

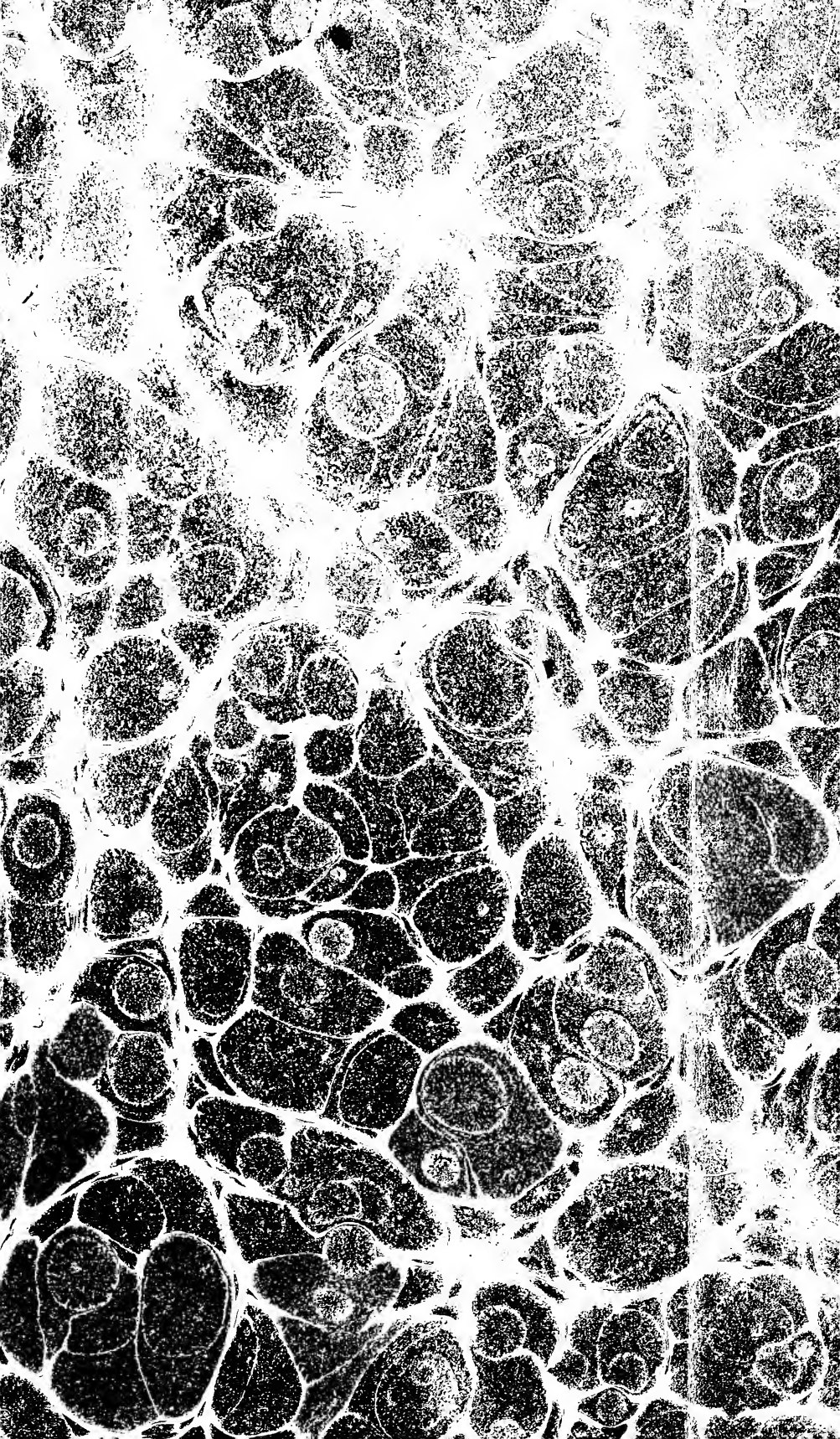




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*PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
XIII.*

FINE THREAD, LACE AND HOSIERY
IN IPSWICH

BY JESSE FEWKES

AND

IPSWICH MILLS AND FACTORIES

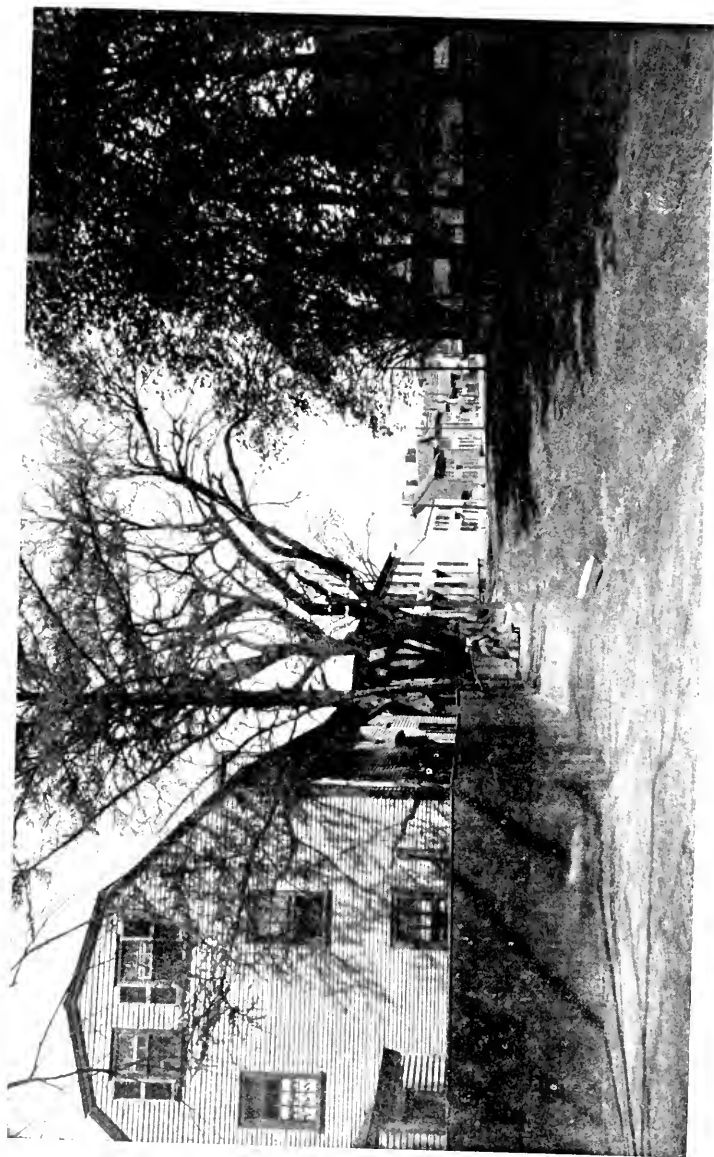
BY

T. FRANK WATERS

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 7, 1903.

Salem Press:
THE SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.
1904.



THE OLD LACE FACTORY IS THE FIRST DWELLING ON THE LEFT. IT WAS BUILT BY DR. PHILEMON DANE, BEFORE 1716

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FINE THREAD, LACE AND HOSIERY.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF IPSWICH, APRIL 13, 1903.

BY JESSE FEWKES.

THE history of the various industrial arts of New England, is a subject which comes within the scope and province of the Historical Society of this old manufacturing town. Ipswich, one of the old mother towns of New England, is also the mother of two industrial children, of which I propose to offer a few items of interest before this Honorable Society at this time. These two industries seem to have been born own sisters of the same family of the useful arts in our mother country England and were also twin children in Ipswich, during the decade from 1822 to 1832, when one, the finer and more beautiful, died a most unnatural and distressing death, and the other has grown more healthy, vigorous and prosperous, as the years have rolled on, up to the present day.

These two textile children of Ipswich, are the Manufacture of Hosiery and the Weaving of fine Laeces by Machinery.

To understand the cause of this diversity of success in these two well projected, and well started schemes of labor, we must make a concise review of the origin and development of the machines connected therewith, and also give a sketch of that predecessor of the art of weaving fine cloths, the earlier art of spinning fine thread.

SPINNING.

There are pictures cut in flat relief upon some of the monuments and temples of ancient Egypt, more than

four thousand years before the Christian era, which represent among other occupations of that early people, the spinning of thread and the weaving of cloth. There are also representations on the monuments of prehistoric Central America, of women operating with the primitive loom and spinning apparatus. Squier's *Nicaragua*, Vol. 1, has a representation (copied from an ancient Mexican manuscript) of a woman weaving, and also of another woman spinning. Ancient records in China carry back the art of spinning and weaving to an antiquity discredited by many modern historians. These useful arts are prehistoric: they date before any written history.

About 550 B. C., Herodotus records, "Amasis the first plebeian King of Egypt, sent as a present to the Grecian temple at Lindus, a linen corslet of wonderful workmanship, each thread of which contained 300 filaments clearly to be distinguished. Figures were woven into the pattern of the linen and it was adorned with gold and cotton." Cotton was then a costly material lately introduced from India into Egypt and was used along with gold for the enrichment of the linen of this corslet. This is said to be the first historic reference to spinning and weaving: but there are in the Hebrew Bible references which may be older even than this. See Proverbs xxx, 19, Exodus xxxv, 25.* Spinning is alluded to by Homer.

The implements of the spinners' art have been developed from a very simple and crude beginning. The first spinning implement was probably only a pebble stone taken from the ground, uncut and unfashioned in any way. The filament of wool or grass, or perhaps the inner bark of some fibrous plant or tree, was tied to it and twirled around with the hand, then doubled back, and by the returning whirl of the rock, was made into a double and twisted string fit for the bow of a hunter. Then came to the front the oldtime skillful inventor, some aboriginal Edison or Marconi, and improved this simple device by cutting a knob upon one end of the pebble for the con-

* Exodus xxxv: 25. "And all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue and of purple, and of scarlet and of fine linen."

venience of fastening upon it the thread already spun, and of winding the same while another length could be added. This method of spinning with a rock is even brought down to the present day in some of the aboriginal tribes. The Alaskan Indian, and some tribes of the Laplanders use a rock similar to the abundant Indian net sinkers, so called, or plummet formed stones, which are seen in all collections of Indian implements.

