WINTHROP		
ELISHA HUTCHINSON		
SAM SEWALL		
ISAAC ADDINGTON		

I gave the preceding Warrant to Thomas Banister, Constable, who said he would take effectual Care about it. Another was given to Capt. Prout, to be deliver'd to a Constable at the North end of the Town, only it was given on Monday night at James Meers's and so the Governour had not sign'd it.

March 4, 16 $\frac{8}{9}$  Sam. Haugh, 14 years old last February, chuses me for his Guardian. Solomon Raynsford introducing of him with a pretty handsome Speech for my acceptance. Dept. Governour was by and told him he must now hearken to me and take me for his Father. George Monk brought in a Dish of Fritters, but Major Hutchinson, Mr. Addington and my self eat none of them, only Major Richards (of the Court) did eat.

BOSTON; March 5 16 $\frac{8}{9}$ .

HONOURED SIR, — The Governour and Council have this day ordered us to advise with your self about disposing of the Friend-Indians in such place and manner as may be most expedient for the safety of the English and themselves. The Condition they are in requires some speedy Consideration; We therefore intreat your Company next Friday morning at either of our Houses; except you rather choose our waiting on you at Dorchester. The affording your Counsel in this momentous and difficult Concern, will be a means to succour your distressed Country, and very much oblige your friends and humble Servants.

WAIT WINTHROP.  
SAM SEWALL.

Above is a Copy of a Letter to Mr. Stoughton by Eliakim.

March 7<sup>th</sup> Mr. Stoughton gives Major General and my self a Meeting, as cold as 'tis, and undertakes to give Lieut. Swift notice to be here next Monday at one a'clock at my House, with a discreet person or two of Punquapaog Indians. I write to Capt. Noah Wiswall to be here at the same time with one or two from Natick, with a hint of the occasion.

Copy of a Letter to Mr. Joseph Webb, Clark of the Writts, March 1. 16 $\frac{8}{9}$ .

There have been several Attachments granted by you to bring persons before me for the Trial of small Causes, whereas the Plaintiffs never acquainted me beforehand of the matter, which is very inconvenient: because 'tis uncertain whether I shall be at home at the time, and persons often come upon me at unawares, when I have no leisure to attend them; and yet am loth they should lose their Travail and Cost. Wherefore I desire you to grant no Attachment for the Trial of any cause befor me except on the first Monday of the Moneth. And I would not have you send any to me whoes Book-Debts are old enough to be senior Sophisters, being of more than three years standing. Some think that when the Demand is by Book, 'twere better to say, in an Action of the *Case*, than of *Debt*. When a Woman sues by Attorniship from her Husband, for Goods she deliver'd before the Coverture, my Opinion is 'twere convenient to ascertain it [make it certain], by saying—for a piece of Serge deliver'd him by said Elisabeth Apr. 7. 1687, and several other goods since that time, &c. or, for Goods delivered him by said Elisabeth, April 7. 1687, and at several times since, as shall be made appear, &c. for Goods deliver'd him by said Elisabeth. And I cañot give a reason why at least the year, or years of the Goods being delivered, should not be noted in the Attachment, as well as the Date of an Obligation. But your Books, and the honoured Governour and Mr. Addington are far more fit to advise you in things of this nature, than your unexperienced, unskillfull, (and yet I hope honest,) friend,

S. SEWALL.

You should admonish persons to speak with the Magistrate before you take out an Attachment.

March 10<sup>th</sup> 16 $\frac{8}{9}$ . Mr. Stoughton, Major Generall and my self met at my house, and there came to us Lieut. Swift with William Hahaton for Punkapaug; and Capt.



Noah Wiswall with James Rumney Marsh, and Peter Ephraim for Natick. Enquired what might be most expedient for the present settlement of the Friend-Indians, so as may be for the safety of themselves and English; in order to passing a Law for them in the Generall Court.

March 17<sup>th</sup>. Capt. Blagge came to enquire if the Council's Letter were ready, so I invited him and Mr. Melyen to dine with me; which accordingly they did, and Marshal Green fell in.

March 18, 16 $\frac{8}{9}$ . I gave New-Roxbury the name of Woodstock<sup>1</sup> because of it's nearness to Oxford, for the sake of Queen Elizabeth, and the notable Meetings that have been held at the place bearing that Name in England, some of which Dr. Gilbert inform'd me of when in England. It stands on a Hill, I saw it as went to Coventry, but left it on the Left hand. Some told Capt. Ruggles that I gave the name, and put words in his Mouth to desire of me a Bell for the Town.<sup>2</sup>

Friday, March 21, 16 $\frac{8}{9}$ . Madam Bradstreet, Mrs. Moodey, Mrs. Mather and my wife ride in the hackney Coach to Dorchester, dine with Mr. Stoughton. It should have been on Wednesday, when the news came indistinctly in the afternoon of the Surprisal of Salmon Falls. This Friday morn before they went to Mr. Stoughton's, the dolefull news came that between 80. and 100. persons were kill'd and carried away, were taken by surprise about break of day: no Watch kept: are about half French, half Indians. Hopewood Capt. of the Indians,

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<sup>1</sup> Woodstock was set off to Connecticut about 1750. See Proceedings of the Historical Society for February, 1873, p. 399. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> March 18, 1689-90. The Governor, Bradstreet, Sir William Phips, Major-General Winthrop, Major John Richards, Major Elisha Hutchinson, Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, and Captain Samuel Sewall, or any three of them, were to issue such orders for setting forth the forces as the Council might do. This appointment stands on the Colony Records, although Sewall makes no mention of it. The Council Records of this date are missing. — Eds.

Artel [François Hertel] of the French. Hampshire General got 100. Men and came up with the Enemy about Sun-set and fought them till night took away the sight of them. One Frenchman taken making up his pack who gives an account as above.

This day Capt. Townsend is appointed Comānder in Chief.

Satterday, March 22. Sir William Phips offers himself to go in person; the Governour sends for me, and tells me of it, I tell the Court; they send for Sir William who accepts to goe, and is appointed to Comānd the Forces; Major Townsend relinquishes with Thanks. Sir William had been sent to at first; but some feared he would not goe; others thought his Lady could not consent. Court makes Sir William free, and Swear him Major Generall, and several others. Adjourn to Boston, Wednesday 14 night one aclock.

March 24, 16<sup>88</sup>/<sub>9</sub>. Eight Companies and Troops Train. I goe into the field, pray with the South Company, Exercise them in a few Distances, Facings, Doublings; before which Thanked them for their Respect in mentioning me when in England, warning the Company in my Name; and told them the place I was in required more Time and Strength than I had, so took leave of them.

March 25. Drums are beat through the Town for Volunteers.

April 2. Father Dana falls from a scaffold in his Barn and dies.

April 4, 1690. Major Richards, Hutchinson, Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Addington and my self went to the Castle to view what Capt. Fayerwether had done, and what was proper for him further to doe in making Batteries, and putting the place into yet a more defensible posture. Went to Dear-Island, and saw how the sea wash'd it away. Then went to Apple-Island, to the Castle again, and there din'd; suffer'd no Guns to be fired; but the

Captain caus'd the Flagg to be hoisted all the while we were there, in token of Respect. Cost us 5<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> apiece. This day Capt. Theophilus Frary, Mr. Joyliff, Wyllys, Sergeant, Adam Winthrop, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Clark, Tim<sup>o</sup> Thornton are chosen Co<sup>m</sup>missioners for the Town of Boston. Capt. Frary, who had most, had 24 Votes; several of them but 16, the Meeting was so thin. This day Mrs. Averys Shop, and Christian Herridges Shop shut, by reason of Goods in them Attached.

Satterday, April 5. A Post comes giving notice of a Saw-Mill and several Houses burnt at Wells the 3<sup>d</sup> Instant, and Sayers Garrison beset with the Enemy. Council order one hundred and twenty Men to be sent out of Essex for their relief. April 4, one Pond of Dorchester, who had several praying at his House and he conversant among them, yet died before the day and Duty was ended; so that they were fain to break off to lay him out.

April 14. Sam. has an Issue made in his left Arm to prevent the swelling in his Neck, which else 'tis feared may prove the King's Evil. Have the advice of Mr. Addington and Dr. Allen who made the Issue.

April 15. Capt. Willard's Letter comes to Town of the 9<sup>th</sup> Instant, giving an account of the danger they were in at Casco of an Assault from the Enemy, 30 Indian Canoes being seen, and Several Fires on the Land. Writt to my Father and Brother Stephen.

April 21, 1690. Mr. Stoughton and I set forward for New-York,<sup>1</sup> Tho. Mosely waited on Him; Joseph Cowell

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<sup>1</sup> Although Sewall does not mention the fact, he was sent in an official capacity. He was appointed April 15, 1690 (see Commission in Mass. Archives, Vol. XXXVI., f. 4, 5), with William Stoughton, to attend at a meeting of Commissioners from the other Colonies. They were to concert measures for the common safety. Their report, dated May 1, is signed by Jacob Leisler, William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall, P. D' La Roy, John Walley, Nathan Gold, and William Pitkin. The forces were apportioned at four hundred from New York, one hundred and sixty from Massachusetts, sixty from Plymouth, one hundred and thirty-five from Connecticut, one hundred from Maryland. — Eds.



on me: Mr. Cooper and others in Company, refresh'd at Roxbury, Billinges, and from thence rid to Rehoboth; lodg'd at the Bear, which one Saunders keeps. Mr. Auger sup'd with us.

April 22. To Bristow, visited Mr. Saffin by the way and Mrs. Saffin; lodg'd at Capt. Byfield's.

April 23. Perswaded Major Walley to goe with us, went to Newport, agreed with Tho. Brooks for his Sloop at 12<sup>s</sup> per diem. Lodg'd at Mr. Hedges.

April 24. Set sail, leaving our Horses and taking our Bridles and Saddles in the Sloop.

Satterday, April 26. got into Oyster Bay [L. I.], the wind being Contrary, and there anchored.

April 27. Went ashore, rid to Hempsted through Jerico, to hear Mr. Hubbard, but he was at York: Staid at Mr. Jacksons, read Chapters, and Mr. Stoughton prayed excellently.

April 28. Rid to Jamaica, there din'd with Mr. Prudden, Pastor of the Church there. From thence to Brook and [Brooklyn], where Mr. Edsal met us with a File or two of Troopers, got to the Ferry about 12. a'clock. Went over and din'd with the Governour. Lodg'd at Mr. Mariot's; but were so disturb'd that were overcome by the Governour's importunity and lodg'd at his House. Major Gold and Mr. Pitkin met us there for Coñecticut.

May 1. Rose before the Sun some considerable time that might ease my burdened mind in Prayer.

May 4. Sabbath. Went to the Dutch Church in the morn. Sung the 69<sup>th</sup> Ps. 2<sup>d</sup> Pause from the 24<sup>th</sup> v. to the end, which Capt. Lodowick taught me the evening before, and lent me his Book, pointed to every syllable. At my Lodging, Mr. Mariot's (for took leave of the Governour on Satterday, not knowing but might sail.) Read, pray'd over, and sung the 25<sup>th</sup> Psalm which should have sung in course, if I had been at home this day; and is a Psalm extraordinarily fitted for me in my present Distresses, and by which

have receiv'd comfort. Mr. Selyns Text, Philip. 2. 12. Work out your own Salvation, &c. In the afternoon it rain'd hard, so staid at our Quarters, read Chapters, and I pray'd. Landlady desired to be present.

May 5. Got on board our Sloop, leaving Capt. Du Peyster's Diñer. Wind sprung up fair, got well throw Hell-Gate, went ashore at Dr. Taylor's near the White Stone, wooded and watered: Sailed again with a fair wind.

On Wednesday Morn, May 7<sup>th</sup> there was a Fogg, which put us to our shifts, not knowing which way to sail; but it pleased God to clear the Air, so as we saw our Course, Block-Island, Point-Judith, and got in about noon, being their Election day. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bull furnish'd us with Beds for the voyage; Din'd at Mr. Hedge's. Henry Bull chosen Governour, Major Green of Warwick, Dept. Governour. Rid to Bristow, lodg'd at Capt. Byfield's.

May 8. Rid to Billinges, where Mr. Lee met us in his way homeward, gave an account of the wellfare of my family, having din'd with my Mother and wife at Cous. Dummer's. Pray'd with us.

May 9. Friday, Rid to Dedham and there refresh'd, so home by 12. or thereabouts; visited Mr. Eliot and Mr. Walters by the way. Mr. Stoughton and I waited on the Governour and I on the Council with Gov<sup>r</sup> Leisler's Letter.

Found my Family all well, save Sam's sore in his neck, and Hañah droops as though would have the Small Pocks. Note. I have had great heaviness on my Spirit before, and in this journey; and I resolv'd that if it pleas'd God to bring me to my family again, I would endeavour to serve Him better in Self-denial, Fruitfulness, Not pleasing Men, open Conversation, not being solicitous to seem in some indifferent things what I was not, or at least to conceal what I was; Endeavouring to goe and come at God's call and not otherwise; Labouring more constantly and throwly to Examin my self before sitting down to the

Lord's Table. Now the good Lord God of his infinite Grace help me to perform my Vows, and give me a filial Fear of Himself, and save me from the fear of Man that brings a Snare. At Billinges heard Sam. Haugh was dead, which made me sad: but it proves not so. At Roxbury Mr. Beñet tells me of the death and Burial of John Alcock, died on Monday, and buried on Wednesday, May 7<sup>th</sup> E<sup>m</sup> Mather one of the Bearers.

May 10. Hañah takes a Vomit, her Grandmother earnestly desiring it. Has the Small Pocks very favourably, keeps her Bed but three or four days; about 50 or 60 in her face; pretty many on her Wrists.

May 19<sup>th</sup> Begins to keep below with her Brother, and Sister Betty.

Wednesday, May 21, 1690. Mr. Eliot<sup>1</sup> dies about one in the Morning; I visited him as I came from New-York: This puts our Election into mourning.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was the famous Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, the "Apostle to the Indians." — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> Copy of a Letter from Mr. Sewall in Baylies' "Plymouth."

BOSTON, May 21, 1690.

HONB<sup>LE</sup> SIR, — The Express sent pr. your Honour was with me about 5 a'clock this morning: But the Council being to meet in the morn, delayed, that might have the sence, and expected a greater certainty of the condition of Casco which yet fails; whose sitting proves so late that fear will be 4 past M<sup>a</sup> before shall dismiss them. The General Court have ordered our Souldiers to be raised out of the several Regiments. Capt. James Converse is to command one company. They are to march next Tuesday, and rendezvous at Concord and Sudbury, and to march by land to Springfield, and on to Albany: intend to send Meat by Sea, and take up on trust, if it arrive not soon enough. Intend to send the 2<sup>d</sup> Company with a Lieutenant to Major Pynchon, and he appoint a Captain. We think Capt. Converse may be fit to be next the Major. No news is yet received from Sir William [Phips]. And exceeding bad news from the Eastward: Tis believed Casco Garrison and Fort are burnt, and the Inhabitants destroyed; so that we do not understand that there is one escaped or shut up or left. We fear, if this be true, there may be so many French and Indians that we shall be obliged to raise 4 or 5 hundred Men to defend our Frontiers on that part. This disaster fell out on Friday and Satterday last. Fourscore Souldiers there. Capt. Willard came away the day before. This News comes by men sent from Dominicas Jor-



May 22. We hear of the Taking Port-Royal by Sir William Phips;<sup>1</sup> Mr. Moodey well; which something abates our sorrow for the loss of Casco, if that sad news prove true.

Mr. Walter preaches the Lecture, and so is the first who has such a publick opportunity to mention Mr. Eliot's Death, Ambassadour, Chariots and Horsmen [2 Kings II.].

Friday, May 23. Is a Fast at Charlestown. In the afternoon Mr. Danforth and I call'd out of the Meeting presently after it began, the certainty of Casco's destruction being now brought. After having sat in Council awhile went to Mr. Eliot's Funeral; Governour and Dept. Governour, &c. there. Bearers, Mr. Allin, Morton, Willard, Fiske, Hobart, Nehem, Thacher. Mr. Torrey and Danforth not there. Mr. Duñer of York<sup>2</sup> there; He comes to ask help: 'Tis dolefull news we have to celebrate Mr. Eliot's Funeral with. Casteen is said to head about 70. French, and Indians are above Two Hundred. Capt. Willard came away the very day before the Attack.

May 24<sup>th</sup> News is brought of Capt. Nicholson being

dans Garrison, and a Shallop that saw Houses on fire on Friday, and forced to come away without loading. Have only some glimmering hope that the Fort [is] not burnt. K. J. [King James] is so far from being dead that He is said to be very strong in Ireland. Parliament [is] dissolved. New one to meet on the 20 or 22 March. Ship came from Tor Bay, March 7. Bill for Corporations twice fallen through; once by Prorogation, and then by the dissolution. My humble service to your Hon<sup>r</sup>, Major Walley, and the Gent<sup>ra</sup> with you, praying God to turn away his Anger from us, and to take part with us, I take my leave, and remain Sir, your Honours Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>:

SAM. SEWALL.

<sup>1</sup> This was the main fruit of the expedition sent forward under Phips, April 28, 1690. It consisted of seven or eight hundred men in eight small vessels. Port Royal (afterwards Annapolis), in Acadia, was surprised and captured May 23. Palfrey (IV. 49) adds that Phips also captured and destroyed the French fort at the mouth of the river St. John. Hutchinson (I. 397) says that the fleet returned May 30, 1690. This trivial success led to the great disaster of the following year. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Shubael Dummer, of York, was killed by a body of French and Indians, in an attack on that settlement, Jan. 25, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . — EDS.

come to his Government at Virginia, and Gov<sup>r</sup> Slaughter to New-York: First comes by Water: Mr. Arnold, the Keeper, brings the second by Land. This day I goe over to Winisīmet and see my Brother St. Sewall.

May 25. Sabbath. Jane Toppan is taken very ill; give her a vomit: She brings up three great Worms, and much fowl matter.

May 26. Has many Symptoms of the Small Pocks, we count it the first day.

May 26. Mr. Cotton Mather prays with Eliakim.

May 28. Small Pocks āpear.

Sabbath, June 1. Betty and Joseph are taken. Betty very delirious. Mr. Moodey is known to have the Distemper.

Monday, June 9<sup>th</sup> Joseph hath a very bad night, as also the night before.

June 10<sup>th</sup>. He grows better and the Small Pocks doe āparently dye away in his face.

Wednesday, June 11<sup>th</sup>. We put Sam. to Bed, having the Small Pocks come out upon him, as the Physician and we judge. Betty is so well as to Goe into Mother Hull's Chamber, and keep Jane Company, between 9 and 10. *mane*.

Thursday, June 12. After Lecture there is a Meeting of the Overseers of the Colledge: the Fellows are āpointed to hold the Cōmencement. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, and Mr. Cotton Mather were chosen Fellows, i.e. the Choice of the Corporation was confirmed. About seven a'clock I married Capt. Theophilus Frary and Mrs. Mary Greenwood, at the house of said Greenwood.<sup>1</sup>

Satterday, June 14. Have all my family together at Prayer, which has not been for many weeks before. Mr. Danforth, Mr. Russel, Mr. Hawthorn, Major Hutchinson,

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<sup>1</sup> Capt. Frary's first wife was Hannah, daughter of Jacob Eliot, the mother of his children. This second wife is mentioned in his will, but her surname was not known to Savage. — Eds.

S. Sewall and Mr. Corwin subscribe for the Albany Expedition, Complaint being made that the Council's not subscribing much hindred others.

About 4 or 5. P.M. June 14<sup>th</sup> Mrs. Winthrop dies of the Small Pocks. About the same time Cyprian Stephens, and Nath<sup>l</sup> Williams, Son of Jn<sup>o</sup> Williams, die. The Lord fit particular persons and me and New England for his good pleasure.

Monday, June 16<sup>th</sup> Notice is given by beat of Drum of the Sale of the Souldiers part of Plunder taken at Port-Royal, to be made next Wednesday: this between 3. and 4. P.M.

Monday, June 16. Between 7. and 8. in the Even Mrs. Mary Winthrop is buried: Mr. Houghton, Col. Shrimpton; Sewall, Addington; Eliakim Hutchinson, Sergeant, Bearers. Intended Tuesday, but the Heat of the Weather compell'd the using this day. Had a double Coffin. Capt. Torrey was buried last Thursday; died the Tuesday before. Mr. Houghton, Major Richards, there.

June 17<sup>th</sup> Tuesday. Sam. rises and sits up a good while very hearty and strong. Blessed be God. This day one of my Shirts goes to lay out a Man dead at Nurse Hurds of this distemper, being a Stranger.

June 23. Brother Emons buries a Daughter of a Consumption. Was a pious Maid, at Woman's Estate.

June 27<sup>th</sup> John Lake dies at his Mother's, of the Small Pocks. Col. Shrimpton loses a very good Servant. William Parson, Mr. Joseph Parson's only Son and Child, was buried of the Small Pocks yesterday, June 26.

Friday, July 4. Mistress Tyng, wife of Mr. Edward Tyng, is buried. Mrs. Parson dies this day of a Consumption and Fever.

June 30. My wife and I ride to Braintrey in the Coach, carrying sick Cousin Quinsey with us: ly there all night.

July 2. Go to Cambridge by Water in the Barge, wherein the Governour, Major Generall, Capt. Blackwell,



Mr. Addington, Allen, Willard and others: Had the Tide homeward. Thirty Commencers besides Mr. Rogers, Sir Mather, and Mr. Emmerson.<sup>1</sup> Sir Mather in England yet had a Degree conferred on him. Mr. Rogers and Emmerson should have Commenc'd last year, but were hindred by Sickness.

Sabbath-day July 6. When we are at the Funeral of Mrs. Parson the News comes in of the Engagement at Oyster-River, and that in probability two Captains slain.

July 7<sup>th</sup> Brother Stephen Sewall goes out with Sixty or Seventy Dragoons, and several others to the number of 150. or thereabout; The Lord God of Hosts goe along with them.

July 8. Are alarm'd by a Post who brings a Relation of Frenchmen being Landed at Cape-Cod, and marched within ten miles of Eastham.

July 14<sup>th</sup> 1690. Mrs. Rebecca Taylor<sup>2</sup> dies of the Small Pocks.

July 16. Mrs. Taylor buried. William Taylor principal mourner. Bearers, Major Richards and Col. Shrimpton, Sewall, E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Middlecot, Serjeant. This day Cousin Quinsey comes from Braintree in Sam. Marshal's Boat, lands at Gill's Wharf, rests at our House, then gets home. Is worse than when he went. Mrs. Green the Printer's<sup>3</sup> wife dies this day. Jn<sup>o</sup> Coñey's only Son

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Rogers, John Emerson, Samuel Mather. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Taylor has already been mentioned in our notes. — Eds.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Green, Jr., the printer, and his wife, are both described by Dunton. Thomas (History of Printing, I. 282) quotes a letter written to Rev. John Cotton, dated Aug. 5, 1690, which says, in regard to Boston, "the small pox is as bad as ever; Printer Green died of it in three days, his wife also is dead with it." We find on the Colony Records, under date of Nov. 11, 1690, an order to pay to the administrator of Samuel Green, late of Boston, printer, the balance of his account.

This Samuel Green, Jr., was the son of Samuel Green, of Cambridge, likewise a printer, and the progenitor of printers. As Savage has some errors, we will state the latest results of investigations.

Samuel, Sen., had two wives and many children, the last recorded being

and Child, buried this day. Mr. C. Mather prays with Cousin Quinsey, and after at our house.

Sabbath, July 20. When Mr. Willard was in his first Prayer, there was a Cry of Fire, which made the People rush out. 'Twas said Mr. Winslow's Chimney was on fire. Just about the same time, the House next the Old Meeting-house, the Chimney smoaked so, and beat into the House that made great disturbance there.

July 25. Major Nath! Saltonstall, and Major Tho. Henchman aply themselves to the Council, shewing that if so many be press'd for Canada as the Order mentions, the fronteers will draw in, and they themselves profess they will do so. Major Saltonstall comes no farther than Charlestown, because of the Small Pocks. Major Generall, Mr. Addington, and self goe over and give him a visit.

Tuesday, July 29, 1690. This is a day of much Thunder and plenteous Rain which prevents the Souldiers for Canada their mustering as was intended. Cous. Quinsey as I sat with him bid me shut the door, and ask'd if I had done that, meaning his Will. Mr. Moodey visited him this day. He is very low.

July 30. Eliakim Mather sets out for Eastham. Mr. Edw. Rawson and I have hot words about Deeds he shews me relating to the Salmon-Falls Sawmill: Capt. Wincoll

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Dorcas, b. 1671. But, by Middlesex Deeds, XIV., it seems that in 1707 there were four Greens living who sell land with the widow. Clearly these were his sons, and the last-named two were Joseph, and Timothy Green, printer. Timothy was born in 1679, and Joseph was doubtless a few years older.

Samuel, Jr., did not marry Elizabeth Sill (Paige says she married Samuel, son of Percival Green, of Cambridge), but his wife was doubtless named Hannah, as the Boston Records indicate. Samuel and Hannah had Joseph and Jane, but they probably died young.

Timothy Green went to New London, was a printer, and had six sons, three of whom became printers. Of these, Samuel had Timothy, a printer, who left two sons, printers. Jonas went to Maryland, and had three sons, who were printers. In fact we believe that in the present generation several pursue this same business. — Eds.

having in '86. made a Deed to George Broughton, and Acknowledg'd it in April last, of his Right in the Salmon-Falls: Of which Deed said Rawson writ out a Copy before he went away and gave me.

Satterday, Augt. 2. News comes of our Agents having presented Addresses to the King and Queen; of the King's intention to go into Ireland, and an Act framing to enable the Queen to govern in the mean time. Sloop that went for Am̄unition, her arrival at Silly. *Væ malum!* about 2. aclock after midnight a fire breaks out on tother side the Mill-Crick, which gets over to this side and consumes about fourteen Dwelling Houses besides Warehouses; Madam Leverett, and Mrs. Rock are great Sharers in the Loss.

Monday, Augt. 4. Cousin Quinsey signs, seals and publishes his Will, Capt. Jacob Eliot, Theophilus Frary and my self Witnesses. Then went with Major Walley to Dorchester to meet Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkley, Cōmmissioner for Plimouth, but Cōnecticut and Rhode-Island failing, nothing could be done to purpose: but urgd Gov<sup>r</sup> Hinkley to furnish us with a hundred Men: hope he will send fifty. Din'd with Mr. Stoughton. Went and saw Capt. Withington's Company, 16 files, 4 deep, drawn up by the Meetinghouse, gave them a French Crown to drink. Took Mrs. Mills's Acknowledgment of a Deed as she lay abed. Mrs. Pierce buried near the Tomb of her Grandfather Cotton.

Friday, Augt. 8, 1690. Dept. Governour, Major Generall, Major Richards, Mr. Russell, Major Hutchinson, Major Phillips, Mr. Addington and self went to Nantasket to see the Lieut. Generall<sup>1</sup> Muster his Souldiers on Georges Island; went on board the Six Friends; urgd that might sail by the first oportunity; came up to Town. And about 11. or 12. at night Major Hutchinson, Mr. Addington and S. S.

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<sup>1</sup> The Lieutenant-General was John Walley, of Barnstable. — Eds.



with Mr. Eyre went down again carrying Carriages for field-pieces. Anchor'd at Nantasket about 3. When day, Augt. 9<sup>th</sup>, was come, went on board; the Generall persuaded Him to make Signs of Sailing; then with the Lieut. Generall visited the Ships of War and other Vessels, directed as to the number of Souldiers each vessel was to have and order'd to make Signs of Sailing. Wind comes fresh from Sea; Go and dine at Hull with Sir William [Phips] and his Lady and Mr. Hale: Come on board, order is given to unmore, to be in a readiness if the wind should spring up. About 6. wind veer'd and the Fleet came to sail, Four Ships of War, and 28 other. Brought up my Lady from Hull. Got up to Town about 9. at night; call'd at Cous. Quinsey's whom I found very ill.

Sabbath, Augt. 10<sup>th</sup> Went to see Cous. Quinsey; read the 102. Psal. and begin 103. pray'd, and so went home. Put up a Bill at his request. Just after Contribution in the Afternoon, was call'd out, Cousin being very bad, so far as I could perceive. He desired me to pray, which I did: Afterward sent for Mr. Willard, and He pray'd, then Cousin pull'd his hand out of the Bed, and gave it to Mr. Willard. Seem'd to pray himself; but I could hear little except Jesus Christ; breath'd quick and hard, till at last abated and He quietly expired about Seven a'clock. Mother Hull and I being there. I have parted with a cordial fast Friend, such an one as I shall hardly find. The Lord fit me for my Change and help me to wait till it come. Cousin was concern'd what he should doe for Patience, but God graciously furnish'd him; and has now translated Him to that State and place wherein He has no occasion for any.

Tuesday, Augt. 12. About 7. P.M. we lay the Body of Cous. Daniel Quinsey in my Father's Tomb. Mr. Serjeant, Duñer, H. Usher, Davis, Williams, Coñey, Bearers. I led the Widow, then the Children, next, Mr. T. Brattle, Mrs. Shepard, H. Newman, Mistress Margaret, Mr. Wil-

lard, Mother Hull, Mr. Parson, my wife and so on. Note. My wife was so ill could hardly get home, taking some harm in going in Pattens, or some wrench, so had a great flux of Blood, which amaz'd us both, at last my wife bad me call Mrs. Ellis, then Mother Hull, then the Midwife, and throw the Goodness of God was brought to Bed of a Daughter between 3. and four aclock, Aug. 13<sup>th</sup> 1690. *mane* Mrs. Elisabeth Weeden, Midwife. Had not Women nor other preparations as usually, being wholly surpris'd, my wife expecting to have gone a Moneth longer.

Wednesday, Augt. 13, 1690. Eliakim Mather goes away about 10. at night for Eastham, and so for Jamaica before his Return.

Augt. 16. Capt. Cyprian Southack comes in, saith he saw not the Fleet.

Augt. 17. Mr. Willard keeps his Sabbath at Roxbury, and so the Baptism of my little Daughter is deferred to the next Lord's Day.

Sabbath-day, August the four and twentieth, 1690. I publish my little Daughter's name to be Judith, held her up for Mr. Willard to baptize her. She cried not at all, though a pretty deal of water was poured on her by Mr. Willard when He baptized her: Six others were baptized at the same time; Capt. Davis's Son James, and a grown person, Margaret Clifford, two of them. I named my Daughter Judith for the sake of her Grandmother and great Grandmother, who both wore that Name, and the Signification of it very good: The Lord grant that we may have great cause to praise Him on her account and help her to speak the Jews Language and to forget that of Ashdod. Nehem. 13. 24. And that she may follow her Grandmother Hull, as she follows Christ, being not slothfull in Business, fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord. Her Prayers and Painstaking for all my Children are incessant, voluntary, with condescension to the meanest Services night and day: that I judg'd I could in justice

doe no less than endeavour her remembrance by putting her Name on one of her Grand-Daughters. I have now had my health and opportunity to offer up Nine Children to God in Baptisme. Mr. Tho. Thacher baptized the two eldest; John and Samuel; Mr. Samuel Willard baptized the Seven younger. Lord grant that I who have thus solemnly and frequently named the name of the Lord Jesus, may depart from Iniquity; and that mine may be more His than Mine, or their own.

Augt. 28. Publick Fast. Letters are brought to the Governour informing that the Maquaws [Mohawks] failing to join the Christians at Wooden [Wood] Creek about 100 miles above Albany, they were coming back again, which puts a great damp upon us here, to think that our fleet should be disappointed of their expected Aid.

Augt. 29<sup>th</sup>. We hear by a vessel 9. weeks from Bristow of King William's being in Ireland with a great Army and vast Preparations of War. Sail'd from High-Lake<sup>1</sup> the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1690. Mrs. Davis buried this day, who died of the Small Pocks in Child-Bed.

Augt. 29, 1690. I watch at night with about 30. men. Word was Skenectady. Nathan<sup>1</sup> Clarke of Newbury buried this week, died Augt. 25.

Sept. 1, 1690. Eight Companies Train. Governour dines at Mr. Pain's with the South Company. Capt. Frary exercises the Company. Joseph is carried into the Comon to take the air and see the men.

Friday, Sept. 5<sup>th</sup>. I went to Cambridge in the morn to visit Brother Stephen Sewall and his wife, and come down with the Dept. Governour and Marshal.

Sept. 9. Mrs. Jane Pole,<sup>2</sup> widow, a Mother in our Israel,

<sup>1</sup> We cannot explain the name "High Lake." Macaulay says William sailed from Chester. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This *may* be the widow of William Poole, of Dorchester, of whom Savage writes doubtfully as to her name; viz., *perhaps* Mary Richmond. — Eds.



died at River-House in Boston, Sept. 9<sup>th</sup> and was buried at Dorchester Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> 1690.

Thursday Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> Being crowded in the Pue, by reason Mr. Hutchinson and Sergeant constantly sit there and claim Propriety, so Mr. Usher is forced to take my place; having also found that sitting so near the out-side of the House causeth me in Winter-time to take cold in my head, I removed into Gallery, and sat with Dept. Governour, Mr. Russel, Major Hutchinson, where had very convenient sitting.

Sept. 13<sup>th</sup>. Sister Emons buried. This Week we hear of a sore fight<sup>1</sup> between the English and French Fleets.

Sept. 14<sup>th</sup> I Watch, Word was Salmon-Falls, had a very comfortable night; only between 3. and 4. were disquieted by Guns fired at Charlestown, and Drum beat: But I did not observe a continual Beat of the Drum, so caus'd not an Alarm; and about day a Messenger was sent over who told us the occasion was some Indians seen in their back fields. Run-away Servants they appear to be; by which means the Town was generally rais'd: But throw God's goodness Trouble at Boston prevented.

Tuesday, Sept. 16<sup>th</sup>. About eleven at night a Fire breaks out at the House of Jn<sup>o</sup> Allen, Worsted Comber, in which his A<sup>p</sup>rentice, Sam. Worster, was burned, with the House of Lieut. Reynolds, Mr. Bligh, Langden and a great part of Savil Simson's. The wind being Sou-west the South-Meeting-House was preserv'd with very much difficulty, being in a flame in diverse places of it. Capt. Cyprian Southack, and Lieut. David Mason did very worthily, hazarding themselves with many others on the Lead for a great while.

Sept. 17<sup>th</sup>. Fast at Mr. Mathers.

Sept. 18<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Willard's Edward dies of a Convulsion Fit.

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<sup>1</sup> Battle of Beachy Head, June 29. — Eds.

Sept. 20. Is buried at Roxbury in Mr. Eliot's Tomb, I was at the Funeral. Rain and Thunder this day after a great deal of dry wether which made it extream dusty. Mr. Walter went to Prayer: Mrs. Willard sick, and not at the Grave. My little Judith languishes and moans, ready to die.

Sabbath, Sept. 21. About 2 *mane*, I rise, read some Psalms and pray with my dear Daughter. Between 7. and 8. (Mr. Moodey preaches in the Forenoon,) I call Mr. Willard, and he prays. Told Mr. Walter of her condition at the funeral, desiring him to give her a lift towards heaven. Mr. Baily sat with me in the Afternoon. I acquainted Him. Between 7. and 8. in the evening the child died, and I hope sleeps in Jesus.

Sept. 22. In the even, Mr. Moodey, Allen, Mather come from Mrs. Clark's Funeral to see us. Mr. Moodey and I went before the other came, to neighbor Hord, who lay dying; where also Mr. Allen came in. Nurse Hord told her Husband who was there, and what he had to say; whether he desir'd them to pray with him: He said with some earnestness, Hold your tongue, which was repeated three times to his wive's repeated intreaties; once he said, Let me alone, or, be quiet, (whether that made a fourth or was one of the three do not remember) and, My Spirits are gon. At last Mr. Moodey took him up pretty roundly and told him he might with the same labour have given a pertinent answer. When were ready to come away Mr. Moodey bid him put forth a little Breath to ask prayer, and said twas the last time had to speak to him; At last ask'd him, doe you desire prayer, shall I pray with you, He answer'd, Ay for the Lord's sake, and thank'd Mr. Moodey when had done. His former carriage was very startling and amazing to us. About One at night he died. About 11. a'clock I supposed to hear neighbour Mason at prayer with him, just as I and my wife were going to bed. Mr. Allen prayed with us when came from said Hord's.

Sept. 23. Tuesday, between 5. and 6. Sir Moody carries the Body of my dear Judith to the Tomb, Solomon Rainsford receives it on the Stairs and sets it in. On the Coffin is the year 1690. made with little nails. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet and Lady, Mrs. Moody, Mather, the Mother, Mr. Winthrop, Richards here, with many others; Ministers, Willard, Moody, Mather.

As we were going, one [blank] of Watertown came up with the Bearer, and talk'd to him on horseback, Mr. Moody bid him be gon about his business; at that he was in a rage and threaten'd to strike him, and said he was a pittypfull Dogg and we were all pittypfull Doggs. I thought of David and Shimei and said nothing to him. The Lord prepare me to undergo evil Report, and to be vilified by men; but not for evil-doing. I led my wife, Sam. his Grandmother, Hañah Betty, Jane Toppan managed Joseph. Before we went, Children read the 18. 19. and 20<sup>th</sup> Chapters of John, being in course for family reading.

Sept. 24. Between 5. and 6. P.M. Jn<sup>o</sup> Hord buried; None of our House there save Mother Hull.

Sept. 25. A printed sheet<sup>1</sup> entituled publick Occuēces comes out, which gives much distaste because not Licensed; and because of the passage referring to the French King and the Maquas.

Sept. 30. Going to Muddy-River, I meet Simon Gates and his Wife bound for Dorchester Lecture, so turn back and goe with them from D.[eacon] Eliot's plain by Bearsto's. Mr. Danforth preached and pray'd very well. Text 18. Luke — and shall not God: — shew'd that God would certainly hear and deliver his people at their Importunity. Mr. Torrey there, with whom din'd at Mr. Danforth's, and with Mr. Nehem. and Gershom Hobart. I sat in Mr. Stoughton's Pue; His family not well.

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<sup>1</sup> This sheet is said to be of four quarto pages, one of which is blank, and was printed by Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris. A copy is in the State Paper Office in London. Felt, History of Salem, I. — Eds.



Oct. 1. Print of the Governour and Council comes out shewing their disallowance of the Public Occurrences.

Oct. 2. Mr. Mather writes a very sharp Letter about it.

Oct. 13. John Marion jun<sup>r</sup> is chosen Clerk of the South-Company and Sworn, had 23 Votes.

Oct 7. Mrs. Cook aged 75 years died.

Oct. 9. Buried in the new burying place. Maj<sup>r</sup> Richards, Maj<sup>r</sup> Generall, Maj<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson, Col. Shrimpton, Sewall and Addington, Bearers. Buried after the Fast.

Oct. 14. Fast at Roxbury, I go thether on foot; Lady Phipps there, is come to Town again it seems, the Small Pocks being at Charlestown.

Oct. 15. Had Sam. over to Winisimmet to see his Unkle Stephen, Mr. Evans carried him home behind him from the Ferry.

Oct. 19<sup>th</sup>. Mrs. Goose dies of an Apoplexy.

Oct. 21. Is buried in the new burying place, Sewall, Addington; Eliot, Frary; Townsend, Allen; Bearers. Is a rumor in Town that Sir Edmund is to come Governour of New-York, and Col. Slâter our Governour. Tories are flush'd, and 'tis said were drinking Sir Edmund's Health last night at Neh. Pierce's. Capt. Hamond refused last week to deliver the Records.

Tuesday, Nov. 4. Accompanied Mr. Stoughton to Col. Paige's. He sent his Coach to the Ferry for us. Found at 's house Col. Gedney, Major Brown, and my brother Sewall; had a sumtuous Feast. Col. Gedney presses earnestly that Volunteers may be encouraged Eastward.

Thursday, November the Sixth 1690, at my House in Boston Samuel Haugh and Mr. Thomas Savage mutually sign'd, seal'd and deliver'd Indentures to each other; Sam. to serve him from 7<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> last, Seven years and Six Moneths. Witnesses, S. S. Joseph Wheeler, Jn<sup>o</sup> Cole, Thomas Banister.

Friday, Nov. 8, 1690. Read Gov<sup>r</sup> Leisler's extream sharp Letter. Jn<sup>o</sup> Hoar comes into the Lobby and sais

he comes from the Lord, by the Lord, to speak for the Lord; Complains that Sins as bad as Sodom's found here. Pass 20. Rates, a Bill to encourage Volunteers. Head money to be but 12<sup>d</sup> for each of the 20 Rates. About 8. at night, Governour and Magistrates goe into the Deputy's Room, Governour prays that Mountain of the Lord's House may be established in the top of the mountains, &c. Ad-journs the Court to the 10<sup>th</sup> of December at 9. *mane*. Between 9. and 10. at night, Governour sends to me and enforms of the defeat at Canada; and that Urrumbee, Hawkins, and other chief Indians sued for peace. News of Canada came from Salem. Shute comes into Boston that night or next morning, hath thrown over aboard more than Sixty persons since his going hence, most Indians of Plimouth. Town much fill'd with the discourse, and some cast blame on Major Walley; were nine weeks getting thether and landed not before the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> of October.

Satterday, Nov. 8. Council meets. Send away Major Hutchinson, Capt. Townsend and others to Wells to treat with the Indians, and commit the care of the sick on board Shute, to the Select-Men. Two lie dead on board at this time, the Small Pocks and Cold kills them.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, Novemb<sup>r</sup> 21, 1690. Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard, Mr. Edw. Rawson, Capt. Joshua Scottow, Deacon Jacob Eliot, Deacon Theophilus Frary and Samuel Sewall met together, at said Sewall's House in Boston. Mr. Edward Rawson in regard of his Age, and dwelling out of Town desired that Mrs. Judith Winthrop's Deed of the Meeting-house Land in Boston, her Receipt, Mr. Leveret's Release, Mrs. Norton's Deed of Gift 1669, Mrs. Norton's Deed of Gift 1677, An Instrument of Mr. Edw. Rawson, Capt. Joshua Scot-

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<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson, I. 404, says a truce was made at Sagadahoc, Nov. 19, 1690, by Capt. John Alden, with the Indian chiefs Edgeremet, Toqualmot, Watombamet, Naictumbuit, Walombec, and John Hawkins. He adds that the Indian name of the last chief is not given, and that the others are all names of dignity, not personal appellations. — Eds.

tow, and Capt. Jacob Eliot to Sam<sup>l</sup> Sewall and others, being Six Writings in all, should be put into a Chest to be provided for that purpose, on which a Co<sup>p</sup>er plate to be fastened with this Engraving, *South Church*, and Mr. Peter Sergeant to be entreated to keep the said Chest in his house, being of Brick and conveniently situated; and that, if can conveniently do, also put the Church plate in said Chest; and said Edward Rawson comitted the above-mentioned writings to said Eliot to be disposed of as above with as great Speed as conveniently may be, according to this Agreement.

Signed by —

EDWARD RAWSON.

SAM SEWALL.

J. SCOTTOW.

JACOB ELIOT.

THEO. FRARY.

Nov. 21. I accompanied Capt. Hill to the Funeral of Joseph Asgood, or Asbud, of Almsbury, a souldier of about 18 years old who died at Fort-hill of the Small Pocks. Mr. Laurence, Capt. Davis's Son-in-Law, is buried this day; so that Five own Sisters are now Widows. 'Twas Tuesday, the 18<sup>th</sup> of November, that I heard of the death of Capt. Stephen Greenleaf, Lieut. James Smith and Ensign W<sup>m</sup> Longfellow, Serj<sup>t</sup> Increase Pilsbury, who with Will Mitchell, Jabez Musgro, and four more were drown'd at Cape Britoon on Friday night the last of October.

Satterday, Nov. 22. Went to the burial of Major Sam<sup>l</sup> Ward; was buried a very little to the Westward of our Tomb. Major Walley, Savage, Townsend; Capt. Wing, Greenough, Barnard, Bearers. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet and 's Lady went next the Herse. Was buried from Mr. Ski<sup>n</sup>er's, a Relation. Major Hutchinson with about 13 files 4 deep, attended the funeral. One Volley only, because of the scarcity of Powder.

Wednesday, Nov. 26<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Willard and I rid to Dor-



chester, from thence with Mr. Stoughton and Danforth, the Minister, to Braintree, where met Mr. Torrey. I sign'd a Lease to Nehem. Hayden; Mr. Stoughton, Unkle Quinsey and his Son Witnesses. Mr. Torrey is for a Fast, or at least a Fast first. Mr. Willard for a Thanksgiving first. Mr. Torrey fears lest a Thanksgiving should tend to harden people in their carnal confidence. Cousin Gookin grows worse of her brest rather than better. Were wet coming home; met Mr. Caleb Moodey and N. Gooding on Crane's plain, riding to meet the Son of said Moodey, who came home in Jarvis and landed at Cape-Cod Harbour. When came home went to Capt. Hill's to the Meeting. I read the 11<sup>th</sup> Sermon of Mr. Flavell to the end of the 3<sup>d</sup> Excellency; 6 first Lines I composed with my own hand in London concerning God's being the Centre and Rest of the Soul. No body ask'd for the Meeting, so I invited them to our house. [See note in errata, p. 510.]

Nov. 27. As 2<sup>d</sup> Bell is begun to be rung for Lecture, the Cleper falls out, the staple that held it being broken. At night Goodm. Williams rings the South-Bell for 9 a'clock, at which many people started, fearing there had been fire. No ringing at the Old Meeting-House on the Sabbath, Nov. 30, nor 9 a'clock Bell since Thursday, that I have heard.

Nov. 29. Meneval<sup>1</sup> had a hearing before the Council as

<sup>1</sup> Monsieur de Meneval was the Governor of Port Royal in Acadie, and was brought here by Phips as a prisoner of war. In Mass. Archives, Vol. XXXVI., are some papers relating to him. Thus (p. 233), Governor Bradstreet gave him leave, Oct. 6, 1690, to go to any part of Europe, with two servants. But, Dec. 25, 1690 (p. 262), Phips ordered him to be sent to jail for breaking the articles of treaty.

Jan. 7, 1690-1, Bradstreet writes a private letter to Phips, saying that the Council made an order, December 30, for the delivery to Meneval of his chest and clothes, "taken into custody by your order when he was brought up from on board the vessel." But as M. has not received them, and is in great want of his clothes, Bradstreet reminds Phips of that order, and hopes he will execute it.

It seems, from a letter in Vol. XXXVII., p. 2, that the Chevalier de la

to Money of his in Sir William's hand : very fierie words between Sir William and Mr. Nelson. When Sir William went out seemed to say would never come there more, had been so abus'd by said Nelson, and if Council would not right him, he would right himself.

Nov. 30. Tis extream cold and poor Cous. Savage is still aboard at Nantasket, not being able to be brought up yesterday, wind so high, he so low brought by wound and sickness.

Dec. 1, 1690. The Pink Eagle 80 Tuns, Joseph Buckley Master, Loaden for Jamaica, was burnt in the Harbour, very little sav'd besides a new Cable ; came by Carelessness. Owners, Capt. Checkly, his Brother Sam. Mr. Foxcroft.

Dec. 1. Went to the Funeral of John Hews of Newbury, a Souldier from Canada, died of the bloody flux. Mr. Moodey and his Son went next the Corps, Major Richards and Hutchinson next, Sewall and Thornton, Capt. Hall, &c. ; about 30 or 40 Men and Women : Extream Cold. Visited Sir William, so home.

Dec. 2. Lieut. Ephr. Sale dies.

Dec. 3. Brother Needham dies and Goodw. Deacon. I was with Brother Needham on Tuesday about 11. a'clock and had comfortable discourse with him ; I had much adoe to persuade him to let me help him on with his Jacket ; he was much affected with the kindness.