From the primitive spinning rock, the next advance in the development of the implements of the spinners' art was the ancient spindle whorl, which is a round flat stone with a hole perforated in the centre to admit a wooden spindle. This spindle had a hook at the upper end upon which to

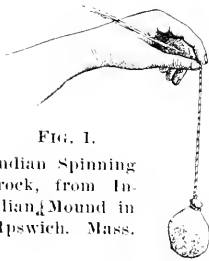


FIG. 1.
Indian Spinning
rock, from In-
dian Mound in
Ipswich, Mass.

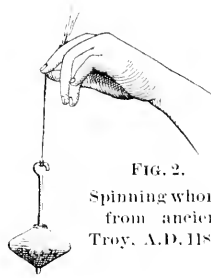


FIG. 2.
Spinning whorl,
from ancient
Troy, A.D. 1184

fasten the thread, after that already spun had been wound upon the spindle. This was used in connection with the distaff, which is a staff of wood fastened to the girdle, on which was bound the wool, flax or fiber which remained unspun. The spindle whorl or weight was intended to give the proper momentum to the spindle, as shown in Egyptian, Mexican, Chinese, East Indian, Central American and Grecian representations of spinning. By this ancient method thread for fine lace was spun.

Dr. Henry Schliemann, who excavated the buried cities of ancient Troy and Tyrins, found in Troy, as many as 22,000 spindle whorls of stone and terra cotta, once used by the women of that ancient city. In Mycenum and Tyrins, he found them also in great abundance. In his works published in 1870-71 and 1873, he illustrates 180

different designs of ornamental spinning whorls, found by him. The markings pictured on these are probably the marks of ownership.

The accompanying pen copy of the picture of a French fisherman's wife, spinning, gives a correct idea of the ancient method of spinning. The painting is by W. Slatterill.



FIG. 3.

Maya woman spinning, from Nicaragua, A. D. 1500.

From pictures cut upon the rock temples of ancient Egypt, it seems that there was an intermediate stage of the development of the spindle, between the simple rock and the metallic spindle whorl of the spinners of ancient Greece and Rome, in

which the weight is carried at the top of the spindle to give momentum.

In 1530 there was published a work called Dictionary of Palsgrave, in which is this phrase, "I spyne upon a Rock." Aubrey tells us that "in Wiltshire the nuns of

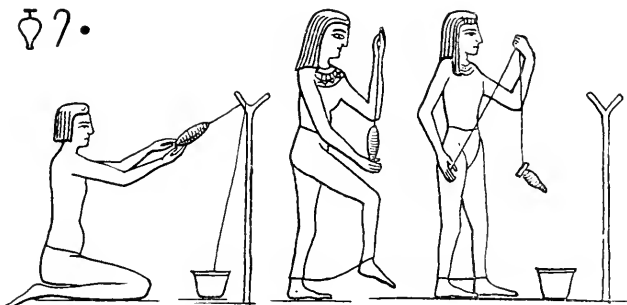


FIG. 4.

Egyptians Spinning, from Monuments in Ancient Thebes. Egypt. B. C. 4000.

St. Marys came forth with their rocks to spin." From the "Book of Days" I copy this: "St. Distaff's day, January 7th. The ordinary spindle was a turned pin of a few inches in length having a hook or nick at the small

or upper end to fasten the thread and a load of some sort at the lower end to make it hang rightly. In very early times and among such rude nations as the Laps until more recent times the load was a stone, many examples of which are in museums now." I take from another work called "Every Day Book:" "January 7th. St. Distaff's Day, or Rock Day. This day was so called in honor of the rock which is a distaff held in the hand from whence wool is spun by twirling a ball below." That ball may have been a rock, for Aubrey says, in a book called "The Natural History of Wiltshire:" "In old time they used to spin with rocks. In Staffordshire they use them still." In Scotland, when lads and lassies came together to spend a social evening, each lassie brought her spinning apparatus or rock, and the assemblage was called a "rocking." "On Fasten-e'en we had a rockin'."*

A German writer also calls it "Rocken," a French writer "Je file au roche." I have seen the picture of an Abyssinian woman which was drawn by a traveller in that country, in which she is shown as spinning with a crotched knot of wood, with her thread wound upon it; this she is twirling in the same manner as the lassies, in the time of Robert Burns, did with their rocks.

It would seem as if in Scotland the ancient name of "spinning rock," still clung to the spinning apparatus, even after the distaff and wheel were introduced, for we have, in the quaint verses of Robert Burns, several references to the rock in connection with the wheel. In "The Lass of Ecclefechan." •

"O gat ye me wi' naething?
Rock and reel and spinnin wheel,
A mickle quarter basin."

and again in "Bessy and her spinnin wheel,"

"O leeze me on my spinnin wheel,
O leeze me on my rock and reel:"

* Burns mentions the spinning rock in another of his verses "The Weary Pund o' Tow:"

"Quoth I For shame ye dirty dame,
Gae spin your tap o' tow!
She took the rock and wi' a knock
She brak it o'er my pow."

The next stage in the art is the wheel. There is in the British Museum a MS. written early in the fourteenth century, in which are several representations of a woman spinning with a wheel. From the Dictionary of Origins, we have: "A spinning wheel is said to have been invented in 1533 by a citizen of Brunswick, England." The first spinning wheel was called a "Tarn."*

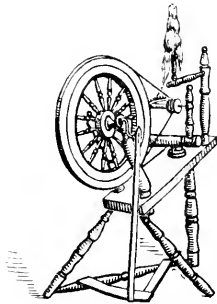


FIG. 5.
Spinning Wheel.
A. D. 1530.

Some of these ancient spinners, by hand methods, were extremely skillful in the manipulation of the wheel. Aubrey says, in *Book of Days*, "In the year 1745, a woman of East Dereham spun a single pound of wool into a thread 84,000 yards long, nearly 48 miles, upon a spinning wheel. Since that time a young lady of Norwich, England, has spun a pound of combed wool (or worsted) into a thread 168,000 yards long and another 203,000 yards, nearly 115 miles: this thread if woven would make 200 yards of yard-wide muslin."

When the ladies of Ipswich are using thread numbering 100 or 150 they think it fine sewing. I had a letter sent me by a former editor of the *Ipswich Chronicle*, in which was contained a sample of cotton thread he had obtained from the Willimantic Cotton Mills, as a sample of the finest thread spun in this country. This was No. 250. The sample of the thread used by the factory, which wove lace in Ipswich seventy-five years ago and some of which I have brought for your inspection, is No. 365, three ply

* The spinning wheel of the fourteen century, called a "Tarn," was a simple wheel with a crank upon one side of the axle upon which it turned, and a spindle similar to the spindle used with the spindle whorl of the earlier times projecting from the opposite axle, upon which the fiber was twisted by the turning of the tarn.

The spinning wheel with its independent spindle driven by a band from the larger wheel did not develop until nearly a century after the "Tarn" came into use. Thus we have the progressive stages in the spinner's art: 1st, the rock; 2d, the plummet-formed rock; 3d, the spindle whorl of ancient Troy and Egypt; 4th, the tarn; 5th, the colonial spinning wheel; 6th, the modern spinning-jenny, and ring spinning machine turned by power.

linen thread. It rivals in fineness the work of the spider or the silkworm.

As the introduction of lace weaving into this country in 1820, and into this town of Ipswich in 1822, came to grief through the dependence of that art, upon the preliminary art of spinning extremely fine thread, we have given thus far, our attention to the implements for making the thread from which lace and cloths were woven in old times.

HOSIERY WEAVING.

I must now go back in time, and take up the evolution and development of the art of weaving hosiery, as that also leads into the lace, and into the hosiery industry of this town of Ipswich.

There were no woven stockings in England prior to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The art of knitting stockings is supposed by some to have originated in Scotland, about A.D. 1500. Howell's History of the World, printed in 1680, says that "Henry the Eighth wore cloth stockings except there came from Spain by chance a pair of silk stockings." Spain therefore claims the art.

The first stockings knit in England were made by William Ryders in 1564. He had seen a pair of Italian knit stockings which he borrowed and copied. The first stocking machine was invented in 1595 by William Lee, a student in the college in Cambridge, England. Having broken a law of that institution by taking to himself a wife, he was expelled, and she, to keep them from starvation, like a true woman took up the then fashionable art of knitting stockings as a means of support. While watching her nimble fingers and clicking needles, he devised a machine which would knit all the stitches around the stocking in about the same time in which she was making a single stitch. This was in Nottingham in 1595. He applied to Queen Elizabeth for a patent, but could not obtain one, neither would King James grant a monopoly, as the pretext of taking work from the poor by the machine was offered in opposition. He therefore carried it to France. He established his machines at Rouen, but the

political troubles, which resulted in the murder of Henry IV of France, his patron, destroyed Lee's prospects there. He was proscribed as a Protestant, and was obliged to seek concealment in Paris, where he died in poverty and distress. Lee's brother and all the workmen but two returned to London, in 1621. These two retained a machine, which was afterwards sold to go to Venice for £500; but it could not be kept in repair, and the art came to a stand in that city.

England thereafter became the sole custodian of the art of making hosiery by machine. A patent was obtained in 1663. The Corporation for the working of this art established itself in London, and its work was carried on in Nottingham, Leicester and Derby, where subordinate companies were formed, and these towns became the center of the hosiery industry in England. These stockingers of Nottingham, about 1768, began to make open-work with various devices attached to the stocking machine in imitation of pillow lace. One named Hammon was so successful that others were led to attempt lace making. In their leisure hours, they amused themselves trying to make the true hexagon mesh, a thing not yet accomplished by machinery.

In 1782 the "warp machine" was introduced by which a number of threads, corresponding to the number of needles, was wound upon a warp beam and this was attached to the ordinary stocking machine, which had hitherto used but a single thread. This, with the Dorson wheels attachment, which admitted a greater variety in the ornamentation of the work, and also the tickler attachment to the stocking machine, invented about the same time, brought into the markets of England a great quantity of cheap material in imitation of the more expensive pillow lace.

These experiments in making open-work upon the stocking machines, by the stocking weavers of Nottingham, created an intense feeling of jealousy among the pillow-lace makers of Nottingham and the surrounding towns. It occasioned the formation of labor societies, or guilds, as the labor unions were at that time called, and

the lace guild assumed a right to make upon the pillows all lace used in the British dominions, and they resolved to maintain this assumed right by force if necessary.

PILLOW LACE.

The origin of the manufacture of pillow lace is lost in the dim obscurity of the past. It may well be called one of the fine arts as it has exercised the refined taste and exquisite skill, of many of the most excellent minds since the beginning of history.

The monuments of ancient Egypt show female figures clothed in a fabric similar to modern lace, in which the outlines of the form are seen through the dress. Lace was worn by the ladies of ancient Greece and Rome. It is spoken of in English history in 1483. In 1614 the manufacture of lace was carried on in Nottingham and Bedfordshire in England. Some of the products of the pillow were extremely delicate and expensive. Almost the entire population of these towns was more or less interested in lace making upon the pillow, at this time.

The pillow for making lace was a cushion covered with a strip of parchment upon which a pattern was drawn. To form the mesh, pins were stuck into the pattern. To each pin, a thread was attached, wound upon a spool or bobbin. The bobbins were allowed to fall down on each side of the pillow, and were changed from side to side and intertwisted as the work progressed. As the meshes were made they were secured by pins, until the next meshes were made, and so on across the width of the piece of the lace. A piece of lace one inch wide would have fifty or sixty bobbins and threads, which would make twenty-five or thirty meshes, 625 meshes to each square inch, or 22,000 meshes to the yard. The different kinds of lace were called Brussels, Mechlin, Valenciennes, Lisle, Alençon blonde and Alençon point.

As I have before mentioned, it is said that lace was made by machines as early as 1768 by a stocking weaver named Hammon and his success led other stockings to attempt making imitation lace on the stocking machines.

The warp machine for making imitation lace was introduced in 1782. In 1799 the first bobbin-net was made by

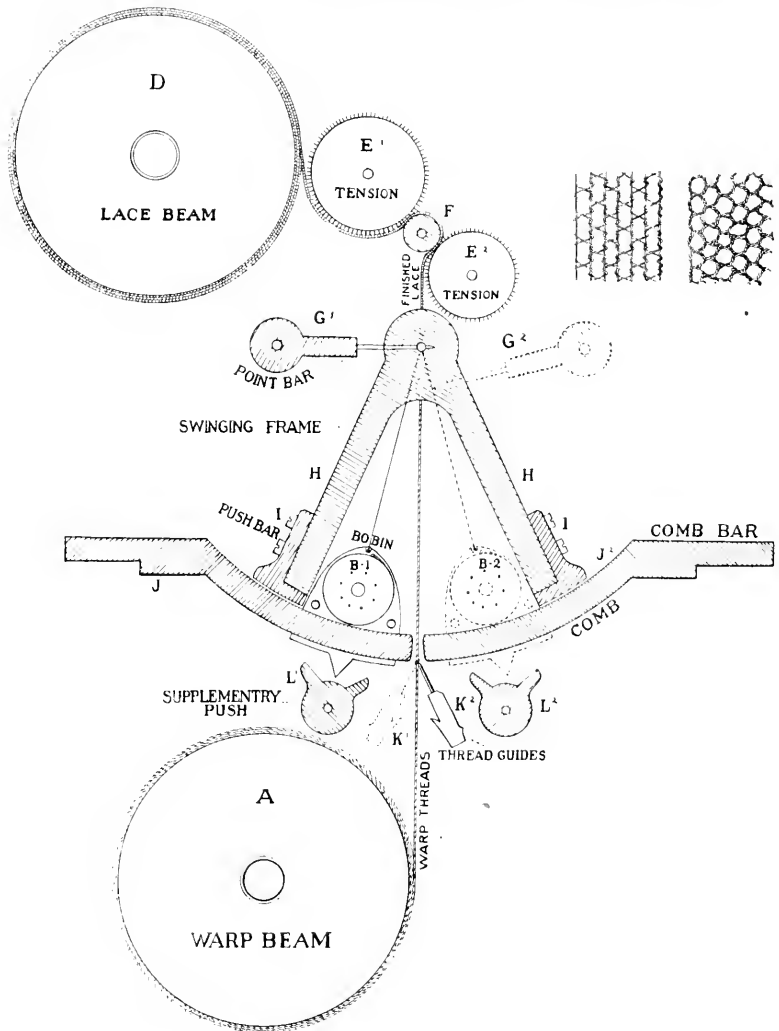


FIG. 6. SECTION OF LACE MACHINE ONE-THIRD FULL SIZE.

Also two plans of the fabric, before and after it is stretched into proper shape, full size.

machinery. By these machines the stocking weavers made an inferior quality of lace, and could undersell the pillow lace makers, whereby the demand for this kind was increased and Nottingham became the center of a thriving trade in this class of goods. No successful attempt to make the true bobbin-net lace with the hexagonal mesh, was made until 1809, when Mr. Heathcoat patented a machine, which is said to have been suggested by a workman making fish nets. The idea occurred to him that, by using parallel warp threads and threads wound upon bobbins arranged to pass through between and twist around the threads of the warp, the true hexagonal mesh could be produced by machine.

DESCRIPTION OF LACE MACHINE.

To illustrate the action of the lace machine, I have made a rough drawing of the working parts of the machine, showing the manner in which the bobbins of the weft traversed from the comb on one side of the warp threads

EXPLANATION OF PARTS.

- A is a beam near the bottom of the machine upon which the warp threads are wound.
- B1 and B2 are the bobbins in their carriages upon which the threads of the weft are wound.
- J1 and J2 are combs into which the carriages with their bobbins traverse from the teeth of the comb on one side to the teeth of the opposite comb which are marked J1 and J2. These comb bars also traverse endwise.
- I and I are push-bars which are bolted to a swinging frame which pushes the carriages and their bobbins from the teeth of one comb to those of the opposite comb.
- G1 and G2 are points which enter the mesh as it is formed and close it to its proper size.
- E1, E2, and F are tension rollers to draw the finished lace from the machine as it is woven before it is wound on the lace beam which is marked D, on the plan.
- L1 and L2 are supplementary push bars which engage and hold the bobbin carriage at certain stages of the work.
- K1K2 are guides to conduct the warp threads into a proper position in the machine.
- H H Swinging frame to which push bars I I are fastened.

into the comb upon the opposite side of the warp threads, and then sidewise, like the change in a cotillion called "Back to back." This movement was repeated three times and then the bobbin and its carriage passed on again to repeat their "Back to back" movements with the next thread of the warp.

The partners in this textile cotillion, numbering, for yard wide lace, one thousand weft threads, and one thousand warp threads, all moved simultaneously and a yard of yard-

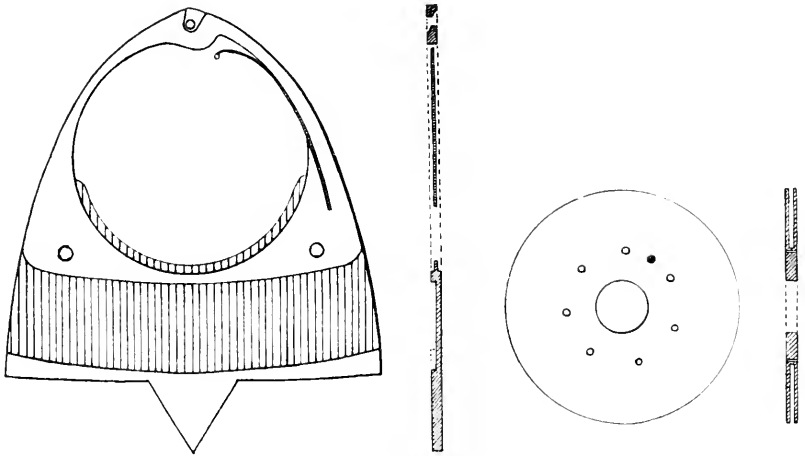


FIG. 5.

Bobbin Carriage, full size.

Section.

Lace Bobbin, full size.

Section.

The Bobbin and Bobbin Carriage marked B 1 and B 2 on Plan of the Lace Machine. These bobbins are wound with, and carry the threads of the weft through and around the threads of the warp to form the mesh or stitch of the Lace.

wide lace could be woven in the time taken to make by pillow, six inches of one-inch-wide lace. The warp beam upon which the threads of the warp were wound was placed near the bottom of the machine. These threads first passed through guide needles, then upwards to the center upon which the swinging frame of the push bars swung, near which the lace mesh was formed (marked II). The finished lace was then wound upon a beam near the top of the machine. This forward and back movement of the carriages with their bobbins, and this right and left

movement of the combs containing them were repeated to the end of the piece of yard wide lace woven. There was also a row of pointed needles upon each side near the place where the twist of the mesh was formed. Those upon one side entered below the twist last formed and, rising, closed it up, then held it until the next twist was formed, when the needles on the other side engaged in the same manner, each of these working alternately, and the size of the mesh conformed to the sectional size of the needles or points. The lace was therefore called "Point net lace" as the size of the mesh was governed by the size of the points of the machine which made it. There were two other machines which came out about this time varying somewhat, but using the same general arrangement of parts. This machine was successful and so far affected the pillowlace makers, that they organized themselves into a society to suppress by force the making of lace by machinery.

The lace makers and stocking weavers who came to Ipswich in 1818 and 1822 were men who were employed in the two factories of Mr. Heathcoat in Nottingham in 1816, in making lace upon the new lace machines, and were subject to the enmity, annoyance and crime of this Secret Society.