Satterday, Dec. 6. Brother W<sup>m</sup> Needham is buried about 3 a'clock : Bearers, Deacon Eliot, Frary, Allen, Tomson, Bridgham. Had Rings and Gloves. Executors sent me a Ring.

Wednesday, Dec. 3, 1690. A Church is gathered, and Mr. John Whiting Ordained Minister at Lancaster. Mr. Sam Whiting gives him his Charge, Mr. Estabrooks gives

Tourasse was made Governor of Port Royal by our government after the capture. — Eds.

the Right hand of Fellowship; Mr. Brinsmead and others there.

Monday, Dec. 8. Din'd with me at the Royal Exchange, Sir William Phips, Isaac Addington Esqr., Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard, Capt. Joshua Scottow, Capt. Nath<sup>l</sup> Byfield, Mr. Peter Sergeānt, Samson Sheaf, Thomas Brattle, Jn<sup>o</sup> Eyre, Henry Derings, Capt. James Hill. Twelve in all.

Dec. 16, 1690. Very cold. I visit the Major Generall in the even, who has kept house ever since Wednesday last, through pain and Indisposition by putting his Anklebone of his right legg out of joynt. Advised him of the Fast to morrow.

I spoke with Mr. Partridge about Kittery Grant, that if he cut any Masts there, he should give me an account of them, and I would use him well. He said he got Masts at Exeter, and not there this winter: and would be sure to wrong no man, much less me.

Wednesday, Decemb<sup>r</sup> 17, 1690. A Day of Prayer is kept at the Townhouse, Mr. Allen prays, Mr. Moodey preaches, Mr. Willard prays. 'Tis so cold and so much Ice in Charlestown River, that neither Dept. Governour, Treasurer, Mr. Morton, nor Charlestown Deputies could get over. Mr. Russel hath the Small Pocks which stays him. Mr. C. Mather is ill, and can't come. Major Generall has put his Ankle out of joynt, he not there. Col. Shrimpton and Deacon Eliot were there. This morning we have the sad news of the death of Mr. John Clark, our beloved Physician, between 4. and 5. *mane*.

Dec. 19, 1690. Heard Mr. Thacher preach at neighbour Herridges; then went to the Funeral of Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Clark; Bearers, Richards, Hutchinson, Addington, Middlecot; Townsend, Turell. Governour [Bradstreet], Sir William, Major Johnson, Treasurer [Phillips], and Sewall went next the Relations. Warm Southerly wether. Three desirable Men now dead; one out of each Church. Our Mr. Pain, the oldest, being about 68.



December 23, 1690. Major Pike tells me in the Townhouse of Eliakim Mather's being come. Came with Mr. Cotton about noon, but I saw him not till night, being detained at the Townhouse all day.

Dec. 29, 1690. Mr. Addington and I goe to Sir William Phips's, where Mr. Moody and Mr. Mather in his Border: had very sharp discourse; Mr. Mather very angrily said that they who did such things as suffering Sir William to be arrested by Meneval, were Frenchmen, or the people would say they were, &c.

Dec. 30. Council orders the Writt against Sir William to be null.

Dec. 31. Visit Cousin Savage at Reading, who keeps his Bed, and can hardly stir, yet is cheerly.

Jan. 1, [169 $\frac{0}{1}$ .] Visit Capt. Clap. Mr. Allen preaches against minding our own things, &c. His house broken up in Lecture time and above 40£ in Money stolen.

Jan. 2. Eliezer Russel buried.

Jan. 3. Josiah Grice, a very usefull man and good Christian, died last night. Mrs. Ruck buried this day, Sam. Clark's Aunt; outliving her Son but a very little while.

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Addington and I went to Mr. Cotton Mather, and expostulated with him about the discourse at Sir William's, and the Remonstrance brought to the Council by Capt. Greenough and Mr. Coleman the Tuesday following: and hope 'twill tend to promote Charity and Peace.

Satterday, Jan. 10, 169 $\frac{0}{1}$ . Betty with her Sister and others were riding in a sled, and the Indian who drove it struck Betty with his Goad on the side of the head so as to make it bleed pretty much and swell, but thanks be to God, no danger now the fright is over, and heals.

Sabbath, Jan. 11<sup>th</sup>. At night the House of Joshua Gardener, at Muddy-River, is burnt, and two of his Children; the Lord help us to repent that we do not likewise

perish. Twas my turn to Watch. I sent Eliakim; the north watch saw the light of the fire.

Jan. 21, 1699 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Meeting at Mr. Woodmancies in Major Wallies house. A cry of fire was made which much disturb'd us in the middle of Sermon; it prov'd to be Mr. Pole's Chimney, which made a great light. Snow on the houses which prevented danger. Sermon, Brother Emons read, was about Hungring and Thirsting after Righteousness. Mr. Burroughs on the Beatitudes. Sung 2<sup>d</sup> part 45. Psal. Mr. Burroughs referring to the time of the new Jerusalem. Very Cold.

Satterday, Jan. 24, 1699 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Wear comes in; came from Cows Dec<sup>r</sup> 1; brings Mr. Dudley, Mr. Brenton and others.

Jan. 26. Mr. Brenton exhibits his Co $\bar{m}$ ission, under the Broad Seal, for exercising the Office of Collector, Surveyor and Searcher.

Jan. 27<sup>th</sup>. Major Generall comes not, so that had much adoe to persuade Major Hutchinson to hold the Court, it seeming so odd for only three freshmen to hold it where seven or more of the chiefest and ablest used to keep Court; by that means begun not till past noon.

Feb. 2. This morn Capt. Roger Clap dies, about 86 years old. Capt. Brown arrives at Marblehead, came from Plimouth 19<sup>th</sup> December.

Feb. 3. This morn, or last night, Capt. Johnson dies suddenly, a very old Man, between 86 and 90.<sup>1</sup> On Sabbath-day night, Feb. 1. Col. Shrimpton's Sign, the Royal Exchange, is blown down, the Keeper of it run away on Satterday.

Friday, Feb. 6. Mr. Stoughton and Dudley call here,

<sup>1</sup> Savage, under the name of Ireson, quotes this passage from Sewall, reading it as Captain Ireson. Yet, under Francis Johnson, he says that this J. died Feb. 3, 1691. We may conclude, then, that the second version was the correct one, and that the person meant is Captain Francis Johnson, of Salem and Boston. — Eds.

which is the first time since his coming from England when I was at home.

Sabbath, Feb. 15. 9. *mane*, at the desire of Añis Hill, I give a Warrant to search for her Husband, Tho. Hill the Tanner, who has been missing ever since last night. This day is taken up drown'd. This morn, Elisabeth Dixie (now Pemberton) is taken into Church before the Sacrament.

Feb. 12. I watch with Mr. Bañister and Peter Wear; Sit at James Meers's between while because of the Rain, darkness and slippiriness. Had a good night.

Tuesday, Feb. 17. Went in Mr. Shiprev's Boat to Hog-Island, to see what Wood the Tenant had cut. Passage has been open about a week, and Crooked Lane a 14 night.

Feb. 18. Mr. Willard and Capt. Frary came to our House.

March, 3, 1699. About noon Marshall Generall Green dies of the Fever. about noon.

March 4. Buried in the evening.

March 5. After Lecture Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Gookin is Apointed by the Governour and Council to be Marshal Generall till the sitting of the Generall Court; and the Oath administered to him in open Court accordingly.

March 9, 1699. Town-Meeting. Select-Men chosen, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Joyliff, Tho. Walker, John Foster, Penn Townsend, Tim<sup>o</sup> Prout, Bozoon Allen, Jeremiah Duñer, Jn<sup>o</sup> Marion, Sen<sup>r</sup>, Obadiah Gill. Town-Treasurer, chosen by papers, Mr. James Taylor. Select-Men last year, now passed by, are Capt. Turell, James Hill, Mr. Richard Middlecot. Constables, Joseph Belknap, Elizur Holyoke, Joseph Grant, William Rouse, Jn<sup>o</sup> Borland, Benj. Bream, Samson Duer, George Clark, Tim<sup>o</sup> Wadsworth. Fin'd Jacob Melyen, Jn<sup>o</sup> Mico, Jn<sup>o</sup> Borland. Overseers of the Poor, Nath<sup>l</sup> Williams, Benj. Walker, William Coleman, Sim. Stoddard.



March 10<sup>th</sup> Four Deputies for Boston, Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Theophilus Frary, Tim<sup>s</sup> Prout, Mr. Adam Winthrop, 27 Votes. Mr. Serjeant, Taylor, Eyre had several votes.

March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1690<sup>o</sup>. Cousin Aña Quinsey removes to Charlestown with her Children and Goods.

Monday, March 16. I watch, accompanied by Serj<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Bull, and Corp<sup>l</sup> Peter Wier: had a very comfortable night. Gave money to each Guard.

March 19, 1690<sup>o</sup>. Mr. C. Mather preaches the Lecture from Mat. 24., and appoint his portion with the Hypocrites: In his proem said, *Totus mundus agit histrionem*. Said one sign of a hypocrit was for a man to strain at a Gnat and swallow a Camel. Sign in 's Throat discovered him; To be zealous against an iñocent fashion, taken up and used by the best of men; and yet make no Conscience of being guilty of great Immoralities. Tis supposed means wearing of Perriwigs: said would deny themselves in any thing but parting with an oportunity to do God service; that so might not offend good Christians. Meaning, I suppose, was fain to wear a Perriwig for his health. I expected not to hear a vindication of Perriwigs in Boston Pulpit by Mr. Mather; however, not from that Text. The Lord give me a good Heart and help to know, and not only to know but also to doe his Will; that my Heart and Head may be his.

March 25, 1691. I walk on foot to Roxbury, and visit Mr. Bowls, who lies very sick of the Small Pocks, this the 7<sup>th</sup> day. Mr. Walter pray'd with him before I came away.

March 28, 1691. A Post comes to Town from New York, and brings a Letter from Henry Sloughter, Governour there, who arrived the 19<sup>th</sup> Instant, on Thursday. Messenger tells us that on Tuesday, and Wednesday before, Capt. Leisler fired upon the Town, and killed Six persons; some went to fire a great Gun at the fort, and

by accident, five persons were slain, of whom Ma[ttthew.] Gregory was one. On Friday, the fort was surrendered, out of which 400 marched. Col. Bayard took out of Prison, and Capt. Leisler put in his room, and Bayard's chain put on 's Legg. Governour had six weeks passage from Barmudas, so that some began to think he might have been cast away.

March 27. Mr. Moodey visited us in the even, pray'd hard for Assurance. I was at Charlestown Lecture, where Mr. Morton Preach'd well about the Light of God's Countenance desired by the Saints — very thin Assembly. Mr. Russel and I prov'd one Greenland's Will. The L. hear the Prayer of Mr. Morton and Moodey for them and me. Mr. Moodey talked with me about resisting unto blood, the Subject he was to treat of next Sabbath: and witnesses not being slain.

April 5<sup>th</sup>. At night, about 12. or 1. set sail in the Prudent Mary Bark, Daniel Lunt Master, for Newbury; sail'd through Squam, so to Ipswich Bar and Newbury Sound. Mrs. Hannah Moodey and Jane Toppan with me; fell aground at Sandy Beach an hour by Sun, Apr. 6.

Apr. 9<sup>th</sup>. Ride and visit Mr. Simms and Ward, take Livery of Jn<sup>o</sup> Kent's Lot.

Apr. 10<sup>th</sup> Drive a Nail in Abiel Sommerby's House.

Apr. 11. Ride to the Falls to visit Sister Longfellow; To Peter Cheyny's Mill.

Apr. 13. To Salem, visit little Sam. Sewall, my Name-sake.

Apr. 14. Home, find all well, blessed be God.

Apr. 20<sup>th</sup> 1691. Being pressed with the sense of my doing much harm and little good, and breach of Vows at my return from New York, this time twelvemonth, that is, not heedfully regarding to go at God's Call, I kept a Fast to pray that God would not take away but uphold me by his free Spirit. When I came to look, I found it to be the very day of the week and year as much as could

be that I set out for New York, which made me hope that twas a token for good that God would pardon that Sin and Sins since committed. Pray'd for Sister Dorothy, my family, New England, that God would fit me for his good pleasure in doing and suffering. Treaty with Indians to be the 1<sup>st</sup> May, &c.

Apr. 27. Went with Mr. Moodey on foot to the Ferry, and with Major Phillips accompani'd him to Mystick, where left him with Mr. Allen the Scholar and other Company at the Widow Wade's; as return'd saw Mr. and Mrs. Morton at their Farm. This Afternoon had Joseph to School to Capt. Townsend's Mother's, his Cousin Jane accompanying him, carried his Horn-book.

Apr. 27, 1691. Din'd at Cous. Dummer's with the Select-Men.

May 4. Eight Companies Train; I went not into field; in the evening Major and Captains came hether to desire me not to lay down my place, Mr. Cotton Mather being here, set in with them. Mr. Mather staid and went to prayer with us, and had the very expressions us'd by the Dept. Governour when He deliver'd me my Cōmission; viz: Let us serve our Generation according to the Will of God, and afterwards fall asleep.

Satterday, May 16. Between 3. and 4. P.M. South-Company is warned to attend on the Election day, by Solomon Rainsford, in the Rain.

May 19, 1691. *mane*, Mr. Richardson visits me. I ask whether he receiv'd my Letter I sent him before my going for England. He answered, yes. I tried to reinforce it, as to what concern'd his faithfull fullfilling his Ministry. What effect twill have God knows.

May 20<sup>th</sup>. Election-day, very fair and comfortable wether. Led the South-Company into the Cōmon, there pray'd with them, so march'd with Capt. Hill to the Governour's. Guard consisted of two Files on each Flank, &c.; had but four Drums, made extream bad Volleys at



night. After being treated by the Governour, the 122. Psalm was sung, Mr. Allen got me to set the Tune, which was Windsor; it brought to mind the Psalm sung in that very Room in 1686, which Mr. Nowell read. Note. Throw what heartlessness I scarce know, but I went not for Mr. Morton to bring him to the Meetinghouse, nor to fetch him from Mr. Eyre's to diñer, which now I look upon it, troubles me much. Mr. Hutchinson and Addington not sworn this day.

May 21. Dept. Governour, Major Generall and I went to speak to Mr. Stoughton, desiring him to accept of the place he is called to. I bought two answers of Church of England Address of Mr. Wilkin, and gave Mr. Stoughton one. Major Pike, my self, Matthew Jn<sup>o</sup>son, Sam<sup>l</sup> Partrigg, and Joseph, are a Committee to consider how Money may be got in for present Exigencies. Just as was at our Gate with them and a crowd of other people, about 7. a'clock, Ben. Harris comes to me, and tells that Capt. Leisler and Mr. Millburn were executed last Satterday, that Mr. Fañvil brought the news: whereas most were pleasing themselves that there was like to be no such thing, and that Gov<sup>r</sup> Slougher begun to think him an honest man and entertain him at his Table.

May 29<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Addington and I wait on Mr. Stoughton at Dorchester.

May 30<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Stoughton takes his Oath.

June 1. Mr. Taylor, Mr. Pierpont and Mr. Walter dine with me; Mr. Walter tells me of a small Paraphrase of Mr. Eliot's upon Ezek. 37., written about half a year before his death.

June 2<sup>d</sup> 1691. Mr. Edward Taylor puts his Son James to Mr. Steward, Shopkeeper of Ipswich, for Seven years, to serve him as an Aḗrentice, Term to begin the first of July next. Mr. Taylor desires me to represent himself in making the Indenture, if Mr. Steward desire the accomplishment of it befor He comes down again.

June 3, 1691. Sister Sewall of Salem comes to see us ; 5<sup>th</sup>, Brother comes, tells me Ezekiel Northend is like to go to Sister Dorothy again. 6<sup>th</sup>, goe home.

June 10<sup>th</sup> 1691. I goe to Salem, visit Mr. Higginson, dine with Him, after his Lecture ; view the fortifications.

June 16<sup>th</sup>. Brother sends me word of the arrival of Jn<sup>o</sup> Ingersoll, well laden with good Salt. Sister Dorothy's being come thether the night before, intends hether shortly.

June 17. Fast at the Townhouse, Magistrates, Ministers : Mr. Hale, Bayly, Brinsmead, Torrey, Moodey, Willard pray, Mr. Lee preaches. Mr. Fisk, Thacher, Gookin, Jn<sup>o</sup> Danforth sup here.

June 19<sup>th</sup> 1691. The Reverend Mr. John Wilson, Pastor of the Church at Medfield, came before me, and seal'd and published a certain Writing to be his last Will and Testament, to which accordingly I subscribed my name in the place of the Witnesses ; Bromfield, Clark, Sharp having subscribed before.

Monday, June 22. Sam. Toḡan brings Sister Dorothy to Town. Tom. Hitchborn's Son drowned this day. I watch at night in the Ensign's turn with Serj<sup>t</sup>. Bull and Corp<sup>l</sup>. Weare.

June 29. Went to the Island, had my Daughters Hañah and Elisabeth with me. Went to see about building a room for Goodw. Balchar to doe her work in. Cornelius Creek and Jn<sup>o</sup> Wells row'd us in Mr. Shiprevs Boat. Yesterday Rainsford arriv'd with 17 Men that remained alive on Antis Coti [Anticosti] ; 4 dead of Small Pocks since the Longboat's coming. They saw Ten Sail of Frenchmen standing for Canada River, many of them suppos'd to be of 3. and 2 hundred Tuns.

July 20. Much Lightening in a Cloud toward the Castle, which many observ'd and talk'd of.

Wednesday, July 22. Brought the Major Generall, going to Jamaica, and under the Oak over against the

Schoolhouse took leave. Is at last gon to New London to settle his affairs; which Journey he has a very long time talk'd of.

Wednesday, Augt. 5<sup>th</sup>. The death of Gov<sup>r</sup> Sloughter is talk'd of through the Town. News came last night or this morning. Capt. Scottow told it here as was at Breakfast with Mr. Torrey and me. Cousin David Hobart here.

Thursday, Augt. 6. Very great Thunder and Lightning last night between 1. and 4. past midnight, from the Southward first, and then from the Northward. Hear already that a Barn at Malden is burnt by it.

Augt. 11, 1691. Sentenc'd Francis Allen and two Frenchmen: admonish'd Humfry Johnson of Hingham and his wife for living apart. Mr. Payson din'd with us. Adjourn'd to this day 14 night, 1. P.M.

August 14. Went to Charlestown-Lecture, from thence walk'd to Cambridge with Mr. Addington to visit the Deputy Governour, who has kept his Bed these three days, having an inward Fever. Visited the Colledge and so came from thence about Sunset in the Shadow of the Evening. Mr. Moodey preached the Lecture from Acts 16. 29, 30. Shew'd that such an anxious Speedy Enquiry after Salvation, was a good step towards it.

Augt. 19, 1691. Sent Jane to Newbury by Tim<sup>o</sup> Burbenk, to help tend her Brother Sam. Toppan, who is there taken ill of the Small Pocks.

Augt. 23, 1691. Sabbath-day, about 3 P.M. The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. John Wilson of Meadfield dies, being 70. years of age wanting a moneth. *vid.* June 19<sup>th</sup>.

Augt. 28. Friday. Fast at Charlestown, where I am. After my coming home when 'tis almost dark, Jane Toppan comes in from Newbury and brings the very sorrowfull News of the death of Cous. Sam. Toppan last Tuesday night about nine of the Clock; buried the Wednesday night following, because of the Heat. No Minister with him: Mr. Shove prayd not with him at all, went not to



him till was just dying: suppose might be afraid of 's school. Sam. bewail'd his not minding Spiritual things more, and that times were such as that things of that nature were scoff'd at. About Monday night last as Joseph was going into Cradle, He said, News from Heaven, the French were come, and mention'd Canada. No body has been tampering with him as I could learn. The Lord help us to repent that we may not perish, as probably Eliakim and those with him have done; and now poor Cousin Sam.

Sept. 1, 1691. Went to a Fast at Dorchester, Mr. Danforth pray'd and preach'd. Mr. Moodey pray'd in the Afternoon, Mr. Torrey preach'd, pray'd, had a comfortable day. Before came home, supp'd at Mr. Stoughton's in company of Mr. Danforth and wife, Mrs. Hañah Moodey, Mr. Edw. Rawson, Mr. Moodey, Torrey, Bondet, Mr. Sam. Moodey.

Sept. 2, 1691. Went with Mr. Moodey and visited the Dept. Governour, Mr. Stoughton and Russel came in. Mr. Moodey pray'd. Dame Mitchelson present, earnestly desiring prayers. Mrs. Danforth tells me that Goodw. Luxford was buried yesterday, died of the Fever after four years Torment or more, of a Chronical Illness. Deacon Cooper died a little while agon, a very good Man.

Sept. 5. I went over the water with Sam. Haugh to his farm to view the Carpenters Work.

Sept. 14, 1691. Mr. Parker comes to me by my desire; tells me there was no Rigging on the Mast he saw; at the [?] he called and said, did think it was Condey's Mast, there was no Rigging on it: Condey is his Sister's Son. Saith there is now a report from Barbados that Condey is cast away on Cuba, and all the men safe. *Utinam.*

Sept. 14, 1691. Nine Companys Train, Capt. Smith of Wiñisiñmet making one. The Troop also in Arms led by Lieut. Swift, Capt. Eliot being sick of the Fever and Ague. South Company chose two Corporals; Tho Banister who

had nineteen Votes, and Thomas Walker jun<sup>r</sup> who had Twenty Votes. They who came next, were Tho. Wallis, who had fifteen votes, and John Mason, who had Nine. By reason of Capt. Smith, drew into Three Divisions: South Company, Major Savage and Smith made one: Horse charg'd each Division twice or thrice, and so drew off.

Din'd at Mrs. Man's; had the Governour, Mr. Willard, Bayly, Capt. Du<sup>m</sup>er.

After the Training Edward Cowell was buried; died at Hingham; Corps brought hether by water. Mr. Baily on a White Horse prayd at finishing the Exercise. Thanked God that no evil accident had been this day.

Sept. 17<sup>th</sup> 1691. Capt. Scottow's Sappho tells me that Sister Dorothy was married last Wednesday sennight and was gon<sup>o</sup> to Rowley.

Sept. 25<sup>th</sup> 1691. Elisabeth Clements of Havarill is tried for murdering her two female bastard children.

Sept. 26. She is brought in guilty by the Jury, Mr. Crisp Foreman. Mr. Stoughton was not in Court on Friday afternoon when the Trial was; and went off the Bench on Satterday morn when the Jury were call'd to give in their verdict. Persons present were, Gov<sup>r</sup>, Russel, Johnson, Hathorn, Hutchinson, Sewall, Addington, Phillips.

Friday, Oct. 9. Mr. Baily preaches the Lecture at Charlestown; After Lecture Mr. Morton dines in his new House, one Room being clos'd. Were at Table, Mr. Morton and Mrs., My Lady Phips, Mr. Moodey and Mrs., Mr. Allen, Mr. Baily, little Jn<sup>o</sup> Bailey.

Monday, Oct. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1691. Eight Companys Train; exercise single in the morn. I dine in the late Mr. Thacher's Study, have there Major Richards, Major Generall Winthrop, Mr. Addington, Mr. Willard, Capt. Scottow, Mr. Waldron. It seems Major Richards serv'd his time in the House, to Major Gibbons. Capt. Scottow told us that one of his Squadrons did now make two Captain's Companies.

Exercise Regimentally in the Afternoon ; when concluded, Mr. Mather prayd.

Oct. 16. Ordered the Clark to warn the Officers to meet me at Serg<sup>t</sup>. Bull's. After the meeting at Mr. Willards went thether. Serj<sup>t</sup>. Bull, Rainsford, Odlin ; Corp<sup>l</sup>. Wheeler, Weare, Banister, Jn<sup>o</sup> and Isaac Marion there. I acquainted them with my inability to serve longer as a Captain, and my desire the Company might be settled.

This day a Dutchman comes in with a French Prize taken in Lat. 25. to the Eastward of Barmudas, bound for Brest. Elisa. Em̄erson was brought to the Bar to be sentenc'd, she deliverd a Petition to the General Court, so she was sent back to Prison again.

Satterday, Oct. 18. P.M. Had my four children to Mr. Robert Saunderson to receive his Blessing as he lay on his Bed ; hath not been at Meeting these two Sabbath-days ; his Right Eye is grieved with a Rheum, &c.

Oct. 19, 1691. Mr. Cotton Mather visits me ; we meet Mr. Willard, and He comes in also. Talk of parting. This day news is brought of Capt. Alden's being Taken by a French Frigot at St. John's, Mr. Nelson carried to Quibeck ;<sup>1</sup> Col. Tyng and Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Alden jun<sup>r</sup> kept Prisoners till Articles made for Capt. Alden's coming home be fullfill'd. There is Loss to Boston Merchants about 18.000 pounds ;

<sup>1</sup> There will be found in Hutchinson's History, I. 378, an interesting note in regard to Nelson. He was a relative of Sir Thomas Temple, and was an ardent patriot. He brought to Boston the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange, and was one of the leaders in the revolt against Andros.

After his capture, he ran great risks in order to send information home concerning the French plans. Hutchinson prints a letter, saying that it should "be made public, to do honor to the memory of Nelson." This letter of Aug. 26, 1692, was sent by two Frenchmen, whom he bribed. They were taken afterwards, and his share in the affair revealed. He was sent to France, and strictly confined for two years. Afterwards, he was sent to England on parole ; and, contrary to the orders of King William, he returned to France to surrender himself. Again released, he was brought into trouble in England for his disobedience. Eventually he reached New England, after ten or eleven years' absence. — EDS.



besides what prejudice may come by the Intelligence the French may extort from our Men. This day the Marshal General tells me that above fifty Sheep were kill'd at Cambridge last night, having their Throats bitten, and blood suck'd.

Thursday, Oct. 22. Mr. Nehemiah Walter marries Mrs. Sarah Mather before John Phillips, Esqr.

Sabbath, Oct. 25. Capt. Frary's voice failing him in his own Essay, by reason of his Palsie, he calls to me to set the Tune, which accordingly I doe; 17, 18, 19, 20, verses 68<sup>th</sup> Psalm, Windsor Tune; After the Lord's Supper, 6, 7, 8, 9, verses 16<sup>th</sup> Low-Dutch. P.M. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  staves of 141. Ps. St. Davids, Jehova, I upon Thee call. After Evening Exercise, 2<sup>d</sup> part 84<sup>th</sup> Ps. Litchfield; I knew not that had the Tune till got to the 2<sup>d</sup> Line, being somewhat surprized, though design'd that Tune. I would have assisted Capt. Frary but scarce knew what Tune he design'd; and the Tune I guess'd at, was in so high a Key that I could not reach it.

Sabbath, Oct. 25, 1691. Boston, N. E. I pray'd this morn that God would give me a pardon of my Sins under the Broad Seal of Heaven; and through God's goodness have receiv'd some Refreshment and Light; I hope I doe thirst after Christ; and sensible of my own folly and Loathsomness that I value Him no more, and am so backward to be married by Him.

Wednesday, Oct. 28, 1691. My wife is brought to Bed of a Daughter about 8. in the morning; Elisabeth Weeden, Midwife. Rose about 4. m.

Sabbath, Novemb<sup>r</sup> 1. A very pleasant day. Mr. Willard baptiseth my Daughter Mary, was enlarged in Prayer, none else baptised. Capt. Eliot not being abroad, I set the Tune again; Martyr's, St. Davids, Oxford.

Mrs. Richards dies this day.

Monday, Nov. 2. I ride to New Cambridge to Mr. Neh. Hobart's to see his Dwelling, and prepare a place for Sam.

Visit Mrs. Oakes as I come home, at her Cousin Chaney's. Visit Mr. Fitch at Mr. Bailyes. Mr. Dudley.

Nov. 3, 1691. Mr. James Lloyd marries Mrs. Rebecka Leverett.

Wednesday, Nov. 4, 1691. Went to the Funeral of Mrs. Richards. Mr. Stoughton, Major General Winthrop, Mr. Russel, Sewall, Addington, Phillips, Bearers. Was put in a new Tomb in the North-burying Place. Bearers had Scarvs and Rings. Saw not Mr. Dudley there. Governour went thether on foot in the wet and dirt, and home again. Much Rain fell last night and this morning; fair wether at the Funeral. Sir Robert Robison there. No Minister out of Town that I saw, save Mr. Morton. Mr. Moodey at Portsmouth.

Yesterday had the News that Mr. Hatches Sloop, burthened 40. Tuns, was run away with by Rogues we heard were drownd. Sloop was richly laden, which makes the stroke the greater, especially to Hatch, who was removing to dwell at Coñecticut.

Satterday, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup> 1691. Mr. Shove sets out for Marlborough in his way to Simsbury, Joseph Strickland and others accompanying him.

Sabbath, Nov. 8. Is a Contribution for the Fronteer Towns; Capt. Eliot, though abroad on the Day of the Thanksgiving, is now ill again, of the bloody Flux, it seems; I set the Tune; York, Windsor, 119<sup>th</sup> Ps., on the two last Staves of the 34<sup>th</sup> Psalm.

Nov. 10, 1691. Council of Churches meet at Lin. From Boston, Mr. Willard, Sewall, Frary; Allen, Hutchinson, Bridgham; Mather, Foster, Keech: Malden, Wigglesworth, Sprague, Green; Salem, Noyes, Hathorn, Corwin, Gardener, Lindon. Had much adoe to prevail with the Church to own us as a Council, but did do it at last; heard what was to be said, drew up our Advice by Mr. Cotton Mather; wherein all parties blamed; They accepted of it and thank'd us heartily for our visiting them.

Bell was rung both times before went into Meetinghouse.  
Mr. Wigglesworth Moderator.

Thursday, Nov. 19<sup>th</sup> 1691. Sam. goes to Cambridge with Mr. Henry Newman, who is to carry him to morrow Nov. 20. to Mr. Neh. Hobart's at New Cambridge.

Nov. 18<sup>th</sup>. Last night the Governour was taken with the Stone, so the Council meet at his House; He was at the Town-house yesterday but then the Wether hinder'd the Council's meeting.

Tuesday, Dec. 1, 1691. Brother W<sup>m</sup> Moodey brings Sister Gerrish to see us; she is great with child, looks to ly in the latter end of February, with her eighth.

Dec. 2. Very stormy day of Snow and Rain; by the fire I speak earnestly to Sister to make sure of an Interest in Christ, being alone.

Friday, Dec. 4. Brother Moodey and Sister Gerrish take their journey homeward, intend to call at Salem, notwithstanding the Small Pocks.

Monday, Dec. 7<sup>th</sup>. I ride to New-Cambridge to see Sam. He could hardly speak to me, his affections were so mov'd, having not seen me for above a fortnight; his Cough is still very bad, much increas'd by his going to Cambridge on foot in the night. Mr. Hobart not at home. Mr. Lawson was by accident there, and so had the benefit of his Company home. Got well home before 6. aclock, set out from home after 12. Staid there about 1½ hour. Laus Deo.

Monday, Dec. 21, 1691. I went with Mr. Addington and his wife to Muddy-River, to the House of Joshua Gardener, where came Mr. Walter and his wife, Mr. Denison and wife, Sir Ruggles and Mrs. Weld the Mother. Had a very good Diñer. Mr. Walter crav'd a Blessing, Mr. Denison return'd Thanks, mentioning the sad Providence that befell them last January, and God's present smiles in their new House and children; Mr. Walter pray'd that God would double their Mercies. Sung the



23. Ps. and 18<sup>th</sup> v. 51. Mr. Walter desired me to set the Tune, which I did; St. David's. Twas so late before Mrs. Weld came, that got home by Moon-Light. Wife was invited, but went not by reason of the Cold. Was glad of this opportunity to converse with Mr. Walter, Denison and their wives. The Lord give me to believe on his Son, and fit me for His Entertainment in Heaven.

December 25, 1691. General Court passes an order for prohibiting Frenchmen being in the Seaports or Frontier Towns, except by License from the Governour and Council; and pass an order for Laying a Duty on things exported and imported, to defray the charge of a Guard-Ship. Adjourn to the 8<sup>th</sup> of March.

The marriage of Haña Owen with her Husband's Brother, is declar'd null by the Court of Assistants. She comānded not to entertain him; enjoin'd to make a Confession at Braintrey before the Congregation on Lecture day, or Sabbath, pay Fees of Court and prison, &c. and to be dismiss'd. Governour not abroad to day.

Mr. Moodey takes his journey towards Portsmouth this day. Cold and Snowy. Shops open and business carried on as at other times.

January, 2, 169½. Tim<sup>2</sup> Dwight dies about 10. *mane*.

Boston in N. E. January 2, 169½. I had been at Mrs. Collucott's, and coming home between 12. and 1. I call'd to see Tim<sup>2</sup> Dwight, and as I stept into the Room, saw him laid out under the sheet.

Monday, Jan. 4<sup>th</sup> Went to the Funeral of Tim. Dwight. Cous. Duñer, Capt. Jn<sup>o</sup> Walley, Capt. Wing, Rowse, Tho. Savage, Goldsmith, Rob<sup>t</sup> Saunderson, Bearers. Mr. Joyliff and I went next the Relations; by the Dock-head Mr. Willard struck in: no Minister before; buried at the new burying place; something troublesom going, by reason of the great Snow fell yesterday. 38 years old. Lord grant that I may be ready, when the Cry shall be, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh.

Tuesday, Jan. 12, 169½. Major Hutchinson and I visit Major Johnson, Mr. Hez. Usher and Sol. Phips in Company. He is very glad to see us. Call'd at Betty Gardener's as came back. This week's Rain and Sun have thaw'd the ways as if it were March. Major Johnson has kept house about 18 weeks. Takes his disease to be the burning Ague mentioned in the Scripture. This night [blank] Hamlen, formerly Plats, before that, Crabtree, a middle-aged woman,<sup>1</sup> through some displeasure at her Son whom she beat, sat not down to Supper with her Husband and a Stranger at Table: when they had done, she took away, and in the Room where she set it, took a piece of grisly meat of a Shoulder of Mutton into her mouth which got into the top of the Larynx and stopt it fast, so she was presently choak'd. Tho. Pemberton and others found it so when they opened her Throat. She gave a stamp with her foot and put her finger in her mouth: but Pemberton not at home, and di'd immediately. What need have all to Acknowledge God in whose Hand their breath is, &c. Sam. Worden, and another woman, die the same night, and widow Oliver de Sweet, the next day. *Attonitus tamen est, ingens, discrimine parvo comitti potuisse nefas.* [Ovid, Met., vii. 426.] 1 Cor. 10. 31.

Jan. 19<sup>th</sup> 169½. Visited Mrs. Pool, who lies sick on bed,

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<sup>1</sup> Of this much-married person we find nothing definite. There was a John Crabtree, of Boston, joiner, who was a very early settler here, and who died in 1656. His widow, Alice, married Joshua Hewes. He had a son, John Crabtree, who was of Braintree, and sold (Suff. Deeds, lib. 21, f. 517) one cow-common in Boston and lands at Muddy River granted to his father. The Boston Tax List of 1674 mentions a Benjamin Crabtree, and a Francis Crabtree is mentioned in a paper in the Probate Office.

The Platts reference is more promising. Thomas Platts, of Boston, owner of land on Common, now Tremont Street, in his will, dated Feb. 4, 1685-86, mentions wife, Esther, and children, Thomas, Ann, Edith, and Hannah. He was married as early as March 10, 1679-80. (Suff. Deeds, lib. 20, f. 317; lib. 32, f. 223.)

As to Hamblen or Hamlin, we find Erecte Hamlin in the Boston Tax List of 1687-88, and Thomas Hamblen in 1688 and 1691. But we have not found mention of the wife of either. — Eds.

and has been there this Moneth; gave her one of Mr. Willard's Cordials; was very glad to see me. Speaking about Widow Hamlen, she mention'd 1 Cor. 10. 31. Mrs. Elisa. Pool has buried five Sisters, Eliot, Gard, Sanford, Brown, Burton. Sanford, Gard, have left no Children.<sup>1</sup>

Jan. 24<sup>th</sup> 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet comes to Meeting this Afternoon, which as I remember has not done in January till now.

Tuesday, Jan. 26, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . News comes to Town by Robin Orchard, of Dolberry's being arrived at Cape Cod; Sir William Phips made Governour of the Province of New England.<sup>2</sup> Foy (in whom went Mr. Lee) taken into France; Quelch and Bant also. Six weeks passage from Plimouth. This day, almost at the same Time, news was brought of an Attack made by the Indians on York.

Jan. 25, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . I asked Mr. Willard at Mr. Eyre's whether the Times would allow one to build an house; answer'd, I wonder you have contented your selvs so long without one; but I little thought what was acted that day at York. Got Mr. Eyre to come home with me about 8. at night to advise me.

Feb. 8, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Gillam arrives, and a Copy of the New Charter comes to Mr. Secretaries hand, about which there is much discourse.

Feb. 12, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Joshua Atwater dies, falling off the outward Wharf; he was drowned about 2. or 3. in the morning, intangled in the wood as the Jury brought it

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this lady and her sisters Savage gives us some information. He says of Governor William Brenton, of Rhode Island, that among his children were Mehitable, wife of Joseph Brown, of Charlestown; Elizabeth, wife of John Pool, of Boston; Sarah, wife of Rev. Joseph Eliot, of Guilford; Abigail, wife of Stephen Burton, of Bristol; Martha, wife of John Card (the Gard of our text); and Mary, wife of Peleg Sanford. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The nomination of Sir William Phips was undoubtedly mainly due to Increase Mather, as Cotton Mather states impliedly in his Life of Phips. It is there called the work of the agents, Sir Henry Ashurst and I. Mather, but no one in that generation doubted to whom the suggestion was due. — Eds.



in; was going on board the Sloop Mary. Was excommunicated.

Feb. 19, 169½. Major Hutchinson begins his journey Eastward against the Enemy. Mr. Houghton, Major General, Mr. Addington and I brought him going to the Ferry, went not over, the wind was so high. The Horse he intended to have being lame, he took mine.

Feb. 26, 169½. News comes to Town of Wear's Arrival last night at Marblehead. Jn<sup>o</sup> Hayward brings me a Letter and news of it, as were at Breakfast with Unkle Quinsey, Mr. Weld and Brother Stephen. Mrs. Maccarta goes to her Husband, ill of the Gout. Mr. Whittingham got to Town by 5. *mane* and brought the News.

Satterday, Feb. 27. Between 4. and 5. *mane*, we are startled at the roaring of a Beast, which I conjectur'd to be an Ox broken loose from a Butcher, ruñing along the street, but proved to be our own Cow bitten by a dog, so that were forc'd to kill her; though calved but Jan. 4<sup>th</sup> and gives plenty of Milk. Haḡy are they, who have God for their Spring and Brest of Suplies. Exceeding high wind this day at North East.

Sabbath, Feb. 28. Day is so Stormy that Governour went not to Meeting. Madam Bradstreet not well.

March 11<sup>th</sup> 169½. Mrs. Townsend, wife of Capt. Pen Townsend, died this morn. about 2 a'clock; by which means Mr. Addington came to the Governour and Assistants and ask'd excuse as to his attendance at Court, and desir'd that I might supply his place. Made an order as to Joseph Mason, Constable, Watertown. Adjourn'd to the last Tuesday in April, at one P.M. Capt. Wincoll brought us the Jury's verdict about Baker Nason's killing his elder Brother Jonathan Nathan [*sic*] with his Oar in the Canoe in Pascataquer River: and asks advice whether to keep him there, or send him to Boston-Prison. Seems to have done it in 's own defence March 1. 169½.

Monday, March 14<sup>th</sup> 169½. Mrs. Sarah Townsend bur-

ied between 5. and 6. Bearers, Sewall, Dūmer, Bromfield, Hill, Winthrop, Eyre. Went to Mr. Davies Gate, and then turn'd about, and so went into the old burying place, out of the Schoolhouse Lane. Was about 39 years old. Set in a brick'd Grave.

March 14<sup>th</sup> 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Añiversary Town-Meeting. Select-Men, Tho. Walker, 78 — Capt. Bozoon Allen, 75 — Capt. Jer. Dūmer, 74 — Capt. Pen Townsend, 70 — Jn<sup>o</sup> Maryon, 69 — Obadia Gill, 68 — Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Foster, 47 — Capt. Tim<sup>o</sup> Prout, 32 — Mr. Joseph Bridgham, 30. Mr. Joyliff left out.

Mr. Joyliff also lays down his Recorder's place, his sight does so much fail him. Overseers of the Poor, Mr. Samuel Checkly, Mr. Samuel Lynde, Mr. Edm<sup>o</sup> Brown, Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Robie. The Treasurer was chosen next after the Select-Men, had 87. Votes, and not one Vote for any body else that I saw.

March 23, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Capt. Alden sails with Capt. Converse for Redemption of Captives [from Canada], and fetching home Col. Tyng and Mr. Alden the Son. About 5. P.M. Moses Bradford, essaying to draw a youth out of the Water at Capt. Wing's Conduit, fell in himself and was drown'd, many people round about trying to save him. Boy was taken out alive.

March 24<sup>th</sup> 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Governour not at Lecture, being indisposed.

April 11<sup>th</sup> 1692. Went to Salem, where, in the Meeting-house, the persons accused of Witchcraft were examined; was a very great Assembly; 'twas awfull to see how the afflicted persons were agitated. Mr. Noyes pray'd at the beginning, and Mr. Higginson concluded. [In the margin], *Væ, Væ, Væ, Witchcraft.*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The references to the terrible paroxysm of delusion and cruelty connected with the subject of witchcraft in Salem village are not so frequent in Mr. Sewall's Journal as we should have expected to find them, but the few which he has made indicate his profound belief in the reality of the alleged

April 13<sup>th</sup> 1692. A Church is gathered at Wrentham, and Mr. Man Ordained. Mr. Brinsmead gave the Charge

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enormity while the proceedings were going on, and subsequently, when the spell of the delusion was broken, his penitence and deep contrition for the share he had had in them. All that a reader may care to know about this distressing subject will be found most ably and wisely set forth in the two remarkable volumes, composed after a most exhaustive research, and luminous with the clear and candid intelligence of the author, by our late associate, Charles W. Upham, entitled "Salem Witchcraft, with an Account of Salem Village."

There had been legal proceedings against reputed witches before the local magistrates in Salem more than a month previous to the date of Sewall's visit there, above recorded. He went thither with the Deputy-Governor, Stoughton, and four other magistrates, for the examination of the last two accused persons. Nearly a hundred of such victims were then in the jails, awaiting trial. On Governor Phips's return from his Eastern war expedition, he appointed, for the emergency, a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, of which Stoughton was the chief, with six associates, including Sewall. It must be taken for granted that Sewall had been trying to qualify himself for his duties as a magistrate, though we have no information as to his legal studies. Indeed, neither of his associates had had any training as a lawyer, the authorities of the Colony having always discouraged the presence of that professional class among them. We may not wonder, therefore, that the rules of evidence were so slightly regarded in that tribunal, which was itself of questionable legality, as not commissioned by the General Court. But what signified professional legal training or judicial rules of proceeding and evidence in dealing with a stark delusion, common then to all Christendom, under the spell of which the most eminent judges and lawyers of all the governments of Europe condemned hundreds of thousands of victims?

A few facts and dates may be of service to the reader. The special Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were appointed June 13, 1692. They were William Stoughton, John Richards, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Wait Winthrop, Bartholomew Gedney, Samuel Sewall, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Peter Sergeant, or any five of them; and their jurisdiction was to be in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex. No record of the doings of the court is now to be found. It opened in Salem in the first week of June, 1692, and met by adjournments on June 30 and August 5.

"After the executions, on the 22nd of September the court adjourned to meet some weeks subsequently; . . . but they met no more." Nineteen persons, says Hutchinson, had been executed, all asserting their innocence.

In January, 1693, the grand jury brought bills against about fifty persons, but all were acquitted save three, and those were rerieved.

Hutchinson (Hist., II. 61) gives a well-authenticated story that Lady Phips, wife of the Governor, did a brave and generous act by signing a warrant for the discharge of a prisoner. The jail-keeper obeyed, and lost his place therefor, but he must have rejoiced afterwards at his costly error.

—Eds.



and Mr. Gookin the Right Hand of Fellowship. The Church of Mendon also sent to and appeared.

Apr. 25, 1692. Eight Companies Train for the first time; considerable heat, and hurt done in skirmishing just at night. Mr. Lawson concluded with prayer; saluted one another with a general volley, gave the South Company a Piece of  $\frac{8}{8}$  [a Spanish dollar] to drink.

May 2. No Artillery Training, so near the Election.

May 4. Election-Day, Major Hutchinson and Capt. Greenough's Companies attend, Mr. Moodey preaches. Dine at Wing's. At the Election Capt. Johnson of Woburn is left out, and Major Richards chosen again. Sir William Phips had the most votes, viz: 969. No Treat at the Governour's but Beer, Cider, Wine.

May 14<sup>th</sup> 1692. Sir William arrives in the Nonsuch Frigate: Candles are lighted before He gets into Townhouse. Eight Companies wait on Him to his house, and then on Mr. [Increase] Mather to his. Made no volleys because 'twas Saterdag night.

Monday, May 16. Eight Companies and two from Charlestown guard Sir William and his Councillors to the Townhouse, where the Commissions were read and Oaths taken.<sup>1</sup> I waited on the Dept. Governour to Town, and then was met by Brother Short and Northend, who inform'd me of the dangerous illness of my father, so I went with them, and was not present at the Solemnity; found my father much better. At Ipswich, as we were going,

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<sup>1</sup> We may here mention that the original records of the Council under Andros are missing. Transcripts of the duplicates preserved in the State Paper Office in London were procured some years ago, and are now at our State House. But the records of the Council from Dec. 29, 1687, to May 16, 1692, being the interregnum from Andros to Phips, are lacking entirely. Hence we have been unable to collate Sewall's accounts of the proceedings of the Assistants.

The record of the House of Deputies is continuous, however, and affords some items of matters referred to or from the other branch. — Eds.

saw a Rainbow just about Sunset, in Company of Brother Northend.

May 24<sup>th</sup> 1692. First general Council, Major Gedny, Walley, Hutchinson, Lothrop, Alcot, Sewall took their Oaths together, presently after Major Appleton took his. Justices of the Peace were nominated for the Province.

July 13, 1692. Eight Companies in Arms on the Common, Right-hand File of each Company drawn off for the Service.

July 14<sup>th</sup>. At night, Sister Hañah Toppan and Sister Mehetabel Moodey being here on a visit, give me the following account of my Father's family, in the several branches of it.

1. Hañah — Jacob, Jane, John, Hannah, Elisabeth, Abraham, Añe. 7.

Samuel — Samuel, Hañah, Elisabeth, Joseph, Mary. 5.

John — Hañah, John, Henry, Stephen, Samuel, Nicholas a Twin. 6.

Stephen — Margaret, Samuel, Susanna. 3.

Jane — Joaña, Jane, Joseph, Sarah, Elisabeth, William, Moses. 7.

Anne — William, Anne, Stephen, Elisabeth, Nathan. 6.

Mehetabel — Mary, Dorothy, Samuel, Mehetabel. 4.

Eight and thirty in all.

Hannah buried 1; Samuel 5; John 2; Stephen 3; Jane 1; Anne 3. Fifteen in all.

July 20<sup>th</sup> 1692. Fast at the house of Capt. Alden,<sup>1</sup> upon

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<sup>1</sup> Captain John Alden, "the tall man in Boston," had been accused by some of the "afflicted" in Salem as their tormentor. We do not know the grounds of the accusation, as those who brought it against him do not appear to have known him personally. He was a son of the memorable pilgrim of the same name, of Plymouth. For thirty years he had been a leading and respected citizen of Boston, was a member of the South Church, and, as a brave and efficient seaman, in command of the armed vessel of the Colony, he had done noble service in the French and Indian wars. He was now seventy years of age. Many readers may wish that others of the accused had manifested some of the same resolute temper and indignation in behavior and

his account. Mr. Willard pray'd. I read a Sermon out of Dr. Preston, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> Uses of God's Alsufficiency. Capt. Scottow prayd, Mr. Allen came in and pray'd, Mr. Cotton Mather, then Capt. Hill. Sung the first part 103. Ps., concluded about 5. aclock. Brave Shower of Rain while Capt. Scottow was praying, after much Drought. Cous. Daniel Gookin sups with us, and bespeaks my marrying of him to morrow.