THE LUDDITES

It has been truly said that history repeats itself. I will quote an account of the Luddite labor troubles in Nottingham, which influenced the lace weavers to emigrate to this country in 1818-22.*

"The Luddite riots in Nottinghamshire, England, commenced March 11, 1811 and continued through a period of five years. The first was at Arnold, near Nottingham, where the unemployed stocking knitters were, for a paltry sum, employed to sweep the streets, and do menial work. By the 11th of March, their patience being exhausted, they assembled at midnight and smashed 60 frames, and 200

* "Book of Days, March 11, page 357."

other frames were destroyed in a similar manner during the succeeding three weeks.

"These riotous stockingers assumed the name of Luddites, a name said to be derived from a boy named Ludlam, who, when his father, a framework weaver, in Leicestershire, ordered him to 'square his needles,' took his hammer and beat them into a heap."

The usual plan of operation was to assemble at night armed with swords and pistols, hammers and axes, under the leadership of one man who was styled "Ned Ludd." Each man was distinguished by a number, instead of name, and all were disguised. They proceeded to the place of destruction and those armed with weapons surrounded and guarded the place, while those with hammers entered and smashed the needles and sinkers of the frames with unsparing hands. When this destruction was completed, they would reassemble at a short distance and call a roll of the numbers, each answering to his number. If all were there a pistol was fired and, removing the black handkerchiefs from their faces, they departed to their homes, keeping the most profound secrecy.

To detect the ringleaders of these rioters, the Government organized a secret committee, which was supplied with a large sum of money, for the purpose of obtaining information, but in spite of these efforts the devastations continued from time to time.

On Sunday night Nov. 10, a party of Luddites proceeded to the village of Bulwell, to destroy the frames of Mr. Hollingsworth, who, in anticipation of their visit, assembled some of his friends with fire arms to defend the property. Many shots were fired, and one John Westly was mortally wounded, which so enraged the mob that they forced an entrance, and soon destroyed not only the frames, but every article of furniture about the place. Soon after that at Sutton, 37 frames were destroyed. The military took several prisoners here, four of whom were committed for trial. On Sunday Nov. 24, at Baskford, 34 frames were destroyed, and 11 more the following day. On Dec. 6, a proclamation ordered all persons to remain in their homes after 10 o'clock, and all public

houses closed, and the streets were patrolled by police and military. Notwithstanding these precautions, there were 36 frames destroyed in the villages around Nottingham, during the next six days.

A reward of £50 for the apprehension of any of the offenders was offered by the Government, but this only excited these men to further deeds of daring. They began to rob and plunder, declaring they could not starve in a land of plenty. On the 30th of July, 1812, these labor troubles had compelled no less than 4,348 families, 15,350 persons, nearly one-half of the inhabitants of Nottingham, to be applicants for relief out of the poor rates. A large subscription was raised to offer more liberal rewards for the suppression of these daring outrages, and seven of the rioters were apprehended and sent to Botany Bay, or transported.

In March, 1812, an Act of Parliament was passed, making it an offence punishable with death to break a stocking or lace machine. In April, a Mr. Trentham, a manufacturer, was shot while standing at his own door; but the wound did not prove fatal. The offender was never brought to justice, although £600 were offered for his apprehension. These riotous proceedings continued until October 1816, when they finally ceased.

Upwards of 1000 stocking frames and a number of lace machines were destroyed by these organized stocking knitters and pillow-lace makers in Nottinghamshire alone; and in Derby, Leicestershire and York counties, also there were many destroyed. One of Mr. Heathcote's factories was entered by the Luddites. The machines were all destroyed, and the watchman shot and killed.

Many of the skilled workmen, who had formerly been employed by him in making machine lace, being thrown out of employment, resolved to emigrate to this country, and to start for themselves this new industry in this free country, leaving behind them, forever, these troublesome conditions of the trade, in which they had passed the early part of their lives, to take with them the tools of their trade, and to become naturalized citizens of the country of their adoption. This resolution was carried

out to the letter. They could not do otherwise. They arrived in 1818-20 and 1822.

Many of the hosiery weavers as well, thrown out of employment by this wholesale slaughter of their stocking frames, not finding sufficient protection from riotous mobs of unemployed stocking knitters and pillow-lace weavers, resolved to emigrate to America. Had the wealthy gentlemen and nobility of England devoted the funds collected to punish these poor knitters to charitable efforts to furnish employment for them, at more than starvation prices, these labor outrages could not have happened.

Prior to 1818 there were no stocking machines in this country, although strenuous efforts were made to get them. In 1776 the Committee of Safety had appropriated £300 to Mr. Coxendfer of Maryland, Frederic County, to establish a stocking factory, and the Society of Arts in New York had offered a prize of £10 for the first three stocking frames of iron set up in that year. The prizes were not claimed.

The British government, ever extremely careful of its textile industries was especially so of its hosiery, and of its newly introduced lace manufacture at Nottingham. In order to keep these in England, excessive duties had been put upon the exportation of the machinery required in these industries. These had been from time to time increased, until they amounted to actual prohibition.

Every obstacle was placed in the way of skilled workers in these branches of industry, to prevent them from leaving the country, and especially their emigration to the United States of America. A penalty of £40 for the exportation of a stocking machine existed till 1788. It was then increased from time to time till it amounted to a prohibitory duty and the penalty for exporting lace machinery in 1818 amounted to an excessive fine of £500, much beyond the means of the ordinary workman to pay, and transportation for a term of years if payment was not made. The agitation of the labor question, at about this time, and the recent Luddite troubles furnished a pretext for extremely stringent laws in this respect.

In the face of all this, as we have said, some of the better class of the lace weavers and stocking weavers resolved to come and bring the tools of their trade with them, even if these excessive fines had to be paid. The first delegation of these men had enough of King George's pictures in yellow metal, in their pockets, to brave the consequences. It is an open secret, that some of these golden pictures were actually used to facilitate the transportation of the tools and effects of these skillful men to America. I have heard it boldly said that the bobbins, points, guides and needles of lace stocking machines came into Boston in 1818 and 1822, secreted in pots of good Yorkshire butter. Whether these pots of butter paid an export duty to the British Government I am unable to tell.

The first stocking machine, which reached this part of the country, came out of England from Liverpool, in 1818. Some incidents in the history of this machine are interesting. It was first bought in Nottingham, then packed in two boxes and sent to a framesmith to be repaired and repacked for its trip to America. It was then sent to Liverpool and left upon the wharf where an old brig was lying, being laden with salt stowed loosely in bulk. It was taken by a stevedore and placed upon the keelson away up in the bows of the ship, and packed deep in the salt. The brig dropped down to the mouth of the harbor, and was overhauled and inspected thoroughly (as they thought) by the Custom House men. Trunks and boxes were inspected and long sticks run into the salt but these two boxes with the adventurous machine escaped detection.

Its passage in the brig, which was destined to a southern port, was a stormy one. She was driven out of her course several times, by adverse winds, for over sixty days. Then, when some miles outside of Massachusetts Bay, she was spoken by a schooner bound for Boston, to which the machine and its adventurous owners were transferred, and the brig, with her lost reckoning rectified, and her mechanical "Jonah" not overboard, but reshipped on an American schooner, went on her southbound way

rejoicing, no doubt. The schooner arrived in Boston on Sept. 4, 1818. The boxes were put upon a produce wagon, carted to Watertown, and carefully unloaded at a little house by the river, near the present Etna Mills. When the boxes were opened it was found that one of the most important parts of the machine was missing. Its sinker bar and all its sinkers had been left behind in England.

By the ingenuity and skill of one of its owners, these were replaced during the first winter in its new home: then it was used under the management of its two owners, six hours on and six hours off, through the day and night, for the greater part of its two first years in this country. It was then there came the lace makers, and the starting of the Lace Factory in Watertown, which gave it a long time of rest, but it finally reached Ipswich to do duty while the New England lace company was getting a foothold in this good old town.

This machine was brought to Ipswich in 1822 by Benjamin Fewkes and George Warner, its joint owners. I have been told that the first pair of stockings, woven upon this machine in Ipswich, were made by Mr. Benjamin Fewkes, Sr., in the kitchen of a house, which then stood upon the site of the present South Congregational meeting house.

The successful transfer of this first stocking machine furnished a clew to others, who were anxious to get the lace machines introduced into this country. The essential and more delicate parts of the lace machines were brought over concealed in the effects of the lace weavers from Heathcoat's factories, who came in numbers soon after this time. In this instance the more bulky heavy bars and frame work of the lace machines were constructed here, from drawings and ideas of skilled machinists who came over about the same time. A factory was brought into successful operation in Watertown near the Newton boundary line, by the capital engaged in the enterprise, and the lace machines were in working order in the spring of 1820, where they continued till 1822.

A gentleman of Ipswich, Mr. Augustine Heard, and others, becoming interested in the enterprise, the machines

were removed to Ipswich, and located in the building nearest the mill dam and foot bridge, on the south side of the river in 1824. This company was called the Boston and Ipswich Lace Company. Another rival company, of which Dr. Thomas Manning and others were promoters and stockholders, was started in 1828. This was called the New England Lace Company. This new company located itself upon the old Dr. Manning homestead on High street, the site of the residence of the late Joseph Ross, Esq. This building has been remodelled and beautified with architectural elegance by the its recent proprietor. The west front room was used for the weaving room; the front chamber over this was used for warping, winding and mending the lace; the rear lower rooms, west, were used for washing and for a machine shop. The east rooms were the residence of Mr. Clark the superintendent. Mr. Fewkes was a stockholder and worked in each of these three factories.

The names of the persons employed by this lace enterprise in Ipswich were as follows:—

Sup't, John Clark; machinists, James Peatfield, Joseph Peatfield, Sanford Peatfield; lace weavers, Benjamin Fewkes, Samuel Gadd, George Gadd, James Clark, John Trueman, Mr. Watts, George Warner, Samuel Hunt, Sr., John Morley, James Cartwright, Sr., Charles Bamford, Sr., and Mr. Harrison. The warpers and winders were young men and boys as follows: Thomas and William Gadd, William and Henry Fewkes, Samuel Hunt, Jr., Charles Bamford, Jr., and others. There were also employed many women and girls, mending, embroidering and washing lace, who were mostly the wives and daughters of the workmen and some others of Ipswich birth whose names I am unable to give.

The managers of the lace enterprise also made an effort looking to the introduction of a silk industry in Ipswich.

Mr. Augustine Heard (I have been told), who was one of the first movers of the Lace Company, imported from China in one of his vessels some eggs of the mulberry Moth (*Bombyx mori*). The transportation of the eggs was accomplished by packing them in small silk bags which were worn about the person of the Chinaman who brought

them. This was done to ensure the proper temperature for them on the voyage, as the temperature during some of the colder days was too low to ensure their safe transportation without this precaution. These were put in charge of Mr. Clark the superintendent of the lace factory, and a room was set apart for them in the factory and kept at the proper temperature to hatch the eggs. Prior to this time, a nurseryman in Newton, Mr. William Kendrick, had planted a large stock of white mulberry trees (*Morus alba*), a native tree of China, and had advertised the same largely in all the papers of the day. In fact a furor for silk raising had been created, not unlike the celebrated Tulip mania in Holland several years previous. Great quantities of these trees were sold and, among others, Dr. Manning became interested. He had the side hill in the rear of the Old Manning homestead graded and terraced, and planted with these trees of the white mulberry. When the eggs of the mulberry moth came into town these trees had attained two or three years of growth.

When the writer was a small boy, I think it was in the spring of 1832, his father took him with others to the lace factory, now the estate of the late Joseph Ross, to see the machines weaving lace. Mr. Clark escorted the party through the works, showing and describing the different machines and processes by which the lace was woven, cleansed, mended and wrought, to get it into a marketable condition. He then took them into a room set apart from the others, in which were a number of cases containing trays, the bottoms of which were made of lace. These were covered with young and tender green leaves, upon which were innumerable worms like caterpillars, all voraciously eating the leaves. In some of the trays the worms were as large as an ordinary apple-tree caterpillar, nearly one and a half inches long. From this size they varied, in other trays, to about one quarter of an inch in length. Each tray seemed to be occupied with similar worms representing different ages of the hatch. Mr. Clark said the larger worms were fed with the older leaves, while the younger required the more delicate, younger foliage. As I remember their appearance, the

more mature and larger worms, scattered over the green leaves, were of a golden yellow color. In some of the trays the worms had nearly finished eating and would soon begin to spin their cocoons. He also showed the party cocoons all formed and showed how readily the silk could be unwound from the cocoon in one continuous thread. The temperature of the room in which these silkworms were kept was much higher than that of other rooms. He then escorted the party out through the garden in the rear of the factory to a terrace at the foot of the hill where the young mulberry trees were growing and showed them where the tender leaves had been gathered. I cannot tell how many seasons this experiment was continued; probably it was abandoned at the time the lace works closed, I think in the winter of 1832-3.

This Company continued its factory in operation till 1832, when it failed to procure the usual supply of thread, which had been imported from England. Linen thread of sufficient fineness for the work could not at that time be spun in this country, owing chiefly to the dry atmosphere. It was always spun by secret methods in damp cellars in England and France. The British government, finding that the lace machines and workmen had really escaped to this country, and that lace was being woven from imported thread, put an excessive export duty upon thread, and allowed manufactured lace to go out free. This ruined the industry of lace weaving in Ipswich, and its promoters lost their investment.

Finding themselves out of employment, the lace-makers returned to their old business of weaving hosiery. Many of them went to Germantown, Pa., where some imported frames were in use, and others to Portsmouth, N. H., where some frames had been introduced, during the term of the lace industry in Ipswich. Some of the most skillful remained in Ipswich, and in 1832, the Peatfield brothers made for Mr. Benjamin Fewkes two new stocking frames, which were the first made in New England, and I think the first made in this country. He began the manufacture of hosiery in a small shop on High St. near his dwelling. Mr. George Warner established a similar shop on the site of the Damon Block, directly opposite

the B. & M. R. R. station. He bought the interest of Mr. Fewkes in the original machine, but sold it to Mr. John Bilson, with whom it went back to Newton in 1840. Mr. Samuel Hunt, Sen., began work in a shop on East St. in the rear of his dwelling, and Mr. Charles Bamford, Sen., in the shop still standing in the rear of his dwelling, the old Frisbie house on County St. Each of these stocking makers had only two machines.

It is said that Timothy Bayley, of Albany was the first to put power to the Lee frame, in 1831. I know that in 1834 James and Sanford Peatfield of Ipswich had a rotary warp frame in successful operation in the Old Saw Mill building by the Cove in Ipswich. Jesse Fewkes at that time was their "Winder Lad" and can vouch for the age of this great improvement in warp machines. They also invented a round knitting machine in 1841 or about that time.

The Census Report of 1900 says, "The only stocking factory in the United States in 1831 was the Newburyport Hose Manufacturing Company." Ipswich I think is entitled to the credit of manufacturing stockings by machine nine years prior to this first recorded date, and in 1833 there were four well-started hosiery manufactories in this town. It is true that these were small but they were the seed from which has grown a mighty creation, a textile giant. The total amount invested in this industry in the United States in 1900 was \$95,482,556. There were employed in that year 69,829 machines, operated by 83,387 persons and the value of its production for that year was \$95,482,566. In Massachusetts alone the capital employed was \$6,288,675. There were 6,667 workmen employed and 5,003 machines, and they produced \$6,620,257 worth of hosiery goods, in 54 establishments or factories.

The American inventor has made great improvements on the old English method of hosiery making. The American "Latch Needle" which came out somewhere in the forties of the last century, was a most simple and effective device, which completely revolutionized the machines for the manufacture of hosiery. The Lee stocking frame had remained for nearly 250 years in practically

the same stage of development : all improvements on the original device during this time had been merely accessories to the old machine, but the introduction of the latch needle made possible the rotary knitting machine and, consequently, automatic action in all its parts, and steam power for its motive.

The census of 1900 gives the entire number of Latch needle machines in this country at that time as 55,816, while the entire number of machines weaving hosiery with the old-fashioned Beard needle was 14,013, which fact speaks well for the American inventor's work.

The more beautiful and artistic industry, the weaving of fine laces by machines, has never recovered in Ipswich from the disastrous failure it experienced and it remains an unexplored but inviting field of industry on this side the Atlantic.

IPSWICH MILLS AND FACTORIES.

At the very beginning of the settlement of our Town, a grist mill was an imperative necessity, and at the first Town meeting of which definite record remains in 1634, "Itt is concluded and consented unto that Mr. John Spencer and Mr. Nicholas Easton shall have libertye to build a Mill and a Ware upon the Town River, about the falles of it upon this condicon, that they shall pte with an equal share of theire Fish to all the inhabitants of this Town if they bee demanded att five shill. a thousand more or less according to the comon price of the Countrye." The "Falls" alluded to, were probably only rapids, but various allusions to removing rocks about the dam indicate that in its natural state, our River ran rapidly in a rocky bed, where the large dam stands, and lower down, in the rocky gulch by the saw mill. This was the natural location for a dam, and the fish "ware" was established for the taking of the shad and alewives which ascended the stream in great numbers. The original grantees left the Town, perhaps before the dam and grist mill were built, and Mr. Richard Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, and one of the most important citizens of our Town succeeded to the grant. The dam was constructed at about the place where the new dam stands, we may suppose, and the grist mill was probably near the spot now occupied by the old stone mill. For many years, Mr. Saltonstall enjoyed a monopoly of the business. Corn was brought to mill from the whole great township to be ground into Indian meal, the great food staple of the time. At length complaints were made about the miller, that he was unskillful, and disobliging, and a communication from the "Worshipful Richard Saltonstall Esq." then in England was received and entered on the Town Record in 1671, promising that a skillful and acceptable miller, should be

sent. But there were many apparently, who were not so easily satisfied, and the Town declared that the number of inhabitants was too great for one Indian corn mill. In reference to this demand, Mr. Saltonstall asked and received liberty in April 1682, to build another grist mill, near Sergeant Clark's. Thos. Clark owned and occupied the northeast corner of Summer and Water Sts. by the river side, and the scheme of a mill contemplated a dam across the river at this point, and the utilizing of the tides. The privilege was granted "provided he have gates eighteen or twenty feet wide, to let up canoes or boats loaded into the cove and to let out boats and canoes when the tide serves."

Jonathan Wade and others opposed this, and the reason may have been that he had received in 1673, "that little island of rocks at the falls, in exchange for so much to enlarge the highway by the windmill* provided he hinder no man from taking away loose rocks, nor hinder fish ways, nor making of a bridge, nor prejudice the mills," and in 1649, he had received permission to set up a saw mill, which may have been built at this point. Cornet Whipple had also received permission in 1673 to build a fulling mill, "at the smaller falls, by Ezekiel Woodward's house," provided Mr. Saltonstall's grist mill at the upper falls and another fulling mill already begun, at the upper fall probably, were not "prejudiced." A dam lower down the river naturally threatened the privileges of the mills on the island. Nothing resulted from this scheme of a tide mill, and in 1686, as the need of another mill was increasingly pressing, the selectmen granted liberty to any one to build a grist mill at the falls, "by or near Goodman Rust," "provided they damnify not the upper grist mills."

In March 1686/7, "Sar. Nicholas Wallis" received permission "to improve the water by damming in the river against his own land, not exceeding three foot for the building a fulling mill or mills, provided he do it within a year and a half." He lived near the present Norwood mills. In 1667, for the convenience of this neighbor-

* The windmill was built undoubtedly on "Wind-mill Hill." The date of its erection is not known.

hood, "John Addams, Nath. Addams, Samuel Addams, Joseph Safford, Nicholas Wallis and Thomas Stace, upon consideration of there building a bridge over the river at there own expense," were "freed from working in the common highway for 7 years to come." A corn mill was erected as well, perhaps by John Adams, as John Adams, Sen., conveyed his property to John, Jun., including "half the land the corn mill stands" in April, 1698. The deed mentions "the little dam." The grist mill and a saw mill, known as "Adams's Mills," were sold by the widow to Paul Dodge in 1750.