July 27, 1692. A plentiful Rain falls after great Drought.

July 30, 1692. Mrs. Cary makes her escape out of Cambridge-Prison, who was Committed for Witchcraft.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday, Augt. 4. At Salem, Mr. Waterhouse brings the news of the desolation at Jamaica, June 7<sup>th</sup>. 1700 persons kill'd, besides the Loss of Houses and Goods by the Earthquake.

Wednesday, Augt. 10. I carried my Mother, Mrs. Jane Sewall, to visit Sam. at Mr. Hobart's at Newton.<sup>2</sup> Mr.

speech which he exhibited when, to his amazement, he found himself before the magistrates at Salem on May 31, charged by a group of "wenches, playing their juggling tricks," with tormenting them, as they had never before seen each other. It is said that he made use of some emphatic "sea language" on the occasion. He was sent to Boston jail, from which, after a confinement of fifteen weeks, with the aid of friends he made his escape to Duxbury, where he was secreted till the delusion was spent. He told those whom he startled by his appearance at midnight in Duxbury, that "he was flying from the Devil, and the Devil was after him." He was in Boston jail when Sewall, one of his judges, was taking part in a "fast" at his house on his account. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> This was the wife of Nathaniel Cary, of Charlestown. Hutchinson (Hist., II. 47, 48) tells the story very dramatically. After her escape, she and her husband fled to New York, "where Governor Fletcher entertained them very courteously." — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> We should have mentioned on a previous page the change of the name of New Cambridge to Newton.

"1691. Dec. 8. In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Cambridge Village, lying on the south side of Charles River, sometimes called New Cambridge, being granted to be a township, praying that a name may be given to said town, it is ordered that it henceforth be called New Town." Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 92. — Eds.



H. Newman there, who came with us as far as Roger Adams's.

Monday, Augt. 15. Mr. Joseph Eliot comes in and tells me the amazing News of the Revd. Mr. Nathan! Gookin's [Minister of Cambridge] being dead; tis even as sudden to me as Mr. Oakes's death. He was one of our best Ministers, and one of the best Friends I had left.

Augt. 16, 1692. I went to the Fast at Roxbury and from thence to the Funeral of Mr. Gookin. Mr. Mather, Allen, Morton, Willard, Bayly, Hobart, Bearers. Has left a widow, a Son and Daughter. Capt. Ruggles also buried this day, died last night, but could not be kept.

Augt. 19<sup>th</sup> 1692. This day the Lieut. Governour, Major Phillips, Mr. Russel, Capt. Lynde and my self went to Watertown. Advis'd the Inhabitants at their Town-Meeting to settle a Minister; and if could not otherwise agree, should first have a Town-Meeting to decide where the Meetinghouse should be set. Many say Whitney's Hill would be a convenient place.

This day [in the margin, Dolefull Witchcraft!] George Burrough, John Willard, Jn<sup>o</sup> Procter, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs were executed at Salem, a very great number of Spectators being present. Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Chiever, &c. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a Righteous Sentence. Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his Innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed.

Augt. 25. Fast at the old [First] Church, respecting the Witchcraft, Drought, &c.

Augt. 27. About 4. P.M. Cous. Fissenden comes in and tells the sad news of Simon Gates being dead of the Fever;

died yesterday and is buried to day.<sup>1</sup> I heard not a word of it, and so neither saw him sick, nor was at his Burial. The Lord grant the Landlady and her Children may be also ready.

Thursday, Sept. 1, 1692. Major John Richards marries Mistress Anne Winthrop before W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton Esqr. the Lieut. Governour, at the House of Madam Usher.

Sept. 4<sup>th</sup>. Major Richards accompanies his Bride to our Meeting, morning and evening. Note. Mr. Randolph came to Town last Friday.

Monday, Sept. 19, 1692. About noon, at Salem, Giles Corey was press'd to death for standing Mute;<sup>2</sup> much pains was used with him two days, one after another, by the Court and Capt. Gardner of Nantucket who had been of his acquaintance: but all in vain.

Sept. 20. Now I hear from Salem that about 18 years agoe, he was suspected to have stampd and press'd a man to death, but was cleared. Twas not remembred till Añe Putnam was told of it by said Corey's Spectre the Sabbath-day night before the Execution.

<sup>1</sup> Though Sewall's brother married Hannah Fessenden, we presume that this passage indicates a blood-relationship between the families. See Sewall's reference to his aunt and cousins, Fessendens, *ante*, pp. 272 and 293. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The case of Giles Corey happily stands alone in our so-called judicial annals, though it has parallels in English administration, the horrible judgment visited upon him by the provincial authorities being in strict conformity with the statutes of the realm. The poor victim was then eighty-one years of age. Mr. Upham has given us a painfully interesting sketch of his unsettled and impulsive character, of his ill-repute, perhaps unjustly grounded, among his neighbors, and of his troubled life. At first, apparently, a firm believer in the witchcraft delusion, even to the extent of mistrusting his saintly wife, who was executed three days after his torturous death, his was the most tragic of all the fearful offerings. He had made a will, while confined in Ipswich jail, conveying his property, according to his own preferences, among his heirs; and, in the belief that his will would be invalidated and his estate confiscated if he were condemned by a jury after pleading to the indictment, he resolutely preserved silence, knowing that an acquittance was an impossibility. He therefore bore with unflinching nerve and spirit the penalty of English law for standing "mute" and refusing to plead to an indictment, — the *peine forte et dure* of being pressed to death. — Eds.

Sept. 20, 1692. The Swan brings in a rich French Prize of about 300 Tuns, laden with Claret, White Wine, Brandy, Salt, Liñen Paper, &c.

Sept. 21. A petition is sent to Town in behalf of Dorcas Hoar, who now confesses: <sup>1</sup> Accordingly an order is sent to the Sheriff to forbear her Execution, notwithstanding her being in the Warrant to die to morrow. This is the first condemned person who has confess'd.

Sept. 21. Brother and Sister St. Sewall come to see us.

Thursday, Sept. 22, 1692. William Stoughton, Esqr., John Hathorne, Esqr., Mr. Cotton Mather, and Capt. John Higginson, with my Brother St., were at our house, speak-

<sup>1</sup> One of the most deplorable concurrences of the delusion, which so enthralled the minds and spirits of the community at this time, was the seemingly irrefutable confirmation of the reality of the alleged complicity with the Evil One, found in the confessions of so many accused persons. There were at least fifty-five, whose names are known to us, who gave this assurance of the guilt charged upon them, which was effectively used to stiffen the credulity of those who were most earnest in the work of prosecution, and to refute the doubts of those who were of a "Sadducean spirit." Confession insured immunity from trial or imprisonment or execution. "The confessions" which we have verbally reported to us are, in most cases, a shocking mixture of horrors and absurdity. The inference might naturally be that they were all drawn forth from a simple prompting to escape the penalty of conviction, and that they prove only the shuddering dismay and terror of the wretched victims of the accusation. But a deeper thought will qualify such an inference. The direful consternation which struck over so large a portion of the community, must have wrought so intensely in awe and fright upon some of the most susceptible persons as to subject them to dread hallucinations. Hearing themselves so circumstantially charged with diabolical actings, with specific details of time, place, deed, and companionship, they were so crazed as to be brought under the imagination that they were really parties to the guilt charged upon them. The form and substance of their "confessions" were in several instances dictated to those who made them, or assented to them, by friends who could not withstand the "evidence" offered against them, and who wished to save their lives. The reasons afterwards given by some who yielded to the dread of the penalty, or to the hallucination of their supposed guilt, for having made such circumstantial confessions, very clearly indicate the power of the spell which had wrought upon them. How impressive in contrast was the calm firmness of those victims who, when deliverance by confession was so readily offered to them, refused to purchase by it a release from an appalling judgment and an unaneled death. — Eds.



ing about publishing some Trials of the Witches. Mr. Stoughton went away and left us, it began to rain and was very dark, so that getting some way beyond the fortification, was fain to come back again, and lodgd here in Capt. HENCHMAN'S Room. Has been a plentiful Rain, blessed be God. Mr. Stoughton went away early in the morn so that I saw him not. Read the 1 Jn<sup>o</sup> 1. before went to bed.

Thursday, Sept. 29<sup>th</sup> 1692. The Major Generall sets out for Elisabeth's Iland and Marthas Vinyard. Governour comes to Town.

Friday, Sept. 30. Go to Hog-Island with Joshua Gee and sell him 3 white oaks for thirty shillings; I am to cart them to the Water side.

Satterday, Oct. 1. I ride to Newton to see Sam., dine with Mr. Hobart, his wife, Mrs. Prentice, and 2 or 3 Cambridge Scholars; bring home some Chesnuts in the Burs to set. First went to George Bearstow's and the widow Gates's. Rains at night Oct. 1.

Friday, Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Willard and I visit loansom Mr. Torrey; we meet my Unkle entring Crane's Plain in his way to Boston; He turns back with us and accompanies to Weymouth. Mrs. Fisk is very dangerously ill. Got home rather before seven a'clock very well, blessed be God. Mr. Torrey took our visit very kindly. Din'd in his Kitchin Chamber. He made Mr. Willard crave a Blessing and return Thanks, which He perform'd excellently. To morrow will be a moneth since Mrs. Torrey died, Sept. 10<sup>th</sup> 1692. Mr. Torrey seems to be of opinion that the Court of Oyer and Terminer should go on, regulating any thing that may have been amiss, when certainly found to be so. Fine rain after our getting home.

Oct. 10<sup>th</sup> 1692. The Court of Oyer and Terminer is opened at Boston to trie a French Malatta for shooting dead an English youth.

Oct. 11, 1692. Went to the Funeral of Mrs. Sarah

Oliver, widow, aged 72. years; buried in the new burying place; a very good, modest, humble, plain, liberal Matron. Bearers, Sam. Sewall, Major Jn<sup>o</sup> Walley, Capt. Joshua Scottow, Capt. James Hill, Capt. Jacob Eliot, Capt. Theophilus Frary. Scarvs and Gloves.

Read Mr. Willard's Epistle to Mr. Mather's book, as to Cases of Conscience touching Witchcraft.

Oct. 11, 1692. Set two Chesnuts at Mr. Bromfield's Orchard, and three at our own, hoping they may come up in the Spring.

Satterday, Oct. 15<sup>th</sup>. Went to Cambridge and visited Mr. Danforth, and discoursed with Him about the Witchcraft; thinks there cañot be a procedure in the Court except there be some better consent of Ministers and People. Told me of the woman's coming into his house last Sabbath-day sennight at Even.

Friday, Oct. 21. Went to Salem and visited my sick Brother, who has had a Fever all this moneth; Is very desirous to live, and makes vows to serve God better, if his life be spared: was much affected at my coming in.

Oct. 23. At night, Mr. Cook, Oakes and Wiswall arrive, got to their houses almost before any body knew it; have been 8 week and 5 days from Plimouth. Went and saw my Landlord and Landlady Jennings; their Son in Jamaica has a Plantation spoiled by a Mountain thrown upon it by the late Earthquake.

Oct. 26, 1692. A Bill is sent in about calling a Fast, and Convocation of Ministers, that may be led in the right way as to the Witchcrafts. The season and mañer of doing it, is such, that the Court of Oyer and Terminer count themselves thereby dismissed. 29 Nos. and 33 yeas to the Bill. Capt. Bradstreet and Lieut. True, W<sup>m</sup> Huchins and several other interested persons there, in the affirmative.

Oct. 27<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches from James, 1. 4.

Oct. 28<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Governour coming over the Causey is, by reason of the high Tide, so wet, that is fain to go to bed till sends for dry cloaths to Dorchester; In the Afternoon, as had done several times before, desired to have the advice of the Governour and Council as to the sitting of the Court of Oyer and Terminer next week; said should move it no more; great silence, as if should say do not go.

Oct. 29. Mr. Russel asked whether the Court of Oyer and Terminer should sit, expressing some fear of Inconvenience by its fall.<sup>1</sup> Governour said it must fall. Lieut. Governour not in Town today. Several persons drowned on Friday 28<sup>th</sup> Major General comes home Oct. 28. even, having been gon a Moneth. Deputies doe this day Treat the lately returned Agents Oct. 28.

Nov. 4, 1692. Law passes for Justices and Ministers Marrying persons. By order of the Co<sup>m</sup>ittee, I had drawn up a Bill for Justices and such others as the Assembly should appoint to marry: but came new-drawn and thus alter'd from the Deputies. It seems they count the respect of it too much to be left any longer with the Magistrate. And Salaries are not spoken of; as if one sort of Men might live on the Aer. They are treated like a kind of useless, worthless folk.

Nov. 5. No disturbance at night by Bonfires.

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, the Court of Oyer and Terminer had fallen of its own weight. The charter of 1691 granted power to the General Court or Assembly to establish courts of record for all purposes. Another section empowered the Governor and Council to appoint "judges, Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, sheriffs, provosts, marshals, justices of the peace and other officers to our Councill and Courts of Justice belonging."

This witchcraft court was established before the legislature met, and before any system of courts had been arranged by its authority. Washburn (*Judicial History of Massachusetts*) discusses this matter, arriving at the conclusion that the Commission was illegal. However this may be, as soon as the legislature exercised its undoubted powers, and established, by chap. 33 of the acts of 1692-3, a superior court over the whole province, the temporary court ceased without any formal act of extinction. Occasionally afterwards Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were appointed, nine cases being cited in Whitmore's *Massachusetts Civil List*. — Eds.



Nov. 6. Joseph threw a knop of Brass and hit his Sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell; upon which, and for his playing at Prayer-time, and eating when Return Thanks, I whipd him pretty smartly. When I first went in (call'd by his Grandmother) he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the Cradle: which gave me the sorrowfull remembrance of Adam's carriage.

Tuesday, Nov. 15<sup>th</sup> 1692. Mr. Cook keeps a Day of Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival. Mr. Bradstreet and Lady, Major Richards and wife, Major General, Mr. Danforth, Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Oakes and wife, Mr. Sergeant and wife, Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson and wife, Mrs. Elisha Hutchinson, Mr. Chiever and wife, Mr. Morton, Mr. Willard and wife, Mr. Allen and wife. Mr. Allen preach'd; from Jacob's going to Bethel. Sung twice after my being there, which was late, and once before. Sung after Diñer. Mr. Bayly and Mrs. Bayly there. Mr. [Increase] Mather not there, nor Mr. Cotton Mather. The good Lord unite us in his Fear, and remove our Animosities!

Satterday, Nov. 19<sup>th</sup>. I drove a Treenail in the Governour's Briganteen; and invited his Excellency to drink a Glass of Brandy, which was pleas'd to doe with Capt. Greenough, Mr. Jackson Elliston, and his little Son. Saith tis the first time has been in the House since my Father's days, who was one of his Owners to the Wreck.

Nov. 20. Mr. Dudley at our Meetinghouse P.M. Up-roar in North Meeting House by Cry of Fire, in first Prayer, Afternoon Exercise.

Nov. 21, 1692. Mr. Joseph Eliot, of Guilford, visited, supped and prayed with us, went not away till half an hour after nine at night.

Nov. 22, 1692. I prayd that God would pardon all my Sinfull Wanderings, and direct me for the future. That God would bless the Assembly in their debates, and that

would chuse and assist our Judges, &c., and save New England as to Enemies and Witchcrafts, and vindicate the late Judges, consisting with his Justice and Holiness, &c., with Fasting. Cousin Anne Quinsy visited me in the Evening, and told me of her children's wellfare. Now about, Mercy Short grows ill again, as formerly.

Nov. 25. Mr. Mather sent for to her. Bill for Courts pass'd.

Mrs. Brown, wife of Major W<sup>m</sup> Brown, is buried this day; is much lamented in Salem. Died on Monday about Sunset. Mr. Bartholomew died about the same time. Extraordinary foggy and dark wether almost all this week.

Nov. 24. Sam. comes to see us from Newton. Give him 16<sup>d</sup>, a Groat having engraven, *Salvum fac Regem Domine*, which he construed to me, &c.

Tuesday, Dec. 6. A very dark cold day; is the day A<sup>p</sup>ointed for chusing of Judges. W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton, Esqr., is chosen Chief Justice, 15 Votes (all then present.) Tho. Danforth Esqr. 12 — Major Richards, 7 — Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, 7 — S. S. 7 — I last voted for Mr. Hathorn, who had 3 — when Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop chosen, so I counted it probable that he might now carry it: but now Major Gedney had more than he. I esteemed Major Gedney not so suited for the place, because he is Judge of the Probat of Wills. This was in Col. Page's Rooms, by Papers, on Wednesday, December 7<sup>th</sup> 1692. Tuesday was spent about Little-Compton business and other interruptions. Were at last about 18 Assistants present.

Dec. 8. Mr. Danforth is invited to Diñer, and after press'd to accept his Place. Mr. Morton and Mather dine with us; Governour should have said first.

Thursday, Dec. 22, 1692. After Lecture, the Governour delivers Mr. Stoughton his Co<sup>m</sup>ission as Chief Justice of the Superiour Court, and to Major Richards, Winthrop, Sewall as Justices, and the Secretary gave each of us an Oath singly, that would impartially administer Justice ac-

ording to our best skill. I would have stayed till Mr. Danforth took his; but the Governour granted it not.

Major General tells me, that last night about 7 a'clock, he saw 5. or 7 Balls of Fire that mov'd and mingled each with other, so that he could not tell them; made a great Light, but streamed not. Twas our privat Meeting; I saw nothing of it. Order comes out for a Fast. I carry one to Mr. Willard. Mrs. Willard talks to me very sharply about Capt. Alden's not being at the Lord's Supper last Sabbath-day.

Dec. 22. Betty being sick, lyes abed and sweats.

Dec. 23. She takes a vomit, and brings up two Worms; one above six inches, and the other above eight inches long; a third about eleven inches in length.

Tuesday, Dec. 27, 1692. I meet the Lieut. Governour at Col. Dudley's, and wait on Him to Watertown, falling in with Major Phillips, Mr. Russel, and Capt. Lynde at Cambridge. Got to Watertown Meetinghouse about eleven a'clock. Mr. Lawson went to Prayer. Spent several hours in Debate between three parties relating to a place for publick Worship, and settleing a Minister. At length, Voted unanimously, 1. That would leave the determination of these Differences to a Co'mittee; and would abide by their determination.

2. Do pray the Governour and Council to choose the Co'mittee.

3. Do desire Mr. William Bond and Lieut. Benjamin Garfield to move the Governour and Council for obtaining a Co'mittee for the ends abovesaid.

These three Votes were written one by one by Mr. Lawson and voted. I think, in the first, one or two held up their hands for the negative, and no more.

After this went to Nevison's<sup>1</sup> and took a very good

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless John Nevinson of Watertown, who kept a public-house there, says Bond, before 1685, and until his death in 1695. — EDS.



Repast provided for us by the Select-Men; by which time 'twas past Sunset. Got home well about 7 a'clock, in the dark, over the Neck alone. *Laus Deo.*

Satterday, Dec. 31, 1692. I went to Newton to see Sam. Mrs. Hobart is not well, has been very sick: went out about 11. and came in about 5. Staid more than two hours there.

Jan. 16, 1692. Serj<sup>t</sup> Solomon Rainsford is buried. W<sup>m</sup> Gilbert and he died the last week.

Sabbath, Jan. 22, 1692. A very extraordinary Storm by reason of the falling and driving of the Snow. Few Women could get to Meeting. Our two Maids and my self there. A child named Alexander was baptized in the Afternoon. Major General not abroad in the Afternoon. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet very sick.

Jan. 27, 1692. Mr. Elisha Cook, Mr. Isaac Addington and I saw and heard Simon Bradstreet Esqr. sign, seal and publish a Codicil now añexed to his Will, written by said Addington at said Bradstreets direction, and read to him several times. Signd and seald it sitting up in his Bed. After told us that if his Estate should exceed Two hundred pounds more than was mentioned in the Will, would have his Executors distribute it according to the direction of his Overseers, and Wife, I think. Said, the reason why would sell the little farm, was because 'twas a ruinous thing, and yielded but 8£ *per añum* in Country-pay. Call'd for Ale and made us drink.

Jan. 28. Went in with Mr. Cotton Mather to Mr. Bradstreets, and heard him pray.

Sabbath, Jan. 29, 1692. A very sunshiny, hot, thawing day. Note. Just as we came out of the Meetinghouse at Noon, Savil Simson's Chimny fell on fire, and blaz'd out much, which made many people stand gazing at it a pretty while, being so near the Meetinghouse.

Sabbath, Feb. 5, 1692. Three Williams baptized; Elisabeth Wisendunk and Abigail Winslow taken into Church,

and Elisabeth Monk (formerly Woodmancy) Restored, having made a satisfactory Confession.

Feb. 8<sup>th</sup> 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Capt. Checkly Tells me at Charlestown, that my Brother Stephen's wife was yesterday about 11. a'clock brought to bed of a Son. Major Gedney and Mr. Hathorn confirm the same when I come over to Boston. Mr. Torrey came to Town yesterday to see if he could get the last clause in the Law relating to Ministers,<sup>1</sup> taken away, or alter'd: is highly concern'd about it.

Feb. 28. Went to Roxbury Lecture. Just before went to the Burial of Nathan<sup>l</sup> Brewer.

Copy of a Letter to Major Nath<sup>l</sup> Saltonstall Esqr. at Havarhill, March, 3. 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

*Dicere quæ puduit, scribere jussit Amor.*

SIR, Not seeing you in the Assembly, to speak to you and for the reason forementioned, I am put upon writing my Salutations to Mr. Ward, your self, and good Lady: and telling, that I have sympathised with you and your family, as to the report that went of some being afflicted by a person in your shape, and that I fully believe the Letter asserting your Innocence. Allow me also to intimate that I was grieved upon this day was fortnight, when I heard and saw that you had drunk to excess; so that your head and hand were rendered less usefull than at other times. You may remember, you were sitting in the South-side of the Council-chamber, on the bench; I drew near to you, and enquired concerning Mr. Ward; you answer'd, He was better, which made you so merry: you also told me of the breaking up of the Ice of the River Merrimack, having received the account from your son Cotton. That is the time I intend. Let me intreat you, Sir, to break off this practice (so tis rumoured to be) not as the River; but obstinately and perpetually to refuse the Yoke. As to your being deny'd a Judges place by the Governour, I no ways influenc'd Him in the matter, neither do I know who did. And I was surpris'd to hear any Talk of the North Regiment of Essex being put under any other Major. Don't furnish your Enemies with Arms. I mention this that you may believe, I write not of prejudice but Kindness; and out of a sense of Duty, as indeed I doe. Take it in good part from him who desires your everlasting welfare, S. S.

<sup>1</sup> The reference here seems to be to the Act printed in the Province Laws, new edition, pp. 102, 103. — EDS.

March 7, 1698 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Not having had an opportunity to send my Letter, I was this day surprised to see Major Saltonstall in the Court. I came home at noon, and took my Letter and deliver'd it with my own hand just at night, desiring him to read it at his Lodging: but He being impatient, sat down in the very place mentioned, and discours'd me, gave me Thanks and desired my Prayers. God give a good effect. This day there is a sore storm of snow after much unusually warm wether and settled ways.

March 9, 1698 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Joseph puts his Grandmother and Mother in great fear by swallowing a Bullet which for a while stuck in his Throat: He had quite got it down, before I knew what the matter was. This day in the Afternoon One of Mr. Holyoke's Twins falls into the Well and is drownd, no body but a Negro being at home; was a very lovely Boy of about 4 years old. Saterdag, March 11, about Sunset He is buried. When I come home from the funeral, my wife shows me the Bullet Joseph swallowed, which he voided in the Orchard. The Lord help us to praise Him for his distinguishing Favour.

March 10, 1698 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Gwin arrives, 9 weeks from Liverpool; the great news we had of Dunkirk's being besiegd comes to just nothing; tis so far from being Taken.

Sabbath, March 12. Bant arrives in the America 9 weeks from the Isle of Wight; Capt. Thomas Dudley comes in him, first I heard or saw of him was at Meeting in the Afternoon, sat in his Unkle Allen's Pue.

March 13<sup>th</sup> 1698 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Anniversary Town-Meeting. Select-Men, Mr. Tho. Walker, 92 — Capt. Bozoon Allen, 87 — Obadia Gill, 81 — Sam<sup>l</sup> Checkly, 74 — Tim<sup>o</sup> Thornton, 73 — Jn<sup>o</sup> Maryon, 66 — Ephraim Savage, 52 — Nath<sup>l</sup> Williams, 29 — James Hill, 28. Constables, Capt. Tim<sup>o</sup> Clark, 86 — Mr. Tho. Cooper, 74 — Joseph Russel, 63 — Jacob Malyne, 61 — Richard Chievers, 49 — Enoch Greenlef, 43 — William Parkinan, 36 — Hezekia Henchman, 35. Capt.



Ephraim Savage, Town-Clerk. Mr. James Taylor, Treasurer. No Constable fined this year. Very quiet Meeting. Capt. Pen Townsend, Capt. Jer. Duñer, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Foster, Mr. Timo. Prout, Mr. Joseph Bridgham left out. Did not see cause to choose any Overseers of the Poor this year, supposing the work might be better done without such an office.

March 15. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet's pains return.

March 17. Mr. Willard is sent for, who prays at the breaking up the Assembly; then Mr. Secretary acquaints the Deputies that the Governour accepted their endeavours, and what heat might have appear'd in any debate twas overlook'd. Mr. Speaker in behalf of the Representatives, thank'd the Governour for his Acceptance of their poor Endeavours. Then Mr. Secretary in the Governour's name, declared the Court to be dissolved. This was about one of the Clock. The Lieut. Governour and Major General not present. This Even Mr. Dudley and his Son, Capt. Tho. Dudley, visit me.

Sabbath, March 19, 1693. Benjamin Hallawell, late captive in Algier, and his Infant daughter, Mary, were baptized. When I first saw him in London, I could hardly persuade myself that he could live over the Sea, and now I see him and his daughter baptized. Lord let it be a Token that Thou wilt revive thy work in the midst of the years. In London, twas some discouragement to me to think how hardly 'twould come off for the father to pay me for the English Money I had disbursed for the Redemption of a dead Son: but God has given him a new life.

BOSTON; March, 21. 1693.

HONOURED SIR, The information of my health, and the health of my family is always welcome news to you, and therefore this Letter, by one of the Poor's, will be acceptable. We have not been altogether free from Colds; but are now in pretty good health, blessed be God. I am glad that Brother Moodey hath success in his Fulling-Mill. As

I remember, you used to call his wife Bel;<sup>1</sup> it seems my Brothers speak of going to live at the Falls; if you please, you may call the Farm Belford; and so fasten your abbreviation of my Sister's Name on the place, and make it long-lasting. The Stream, we see, makes the Land desirable and sought to, though remote. The pleasantness of the Watercourse will well be signified, if you make it *Latin*. Consider it in *Hebrew*, as it is, so the Name<sup>2</sup> carries God in the front of it, from whose Goodness, all created Beings and Conveniences have their Original. I have inclosed some Gazetts for your diversion, and a Letter to Mr. Woodbridge. Gov: Bradstreet had some lightening of his Pains: but they returned again last Wednesday very sorely: had a bad night, and is now very ill, &c. &c.

Wednesday, March, 22. 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Our kitchin chimney fell on fire about noon, and blaz'd out sorely at top, appeared to be very foul: the fire fell on the shingles so that they begun to burn in several places, being very dry: but by the good Providence of God, no harm done. Mr. Fisk was with us, and we sat merrily to dinner on the Westfield Pork that was snatch'd from the fire on this Occasion. Mother was exceedingly frightened; and is ready to think we are called to remove. This very morning had as 'twere concluded not to build this Summer; because my wife is loath to ly in at another place. What we shall now doe, I know not. Rid to Dorchester.

March 28, 1693. Mr. Cotton Mather has a Son born, which is his first; it seems was without a Postern for the voidance of Excrements; dies Satterday, Ap. 1.

March 28, 1693. I have six little Pines planted in my Pasture by the North-burying Place.

April 4, 1693. I wait on the Lieut. Governour to Watertown, Mr. Russel and Capt. Lynde meet us at Cambridge: I rode with a Watertown man and saw the place by Whitney's where some would have the Meeting-house stand. At the Meetinghouse heard the Allegations

<sup>1</sup> This reference is, of course, to Sewall's sister, Mehitabel, wife of William Moody of Newbury. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Mehitabel, from the Hebrew, signifies "benefited of God." — Eds.

*pro* and *con*, took in their Papers. Came home in the Rain.

Apr. 13. Brother Toḗan comes to Town.

Apr. 14. Carries home Jane to see her friends.

Apr. 15. I ride with Capt. Gookin, and take a further view of Watertown that might the better consider the pleas about the place for a Meetinghouse ; went about as far as Samuel Begelos near the end of the great Plain. At our coming back, refresh'd our selvs at Mr. Remington's. Call'd at Justice Bond's, who gave us special good Cider.

Apr. 26, 1693. Wednesday. The old Kitchen is pulled down.

Satterday, Apr. 29. The little Hall is Removed, and joind to Matthias Smith's house.

Friday, May 5. Alexander Millar and Frank, Cous. Savages Negro, begin to digg the Cellar. Mrs. Goose is brought to bed of a daughter.

Satterday, May 6. Widow Sarah Hurd dies.

Tuesday, May 16, 1693. The first stone is laid in the new building, being the great Stone that lay at Capt. Wyllys's Corner, and is now our Corner-Stone next Father Walker's.

May 20. The Corner stone next Fort-Hill is laid ; The Corner next Wheeler's Pond had the other half ; being the white split Rock on the Coḗmon.

May 20. The Governour comes home from Sea. Major Converse went out after the Enemy with 200 and odd men, yesterday was señight ; designd for Tackonnick.

Tuesday, May 23, 1693. The Corner Stone next Cotton-Hill is laid,<sup>1</sup> which fell as it were cheerfully and willingly into his place ; I gave the workmen a piece of Eight.

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<sup>1</sup> If, as we suppose, this description refers to the rebuilding by Sewall of the Hull house on Tremont Street, the definitions are quite bewildering. The four corner-stones are respectively "next Father Walker's," "next Fort-Hill," "next Wheeler's pond," and "next Cotton-Hill." The two



Satterday, May 27. The foundation of the Cellar is finished, by stones gotten out of the Cōmon.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday, May 31. Stoughton, 31 — Danforth, 64 — Pynchon, 57 — Richards, 60 — Winthrop, 65 — Saltonstall, 39 — Russell, 64 — Gedney, 49 — Pike, 39 — Cook, 31 — Hathorn, 35 — Hutchinson, 39.

Left out — Bradstreet, Hinkly, Apleton, Mason, Lynde, Heman, Joyliff, A. Winthrop, Middlecot, Alcock.

Wednesday, May 31, 1693. Election. Addington, 37 — Sewall, 77 — Phillips, 55 — Corwin, 46 — Foster, 38 — Sergeant, 38 — Brown, 41 — Bradford, 72 — Lothrop, 65 — Walley, 24 — Thomas, 70 — Saffin, 28 — Frost, 66 — Hook, 44 — Doñell, 27 — Silvanus Davis 34.

*New* — Stoughton, Danforth, Pynchon, Addington, Brown, Thomas, Frost, Hook, Saffin, Peirce.

Mr. Elisha Cook was refused by the Governour on Thursday, and the day following Capt. Daniel Peirce was chosen by 19 votes. Col. Shrimpton had 17, and Col. Dudley 18.

On Satterday, June 3. Mr. James Taylor was chosen Treasurer by 28. votes; Major Phillips had 22; I had 5. I was told before I should have votes and endeavoured to prevent it.

hills are about N.W. and S.E. from Sewall's house. Walker's house, we presume, was near the head of State Street, that is, N.E. Wheeler's point ought then to be S.W. of Sewall's, that is to say, in the direction of the Common. Now, in 1708, in the description of the streets of Boston, we find the following: "The street leading easterly from Wheeler's corner in Newbury street, by the town's watering place, as far as Capt. Dyer's barn, *Pond street*." This is, of course, Bedford Street, from Washington Street, the town watering-place being on the northerly side, about opposite the Latin school-house.

It seems safe to infer that this watering-place was a pond in 1692, and that it derived its name from the adjacent owner, Wheeler. But, after all, Sewall's mode of describing the corners of his house by such *very* distant landmarks savors of magnificence of imagination. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the Common, which now does not seem to contain even a pebble, once served the purpose of a quarry for house builders. — Eds.

Thursday, June 8. Elisabeth Emerson of Havarill and a Negro Woman were executed after Lecture, for murdering their Infant Children. Mr. Cotton Mather preached from Job, 36. 14: made a very good Sermon to a very great Auditory. Mr. Danforth labours to bring Mr. Mather and Cook together, but I think in vain.<sup>1</sup> Is great wrath about Mr. Cook's being refused, and 'tis supposed Mr. Mather is the cause.

June 9. Mr. Rawson, *quondam* Secretary, breaks his Fast with us.

Monday, June 12, 1693. I visit Capt. Alden and his wife, and tell them I was sorry for their Sorrow and Temptations by reason of his Imprisonment, and that was glad of his Restauration.

June 13. Several of the Frigots come up above Long-Island. Sir Francis [Wheeler] came to Noddle's-Island yesterday.

Tuesday, June 20. John Barnard lays our Cellar Floor.

Friday, June 23. Sir Francis and several other Capts. of Frigotts are Treated at Cambridge by the Governour and Præsident.

Monday, June 26. The Brick-Work is begun; the South-end of the house being carried up several foot high.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Elisha Cooke had been elected a member of the Council at this time, but was negatived. The quarrel between him and Mather was political, as well as personal. After the overthrow of Andros, the General Court sent over two of its members, viz., Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, to act as agents of the Colony with Mather and Sir Henry Ashurst. Plymouth Colony sent at the same time Rev. Ichabod Wiswall. All three, especially Cooke, were zealous for the revival of the old charter. Mather seems to have shown the most worldly wisdom, and to have secured all possible advantages in a new charter. But the contest among the agents was bitter. Between them the prosecution of Andros was dropped, and hard words exchanged. (Andros Tracts, ii., xxiii.) Cooke was not named in the list of Councillors, and when elected in 1691 was dropped. He was elected in 1694, and served annually till 1703, when he was negatived by Dudley.

His son Elisha was also a prominent politician, speaker, and councillor, and died 1737. — Eds.

Last night Tim<sup>o</sup> Wadsworth's man dies of the Fever of the Fleet, as is supposed, he having been on board and in the Hold of some ship. Town is much startled at it.

Monday, July 3, 1693. Mrs. Howchin is buried. Bearers, Major Richards, Mr. Cook, Major Hutchinson, Sewall, Mr. Addington, E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson.

July 11, 1693. Mr. Cotton Mather prays at the opening of the Council. Plentifull Shower of Rain after much Drought.

Before diñer, Mr. Danforth and I go in to the Deputy's about the Bill relating to the Treasurer.

Satterday, July 15, 1693. Mr. Cotton Mather prays in [the Council] in the morn. About noon Mr. Willard prays, the Assembly-men being sent for in. Presently after the Governour stands up and dissolv's the Assembly. Was much disgusted about the old Treasurer, and about the not passing of the Bill to regulat the house of Representatives.

July 15, 1693. I went to Mr. Goose, and told him his wife could not conveniently sit any longer in my wives Pue, and therefore desired her to look out another place.

July 24. Capt. Turell is buried. Mr. Joseph Dasset was buried yesterday, being much lamented. Jn<sup>o</sup> Shove and — Saxton died before, all of the Fleet-Fever, as is supposed; besides others. The Town is much startled. Capt. Byfield speaks of removing his wife and daughters to Bristow. One of the Fleet-Women dies this day, July 24, 1693, at David Johnson's, over against the Town-house.

July 25. Three Carpenters die.

July 26. Dr. Pemberton dies. Persons are generally under much consternation, which Mr. Willard takes notice of in his Prayer.

July 27<sup>th</sup> Preaches excellently from — Luke 12. 4. Be ye therefore ready. Caleb Rawlings falls from the top of the Steeple of the North Church, and breaks his Leg, Arm



and Neck. Mr. Tho. Pemberton buried. This day we send Joseph to Mr. N. Hobart's to Newton: He rides on the Saddle before Hañah Trowbridge, who guides the Horse, and steadies him.

Friday, Augt. 4<sup>th</sup> 1693. The Governour sets sail for Peñaquid, goes off at Scarlet's Wharf about 8. in the Even, with Major General, Mr. Addington, Mr. Foster. Capt. Colton's overtaking the enemy who did the Spoil at Squabaog July 27, and killing 5 or 6 of them, bringing back 2 Captives, &c. comes to our hand just now about.

Sabbath, Augt. 6<sup>th</sup> at 6 P.M. There is a Rainbow about South South-East; has been no Rain. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet is indispos'd, and goes not abroad in the Afternoon.

Sabbath, Augt. 6, 1693. Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Greenough died about 4. this morn, buried about nine at night. Three Vollies past nine at night. Neither Major General nor Major Hutchinson in Town. Bright Moon-shine. This evening I hear that Mr. Steward of Ipswich is dead.

Monday, Augt. 7. About 4. *mane* I go for the Midwife; About 4. P.M. My Wife is brought to Bed of a Daughter. Thanks be to God. This day Sarah Noyes a young woman of about 21 years dies. Tis very cool and comfortable wether after about a weeks time of excessive Heat. Clouds gather thick, and a little Rain in the Evening.

Wednesday, Augt. 9. There falls a plentiful Rain after a long distressing Drought. *Laus Deo.*

Friday, Augt. 11. I visit Mr. Thacher of Milton who is very glad to see me. Sir Flint<sup>1</sup> conducts me whom I met on the Road.

Monday, Augt. 14. Mrs. Nowell dies. Samson Waters, just building a great House, Roof up, Moses Draper, a very hopeful young man, and 2 more.

Augt. 15. Tuesday. Mrs. Mary Nowell buried. Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Henry Flynt, afterwards tutor, who graduated in 1693.—  
Eds.

Cook, Major Hutchinson, Sewall, Allen, Willard, Baily, Bearers. Was laid in Mr. Usher's Tomb.

Augt. 14. The plates and suñers<sup>1</sup> of the lower Chamber Floor are laid.

Satterday, Augt. 12. Capt. [and Deacon] Eliot comes sick from Muddy-River.

Wednesday, Augt. 16. Dyes about 2. at night.

Augt. 17. Is buried. Major Hutchinson, Sewall, Joyliff, Walley, P. Allen, Bridgham, Bearers. Buried in the new burying place. Tis a sudden and very sore Blow to the South Church, a Loss hardly repaired. On the Sabbath, Mr. Willard being in before me, I did not mind D. Eliot's absence, and wondered I heard not his voice beginning the Ps., and Capt. Frary waited when I should begin it. We shall hardly get another such a sweet Singer as we have lost. He was one of the most Serviceable Men in Boston, condescending to his friends. One of the best and most respectfull Friends I had in the World. Lord awaken us. Scarce a Man was so universally known as He. Dyed in the 61. year of 's Age. Was one of the first that was born in Boston.

Satterday, Augt. 19. Governour returns from Peñaquid, and Counsellors all in good health. Concluded a Peace with the Indians on Friday, Augt 11. They were very desirous of a Peace and professed themselves ready to do what the Governour desired; have sent 3 Hostages.

Sabbath, Augt. 20. Mr. Willard propounds a Church Meeting on Friday next 3. P.M. that may elect a Deacon or two, Capt. Frary not being able to officiat at the Lord's Table, which we are invited to this day sennight.

Augt. 21. I visit Mr. Torrey, who is much better, and very glad to see me: is yet very weak. Coming home Deacon Swift tells me that Mr. Loyd dyed this Afternoon. Visited my Unkle and Aunt. Unkle brought me going

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<sup>1</sup> " Summer. The main beam in building." — Eds.

till came into Milton bounds. When come home, find the South-East windows of the first Chamber set up.

Satterday, Sept. 9. I return from Point-Judith, having been gon from home ever since the 28. of August. At my return, find little Jane not well.

Sept. 12. Call Mr. Willard to pray with little Jane. Went to Roxbury-Lecture, Mr. Hobart came home with me, who also pray'd with Jane; both excellently. By Dr. Oakes advice, I give her a little Maña. Methinks she looks like Henry in his Sickness. The good Lord prepare her and us for the issue, and help us to choose the things that please Him. Nurse Judd watches.

Sept. 13, 1693. Between 12. and 1. at night following that day, Little Jane expires, much as Henry did, in neighbour Smith's lap, Nurse Hill and I being by.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND.

\*1. John Sewall, the Son of Samuel and Hanah Sewall, was born Apr. 2<sup>d</sup> 1677, died Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> 1678.

2. Samuel Sewall, was born June 11<sup>th</sup> 1678.

3. Hannah Sewall, was born Feb. 3<sup>d</sup> 1678 $\frac{9}{10}$ .

4. Elisabeth Sewall, was born Dec. 29<sup>th</sup> 1681.

\*5. Hull Sewall, was born July 8<sup>th</sup> 1684. Died at Newbury, June 18<sup>th</sup> 1686, is buried there.

\*6. Henry Sewall, was born Dec. 7<sup>th</sup> 1685. Died Dec. 22<sup>d</sup> 1685.

\*7. Stephen Sewall, was born Jan. 30<sup>th</sup> 1687. Died July 26<sup>th</sup> 1687.

8. Joseph Sewall, was born Aug. 15<sup>th</sup> 1688.

\*9. Judith Sewall, was born Aug. 13<sup>th</sup> 1690. Died Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> 1690.

10. Mary Sewall, was born Oct. 28<sup>th</sup> 1691.

\*11. Jane Sewall, was born Aug. 7<sup>th</sup> 1693. Died Sept. 13<sup>th</sup> 1693.

All the above-named Eleven Children have been by their father, Samuel Sewall, (holding them in his arms,) Offered up to God in Baptisme, at the South-Meeting-House in Boston. The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Thomas Thacher baptised John and Samuel; and the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Samuel Willard baptised the other Nine, upon the Sabbath Day in the Solemn Assembly of God's Saints.

1. John Sewall was baptised Apr. 8, 1677.

2. Samuel Sewall was baptised on the Lord's Day, June 16, 1678.



3. Hannah Sewall was baptised Feb. 8, 1678.
4. Elisabeth Sewall was baptised Jan. 1, 168½.
5. Hull Sewall was baptised July 13, 1684.
6. Henry Sewall was baptised Dec. 13, 1685.
7. Stephen Sewall was baptised Feb. 6, 1684.
8. Joseph Sewall was baptised Aug. 19, 1688.
9. Judith Sewall was baptised Aug. 24, 1690.
10. Mary Sewall was baptised Nov. 1, 1691.
11. Jane Sewall was baptised Aug. 13, 1693.<sup>1</sup>

Sept. 15, 1693. The body of Jane Sewall was laid in the Tomb, between 4. and 5. P.M. John Willard carried the Corps. Lord teach me to profit. I led my wife; Cous. Duñer, Mother; Sam. his Sister; Jane, Elisabeth;

Sept. 25. Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Winthrop dies of the bloody Flux.

Sept. 27. Mr. Joseph Winthrop dies of the same disease. Two children of Major Winthrop.

Sept. 28. Both are buried together, being a very affecting sight. Ministers and Physicians had all Scarvs and Gloves, and many others.

Oct. 5, 1693. By Warrant from the Major, the South-Company is warned to Train on Monday and Tuesday next; words run, *late under the Comānd of Capt. Samuel Sewall.* John Maryon warned.

Oct. 7<sup>th</sup> Mr. Cotton Mather's Daughter Maria, of about 2 years old, is buried in the North burying Place; Mr.

<sup>1</sup> In the memorandum book kept by Samuel Sewall, jr., son of the Chief Justice, we find the above lists copied, but with the following additions:—

- “ 12 Sarah born Wednesday Nov. 21. 1694. bapt. 25th by Mr. Willard  
 13 (still born child) May 21, 1696.  
 14 Judith born Friday Jan'y 2, 1701-2, bapt. 4th by Mr. Pemberton ”

And also the following items:—

- “ No 3, Hannah died August 16, 1724  
 4 Elizabeth ,, July 11, 1716  
 10 Mary ,, Nov. 17, 1710  
 14 Judith married to Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Cooper, 1720, died Dec. 23, 1740.”

We also find recorded in the same book that No. 2, Samuel Sewall, jr., died Feb. 27, 1750-1, in his 73d year. — Eds.

Pierpont, Willard, Jer. Allen, Winthrop, Bearers. Died on Thursday night or Friday morn.

Oct. 7<sup>th</sup> 1693. Mr. Robert Saunderson dies.

Oct. 11<sup>th</sup> Carried my daughter Hañah to Salem in Company of Mr. Hathorne and Sam. Wakefield; got thether about 8. at night.

Oct. 12. Carried her to Rowley, W<sup>m</sup> Longfellow rid before her; I staid Lecture at Ipswich, where unexpectedly heard Mr. Edward Tomson preach a very good Sermon from Felix's procrastination.

Oct. 13. Rid home, having much adoe to pacify my dear daughter, she weeping and pleading to go with me.

Wednesday, Oct. 18. Jn<sup>o</sup> Barnard raises the Roof of the brick House, no hurt done, through God's goodness.

This day, Mrs. Hunt, Mr. Torrey's Sister, is buried. Alass! that it should be so.

Friday, Oct. 20. The Ship at Bull's Wharf of Four Hundred Tuns, named the Lere-Frigot was Lanced. Yesterday's Storm hindered her being Lanced then. Mr. Eyre's child buried this Afternoon.

Monday, Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>. I ride to Newton to see Sam and Joseph.

Tuesday, Nov. 21, 1693. Our House is covered and defended against the wether.

Nov. 24. The first Snow falls.

*Nota.* Nov. 21. Governour bids the Deputies goe chuse a new Speaker; which they pray excuse for. Governour alledges as a reason, Speaker's adjourning their House from Friday till this day without acquainting Him. By mediation the matter is compos'd, and Wednesday morn, the Governour sends to them by the Secretary, to desire them to go on with the business of the Court. Mr. Secretary is directed to enter their Acknowledgment of their Error, and asking Pardon, and that would not practise in like manner for time to come.

Nov. 25. Representatives vote that none be chosen Representatives but persons resident in the Towns for which they are chosen, and having Free-Hold there, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday, Nov. 28, 1693. The Bill for regulating the choice of Representatives was brought in with the clause relating to Residency of the Persons to be chosen, in the Towns they are chosen for. The Dissent also of 21 Deputies was brought in with it, alledging the vote was contrary to Charter, Custom of England, of the Province, hindred men of the fairest estates from Representing a Town where their Estates lay, except also resident; might prove destructive to the Province. Persons subscribing, Nathan<sup>1</sup> Byfield, Benj<sup>a</sup> Davis, Francis Foxcroft, Pen Townsend, Daniel Allin, Richard Sprague, Jahleel Brenton, Tim<sup>2</sup> Clark, Stephen Pain, Ebenezer Brenton, Joseph Brown, Jonathan Prescott, John Brown, Giles Dyer, Isaac Little, John Cutler, Tim<sup>2</sup> Thornton, John Legg, Sam<sup>1</sup> Blocket, Stephen Francis, Ebenezer Prout. The clause was read, and the Dissent 2 or 3 times by the Secretary, and then put to the Vote, Governour not being there.

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<sup>1</sup> This act is duly reprinted in our Province Laws. Hutchinson (Hist., II. 79) writes as follows: "The party in favor of the address" (to keep Phips in office), "to prevent further trouble, if there should be further occasion for any thing to be done in favor of the governor, brought into a bill, which was then before the house, a clause restraining towns from chusing any person to represent them in the General Court, other than freeholders and residents within such towns. This provision is generally looked upon as a privilege, and a point gained by the people; but it certainly was occasioned by what is commonly called the prerogative party in government, and, however salutary, was designed as an abridgment of liberty."