His son Barnabas succeeded him, and David, son of Barnabas, sold to Ammi Smith in 1827, and the Smith heirs to Caleb and Jerome Norwood in 1868. The sawing of fine veneers was carried on with success. The fulling mill was operated by the Warners, and William Warner added a carding machine prior to 1794. This property was conveyed by the Warner heirs to Ammi Smith, in 1858. The water power once utilized for the fulling and scouring mill, and the carding of wool, is now used by the isinglass factory. A saw mill also is still in use.

In the year 1687, Nehemiah Jewet was granted leave to dam the Egypt River and build a grist mill, and in 1691, Thomas Boreman received permission to set a grist mill on Labour-in-vain Creek, provided he built within two years. The mill on Egypt river was built, near the residence of Mr. John Tenney, and some faint remains are still visible. There is no evidence of which I am aware, that Mr. Boreman ever built.

The presumption is rather against this, as Col. Saltonstall, son of Richard, received permission anew in June, 1695, to utilize the location by Sergeant Clark's. Renewed opposition was made to this project in a written document signed by many, who protested that this grant should not be voted.

"1. Because it stops a navigable river.

"2. Because it will damnifie Col. Saltonstall's grant. (*i. e.* the upper mill privilege, I presume).

"3. Because severall other places which will answer ye Town's ends are proposed, which will do less damage to proprietors."

Apparently no further steps were taken by Col. Saltonstall, as permission was granted March 24, 1696, to Edmund Potter and others to set up a dam and grist mill on Mile Brook, "not to damnify Col. Appleton's saw-mill." The grist mill was located on the spot where the old mill still stands on the Oliver Smith farm. Col. Appleton's saw mill was a little to the eastward of the bridge over Mile River. Still there was a cry for a mill by Sergeant Clark's, and again, on Nov. 4, 1696, it was voted, "Two or three persons that are so minded shall have liberty to erect a mill and raise a dam across ye River by or near ye house where John Clark, Carpenter, formerly lived." But no mill was built, and eventually the privilege at the Lower Falls was improved by Robert Calef who received permission in March 1714/15.

William Dodge purchased the mill and privilege at the Lower Falls, but he was not content and in 1730, he repeated the old plea for a location "at the end of Green Lane," "near Sergeant Clark's formerly so called." He proposed to build a dam with gates 20 feet wide to permit boats to pass, and then "throw up his works at the Falls and remove the grist mill he had lately built there down to the place petitioned for." This was negatived and no further attempt was made to place a mill at this spot.

The Saltonstall heirs continued to hold an interest in the upper Mills until 1729. In that year they sold to John Waite and Samuel Dutch, their interest in two grist mills and a fulling mill, dye-house, house for the miller etc., and a saw mill which had been built on the east side of the river, near the residence of Mr. Clark Abell. Dutch sold his interest in the grist mills and fulling mill, to Waite. In 1746, Benj. Dutch bought of Philemon Dean a half interest in the mill property. The mills had been operated for many years by Michael Farley and his sons, and they acquired ownership. He had come from England in 1675, as a skilled miller, to take charge, and his immediate descendants were concerned in the mills for more than a hundred and fifty years.

Grist mills and saw mills had now been erected to meet the needs of the people, but before the century ended a new enterprise of a different character engaged the atten-

tion of our town's folk. Cloth of every kind was still woven on handlooms. Not a few men were weavers by trade, and they produced the necessary woolen and linen fabrics, for such as could not weave for themselves, and their work was probably upon the finer quality of broadcloths and other fine fabrics for the expensive garments of the gentry. But the great bulk of woolen and cotton or linen stuffs, homespun cloths, flannels, quilts, blankets, towelling, and table linen, and plain cotton for family wear, were made by the busy housewives on the family loom.

In 1785, Edmund Cartwright, an Oxford graduate and a minister of the Established Church, exhibited in England a power-loom, which he had invented. It was a rude machine, but it embodied an idea of the profoundest significance. It established the fact that the slow and laborious hand labor at the loom, was destined to give place to the more rapid and economical work of machines. His invention met the fate of all great and revolutionary discoveries. The introduction of it was vehemently opposed as disastrous to the handicraft of multitudes, and a mill which had been erected and fitted up with 500 of his looms was maliciously burned down. There was living in Ipswich at that time a man of remarkably progressive mind, Dr. John Manning. He had introduced inoculation as a preventive of small pox some years before, on his return from England, and had faced a storm of calumny and reproach for his determined conduct in inoculating some members of his own family. He was quick to see the great value of Cartwright's invention, and in 1792, only seven years after the invention was exhibited, he had received a grant of a piece of land, where Caldwell's Block stands today, that he might erect a building for a woolen manufactory. Mrs. Elizabeth Brown's house was sacrificed, but the public was greatly benefited. The mill was erected, and the manufacture of coarse cloths and blankets was begun in 1794. The business proved unprofitable and was given up in 1800, but this modest venture is a towering landmark in the industrial history of our town and of the Commonwealth. Dr. Manning's woolen factory must have been one of the earliest of tex-

tile manufactories on this side the Atlantic. The building was subsequently purchased by Mr. Stephen Coburn and was destroyed by fire.

The decade 1820 to 1830 was a period of extraordinary interest in industrial affairs. For many years the making of pillow lace had engaged the leisure of girls and women. It was a local industry, as it would seem, and its origin is unknown. Referring to Ipswich in 1692, a writer says, "Silk and thread lace of an elegant and lasting texture are manufactured in large quantities by women and children and sold for use and exportation."* The industry had attained such large proportions in 1790 that more than 40,000 yards of lace were produced each year, according to Mr. Felt, the annalist of our Town.

In 1824, the Boston and Ipswich Lace Co. was incorporated with a capital of \$150,000. The house near the Foot Bridge, still known as the old Lace Factory, was bought and the manufacture of machine lace was begun. The New England Lace Co., with a capital of \$50,000, was established in 1827, on High St., in the building now included in the Joseph Ross homestead. Mr. Fewkes has told the story of the inception of these industries and their untimely ruin, in lucid fashion. The Boston and Ipswich Co. closed its affairs in 1827, and the New England in 1833. But the ancient industry of pillow lace manufacture had been completely supplanted, and never attained its former volume.

The influx of skilled English artisans that has been of the greatest industrial value to our Town began probably about the year 1822, when Benjamin Fewkes and George Warner came with their "frame" for the machine knitting of hosiery. Mr. Fewkes' confident assertion that stockings were knit in old Ipswich in 1822, suggests that Ipswich men were in the van of this great industry, as Dr. Manning had been with his power looms in the woolen manufacture. But the lace-making and stocking-knitting were to be supplemented by another fruitful industry. Joseph Farley, the last in the line of millers, was not content with the ancestral business of grinding

*Mr. M. V. B. Perley in his History of Ipswich, in History of Essex County Mass., Boston, 1878.

corn. He conceived the scheme of utilizing the water power, hitherto used for the grist mills and fulling mill and the saw mill, for a cotton mill. A company was organized and work was begun on an extensive scale.

A new dam was built in 1827, an ancient fordway across the river near the old Lace Factory was closed by permission of the Town, and the stone mill was erected at large expense. The machinery was started in 1830. In 1832 it had 3000 spindles and 260 looms. It spun Nos. 30 and 32 yarn, used 80,000 lbs. of cotton, made 450,000 yards of cloth annually, worth from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 cents. It employed on an average 18 males and 63 females.* The Ipswich Manufacturing Company, with Joseph Farley as its President, operated boldly. The lower grist mills, and other buildings on the Island were secured. Land on Elm St. was bought, and permission of the owners of the estate now owned by Mr. Clark Abell was secured, preliminary to building a canal from the River above the upper dam, across the Heard estate to the river. The Asa Andrews estate and the old Lace Factory were purchased and other lands, including the saw mill.† But financial difficulties arose, and in 1836 Mr. Farley conveyed his interests to the Company. In 1846, a new Company, known as the Dane Manufacturing Co., purchased the mills and other properties from the Ipswich Manufacturing Co. The manufacture of drilling was continued.

Meanwhile the hosiery manufacture and kindred industries were coming into greater prominence. The four small manufactories, mentioned by Mr. Fewkes, in which stockings were knit on hand frames, were supplemented by a larger industry, as early as 1834. In a building, erected by the Heards at the Lower Mills, James Peatfield and his brother Sanford, were engaged in knitting shirts and drawers upon a warp frame, invented by James, at least as early as that year.

Encouraged by their success, the Peatfield brothers bought the land in 1840, and proceeded to build the brick

*Felt. Hist. of Ipswich, p. 11.

† This old saw mill fell into ruin, but a new building for veneer sawing was built by Mr. Benjamin C. Hoyt, about 1843. This was removed by Mr. James M. Wellington about the year 1856, to its present location on County Street.

factory, now known as "Hayes Tavern." It was equipped with machinery invented by James, and began at once a prosperous business in the production of underwear. Mr. Geo. W. Heard was the warm friend of the enterprise and advanced money for the new manufactory. But the business had been established only a few years, when Mr. Heard was obliged to go into bankruptcy and the Peatfields were hopelessly involved. Mr. Heard began the knitting business in the building at the Lower Mills about 1845, with Mr. Jabez Mann as Superintendent. He secured the help of Mr. James Glover, who came from England with a long warp machine. Mr. John Birch and other skilled workmen were engaged as well.

The Peatfield brothers lost their building and business for a time, but recovered in a few years. Sanford Peatfield sold his share of building and land, but James Peatfield began the manufacture of the nets then in vogue for women's wear, and continued it profitably for years. In a building in the rear of the brick one, which was removed from the County House land, a new corporation, known as the Lincoln Manufacturing Co., carried on a business first of weaving flannel, and later of hosiery making.

At Willowdale, within the bounds of Hamilton, Dr. Thomas Manning had built a dam in 1829 and a wooden saw mill. The mill was soon burned and another was erected, which was used in part for the sawing of veneers and for turning. The more permanent stone buildings, the factory and the boarding-house on the hill slope, were in process of erection, and about the year 1834, the looms were installed and the weaving of woolen goods began. The factory was owned by Dr. Manning and it was called "Manning's Mills." During the War of the Rebellion hosiery machinery was in operation and in 1864, there were manufactured 55,000 pairs of army socks and woolen goods to the value of \$135,000.

The hosiery making gave way to the manufacture of blankets, by the Willowdale Manufacturing Co., and many houses had been erected for the operatives. The Mill was destroyed by fire, January 12, 1884, and was not rebuilt. The stone house has been taken down and except a ten-

porary use of a wooden building built on the ruins of the old mill, no use has since been made of the water power at this spot.

The decade 1860 to 1870 was the period of another great advance in the textile industry of the Town. In 1863, Henry L. Ordway and Sylvanus F. Canney bought a piece of land on County St., intending to establish a saw mill. It was proposed that a yarn mill should be erected instead. A capital stock of \$40,000 was secured, about half in our Town, and the Company was organized with N. W. Pierce and George G. Colman of Boston, Joseph Ross, Capt. Thomas Dodge and Henry L. Ordway of Ipswich as Directors, and the firm of Pierce, Hardy & Co., as selling agents.

After about five years, the Corporation decided to use its yarn. The capital was increased to \$50,000, knitting machinery was introduced and the manufacture of hosiery was begun. A few years of great prosperity followed. The capital was increased to \$75,000, and the building was enlarged and equipped with the most improved machines. The work produced was of the finest quality, and the most skilful operatives earned ten and twelve dollars a week. Employment was also furnished to three shops, where skilled English hosiery makers worked on hand frames. Burrows & Hunt, Chas. Bamford & Son, employing eight men, and John Birch, with twelve men in his employ, were constantly engaged on work for this Mill. The stockholders rejoiced in ten per cent. dividends, and ninety per cent. of the original investment had been paid to investors, when sudden calamity befell this prosperous and promising business. The great fire in Boston in the fall of 1873 consumed a large amount of finished goods. The insurance companies were bankrupt and only 38 cents on a dollar were realized by the Company. From this time the business was conducted in the face of great difficulties, but with less and less success, until the doors were closed in January, 1885.

The manufacture of cotton cloth was continued in the Stone Mill until 1868 or thereabout. In that year, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence of Boston having purchased for \$70,000 the mills and other property owned by that cor-

poration, transferred the property to the Ipswich Mills Co. The cotton looms were removed and hosiery machinery was introduced. For a time, business was conducted at a loss. The Company was unfortunate in its superintendents, and the secret of profitable manufacture was not attained. The loss was so great, that Mr. Lawrence was on the verge of abandoning the enterprise, when a young Nottingham manufacturer, Mr. Everard H. Martin, was chosen superintendent. With his coming, an era of prosperity dawned, and for many years, this Corporation has been the chief industrial enterprise of the town. When reverse overtook the Woolen Mills, that property was purchased and has since been operated by the Ipswich Mills. The plant has been enlarged from time to time, and all branches of the business, even to the making of the paper boxes, and the wooden shipping cases, are now carried on, and a branch Mill is operated in South Boston. At present, the superintendent is Mr. Harry B. Brown. About 800 operatives are employed. The annual product is estimated at a million dollars, and the pay roll is from eight to ten thousand dollars a week.

The hand frame business prospered for many years. James Glover manufactured nets, the Hallams produced fine knit goods, and single frames were operated here and there by a few expert workmen. But this line of manufacture has become unprofitable, and at the present time it is said that the hand frame weaving which began with the operation of the English loom, in 1822, has ceased and the whole textile production of the Town is the output of the Ipswich Mills.

The saw mills, once numerous, have suffered similar decline. The Island, granted to Jonathan Wade, became a busy centre of industry. A fulling mill, two saw mills and a grist mill flourished in the 18th century. A manufactory of knit goods was added in the 19th century. This building was used as a saw mill by the Damon heirs and was burned some years ago. A single building, used for a grist mill, originally, now stands unused. One small saw mill and one grist mill, are the only representatives today of these ancient and important industries.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held December 7, 1903, at the House of the Society. The following officers were elected.

President.—T. Frank Waters.

Vice Presidents.—John B. Brown,

Francis R. Appleton.

Directors.—Charles A. Sayward,

John H. Cogswell,

John W. Nourse.

Clerk.—John W. Goodhue.

Correspond'g Sec. and Treasurer.—T. Frank Waters.

Librarian.—John J. Sullivan.

SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. J. J. Sullivan,

Mrs. Chas. A. Sayward,

Mrs. Edward F. Brown,

Mrs. Cordelia Damon,

Miss Susan C. Whipple,

Miss Lucy Slade Lord,

Miss C. Bertha Dobson.

The Committee was authorized to add three members of their own choosing.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT, DEC. 7, 1903.

The year just closed has been devoid of any striking features, yet it has been full of interest.

Our House continues to attract large numbers of visitors, who are always enthusiastic in their admiration of the ancient mansion. By a singular coincidence, the number of names recorded is very uniform. In 1901, there were 1,008 names, in 1902, 1,052, and in 1903, 1,097. The gain, though slight, is gratifying. Of these, only 173 were names of Ipswich citizens. 483 were residents of other cities and towns in Massachusetts, and 402 were from other States, including representatives from nearly every State, and a few from foreign lands. The most noteworthy of our foreign visitors was Ali Kuli Khan of Teheran, Persia, who appended, to his well written English autograph, the indecipherable signs and symbols of his native language.

The small number of Ipswich visitors is hardly a fair test of the interest of our town's folk. Many come to the house on social occasions, when names are not registered, and it is encouraging to note that the names of our members and town's people are invariably recorded with the names of strangers. This indicates that visiting friends are brought to the House, and reveals a real appreciation of its interest and value.

The Woman's Club utilized the House on March 6th, for their Reception to Visitors. The Old South Chapter of the D. A. R. came on May 26, and the South Boston Chapter of the D. R. on June 13th. The large Art Class of Mr. Dow came for an evening lecture by the President on July 31st. The most significant gathering, however, was the Annual Meeting of the Daniel Hovey Association on Aug. 6th. By permission of the Society,

a fine bronze tablet had been placed on the wall of the Cabinet Room, bearing this inscription :

In
loving and reverent
memory
of
Daniel Hovey
born in England 1618
died in Ipswich, 1692

This tablet is erected
by his descendants
at the beginning of the
twentieth century.

He was
a patriotic citizen
a righteous man
and a
sincere and consistent
Christian.

Services of dedication were held on that day. We welcome this as a forerunner of other memorials, which will come in due time, we hope, and which will enhance the interest and value of our rooms in marked degree.

By the kindness of Mr. Alvin Langdon Coburn of Boston, a photographic artist of rare skill, an exhibition of his photographs of old houses in this vicinity, and other specimens of his art, was held in September.

The usual suppers were spread, and in addition, a Mid-summer Tea was devised, to afford opportunity for a gathering of the summer contingent, many of whom are members of the Society. This was largely attended, and resulted in a handsome addition to our Treasury.

On nearly all these occasions, as well as the suppers, our Social Committee served most appetizing lunches, and our Society is greatly indebted to the ladies of this Committee for their enthusiasm and zeal. It is a source of especial gratification to them that the receipts from these spreads have amounted to a total of \$142. A por-

tion of this has been spent wisely in purchasing an abundant supply of plated ware of good quality for table service and some necessary kitchen ware.

The financial record of the year has been encouraging. The total receipts were \$747.33 against \$648.64 in 1902 and \$649.04 in 1901. Membership fees contributed \$408.50 to this sum. Door fees amounted to \$143.98, the sale of photographs brought \$9.26 and the revenue from publications amounted to \$19.82. A venture has been made also with a line of stationery which has been fairly remunerative.

The expenses of the year have been unusually large. The necessity of providing an acting curator last winter, and the high price of fuel enlarged the house expenses materially. A substantial fence, strong though not beautiful, has been built around our grounds to prevent the constant travel across our land. An old-fashioned well-sweep has been erected, and the chimneys have been topped out to help the draught.

These are all permanent improvements, and we need not anticipate any further expense in this direction. Notwithstanding these expenditures, the year has closed with \$142.25 in hand, and only one small account is outstanding.

By the kindness of the late Mrs. Elizabeth M. Brown, always a sincere friend of the Society, a legacy of \$500 will be paid by her executors within a few months. The balance already in hand, added to this legacy will enable the Society to make a considerable reduction in the debt before another year has passed.

By the death of Daniel Fuller Appleton, Esq., the Society has lost a generous and enthusiastic friend. He has always encouraged new measures and contributed liberally to the funds needed to accomplish them. His gifts to the Library have been of exceptional value. The ancient manuscripts and rare books, intrinsically valuable, and of especial interest to Ipswich, which he has bestowed, will be a lasting memorial of his regard.

We regret to announce that Mr. and Mrs. Ralph W. Burnham have ceased to be our curators. Mr. Burnham's

collection of rare china and beautiful old furniture has added greatly to the attractiveness of the House. He has always proved an affable host, and he has done especially good service for the Society during the last year by a carefully written description of the House with excellent illustrations, which was published in the September number of "The House Beautiful." Mrs. Burnham has been an official of ideal excellence, painstaking in her care of the rooms, gracious in her welcome of visitors, and ready at all times to sacrifice her own convenience, if the Society could gain any advantage. The Society was singularly fortunate in securing their services at the time when Miss Gray removed her furnishings, and we have reason to regret their departure sincerely. Mr. Burnham's furniture will remain until spring and in the meantime, a vigorous effort should be made to secure the permanent furnishing of the Parlor. Our Town is rich in fine antiques, and it would seem that some generous, public spirited people might contribute pieces of furniture that would restore again the glory to Israel.

Mr. and Mrs. Washington Pickard were installed in the House by Mr. Burnham, as substitute care-takers before his business affairs led him to decide on removal. They will continue in charge through the winter.