It is interesting to note that this popular error is of so ancient a date. Perhaps no other detail in our form of government has had so extensive and so pernicious an influence as this restriction of offices to persons inhabiting the districts to be represented. And as it is also a restriction upon the powers of the electors, as contracting the limits within which they can choose their public servants, it is strange that the great mass of electors are so persistently cajoled by the few local aspirants for office.

We observe that Sewall voted for the proposed bill, although he had been a representative himself for a town in which he was not a resident; viz., for Westfield in 1683. See *ante*, p. 57. — Eds.



*Content.*

1. Thomas Danforth.
2. John Richards.
3. Wait Winthrop.
4. James Russell.
5. John Hathorne.
6. Samuel Sewall.
7. Jonathan Corwin.
8. John Foster.
9. Daniel Pierce.

*Not Content.*

- W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton, Lt. Gov:  
 Bartholomew Gedney.  
 John Walley.  
 Isaac Addington.  
 Peter Sergeant.  
 Samuel Donel.  
 Nathan! Thomas.  
 Charles Frost.

Governour came in presently after had done voting.

## ORDINATION.

Wednesday, Nov. 29. Rode to Dedham and saw Mr. Joseph Belchar Ordained. He preached very well from Exod. 4. 12. Mr. Neh. Hobart ask'd the Objections; Mr. Sam! Torrey Solemnly prayed and gave the Charge, Mr. N. Hobart and Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Danforth joining in laying on of Hands. Mr. Moses Fisk gave the right Hand of Fellowship. 118. Psalm sung from the 25<sup>th</sup> v. to the end; St. David's Tune.

Tuesday, Dec. 12, 1693. Rode to Salem with Lieut. Governour and Mr. Danforth, issu'd the Court on Wednesday. Thursday a great Storm of Rain: so stay'd there still. Din'd at Brother's. Were there in Company afterward, Lieut. Governour, Mr. Danforth, Noyes, Gedney, Major Brown, Hathorne, Capt. Higginson, Mr. Leverett, Paul Dudley, Mr. Newton, Sewall, Sam, Stephen. Supped at Major Brown's; Sung the 122. Ps. &c.

Dec. 15. Very pleasant wether, came home.

Dec. 20. Mr. Barthol. Chever is buried. Capt. Cullimer and 5 others drown'd coming from Scituat last Satterday in a Boat. A Briganteen cast away on Tinkers Island, about 6 drowned, among which an only son sent by his father from Nevis. There is a great Snow on the ground, most of it fallen within these 7 days.

Dec. 21. Publick Thanksgiving, very moderat Comfortable Wether.

Dec. 22. Judge How dies who came from Barbados.

Dec. 23. Governour sails Eastward.

Dec. 27, 1693. Went to the Funeral of Judge How, being invited. Went back at the Gate, and proceeded not to hear the Sermon. Mr. Addington, Foster, Walley, Williams went with Mr. Sergeant to his House.

Dec. 28<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Ward of Havarill is buried. 87 years old.

Friday, Jan. 5<sup>th</sup>. Being in the chamber of the new House next Tiler's, I fell down, and razed off the skin of my right Legg upon the shin bone, putting my self to much pain; I was fain to fall across the Joysts, to prevent falling through, which I was in great danger of.

Satterday, Jan. 13, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . The Floor of the lower Chamber towards the North-East, is laid; I drove a Nail.

Monday, Jan. 15, and Jan. 16, the Floor of the Hall-Chamber is laid. The Ice is clear gon out of the Docks as in March.

Jan. 17. The Governour and Major Phillips return, and come to Town by Land from Salem, having been gon near a Moneth. This day John Mountford marries Mr. Bridgham's wives Daughter.

Jan. 19, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Kitchen floor is finished. This day Mrs. Prout dies after sore conflicts of mind, not without suspicion of Witchcraft.

Satterday, Jan. 27. The Hall Floor is finished.

Jan. 30, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . The Kitchin Casements are Glazed and set up.

Wednesday, Feb. 7. Major Townsend has a Daughter still-born and buried this day. Richard Cornish is buried this week.

Friday, Feb. 23, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Council Day for chusing Comissioners for the Chancery. In the Afternoon chose Mr. Stoughton, 17. Votes, Mr. Winthrop 16, Major Richards

13, Danforth 7. One and Twenty present. Lieut. Governour declares his Non-acceptance. Governour adjourns the Council till morning for Consideration.

This day Henry Ems the Baker has his name put into a Cōmission to be a Messenger to the Representatives when sitting, and Cōmission deliver'd to him in the Council-Chamber.

Satterday, Feb. 24, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Mrs. Margaret Thacher, widow, dies. This day our Stairs in the new House are finished.

Wednesday, March 7, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . I went to Mr. Cook's and offered him £100. for his old Debt relating to Capt. Wincoll, as I had offer'd, before I went to England. Had lately promis'd Mrs. Cook to make her some offer before the end of winter.

Monday, March 12, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Waited on the Chief Justice and Mr. Danforth to Plimouth.

Thursday, March 15. Came home; good wether all four days.

Friday, 16. A great Snow falls.

March 27, 1694. Governour, Mr. Danforth, Winthrop, Russell, Sewall, Addington, Foster, Sergeant, Walley, Lieut. Alford, Goodwin, Mason, and Atkins, Carpenter, went to the Castle to view the works in order to Reparation. Mr. Secretary read there the dialogue between Whig and Torey,<sup>1</sup> while it rained. As came up, Capt. Clark saluted us with 3 Huzâs and Guns from his Briganteen.

April 2, 1694. Monday. Artillery Training; Bastian and I set seeds of White-Thorn at Saunders's Pasture, north end. In the Afternoon, all the Town is filled with the discourse of Major Richards's Death, which was very extraordinarily suddain; was abroad on the Sabbath, din'd

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<sup>1</sup> "A dialogue between Whig and Tory, *alias* Williamite and Jacobite," 4to, 1693. It is mentioned in the twenty-second chapter of Macaulay's History of England. — Eds.



very well on Monday, and after that falling into an angry passion with his Servant Richard Frame, presently after, fell probably into a Fit of Apoplexy, and died. On Tuesday night was opened and no cause found of his death; noble Parts being fair and sound.

Friday, April 6. Major Richards is buried in his Tomb in the North Burying Place; Companyes in Arms attending the Funeral. Bearers, Stoughton Danforth; Russell, Brown; Sewall, Addington; Major General and Mr. Foster led the Widow. Mr. Torrey was not there because 'twas Friday. Coffin was covered with Cloth. In the Tomb were fain to nail a Board across the Coffins and then a board standing right up from that, bearing against the top of the Tomb, to prevent their floating up and down; sawing and fitting this board made some inconvenient Tarriance.

Apr. 26. Major Brown marries Mrs. Rebecka Bayly.

Tuesday, May 1. Mr. — Woolcot marries Mrs. — Freak.

Wednesday, May 2. Major Brown has home his Bride; I went as far as Bride-Brook and then returned; many Salem Gentlemen being come to meet Him; though would have been many more but that the day was doubtfull and prov'd very rainy. I came over the ferry with Capt. Legg of Marblehead, his Son and Daughter Brattle, &c: had a very fair wind, but great rain. Visited Hañah Hett, now Parkman, and went to the Funeral of Hezekia Henschman, who died yesterday; was a Jury-man at the last Superiour Court. N. As went over in the ferry-Boat my Horse kick'd my knee and put me to considerable pain. Brother tells me Sister fears she shall have the Dry Belly-Ache.

May 30. Election.

July 4, 1694. Waited on the Governour to the Coñ-encement. In the forenoon Exercise, Mr. Coleman brings news of the Arrival of Eldridge and that Bennet parted from him about a week ago. Mr. Secretary said that the

Packet relating to the Governour are in him. After coming from the Governour at night, Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Gaskill, our neighbour's, coming home is told me, comes in Beñet; came up from Nantasket about 8. or 9. at night.

July 5. Mr. Gaskill tells me that orders for the Governour's going to England are sent in the Ship by Mr. Maxfield, a Scotchman, who, he supōses deliver'd the Governour's Packet last night. Said Maxfield gave a receipt for them at London.

July 16, 1694. Town-Meeting at Boston. Chose Assessors, Capt. Foster and I gave them their Oathes. Brother brings Betty to Town.

Wednesday, July 18, 1694. Oyster-River is surprised and 90 odd persons kill'd and captivated, 13 Houses burnd, much Cattel killed and Corn stroy'd.

Friday, July 27. Groton set upon by the Indians, 21 persons kill'd, 13 captivated, 3 badly wounded. About 9. night, Mr. Lodowick comes to Boston. Between 10. and 11. there is an Alarm through the Town kept up till near day-break. Mr. Brattle was arriv'd at Col. Shrimpton's, there he told me of Mr. Lodowicks unhappiness in coming just then. During the Alarm, Mr. Willard's little daughter Sarah dies, buried on Sabbath-day a little before Sunset.

Augt. 6, 1694. Set out with Major Townsend for Albany. Return Augt. 31.

Oct. 5, 1694. Mr. Willard, Mrs. Willard, Mrs. Noyes, Hañah and Joseph ride in the Coach to Newton, to visit Mr. Hobart; Sam. and I goe on Horsback. This day Mr. Oakes's Urian is buried; and Cous. Mary Dumier dies about break of day.

Fifth Day, Oct. 11, 1694. I have Sam. to Michael Perry to live with him upon Trial. Mr. Torrey prayed earnestly for him at my desire; went a little before eleven aclock.

Fourth-day, Oct. 17, 1694. Mrs. Margaret Shepard, Sam. Phillips's Son, and Mrs. Elisa. Pole dye.

Oct. 19. Mrs. Pole buried. Bearers, Mr. Cook, Sewall,

Addington, Oakes, Byfield, Oliver. Was laid in the old burying place.

Oct. 20. This week the upper Floors are laid with boards that had only this Summer's seasoning.

Oct. 22, 1694. Capt. John Wincoll mounting his Horse to ride with Major Hook and others, from Newitchewanock to the Point, falls off his Horse; in falling cries, Lord have mercy upon me, and dies immediately.

Oct. 24. Sending an Agent from hence voted in the negative by the Council.

Sabbath, Oct. 28, 1694. There is a very High boisterous and cold Norwest Wind, my dear Mother Hull for fear the wind should bear her down, does not put on her Cloak: but wears two Scarvs and so catches cold; however, grows indispos'd so that cannot eat nor sleep; kept from the Catechising and Lecture. I left word with Mr. Oliver that mother desired his Brother to come and see her, which he did Nov. 1. and left directions. Mr. Moodey prays with her.

Nov. 1, 1694. Capt. Dobbins refusing to give Bail, the Sheriff was taking him to Prison, and Sir William Phips rescued him, and told the Sheriff He would send him, the Sheriff, to prison, if he touch'd him, which occasioned very warm discourse between Him and the Lieut. Governour.

Nov. 2 Mr. Willard visits her [Mrs. Hull] and prays; speaks to her to be very carefull lest should have a sore fit of sickness.

Nov. 3, 1694. 1. past m. Mr. Willard prays and the Governour adjourns the General Court to the last Wednesday in February next, P.M. Several of the Council desired a dissolution, lest some Emergency should require the Calling of an Assembly, and this Adjournment bind our hands; but the Governour would not hearken to it. Onset of the Enemy, Packets from England, were mention'd. Before the Adjournment, Governour expostulated with the Speaker about copying out and dispersing a Letter



of Sir H. Ashurst's; then said, This Court is dissolv'd to such a time: being put in mind of his mistake, said, I mean Adjourn'd.

Wednesday, Nov. 7. First day of the Court's meeting this week, Capt. Dobbins is call'd. He utterly refuseth to give Bail, confesseth himself to be in the Sheriff's Custody. Between the Sheriff and Keeper is carried to Goal, which makes great Wrath. He pleaded Justification for it, produced two Warrants under the Governour's Hand and Seal, and an Act of Parliament: Court adviseth.

Sixth-day, Nov. 9, 1694. Lieut. Governour and Council dine at James Meers's; The Treat was intended for the Governour; but is so offended at Capt. Dobbins Imprisonment, that He comes not, nor Mr. Mather the Father, nor Son, nor Capt. Foster; so chair at the upper end of the Table stands empty. Note. Mr. Cotton Mather was sick of a grievous pain in his face, else He had been there, as He told me afterward.

Fifth-day, Nov. 15<sup>th</sup>. Is a Council at the Governour's House about taking Mr. Jackson's Affidavits; defer it till after Lecture that Capt. Byfield may have notice to be there.

Mr. Walter preaches a very good Sermon from Ps. 73. 27. They that are far from Thee shall perish: shewd the misery of the unregenerat: and Happiness of Believers, by reason of their manifold Nearness to God. Governour did not go to Lecture. After Lecture was much debate at the Townhouse, and at last Mr. Jackson's Affidavits were all read over, and his Oath given him by the Lieut. Governour and Council.

Seventh-day, Nov. 17<sup>th</sup> 1694. Just about Sunset or a little after, the Governour goes from his House to the Salutation Stairs, and there goes on board his Yatcht; Lieut. Governour, many of the Council, Mr. Cotton Mather, Capts. of Frigatts, Justices and many other Gentlemen accompanying him. 'Twas six a'clock by that time I

got home, and I only staid to see them come to sail. Guns at the Castle were fired about seven: Governour had his Flag in main Top. Note. Twas of a seventh day in the even when the Governour came to Town, and so tis at his going off, both in darkness: and uncomfortable, because of the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 20, 1694. The Dial is set up at the South-West end of the house. Mr. Torrey lodges here.

Nov. 21. My wife grew so ill that I got up between three and four in the morn. Call Mrs. Weeden; proves a rainy day.

Nov. 21, 1694. My wife is brought to bed of a Daughter between 9. and 10. of the Clock in the morn. Mr. Torrey prayd with Mother and me in the Kitchen of the new house for that mercy; Mother desiring Him, saying that my wife was in great and more than ordinary Extremity, so that she was not able to endure the Chamber: I went also to acquaint Mr. Willard, and as I came back, I met Mrs. Perce, who wish'd me joy of my Daughter, as came in at the Gate. Mr. Torrey was prevail'd with to go into Chamber and Return Thanks to God. Women din'd with rost Beef and minc'd Pyes, good Cheese and Tarts. Grows to a very great Storm.

Nov. 22. I put up a Bill for to Thank God for delivering my wife in childbearing; there was no other. Mr. Cotton Mather preached from Isa. 32. 2. taking occasion

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson (Hist., II. 75-79) gives quite a sketch of the closing months of Phips's administration. The Governor became involved in various personal disputes, arising partly from his interpretation of his official powers, partly from his character. "He was of a benevolent, friendly disposition; at the same time quick and passionate."

One quarrel was with Captain Short, of the "Nonesuch" frigate, whom he at last caned in the street. Finally, he was ordered to leave his government, and to answer in England the complaints made against him. On his arrival in London, he was sued by Dudley and Brenton for £20,000. Sir Henry Ashurst bailed him, but he laid his arrest so much to heart that it was supposed to have brought upon him or increased the sickness of which he died, the 18th of February, 1694-5. — Eds.

from the Storm. Lieut. Governour not at Meeting. Mr. Torrey and Fisk lodge here.

Nov. 23. They go home, though the wether is still cloudy, drisley and uncomfortable.

Sabbath, Nov. 25, 1694. I named my little Daughter Sarah, Mr. Willard baptiz'd her. Lydia Cornish, and Joseph Scot were baptiz'd at the same time. Mr. Torrey said, call her Sarah and make a Madam of her.<sup>1</sup> I was struggling whether to call her Sarah or Mehetabel; but when I saw Sarah's standing in the Scripture, viz: Peter, Galatians, Hebrews, Romans, I resolv'd on that side. Also Mother Sewall had a sister Sarah; and none of my sisters of that name.

Dec. 4, 1694. Lieut. Governour calls at 's entrance into the Town; I told him I had spoken to Mr. Willard to pray; tells me of his intended Treat at Mr. Coopers, and enquires whom He had best to invite. Between 2. and 3. P.M. we meet at Mr. Secretaries, from thence go to the Townhouse; viz. Lieut. Governour, Mr. Danforth, Gedney, Russel, Cook, Phillips, Brown, Hathorne, Addington, Sewall, Lynde, Hook, Sergeant. Mr. Willard prayed. Then Lieut. Governour made a brave Speech upon the occasion of the Government's being fallen on Him.<sup>2</sup> After this, Col. Hutchinson came in and made 13.

After twas debated, and several Acts of Parliament view'd, gave the Lieut. Governor an Oath for his due Execution of the Acts referring to Navigation, so far as they concern the Plantations. Voted a Letter to be sent to the Government of Rode-Island that they would dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Sarah, in Hebrew, means "lady," "mistress," or "dame." — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The Lieutenant-Governor was William Stoughton, who succeeded on the departure of Phips, Nov. 17, 1694, and acted as Governor until the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont, May 26, 1699. When Lord Bellomont went to New York, in May, 1700, Stoughton was again acting Governor, and so continued until his death, July 7, 1701. The Council then became the supreme power in the Colony, acting until the arrival of Governor Joseph Dudley, June 11, 1702. — Eds.



countenance Capt. Tu's proceedings. Voted Capt. Hamond, of Kittery, Register and Clerk in the room of Capt. Wincoll, deceased; at the Instance of Major Hook. Lieut. Governour invites, and we go to Mr. Cooper's, where a Splendid Treat is provided, most cold meat. Councillors, Ministers, Justices there, and Col. Shrimpton, Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, &c. Mr. Increase Mather Crav'd a Blessing; Mr. Willard return'd Thanks.

I mov'd Mr. Willard and Mr. Cotton Mather, that, seeing the Old and South Church fell short in their singing on the Thanksgiving-day, might make it up now, if they saw meet: Mr. Willard said would sing what He intended then, prevented by the night: Ask'd Lieut. Governour and read the 47. Ps. Clap hands.—Spake to me and I set it. Lieut. Gov<sup>r</sup> Usher was invited, but not there; He is gon to Prison this afternoon, as tis said, upon Mr. Shrimpton's Execution.

Dec. 7, 1694. Col. Gedney tells me that Brother Gerish is dead. It seems he died Dec. 4. and was buried the day following. Capt. Noyes's Company in Arms.

Tuesday, Dec. 25. Shops are open, men at work; Carts of Pork, Hay, Coal, Wood come to Town as on other days. Mr. Maccarty's shop is open.

Seventh-day, Jan. 5. I waited on the Lieut. Governour to Braintrey, and visited Unkle Quinsey. Was somewhat exercis'd about my dream the last night, which was that Mr. Edward Oakes, the Father, was chosen Pastor of Cambridge Church. Mr. Adams and I had discourse about the Oddness of the matter, that the father should succeed his Son so long after the Son's death. I excus'd my not voting, as not pertaining to me; though I had other reasons besides. Thus I was conversing among the dead.

Unkle Quinsey brought us going as far as Mr. Wilson's house. Got home about an hour by Sun. *Laus Deo.*

Had Capt. Thomas's Company from Tho. Walkers to Unkles Gate, by accident.

Fifth day, Jan. 10. Major Hook dies, being much wanted and lamented. Had a Letter from him Dec. 31. It seems was taken but that day Señight before he died. The Lord save New England. Dr. Doel of Newbury died a little while ago, one of my Schoolfellows, as was also Brother Gerrish; heard not certainly of said Doel's death till Mr. Emery told it me Jan. 15, in the Street.

Jan. 16. Lieut. Governour, Mr. Cook, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Sergeant and S. S. went over to Charlestown and visited Mr. Morton and Mr. Graves; to see if could bring over Mr. Graves, &c. that so another Minister and God's Ordinances might be settled there in peace, but see little likelihood as yet. Went to the Meeting, at Mrs. Noyes's bidding, in Mr. D. Oliver's new brick house. The weather was so extream rainy and snowy that very few were there. Sung the 30<sup>th</sup> Psalm.

Second day, Jan. 14. I goe to Mr. Perry and speak to him to send home Sam. from the Shop, that so his sore and swoln feet might be cured; which standing in the cold shop would prevent. He sends him home. Had no Coles.

Feb. 9, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Jacob Mason, the Instrument-maker, died last night very suddenly, as he sat in a chair at the widow Hañah Cowell's, where he was instructing a young man in the Mariner's Art. This day there is a very extraordinary Storm of Snow. It seems Jacob Mason was in Drink.

Feb. 12, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Mrs. Moodey is stricken with the Palsie in her right side, and is made speechless. Mr. Moodey is sent for. The last night and this day, Feb. 12, the wether is extream Cold which Mrs. Moodey always hardly bears.

Feb. 15. Bastian fetches Sam's Chest from Mr. Perry's. It falls out so that neither he nor Mrs. Perry are at home. I gave the maid 12<sup>d</sup> and Robin a Real.

Lord's Day, Feb. 17, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . James Meers's Daughter was taken sick last night and dyed this morning; which

Suddenness Mr. Willard mention'd with a great deal of Affection in the morning-Prayer. A Note was put up. She was more than Twenty years old.

Third-Day, Feb. 19, 1694. Salem-Chamber [Prayer], Samuel to be disposed to such a Master and Calling, as wherein he may abide with God. Jane, and Fathers family.

Assembly that is to sit next week, that may be directed and succeeded by God, to doe for the Salvation of the Province. That a Man after God's own heart may be chosen for a Judge. Fronteers from Albany and Kinderhook, to Peñaquid. Spring. England.

This day in the evening, I hear of the desolating Earthquake that has been in Italy near Naples, the last Fall. Archbishop of Canterbury dead. Wait Newman dyd between the Groin and Plimouth. Is 3,000£ Loss in Fifield's being Taken.

Fourth-day, March 6, 1694. I had got a printed List of all the Councillors names except the Judges, that might serve for a Nomination, and indented them with Scissors, and so every one took as it pleas'd him, and put into Mr. Secretaries Hat. Elisha Cooke, Esqr. had Twenty Votes. Barthol. Gedney, John Hathorne, Elisha Hutchinson, John Foster, and Nathanael Thomas Esqrs. had One Vote apiece; which made up the whole number of Electors: for the Lieut. Governour voted not, sustaining the place of Governour; Col. Pynchon was not here, and Major Hook dead. So there remained 25. This day Joseph Belknaps little Son of about 4 years old, falls into scalding Wort and is kill'd. On the Sabbath a Roxbury Woman fell off her Horse and is since dead: On the day before, one Trusedal, of Newton, was pulling Hay from an undermined Mow in the Barn, which fell upon him and kill'd him. Mr. Wheelwright is chosen to succeed Major Hook as to the Probat of Wills, and Mr. Peperill as a Justice of the Inferiour Court. Mr. Elatson buried his wife this day.



Bearers had Scarfs and Rings; was buried from Mr. Colemans.

March 11, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Went to Plimouth to keep Court; 13<sup>th</sup> Came to Hingham; 14<sup>th</sup> home, *vid* Almanack; 15<sup>th</sup> Voted the Writt for calling an Assembly to be conformable to the Law, Nov. 8, 1693, a further Tax of 3000 and odd pounds granted, and an additional Impost for a fund of 4000. Bills of Credit.

This day, March 15, young Tim<sup>o</sup> Clark, of about 14 years old, falls down into the Hold of a Ship on the Kilson, and dies, to the great Sorrow of all that hear of it. At night Deputies make the Lieut. Governour and some of the Council drink at the Exchange Tavern.

March 16. Deputies vote for Mr. Torrey to preach the Election Sermon, and that 25<sup>th</sup> April be a Fast. Lieut. Governour makes a Speech to the Deputies; Mr. Willard prays. Lieut. Governour desires Mr. Secretary to declare that the Court is dissolv'd. Gives the Speaker &c. a Glass of Wine at Mr. Epaphras Shrimptons. Upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of March Mr. Mitchell dies, is buried upon the 16. A Storm of Snow this day.

Sabbath, March 17. Is a very sore Storm of Snow. When Afternoon Exercise is over, Mr. Willard stays the Church and Major Walley, Capt. Williams, and Checkly are chose to accompany our Pastor to Salem-Village on the 3<sup>d</sup> of April next; that Church calling a Council, to see if can put an end to their contentions.

March 18, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Last night I dream'd that all my Children were dead except Sarah; which did distress me sorely with Reflexions on my Omission of Duty towards them, as well as Breaking oft the Hopes I had of them. The Lord help me thankfully and fruitfully to enjoy them, and let that be a means to awaken me. This day Tim. Clark is buried, a great Funeral. He never spake after his Fall. Great Snow on the Ground.

March 17, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Mr. Woodbridge of Newbury dies in

a good old Age, more than 80; buried March 19<sup>th</sup> as Capt. Hill tells me, March 21. after Lecture.

March 23. Very sore Storm of Rain. Mr. Woodbridge was a Good Man, and a constant attender upon God in his publick worship on the Sabbath-day, though he himself preached not. I saw Him when last at Newbury.

March 29, 1695. Went to the Meeting at Mr. Olivers: Major Walley sat next me, and presently after the Exercise, ask'd me if I heard the sad News from England, and then told me the Queen was dead, which was the first I heard of it. It seems Capt. Allen arriv'd yesterday at Marblehead, who brought the News, and fill'd the Town with it this day. It seems the Queen died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December, having been sick four days of the Small Pocks. C. Allen was at Coruña about the Groin,<sup>1</sup> when the Pacquet came thether that brought the News of it: Whereupon the Fleet performed their usual Ceremonies, and the Merchants went into Mourning. Mr. Willard preached from Jn<sup>o</sup> 21-21, 22. to prepare men to acquiesce in the Sovereign Disposal of God as to mens honouring of Him in Doing, or Suffering, or both.

April 1, 1695. Joseph speaking about my sending two Frenchmen to prison upon the Act relating to them, said, If this Country stand when I am a Man, I'll drive them all out.

April 1. Three of Watertown came to me and gave an account of their Town-Meeting; which was Wednesday last, but could do nothing: so adjourned to the 28<sup>th</sup> Inst. and then chose Select-Men; Though the Farmers voted with the East-End; yet the Middle out-voted them and have chosen Select-men to their mind, and Capt. Garfield Town-Clerk, in stead of Capt. Prout, who has endeavour'd

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<sup>1</sup> Coruña, or Corunna, a seaport in the north-west corner of Spain, is perhaps best known as the place where Sir John Moore was slain in 1809. By British sailors it is termed "The Groyne," a corruption of the French name, "La Corogne." — Eds.

much to obstruct their proceedings about the New-meeting-house. Parties were so combin'd on either side that 'twas a continued Duel in each, One to One; and Four Score and odd Votes apiece. The Lord give a peacable Settlement to that Church and Town, so as may be most for the advantage of His Interest and Glory.

April 3, 1695. I planted Two Locusts, two Elms at Wheelers pond, and one in Elm-Pasture near the Line over against the Middle-Elm. The middle Locust-Tree at Wheelers pond<sup>1</sup> was set there the last year.

Apr. 5. There is pretty much Thunder and Lightening about break of day. Thunder seem'd to me like Great Guns at first.

Apr. 7. Capt. Hill has a Grandson James baptiz'd.

Tuesday, Apr. 9, 1695. Piam Blower and others from Virginia and Barbados bring a Confirmation of the Queens death: and Report that the French King is dead; and his Gen<sup>l</sup> Luxemburg; that two other duelled for the honour of his place, one fell, and the other went over to the Confederats. Ketch arrived that came from Plimouth the Tenth of February. This day father Daws makes my little Bridge.

Apr. 10. When I rise in the morn I find the Ground and houses covered with Snow. Be it that Lewis the 14<sup>th</sup> be indeed dead &c. yet we may have a sharp, though short winter in New England still. God defend.

Apr. 23. Neighbour Ellis dies.

Apr. 24. We are told from Madera, that one of the

<sup>1</sup> The following extract from the second volume of Boston town records seems to refer to this matter:—

“March 25<sup>th</sup> 1695. Whereas Capt. Samuel Sewall hath been at Charge in severall essays to plant trees at the south end of the Town, for the shading of Wheeler's Pond, therefore it is ordered that the said Sewall and his Heires and none else shall have liberty from time to time to lop the trees so planted, and to cut them down and Dispose of them, he or they planting others and causing them to grow in stead of those cut down.”—Eds.



Mast-Ships is Taken and that Lewis 14 is yet alive. Very wet and Rainy Wether.

Monday, April 29, 1695. The morning is very warm and Sunshiny; in the Afternoon there is Thunder and Lightning, and about 2. P.M. a very extraordinary Storm of Hail, so that the ground was made white with it, as with the blossoms when fallen; 'twas as bigg as pistoll and Musquet Bullets; It broke of the Glass of the new House about 480 Quarrels [Squares] of the Front; of Mr. Sergeant's about as much; Col. Shrimpton, Major General, Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet, New Meetinghouse, Mr. Willard, &c. Mr. Cotton Mather dined with us, and was with me in the new Kitchen when this was; He had just been mentioning that more Ministers Houses than others proportionably had been smitten with Lightning; enquiring what the meaning of God should be in it. Many Hail-Stones broke throw the Glass and flew to the middle of the Room, or farther: People afterward Gazed upon the House to see its Ruins. I got Mr. Mather to pray with us after this awfull Providence; He told God He had broken the brittle part of our house, and prayd that we might be ready for the time when our Clay-Tabernacles should be broken. Twas a sorrowfull thing to me to see the house so far undon again before twas finish'd. It seems at Milton on the one hand, and at Lewis's [see under May 25] on the other, there was no Hail.

I mentiond to Mr. Mather that Monmouth made his discent into England about the time of the Hail in '85, Sum̄er, that much cracked our South-west windows. Col. Archdell, Governour of Carolina<sup>1</sup> comes to Town from Portsmouth this night.

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<sup>1</sup> Carolina, at that time comprising both North and South Carolina, was granted in 1663. In 1669, John Locke drew up a constitution for the Colony, which was abrogated about 1695. At the suggestion of the late Governor, Thomas Smith, the proprietors sent out one of their own number as Gover-

Apr. 30. Col. Archdell waits on the Lieut. Governour in the Council-Chamber just after the breaking up of the Court. Came from London the 10. of January, from Falmouth the 24<sup>th</sup> to Madera, and from thence to Portsmouth in Mr. Olivers Briganteen, and so hether by land. The Queen died the 27. Dec<sup>r</sup>, was laid in State. Parliament ordered Money for the Funeral which was like to be sumptuous. Parliament, Lord Mayor, &c. waited on the King with their addresses of Condolance. News of French King's death was contradicted. Duke Luxembourg dead. Dr. Teñison Archbishop. Has brought no Gazett nor Print. Courtiers and Merchants were in Mourning.

May 1. A vessel arrives from Barbados giving an account of the notice taken there of the Queen's Death in Guns and Colours, by order of the Governour; which with the News from Col. Archdell caused the Lieut. Governour to give order to the Captain of the Castle for firing of Twenty guns about 3. P.M., to take it from the Frigots below; Captains having been spoken with.

I visit Mr. Loring who lies sick of 's Cut-Toe at Pilgrim Simkins. Coming back with Mr. Secretary, Major Walley meets us, and tells us of good News, which was the Escape of Hezekia Miles from the Indians where he had been captive several years; saith they are sick at St. John's. Mr. Hobarts Son Gershom is well at a new Fort

nor, John Archdale. He was a Quaker, and the historians speak of his administration as a wise and happy change from former rulers. He seems to have remained in the Colony but for one or two years. He had visited New England before, in 1664, as agent for Governor Ferdinando Gorges of Maine, who married his sister Mary.

O'Callaghan says that he was elected Member of Parliament in 1698, but, as ne would only affirm, he was not allowed to take his seat. In 1699, we find *Thomas Archdale* in the lists as Member for Chipping Wycomb, county Bucks.

Wheeler (*Hist. North Carolina*) says that Archdale's daughter Anne married Emmanuel Lowe, and has descendants still living in the State.

Archdale published "A new description of the fertile and pleasant Province of Carolina." London, 1707. — Eds.

a days Journey above Nerigawag, Masters name is Nassa-combêwit, a good Master, and Mistress. Master is chief Captain, now Bambazeen is absent. Hezekia got to Saco last Thursday.

May 5, 1695. About 3 hours News comes to Town of the death of Sir William Phips, Feb. 18<sup>th</sup> at which people are generally sad. Lay sick about a week of the new Fever as 'tis called. Cous. Hull says the talk is Mr. Dudley will be Governour. Tis said the King goes over Sea again, and Seven persons are to have the Regency in his absence.

May 6. The mourning Guns are fired at the Castle and Town for the Death of our Governour. Representatives the same as before, chosen this day.

May 8, 1695. I visit my Lady, who takes on heavily for the death of Sir William. Thinks the Lieutenant and Council were not so kind to him as they should have been. Was buried out of Salters Hall.<sup>1</sup> This day, May 8, we have

<sup>1</sup> Considering the space that Sir William Phips occupies in this Journal, it may not be inappropriate to copy the following account of his tomb, given in the "New View of London," 1708, reprinted in N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, IV. 290:—

"At the east end of the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, near the north-east angle, is a pretty, white marble monument, adorned with an urn between two Cupids, the figure of a ship, and also a boat at sea, with persons in the water; these beheld by a winged eye, all done in basso relievo; also seven medals, as that of K. William and Q. Mary; some with Spanish impressions, as the castle, cross-potent, &c., and likewise the figures of a sea-quadrant, cross-staff, &c., and this inscription:—

"Near this place is interred the Body of Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS, Knight; who, in the year 1687, by his great industry, discovered among the rocks near the Banks of Bahama on the north side of Hispaniola, a Spanish plate-ship, which had been under water 44 years, out of which he took in gold and silver to the value of £300,000 sterling; and, with a fidelity equal to his conduct, brought it all to London, where it was divided between himself and the rest of the adventurers: For which great service he was knighted by his then majesty, King James the 2d; and afterward, by the command of his present majesty, and at the request of the principal inhabitants of New-England, he accepted of the government of the Massachusetts, in which he continued to the time of his death; and discharged his trust with that zeal for the interest of his country, and with so little regard to his own private advantage, that



News of the Taking of Seven Vessels by a small French Pickeroon. One is a Briganteen, Mr. Greenwood, Master, out of which had 1000£ Money. Neither of the Frigats is yet got out.

Monday, May 13, 1695. Set out with John Trowbridge for Newbury, visit my Brother by the way; visit Sister Northend: lodge at my Father's.

Tuesday, 14. Goe to the Ferry and meet Mr. Danforth, Cook, Col. Hutchinson, Jn° Hubbard, drink at my Father's, I sup with them at Mrs. White's.

Wednesday, May 15. Set out for Portsmouth, have a Guard of Six men from Newbury. Capt. Smith of Hampton meets us with 12. by Gov<sup>r</sup>. Usher's order, long Arms. At Hampton Major Vaughn and Mr. Waldron's Letter meets us to invite us to their Houses, they being at the Council. Find Mrs. Redford very sick, taken the day before.

Thursday, May 16. Went up the River to Mr. Shaplights and there held the Court just over against Dover. Went down in the night and found Mrs. Redford dead.

Friday, May 17. Drive a Pin in Major Vaughans Grist and fullingmill.<sup>1</sup> Capt. Walbon carries us down to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Usher's Treat; after go to the Fort, and are saluted by the Ordinance at going in, and coming out. Interceded for an Ensign of Hampton then in hold in the Fort, upon which was presently dismissed.

May 18. Din'd with Mr. Penhallow. Go to the funeral of Mrs. Redford.

he justly gained the good esteem and affections of the greatest and best part of the inhabitants of that Colony.

“He died the 18th of February, 1694[-5]. And his lady, to perpetuate his memory, hath caused this monument to be erected.”

“Here are also his arms depicted; *i.e.*, *Sable*, a trefoil slipt, within an orle of eight Mullets, *Argent*.” — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> Repeated instances occur in this Journal of this driving a pin or a nail in a house, barn, or ship. Apparently there was some superstition connected with the ceremony, though we have failed to find mention of it. — Eds.

May 19. Mr. Moodey preaches both parts of the day, in the afternoon partly a funeral Sermon on the suddenness of Mrs. Redford's lamented death. Great Rain in the Afternoon.

May 20. Ride to Newbury. I treat Mr. Danforth, Cook, Hutchinson, Móodey, &c. with Salmon at Capt. Serjeant's. I lodge at Newbury.

May 21. Ride to Ipswich in Company Capt. Sergeant, Mr. Mayo, Plaisted. It seems Cous. Hobart of Hingham was buried this day. Sent Joāna Gerrish home. Lodge at the Widow Apleton's with Major Eps.

May 24. Friday. Walk to Argilla,<sup>1</sup> and visit Madam Symonds, who sits up in her chair, but is weakly.

May 25. In our way home divert to Col. Apleton's, who keeps house by reason of a Sore Legg. The day is very hot, which makes us almost faint by that time we reach Lewis's; there refresh very Comfortably. Got home seasonably and found my family well, except Sarah, blessed be God.

Wednesday, May 29, 1695. Election. Stoughton 71 Danforth 79. Winthrop 74. Pynchon 41. Gedney 74. Cook 69. Hathorn 58. Pike 48. Hutchinson 70. Brown 55. Corwin 70. Foster 64. Russell 66. Sergeant 49. Addington 78. Phillips 76. Perce 69. Sewall 77. Voted but for 18. at first. Col. Saltonstall had 39. as 1693, and was left out.

*Plimouth.* Bradford 57. Lothrop 64. Thomas 59. Saffin 59.

Main[e], Wheelwright 71. Frost 72. Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson 34. in stead of Major Hook, deceased.

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<sup>1</sup> Argilla was the name of an estate formerly belonging to Deputy-Governor Samuel Symonds. In his will (printed in "The Ancestry of Priscilla Baker") he gives his widow £12 annually, to be paid out of his farm called Argilla, also the east end of his dwelling-house at Argilla. Felt's "Ipswich," p. 163, says of Symonds that "his farm at Argilla has been long noted." March 18, 1713-4, Timothy Thornton had one quarter of Argilla in fee. — Eds.

Sagadahock, Lynde 50.

Vagum [at large?], Shrimpton 28. Thacher 32.

Thacher had 46. when voted for Plimouth, yet there lost it.

Voters, Depts. 56, }  
Councillors 26, } 82. Note. Every One of the Council living, was there; but the Lieut. Governour did not vote.

Friday, June 14. The Bill against Incest was passed with the Deputies, four and twenty Nos, and seven and twenty Yeas. The Ministers gave in their Arguments yesterday in Writing; else it had hardly gon, because several have married their wives sisters, and the Deputies thought it hard to part them. 'Twas concluded on the other hand, that not to part them, were to make the Law abortive, by begetting in people a conceipt that such Mariages were not against the Law of God.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Secretary treats the Lieut. Governour, Council, Ministers; Major Townsend and Mr. Bromfield, at James Meers's. Mr. Allen in returning Thanks, mentioned the passing of this Act, and that relating to Ministers.

At night, reading in course in the family the Eleventh of the Revelation, it brought fresh to my mind what I had

<sup>1</sup> As might be inferred from the text, this law (chap. 2 of Acts of 1695-6) placed in the list of forbidden marriages that of a man with his wife's sister or with his wife's niece (either her brother's or sister's daughter). It does not in terms forbid the corresponding marriage of a woman with her husband's brother or nephew.

We have the authority of Ellis Ames, Esq., for the statement that no other statute was passed upon this subject until after the Revolution. Chap. 69 of 1785 was enacted to regulate marriage and divorce, and the above prohibition was then dropped. The law has since remained unchanged, and we have failed to learn that the act of 1785 caused any public discussion. Few indeed of the present generation here have any suspicion that such marriages were ever unlawful or questionable: yet in other countries to-day ecclesiastical scruples continue to maintain the prohibition. In England, where many painful instances have occurred, almost annually a motion in Parliament is made for the repeal of this unjust and absurd law.

— EDS.



said to Mr. Mather a pretty while agoe, that if we could pass the Law against Incest, might help to finish our Testimony.

June 16, 1695. Lord's Day. Mrs. Willard is brought to bed about noon, and her Daughter Eunice baptised. Four Males baptised; Robert, John, John, William. Mother goes to Church in the afternoon, and so is at the Baptisme. Last night were comfortable Showers after much dry wether.

Friday, June 21. My dear Mother Hull tells me of Capt. Daviss Invitation, and bids me to remember to be at the Meeting. Mr. Willard preaches excellently. At home, at prayer, we read the 16. of the Revelation; I spake somthing to the Sixth Vial, but little thought how presently those awfull Words, Behold I come as a Thief! did concern me and my whole family: And then, and at prayer with my Wife in the Chamber, was wofully drowsy and stupid. About one at night, Jane comes up with an unusual Gate, and gives us an account of Mothers Illness, not being able to speak of a considerable time. I went to Capt. Daviss and fetched some Treacle Water and Syrup of Saffron; Dame Ellis made a Cake of Herbs to try to strengthen Mothers Stomach. In the morn Roger Judd is sent to Cambridge for Dr. Oliver, mother chusing to speak with him and no other. When he comes he advises to a Plaister for the Stomach, which is aplied; and a Potion made of Bezar [Bezoar] to be taken in Syrup of Saffron and Treacle water; of which took once or twice. About 8. or 9. I call'd Mr. Willard at her desire, who prays with her. Finding the room free once, and observing her very great weakness; I took the oportunity to thank her for all her Labours of Love to me and mine, and ask'd her pardon of our undutifullness; She, after a while, said, God Pity 'Em; which was the last prayer I heard her make. About six I ask'd if I should call Mr. Willard, (for had said to him that he should come again if he could). As far as I could

perceive, she said, Not so soon. But I called, or sent; yet could not discern any attention to the prayer, her disease had prevail'd so far, and a little before Sunset she expired, to our very surprising Grief and Sorrow. Roger Judd was here about noon, and said, that when some in the next room spake about who should Watch, my dear Mother answer'd, She should need no Watchers, she should be above at Rest.

June 24. About Seven a'clock, my dear Mother is entomb'd. Bearers, Mr. Danforth, Russell, Cooke, Elisha Hutchinson, Addington, Sergeant.

July 7. Gov<sup>r</sup>. Bradstreet is seised again with his old pains.

July 15. I discourse Capt. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Checkly about his taking Sam. to be his Prentice. He seems to incline to it; and in a ma<sup>n</sup>er all I mention it to encourage me. The good Lord direct and prosper.

July 12, 1695. Kept a Day of Prayer in secret Respecting my dear Mother's death; and Sam's being to be placed out, &c.

July 21. Madam Symonds of Ipswich dies.

July 23. Council at Charlestown: Was at Watertown this day Sennight.

July 26, 1695. Poor little Mary falls down into the Cellar of Matthias Smith's house, and cuts her head against the Stones, making a large orifice of more than two inches long; 'twas about 6 post meridiem. The Lord sanctify me this bloody Accident.

July 30, 1695. Mr. Cook and I ride to Cambridge, there with Mr. Justice Danforth to hold the Court.

Judith Shepard of Charlestown is Tried for her Life for firing the house of Mr. Richard Foster; clear'd by the Jury; but bound in a Bond of an hundred pounds to answer for other Crimes at the next Superiour Court and to be of the good Behaviour. Trial held so long that 'twas nine a'clock ere we got out of the Meetinghouse; and then dark and like to rain, so lodg'd at Mr. Danforth's.

July 31. Issued the Court. Came home by Charlestown. Went to the Meeting at Capt. Alden's and invited the Meeting hether this day fortnight.

July 30. Jane sails for Newbury in Benajah Titcomb's Sloop, loosed from the wharf past ten the night before.

Augt. 6, 1695. Mr. Obinson's wife comes to me and complains of her Husband's ill usage of her; kick'd her out of bed last night; lets her have nothing but water to drink, won't let her have Cloths or victuals. This was 2 post meridiem.

Fifth-day, Augt. 8, 1695. About 9. M. little Sarah has a Convulsion Fit; I and Mr. Torrey were sent for to see it. It lasted not long. When all quiet, Mr. Torrey went to Prayer. A little after Lecture, Sarah has another sore Fit. My wife and I take her to bed with us.

Augt. 8, 1695. About six in the Morn. Sarah has another sore Fit in her Mother's arms presently after she was brought down.

Third-day, Augt. 13, 1695. We have a Fast kept in our new Chamber. Mr. Willard begins with Prayer, and preaches from 2 Chron. 34. 27. Mr. Allen prays. P.M. Mr. Bayly begins with prayer, preaches from Luke 1. 50, and then concludes with prayer. Sung the 27 Ps. 7-10. I set Windsor Tune and burst so into Tears that I could scarce continue singing. Mr. Thornton was here, but went away when Mr. Allen was at Prayer. Mr. Cook, and Mr. Addington here, Mr. Sergeant was diverted. Note. Had better have invited all the Council in Town, at least. I appointed this day to ask God's Blessing after the death of my dear Mother, and in particular to bless Sam. with a Master and Calling and bless us in our new house. The Lord pardon and doe for us beyond our hopes, contrary to our Deserts.

Augt. 17, 1695. The Court is Adjourned to the 20<sup>th</sup> of November. A Duel was fought this day upon the Common between Peggy and one Capt. Cole; Lieut. Govern-



our has spoken to Mr. Cook to bind them over to the Sessions.

Augt. 25. Rob<sup>t</sup> Williams the Bell-Ringer, Publisher [Crier] and Grave-digger died this morn. He was suddenly stricken the fifth-day before, just after his ringing the five-a-clock Bell; fell down as essayed to go up his own stairs, and I think so continued speechless till death. Mr. Baily took notice of the Suddenness of it in his prayer. The Flag is out almost all day at the Castle for Pincarton, comes in in the even, brings word that the Lord Bellamont is coming over our Governour in the Unity Frigate; [New] Hampshire to be añexed. Mr. Ives's Son is come over, and several other Passengers.

Third day, Augt. 27, 1695. Went to Dorchester Lecture. Lieut. Governour came to Boston, whom met on the road, yet went on; in his Pue sat Mr. Alford, Mrs. Hutchinson Elisha, Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Nelson, Mrs. Danforth and I. Went to Mrs. Flints, whether came Mr. Weld, Mr. Thacher, Mr. Walter, Mr. Denison, with whom sat down to diñer. Several young Gentlewomen sat down afterward.

Mr. Danforth's Text was Ps. 111. 7. All his Coñandments are Sure. That was, their Doctrine; shew'd that not an iota could fail, but all the Threatenings and Promises firm and binding; therefore ought with aw to keep God's Law.

Augt. 27, 1695. In the morn I had Joseph to Mrs. Kay's to School at Mr. Trott's house.

Sept. 2, 1695. Artillery Training. Dine at George Monk's, invited by Col. Paige; Mr. Moodey and Mr. Chiever there, Addington, Foster.

This day Mr. George Babcock, Ship-Carpenter, falls from a Ship he was helping to build at Charlestown, breaks his Neck and three of 's Ribs, of which he dies. His Brother dyed in the Spring at Milton, by a like fall; which renders it very awfull. George Babcock married Ruth Ruggles Nov. 19. 1691.

Sept. 4, 1695. W<sup>m</sup> Longfellow brings Jane down from Newbury. This day there is a Fast at Cous. Duñers; Mr. Allen preaches in the morn, Mr. Cotton Mather in the Afternoon. Mr. Bayly began with Prayer. Mr. Russel began in the Afternoon, Mr. Moodey concluded. Two last Staves of the 146. Ps. Sung.

Second day, September 9, 1695. Set out for Bristow, with Mr. Danforth and Mr. Cook. Baited at Neponset, din'd at Billenges, where were also Mr. Newton and Mr. Cary; went to Woodcock's, refresh'd there, so to Rehoboth; lodgd at the Bear, Sheriff was there to meet us; Major Generall also lodged there in his way home from New-London.

Third-day, Sept. 10. To Bristow by the Bridge. Had two Actions concerning Land. Sup at Mr. Saffin's. I lodgd at Mr. Wilkins's. Major Church is sick, I visit him; came with Mr. Danforth to Taunton, there din'd; from thence to Bridgewater, visited Mr. Keith. Lodg'd at our Landlord Hayward's, who, by Mr. Danforth's procurement, pray'd with us very well in the evening. Mr. Cook was sick and scarce slept all night.

In the morn, Sept. 12, set out about Sunrise; din'd at Mr. Pain's at Braintrey, got home a little after one of the Clock, and find all well, blessed be God.

Sept. 17, 1695. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet has the remainder of his Goods put on board Mr. Graften; The house being empty, I prevail with him and his Lady to walk to our house, and wish us joy of it. They sat there near an hour with Mrs. Corwin and Wharton. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet drank a glass or two of wine, eat some fruit, took a pipe of Tobacco in the new Hall,<sup>1</sup> and wish'd me joy of the house, and desired our prayers; came to us over the little Stonebridge; went away between 12. and 1. in Madam Rich-

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<sup>1</sup> *Apropos* of the new hall, we may mention that Sewall elsewhere writes that he was married "in what we call the Old Hall; it was then all in one, a very large room." — Eds.

ards's new Coach and horses. About three, the Lieut. Governour, Mr. Secretary, Sergeant and Sewall waited on them at Madam Richards's, to take leave; in the way the Letter met us giving an account of ten men shot at Peñaquid, out of 24. going to get wood: four of whom are dead. Hugh March, George's Son, was killed at the first shot. This was Monday was Señight. This day, Sept. 17, was a great Training at Boston: many Gentlemen and Gentlewomen dine in Tents on the Common. Colonel had a Standard: Great firings most of the day. I should have remembered that Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet this day sent the Halberts, Copies of the Records, and a Loadstone belonging to the Publick, to the Secretary, who caus'd them to be lodg'd at present in the Town-house Chamber; where I saw them when went to write Letters to Capt. March.

Sept. 18. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet sets sail for Salem about Six a'clock in the morning.

This day Mr. Torrey and his wife, Mr. Willard and his wife, and Cous. Quinsey dine with us; 'tis the first time has been at our house with his new wife; was much pleas'd with our painted shutters; in pleasancy said he thought he had been got into Paradise. This day, Sept. 18, Mr. Cook enters the Lists with Col. Paige, and sues for Capt. Keyn's Farm again. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet arriv'd at Salem about 3 P.M.

Sixth-day, Sept. 20. Mr. Borland's Briganteen arrives, 6 weeks from Falmouth, in whom comes Mr. Edward Brattle, Mr. Gouverneur, &c. The Lord Bellamont is made our Governour. Hardly will come over before the Spring. Confederats have had success against Namur, Cassal, &c. Venetians have gained a great Victory over the Turks in the Morea.

Oct. 11, 1695. I received a Letter from Cous. Storke giving an account of the death of my dear Unkle, Mr. Richard Duñer. Meeting at Mr. Serjeants.

Oct. 12. Jn<sup>o</sup> Cunable finishes the Stairs out of the



wooden house to the top of the Brick house. Little Mary grows a little better after very sore illness.

Oct. 7<sup>th</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Brown's family, of Turkey hill, are led captive. All are brought back save one boy that was kill'd; knock'd the rest on the head, save an infant.

Oct. 14, 1695. I visit Mrs. Saunderson and pray God to grant her Mercy and Grace to help in time of need.

Oct. 15. She dies. Oct. 17. Buried, so that house is emptied of its ancient Inhabitants. Sewall, Dūmer, Frary, Butler, Hill, Maryon, bearers. Lord teach me to abide in, and to go out of the world. Mr. Moodey at the Funeral.

Seventh-day, Oct. 19, 1695. Pray'd for God's Favour towards Sam. That might duely wait on Christ at his Table to morrow &c., with fasting.

Oct. 23, 1695. My dear Mother visits us; rides behind Joseph Gerrish from Rowley this day.

Oct. 26. Mr. Banistar watches, and calls me about break of day to see the Comet, which seems to point from East to West.

Copy of a Letter to Capt. Frary, Dec. 12, '95.

SIR, These are to entreat you by all means, to have No more to doe with this Oath, at least by any written Explication; it will doe you no good one way, and will do you hurt the other. Hose 14. 8. I am heartily sorry for the advantage that is against you, and truly desirous of your freedom; which makes me the more bold in thus writing. I presume you have Mr. Willard's advice, as to the properest method whereby to disentangle your self. Heartily praying God to preserve you and me to his heavenly Kingdom, where together we may tryumph over all our sins and enemies, I take leave, who am,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged friend,

See Febr. 4, 9<sup>g</sup>.

S. S.

Whereas there is lately printed and published a Pamphlet in Quarto, containing Two hundred and Sixty pages, entituled, *Truth held forth and maintained &c. by Thomas Maule. Printed in the year 1695.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Maule, whom Hawthorne has turned to a weird use in his romance of the "House of Seven Gables," had made himself obnoxious to

Which is stuff'd with many notorious and pernicious Lies and Scandals, not only against particular and privat persons, but also against the Government, Churches, and Ministry; And against those Worthies who first followed Christ into these uttermost ends of the Earth; As if they had therein loosed themselves from His Yoke, and shaken off his Burden: As also many corrupt Expressions in point of Doctrine, perverting the Scriptures, and subverting the True Christian Religion.

The Representatives of this His Majesties Province humbly pray, that the Premises may be enquired into, and some suitable Testimony born against the author and his Evil Work.

Dec. 14<sup>th</sup> 1695. Read and Voted in the house of Representatives, and pass'd in the affirmative, and sent up to the honorable Lieut. Governour and Council for a Concurrence.

NEHEMIAH JEWETT,

Speaker.

*Vera Copia* S. S.

Adjourned to the 26<sup>th</sup> of February.

The Lieut. Governour, before the Adjournment, sent for the Deputies in, and told them He could not pass the Bill for the Tax, without His Majesty was made the Grantee; and could not pass an Act to conform the precept to that against Non-Residents; and gave them this time to con-

the authorities by protesting against the severities practised towards the Quakers. He came to this country when he was twelve years old, having been born in England in 1645, and was a trader in Salem. Previous to the proceedings referred to by Sewall, Maule had been sentenced by the County Court to be whipped ten stripes for saying that Mr. Higginson, the minister, "preached lies, and that his instruction was the doctrine of devils." The man with whom he then lodged was fined for entertaining him. He says in his book that he had been five times imprisoned, thrice distrained of his goods, and thrice whipped.

In 1694 he published the book, printed in New York, to which Sewall refers, and for which he was indicted and arraigned before the Superior Court, at Salem, Nov. 9, 1696. The judges were Danforth, Cooke, and Sewall. Anthony Checkley was Attorney-General. As will be seen farther on, Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, whom Dudley had made an attorney, acted as Maule's legal adviser. Maule proved himself a keen pleader on his own behalf, and the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." He afterwards put forth another publication, "Persecutors Mauled with their own Weapons." He died in 1724. A very full sketch of the author and of his experiences is given by Mr. A. C. Goodell, in "Collections of Essex Institute," Vol. III. — Eds.

sider of it. Capt. Bond went home from Court very sick, and then Mr. Jewett was chosen Speaker in his room.

Sabbath, December 15. Capt. Bond dies — 18<sup>th</sup> is buried.

Dec. 19. Thomas Maule, Shopkeeper of Salem, is brought before the Council to answer for his printing and publishing a pamphlet quarto, 260. pages, entitled Truth held forth and maintained, owns the book, but will not own all till sees his Copy which is at N. York with — Bradford who printed it. Saith he writt to the Governour of New York before he could get it printed. Book is order'd to be burnt, being stuff'd with notorious Lyes and Scandals, and he Recognises to answer at next Court of Assize and General Goal Delivery to be held for the County of Essex. He acknowledg'd that what was written concerning the circumstance of Major General Athertons death, was a mistake: p. 112, 113. was chiefly insisted on against him; which believe was a surprize to him, he expecting to be examined in some point of Religion, as should seem by his bringing his Bible under his Arm.

I was with Dame Walker, and Sam. came to call me to take T. Maule's Recognisance; I told her Sam. was there: she pray'd God to bless him, and to bless all my posterity.

Dec. 20. Dame Walker is very restless; said she was past all food now, had quite lost her Appetite. Said, why does living man complain, man for the punishment of his Sin? Justified God, and pray'd Him to help her, and enable her to bear what He laid on her; spoke how hard twas to comply with that Text, Thy will be done; we would fain have our own Wills; but God could of unwilling make us willing. Last night she pray'd that God would take her to Himself. When I took leave this morn, she Thank'd me for all my Visits, and acknowledged the kindness of me and my family. After I was gon, in the Afternoon, Dec. 20. Mehetabel sais she heard her Grand-



mother say, How long Lord, how long? Come Lord Jesus! Mehetabel asked what she said to her, she reply'd, How good is God.

Seventh day, Dec. 21. Between 8. and 9. I went to see Dame Walker, and found her very weak and much alter'd. Mehetabel told her I was there, she said with a low voice, I thank him. Afterward Mehetabel ask'd her if should pray, she said, I stand in need. Twas the last day of the Week, and so I went to prayer, insisting on God's being a present help in time of need, and pray'd that God would strengthen her Faith, that so she might enter into his Rest. I ask'd her if she heard, her Answer was, I thank God, I did. I went home to Prayer, Intending after that to go to Mr. Willard to pray him to give her one Lift more heaven-ward. But before I could get away, a Girl came ruñing to call me. And by that time I could get thether, the Good woman had expired, or was just expiring, being about Ten of the clock in the morning. God fulfilled his good Word in her and kept her Leaf from withering.

She had an odd Concept all the last night of her life, that she was in Travail; and though she ceas'd groaning and gave attention to me when at prayer; yet one of the last words I heard her say, was, My child is dead within me; which were indeed some of the very last.

Second-day, Dec. 23, 1695. Dame Walker is buried. Bearers, Mr. Ezek. Chiever, Capt. Theophilus Frary, Capt. James Hill, William Daws *pater*, Jn<sup>o</sup> Maryon *pater*, Deacon Joseph Bridgham, beside a 2<sup>d</sup> set of Bearers; Odlin, Wheeler, Butcher, Jn<sup>o</sup> Maryon *fil.*, Joseph Brisco. Major General Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Addington, Sewall were there, of the Council; Mr. Willard, Mr. Allen, Mr. Oakes, Physician, &c. Women, Mrs. Sergeant, Mrs. Willard, Mrs. Noyes, Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Pierson, my Daughters, *cum multis alijs*; very comfortable Wether over head, something dirty under foot. Note.

After Sam. came home, he was exceedingly affected, shed many Tears, and is even overwhelmed with Sorrow: The Lord grant that the removal of one of his best friends may put him upon seeking unto God betimes and making Him his Hiding Place. Was buried just about Sun-set.

Secund day, Jan. 6<sup>th</sup> 1695. Kept a Day of Fasting with Prayer for the Conversion of my Son, and his settlement in a Trade that might be good for Soul and body. *Uxor prægnans est.* Governour's expected Arrival, which will bring great changes. Suply for the South-Church. Three Courts sit to morrow. Lord's Supper the next Sabbath-day. Mr. Moodey's Entanglements, Watertown. Church of England. New England. My Hair. Read Epistles to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews. Sung the 143, 51, and 130. Psalms. I had hope that seeing God pardon'd all Israel's Iniquities, He would pardon mine, as being part of Israel.

Seventh-day, Jan. 4<sup>th</sup>. The Revd. Mr. Edward Bulkly, of Concord, dies at Chelmsford in a good old Age; is buried at Concord.

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>. Deacon Henry Allen dies. Col. Gedney's wife is dead within this week.

Jan. 8<sup>th</sup>. Unkle Quinsey lodg'd here last night, having received a Letter from Mr. Gookin to desire him, agrees to bind Daniel Gookin to Cous. Dūmer for 8 years from the 10<sup>th</sup> of March next. Not being able to stay, desires me to see it effected. Bulkly and Edmund Quinsey dine with us.

Jan. 11. 1695. I write a Letter to Mr. Zech. Walker acquainting him with his Mother's death and Funeral; that some Recompence ought to be made to Mehetabel and Mary for their faithfull and Laborious Attendance on their Grandmother.<sup>1</sup> Altho' I reckon my self abundantly

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<sup>1</sup> Savage records this Mrs. Walker as the widow of the Robert Walker already mentioned, p. 47, *ante*. The son Zechariah was minister at Stratford, Conn. — EDS.

satisfied for any little Service I did or could doe for our dear friend, by her desireable Company and hartly Thanks; yet I earnestly desire your Prayers, that my aged Father and Mother may live and die with such like Faith and frame of Spirit as this our Sarah did. I delivered this Letter to be given to the Post on Second day morning, Jan. 13, 169 $\frac{5}{6}$ .

About 10. a'clock Jan. 13, 169 $\frac{5}{6}$ . Cous. Duñer came to invite me to goe along with him to Cambridge to visit Mr. Danforth. About Noon we set out, and at Mr. Danforth's Gate, meet with Mr. N. Hobart and Trowbridge; Mr. Danforth made us dine there; then after awhile, Mr. Hobart was called in to Pray, which he did excellently, Mr. Morton being by, who came with us from the Colledge. Note. When were there at first, Mr. Danforth bad me look on the Cup-board's head for a book; I told him I saw there a Law-book, Wingate on the Common Law. He said he would lend it me, I should speak to Amsden to call for it; and if he died, he would give it me. Again when took leave after prayer, He said he lent me that Book not to wrap up but to read, and if misliked it, should tell him of it. By that time Cous. and I could get to the Ferry twas quite dark. Capt. Hunting told us the River was full of Ice and no getting over. But I went to Sheaf and he hallowed over Jn<sup>o</sup> Russell again. Boat came to Ballard's Wharf below the lodg'd Ice, from whence had a very comfortable Passage over with Madam Foxcroft.

When I came in, past 7. at night, my wife met me in the Entry and told me Betty had surprised them. I was surprised with the abruptness of the Relation. It seems Betty Sewall had given some signs of dejection and sorrow; but a little after diñer she burst out into an amazing cry, which caus'd all the family to cry too; Her Mother ask'd the reason; she gave none; at last said she was afraid she should goe to Hell, her Sins were not pardon'd. She was first wounded by my reading a Sermon



of Mr. Norton's, about the 5<sup>th</sup> of Jan. Text Jn<sup>o</sup> 7. 34. Ye shall seek me and shall not find me. And those words in the Sermon, Jn<sup>o</sup> 8. 21. Ye shall seek me and shall die in your sins, ran in her mind, and terrified her greatly. And staying at home Jan. 12. she read out of Mr. Cotton Mather — Why hath Satan filled thy heart, which increas'd her Fear. Her Mother ask'd her whether she pray'd. She answer'd, Yes; but feared her prayers were not heard because her Sins not pardon'd. Mr. Willard though sent for timelyer, yet not being told of the message, till bruised Dinsdals [?] was given him; He came not till after I came home. He discoursed with Betty who could not give a distinct account, but was confused as his phrase was, and as had experienced in himself. Mr. Willard pray'd excellently. The Lord bring Light and Comfort out of this dark and dreadful Cloud, and Grant that Christ's being formed in my dear child, may be the issue of these painfull pangs.

Feb. 1. 1694. Sam. Haugh came to speak about Frank's burial: I sent Atherton away before and spake to Sam as to his Mistress' Maid being with child, and that she Laid it to him, and told him if she were with child by him, it concerned him seriously to consider what were best to be done; and that a Father was obliged to look after Mother and child. Christ would one day call him to an account and demand of him what was become of the child: and if [he] married not the woman, he would always keep at a distance from those whose temporal and spiritual good he was bound to promote to the uttermost of his power. Could not discern that any impression was made on him. I remark'd to him the unsuitableness of his frame under a business of so great and solemn Concern.

Third-Day. Feb. 4. Mr. Willard, Major Walley, Capt. Frary and Seth Perry *pater*, met here about the difference between said Frary and Perry. Capt. Frary seems now again to justifie his Oath, and what he did before was out

of Surprize. Major Walley desired Mr. Eliot and Holyoke to meet on Lecture day, Feb. 6. which they did, and sent for Mr. Perry. This day Sennight is assigned him to bring in his account.

Sixth-day, Feb. 7<sup>th</sup>. Mrs. Alden is buried. Bearers were Mr. Chiever, Capt. Hill, Capt. Williams, Mr. Walley, Mr. Ballentine.

Capt. Frary was pass'd by, though there, which several took notice of. Note. Last night Sam. could not sleep because of my Brother's speaking to him of removing to some other place, mentioning Mr. Usher's. I put him to get up a little wood, and he even fainted, at which Brother was much startled, and advis'd to remove him forthwith and place him somewhere else, or send him to Salem and he would doe the best he could for him. Since, I have express'd doubtfullness to Sam. as to his staying there.

He mention'd to me Mr. Wadsworth's Sermon against Idleness, which was an Affliction to him. He said his was an idle Calling, and that he did more at home than there, take one day with another. And he mention'd Mr. Stoddard's words to me, that should place him with a good Master, and where had fullness of Employment. It seems Sam. overheard him, and now alleged these words against his being where he was because of his idleness. Mention'd also the difficulty of the imployment by reason of the numerousness of Goods and hard to distinguish them, many not being marked; whereas Books, the price of them was set down, and so could sell them readily. I spake to Capt. Checkly again and again, and he gave me no encouragement that his being there would be to Sam's profit; and Mrs. Checkly always discouraging.

Mr. Willard's Sermon from those Words, What doest thou here Elijah? was an Occasion to hasten the Removal.

Feb. 10. Secund-day. I went to Mr. Willard to ask whether had best keep him at home to day. He said,

No: but tell Capt. Checkly first; but when I came back, Sam was weeping and much discompos'd, and loth to goe because it was a little later than usual, so I thought twas hardly fit for him to go in that Case, and went to Capt. Checkly and told him how it was, and thank'd him for his kindness to Sam. Capt. Checkly desired Sam. might come to their house and not be strange there, for which I thank'd him very kindly. He presented his Service to my wife, and I to his who was in her Chamber. Capt. Checkly gave me Sam's Copy-book that lay in a drawer.

Just before I got thether, I met Mr. Grafford who told me that Mumford said I was a knave. The good Lord give me Truth in the inward parts, and finally give Rest unto my dear Son, and put him into some Calling wherein He will accept of him to Serve Him.

Feb. 12. 169 $\frac{5}{8}$ . I rode to Brooklin with one Ems, a Carpenter, to view the widow Bairsto's house, in order to repairing or adding to it. From thence to G. Bairsto's agen, to Devotions, to treat with him about a piece of ground to sell it me and issue the Controversy about a way. From thence to Cambridge, to Mr. Wadsworth's Chamber, where found Gov<sup>r</sup> Usher, Mr. Secretary, &c. with them came home, got to Mr. Allen's by 4. P. M. Supp'd. Sung two Staves of the 132<sup>d</sup> Ps. begin at the 13<sup>th</sup> verse. Went to the Meeting at Mrs. Noyes's.

Sabbath, Feb. 16. 169 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Mr. Emmerson preaches twice in the new Meetinghouse at Watertown, which is the first time. Capt. Checkly's Son Samuel is baptized with us. I was very sorrowfull by reason of the unsettledness of my Samuel.

Feb. 22. 169 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Betty comes into me almost as soon as I was up and tells me the disquiet she had when waked; told me was afraid should go to Hell, was like Spira, not Elected. Ask'd her what I should pray for, she said, that God would pardon her Sin and give her a new heart. I answer'd her Fears as well as I could, and pray'd with



many Tears on either part; hope God heard us. I gave her solemnly to God.

Feb. 26. 169 $\frac{5}{8}$ . I pray'd with Sam. alone, that God would direct our way as to a Calling for him.

It seems John Cornish essay'd yesterday to goe to carry Cloth to the fulling-mill, and perished in the Storm; this day was brought frozen to Town, a very sad spectacle.

By reason of the vehemency of the Storm yesterday, but ten Deputies assemble, so that the Lieut. Governour questions whether the Court be not fallen, because 40. Constitute a House.

Fifth-day, 27<sup>th</sup>. 32 Deputies a $\bar{p}$ pear.

Sixth-day. Have fourty or upward. Chuse Major Townsend Speaker. Lieut-Governour was much disturb'd as fearing the Court could not legally be held, because was not that appearance the first and second day as the Law præscribes.

Sabbath, Apr. 12, 1696. About 8 m. it begins to snow; by noon the houses and ground were covered, and at 5 P.M. I saw an Isicle seven inches long. This new Snow was plentifully to be seen on the Ground for about three days space.

Fifth-day, Apr. 23, 1696. News is brought of several of our men killed at Tartooda [Tortuga], and Six Vessels Taken.

Mr. Daniel Oliver marries Mrs. Elisabeth Belchar.

Apr. 24. Lydia Moodey visits me, and tells me that Mr. Phillips of Rowley dyed the last Wednesday, the same morn we read — The prophets do they live for ever? in Zech. 1. The Lord help me to redeem the time.

Sabbath, May 3, 1696. Betty can hardly read her chapter for weeping; tells me she is afraid she is gon back, does not taste that sweetness in reading the Word which once she did; fears that what was once upon her is worn off. I said what I could to her, and in the evening pray'd with her alone.

Fifth-day, May 7, 1696. Col. Shrimpton marries his Son to his wife's Sisters daughter, Elisabeth Richardson.<sup>1</sup> All of the Council in Town were invited to the Wedding, and many others. Only I was not spoken to. As I was glad not to be there because the lawfullness of the intermarrying of Cousin-Germans is doubted; so it grieves me to be taken up in the Lips of Talkers, and to be in such a Condition that Col. Shrimpton shall be under a temptation in defence of Himself, to wound me; if any should hapen to say, Why was not such a one here? The Lord help me not to do, or neglect any thing that should prevent the dwelling of brethren together in unity. And, Oh most bountifull and Gracious God, who givest liberally and upbraidest not, admit me humbly to bespeak an Invitation to the Marriage of the Lamb, and let thy Grace with me and in me be sufficient for me in making my self Ready. And out of thy Infinite and Unaccountable Compassions, place me among those who shall not be left; but shall be accepted by Thee here, and Taken into Glory hereafter. Though I am beyond Conception Vile, who may say unto Thee, What doest thou? Thou canst justify thy self in thy proceedings. And O, Lord God forgive all my unsuitable deportment at thy Table the last Sabbath-Day, that Wedding Day; and if ever I be again invited (Invite me once again) help me entirely to give my self to thy Son as to my most endeared Lord and Husband. And let my dear Wife and all my children, partake in this priviledge, and that not as Umbrâs, but on their own account.

May 11<sup>th</sup> 1696. Joseph falls down and breaks his forehead so as bleeds pretty much.

May 11<sup>th</sup> 1696. Town-Meeting to chuse Assembly-men,

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<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information about the Shrimptons and their connections is given in General Sumner's History of East Boston. It may be noticed that Mrs. Shrimpton married, thirdly, Simeon Stoddard; and her niece, wife of Samuel Shrimpton, Jr., married, secondly, David Stoddard, son of Simeon: thus in two families successively maintaining the same relationship to each other. — Eds.

134. there ; Mr. Eyre had 88. Major Townsend 85. Capt. Byfield 82. Mr. Oliver 74. Mr. Tho. Brattle had 67. Left out Mr. Bromfield, Thornton, Frary.

May 12, 1696. Cous. Duñer, Mr. Eyre, Bromfield, went with me to Mr. Increase Mather and acknowledged that his Preaching the Lecture once or twice was very pleasing to us, and that we were thankfull for it, and desired more ; that He would please to preach in course, as being as diffusive a way of doing good, as any in our Little Israel. He treated us with Respect and some Encouragement, I hope.

Fourth-day, May 13, 1696. Mr. Willard, Capt. Wyllys, Capt. Frary, and Mr. Sheaf met at my house about the difference between said Frary and Mr. Perry ; Wyllys, Sheaf and I told him plainly that it had been well the matter had been issued by their mutual Confession to each other at their privat Meeting, as was once intended. He persisted and said he knew certainly that what he had sworn was true ; I told him the less was said of that nature, the better twould be, it was so long agoe ; and if Mr. Eliot was possess'd, Mrs. Eliot his Mother must be his Tenant ; whereas the father's Will made him her Servant, and nature too, he being under age ; and the Scripture saith the Heir under age differs little from a Servant.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> We have not been able to explain this matter satisfactorily, but we surmise that it related in some way to lands. Theophilus Frary married the sister of Captain Jacob Eliot ; and the widow and children of the latter were then alive. Eliot died intestate, but the children divided the lands by agreement, in Suff. Wills, lib. 14, f. 396. Frary was guardian of the youngest son, Benjamin. Aug. 27, 1696 (Suff. Deeds, lib. 17, f. 349) Joseph Eliot, as oldest son of Jacob Eliot, deceased, released to Seth Perry all his interest in said Perry's messuage lying at the southerly end of the town between lands of Captain Ephraim Savage and of Samuel Veazy.

These lands were all on the south side of Boylston Street, between Washington and Tremont Streets. We have found no deed of any earlier Eliot to Perry or Veazy, and we presume that these lots, which were clearly part of the original Eliot lot, had been sold without a deed recorded. Hence we suspect at this time there was some question about title, and finally a release from the oldest heir, Joseph Eliot. — Eds.



May 18. By reason of the Major General's illness, I am forced to go to Ipswich Court; and being to go, my wife desir'd me to go on to Newbury; I went with Brother on Wednesday night. Visited Father, Mother, Friends, return'd to Salem, got thether about Nine. Supp'd well with the Fish bought out of Wenham Pond. Between eleven and noon, Tho. Messenger comes in, and brings me the amazing news of my Wive's hard Time and my Son's being Still-born. We get up our Horses from the Ship, and set out by Starlight about 12, yet the Bells rung for five before we got over the Ferry. Found my wife as well as usually; but I was grievously stung to find a sweet desirable Son dead, who had none of my help to succour him and save his Life. The Lord pardon all my Sin, and Wandering and Neglect, and sanctify to me this singular Affliction. These Tears I weep over my abortive Son.

*Causa parata mihi est, et vitæ, et mortis, ibidem;*

*In tredecim, Solus denegor, ire foras,*

*sanet*

*Spes tamen hæc maneat, stimulante dolore, parentes,*

*Ad memet Jesus introijsse potest.*

Fourth day, May 27, 1696. Election. Rainy day, which wet the Troops that waited on the Lieut. Governour to Town. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches. Powring out Water at Mispah, the Text.

Votes.—Stoughton 60—Danforth 65—Pynchon 61—Russel 55—Gedney 69—Winthrop 58—Hathorn 62—Hutchinson Elisha 79—Sewall 70—Addington 71—Cook 72—Brown 55—Phillips 58—Corwin 46—Shrimpton 57—Foster 62—Perce 53—Sergeant 45. Major Pike had 32, so Col. Shrimpton comes in his room.

Plimouth—Bradford 65—Lothrop 67—Thomas 66—Thacher 41.

Main[e]—E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Frost, Wheelwright, votes so unanimous that they were not parted.

Sagadahoc — Joseph Lynde 41. Note. Mr. Tho. Brattle had 21.

At Large. Vagum,<sup>1</sup> Walley, 39. Saffin 39. Note. Capt. John Apleton had 26. I have fallen 7 since last year; the Lord advance me in real worth, and his esteem.

May 28. Our two old Nurses got my Wife on the Pallat-Bed, which much discomposed her, put her in great pain, and all in great fear. Grows better by morn.

May 29. Sabbath, May 31, 1696.

Mr. Willard is so faint with his Flux, that is not able to come abroad, and so there is a disappointment of the Lord's Supper, which should otherwise have been celebrated this day. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches, exhorts us to examine our selves, whether we were prepared for that Ordinance. And said that Humiliation for the disappointment, and mourning after Christ, God might make as profitable to us as the Ordinance.

May 30. Post brings from New-York a confirmation of the News about the Plot,<sup>2</sup> and a printed Proclamation for the Thanksgiving in England: It seems the Governour has a Packet.

Second-day, June 1, 1696. Mr. Wigglesworth preaches the Artillery sermon, from Ephes. 6, 11. Put on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil. In the Applications, said 'twas necessary we should doe so by reason of the evil of the Times or else of Popery, or something as bad as Popery should come to be set up. What should we doe? Mentioned Rev. 16, 15, said the Garments there and Armour in the Text were the same. About Dinner Time the Guns were fired at the Castle and Battery for joy that the Plot was discovered.

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<sup>1</sup> This word "vagum" evidently is used for "at large." Another example occurs on p. 407, *ante*. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> See Macaulay's History, Chapter XXI. — Eds.

June 11, 1696. I strove with my might that in stead of Tuesday, Thursday, and Satterday in every Week, it might be said, Third, fifth and seventh day in every week: but could not prevail, hardly one in the Council would secund me, and many spake against it very earnestly; although I asked not to have it chang'd in the Fairs. Some said twas the speech of the English Nation; mend it in the Fasts; mend it every where or no where, others said persons would scarce know what days were intended; and in England would call us Quakers. I urg'd that the Week only, of all parcells of time, was of Divine Institution, erected by God as a monumental pillar for a memorial of the Creation perfected in so many distinct days.

June 19. News is brought to Town of Cap<sup>t</sup> Berries being slain.

June 20<sup>th</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Veisy is bound over for plowing on the day of Thanksgiving &c. News comes that the embargo is kept strictly in England.

*Legendum.*

At Edinburg Oct<sup>r</sup> 27, 1695, in the Colledge, it being the Sabbath, and their Sacrament day, One Mr. John Moncrife, preaching on that Text, Jer. 3, 22, Return you backsliding children, and I will heal your back-slidings: Behold we come unto Thee for thou art the Lord our God, — Between the hours of 10 and 11, there came such a down-powring of the spirit of God on the whole Congregation (supposed to be 3 or 4000), that they all cried out, not being able to contain themselves: So that the Minister could not be heard; but was forced to give over preaching to the people; and sung a Psalm to compose them. A person present adds, that he and 100. more never saw Heaven on Earth before, being like Peter on the Mount, or Jacob in Bethel, or Paul in a Rapture. For the Lord came down with the Shout of a King among them, so that they could have been content to have built



Tabernacles there; which has dash'd the Jacobite party more than all the Kings forces could doe.

From London by the ships that arrived July 12, 1696.

July 12, 1696. By reason of fire on Mrs. Phillips stone house over against the Town house, the morn. Exercise was tumultuously interrupted, both at the old meeting-house and ours.

The North [Church] who had no impression from this, were much disturbed by the Alarm from the Castle, which a man rashly told them of as were celebrating the Lds Su<sup>per</sup>. About One the Drums beat throw the Town, all goe into Arms. Nantasket Beacon began. Had order it seems on the sight of 2 great ships to fire it, because of the 2 who lately took Capt. Paxton. In the Afternoon some went to Meeting; ab<sup>t</sup> 30. men in all at ours. North met not till ab<sup>t</sup> 5 P.M. when our exercise was over; went to the Townhouse and after a while P [*per*] Mr. Whittingham rec'd the Packet which makes void many of our Laws; viz. Courts, Colledge, Habeas Corpus, Forms of Writts &c. and Confirms many others.<sup>1</sup>

July, 23. In the Evening were much startled by a Letter from Gov<sup>r</sup> Usher, of many ships seen off and their Province in Arms upon it. Lt. Gov<sup>r</sup> came in his Charet to my house, and sent for the Council. Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>, Mr. Cook, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Foster, Serjeant, Maj<sup>r</sup> Walley came, Maj<sup>r</sup> Townsend also sent for and came: After a while, the Captain of the Castle comes in, and informs us

<sup>1</sup> By the new Charter, all "orders, laws, statutes and ordinances" made by the General Court, were required to have the written consent of the Governor; they were then to be transmitted by the first opportunity for the royal approval. If rejected within the space of three years after they were presented to the Privy Council, they became void; but a failure to reject within that time was equivalent to a confirmation.

In preparing the admirable edition of the Province Laws, edited by Messrs. A. C. Goodell, Jr., and Ellis Ames, now in course of publication, recourse has been had to the records of the English Government, and the history of the rejected acts is carefully given. — Eds.

that twas the Mast-Fleet from Engl'd, so were comfortably dismiss'd between 9 and 10 of the Clock.

July 26. We hear that Mr. Bullivant and Mr. Myles [Rector of Kings Chapel] are come.<sup>1</sup>

27<sup>th</sup> At the Council the Lt. Gov<sup>r</sup> reads the Letters that give notice from the Lords<sup>2</sup> of a French Squadron intending for America: they will afford us what Assistance they can under the present Circumstance of Affairs. Reads also Mr. Blathwayts Letter recomēding the subscribing the Association<sup>3</sup> by all in publick place and Trust, with one drawn for that purpose. This day also receiv'd an Express from Col. Pynchon, of Count Frontenac's coming ag<sup>t</sup> the 5 Nations, or Albany, or N. E., or all, with 2000 French and 1000 Indians: Casteen with 4 or 500 to hold us in play the mean while. The wind coming North last night ships arrive at Nantasket this morn. Mr. Myles and Bullivant come to Town.

July 26. Mr. Veisy preach'd at the Ch. of Engl'd; had many Auditors.<sup>4</sup> He was spoken to to preach for

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Benjamin Bullivant was one of Andros's partisans, and was imprisoned at the Revolution. Hutchinson (Hist. ii. 113) records a story about him and Governor Bellomont. Bullivant was in Northampton, Eng., in 1711, when he wrote a letter to John Dunton, published in Dunton's Letters (Prince Soc. Pub.), p. 94, 95. — EDS.

<sup>2</sup> Commissioners composing the Board of Trade and Plantations, which was revived by William III. in December, 1695. — EDS.

<sup>3</sup> After the Assassination Plot, "an Association abjuring the title of James, and pledging the subscribers to revenge the King's death . . . was generally signed by both Houses of Parliament, and throughout the kingdom." Hallam, Const. Hist., Chap. XV. — EDS.

<sup>4</sup> Savage records Rev. William Veazie, H. C. 1693, also A.M. at Oxford, as being an Episcopal minister at New York. He regards this William, and also John (H. C. 1700), hereinafter mentioned, as grandsons of William V., of Braintree. If so, they were sons either of Solomon or William, Jr., as the other son of William, Sen., was Captain Samuel, of Boston, who died *s. p.* Rev. William Veazie, born in Braintree, in 1674, after his graduating at Harvard, studied theology with the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of King's Chapel. He was one of the first of the young men referred to by President Mather at the ordination of Mr. Wadsworth, of the First Church, as noticed by Sewall on p. 432, following, "who had apostatised from New

Mr. Willard; but am told this will procure him a discharge.

Third day Augt 4. Pēmaquid Fort is sūmond by the French: the two ships which took the Newport Gally, and said Gally; besides many hundreds by Land.

Fourth day Augt<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> sūmond them again, and for fear of their Guns, Bombs and numbers, Capt Chub surrendered, and then they blew up the Fort. This News came to Town Augt<sup>t</sup> 10. Capt. Paxton brought it; just after publishing the Act<sup>1</sup> referring to Navigation. Fourth-day Augt. 12, 1696. Mr. Melyen, upon a slight occasion, spoke to me very smartly about the Salem Witchcraft: in discourse he said, if a man should take Beacon hill on 's back, carry it away; and then bring it and set it in its place again, he should not make any thing of that.<sup>2</sup>

Seventh-day, Augt<sup>t</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Bro<sup>r</sup> St. Sewall comes to Town; Gets an order to Col. Hathorne for erecting a Beacon on Pigeon hill on Cape-Anne, and for pressing 20. men at Marble-head. This day vessels arrive from Barbados, bring news of 10. great ships at Petit Quavers, of between 60 and 90 Guns. Mr. Williams, the physician, and his wife are both dead. Mrs. Hatch and her children in Tears for the death of her husband, which was brought to her about an hour by Sun. We are in pain for Saco fort. Guns were heard thrice on fifth day all day long. One Peters

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England principles, contrary to the Light of their education," by conforming to the English Church. He went to England for orders in the spring of 1697. He became the first Rector of Trinity Church, New York; and, in 1712, was appointed by the Bishop of London as his Commissary. His being "spoken to to preach for Mr. Willard," before he had taken orders, was probably in compliment to his antecedents, while, by complying, he might have perilled his Episcopal standing. — Eds.

<sup>1</sup> Probably St. 7 and 8 William III. Chap. 22. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Probably alluding to the case of the Rev. George Burroughs, whose "preternatural strength" came in as evidence against him on his trial and condemnation for witchcraft. — Eds.



and Hoyt scalp'd at Andover this week; were not shot, but knock'd on the head.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 24. Betty rides to Salem, to sojourn there awhile: Sam carries Joa<sup>n</sup>a Gerrish to Newbury.

7<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Little Mehetabel Fifield dies, being about 8 weeks old.

Sept<sup>t</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Jane sets sail for Newbury with little Sarah; supōse got thether the next day.

Sept<sup>t</sup> 8. Mr. Benj<sup>a</sup> Wadsworth is ordain'd pastor of the first Church. Mr. Allin gave the charge, Mr. I. Mather gave the Right Hand of Fellowship: Spake notably of some young men who had apostatized from New England principles, contrary to the Light of their education: was glad that he [Mr. Wadsworth] was of another spirit. Mr. Willard was one who joined in laying on of hands.

Sept<sup>t</sup> 9. Purchase Capen had been gu<sup>n</sup>ing, or shot a fowl by the by as was at work: charg'd his Gun which others knew not of, laid it down as was about to go home at night; a Lad took it up in sport and held it out, it went off and killed the Owner.

Sept<sup>t</sup> 10. Mr. Walter preaches the Lecture, made a very good sermon. The fear of the Lord is to hate Evil.

Letter. Mrs. Martha Oakes.<sup>1</sup> Not finding oportunity to speak with you at your house, nor at my own, I write, to persuade you to be sensible that your striking your daughter-in-law before me, in my house, is not justifiable: though twas but a small blow, twas not a small fault: especially

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<sup>1</sup> It may be presumed that this was Martha, wife of Dr. Thomas Oakes, of Boston, brother of President Urian Oakes, of Harvard. Savage mentions only the wife's Christian name, without giving her family name. Oakes had been agent to England, and possibly may have married there. The letter seems to be addressed to some one not of New England birth, and possibly the term "daughter-in-law" may be used, as it often is, for "step-daughter." — Eds.

considering your promise to refrain from speech it self; or at least any that might give disturbance. As for New England, It is a cleaner Country than ever you were in before, and, therefore, with disdain to term it *filthy*, is a sort of Blasphemie, which, by proceeding out of your mouth, hath defiled you. I write not this to upbraid, but to admonish you, with whom I sympathize under your extraordinary provocations and pressures; and pray God command you freedom from them. S. S.

7<sup>r</sup> 14. 1696. Went with Mr. Moodey, and visited Mrs. Collins, John Soley, and Mr. Wigglesworth and his Wife, dined with them; I furnished New England Salt.

S<sup>r</sup> 16. Keep a day of Prayer in the East end of the Town-House, Gov<sup>r</sup>., Council and Assembly. Mr. Morton begun with Prayer, Mr. Allin pray'd, Mr. Willard preached — If God be with us who can be against us? — Spake smartly at last about the Salem Witchcrafts, and that no order had been suffer'd to come forth by Authority to ask Gods pardon.

Mr. Torrey pray'd, Mr. Moodey; both excellently: All pray'd hard for the persons gon forth in the expedition.<sup>1</sup>

7<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Mr. Moodey preacheth the Lecture from Act. 13. 36. For David after He had served his own Generation &c: made a very good Sermon; Din'd with Mr. Danforth, Winthrop, Gedney, Russel, Sewall — about 10, at Meers's.

7<sup>r</sup> 18, p. m. The Council and Representatives subscribe the Association.<sup>2</sup> In the morn had warm discourse

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson writes (Hist. II., 94, 95) that when the news of Captain Chubb's surrender reached Boston, five hundred men were raised without delay, and sent to Portsmouth. Thence they proceeded to the eastward, and sighted the French vessels as they left Penobscot. No engagement followed, however, and the troops returned to Boston. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay, in the twenty-first chapter of his History, describes the Jacobite Plot for the assassination of King William in February, 1696. When it became known, the members of Parliament formed an association for his defence and that of the country. The example was followed here, as the

whether the Court could sit or no, because the writ by which twas call'd was made void; at last spake round and were then quiet. Gov<sup>r</sup> said he was resolved to hold the Court if so many would abide with Him as were capable.

7<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1696. Mr. John Glover is buried. Col. Pynchon, Mr. Cook, Mr. P. Sergeant and Mr. Oakes were there. Drew up a Letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 3. David Edwards is buried. The Revival of Courts is published; and the Court adjourned to the 18. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1, p. m Some mov'd for a Disolution, saying fear'd we were not on a good bottom, which anger'd the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 29. 1696. Mr. Wigglesworth and his wife lodge here.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 3. 1696. Mr. Joseph Baxter lodges here, being to preach for Mr. Willard on the Sabbath: Deacon Frary came to me on Friday; told me Mr. Willard put him upon getting help on the fifth day at even, because disapointed

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following document, remaining in our Archives, with the signatures of all the members of the Legislature, attests: —

“By the Hon<sup>ble</sup> WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieut Govern. and Commander-in-Chief, the Council and Representatives of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in America, An Association.

“*Whereas* there has been a horrid and detestable Conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists and other wicked and traiterous persons for assassinating his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s Royal person, in order to encourage an Invasion from France, to subvert our Religion, Laws and Liberty, We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely and solemnly profess, testify and declare, That his present Ma<sup>ty</sup> King William is rightful and lawful King of the Realms of England, Scotland and Ireland. And we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our power in the support and Defence of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s most sacred Person and Government, against the late King James and all his Adherents. And in case his Ma<sup>ty</sup> come to any violent or untimely death (which God forbid), We do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate and Stand by each other in revengeing the same upon his Enemies and their Adherents, and in supporting and defending the Succession of the Crown according to an Act made in the first year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, Entitled an Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Setling the Succession of the Crown.” — EDS.



of Mr. Sparhawk. He sent that even to Braintree; but for fear of failing rode thither himself on Sixth-day morn and secured Him: After the Meeting at Bro<sup>r</sup> Wheelers, came and told me of it, and earnestly proposed to me that He might lodge at my house; which I thought I could not avoid except I would shut my doors against one of Christ's servants; which I also inclin'd to, only was afraid lest som should take offence. And my Library was convenient for Him.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 10. Bro<sup>r</sup> Pemberton dies. Oct<sup>r</sup> 12. L<sup>t</sup> Governour goes to Cambridge, Mr. Secretary, Major Wally and I goe to Dorchester and wait on his Honour from thence; Mr. Cook, Mr. Hutchinson, Foster, Russel, Lynde there: Mr. Williams made an Oration (M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton should have done it but was prevented by his fathers death). L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> complemented the Pressedent &c., for all the respect to him, acknowldg'd his obligation and promis'd his Interposition for them as become such an Alumnus to such an Alma Mater: directed and desired the Presd<sup>t</sup> and fellows to go on; directed and enjoined the students to obedience. Had a good di<sup>n</sup>er: came home: Mr. Danforth not there. Mr. Cotton Mather took off Mr. Chauncy and Oakes's Epitaphs as I read them to him.

Oct. 13 Gov<sup>r</sup> goes to view the Castle, I went not because of a Flux. Mr. Sim<sup>s</sup> dined with me to day, spake of the assault he had made upon periwiggs; and of his Repulses. Seem'd to be in good sober sadness. 4<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 21. 1696, A church is gathered at Cambridge North-farms: No Relations made, but a Covenant sign'd and voted by 10 Brethren dismiss'd from the churches of Cambridge, Watertown, Woburn, Concord for this work. Being declar'd to be a church, they chose Mr. Benj. Estabrooks their Pastor, who had made a good Sermon from Jer. 3. 15. Mr. Estabrooks, the father, managed this, having pray'd excellently: Mr. Willard gave the charge; Mr. Fox the Right hand of Fellowship. Sung part of the 4

Ps. From the 9<sup>th</sup> v. to the end, O God, our Thoughts. Mr. Stone and Fisk thanked me for my Assistance there. Cambridge was sent to though had no Teaching officer; they sent Elder Clark, Hasting Remington.

Sabbath, Oct<sup>rs</sup> 25. Towards the latter end of Mr. Mathers Prayer, a dog vomited in the Alley near the corner of Mr. Willards Pue, which stunk so horribly that some were forc'd out of the house; I and others could hardly stay; Mr. Mather himself almost sick. Just about duskish we know there is an house on fire, it proves Peter Butlers, just by my Ladies [Phips], where Mr. Nowell once dwelt. Mr. Green, who married Mr. Mathers daughter, is one of the Tenants: He and his family were at Charlestown, keeping Sabbath there.

Fifth day Oct<sup>r</sup> 22. Capt. Byfield Marries his daughter Debora to James Lyde, before Mr. Willard. Mr Sparhawk would have had her. Oct<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Clouds hinder our sight of the eclipsed Moon; though tis a<sup>p</sup>arently dark by means of it.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 30. Mr. Wigglesworth tells me that one John Bucknam of Malden, above 50 years old, has been perfectly dumb near 18 years, and now within about 3 weeks has his understanding and speech restored. He is much affected with the Goodness of God to him herein.

2<sup>d</sup> day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 2. Mary goes to Mrs. Thair's to learn to Read and Knit.

3<sup>d</sup> d. Nov<sup>r</sup> 10. Ride to Salem with Mr. Cooke, get to Lewis's  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour before Mr. Danforth; were met there by Mr. Sheriff, Mr. Harris and Brown; Mr. Howard went with us; in the Even visit Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet, who confirms what had formerly told me about Mr. Gage his being in the Expedition against Hispaniola and dying in it. Nov<sup>r</sup> 11. Grand jury present Tho Maule for publishing his scandalous Book. Jury of Tryals, of whom Capt Turner and Capt. King were two, bring him in Not Guilty, at which he Triumphs. Mr. Bullivant spake for him, but modestly

and with respect. In the even visited Major Brown, there sung First part of 72 ps. and last part 24th. But first visited Mr. Higginson, though had din'd with us. He tells me that the protector, Oliver Cromwell, when Gen<sup>l</sup>, wrot to Mr. Hook of Newhaven, and therein sent comendations to Mr. Cotton; upon which Mr. Cotton was writt to by Mr. Hook and desir'd to write to the Gen<sup>l</sup>, which He did, and advis'd him that to take from the Spaniards in America would be to dry up Euphrates; which was one thing put Him upon his Expedition to Hispaniola, and Mr. Higginson and 3 more were to have gone to Hispaniola if the Place had been taken. O. Cromwell would have had Capt. Leverett to have gone thether Gov<sup>r</sup>, told him twas drying up Euphrates, and He intended not to desist till He came to the Gates of Rome. This Mr. Cook said He had heard his father Leverett tell many a time. Gov<sup>r</sup> Leverett said, My Lord let us make an end of one voyage first, and declin'd it; at which Oliver was blank. One told Mr. Leverett, Jamaica was the Protectors Darling, and he had disadvantaged himself in not consenting to goe.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 12. Dine with Fish and Fowls at Major Brown's. Col. Gedney went out of Town, so that we saw him not all the Court. Major Brown, Mr. Benj. Brown, Brother, Mr Emerson, Col. Hathorn brought us going as far as the Butts. Mr. Cook ask'd me which way would goe, I said we will goe [with] Mr. Danforth as far as the [blank], so came home by Charlestown very comfortably. I set Betty to read Ezek. 37, and she weeps so that can hardly read: I talk with her and she tells me of the various Temptations she had; as that [she] was a Reprobat, Loved not God's people as she should. Intends to come home when she has don her Cusheon. Find all well at home.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 13. Mr. Addington comes to me, and tells me I was sumond to Dorchester by the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> to dine. I told him of Mr. Simon Wainwright, and ask'd his Advise about



putting his name out of the Commission, He made me no Answer; At which I was a little disappointed and look'd on him: He stood up and said he was very ill: I reach'd the elbow chair to Him and with my Arms crowd'd him into it; where he presently became like a dying man: I sent for Mr. Oakes, who was not at home: But he quickly reviv'd and said He was in a Sweat, would sit a little and then goe: Said twas well I got him into the chair, else should have fallen. He gave me an Almanack in Mr. Ushers name, desir'd me to present his Duty to the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> and went home. I fear twas a fit of the Apoplexy. Went with Maj<sup>r</sup> Wally and Capt Southack to the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>'s, where dined; Capt Kiggin, Jesson, Eyre, Fayerwether, Tho Brattle, Belchar, Dudly, Southack, Davenport, Edw. Turfrey, Maccarty, Mr. Leverett, Danforth, Major Townsend, Major Walley, Sewall; Gov<sup>r</sup> Usher, Lt. Governour and Mr. Usher sat at the end of the table, Cap. Kiggin next on the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>'s side, then Cap<sup>t</sup> Jesson, Mr Eyre. Sewall sat next on Mr. Usher's side, then Major Wally, Major Townsend. 'Twas about sunset by the time we got home. Nov<sup>r</sup> 20 6<sup>th</sup> day, Madam Sam<sup>l</sup> Bellingham, Cap<sup>t</sup> Thomas, Mr. Willard and their wives, Mr. Woodbridge and his Kinsman Brockherst dined here.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 25. 1696. Bro<sup>r</sup> brings home Elizabeth, who is well, blessed be God. Went thither Aug<sup>t</sup> 24.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 25. Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Brattle was Ordained at Cambridge. He and Mr. Mather, the President, preached. 'Twas first order'd that Mr. Brattle should not preach, but many being troubled at it, twas afterward altered. Mr. Brattle also procured the Church to order that Elder Clark should not lay his hand on's head when he was ordain'd; and he refrain'd accordingly. So that Deacon Gill coming home, said he liked all very well except the Bill of Exclusion. I was feverish by reason of Cold taken the day before, and so abode at home.

Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 25. 1696. As I sat alone at home in

the old Room, I had the Notion first; 'Tis when Martyrs *Seen*, not *slain* [as a fulfilment of Prophecy].

Second-day, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 30. Many Scholars go in the Afternoon to Scate on Fresh-pond; William Maxwell, and John Eyre fall in and are drown'd. Just about Candle-lighting the news of it is brought to Town, which affects persons exceedingly. Mr. Eyre the father cryes out bitterly. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1. The body of Jn<sup>o</sup> Eyre is brought to Town. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 3. is buried. Ministers of Boston had Gloves and Rings, Counsellors Gloves, of Boston. Bearers, Hutchinson, Dudley, Sim. Bradstreet, Duñer Jer., Jn<sup>o</sup> Winthrop, Belchar. Maxwell was buried at Cambridge. Paul Miller, his 2 sons, and about 4 more drowned last week; vessel and corn lost coming from Barstable.

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 2. 1696. Now about Capt. Byfield brings in a long Bill from the deputys for a Fast and Reformation, written by Mr. Cotton Mather,<sup>1</sup> to which a Streamer was added expressing that Partiality in Courts of Justice was obvious; with a Vote on it that 500 should be printed, should be read; and sent up for Concurrence: 'twas deny'd; and our Bill for a Fast was sent down; Dept<sup>s</sup> deny'd that. Gov<sup>r</sup> told them the way was unusual, they had taken, sending out a Coñittee, calling the Ministers, voting all, and never letting the Council know: that it pertain'd principally to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council to set forth such orders with a motion from them. A while after Capt.

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<sup>1</sup> It seems hardly worth while to copy all of Mather's characteristic tirade, the original being on file in Massachusetts Archives, XI. 119; but we give the passage probably referred to, as pointed at the judges:—

“And all *civil officers* are hereby Likewise called upon vigorously to pursue the execution of the *Laws*, from Time to Time, Enacted against all Immoralities; and in their several places as well to make *Diligent Enquiries* and *Impartial presentments* of all offenses against the said Laws, as to *Dispense Justice equally*, for no cause forbearing to do their office, according to the *Oath of God*, which is upon them: and unto this end, frequently to have their consultations in their several precincts, *what may bee done by them to suppress any Common Evils.*” — EDS.

Byfield came in, and said 'twas no new thing, and they had taken no wrong step. Little was said to him. It seems this message is enter'd in their Booke.<sup>1</sup> The Council

<sup>1</sup> Although we cannot find this entry on the records of the House, some documents remain in Mass. Archives, Vol. XI. pp. 120-122. The House of Representatives passed the long and verbose proclamation for a fast just cited. The Council non-concurred, and the House, after a protest that they meant no disrespect to the other branch in non-concurring in the Council's bill, proposed that both bills be committed to the Reverend Elders of Boston, to prepare a new draft. The draft of the proclamation, as finally decided upon, is in the same volume of the Archives, and is as follows:—

By the Hon. the Lt. Gov., Council and Assembly of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Province of the Massachusetts Bay in General Court Assembled.

*Whereas* the Anger of God is not yet turned away, but his Hand is still stretched out against his people, in manifold Judgment; particularly in drawing out to such a Length, the Troubles of Europe by a perplexing War. And more especially, respecting our selves in this Province, in that God is pleased still to go on in diminishing our Substance, cutting short our Harvest; blasting our most promising undertakings; more ways than one, unsettling of us; and by his more immediat Hand, snatching away many out of our Embraces by suddain and violent deaths; even at this time when the Sword is devouring so many, both at home and abroad, and that after many Days of publick and solemn addressing of Him. And although considering the many Sins, prevailing in the midst of us, we cannot but wonder at the Patience and Mercy moderating these Rebukes; yet we cannot but also fear, that there is something still wanting to accompany our supplications. And doubtless there are som particular Sins, which God is angry with our Israel for, that have not been duely seen and resented by us, about which God expects to be sought; if ever He turn again our Captivity.

Wherefore its Comand<sup>d</sup> and apoit<sup>d</sup> that Thursday the Fourteenth of January next be observed as a Day of Prayer and Fasting throughout the Province; strictly forbidding all Servile Labour thereon, That so all God's people may offer up Supplications unto him for the preservation and prosperity of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Royal person and Government, and Success to attend his Maj<sup>ty</sup> both at home and abroad: That all Iniquity may be put away which hath proved Gods holy Jealousie against this Land; that He would shew us what we know not, and help us, wherein we have done amiss, to doe so no more: And, especially, that whatever Mistakes, on either hand, have been fallen into, either by the body of this People, or any Orders of *them*,\* referring to the late Tragedie raised amongst us by Satan and his Instruments, through the awfull Judgment of God; He would humble us therefore, and pardon all the Errors of his Servants and People that desire to Love his

\* Undoubtedly a clerical error for *them*, meaning the bench. — Eds.



were exceedingly grieved to be thus roughly treated. About Dec<sup>r</sup> 18, Mr. Mather, Allen, Willard, C. Mather give in a paper subscribed by them, shewing their dislike of our draught for the Colledge Charter, and desiring that their Names might not be entered therein. One chief reason was their apointing the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council for Visitor.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 19. Mr. Allin prays, and the Court is prorogued to the 17<sup>th</sup> Febr. at 1. p m. L<sup>t</sup> Governour said that hop'd by praying together, our Love to God and one another should be increased. This is the first Prorogation that I know of.

*Nota*, Deputies voted our Bill for the Fast at length. Mr. Byfield brought it in, said, They would have *doubtless* instead of *probably*. And would have those words — *and so revive that joyful Proverb in the world, One flock, one Shepherd* — Left out. Their reason was because Gods conversion of the American Heathen did not make it good. Therefore would have the word *Obey* added after our *hear*, and let that be the close.<sup>1</sup>

Note. I had by accident met with and transcribed Mr. Strongs Notes on Rev. 12<sup>th</sup> about the slaying of the witnesses, the evening before this fell out: The last words were, prepare for it. I doe not know that ever I saw the Council run upon with such a height of Rage before. The Lord prepare for the Issue. I dont rememb<sup>r</sup> to have seen Capt. Byfield or Oliver at prayers. And the Ministers

Name; and be attoned to His Land. That He would remove the Rod of the Wicked from off the Lot of the Righteous; That He would bring the American Heathen, and cause them to hear and obey his voice.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 11. 1696. Voted in Council and sent down for concurrence. IS<sup>a</sup> AD-  
DINGTON, Secr<sup>y</sup>.

Dec. 17, 1696. Voted a concurrence. PENN TOWNSEND, Speaker.

I consent.

W<sup>m</sup> STOUGHTON.

— Eds.

<sup>1</sup> The changes are all on the original paper. Upham has printed the latter part of this proclamation in his Salem Witchcraft, Vol. II. p. 473, but he omits the second line; possibly he quotes from some other copy. — Eds.

will go to England for a Charter, except we exclude the Council from the Visitation.<sup>1</sup> Allege this Reason: because the K.[ing] will not pass it, and so shall be longer unsettled. Note Dec<sup>r</sup> 12. 1696. Capt. Davis's eldest Daughter dyes very suddenly. Was a great Funeral next week.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 21. A very great Snow is on the Ground.<sup>2</sup> I go in the morn to Mr. Willard, to entreat him to chuse his own time to come and pray with little Sarah: He comes a little before night, and prays very fully and well. Mr. Mather, the President, had pray<sup>d</sup> with her in the time of the Courts sitting. Dec<sup>r</sup> 22. being Catechising day, I give Mr. Willard a note to pray for my daughter publicly, which he did. Note, this morn Madam Elisa Bellingham came to our house and upbraided me with setting my hand to pass Mr. Wharton's acc<sup>2</sup> to the Court, where he obtain'd a Judgm<sup>t</sup> for Eustace's farm. I was wheadled and hector'd into that business, and have all along been uneasy in the remembrance of it: and now there is one come who will not spare to lay load. The Lord take away my filthy garments, and give me change of Rayment. This day I remove poor little Sarah into my Bed-chamber, where about Break of Day Dec<sup>r</sup> 23. she gives up the Ghost in Nurse Cowell's Arms. Born, Nov. 21. 1694. Neither I nor my wife were by: Nurse not expecting so sudden a change, and having promis'd to call us. I thought of Christ's Words, could you not watch with me one hour! and would fain have sat up with her:

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<sup>1</sup> An act was passed June 4, 1697, to incorporate Harvard College. It was disallowed by the Crown, as had been a previous act, of June 27, 1692. The first was faulty in not reserving power for the King to appoint visitors; the second, because it coupled the Council with the Governor in the exercise of that power. See Province Laws, new ed., I. 39, 290. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Hutchinson writes (Hist. II. 101, note 1), "The winter of 1696 was as cold as had been known from the first arrival of the English: slays and loaded sleds passing great part of the time upon the ice from Boston as far as Nantasket. Greater losses in trade had never been known, than what were met with in this year; nor was there, at any time after the first year, so great a scarcity of food; nor was grain ever at a higher price." — Eds.

but fear of my wives illness, who is very valetudinarian, made me to lodge with her in the new Hall, where was call'd by Jane's Cry, to take notice of my dead daughter. Nurse did long and pathetically ask our pardon that she had not call'd us, and said she was surpriz'd. Thus this very fair day is rendered fowl to us by reason of the general Sorrow and Tears in the family. Master Chiever was here the evening before, I desir'd him to pray for my daughter. The Chapt<sup>r</sup> read in course on Dec<sup>r</sup> 23. m. was Deut. 22. which made me sadly reflect that I had not been so thorowly tender of my daughter; nor so effectually carefull of her Defence and preservation as I should have been. The good Lord pity and pardon and help for the future as to those God has still left me.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 24. Sam. recites to me in Latin, Mat. 12. from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> v. The 7<sup>th</sup> verse did awfully bring to mind the Salem Tragedie.<sup>1</sup>

6<sup>th</sup> day, Dec<sup>r</sup> 25, 1696. We bury our little daughter. In the chamber, Joseph in course reads Ecclesiastes 3<sup>d</sup> a time to be born and a time to die—Elisabeth, Rev. 22. Hañah, the 38<sup>th</sup> Psalm. I speak to each, as God helped, to our mutual comfort I hope. I order'd Sam. to read the 102. Psalm. Elisha Cooke, Edw. Hutchinson, John Baily, and Josia Willard bear my little daughter to the Tomb.

Note. Twas wholly dry, and I went at noon to see in what order things were set; and there I was entertain'd with a view of, and converse with, the Coffins of my dear Father Hull, Mother Hull, Cousin Quinsey, and my Six Children: for the little posthumous was now took up and set in upon that that stands on John's: so are three, one upon another twice, on the bench at the end. My Mother ly's on a lower bench, at the end, with head to her Hus-

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<sup>1</sup> "If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless." — Eds.



band's head: and I order'd little Sarah to be set on her Grandmother's feet. 'Twas an awfull yet pleasing Treat; Having said, The Lord knows who shall be brought hether next, I came away.

Mr. Willard pray'd with us the night before; I gave him a Ring worth about 20<sup>s</sup>. Sent the President one, who is sick of the Gout. He pray'd with my little daughter. Mr. Oakes, the Physician, Major Townsend, Speaker, of whoes wife I was a Bearer, and was join'd with me in going to Albany and has been Civil and treated me several times. Left a Ring at Madam Cooper's for the Governour. Gave not one pair of Gloves save to the Bearers. Many went to the Church this day, I met them coming home, as went to the Tomb. 7<sup>th</sup> day Dec<sup>r</sup> 26. Roger Judd tells me of a ship arriv'd at Rode Island from England, and after, that Mr. Ive has written that most judged the King of France was dead, or dying. Ship comes from New Castle, several weeks after the Falkland. Jan<sup>r</sup> 1. 6<sup>th</sup> day 169<sup>e</sup> One with a Trumpet sounds a Levett [Blast] at our window just about break of day, bids me good morrow and wishes health and hapiness to attend me. I was awake before, and my wife, so we heard him: but went not to the window, nor spake a word. The Lord fit me for his coming in whatsoever way it be. Mr. Willard had the Meeting at his house to day, but We had no Invitation to be there as is usual.

On the 22<sup>th</sup> of May I buried my abortive son; so neither of us were then admitted of God to be there, and now the Owners of the family admit us not: It may be I must never more hear a Sermon there. The Lord pardon all my Sins of Omission and Commission: and by his Almighty power make me meet to be partaker of the Inheritance with the S<sup>ts</sup> in Light. Second-day Jan<sup>r</sup> 11, 169<sup>e</sup> God helped me to pray more than ordinarily, that He would make up our Loss in the burial of our little daughter and other children, and that would give us a

Child to Serve Him, pleading with Him as the Institutor of Marriage, and the Author of every good work. Jan<sup>r</sup> 15. Gridley s wife dies in child-bed.

[PETITION PUT UP BY MR. SEWALL ON THE FAST DAY.]

Copy of the Bill I put up on the Fast day; giving it to Mr. Willard as he pass'd by, and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing when finished; in the Afternoon.

Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family; and being sensible, that as to the Guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this Day relates) he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, Desires to take the Blame and shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God, who has an Unlimited Authority, would pardon that sin and all other his sins; personal and Relative: And according to his infinite Benignity, and Sovereignty, Not Visit the sin of him, or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the Land: But that He would powerfully defend him against all Temptations to Sin, for the future; and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving Conduct of his Word and Spirit.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> No considerable period of time passed till all measures which involved the use of force and legal proceedings on charges of witchcraft were quietly abandoned. Some few there were who only slowly and reluctantly—even if they did ever come to that fixed conviction—were brought to allow that the whole excitement was to be referred to surprise, consternation, and strong delusion. Others there were whose horror and indignation at the outrages visited upon maligned and thoroughly innocent and really estimable victims were so intense, that, had they thought they could rely upon a sufficient support in so doing, they would have severely called the prime actors in them to judgment. But the large majority of all classes in the immediate community seem

Mr. Daniel Neal's Hist. N. England p. 536. Names of the Judges, p. 502, vol. 2.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 26. 169 $\frac{6}{7}$  I lodged at Charlestown, at Mrs. Shepards, who tells me Mr. Harvard built that house. I lay in the chamber next the street. As I lay awake past midnight, In my Meditation, I was affected to consider

to have thought it best to keep silent, to mourn in secret over the horrors and agonies of the brief delusion, and to trust to the healing influences of time, while manifesting a tender and respectful sympathy for the wrongs that had been borne by the innocent and their friends.

The public feeling, however, which was not resolute enough to secure any thing like a just reparation, so far as confession of wrong and an attempt at compensation would go — towards redressing injustice to individuals — did prevail in demanding a public and formal expression of contrition. The 14th of January, 1697, was appointed by the General Court to be solemnly observed as a day of fasting and prayer on account of what might have been done amiss “in the late tragedy, raised among us by Satan and his instruments, through the awful judgment of God.”

Other subjects for contrition and supplication, such as were distinctly mentioned in the public appointment of the not infrequent fast days, were given in the appointment of this day, but it was understood to have a special reference to the proceedings of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The confession and petition by which Judge Sewall so humbly brought himself on that day before the congregation with which he worshipped, will have their full significance when taken in connection with his own habit — as appears from his journal — of complying with a custom reverently observed by his most honored contemporaries. He had, often with the deepest earnestness, followed this usage, in “putting up a Bill,” bearing his own name, to be read from the pulpit on occasions of sad or joyful providences for himself or his family or most intimate friends. This was the custom of the devout in his time and fellowship when visited with affliction or with a dread of it, when a child was born, or a member of the household was sick, or a journey by land or sea was to be ventured, or had been accomplished. Similar individual petitions and confessions were offered by wrong-doers and penitents. Judge Sewall, as will have been observed by the reader, had experienced many domestic trials and afflictions, which had deeply tried his affectionate heart. The spirit and tenor of the solemn bill which he put up on this occasion require no comment here. The act was equally free of conceit in self-obtrusion, and of any thing like unmanly self-abasement. If he had been a party to a grievous wrong, his motive and purpose had been sincere. It has been traditionally received — no record of the fact from his own pen is known to us — that the Chief Judge on the trials, Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, when informed of what Sewall had done, said that he had no such confession to make, as he had acted according to the best light which God had given him. — Eds.



how long agoe God had made provision for my comfortable Lodging that night; seeing that was Mr. Harvards house: And that led me to think of Heaven the House not made with hands, which God for many Thousands of years has been storing with the richest furniture (saints that are from time to time placed there), and that I had some hopes of being entertain'd in that Magnificent Convenient Palace, every way fitted and furnished. These thoughts were very refreshing to me.<sup>1</sup>

Jan<sup>y</sup> 28. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$  Mr. Palmer marries Mrs. Abigail Hutch-

<sup>1</sup> There is something very touching and impressive in the tenderness and devoutness of this entry in the Judge's Diary. John Harvard seems to be the "Melchisedec" of the first age of the Colony of Massachusetts. He is known to us only as "a priest of the Most High God," and as one who "gave gifts." So far as any certified facts concerning his lineage or circumstances have been preserved for us, he is "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days," nor a known resting-place for his mortal dust. The scanty information which we have about the revered founder of "the College in the wilderness" covers only these facts, that he received the degrees of A.B. and M.A. from Emanuel College, Cambridge, England, in 1631 and 1635; that he was admitted a townsman in Charlestown, Aug. 6, 1637; that he, with Anna, his wife, was received into the communion of the church, of whose minister, Mr. Symmes, he was a temporary assistant, on Nov. 6, 1637; that he was put on a committee with five of his townsmen April 26, 1638, "to consider of something tending towards a body of laws;" that he was favored in the allotment of land and privileges; that he died of consumption, in Charlestown, Sept. 14, 1638 (old style); and that, by a nuncupative will, he left half of his estate and his whole library to the College. The money gift was estimated at £779. 17. 2. He was probably interred at the foot of the Town Hill, in Charlestown. The monument to him, erected on the Burial Hill in the Town, by the alumni of the College, and dedicated by an address by Edward Everett, Sept. 26, 1828, was arbitrarily raised on the spot where it stands because it commanded then a view of the site of the College. According to the change of style, there is an error in the inscription on the monument which gives the date of Harvard's death as Sept. 26. It should be Sept. 24.

The house "which Mr. Harvard built," and in a chamber of which Sewall found in his wakefulness the companionship of such holy thoughts, stood near the site of the present meeting-house on Town Hill. It became, afterwards, the property of the Rev. Thomas Shepard. If it remained standing till the time of our Revolutionary War, it must have fallen in the conflagration of the town caused by Generals Clinton and Burgoyne, by bombs from the battery on Copp's Hill, June 17, 1775. — EDS.

inson. Febr. 4 Bro<sup>r</sup> Hawkins and his wife, the Thurttons, Sam. and Atherton Haugh, Joseph Gerrish and W<sup>m</sup> Longfellow dine with us. Febr. 5. extream cold, which discern not when Joseph went away. This evening Mr. Willard, Bromfield, Eyre, Sergeant, Frary, Hill, Williams, Oliver, Checkly, Davis, Wally, Stoddard, met at my house. Mr. Willard pray'd. Then discours<sup>d</sup> what was best to be done relating to the desires of some for a meeting; whether twere best to call one, or no. Mr. Willard shew<sup>d</sup> his resentments of the disorderly carriage in striving to bring in Mr. Bradstreet, after only thrice preaching [as a candidate for the South Church], and that in that way, he should not be settled with us till he Mr. W. was in his Grave. That he had a Negative, and was not only a Moderator. Shew'd his dislike of the Person and his Preaching, inferiour to the ministerial Gifts of others. Before the Meeting broke up, I said his Preaching was very agreeable to me, I thought not of him, had no hand in bringing him to preach, had prejudices against him, was ready to start at first when any spake of fixing on him; yet as often as he preached, he came nearer and nearer to me. Spake this chiefly because all that Mr. Willard had said of Mr. Bradstreet, had been exceedingly undervaluing: and because Mr. Willard said no body had been with him to speak to him about Mr. Bradstreet but Mr. Stoddard. Mr. Oliver said if Mr. Willard were so averse, had rather let it rest. Sometimes said were now ready for a new Meeting-house. Some, Let us call Mr. Bailey. At last agreed to mention the matter to the church after the Afternoon Exercise. Febr. 7. Mr. Willard recapitulats how long he had been our Pastor; near 20. years; and near 18. years alone, had to his measure served God faithfully, was desirous of Help, lay not in him, yet had none; if what he propounded more than a year ago had been attended, might have made for the Glory of God. Ask'd if now were ready to pitch on any; if were, then must have a

Fast. None speake ; at last Capt. Ephr. Savage desired might meet in sons dwelling house, many were there present which were not of us. Mr. Willard assented, and on Mr. Sergeants motion, appointed to meet at his house, 15. Inst<sup>t</sup> at 2 p.m. When at our house, some said Charlestown being before us, to call a Fast after they had call'd Mr. Bradstreet would be evil spoken of: the person of their desires being gon. Some said that Fasting now at Charlestown and here was but a Trick ; not just so: but tending that way. Mr. Willard said Charlestown would be before us, do what we could ; and if they call'd him 'twas not fit for us to meddle till he had given his Answer: som look'd at this as Artifice in the Ministers to prevent the South Church. For when Mr. Willard propounded Mr. Pemberton by name, 1695, No Fast preceded. If Mr. Willard had not so propounded, believe the thing had been issued at that time: but many look'd on it as an Imposition and tending to infringe their Liberty of choice. I had been with Mr. Willard the day before, and told him some scruples that I was not just ready to act till had enquired further.

Feb. 8. Mr. Bromfield and Eyre call me, and we visit Mr. H. Usher, who is now brought to Town about a week ago ; Lay at Malden some time by reason of a fall from's horse last 4<sup>th</sup> day five weeks. Febr. 9. I visit Mr. Willard: spake with him after he began, about our conference last 6<sup>th</sup> day, told him the reason of my speaking as I did ; because had heard he should say, I forc'd the Church Meeting: whereas I intended not so ; but as we had engaged silence, I told him my heart ; as I said I always did when he confer'd with me and enquired of me in such cases. He said was sorry he propounded Mr. Pemberton as he did. Seem'd to resent my saying ; That the Negative was a high point, and better not to talk of it then (which at the conference) term'd it a check, I think parted good friends. Much vilified Mr. Bradstreet ; hardly



allowed him any thing but a Memory, and the Greek Tongue, with a Little poesy. I said what shall Charles-town doe? Answer was, Let them do as they please. Mr. Willard is to assist on the Fast Day, which proves very cold, 4<sup>th</sup> day Feb. 10.

Feb<sup>r</sup> 10. 4<sup>th</sup> day 169<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub> Goodw. Duen putting on a Rugg and going into our house much scares the children; so that come running to me throw the old Hall, with a very amazing Cry. I was sawing wood; and much surpris'd. Wife came and all. The Lord save me and his people from astonishing, suddain, desolating Judgmts; pardon all my folly and perverting my way, and help me to walk with a right foot. This was between 10 and 11. aclock. m. Deacon Maryon went from hence but a little before.

March 8. 169<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub> went to Plimouth in comp<sup>a</sup> of Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>, Mr. Cook; visit Mrs. Cushman. March 12. Mr. Cook and I came to Barkers. 13. home; wether was extream cold.

March 24. 169<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub> went to Watertown to an Ordination; but was disapointed, the west and East not agreeing. Came home by Cambridge; Eat at Mr. Remington's with Mr. Phips and wife, Sheriff Philips and wife. Call'd in to see Mrs. Danforth; but it seems it was not convenient. March 26. 1697. Mrs. Danforth dies. This day Mr. Leverett was by the Council deny<sup>d</sup> to be of the Corporation for the Colledge. How the Deputies will resent it, I know not. Day was apointed for nominating Justices, but the heat about what way should do it in was so great, that did nothing.

March 27, 1697. I read to the Lieut-Governour my *Phænomena Apocalyptica*,<sup>1</sup> what had written of it. He Licences the printing of it.

About 10. at night Gov<sup>r</sup> Bradstreet dyes; which we are

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<sup>1</sup> See page 68, note 2. — Eds.

told of March, 29<sup>th</sup> at Cambridge, where we were upon the account of Mrs. Danforth's Funeral. Madam Leverett, Madam Cook, and my wife and I rode together in the Coach. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, Mr. Cook, and Sewall were Bearers on one hand; and Mr. Russell, Hathorne, and Phillips on the other hand. Rings and Scarvs. Col. Winthrop, Hutchinson, Sergeant, Lynde, Thomas were there.

Sixth-day, Apr. 2. 1697. Lieut-Governour, Mr. Secretary, Col. Shrimpton, and Sewall ride to Salem. It rain'd most of the way, and yet, a little beyond the Butts, Col. Gedny met the Gov<sup>r</sup> with a small Troop; and in the Rain led us along through the Town to the Fort, to view it and see what condition 'twas in; and also the Brest-Work: From thence went back to Col. Gedney's. Governour, Mr. Secretary, Col. Phillips and Sewall dined there: From about two *post meridiem*, the wether clear'd and was warm About 3 was the Funeral; Bearers, Mr. Danforth, Major Gen. Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Col. Hutchinson, Sewall, Mr. Secretary: Col. Gedney and Major Brown led the Widow; I bore the Feet of the Corps into the Tomb, which is new, in the Old Burying place.

Mr. Willard, Capt Checkly, Capt Hill, Capt Williams Cap<sup>t</sup> Belchar &c. there.

Mr. Bromfield, Mr. Eyre. Probably very many would have assisted, had not the wether been discouraging. Three Volleys, but no Great Guns, by reason of the Scarcity of Powder. Came home comfortably in the Sunshine; which prov'd well; for the next morning was a set Rain. Ministers at the Funeral, Mr. Willard, Mr. Shepard, Mr. Chiever, Mr. Higginson, Noyes, Mr. Hale, Mr. Gerrish, Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich, which are all I took notice of.

Second-day, Apr. 5<sup>th</sup>. No Artillery Training, and consequently no choice of a Minister as is usual. Last night and this morning were very cold, possibly that

might be the reason. Street of earth and water was hard frozen.

Apr. 8. 1697. Mr. Cotton Mather gives notice that the Lecture hereafter is to begin at Eleven of the Clock, an hour sooner than formerly: Reprov'd the Towns people that attended no better; fear'd twould be an omen of our not enjoying the Lecture long, if did not amend.

In the Morning agreed with Mr. Wilkins<sup>1</sup> about Sam's living with him. Unkle Quinsey is here.

Second-day Apr. 12. 1697. Sam. begins to go to Mr. Wilkins; Sold some of the Joy of Faith and some of Dr. Goodwin's 3<sup>d</sup> volum. At night we read Gal. 6. 9. — in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. Lord furnish father and Son with Faith.

This day Artillery meets: chuse.

Cold by this day señight.<sup>2</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Marshal that waited on the Council and Selectmen and us'd to enquire after New-comers, is buried, and Braintry-Harris.

April 29. 5<sup>th</sup> day is signalised by the Atchievment of Hañah Dustin, Mary Neff, and Samuel Leñerson; who kill'd Two men [Indians], their Masters, and two women and 6. others, and have brought in Ten Scalps.

May 1. 1697. The first Sheet of *Phænomena Apocalyptica* is wrought off. 3<sup>d</sup> day May 11. Elisabeth Sewall, and Joaña Gerrish set sail for Newbury in Edward Poor, between 10. and 11. a-clock, fair-wind. Sent my Father a cheese and Barrel of Flower by him. Aunt Quinsey, and Cousin Edmund here. Fourth-day, May 12., very

<sup>1</sup> This was probably Richard Wilkins, bookseller, of Boston, commemorated by Dunton in his Letters from New England, as his landlord. Wilkins was a bookseller in Limerick, and came here for conscience' sake, with Rev. Mr. Bailey. Thomas (Hist. of Printing) says he died at Milton, Dec. 10, 1704, aged eighty-one, and was buried at Boston. Samuel Sewall, Jr., enters on his journal that "Mr. Wilkins dyed at Mr. Thatcher's, of Milton," &c. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase we understand to mean "cold for a week;" see entry under April 5th. — Eds.



brisk Southerly wind; so that hope Betty is got well to Newbury. This day wrought off the first half-sheet of the *Phænomena*; which I corrected my self. Hañah Dustan came to see us; I gave her part of Coñecticut Flax. She saith her Master, whom she kill'd, did formerly live with Mr. Roulandson at Lancaster: He told her, that when he pray'd the English way, he thought that was good: but now he found the French way was better. The single man shewed the night before, to Sam<sup>l</sup> Leñarson, how he used to knock Englishmen on the head and take off their Scalps; little thinking that the Captives would make some of their first experiment upon himself. Sam. Leñarson kill'd him.<sup>1</sup>

May, 17. 1697. I accompany the Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> and Mr. Cook to Salem, and so to Ipswich. Before I got to Mrs. Apleton's she was gone to Bed: So Mr. Rogers having invited me, I lodged there.

May 20. ride to Rowly, Newbury, lodge at my Fathers, who is indispos'd by a Rheum in his eyes; Much Rain at Newbury: Little or none at Salem. May. 23. I lead my dear Mother to Meeting, and hear Mr. Tapan preach.

May 24. I perswade Father to make a settlement of Land and Marsh on Bro<sup>r</sup> J. Sewall: I take the Acknowledgmt May 25. Bro<sup>r</sup> St. S. Records it. Mr. Noyes and I dispute about the Fifth Seal. Come to the Blew Bell,<sup>1</sup> refresh there; visit Mr. Wigglesworth, meet with Mr. Tapan from Reading, and ride with him to Charlestown.

May 26, 1697. Election-day: Capt Foster Guards the Governour to the Town-house, where the Court had

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<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the heroic deeds of Hannah Dustan, see Chase's History of Haverhill (1861), pp. 185-194. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Drake states that the Blue Bell and Indian Queen taverns stood on each side of a passage formerly leading from Washington Street to Hawley Street. — Eds.

a Treat. Mr. Danforth preaches. Dine at the stone house.

W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton Esq. 64. Tho Danforth 77. Col. Pynchon 61. Wait Winthrop 54. I. Russell 69. Col. Gedney 66. Elisha Cook 57. Col. Hathorn 76. Elisha Hutchinson 80. S. Sewall 78. Isaac Addington 63. Major Brown, 57. Jn<sup>o</sup> Foster 70. Peter Sergeant 64. Col. Phillips 74. Jon<sup>a</sup> Corwin 58. Col. Wally 36. Col. Pierce 64. Plymouth—Lothrop 73. Jn<sup>o</sup> Thacher 69. Thomas 54. Saffin 39.

Election, May 26, 1697 Main [e] Hutchinson, Frost, Wheelright, untold. Zagadahock, Col. Joseph Lynde, untold.

#### At Large

Major Bradford, and Col Shrimpton.

June 1, 1697. I goe to the Funeral of my Tutor, Mr. Tho. Graves; accompanied Col. Pynchon, Mr. Cook, Addington, Sergeant, Saffin. Bearers were, Capt. Byfield, Mr Leverett; Capt. Sprague, Capt. Hamond; Mr James Oliver, Mr. Simon Bradstreet. Charlestown Gent. had Gloves; Mr. Danforth had none that I observ'd. Mr. Morton is very short-breath, sat upon a Tomb in the burying-place, and said, for ought he knew he should be next. Mr. Willard, Pierpont, N. H., Mr. Brattle, and Mr. Angier, Mr. Wadsworth there. Mr. Graves was a godly learned Man, a good Tutor, and solid preacher: His obstinat adherence to some superstitious conceits of the Co<sup>m</sup>on-Prayerbook, bred himself and others a great deal of Trouble: yet I think he kept to the Church at Charlestown as to his most constant attendance; especially on the Lords Day. Has left one Son by Mr. Stedman's daughter.

My Tutors are gon; the Lord help me to do worthily while I stay here; and be in a readiness to follow after!

June, 9. 1697. I have my Wife to Newton to take the Aer, Mr. Oliver, his wife and little daughter ride with us.

Dine at Mr. Hobart's; Mr. Eyre and wife ride in their Calash. Mr. James Oliver and wife, Mr. Dudley and Mrs Mico, Mr. Pemberton, and Mrs. Betty Oliver; Mr. Noyes and Sarah Oliver there too. Mr. Gershom Hobart was there. After Diñer sung the 113. and 24. Psalms, View'd the new frame of their Meeting House. Mrs. Jackson there. Walk'd out before diñer and gather'd my wife a handfull of strawberries. Call'd at B— White's coming home. June 11. about 5 p.m. My wife is taken with extream Pain and illness, Vomiting and Flux. Told me when I came home, was afraid should never have seen me more. Took a Pill in the night: Disease abates.

June 12, 1697. Betty gets her Mother a Mess of English Beans; which she makes a shift to eat. These are our First Fruits.

Second-Day, June, 28. 1697. I visit my sick languishing Unkle Quinsey; who is opressed with Difficulty in voiding his Urine. Was very glad to see me.

Cous. Edmund was at home. Visited Madam Dudley in coming home, and condol'd her loss of her Sons. She startled me in telling that I had not heard the sad News from Boston; which was that Ric<sup>d</sup> Willard was drown'd at Cambridge. Alas! As went to Braintry, I saw their Neals<sup>1</sup> reaping down a good field of French Barly: I desire to bless God for giving me to see the First fruits in such a time of Scarcity.

June, 29. I went and saw more than twenty Bushels of Salt raked, which is the most hath been raked in any one day yet. Rich<sup>d</sup> Willard is buried. He went to Cambridge and was admitted; and then went into the River,

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<sup>1</sup> There is some error in the text here. It should possibly be "saw there — Neals reaping," or "saw the Neals reaping." This we infer because at Braintree lived Henry Neal, whose will of 1688-91 provided for four sons and eleven daughters. His sons Joseph and Benjamin were both heads of families in Braintree at this date. — Eds.



and was drowned with his Admission in his Pocket. His father and Mother mourn sorely.<sup>1</sup>

July, 7. 1697. I ride with my wife and Mr. Stoddard and his wife to the Cōmencement. Mr. Willard, W<sup>m</sup> Hubbard, Cotton, [of] Plimouth, Whiting, Brinsmead not there. Note. Mr. Moodey was buried the day before; was a very great Funeral. Many Ministers and Magistrates there. 'Twas celebrated with the discourse of Major Frost's death. Had him laid in our Tomb. Friday, July, 16. 1697. Lt Gov<sup>r</sup> went to the Castle, had with him Mr. Usher, Col. Pyne, Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>, Mr. Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Mr. Secretary, Foster, Sergeant, Sewall, Mr. Allén, Mr. S. Mather, Capt. Byfield, Mr. Eyre, Mr. Bridgham, Capt. Legg. Many Guns fired: about 10, at a mark with Bullets. Coming back, touched at Noddle's Island, and saw Col. Shrimpton. Capt. Clark hoisted his Flagg; and about our entrance within the Wharf, fired 9. Guns, very smart ones. Note. Dined in their chapel, and after that sung the 2d part of the 24<sup>th</sup> Psalm. Col. Hutchinson, Maj<sup>r</sup> Townsend, Mr. Eyre, Mr. Bridgam, Capt. Legg and S. S. dined at a little Table by our selves.

When got home went to — Burrough's Meeting: Mr. Willard had begun his sermon, preached excellently from those Words, But the wise took Oyle in their vessels with their Lamps. Doct. They who would always be in a readiness for Christs uncertain coming; must see that they have Grace in their hearts, and that they always keep it in exercise. Propounded 3 especial Graces necessary in order to our being ready; Faith, Fear, Love.

Rains sweetly at night, is a Rainbow in the morn as Mr. Goose tells me. Mr. Hezekiah Usher<sup>2</sup> died at Lin; July 11<sup>th</sup> was brought to Boston, and laid in his father's

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<sup>1</sup> This was the son of Rev. Samuel Willard, of the South Church, in Boston, 1678-1707, and President of Harvard College from 1701 to 1707. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The will of Hezekiah Usher, Jr., a very curious document, is printed with notes in the Historical Magazine for September, 1868. — Eds.

Tomb, July 14, 1697. Bearers W. Winthrop, Cook, Sewall, Addington, Sergeant, Eli. Hutchinson; Mr. Willards Bearers for Richard, were Mr. White, Mather, Pemberton, Burr, Bradstreet, Williams.

Sixth half sheet, July 17, wrought off the Letter D. of my *Phæn*. Went to the Neck, and Col. Hutchinson laid out the Land for their Salt Works.<sup>1</sup>

Fourth-day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 11. 1697. Johnson's ship was burnt in Charlestown Rode, a great ship of — Tuns, loaden with Lumber.

<sup>1</sup> As our local histories seem to be silent about this enterprise, we may explain that by Chap. 18 of Acts of 1695, 1696, Elisha Cook, Elisha Hutchinson and John Foster, with their associates, received a monopoly of making salt in the Province "after the manner as it is made in France," for the space of fourteen years. They were required only to produce one hundred hogsheads of good salt before the end of the year 1700.

They seem to have proceeded to work by selecting the marshes on the Neck towards Roxbury, outside of the line of the fortifications.

We find recorded in Suff. Deeds, Lib. 20, f. 206, an indenture made Sept. 10, 1700, between John Fayerweather, *et al.*, a committee of the Proprietors of the Common on the Neck in Boston, and Elisha Cooke, Elisha Hutchinson, John Foster and their associates holding, by an act of the Assembly, 8th of present reign, the whole privilege of making salt for a certain time. It conveys to Cook, &c., two parcels of marsh on the Neck, one on each side of the road to Roxbury, where work had already been begun. The east parcel was bounded, West by the road, South and East by the banks already cast up, North by the upland. The west parcel was bounded, East by the road, South as run and staked out from the road to the great pond in the marsh, West by the pond and marsh for about three hundred feet, North by a line to the street, also three hundred feet. Also another skip of marsh running north from said northerly line to the salt-water cove, and in breadth about three hundred feet. The lessees were to maintain a highway betwixt the marsh, from upland to upland, during their lease.

A plan of the land is recorded with this lease; and both seem to be recorded again in Lib. 25, f. 52.

It appears by Deeds, Lib. 30, f. 178, dated June 2, 1716, that other associates were admitted; viz., Waitstill Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, Eliakim Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, Nathaniel Byfield, Samuel Shrimpton, John Eyre, Simeon Stoddard, John Mico, Joseph Parson, Edward Hutchinson. Of these, Eliakim Hutchinson and Nathaniel Byfield each held two sixteenths and the others one sixteenth each.

These all sold May 4, 1730, all their rights to Henry Gibbon and Samuel Gibbon (Deeds, Lib. 77, f. 249). — Eds.

This day a Fast was kept at Cousin Savages for his sister Thacher. Mr. Willard and Thacher Pray'd and preach'd excellently. Mr. Cotton Mather pray'd; my wife and I sup'd there.

Fourth-day; Sept<sup>r</sup> 8. 1697. The Governour and Council first meet in the Council-Chamber, as it is now fitted with cieling, Glazing, Painting, new Floor that brings it to a Level; New Hearth even with it. Deputies sent for in; L<sup>t</sup> Governour made a Speech, that as they saw by the many Prorogations, He hoped my Lord should have now receiv'd them. I presented his Honour with the view of a half-sheet, which begins *In quatuor ángulis terræ*. Col. Pierce gave an account of the Body of Lime-Stone discover'd at Newbury, and the order of the Selectmen published by James Brown, Dept Sheriff, to prohibit any persons from carrying any more away under the penalty of 20<sup>s</sup>. It seems they began to come with Teams by 30. in a day: The Town will have a Meeting, and bring it to some Regulation. Our Momford saith tis good Marble. Ens. James Noyes found it out.<sup>1</sup>

Sam. and Hañah and Betty ride to Braintray and Weymouth; Joseph and Mary go over to Charlestown.

Sixth-day, Sept<sup>r</sup> 10. 1697. Court passeth an Act about suplies to other Provinces, of Men, if occasion be; to continue till the end of next May Sessions. Twas dark, and a Candle was brought in: Mr. Woodbridge went to Prayer, which is the first hath been made in the Council Chamber since its being very well fitted up and made new. Pray'd that our Land-defiling sins might be pardon'd; and Land-destroying Judgments remov'd. Pray'd that God would

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<sup>1</sup> Coffin (Hist. of Newbury, p. 165) cites this passage, and adds that Sewall refers to this discovery of lime-stone in his *Phænomena*, p. 64. This seems to have been the first body of lime-stone discovered in Massachusetts, and was of great public value, as prior to that time lime was obtained here only from shells. — Eds.



be favourably with us at our next Meeting. Court was prorogued to fourth-day Oct<sup>r</sup> 13. 9. *mane*.

Sabbath; Sep<sup>r</sup> 12. 1697. We hear of the slaughter made at Lancaster yesterday.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 13. At Roxbury Mr. Danforth tells me that Mr. Whiting, the Minister, was dead and buried: Indians shot and scalped him about noon. We rid to Dedham and refreshed there: Dined at Billenges. Lodged at Childs's, at Rehoboth.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 14. Went to Bristow over the Ferry, Bridge being down. Lodge at Mr. Wilkins; were met by sundry of Bristow Gentlemen. Issued our Business to good Satisfaction to our selves; Fourth-day was a storm, else might have husbanded it so as to have come to Rehoboth that night: But are glad of the Rain after so sore a Drought.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 16. fifth-day, Mr. Danforth and I and our men, set out to come home, Not one creature accompanying us to the Ferry. Had a very comfortable Journey No Dust moving. Visited Mr. Greenwood Din'd at Woodcocks with boil'd venison: Discours'd with a Lin Quaker removing to Philadelphia, one Burrel; Advis'd him to read the 35<sup>th</sup> of Jeremiah: The Contents in that Bible mentioned Pride, which he was guilty of. Go by Wrentham; visit Mr. Mann, who hath 11. children. From thence to Medfield, Lodge at Cap<sup>t</sup> Barbers, visit Mrs. Wilson in the even; give her 4 p<sup>s</sup>  $\frac{8}{8}$  [pieces of eight, Spanish dollars].

Sept<sup>r</sup> 17. I view Mr. Baxters House and the Orchard Capt Frary hath given to the Ministry, which lies very convenient; A living Brook ruñing by it; and throw Mr. Baxters. Visit Capt. Thurston, who was glad to see me. When at Dedham visit Mr. Belchar; Mr. Whitman is there, are going to Connecticut. Got home a little before one *post meridiem*. Is a Rumor at Rehoboth that Col. Gibson is gon into Canada. One Jamison brought on the news of our Armys Engagement. Blessed be God who hath carried us out and brought us home safely and that

preservs so many of our Towns like Flocks of Sheep in a howling Wilderness, naked and defenceless.

Sixth-day, Oct<sup>r</sup> 1. 1697. Jer. Balchar's sons came for us to go to the Island. My Wife, through Indisposition, could not goe: But I carried Sam. Hañah, Elisa, Joseph, Mary and Jane Tapan: I prevail'd with Mr. Willard to goe, He carried Simon, Elisabeth, William, Margaret, and Elisa Tyng: Had a very comfortable Passage thither and home again; though against Tide: Had first Butter, Honey, Curds and Cream. For Diñer, very good Rost Lamb, Turkey, Fowls, Aplepy. After Diñer sung the 121 Psalm. Note. A Glass of spirits my Wife sent stood upon a Joint-Stool which, Simon W. jogging, it fell down and broke all to shivers: I said twas a lively Emblem of our Fragility and Mortality. When came home met Capt Scottow led between two: He came to visit me and fell down and hurt himself; bruis'd his Nose, within a little of our House.

Upon the fourth day of the Week Sept<sup>r</sup> 29, 1697, A Council met at Plimouth:

Sept<sup>r</sup> 30. fifth day, They published their Advice, that Mr. Cotton<sup>1</sup> should make an orderly secession from the Church. Advis'd the Church to dismiss him with as much Charity as the Rule would admit of; and provide for themselves. This was for his Notorious Breaches of the Seventh Comāndmt, and Undue Carriage in chusing Elders. Thus Christs words are fullfilled, Unsavoury Salt is cast to the Dunghill. A most awfull Instance!

Fourth day Oct<sup>r</sup> 6. 1697. A Church is gathered at Watertown, East-end, and Mr. Gibbs Ordained. Mr. Fox ordains, Mr. Sherman gives the Right Hand of Fellowship. This was done in the Afternoon in the open Aer though a

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<sup>1</sup> This was Rev. John Cotton, son of the more distinguished minister of Boston. After his dismissal, he "went to Charleston, S. C., in November, 1698, and there was minister to his death of the yellow fever, 18 September following," says Savage. — Eds.

cold day. The Western party, having the Select-Men on their side, got possession of the Meetinghouse, and would not suffer the Assembly to enter there. The Lord be mercifull to his people, pardon our sins and heal our gaping wounds. Mr. Torrey tells me that Mr. Mather declar'd among the Ministers Oct<sup>r</sup> 7. that they had dealt too favourably with Mr. Cotton. Fourth-day, Oct<sup>r</sup> 13. 1697. The Company of young Merchants Treat the Gov<sup>r</sup> and all of the Council in Boston, at George Monk's. Cap<sup>t</sup> Tuttle and L<sup>t</sup> Winthrop invited the evening before. Came between 12 and 1. to the Townh. Chamber and Guarded the Governour and Council to the Anchor.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Mather is the Chaplain. No other Minister there. Mr. Noyes is ensign. After Di<sup>n</sup>er They Guarded his Honour and the Council to the Council-Chamber again; and then gave three very handsom Volleys.

This day I printed off my last half sheet and told the Governour I might safely deliver it his Honour, being under so good a Guard; twas at G. Monk's. In the Evening Mat. 26. is read in the family in course, O my Father, if it be possible &c.

Seventh-day Oct<sup>r</sup> 16. K. being alter'd, and composed anew, is wrought off. The Fires make great Havock of Hay, Medow, Fence, Timber &c. Aer hath been fill'd with smoke for above a week.

Col. Gedney had his wife to Ipswich as he went to Newbury Court, and she falls sick and dyes there in about 3 weeks time. Died on Friday night last; heard not of it till this day Oct<sup>r</sup> 17. 1697.

Air is full of smoke by reason of the Fires. Octob<sup>r</sup> 20. 1697. I wait on the Lieut Governour at Dorchester, and

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the Blue Anchor Tavern, kept by George Monk, see Duntton's Letters (Prince Soc. Pub.), pp. 311-313. It stood on Washington Street, forty feet north of the College estate, now occupied by Little, Brown & Co. From it was derived, doubtless, the name of Pudding Lane, now Devonshire Street. — Eds.



there meet with Mr. Torry, breakfast together on Venison and Chockalatte: I said Massachuset and Mexico met at his Honour's Table. When I first saw the Lieut. Governour He was Carting Ears of Corn from the uꝑer Barn. At Noon visit Mr. Morton, and Mrs. Collins, at Charlestown.

Satterday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 30. 1697. Several Acts are published; particularly that against Atheisme and Blasphemie. Mr. Allen prays; Lieut. Governour Prorogues the Assembly to Dec. 15. 9 *mane*. Mr. Cook and I write a Warrant for the Adjournm't of Salem Court to the 16<sup>th</sup> November, because of the Thanksgiving. Mr. Jewet much for it.

Fifth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Guns fired with respect to the King's Birth-day. At night great Illumination made in the Town-house; Governour and Council and many Gentlemen there. About 8. Mr. Brattle and Newman let fly their Fireworks from Cotton-Hill; Governour and Council went thither with a Trumpet sounding. Note. Governour, Mr. Secretary and I went to see Mr. Morton; before these works began, Had the Epistle to his Honour, a proof of it, in my pocket: but had not oꝑportunity to shew it: was taken this day. I went and visited Mr. Baily, who discoursed pretty cheerily. There is News that the D[uke] of Saxony is turned Roman, and chosen King of Poland.

Third-day, Novemb<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> The Epistle to the Lieut-Governour, which is the last half-Sheet, is wro't off, and the Book is set to sale in Mr. Wilkins's shop. One is sold. Could not be wrought off last week, nor yesterday; because of the Laws. Mr. Flint of Norwich came in to the Printing-Room: I gave him a Book stich'd up, which is the first perfect Book I have given away. Nov<sup>r</sup> 8. I was mourning and praying to God; and it seems my dear Bro<sup>r</sup> was sorrowing in the Burial of his little Hañah which I receiv'd an account of this day.

In the even met at Mr. Bridghams about the Bridge;

Before came away sang all the ordinary Tuenes. Sung 2<sup>d</sup> part 24. Ps 48. PS 147. Part of the 46. 2<sup>d</sup> part 102. Maj<sup>r</sup> Wally, Mr. Bridgham, Cap<sup>t</sup> Hill, Cap<sup>t</sup> Wing.

Fourth-day Nov<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Governour and Council met at the Council Chamber, were warn'd by Maxwell the day before. I took that opportunity to present the L<sup>t</sup> Governour with seven *Phænomena*! I said the Records and References were laid before his Hon<sup>r</sup> as it were in open Court; and pray'd that his Honour would judge of the Cause according to its own Merits, and not according to the deficiency of the Attorney, who had fallen short as to the duely urging of many proper pleas His Honour said it should be favourably judged of. In the evening, not having a Thanksgiving sermon at hand, I resolv'd to read in course, not thinking what the Chapter might be, and it prov'd to be Luke, 1. I aplied Marys question to the business of the Natives; Though means fail'd, God could easily convert them: Sung the song of Zecharra and Simeon.

In the morn. Nov<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Sung in course the 24<sup>th</sup> Ps., which was not aware of till my Son named it. Much Rain fell this day and night following; which was extreamly needed, for the Wells, for Cattell to drink, and for the Mills.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 13 being at Mrs. Hillers to present her with a Print, and having only one left about me, Mr. Nehemia Willoughby came to the door, and I sent it to my Bro<sup>r</sup> to Salem by him, with Condolance for the burial of his Daughters. Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 16. 1697. I ride to Salem with the Major General. As went along in Boston, I saw Sheriff Bradford; and gave him one of the *Phænomena* for his Father, as was on horse back. Fourth-day Nov<sup>r</sup> 17. Lecture-day. Mr. Noyes preached excellently from Ps. 122. 6. Pray for Jerusalem, her peace &c. Mr. Higginson dined with us; I gave him a Booke, which he kindly accepted. Desired me to come to him; I went next day in the Even. He gave me a Treatise against

Perriwigs, and left it to me to do with it as I pleased. I mention'd Printing it. He said would not have it done while he liv'd however.<sup>1</sup>

Sixth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 19. Mr. Higginson comes as far as Brothers to see me; which I wonder'd at. Mr. Hale and I lodg'd together: He discours'd me about writing a History of the Witchcraft;<sup>2</sup> I fear lest he go into the other extream. Came home with the Maj<sup>r</sup> General, din'd at Madam Paiges; there found Hancock, Allen, and Sam. Haugh. Found all well, *Laus Deo*. At Col. Paiges was told of the Death of Mrs. Thatcher. When came home, Mr. Cooke told me of the death of Mr. Hooker of Farmington.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 20. rid with Mr. Willard, Allen, Wadsworth, Bridgham to Mrs Thachers Funeral.—Mr. Allen pray'd. Gave Gloves, Mr. Torrey, Fisk, Danforth, Belchar were also there. Din'd after the Funeral, and came home. Mr. Willard told me of the falling out between the President and him about Chusing Fellows last Monday. Mr. Mather has sent him word, He will never come to his House more till he give him satisfaction. Got home before sun-set. He tells me that he had preached upon the Seals, and concluded those Sermons the last Lecture, and now I have put a Treatise into his hand relating to them.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 24, I visited Unkle Quinsey, met Mr. Torrey there. [Read in ?] Flying Post or Post-Master, Nov<sup>r</sup> 27. — 30 On Friday night last, Mr. Timothy Cruso, an eminent Non-Conformist Minister in the City departed this Life; and will be this day interr'd.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> went on foot to Cambridge, alone, visited Mr.

<sup>1</sup> This was probably Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, who died in 1708, aged ninety-four. Although several of his works were printed, we believe that this production did not receive the honors of type. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Hale, of Beverly, published in 1702 "A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft," &c., pp. 176. See Sibley's Harvard Graduates, p. 519. — Eds.



Clark and his wife. He shews me Dr. Goodwin — God can, God will, give an Answer of Peace. Widow Alice Whitting, Widow Corlet, Mr. Brattle. Came down with Capt. Williams, Capt Stoddard, Mr. Simon Stoddard. Had a very comfortable journey. When came home my son presented me with Mr. Mathers Dead Faith. Lord help me to believe and repent.

Fifth-day Decemb<sup>r</sup> 9. 1697. Mr. Willard preacheth from 1 Jn<sup>o</sup> 2. 1. My little children, these things write I unto you that you Sin not. Doct. The proper tendency of the most evangelical Doctrines of the Gospel is to keep men from sinning. Mr. Fisk and Mr. Belchar dine with us. This day about 3 p.m, Gillam arrives at Marble-head, Capt. Balston, a Passenger, comes to Town that night. Early in the morn. Dec<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Sixth-day, Capt. Clark tells me of it. Letters are at the Post-house. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Willard brings the Order for proclaiming the Peace here, which was done between 3 and 4. p.m. Eight or 10 Drums, Two Trumpets: Prisoners released. Mr. Cotton Mather was at the Townhouse Chamber pretty merry and pleasant: but was made sad by Col. Hutchinsons telling him of the death of his Unkle Mr. N. Mather, a very worthy Friend of New England. Visited the President in the evening. He is sorrowful. It seems Mr. Cole, and Mr. Vincent are also dead: very worthy persons. The ships set sail from Cows Second day Novemb<sup>r</sup> 8. 1697, at Noon. A very extraordinary Passage.

Lords-day Dec<sup>r</sup> 12. 1697. about 3. p.m. just the time he should have stood up to preach for Mr. Willard, Mr. John Bayly dieth, after much pain and illness by the Gout and other distempers. Secund-day, Dec<sup>r</sup> 13. 1697. I ride to Braintry to visit my Unkle Quinsey: He speaks pretty freely to me. Saith he must run with open arms to a dying Saviour. I mention'd the publick Interest: He said if we were a holy and humble people, God would save us. Pray'd God to bless my children and family. I

offer'd to have staid all night: but he desir'd me to goe home.

Fifth-day, Dec<sup>r</sup> 16. Mr. Bayly is buried. Mr. Cotton Mather preach'd a funeral sermon from Psal. 31. 5. Great Assembly though a very Cold day. Dec<sup>r</sup> 17. The Deputyes chuse Major Townsend their Speaker: Council chuseth Wait Winthrop, and Elisha Cooke, Esqrs, to goe to New-York to congratulate his Excellencys Arrival, when shall receive certain advice of it.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 18. Address and Instructions are agreed on.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 22. 1697. A Law against Exportation of Money is published, and the Court prorogued to March 16. at one in the Afternoon. No Prayer this Court that I hear of in the Council. It hath been extream cold. Seventh-day, Decemb<sup>r</sup> 25. 97. Snowy day: Shops are open, and Carts and sleds come to Town with Wood and Fagots as formerly, save what abatement may be allowed on account of the wether. This morning we read in course the 14, 15, and 16<sup>th</sup> Psalms. From the 4<sup>th</sup> v. of the 16<sup>th</sup> Ps<sup>l</sup> I took occasion to dehort mine from Christmas-keeping, and charged them to forbear. Hañah reads Daniel, 6. and Betty, Luke, 12. Joseph tells me that though most of the Boys went to the Church yet he went not. By the Intercession of his Mother, and his brothers Concession, he begins to read the Psalm.

Sixth-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 7. went over Charles River on the Ice, to Charlestown — Lecture and came back on the Ice. Mr. Brattle, Mr. D. Oliver, Mr. Mico, Newman, Welsted in Comp<sup>a</sup>. Mr. Bradstreet's Text was Mat. 7. 21, an awfull Scripture.

Seventh-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 8, between ten and 11. m. Parmiter comes in, and tells us that Unckle Quinsey died between

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<sup>1</sup> The text referred to is as follows: "Their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another god; their drink-offerings of blood will I not offer, nor take up their names into my lips." From the text to the application is a step not so easily to be taken at the present time. — Eds.

7 and 8 last night. A true New England man, and one of our best Friends, is gon.

Fourth-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 12. 1697 $\frac{7}{8}$  went to the Funeral of my dear Unckle. Went in the Coach, our horse failing us, Took in Madam Dudley, sending Mr. Newman before, to tell her; she seem'd to be glad of the Invitation and were mutually refreshed by our Company. Had my wife, Cousin Quinsey, and Madam Dudley. Bearers were Col. Paige, L<sup>t</sup> Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Addington, Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Major Townsend, Capt. Du $\bar{m}$ er, Major Hunt, and Ens. Peniman; had Scarves. Ensn. Peniman was the only Comission Officer of Braintry that could come abroad. Ministers there, Mr. Torrey, Mr. Willard, Mr. Fisk, Thacher, Danforth, Baxter; I saw from Boston Capt. Hill, Mr. Eliot, Mr. Tay, Be $\bar{n}$ et; Mr. Palmer waited on his father and Mother Hutchinson.

By reason of the severity of the wether, and a great Cold, I went not to the catechising Jan<sup>y</sup> 18. nor to the Lecture Jan<sup>y</sup> 20th.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 21. Sixth-day, Mr. Willard comes to visit us; though He himself also is very much indisposed by the Cold: prays with us. Speaks as if had heard Capt. Scottow was dead: but was not very certain. But before he went away, Jn<sup>o</sup> Roberts came to invite me to be a Bearer to morrow. It seems Capt. Scottow died the last night. Thus the New England Men drop away.

Seventh-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 22. 1697 $\frac{7}{8}$ . Capt Joshua Scottow is buried in the old burying place; Bearers, Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Col. Hutchinson, Sewall, Sergeant, Walley: Extreame Cold. No Minister at Capt. Scottow's Funeral; nor wife, nor daughter.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 23, 1697 $\frac{7}{8}$  Very Cold. Mr. Fitch preacheth with us and pronounceth the Blessing, Mr. Willard not being there, by reason of illness: Text was, The Lord is my shepherd &c. Mr. Willard comes abroad in the Afternoon, and preacheth excellently; baptiseth a child and a



woman. Very thin Assemblies this Sabbath, and last; and great Coughing: very few women there. Mr. Willard pray'd for mitigation of the wether; and the south Wind begins to blow with some vigor. My clock stood still this morning, and yesterday morn, which has not donè many years.

Third-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 25. Rid to the Court over Charles River upon the Ice, directly from Broughton's Warehouse to the Ferry-place. Had no Minister in the Court or at Diñer; Mr. Morton sick at home. We sent a Plate to him from Table, and visited him in the Afternoon.

Fourth-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 26. Rid over to Charlestown on the Ice which had much Water on it by the Thaw, the South Wind having blown very hard all night: I consulted Mr. Gee before I ventured; and in the morn. look'd out and found that the Ice between us and the Castle was not broken. Mr. Danforth not there. Jury kept up all night about the Case between Añesley and Tucker; brought in a special verdict, and the Court presently gave for Annesly; I was against it; Major Generall and Mr. Cooke for it: Major General proposed Advisement bill next term. I aþroved it; but Mr. Cooke turn'd his minde. Visited Mrs. Shepard, and Cousin Quinsey.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 26. 1697 $\frac{1}{2}$  Mrs. Ruth Carter dys.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 27. I was sent for to the house; it seems she hath nominated Mr. Addington and me as executors in Trust with her Husband, on behalf of her little Son. Is agreed the Funeral to be on the 7th day.

Seventh day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 29. 1697-8 Mrs. Ruth Carter is buried; Bearers Sewall, Addington, Byfield, Belchar, Legg, Borland. Ministers had scarvs, and Mr. Chiever, Mr. Oakes, Physician, Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, Major Walley there. Got home by four oclock. 'Tis a very cold day. Joseph Perce and the widow Windsor, Capt Scottos sister, lye dead.

Febr. 2. I ride over the Ice to Charlestown, visit Mr.

Russell, Mr. Danforth and dine with him; Go to Mr. Olivers for Betty, to George Bairsto's, visit Mr. Walter and his wife, and go home about 6.

Febr. 3. I saw Water a little below the Castle. I hope the Ice will now begin to remove. Neither President nor Mr. Cotton Mather at Lecture. Mr. Willard preached excellently from Rev. 2. 11. He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second Death. Day warm though blustering; the sun very much qualifying the Aer. More at Lecture than formerly, and little Coughing.

Febr. 4. 1697. Mrs. Lynde buried; Bearers Mr. Cooke, Addington, Bromfield, Capt. Williams, Capt. Foxcroft, Mr. Maccarty.

Febr. 5. 1697. Deacon Swift calls here and earnestly thanks me for the *Phænomena* I gave him, hopes it will doe good. This day I prayd for it, for Betty. Preparation for the Lords Sup̄er.

*An account of some I have been a Bearer to.*

- March, 29, 1697. Mrs. Mary Danforth, Ring and sc.
93. Apr. 2. Govr. Bradstreet at Salem, Ring, Scarf.  
Mr. Hez. Usher; July 14. Scarf.  
Capt. Joshua Scottow, Jan<sup>r</sup> 22. Scarf.  
Mrs. Ruth Carter, Jan<sup>r</sup> 29. Scarf.  
Mr. Joseph Webb, Octob. 11. 1698. Scarf.  
Capt. Edw. Wyllys, Dec<sup>r</sup> 13. 1698. Ring.
44. Mrs. Mary Townsend July, 5. 1699. Scarf.
75. July 21. Mrs. Mary Balston, Scarf.
77. Nov<sup>r</sup> 10. Thomas Danforth Esqr, Scarf and Ring.
93. Mrs. Hannah Townsend, Jan<sup>r</sup> 19 1699 Scarf, Gloves.
90. Mrs. Martha Collins, March, 23. 1700. Ring.
47. Mr. John Eyre, June, 19. 1700. Scarf and Ring.
41. Mrs. Eliza Serg<sup>t</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 14. 1700. sc. Ring.
87. Mr. Thomas Broughton, 9<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Nothing.  
Mrs. Mary Lynde, 9<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> Scarf, Ring.
51. Mrs. Deborah Thair, Jan<sup>r</sup> 7 1700 Scarf.
90. Mr. Theoder Atkinson, Augt 16. 1701. Scarf.  
Madam Penelope Bellingham, May 1702. Sc.  
Sept<sup>r</sup> 4. 1703. Madam Emm Lynde, Sc. Ring.

81. Febr. 20. Mr. Dean Winthrop, 81. Scarf, Gloves.  
 53. April 18. 1704. Mr. Nath<sup>l</sup> Oliver, Scarf, Ring.  
 54. June 29. 1704. Madam Anne Richards, Sc. R.  
 Madam A. P.  
 Sept<sup>r</sup> 21. Mrs. Mary Tuthill, widow, Scarf.  
 56. Nov<sup>r</sup> 30. Major Benj<sup>a</sup> Davis. Scarf, Gloves.  
 74. January 8, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$  Madam Sarah Leverett, Scarf, Ring.  
 66. July, 5<sup>th</sup> Lt Col. Tho. Savage, Scarf and Gloves  
 74. Mrs. Mary Lake, Sept<sup>r</sup> 8. 1705. Scarf and Gloves.  
 63. Madam Anna Païge, July, 2. 1704. Scarf, Ring

Fourth-day, Febr. 9. Last night, about nine of the clock, Col. Shrimpton dyes of an Apoplexy. Capt. Ichabod Plaisted told me of it. He was seen at his door the last Sixth Day. I gave my Letters to Capt Plaisted to carry to Newbury. Second-day, Febr. 14. 1697 $\frac{1}{2}$  Col. Sam<sup>l</sup> Shrimpton was buried with Arms; Ten Companies, 8, Muddy River and Sconce:<sup>1</sup> No Horse nor Trumpet: but a Horse led — Mr. Dyers, the Colonel's, would not endure the cloathing: Mourning Coach also and Horses in Mourning: Scutcheon on their sides and Deaths heads on their foreheads: Coach stood by the way here and there and mov'd solitarily. Bearers Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Lt Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Addington, Capt. Foster, Maj<sup>r</sup> Walley. Mr. E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson and Mr. Allen led the widow,

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<sup>1</sup> By these ten companies we are to understand the eight Boston companies, — one from Muddy River, and one from the Sconce. The latter name is a generic one for “a block-house or fortress,” but here means, undoubtedly, “Boston Sconce,” or the Fort at Fort Hill. Snow (Hist. of Boston, p. 155) quotes passages in regard to the “well-contrived fort called Boston Sconce.” It was erected about 1666, by John Leverett, and was augmented by Andros, as this Journal mentions. Here Andros was imprisoned. The fort is represented in an engraving of about the date of A. D. 1740, copied in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for 1877.

It was allowed to fall into disuse before the Revolution, but was then rebuilt, as it appears on Page's map of 1775. It is wanting on all later maps of the town.

The north battery, at Merry's Point, is known by an engraving by Revere, also republished in the above-cited volume of our Society's Proceedings. — Eds.



Capt. Clark fired twelve great guns at the Sconce, began as march'd to the New-burying place where the Corps was set int [*sic*] to the two wives. Very fair and large Paths were shovel'd by great pains and cost, three in the Burying place, one direct to the Tomb, the other compassing by the sides in which the souldiers stood Drawn up. W<sup>m</sup> Scovel being well and having on his new Coat, I fitted him with my Musket, Rapier, mourning, A<sup>m</sup>unition, and he serv'd in the South-Company.

Febr. 15. Remarkable Sun-dogs and a Rainbow were seen. Febr. 16. Mr. Chr. Tapan comes hether. Sam. reads the 2<sup>d</sup> Habakkuk out of course at evening prayer; next morn reads the 90<sup>th</sup> Psalm in course. Secret sins in the light of thy countenance, pained me. Febr. 19. I go over the Ice and visit Mr. Morton, who keeps his bed.

Febr. 21. I rid over to Charlestown on the Ice, then over to Stoweri's, go to Mr. Wigglesworth: The snow was so deep that I had a hard Journey, could go but a foot pace upon Mystick River, the snow was so deep. Mr. Wigglesworth preach'd Jan<sup>y</sup> 23. from those words, Who can stand before his Cold? Then by reason of his own and peoples sickness, Three Sabbaths pass'd without publick worship. Febr. 20. a very cold day, He preached from those words; He sends forth his word and thaws them; which began 21 and especially 22, and has thaw'd much and yet moderately.

Febr. 24. 9<sup>7</sup>. Febr. 22. at break of day, Andover is surprised. Lt Col. Bradstreet's house rifled, his kinsman Wade slain: Capt. Chubb and his wife slain and three more. Some Houses and Barns burnt, and in one a considerable quantity of corn, and twenty head of Cattel. Pulpit cushion taken away, fired, but quenched.

Febr. 24. I would fain have had the condition of Gods people put into the order for the Fast, in some such expression; As we hope to rejoice with them, so we desire to sympathise with the Brethren of our Lord Jesus in

France, Germany, Greece and other parts of the world under the Oppressions. But could by no means prevail; and the general Clause was hardly got in; the order being drawn up without it.

Febr. 26. I ride to George Bairsto and the widow Gates: They complain their sheep, having been so long kept from the ground, are sick, some dye. Others will not own their Lambs.

Febr. 26. A considerable quantity of Ice went away last night: so that now there is a glade of water along by Governor's Island about as far as Bird Island. Easterly wind all this day.

Febr. 28. A guard is set upon Charles River to prevent persons venturing over on the Ice for fear of drowning; and the Ferrymen are put upon cutting and cleaving the Ice, which they do so hapily, that I think the Boat passeth once this day. March the first, I walk on purpose, and see the wharf at Henchmans clear, and the Ferry-boat passing very comfortably.

Second-day, March 7. Set out for Plimouth about 10. *mane*. Get to Barkers and lodge there. Maj<sup>r</sup> General set out about Noon and came to us at Barkers in the night.

March, 8. Get to Plimouth about Noon, Are entertain'd at Cole's. Send two mile for Mr. Little, who prays at the opening of the Court: invite him to Diñer: Speak not to Mr. Cotton. I lodge at Cole's, the house was built by Gov<sup>r</sup> Winslow and is the oldest in Plimouth. March, 9. Word is brought us that our Horses are broke out of themselves, or else are taken out of the stable; viz. four, Maj<sup>r</sup> Generals, Mr. Cooks, mine, and Mingo's Sent presently to their flat-house, but hear nothing of them. Court rises. Capt. Byfield goes home. Mr. Cook and I linger hoping to hear of our horses and trying to get more Fifth-day, March, 10. I walk out in the morn. to see the Mill, then turn up to the Graves, come down by the Meet-

inghouse, and seeing the door partly open, went in and found a very convenient Opportunity to pray, the wind being cold; for my self and family, for Plimouth, Bp Stoke, the Province, &c. Maj<sup>r</sup> General, Mr. Sherriffe, Mr. Ward, Master of a Connecticut Sloop, and I Dine together at Coles. I pay for Ward because invited him, and Maj<sup>r</sup> General for the Sheriffe. Had large discourse in the even with Mrs. Cotton, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Rowland. I told Mr. Cotton, a free confession was the best way; spake of Davids roaring all the day long and bones waxing old whilest he kept silence. I spake with Deacon Fance to-day, sent for him to Mr. Cotton's: It seems upon the 5th of October, The Church, by speaking one by one, declared their Mind was to Release Mr. Cotton from his office-bond as Pastor; sent to Mr. Cotton to meet them (they were at Shirtly's, 25 in number, some that could not come sent their minds to the same effect: and New Society ready to do it). Mr. Cotton to come to the Meeting-house, thither they goe, and there Deacon Fance declares what the church had done. Mr. Cotton was at Cole's: when ready to come away March, 11. I said his danger was lest catching at shadows, he should neglect the cords thrown out to him by Christ and so be drown'd. Some of my last words to him was, Kisse the Son, lest he be angry! This was in the house between him and me alone. Just as was mounting, He desired me to pray for him till I heard he was dead.

As came along, went a little out of our way and came to Duxbury houses; so then resolv'd to visit Mr. Wiswall, who had been long sick of the Gout, and was very glad to see us. Gave us a very good Goose to Diñer. It rained, and got but to Barkers that night. My horse flounder'd in a bank of Snow, and threw me off; but had no hurt. *Laus Deo.* Dine at Cushings, Get home a little before Sunset and find all well, blessed be God.

Second-day, March 14. 1697. Anniversary Town-Meet-



ing, Mr. Cotton Mather prays excellently: I being present, am chosen Moderator;<sup>1</sup> Voted that would have but seven Select men; which are Samson Stoddard 122, Mr. Walker, Capt. Bozoon Allen, capt. Tho<sup>s</sup> Hunt, Mr. Isaiah Tay, Mr. Obadiah Gill, Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Marion jun<sup>r</sup>; Jn<sup>o</sup> Maryon sen<sup>r</sup> and Mr. Barns left out.

Voted that in chusing Jury men should chuse those present as well as absent. Voted a committee to consider what might be beneficial for the Town to set Poor to work, &c. Concluded with Prayer. A candle was lighted before we had done. Select-men invited me to sup with them at the stone-house; Thither word was brought of our Horses being found and brought to Town.

Third-day March 15. Foggy day, at night between eight and 9 a'clock it Thundered and lighten'd several times and rain'd very hard. As went into Town about 11 a'clock, Met Mr. Hungerford and Cooper on Horseback, who told me the Governour was at Barbados in Jan<sup>y</sup> last. This day capt Frary tells me he is going to deal with his Bro<sup>r</sup> Perry,<sup>2</sup> who call'd him all to naught this day 7 night;

<sup>1</sup> The following extracts show the town-offices held by Sewall at this period:—

“May 11th, 1697.” (Town Records vol. 2) at a public town meeting, “a Committee was chosen to give instruction unto the Selectmen, namely Elisha Cook, Esq, Sam<sup>l</sup> Sewell Esq<sup>r</sup>, and Major Penn Townsend, and said instruction to be presented to the Town, to be heard at the next Town Meeting, for their Approbation.”

“March 14th, 1698. Moderator for the day, Samuel Sewell, Esqr.

“April 8, 1700. Samuel Sewall was put on a committee to audit the Town's accounts.

“March 9, 1701-2. He was chosen one of the Overseers of the Poor.

“June 3, 1702. He was chosen Moderator of the present meeting.

“March 1702-3. He was chosen one of the Overseers of the Poor.” — EDs.

<sup>2</sup> We apprehend that this term “brother” here means more than church-relationship. As we have pointed out in our note on p. 425, Frary married the sister of Captain Jacob Eliot, and on p. 52 we showed that Eliot's wife was a Powell, sister or half-sister of Perry's wife. Thus Perry was brother-in-law of Mrs. Eliot, and Frary brother-in-law of her husband. This relationship in other instances we find to warrant the term “brother.”

In this relationship of Perry to the Eliots, we may find a confirmation of

as Rogue, piti-full Rascal, &c. Took occasion to say that my Letter put him into such a condition almost as the poor creatures were in at Salem, that he read a little of it, and threw it in the fire and burnt it. I met him near the door, as he was going into Town, or else I think he had not come in.

Fourth-day, March 16. 1697 $\frac{1}{2}$ . I sent to the college Library my *Phænomena*, well bound in calvs Leather, with Mr. Oakes's election sermon, and Mr. Willard's Tract about Swearing; by Josiah Cotton.

March, 23. 1697 $\frac{1}{2}$  Rode to Braintry with cous. Ephraim Savage, to a Fast kept there. Mr. Fisk pray'd and preach'd in the Forenoon and Mr. Torrey, in the Afternoon. Lodg'd there with Mr. Torrey. March, 24. came home by 5. p.m. Rain'd in the forenoon and most part of the day. April, 2. 1698. Went to Hog-Island with Mr. John White in his Birch Canoe: I see how the sheep are dead, it seems ten since last Thursday, 3 drown'd, and more so sop'd in the water; that they dyed. Lost his horse this day señight. I perceive his son Joseph Belchar married Jonathan Bills' Daughter last January; which knew not of till now; then I cheapen'd a Duck, and they told me his wife knew the price. Their Net Cattel have stood well, not one dead. Mr. White kill'd an Eagle flying, and a sheldrake. No News of the Governour from N. York by the Post: Speak of sixty persons dead at Fairfield.

Thursday Apr. 7th. 1698. I acquainted Mr. Brenton that I had sold my 600. Acre Lot at Narraganset, as supōsing he had no mind to hire it, but was cold in the matter, going away to Rode-Island and not perfecting the Lease, nor offering me any to sign, nor desiring me to stay till he should come back, that I remember. Bro<sup>r</sup> St. Sewall

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our expressed supposition, that Eliot sold land to Perry and gave possession without a deed recorded. — Eds.

visits us this day; lodges here Thursday night and Friday night.

Sixth-day, April 8. I visited Mr. Morton. I was told he was asleep, but went in, and when I drew nigh his Beds side, he earnestly stretch'd out his flaming hand to me, and strove to speak, but could not. I think the first I heard him say was, Sir, I asked him how he did in such long illness He at first said, *That which can't be cur'd must be endur'd.* But seem'd presently after to correct himself and say, *I desire patiently to submit to the hand of God.* A while after I said, you cañot speak to me, but you can speak to God, which is a thousand times better; I pray that God would help you to speak to him, and that he would graciously hear you when you doe speak. He seem'd to ly still in a listening posture, and made a little pause, and said, *Excellent things! If I could receive them and live up to them!* Before this He said something about his man Tiler, that he heard he was become a new man. When I took leave, He said, *I wish you well and all your family.* I told him I doubted not but that I should fare the better for his Blessing. Second-day, Apr. 11. Mr. Willard and I having appointed it before, went to see Mr. Morton. He was in his Agonies, but Mr. Willard pray'd with him, and he seemed to be sensible by the motion of his eye. He died between two and three of the clock, Fowl, that us'd to tend him, clos'd his eyes; and Mr. Willard spake to them to close his under Jaw, which they did. Deacons desired us to go and see Mr. Bradstreet, which we did: but he was not at home, was gon to Cambridge.

Third-day, Apr. 12. 1698. By a sloop from thence we hear that the Governour [Lord Bellomont] arrived at Sandy-hook Apr. 1. and was receiv'd magnificently at New-york Ap. 2. Capt. N. Williams told me first of it in the Meeting-house, after Catechising.



Apr. 13. Capt. Frary and Bro<sup>r</sup> Perry desire Mr. Sergeant and me to issue their difference.

Apr. 14. Go to the funeral of Mr. Morton. President, Mr. Allen, Willard, Brattle, Bradstreet, Wadsworth Bearers. L<sup>t</sup> Governour and about 12 of the Council there. Had Gloves, and so had the Ministers. Scholars went before the Herse. It seems on Monday morn a Lad was kill'd by a hogshead of sugar falling on him as it was hoisting into a Boat in which the boy stood. Ap. 14. Mr. Wadsworth's Text was from James, 4. 14. One use was of Comfort against Persecution: insisted pretty much on it, that the life of persecutors was as a vapor. When came from the funeral, went to the Town-house, and there the L<sup>t</sup> Governour deliver'd Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, &c, their Comission for going to N-York

Apr. 15. Post comes to Town. Apr. 16. His Excellencies Letter to the L<sup>t</sup> Governour and council is read, dated Ap. 4. N. York. Thanks for Praying for Him, which saw by the order for the Fast; doubts not but fâ'r'd the better. Shall write more by the next, was now in pain by the Gout. Agreed upon One hundred £ here, and another at N. York for the Agents. As were looking on the seals, and guessing at the birds, swans, Ducks — I guess'd Coots,<sup>1</sup> which consented to. And I made a shift to

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<sup>1</sup> This, of course, refers to the seal of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont and Baron of Colloony, in the peerage of Ireland. His own arms were argent, a chevron sable between three coots proper; crest, a coot, as in the arms; supporters, two wolves ermines; motto, *Vincit veritas*. An engraving of his seal is given in the *Heraldic Journal*, i. 166, and another in the *Historical Magazine*, ix. 176. It is, in each case, a shield of eight quarterings, with an escutcheon of pretence of four quarterings, being the arms of his wife, Catherine Nanfan. The earldom became extinct in 1766, and though revived in 1770, the second creation also expired soon. The last earl left an illegitimate son, ancestor of the Cootes, baronets. The uncle of the first Earl of Bellomont was created Earl of Montrath in 1660. This title ceased in 1800, but the baronetcy in this branch was inherited by a junior branch now represented by Sir Charles Henry Coote, of Ballyfin, premier baronet of Ireland. — Eds.

read the Motto, *Vincit veritas*, which was consented to; though given over before, as not legible.

Mr. Sergeant is prevail'd with, that his Excellency be rec'd at his house. A hundred pounds are ordered towards the expense.<sup>1</sup>

Ap. 15. I got some Trees at Roxbury and Muddy River and brought them home in Bristos cart. White-Oak got out of Palsgrave Alcock's Lot; he was there and gave leave: set it when came home in the Pasture in the Cōmon, and the Poplar to the street and the Platan at the upper corner next to Charlestown. Ap. 16. Set the rest.

Ap. 18. Chose Mr. Noyes to preach the Election sermon.

Ap. 19. Mr. Danforth and I sign'd a Writt for adjourning the Superior Court to the 14th of June.

Apr. 19. Accompanied the Gentlemen in the way towards [New] York as far as Lions; then Mr. Secretary, Leverett and I came back: Others went as far as Dedham. Mr. Rogers of Ipswich and major Wainwright is with them.

May, 4. Sign'd a writt for adjourning Ipswich Court to June 21.

May, 5. Mr. Brinsmead lodges here.

May, 6. Speaking of the uncertainty of the conversion of Adam and Eve, I shew'd him Dr. Goodwin and Owen's Notions. He told me of a converted Turk, and of strange Visions at Meccha, in the year 1620, to be seen in Clark's Examples. It being the same year with Plimouth it affected me. Gave him the Fr. King's annulling of the Edicts made in favour of the Protestants.

May, 9. 1698. Town-Meeting for choice of Assemblymen warn'd by printed Tickets: Number present 340. chosen

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<sup>1</sup> The house was afterwards purchased by the Province as a residence for the Governor, and was known as the "Province House." — Eds.

Mr. John Eyre	218.
Capt Sam <sup>l</sup> Legg	200.
Capt. Nath <sup>l</sup> Byfield	196.
Maj <sup>r</sup> Pen Townsend	172.

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## Next

Foxcroft	156.	{ Joseph Royal chosen Con- stable in Capt. Goff's room, who fin'd.
Thornton	124.	
Bromfield	119.	
Frary	113	

May, 10. Mr. John Brown has home his Bride to Salem, Mrs. Sarah Burroughs. Very cold blustering day after the pleasant warm Rain yesterday, and Rainbow near night, south E and by East. Fourth-day, May, 11<sup>th</sup> As I lay in my bed in the morn, this verse came into my mind,

To Horses, Swine, Net-Cattell, Sheep and Deer,  
 Ninety and Seven prov'd a Mortal yeer.

May, 11. 1698. I, my wife, Hannah, Elisabeth Joseph, Mary rode in the coach to Muddy-River, and in the new Room with the widow Gates and her daughter Sparhawk, sung the 114<sup>th</sup> Psalm. Simon catch'd us a Bass. Call'd at Bairsto's as came back. When came home met with news of a ship from England, 8 weeks Passage.

Sam chose to goe to Cambridge with Josiah Willard. Lords day May, 15<sup>th</sup> 1698. Very dark day, plentifull Rain and some Thunder. May, 16, 1698. Capt. Nicholas Down comes from Topsham. April, 14. brings news of the probability that the King of Spain is dead. Updike arrived a little before at Marblehead, and brings the news of the Joseph Gally being cast away on the coast of Ireland and all the persons in her lost. Madam Bellingham one: Sail'd from hence the 8th of November. 58 drowned in the Tilt boat, Febr 3. 1. p.m., and near 30 out of two Wherries.



In the beginning of this Moneth of May, the old Brick Colledge, comonly called the *Indian* Colledge, is pull'd down to the ground, being sold to Mr. Willis the builder of Mr. Stoughtons colledge.<sup>1</sup> May 25. Mr. Secretary, Major Walley and I went to meet the Governour, who rid to Town in his Coach. Mr. Noyes preaches.

For the Election, see the List.

Mr. Tañan lodges here with Sam.

May, 31. Jn<sup>o</sup> Alden comes from Holland, last from Cows; viz. Apr. 18<sup>th</sup>: brings word that John Foy arriv'd in the Downs Apr. 9<sup>th</sup>. Are Letters from Mr. Ive giving an account of the Receipt of Letters by Foy. Ships are fitting out. Bro<sup>r</sup> Steph. Sewall comes to Town, May 31. 1698. Second-day, May 30. 98. Inhabitants meet to chuse a Representative in Maj<sup>r</sup> Townsends room. Voters 318. And votes, Belchar 175. Fr. Foxcroft 138. Bromfield 3. Frary 1. Thornton 1. I have not taken notice of such a close adherence to each side before.

June, 10. 1698. Mr. James Allin comes into the Council Chamber, and presents an Address from the Fellows of Harvard Colledge sign'd by himself as senior Fellow, which was to ask concurrence and Assistance in sending the President to England, to solicit for a Charter, as suposing the Law sent will not be a<sup>p</sup>rov'd in England, because the Council was join'd with the Gov<sup>r</sup> in the Visitation. And Mr. White, who was sent to N. York by the college, being returned, the Governour's Letter was read manifesting an utter improbability of passing the Law as it was, because the Lords had directed the Governours being Visitor alone.

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<sup>1</sup> "An Indian college was erected, chiefly by funds furnished by the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. . . . A single individual, 'Caleb Cheeshahteamuck, *Indus*,' stands alone on the catalogue of the graduates of Harvard College,—the only representative of the native tribes." Quincy, Hist. Several other young Indians were members of the College, for longer or shorter periods, and the most promising of them all was killed by some pagan Indians, while on a visit to his home, on the eve of his graduation. — Eds.

Address was read and sent down. Representatives sent it up again, desiring the council to act on it first. When twas read with us I asked whoes the Colledge was; because twas said Our Colledge —

Sixth-day, June 12. 1698. 4 p.m. Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffries dieth, and the shop of her Father, Mr. John Usher, is shut up upon it. It is affecting that an only child should be snatched away so soon. Has left 8 children.

Tuesday, June, 28. 1698. Court at Salem, Major Brown praesident; were remov'd to the Ship Tavern and candles lighted; a cry of Fire was made. A Girl drawing Rum in a little Warehouse of Mr. Lyndon's, or looking after a cask that leak'd, the candle fired it, which took the cask and broke it up with a Report, so catch'd Cotton and fired Mr. Willoughbys house in the Garret of which was a Barrel of Powder, that taking fire blew off the Roof and very much dispersed the flaming partickles; much of which was thrown on Major Brown's house over the way, the wind carrying it thither so that and his warehouse were quickly burnt down, and much Money and Goods lost with the Buildings. Five houses in all burnt, Mr. Hirst's for one. This is the first considerable Fire that ever was in Salem. It seems the stroke makes a deep impression on Maj<sup>r</sup> Brown. Has lost 3 or four Thousand pounds.

Comencement day, and next, Mr Tapan was here.

July, 13. 1698. divided the Haugh's Tenement. When came home rec'd Sir Henry Ashhurst's Letter, wherein He thanks me for my kind Present of the *Phaenomena* sent him. This is the first notice I have had of their being in England. This day Roger Judd tells me that Col. Lidget is dead.

July, 15. 1698. Mr. Edward Taylor comes to our house from Westfield. Monday July 18. I walk'd with Mr. Edward Taylor upon Cotton Hill, thence to Becon Hill, the Pasture, along the Stone-wall: As came back,

we sat down on the great Rock,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Taylor told me his courting his first wife, and Mr. Fitch his story of Mr. Dod's prayer to God to bring his Affection to close with a person pious, but hard-favoured. Has God answered me in finding out one Godly and fit for me, and shall I part for fancy? When came home, my wife gave me Mr. Tañan's Letter concerning Eliza, which caus'd me to reflect on Mr. Taylor's Discourse. And his Prayer was for pardon of error in our ways — which made me think whether it were not best to overlook all, and go on. This day John Ive, fishing in great Spie-pond, is arrested with mortal sickness which renders him in a mañer speechless and senseless; dies next day; buried at Charlestown on the Wednesday. Was a very debauched, atheistical man. I was not at his Funeral. Had Gloves sent me, but the knowledge of his notoriously wicked life made me sick of going; and Mr. Mather, the president, came in just as I was ready to step out, and so I staid at home, and by that means lost a Ring: but hope had no loss. Follow thou Me, was I supose more complied with, than if had left Mr. Mather's company to go to such a Funeral.

July, 26. By reason of the fowlness of the wether Mr. Cook and I rid in the Coach to Cambridge. Maj<sup>r</sup> Generall, Cook and I rid together in it to Charlestown, and laid it there.

Augt 12. Tis told all about the Town that Major Generall<sup>2</sup> courts Mary Howard.

Augt. 15, Second-day, Set out for Springfield, lodg at Marlborow. Augt. 16. To Quaboag, with a guard of 20

<sup>1</sup> We may, not unreasonably, assume this to be the Wishing Stone described by Shurtleff (p. 350). It was on the Beacon Street Mall, near the gingko tree, at the junction of the paths opposite Joy Street. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The major-general was Wait Still Winthrop, then a widower. He was not married a second time, however, until 1707, when he espoused Catherine Brattle, widow of John Eyre. — Eds.



Men under Cornet Brown. Between Worcester and Quaboag we were greatly wet with Rain; wet to the skin. Got thither before twas dark. A Guard of 20 from Springfield met us there, and saluted us with their trumpets as we alighted. Augt. 17. very fair day in which we went to Springfield. Augt. 18. Open'd the Court, present Winthrop, Cooke, Sewall. Gave a Bill to the Grand-Jury, Mr. John Holyoke, Foreman. They found the Bill. Inpanel'd a Jury of Trial; upon her [?] Arraignment, she having at last pleaded Not guilty, Adjourn'd to the morning, when court Open'd, Mr. Taylor of Westfield prayed. Augt. 19. Jury, Mr. Parsons foreman, brought in Sarah Smith Guilty of murdering her Bastard daughter. Adjourn'd till Noon. Court met and the Maj<sup>r</sup> Generall pronounced the sentence. She had been kept at Derefield about a Moneth's time, by reason of the extremity of the Winter, was brought down to Springfield Jail Febr. 18.

Augt. 20. Went to the Long Meadow to bring the Maj<sup>r</sup> Generall going towards Hartford. Meet with Jn<sup>o</sup> Noble, with him went to Westfield and kept Sabbath with Mr. Tailor, Augt. 21.

Augt 22. Return'd to Springfield; Mr. Tailor with me. Rain'd hard in the Afternoon and night, and part of the morn. Augt. 23. By which means were not able to reach Quaboag; and twas thought could not pass the Rivers. So went to Northampton, a very Paradise. Lodg'd at the ordinary, getting to town in the night. Augt. 24. very fair day, Mr. Cook and I went with Mr. Stoddard and heard Mr. I. Chauncy preach his first Lecture at Hadley. Made a very good sermon. Invited us to diñer. Went over to Hatfield. Mr. Cook being importun'd to see Benj Wait's wife; it was late and lodg'd all night with Mr. Williams.

Augt. 25. Went early in the morn to Hadly, and from thence with a Guard of ten men to Quabaog. Augt. 26.

to Marlborow. Augt. 27. Home, not wetting our foot; though the height of the Rivers was so much feared. Found all well at home through the abundant goodness of God, to whom be the Praise. Upon the Neck the Lieut. Governour met us in his New Coach and read us out of the Governour's Letter the News that New-Spain had Revolted from the Crown of Spain and had crowned the vice-Roy of Mexico their King.

Augt. 29. I send Mr. Noyes's sermon and a *Phænomena* to the Governour by the Post, sermon was the first that was bound.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 12. Danforth, Cook, Sewall set out for Rehoboth. Capt. Byfield with us very brisk and generous; I lodg'd with him. Sept<sup>r</sup> 13. To Bristol. Benj<sup>a</sup> Allin's Sentence was confirm'd, He a<sup>p</sup>earing notoriously Naught. The Judgm't of the Court in the Writt of Error was not declar'd till Sept<sup>r</sup> 15. which was for Blagrove ag't Byfield, at which Capt. Byfield swell'd greivously. In a case of Saffin *vers.* Curtis, which Capt. Byfield was concern'd for Curtis, Jury brought in for Curtis. — Capt. Byfield, with a remarkable Air, thank'd the Jury for their Justice and sentence. For their Justice, and with a voice a little Lower said, He had none before. I told him he deserv'd to be sent to prison. He disown'd the words; And alleged; He said he had none to thank any body for. Mr. Cook seconded me. Mr. Danforth heard not. Capt. Byfield declin'd coming home with us. Rain hinder'd our setting out that day. So after di<sup>n</sup>er at Mr. Saffin's, Not knowing better how to bestow my time, Look'd on Mr. Saffin's Books, and lit on Dr. Fullers History of the Worthies of England, and in p. 116. 117. found mention made of the Inundation at Coventry, on Friday April, 17. in the Maioralty of Henry Sewall my Father's Grandfather. Mention is made p. 134. of W<sup>m</sup> Dugdale's Illustrations of Warwickshire.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 16. Dined at Woodcocks, visited Mr. Man, Lodg'd

at Meadfield. Sept<sup>r</sup> 17th. got home just about Noon, very comfortable and well, and find all well at home. Blessed be God. Mexican Revolt is a sham, as Mr. Tho. Brattle saith: Report is taken from John Bant, which as far as I can see is rather Negative, than any thing else. He in his wilder'd condition heard, though in stead of going to Barbados, fell near Yucatan.

Copy of a Letter to His Excellency, the Governour, Sept<sup>r</sup> 19. 1698, by the Post:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:—

I come to offer your Excellency five more of Mr. Noyes's Sermons, praying your Lordships favourable Acceptance of them. Here is one John Bant, who sail'd from this Port last May, bound for Barbados: but missing that, and the Neighbouring Islands, fell into the Bay of Mexico, and came within sight of Yucatan. From thence he went to the Havaña, where he arrived upon the Lords day, about eight weeks agoe. Was had before the Governour, and in two or 3 hours was comāded thence, not being permitted to stay to fit his vessel. Said Bant turned up to the Bay of Metansis to Water; where he spent some days and conversed with the people. And yet heard not a word of the Mexican Revolt. Which makes the Truth of it to be questioned here. However it be, God will work in the fittest season and place, for the Help of his people and distress of their Enemies. The ships that came out with Capt. Cliffe, are not arrived. I crave leave to add that I am (though unknown) your Excellency's most humble and obedient serv't. S. S.

First Letter was Augt. 29; sent the first and only book that was then bound in red leather.

Octob<sup>r</sup> 11. 1698. Mr. Joseph Webb buried. Bearers. Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Sewall, Addington, Eliakim Hutchinson, Duñer. Mr. Allin and Wadsworth there. I saw no other Ministers. Sixth-day, Octob<sup>r</sup> 14. 1698. Church Meeting at the South church. Put in votes for election of a Minister. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton had Thirty seven votes, and Mr. Jabez Fitch, Twenty three. I think Mr. Oliver and Davis did not vote. In the Nomination September, 30. Mr. Fitch had Thirty six, and Mr. Pemberton Twenty one. Fourth-day, Octob<sup>r</sup> 19. 1698. Mr.



Bullivant was with me to take leave, and desired my favour on behalf of Dr. Chip, that he might dwell in part of Mr. Yonges house at Cotton Hill: And that might have it all, if said Yonge left it. Said he had an estate, was a very ingenious civil person: would send him to me. Seventh-day; Octob<sup>r</sup> 29. 1698. Thomas Savage jun<sup>r</sup>, shop-keeper, and Sarah Threeneedles were brought face to face in a very great Audience: She vehemently accused him, and he asserted his innocency with vehement Asseverations. She said he had ruin'd her; if he would have promis'd her any thing, it had not come to this. Said She forgave him, Judgment of God hung over him if did not repent.

Seventh-day, Octob<sup>r</sup> 29. 1698. Last night a strange body of fire was seen in the sky, which gave an unusual Light: Davis, the Bell-man, told me of it when he was coming to call me to Court, and met me by the way.

Fourth-day, Novemb<sup>r</sup> 9. Mr. Cushing is ordain'd at Salisbury. Mr. Higginson preaches a Sermon, Text, Eternal Judgment.

Fifth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1698. A Church is gathered at the West end of Newbury, and Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Belchar ordained their Minister.

Fifth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 10. Mr. Green is ordained at Salem Village, and likelihood of a stability of Peace and settlement there. Fifth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Very fair serene wether; Mr. Cotton Mather preaches at the South-Meetinghouse: Sarah Threeneedles is an Auditor; is a very vast Assembly, and the street full of such as could not get in; 51. Psalm 2<sup>d</sup> verse sung, 9-15 verses. Mr. Willard read the whole, and I set the Tune. After Lecture Sarah Threeneedles is executed. Mr. Woodbridge went to the place of execution and pray'd with her there.

Sabbath, December 4. 1698. Last night lying awake, but with my eyes fast shut, Lightning flash'd in my face, I could not certainly tell what Light it should be;

but presently heard a loud clap of Thunder. This day between the ringing of the morning Bells, it Thundered several times, but with a more confused and rumbling noise. Much Rain, Mist.

Decemb<sup>r</sup> 6th. 1698. Our cherubims heads are set up. Sister Gerrish here with her son Joseph. Dec<sup>r</sup> 9. Go homeward.

Decemb<sup>r</sup> 10. Mr. Wadsworth prays, and the Court is dissolv'd about 4 p-m.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 8. Capt. Belchar invites all the Deputies to his daughters Wedding. The speaker, Mr. Eyre, and Mr. Oliver, Dept. for Cambridge, were of a co<sup>m</sup>ittee with Mr. Secretary and me to acquaint Mr. Mather with the Courts desire of his removal to Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> and carry him an Order for 200£ per annum so long as he should reside there. By reason of the Wedding, twas near 7 in the even before we got thither. I began, and ask'd excuse for our being so late. The reason was, most of us were come from a Wedding; However I hop'd, it was a good omen, that we were all come to a Wedding. Mr. President expostulated with Mr. Speaker and Mr. Eyre about the votes being alter'd, from 250 [L. ?], as the Council had set it, and also his name being left out and making him a five years president. Note. By a conference the Bill was made as ours at first, saving fifty pounds less. We urg'd his going all we could; I told him of his Birth and education here; that he look'd at work rather than Wages, all met in desiring him, and should hardly agree so well in any other. Mr. Speaker, in behalf of the House, earnestly desired him. Objected want of a House, Bill for Corporation not pass'd; Church; [his attachment to it] Must needs preach once every week, which he prefered before the Gold and Silver of the West-Indies. I told him would

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<sup>1</sup> That is, that he should resign his Ministry in Boston and go to Cambridge to reside in his office as President of the College, to which he was disinclined. — Eds.

preach twice aday to the students. He said that (exposition) was nothing like preaching.

Sabbath, Dec<sup>r</sup> 11. 1698. I went to see Capt. Wyllys, he rustled much at first coming in; Mrs. Wyllys bid me sit, and would speak to him by and by: He made a little noise and fetch'd his breath deep once or twice or thrice and expired between 8 and 9 m, just before our first Bell rung. No body there then but the family and myself.

Capt. Edw. Wyllys buried in the new burying place, at the u<sup>p</sup>er end. Bearers, Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, Sewall, Col. Phillips, L<sup>t</sup> Col. Lynde, Mr. Oakes, Mr. Eyre. Cold blustering day. Mr. Fisk there.

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 20. 1698. Hañah, sitting on one of the Lether chairs, fell on the rest, Joaña went to her and was surprised; I went to her and help'd to raise her up; seem'd to have a short Convulsion Fit. Mr. C. Mather and his wife were here. As brought them going, desired Mr. Mather to remember her in his Prayers. The Providence put me and the family into great Consternation. The Lord fit for the Issue.

This week have News of Some of the Fleet of the Scotland Company being at Jamaica; and tis rumor'd they intend to settle on the American Isthmus, or on Golden Island just by it. Makes much Discourse in Town. I gave Mr. Borland a Duz. *Phænomena*, and half a Duz. of Mr. Noyes's Sermons, to send them to welcom them into the New World, to go by Bant.

Tuesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 27. 1698. Col. Romer is treated at the Castle.<sup>1</sup> Capt. Fairwether ask'd me not to goe: so I went to Roxbury Lecture. Saw as went, Jn<sup>o</sup> Lion's daughter buried, of 12 years old. Mr. Walters Text was out of the

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<sup>1</sup> "The fortifications of this castle were very irregular till King William's reign, when Colonel Romer, a famous engineer, was sent thither to repair them. The Colonel demolished all the old works, and raised an entirely new regular fortification, now called Fort William." Neal's Present State of New England, Chap. XIV., Vol. II., p. 586. — Eds.



19<sup>th</sup> Psalm, — cleanse thou me from secret sins. Godly men had a Soul-concern that God would pardon their Secret sins and cleanse them from them.

Major Townsend there, visited Mr. Walter and Madam Dudley, Mr. Hubbard, White, Newman came home with us by moonshine, I shew'd them the Scotland Acts, Subscriptions, Contributions; which Mr. Jackson left with me this day.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 24. 1698. Read and sung in course in the Family the 3<sup>d</sup> part of the 77<sup>th</sup> Ps., which I hôp'd was going to be partly fullfill'd by the company of Scotland. Dec<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> After Lecture I invite Major Vaughan and Mr. Partridge to Dinner, such as it was. At the Town-House with Mr. Justice Danforth, Winthrop, Cooke, took the New Oath made last sessions. And took an oath relating to the Special Court to try Jacob Smith; Mr. Danforth gave the comission to Mr. Cook. Voted some Money for Major Walley. Went to Vaughan and Partridge at Dering's, as told them I would, while in the chamber. Had only a piece of rost Beef, Minct pye and Tarts to Diñer. It seems the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> invites the Council to Diñer to morrow at his house.<sup>1</sup> After Diñer, Major Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Col. Hutchinson, Capt. Foster, Mr Sergeant, Mr. Hutchinson came in to discourse with Mr. Partridge and Vaughan, and staid till about 6 a'clock, or past. Mr. Cook ask'd me whether I was bidden. I told him I knew nothing of it. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> look'd upon me in good earnest, and almost angrily, at going away, and told me I must goe; but I heard nothing of it since, and tis now Dec<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>. past 3 *tempore pomeridiano*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The dinner was, of course, to be on Christmas Day, and Sewall's well-known prejudices probably caused the omission of his invitation. His reflections show that he felt that he was running some risk of personal loss by his course, and this fact must dignify in our eyes his Puritanism. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase explains the "T. P." on p. 25, and the "*T. pomer.*" on p. 42. — Eds.

The Grievousness of this prætermission is, that by this means I shall be taken up into the lips of Talkers, and shall be obnoxious to the Governour at his coming, as a person deserted and fit to be hunted down, if occasion be; and in the mean time, shall goe feebly up and down my Business, as one who is quite out of the L<sup>t</sup> Govr<sup>s</sup> favour. The Lord pardon my share in the abounding of Iniquity by reason whereof the Love of many waxes cold.

I had the pleasure this day to read in course the 37. of Ezekiel. I could not but think of the Expedition of the Scots. Hañah read the 4th of Ephesians. How hard it is to practise the Duties there laid down, especially about Anger and Malice. Betty read the 20<sup>th</sup> of Revelation, all in course.

2<sup>d</sup> Day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> I speak to Mr. Mico about 8 m. at his house, largely about Capt. Tuttle. Saith he never heard any ill of him, in answer to my asking if he had any blot. Saith knows not his estate but thinks it may be about 6 or 700£. Is in good Business, and like to be in better. If he had a sister here to whom his Father order'd 1000£ portion, he would bestow her upon Mr. Tuttle, if he ask'd her.<sup>1</sup>

Just about this time Mrs. Moodey was siezed with the palsie on her left side also, and made speechless.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> After Roger Judd's being here, Mr. Willard and I went to see Mrs. Moodey, Mr. Willard prays with her. Methinks fetcheth her breath much shorter than when I saw her the evening before.

4th day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 4. Mrs. Moodey dyes about Sun-rise. Roger Judd comes into my house this morning, and talking about Mr. Willards sending for him yesterday, I ask'd him, if Mr. Myles [Rector of King's Chapel] should send for him, whether he would not reckon it his duty to go to

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tuthill was an unsuccessful suitor for Miss Elizabeth ("Betty") Sewall. — Eds.

him. At first, he said yes; but presently after said If I please. I told him that he made himself his own Judge. He said, If should now call a church-Meeting and send for him, he would not go to them; for he was none of them. Said he came not into church but [by] the importunity of Deacon Eliot and others; told him then he was for the church of England. And told me now twas his Conscience to go to the church of England, and he had sin'd in staying away from it so long. If he was persecuted for it, he could not help it.

Fourth-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 4th. Mrs. Moodey dies about Sunrise. About 11 m. Daughter Elisabeth reads to me the second of Genesis in course. In the evening between seven and eight Capt. Zech. Tuthill speaks with her. This day I spake with Mr. Newman about his partaking with the French church<sup>1</sup> on the 25. December on account of its being Christmas-day, as they abusively call it. He stoutly defended the Holy-days and church of England. Jan<sup>y</sup> 6. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . I received a Letter from Mr. Taylor giving account of Mrs. Woodbridges death at Harford: was brought to bed Dec. 18. died 21. Is much lamented.

Jan<sup>y</sup> — at night Capt. Tuthill comes to speak with Betty, who hid her self all alone in the coach for several hours till he was gon, so that we sought at several houses, till at last came in of her self, and look'd very wild.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 9 speaks with her in my presence.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 10. dine at Mrs. So. Stoddard's, Had a great Treat. Major Vaughan, Mr. Secretary, Foster, Sewall, Townsend, President, Mr. Willard, Allin, Cotton Mather, Mr. Woodbridge, Bromfield, there: besides select-Men.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 10. at night sent Mr. Tuthill away, because company

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<sup>1</sup> A number of Huguenots, or French Protestants, driven into exile by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685 came to Boston, and in 1687, having entered into a "Church estate," worshipped for some time in the Town's School-house, in School Street. The Rev. Pierre Dailé was the minister of this "French Church." — Eds.



was here, and told him was willing to know her mind better. Jan<sup>y</sup> 18. 169<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Court of Oyer and Terminer sits. Capt. Nath. Williams foreman. Capt. Wing had a son under the circumstances of the person to be tried: Bill was indors'd *Ignoramus*. There din'd with us Mr. Hutchinson E<sup>m</sup>, Mr. Sergeant, Capt. Jno. Brown, Capt. Jn<sup>o</sup> Turner that the Court paid for. I motion'd to invite Mr. Brown, and Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of his own accord invited Capt Turner as his cousin Brown's Companion.

Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 20. Capt. Brown and Turner breakfast here: Betty came in afterward, and serv'd Almonds and Raisins, and fill'd a Glass of Wine to us; and it fell to her to drink to Capt. Turner. She went out of the way at first, after I had spoke to her to fill wine: which surpris'd me: and I contrived that of the Raisins on purpose to mend the matter. Sabbath-day Jan<sup>y</sup> 22, Bro<sup>r</sup> Roger Judd is cast out of the Church for his contumacy in refusing to hear the Church, and his contemptuous behaviour against the same, and Mr. Willard the Pastor. Refus'd to be there.

Second-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 23. 169<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> I carry my two sons and three daughters in the Coach to Danford, the Turks head at Dorchester: eat sage Cheese, drunk Beer and Cider and came homeward. Call'd at Madam Dudley's, then visited Mr. Walter; told him there was all my stock, desired his Blessing of them; which he did.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 24. Went to Roxbury Lecture: Mr. Addington, Sergeant, E<sup>m</sup> Hutchinson, Major Townsend and others there. Mr. Walter exhorted to privat Duties, and dehorted from privat sins, from the Consideration of God's seeing in secret. Fourth-day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 25. 169<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> [Prayer] Company of Scotland, South-church. Children, especially daughter Elisabeth. France.

Thursday, March, 2. 169<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Mrs. Catharin Phillips buried, Mr. Danforth, Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, Russel, Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Foster, Bearers. I think all the

Council had gloves sent, and Rings there. Lt Gov<sup>r</sup> was not there, by reason of the marriage of his Nephew, Mr. William Taylor, with Mrs. Sarah Byfield, this day. Gov<sup>r</sup> Winthrop was at the Funeral.

March, 4. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$  Foy arrives, came out of Faymouth in November, in him comes an Assistant [Rev. Christopher Bridge] to Mr. Myles who preaches March, 5.

*A Copy of President Mather's Letter.*

To the Honorable William Stoughton, Esqr. Lient. Governour of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I promised the worthy Gentlemen who acquainted me with the Proposal of the General Court concerning the removal of my Habitation from Boston to Cambridge, that I would return my Answer to your Honour. In the first place I give my humble Thanks, as to the General Assembly, so, in a special mañer, to the honourable Council, and to your Honor in a most peculiar mañer, for the Respect in this Motion manifested. Nevertheless, as to the thing proposed, I do not see my way clear. As to the Salary, I make no objection, although it is considerably less than what I have in Boston, through the Love and bounty of the people amongst whom God hath fixed my present abode. But the objections which are of weight with me are these;—1. If I comply with what is desired, I shall be taken off, in a great measure at least, from my publick Ministry. Should I leave preaching to 1500. souls (for I suppose that so many use ordinarily to attend in our Congregation) only to expound to 40 or 50 Children, few of them capable of Edification by such Exercises: I doubt I should not do well. I desire (as long as the Lord shall enable me) to preach publickly every Lords Day. And I think all the Gold in the East and West-Indies would not tempt me to leave preaching the Unsearchable Riches of Christ; which several of the Presidents in the Colledge were necessitated to desist from, because of their other work.

2. I am now (through the patience of God) grown into years, wanting but half a year of 60. and of a weak and tender Constitution of Body, not well able to endure the Hardships of the Presidentship. A younger and a stronger man would do better. *Invalidae vires ingeniumque mihi.*

3. I have laboured much both in New-England, and in England to obtain an happy settlement of the Colledge. Should I at last go

thither my self, the World would say, (as I hear some do say) that I sought my self in all those Endeavours. Such Reproaches will, by a Resignation of my Relation to that Society, be for ever put to Silence. One Reason of my retaining my Relation to the Colledge thus long, has been because it was thought, that would facilitate its Charter-Settlement. Could I see that done, I should with great joy give way to another President.

4. I am satisfied that the Church to which I stand related, will not set me at Liberty. Many of them say that God has made me their Spiritual Father; and how can they consent that I should go from them? Besides, they well know that I have had a strong Bent of Spirit to spend (and to end) the remainder of my few days in England; and that the thing that keeps me here, now the Gospel has a free passage there, is my Love to them: for which cause they will not consent to my being discharg'd of my Office-Relation, without which I must not remove to the Colledge. For it is not fit that I should retain an Office without Discharging the Duties of that Office.

I neither will, nor have I obstructed the settlement of the Colledge in a better hand. I have often (as your Honour well knows) desired to resign my Relation to that Society. And if it will not be grievous to you, I shall to-morrow (If you please) deliver a Resignation of the Presidentship to the Senior Fellow of the Corporation, for him to call a Corporation-Meeting in order to the chusing another President. And let the Corporation doe as they would doe if I were out of the World. Thus, Sir, have I taken the freedom to acquaint you with my present Inclinations, and with the Reasons thereof, which I cannot answer. Could I see them well answered to my own satisfaction (but of that I despair) I should be capable of changing my mind. Untill then, and ever, I remain

Honourable Sir,

Yours to Serve

INCREASE MATHER.

Decemb<sup>r</sup> 16. 1698.

Vide p. 185 [under date Dec. 8, *ante*].

March, 27. 1699. Mr. Middlecott desires his son Pain may be released as to Cotton-House. March, 28. p.m. Capt. Tuthill comes and desires to take it. March, 30. 1699. I had the inermost Tooth save two on the lower left jaw, pulled out by Robert Ellis. It was in two pieces. It was loose and put me not to much pain. March, 31.



Mr. Willard visits me and prays with the family. All present. April, 1. 1699. Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Wait was here and express'd his earnest desire that Bastian might have Jane, Mr. Thair's Negro. I spake to Jane on Monday. Apr. 6. 1699. The President, Mr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Willard visit me. It seems a day or two ago there was a great Funeral of a Barbados Gentleman; Usher, Foster, Dyer, Maccarty, Harris, Newton, Bearers. Funeral sermon, and great crowding to it.

Apr. 8. Mrs. Eunice Wait comes to our house and expresses her desire that Sebastian might have Mrs. Thair's Jane; and would have me promote it; though she said 'twould be to their prejudice in some respect. Govr's speech is brought to Town of March 27, at the opening of the Assembly at New York. Apr. 10. The Spanish sheet is printed off. Bradish brought to Town. Was taken at Deerfield.

Apr. 13th. Orders are issued to L<sup>t</sup> Col. Hutchinson to prepare for my Lords [Bellomont] coming as to the Regiment. Apr. 13. Council din'd at the Exchange Tavern.

Lords-Day, Apr. 16. Many Swallows do proclaim the Spring. Apr. 15. 7th day, Shute arrives from Salt-Tarbooda [Tortuga].

Apr. 18. Went to Neponset to meet Capt. Fayerwether. Took Roxbury Lecture in our way home.

Third-day, April 25. 1699. Madam Usher's case is comitted to the Jury, whereof Jacob Nash is Fore-man. Mr. Willard pray'd, and afterward dined with us.

Fourth-day, April 26. The Jury brings in their verdict for Madam Usher. Mr. Leverett and Newton crave a Chancery. John Rainsford arrives, 8 weeks passage from the Downs. Mr. Secretary waits on the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> and comes into the Council-chamber after the Adjournment in the evening, and tells Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cooke and me that the Act for Courts is disañulled [disallowed?], and that of the Colledge, &c: so that our Court is like to

die and sink in the midst. The Lord be our King, and Lord, and Law-Giver. Pardon our Court-Sins, and sanctify our frequent Deaths.

Fifth-day, April, 27. 1699. The Bell is toll'd in the morn: but go not in. After Lecture the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> shews us the Allowance and Disallowance of Laws. After Di<sup>n</sup>er Bell is toll'd again: go in. Mr. Danforth tells the people, Had such news from England as that could not hold the Court any longer; which they would hear published by and by: call'd for what papers the Jury had, out of their hands.

Drum is beat, and Allowance and Disallowance of the Acts is published, L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council standing in the Gallery. Great many Auditors below.

Second-day; May 8 1699. Boston Town-Meeting.

Number of Voters	323.
Capt. Andrew Belchar	239.
Mr. John Eyre	178.
Mr. John White	175.
Capt. Theophilus Frary	165.
Bromfield	156.
Legg	146.
Byfield	122.
Foxcroft	86.

Extract of Mr. William Paterson's Letter, dated at Fort St. Andrew, Febr. 18th. 1699.<sup>1</sup> Sent to Mr. John Borland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was, undoubtedly, the famous projector of the Darien scheme, and the preceding allusions to the Company of Scotland, &c., relate to the same affair. The company was incorporated June 26, 1695. In 1698 the expedition sailed, and November 1, the colonists landed at Darien. By the following spring the colony had lost a great part of its number by sickness; and, in fear of an attack from the Spaniards, the remainder fled to New York.

In August, 1699, a second company was sent out, in ignorance of the disaster which had overwhelmed the colony. With them was Rev. John

<sup>2</sup> What Sewall meant by "sent to Mr. John Borland," is not clear, whether the Rev. John, or his namesake in Boston. As early as 1685, the name of John Borland appears on our records. Here he lived for forty years,

"I have read the two books you sent, for which I thank the Author and you; and am glad to see the Spirit and Hand of Almighty God at this time in so eminent a maner, as it were moving in the minds of so many men, and inclining and preparing them (although in so many and various circumstances, and different and distant places) to this great Work, that, I hope we, though unworthy, are made the happy Instruments to begin."

Extract of this Letter, drawn by Mr. Steel, was printed at Boston, May, 15. 1699.

See my Journal of meeting the Gov<sup>r</sup> June, 7th. Mr. Willard prays in the Council, and tis said did so yesterday. Gov<sup>r</sup> dines at Roxbury, four coaches. Capt. Byfield gives the Co<sup>m</sup>ittee a Treat.

June, 5. 1699. Mr. Willard preaches an excellent Election Sermon. Gov<sup>r</sup> dines at Monks. Major Walley chosen Capt., Capt. Byfield Lieut. Tho. Hutchinson Ens. Gov<sup>r</sup> Bellomont delivers the Badges, saying that He a<sup>p</sup>rov'd of the choice.

Borland, to whom, writes Macaulay, "we owe the best account of the voyage which is now extant." We do not find any reference to Borland's account in Allibone, and it may be that it remains in manuscript, and was used in that form by Macaulay.

The new colonists fared but little better than their predecessors. A Spanish fleet and army blockaded the settlement, and compelled an evacuation thereof. On the 11th April, the survivors sailed for home, but met with renewed disaster, and very few finally reached Scotland. See farther, Macaulay's History, Chap. XXIV. — Eds.

a serviceable and honored citizen, and became the progenitor of many distinguished bearers of the name. He died March 30, 1727, aged sixty-eight, leaving a widow and an only son. His will mentions three nieces, daughters of his brother, Francis Borland, late of Glasford, in North Britain, clerk, deceased. The seal on his will bears a coat of arms: viz., two bars, over all, a boar, bend-wise. Motto, "Press through."

Very possibly he was a relative, perhaps the son, of the Rev. John Borland just mentioned.

The fact that Paterson's letter was sent here, and that it evidently refers to a copy of Sewall's book, the *Phænomena*, sent by some one other than the author, renders it probable that our Boston Borland was the person addressed.

It would seem from the next entry in the Diary that this complimentary letter was printed in Boston, but we are not aware that any copy has survived. — Eds.



Mr. Wigglesworth and his wife lodge here. M. T. [Mr. Tuthill] Wednesday nights.

Friday, June, 9, 1699. Capt. Natha. Byfield is sworn Judge of the Admiralty, Capt. Lawrence Hamond Register, Franklin, Marshal. This was done before the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council.

Second-day, June 12, 1699. The Gov<sup>r</sup> goes to the Castle with Col. Romer and several of the Council: Was saluted by the Fort and Ships as passed by, and at the Castle. Afterwards Col. Romer desired a Shot might be made; the Gun broke, and kill'd Nathan<sup>l</sup> Homes, the Under-Guñer, who was buried at Roxbury next day, just before Lecture. One Proctor, an old man, was dangerously wounded: and the Governour's Butler, so as to lose much Blood.

In the Afternoon, June, 12. 1699. I went to Hog Island with Cous. Savage, to view the Barn whose Roof is blown off. No Guns were fired at the Governour's coming off from the Castle: but about six, many were fired as came to the Harbour to Land. Came from the Island just about 7 or after, and Landed on my own Wharf about Nine at night.

Wednesday, June 21. A Pack of Cards are found strawed over my fore-yard, which, tis supōsed, some might throw there to mock me, in spite of what I did at the Exchange Tavern last Saterdag night.

Midsum̄er Day, 1699. Mr. Secretary, Capt. Belchar, Capt. Mason, and S. are invited, and dine with my Lord and Lady at Mr. Sergeants. At 9. at night Bradish and Witherly get out of Prison and make their escape with the Maid that help'd them out.

Monday, June, 26. I visit the Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup> His Honour kept house yesterday, had now his left Leg lying on a Chair.

June, 30. 1699. Writt to Mr. Nathanael Higginson at Fort St. George near Ceylon in Asia, with a *Phænomena*

and several other Prints; persuading his Return to N. E. hope to see him Governour of this Province.<sup>1</sup>

Third-Day, July, 11. 1699. I went with Mr. Willard to Pulling-Point to Mr. Dean Winthrop's, (77) *añorum*. Between one and two, Mr. Willard married Atherton Haugh and Mercy Winthrop: Said, Mr. Atherton Haugh, Mrs. Mercy Winthrop; forbad all unlawful comunion with other Women and *vice versa*. Gave very good Advice and Exhortation; especially most solemnly charged them never to neglect family Prayer. Between 3 and four Major Gen<sup>l</sup> and Mr. Adam Winthrop came and many with them, when we had almost din'd. Sang a Psalm together, I set St. David's Tune: Sung part of two Psalms, concluded with the 4 last verses of the 115.

When Mr. Willard ask'd Mr. Winthrop's consent, he also complemented me respecting Atherton Haugh: I said I was glad that had found so good a Family and so good a wife. And after, when saw the Bridegroom and Bride together after the Wedding: I praid God to bless them, and give them such an Offspring wherein the Name of Haugh and Winthrop might flourish.

Mr. Dean Winthrop liv'd there in his fathers days, and was wont to set up a Bush when he saw a ship coming in; He is now 77 years old. In his Fathers time, his house stood more toward Dear Island. Wind was against us coming home; so that twas nine aclock before landed. Were four hours in the passage. Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> &c bid there all night, and pass'd it but uncomfortably.

Wednesday; July, 19. The Lady Bellomont and Madam Nanfan visit us.

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<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Higginson, H. C. 1670, was son of John Higginson, of Salem. Savage says that he went to England, was for some years employed in the Mint, under Lord Wharton, went to Madras, and was there secretary and governor of the factory. He died in London, in 1708. Some of his letters are printed in 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII. 196-222. On p. 218 is a reference to a letter written by Sewall. — Eds.

July, 20. Deputies are sent for to Mr. Sergeant's, and in his best Chamber, the Governour declares his Prorogation of the Court to the 11<sup>th</sup> of Octob<sup>r</sup> next, 9 *mane*. This was done about Noon, and then the Lecture began about Later than is now usual.

July, 24. 1699. About 6 *mane*, my wife with Elizabeth, Joseph, Mary and Jane Tapan, set sail for Newbury in Titcomb. Rid<sup>d</sup> down to the Boat in Mr. Simson's Coach.

Third-Day, July, 25. 1699. My Lord Bellomont deliver'd me my Co<sup>m</sup>ision for Judge of the Superiour Court. And the Chief Justice, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Cooke and my self were sworn in Mr. Sergeants best chamber before the Governour and Council. And all of the Council present were sworn as Justices of the Peace; Only Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson declined taking his Oath. The Great God of Heaven enable us, and me in particular, to keep these solemn Oaths. When I came home Sam, Hañah and Joaña being gon to Dorchester with Madam Usher to the Lecture, I found the House empty and Lock'd. Taking the key I came in and made a shift to find a solitary Diñer of bak'd Pigeons and a piece of Cake. How ha<sup>p</sup>y I were, if I could once become wise as a Serpent and harmless as a Dove!

Council advis'd that the Governour give Mr. Mather some Authority relating to the Colledge, pursuant to the Vote of the Representatives.

July. 25. Madam Usher, Sam, Haña and Joaña ride to Dorchester Lecture in Mr. Simsons Coach.

Between 6 and 7, I have my Lady up upon Cotton Hill, and shew her the Town; Madam Sergeant, Nanfan, Newton there; and Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> and Mr. Sergeant. Mrs. Tuthills Daughters invited my Lady as came down and gave a Glass of good wine.

As came down again through the Gate I ask'd my Lady's Leave that now I might call it Bellomont Gate.



My Lady laugh'd, and said, What a Complement he puts on me! With pleasancy.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 11. 1699. Mr. Danforth, Cook, and my self set out for Bristow; I had a flux; Lodge at Childs's.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 12. To Bristow. 13. Court breaks up. 14. Mr. Newton and I bring Mr. Danforth and Cook going as far as the way that leads over the bridge. When got back the wind was so high that could not get over the ferry. Din'd at Howlands. Lodg'd at Mr. Wilkins's. Friday Sept<sup>r</sup> 15. Mr. Newton and I ride to Newport, see aged Joan Savage, (now Earl), by the way. Her husband, Ralph Earl, was born 1606. and his wife was 10. or 11 years older than he. So she is esteemed to be one hundred and five years old. I pass over the ferry to Narraganset; by the time landed, twas almost quite dark. Got to Capt. Willet's, and lodg'd there. Satterday 7<sup>r</sup> 16— went to Tho Hazard's, and with him to Niles's Mill, from thence to Point Judith. Find his son gon to Block-Island. So I went back to go to Newport, lodg'd at Joseph Morey's on Canonicut.

Sabbath-day. 7<sup>r</sup> 17. Jos. Morey carries me over; I hear Mr. Clap, who prays and preaches very well. Dine and lodge at Tho. Mallet's.

Second-day, 7<sup>r</sup> 18. I ferry over to Canonicut, tis so late before I get over that am forc'd to lodge at Capt. Arnold's.

19. Went over with Briggs. Goe with Tho. Hazard to Mattoonuck, view the bounds and add to the heaps of Stones at 3 Corners. Go back and lodge on Boston Neck at Tho. Hazard's. (20) Ferry over to Rode-Island, Get to Newport about one.

I stand at Tho. Mallet's and salute his Excellency as he rides in his Coach into Town.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 21. Governour invites me to dine with him at Mr. Clark's. Mr. Saffin lodges with me.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 22. Note. Niles brings over Block-Island Harry

[an Indian] to me. Have some Talk about a Release for Point Judith: puts it off till next day.

23. Agree for 15£ and draw a rough of it and take his hand to it. (24) Lords Day, Hear Mr. Clap. Gov<sup>r</sup> Winthrop, Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>, Col. Hutchinson, Capt Foster, Mr. Saffin, Sewall, Capt. Mason, Mr. James Noyes, Mr. G. Saltonstall there, besides some others, Strangers.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 25. Niñecraft [in margin, Ninnegret] executes a Release of Mr. Addington's drawing. Gov. Winthrop, Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Winthrop, Capt. Foster, Joseph Stanton, and Block-Island Harry, witnesses. Note. Niles goes with him, and he Acknowledges it before John Green, dept.-Governour; Joseph Hull also present. I deliver it to Weston Clark, Recorder. (26) He brings it in the morn Recorded, give him 2-6<sup>d</sup>. (27) Governour sets out for Boston, Pole of the Calash broken by the Horses frighted with a Pistol. The making of a new one takes up an hour or two. Dine at Mr. Brenton's at Bristow. Lodge at Rehoboth. (28) Set out at 7 *mane*. Dine at Billinges. Set out at 2. Get to Dedham by 5. After a little Recruit leave the Calash there. Governour rides on Horseback. Get home by Seven in good health though the day was very hot. Find my family in health, only disturb'd at Betty's denying Mr. Hirst, and my wife hath a cold. The Lord sanctify Mercyes and Afflictions.

Seventh-day, Octob<sup>r</sup> 14. I meet with the Governour, L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>, Mr. I. Mather, &c about the Indian Affair, which is the first time, The Lord make me faithfull and usefull in it. Gov<sup>r</sup> Ashurst's Letter was read wherein Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Neh. Walter, S. Sewall, Jn<sup>o</sup> Foster, Mr. Peter Sergeant, and Mr. Thomas Bañistor were added.<sup>1</sup>

Octobr 16. Pray for Sam. and my daughters Hannah and Eliza. and others of my Children. Mr. Torrey lodges

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<sup>1</sup> Having charge of funds of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. — Eds.

here and tells me of the wofull Distance between L<sup>t</sup> Col. Hunt, and himself. Mr. Little ordain'd at Plim<sup>o</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 4. 1699. Mr. Cotton, Sept<sup>r</sup> 17. fol 206.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 17. The President visits me and gives me one of his Books of Sermons, printed in London, 1699.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 23. The amazing news of the (See fol. 206) [under date of April 22, 1700] dismal Mortality at Charles-town in Carolina comes to Town and is spread all over it: 150 dead in 6 days time: Draw the dead to the Grave in Carts. Mr. Cotton is dead among the rest. Infection was brought from Providence. This made us the rather put Plantations in the plural number in the Bill this day order'd for Thanksgiving.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 24. Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Hirst comes and thanks my wife and me for our Kindness to his Son<sup>1</sup> in giving him the Liberty of our house. Seems to do it in way of taking leave. I thank'd him, and for his countenance to Hañah at the Wedding. Told him that the wellwishers to my daughter and his son had persuaded him to go to Braintry and visit her there &c.; said if were hope would readily do it. But as things were, twould make persons think he was so involved that he was not fit to go any wether else. He has I supōse taken his final Leave. I gave him Mr. Oakes Sermon, and my Father Hulls Funeral Sermon.

Octob<sup>r</sup> 26. 1699. Joseph Bradish, Tee Witherly, and Kate Price are brought to Town and sent to Prison, from whence they escaped June, 24. Fast is warned to be next Thursday for the Afflicted church abroad.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 27. L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Treats the Governour and his Lady and many more: Two tables. Capt. Crow breaks a Glass Bottle of Madera as it stood on the floor, so that it run about with its Sanguin Colour; Capt. Crow mention'd its

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<sup>1</sup> The son, Grove Hirst, was a suitor, and at length the husband of "Betty" Sewall, the previous advances by Mr. Tuthill having resulted in nothing. — Eds.



not being able to be gathered up again. Mr. Danforth crav'd a Blessing; Mr. Bridge return'd Thanks. Before Diñer rid with the Governour to the end of Dorchester Neck. This day news comes to Town of Mr. Man's House being burnt last night. Capt. Foxcroft informs us at Dorchester of his Father Danforth's Sickness. Mr. Hirst and Sam. come home from Braintry where they lay the night before.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 28. I visit Mr. Danforth who is very sick; his Daughter Foxcroft tells me he is much troubled with the Palsie. Was *much* indisposed the 22. inst, which was the beginning of his sickness; yet would go to Meeting which did him hurt; especially going out in the Afternoon. I wish'd him Refreshings from God under his fainting Sick-ness.

Seventh-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 4. Capt. Apleton of Ipswich dies. He was an Israelite indeed, a great Ornament of that Church and Town. Died of the Jaundies. 77 years. This day the Gov<sup>r</sup> Treats the Council and sundry other Gentlemen in Mr. Sergeants best chamber. Guns fired upon account of the King's Birth-day. At night Governour and Mr. Newton made an Illumination.

Lord's Day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 5. Tho. Danforth Esqr dies about 3 *post merid.* of a Fever. Has been a Magistrat fourty years. Was a very good Husbandman and a very good Christian, and a good Councillor: was about 76. years old.

Third-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 7. Mr. Stoughton, in his Speech to the Grand-Jury, takes great notice of Judge Danforth's Death. Saith he was a Lover of Religion and Religious Men; the oldest Servant the Country had; zealous against vice: And if had any Detractors; yet was so much on the other as to erect him a Monument among this People. Mr. Willard in his Prayer mention'd Gods Displeasure in his Removal; and desired the Judges might act on the Bench as those who must also shortly go to give their Account.

Indeed it is awfull, that while we are sitting on the bench, at the same time the ancientest Judge should be lying by the Wall dead in his house. I can't tell how it came about, but I told Mr. Danforth at Bristow, I thought he would never come thither again, which made him take a more particular Leave than otherwise he would have done.

Sixth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 10. 1699. Mr. Danforth is intombed about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour before four p. m. Very fair and pleasant day, much Company. Bearers on the right side L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>, Mr. Russell, Sewall: Left side, Mr. W. Winthrop. Mr. Cook, Col. Phillips. I help'd lift the Corps into the Tomb, carrying the feet. Had cake and cheese at the house. Col. Hathorn, Mr. Corwin, Bro<sup>r</sup> Sewall, were there from Salem. Councillors had Rings, Ministers Gloves, Mr. Mather and Brattle Scarfs and Rings: so had the Bearers. Cambridge Burying Place is handsomely fenced in with boards, which has not been done above a Moneth or 6 weeks.

Seventh-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> about the middle of the night following, my dear Sister Hañah Tappan dies of a Fever. Mr. Addington told me of it first upon Nov<sup>r</sup> 13 in the Council-Chamber, from Mr. Gerrish of Wenham. At 7. at night I received a Letter from Bro<sup>r</sup> Sewall of it, and that the Funeral is to be the 14. Our notice is so lame and late, that I persuade Jane to stay at home, it being almost impossible to get thither time enough. Besides all this, the Court at Salem keeps me there, and Bro<sup>r</sup> Sewall also. We had liv'd eight of us together Thirty years; and were wont to speak of it (it may be too vainly). But now God begins to part us apace. Two are taken away in about a quarter of a year's time; And me thinks now my dear Bro<sup>r</sup> and Sister are laid in the Grave, I am, as it were laid there in Proxy — The Lord help me to carry it more suitably, more fruitfully, toward the Five remaining; and put me in a preparedness for my own Dissolution. And help me to live upon Him alone.

Fifth-day, Nov<sup>r</sup> the last. 1699. The Rain freezes upon the branches of the Trees to that thickness and weight, that great havock is thereby made of the Wood and Timber. Many young and strong Trees are broken off in the midst; and multitudes of Boughs rent off. Considerable hurt is done in Orchards. Two of our Apple-trees are broken down, Unkles Tree, two thirds of it, are broken down. Peach Trees at Mrs. Moodeys are almost all spoil'd. And my little Cedar almost quite mortified. Some think the Spoil that is made amounts to Thousands of pounds. How suddenly and with surprise can God destroy!

I was at Capt. Foster's upon the 29. November, and was there saying, November is almost out, yet we dont know what may haÿen before tis quite out, alluding to the drowning of Mr. Eyres Son upon the 30. Nov<sup>r</sup> 96. and Mr. Maxwell.

Sixth-day Dec. 1. Was at Mr. Hillers to enquire for my wives virginals:<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Sarah Foster came to the Door.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 8. 1699. Capt. Tho. Gullock and Col. Paige dine with me. Capt. Gullock told of 800 French Refugees being settled at Cape Bon Sperance. And at diñer, I objecting the Inconvenience that would be to America, if the Dauphin should be King of Spain: He answer'd, that America would ruine him; For New Spain would certainly Revolt &c.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 9. Mr. Colman visits me: I expostulat with him about the 3<sup>d</sup> Article in the Manifesto,<sup>2</sup> that had shew'd no more Respect to N. E. Churches. I told him Christ was a Bride-Groom, and He lov'd to haÿe his Bride comended.

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<sup>1</sup> The "virginals" or "virginal" was the predecessor of the spinnet and harpsichord, and thus of the modern pianoforte. — Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the "Manifesto, or Declaration," issued by the founders of the Brattle Street Church, justifying the peculiar principles of their organization. — Eds.



Philomela<sup>1</sup> would have found out some words: at which he smil'd. He satisfied me as to Baptisme and said the word [Adopted] was left out. I told him he was the more in danger, and had need to be more upon his Guard; lest any hard sharp words he had met with should tempt him to do what he intended not. Warn'd him of the Cross in Baptisme, &c. Said he was of our mind. Because I told him meerly saying *Conform*, did not express such an Aprobation of the N. E. way as I desired: Many in England conform'd to things they professedly disliked.

At his going away, I told him, If God should please by them to hold forth any Light that had not been seen or entertain'd before; I should be so far from envying it, that I should rejoice in it: which he was much affected with.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 14. Lay abed all day and took Physick for the Ague in my face. Mr. Willard, C. Mather, Fisk, Cheever, visit me. Mr. Willard prays. Presently after their going away, I had ease, and was Let out of the Stocks. Dec. 17. Cold day, so went not to the publick Worship. Third-day, Dec. 19. My Lord Bellomont, his Lady, Madam Nanfan, din'd with us in the New Hall, and with them Mr. Cook, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Sergeant, Mrs. Sergeant, Major Walley, L<sup>t</sup> Col. Lynde, L<sup>t</sup> Col. Townsend, Capt. Duñer, Mr. Brumfield, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Newton, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Campbell, who with Madam Usher, my wife and self, make just 19. in all. Invited that were not here, L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>, Mr. Oakes, cous. Savage, Col. Romer, Madam Hamilton, Madam Shrimpton. Sat down a little before Two, and Rose about Three. It hapēned to be Catechising day, which was not aware of, being disaṑointed the Wednesday before, which intended, by Mr. Eyre's

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<sup>1</sup> Philomela was the *nom de plume* of Elizabeth (Singer) Rowe, whose poetry delighted the pious of that generation. See Turell's Life of Dr. Colman, pp. 35-40. — Eds.

Treat; and Friday by my sickness. So miss'd the company of Mr. and Mrs. Willard. Was fain my self to crave a Blessing and Return Thanks. I left off my Muffler but this day and yet find no inconvenience, Blessed be God. I told the Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Fort-fight 24 years ago; and a great fight in France Dec. 19. 1562 [at Dreux].

Æneas Salter went to Dorchester for me, to speak to the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>. I had invited Him my self against the day of our disāpointment.<sup>1</sup>

Dec<sup>r</sup> 21. 1699. Went to Lecture, wearing my black cap.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following extracts from Boston Town Records, Vol. II., under date of Dec. 20, 1698, are worth preservation here:—

“The Distance from the Southerly Corner of the New School House at Cotton Hill to the northerly corner of Capt. Legg's Land is fifty five foot; from said n'y corner of said School House to the southerly post of Capt Sewall's gate, being the Breadth cross the highway, is fifty three foot, four Inches; from said gate post to the south easterly end of the School House fence neer the dore of said School-house is forty one foot and a halfe. The Breadth of the uper high way between M<sup>r</sup> Coney and Belknap on the one side and Capt. Sewall's land on the other side is seventeen feet; from the Easterly Corner of the Schoolhouse cross the high way to the north westerly gate post of the house late of Mr Pirkis is thirty six foot; from the easterly corner of said School house to the northerly corner of the Land formerly belonging to M<sup>r</sup> John Mears, deceased, eleven pole and one foot: from said northerly corner cross the high way to Capt Bozoon Allen's Land is Twenty five foot and a halfe.

“The above said distances was, at the request of Sam<sup>n</sup> Sewall, Esq<sup>r</sup>, measured the day above said.

“p<sup>r</sup> me

JOSEPH PROUT.”

“Jan'y 30th. 1698-9. At a meeting of the Justices and Selectmen of said Town, the following Order was past at the motion of Sam<sup>n</sup> Sewall, Esq<sup>r</sup>. present Elisha Hutchinson, Isaac Adington, John Foster, Peter Sergeant, Pen Townsend, John Eyre, Edward Bromfield, justices, Thomas Walker, Obodi<sup>t</sup> Gill, Thomas Hunt, Isaiah Tay, John Marion, jun<sup>r</sup>, Simeon Stoddard, Selectmen. It was then ordered by the Justices and Selectmen, that the School-house lately Built in the Prison Lane, on the side of the hill over against the land of Capt. Sam<sup>n</sup> Sewall, abide and remaine as it is now fenced in; and that no more of the said Hill be improved by Building or otherways Taken in, but left open for accomodation of the street or high way.”—Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Sewall had been much concerned at the falling off of his hair, which exposed him to the cold, especially in the meeting-house. His “black cap” was his personal rebuke upon periwigs.—Eds.

Sabbath-day, Dec<sup>r</sup> 24. 1699. Mr. Colman and his Society meet in the New Meeting house, this being the first time. Our Meeting was pretty much thin'd by it.

Dec. 28. 1699. Mr. Thacher marrieth Mrs. Bayly: and Mr. Wells, a Taylor, marries cous. Savage's Eldest Daughter.



## ERRATA.

The following note was omitted on p. 336:—

The lines in Flavel's sermon, composed by Sewall, are as follows: [Communion with God] "is the centre which rests the motions of a weary soul; 'tis the rest and refreshment of a man's spirit. Psal. 116, 7. *Return unto thy rest, O my soul.* When we attain perfect communion with God in heaven, we attain to perfect rest; and all the rest the spirit of man finds on earth is found in communion with God." Flavel's Works, II. 542. — Eds.

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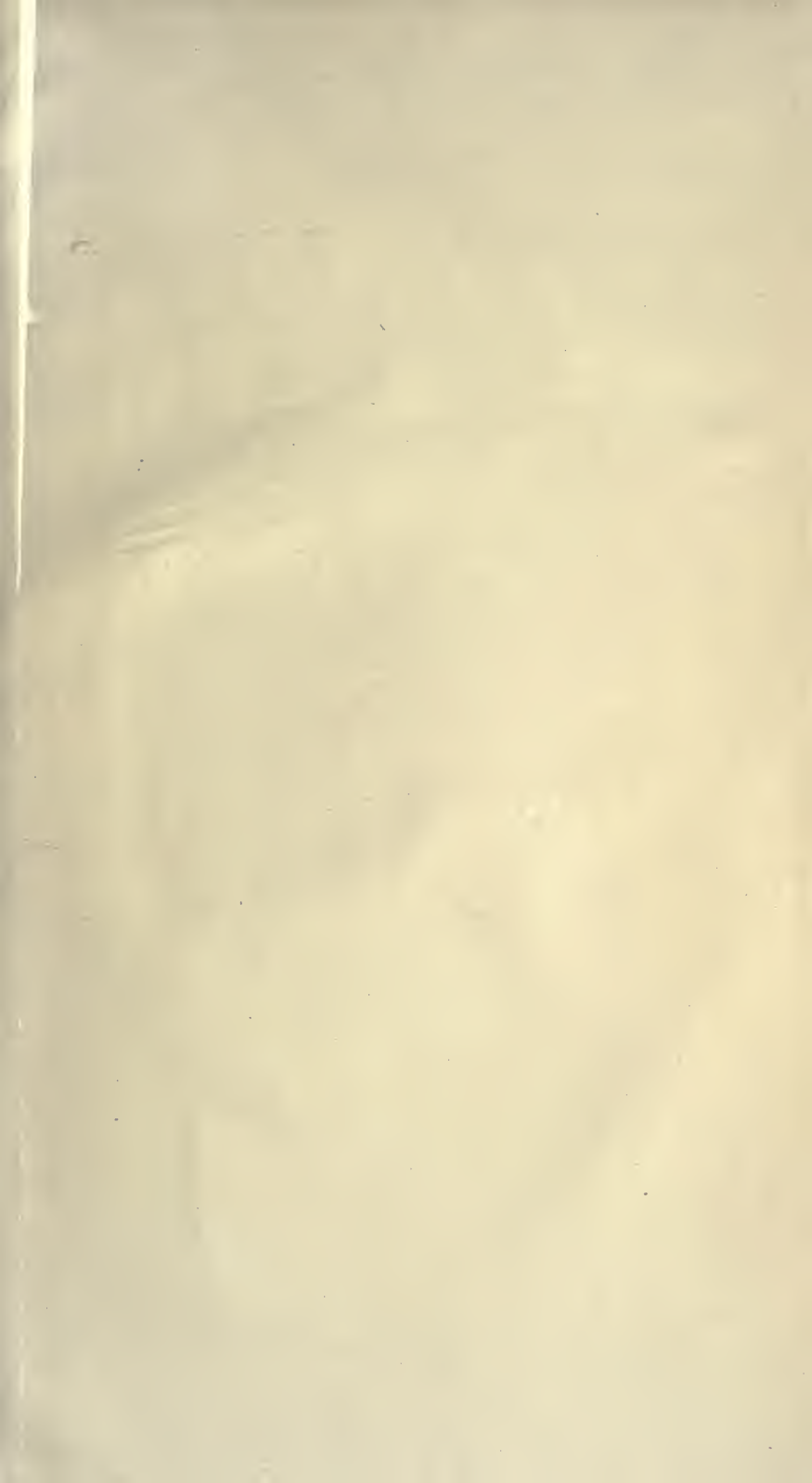
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