The Bay State League of Historical Societies of Essex and Middlesex, has been organized during the past year, and this Society has become a member. Conference with the representatives of other Societies at the meetings of this body has made it plain that few Societies have accomplished as much as ours in securing permanent homes for themselves and rousing a stronger historic spirit in their communities. I have had the pleasure of a careful inspection of the great collections of the Concord Historical Society, and the unrivalled Museum of the Deerfield Society, the life-work of Hon. George Sheldon, the venerable President. Our Society may never attain such wealth of historic treasures as these, but our House is of unique and unapproachable value. As the burden of our mortgage is lightened, we may soon have larger funds for the work of publication, and when our Memorial Hall is

erected on our land near by, we shall have room for a collection, which will be worthy of our ancient and honored Town.

The gradual increase of our membership will furnish us an increasing working fund, and some rich and generous friends, proud of their Ipswich blood, will soon rise up, we trust, to bestow on us a building for memorial, and for use, which will enable us to make our Society all that we desire. Already our Home has come to wide recognition. The finest tribute to its value has recently been paid by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This Society wished to establish an historical museum in the fine building erected for its use and a colonial kitchen was a principal item of their plan. The Secretary, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, formerly of Dorchester, arranged for the construction of such a room within the long east hall of the Museum. The "Madison Democrat" of February 4, 1904, reports the results of his efforts.

"After a visit of inspection early in November, to the several ancient houses in the neighborhood of Boston, which are now maintained as museums, he decided to take as a model the kitchen of the Whipple homestead in the quaint and beautiful old town of Ipswich, this carefully-restored building being now the property of the Ipswich Historical society. Ideas were also obtained at other old houses particularly the famous Hancock-Clark house at Lexington, and the much visited Antiquarian house at Concord; and numerous photographs were obtained of all of these."

"The attempt to produce in our museum the general effect of the Ipswich kitchen has been eminently successful. Prof. Joseph Jastrow, president of the Madison Art association, early became interested in the project and from beginning to end devoted to it much time and thought. To him is due a large share of the credit attaching to the artistic result. The old oak beams of the original, now blackened with age (for the Whipple house was built "in part at least before 1642"), have been carefully reproduced; the spacious fireplace, constructed of blackened brick obtained from Indiana, looks as though it had seen centuries

of service : and the walls and shelves are hung with just such articles of the olden time as would have been daily needed in a kitchen of our forefathers in colonial days. Interesting, indeed, are the two façades, front and rear—the former being fitted with a two-seated porch ; while opening through the latter is the sort of battened door used in ancient days, and fastened by a wooden latch with the latch-string hanging without.”

Photographs of this kitchen have been received, which show a remarkably fine reproduction. We anticipate an increase of interest in our venerable House from this source.

REPORT OF CURATOR.

DEC. 1: 1902—DEC. 1; 1903.

Total names registered, - - - - -	1097
Ipswich residents, - - - - -	173
Other towns and cities in Massachusetts,	483
From other states, - - - - -	402

Total registration, - - - - - 1899	1,134
“ “ - - - - - 1900	1,513
“ “ - - - - - 1901	1,008
“ “ - - - - - 1902	1,052
“ “ - - - - - 1903	1,097

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DEC. 1, 1903.

T. Frank Waters in account with Ipswich Historical Society.

Dr.

Membership fees, - - - - -		\$408 50
House account:		
Fees at door, - - - - -	\$143 98	
Sale of Photos, - - - - -	9 26	
Sale of publications, - - - - -	19 82	
Sale of stationery, - - - - -	6 70	
Suppers and Teas (Feb. supper \$39.34; Old South D. A. R., \$15.06; South Boston D. R. \$10.80; Midsummer Tea, \$42.65; Tea and Pho. exhibition \$9.50; Dec. supper, \$26.20) - - - - -	143 55	
	323 31	323 31
Gustavus Kinsman, one half fence, - - - - -		15 52
		747 33
Balance, June 1902, - - - - -		215 02
		\$962 35

Cr.

Running expense of house, including fuel, care of grounds, and repairs, - - - - -		\$152 53
Work on chimneys, - - - - -	17 25	
Plated ware, etc., - - - - -	39 00	
Fence and well sweep, - - - - -	84 53	
	140 78	140 78
Printing account, - - - - -		131 63
Interest account, - - - - -		111 08
Stationery, postage, etc., - - - - -		32 77
Incidentals, - - - - -		36 04
Cash in hand, - - - - -		142 50
		747 33
Cash, June 1902, - - - - -		215 02
		\$962 35

DONATIONS TO THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL
SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DECEMBER 1, 1903.

- JOHN ALBREE, JR. The Traditions of the Old Weaver's
Clock.
- AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings, 1903.
- DANIEL FULLER APPLETON. *Magnalia Christi Americana*,
by Cotton Mather, A.M. London, 1702. A Di-
rectory for the Publique Worship of God throughout
the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ire-
land, with an Ordinance of Parliament taking away
the Book of Common Prayer. London, 1644. A
View of the new Directory and a Vindication of the
ancient Liturgy of the Church of England. Second
Edition. Oxford, 1646.
- BROOKLINE (The) MAGAZINE.
- RUFUS CHOATE. Bible—carried at the battle of Bunker
Hill by Francis Merrifield (Loan).
- PHILIP E. CLARKE. First Principles of Astronomy and
Geography. Isaac Watts, D.D. London, 1736.
- BENJAMIN H. CONANT. Wenham Town Report, 1902-3.
- DUDLEY (Gov. Thomas) FAMILY ASSOCIATION. Pam-
phlet No. 1. Governor Thomas Dudley.
- MRS. ELLIS. Old Flag of William Chapman, with 18 Stars.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE. Historical Collections, 1903.
- FRIEND. Cane owned and carried by Daniel Webster.
- JOHN S. GLOVER. Cane made from a piece of the
Kearsarge, with a head, turned from a fragment of
the old Constitution.
- MRS. JOHN S. GLOVER. Veil from the brig Falconer,
wrecked on Ipswich Beach. Taken from the wreck
by David Spiller. Given by him to Mrs. William
Rust, mother of Mrs. Glover.
- LUTHER S. HERRICK. Beverly Annual Reports.
- AUGUSTINE JONES. Life of Governor Thomas Dudley.
George Fox in New England in 1672. William
Rotch of Nantucket.
- KIMBALL FAMILY NEWS.
- MRS. EDWARD P. KIMBALL. Woven Rug.
- HOWARD LANE. Paper Weight, Ellery House.

44 DONATIONS TO THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

- MANCHESTER HISTORIC ASSOCIATION, Manchester, N. H.
The Historic Quarterly.
- MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Register,
Vol. VI: No. 2.
- ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions, 1903.
- PEABODY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Exercises attending the
unveiling of the tablet at the Birthplace of George
Peabody.
- MRS. RICHARDS. Part of old Lamp.
- NATHAN P. SANBORN. Capt. John Glover and his Mar-
blehead Regiment.
- CHARLES A. SAYWARD. Deed of John Rogers, 1693.
- GEORGE SHELDON. Publications of Poquumtuck Valley
Association. Vols. I and II.
- CHARLES C. SMITH. Memoir of William Sumner Ap-
pleton.
- MRS. ELLEN M. SMITH. Works of Rev. John Flavel.
Vol. I. London, 1701.
- J. G. R. SMITH. MS. Sermons by Rev. Nathaniel
Rogers. Commission of Capt. Samuel Rogers, 1739.
Deeds — Norton to Wise, 1723. Continental
money. Essex Gazette—1771—with an account of
the Boston Massacre.
- TOPSFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications. Vols. VIII
and IX.
- BAYARD TUCKERMAN. Palfrey's History of New Eng-
land. Calef's Wonders of the Invisible World.
- WILLIAM P. UPHAM. John Cotton's, "Moses His Ju-
dicials."
- DANIEL WADE. Supplement to the Year Book of 1899,
of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in the
State of New York, 1903.
- WATERTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorial discourse
on the Life and Character of its late President, Rev.
Edward A. Rand.
- MRS. JOSEPH WILLCOMB. Indian Implements collected
by the late Capt. Joseph Willcomb.
- OLIVER C. WILLCOMB. Willcomb Family, Sketch of
History of Ipswich.
- WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorial
Volume 1901.

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Robert D. Winthrop	" " "
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	" " "

* Summer home in Ipswich.

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... PUBLICATIONS ...

OF THE

IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

- I. The Oration by Rev. Washington Choate and the Poem by Rev. Edgar F. Davis, on the 200th Anniversary of the Resistance to the Andros Tax, 1887. Price 25 cents.
- II. The President's Address and other Proceedings at the Dedication of their new room, Feb. 3, 1896. Price 10 cents.
- { III. Unveiling of the Memorial Tablets at the South Common and
IV. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, Dec. 7, 1896. Price 25 cents.
- V. The Early Homes of the Puritans and Some Old Ipswich Houses with Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, 1897. Price 50 cents. (Out of print.)
- VI. Exercises at the Dedication of the Ancient House with a History of the House, and Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, 1898. Out of print, but the History of the House is reprinted in Number X.
- VII. A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger, with portrait and valuable reproductions of ancient documents and autographs, by T. Frank Waters. Price \$2.50. Postage 13 cents.
- VIII. "The Development of our Town Government" and "Common Lands and Commonage," with the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, 1899. Price 25 cents.
- IX. A History of the Old Argilla Road in Ipswich, Massachusetts, by T. Frank Waters. Price 25 cents.
- X. "The Hotel Cluny of a New England Village," by Sylvester Baxter, and the History of the Ancient House, with Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, 1900. Price 25 cents.
- XI. The Meeting House Green and a Study of Houses and Lands in that vicinity, with Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, Dec. 2, 1901. Price, 25 cents.
- XII. Thomas Dudley and Simon and Ann Bradstreet. A Study of House-Lots to Determine the Location of Their Homes, and, the Exercises at the Dedication of Tablets, July 31, 1902, with Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, Dec. 1, 1902.
- XIII. "Fine Thread, Lace and Hosiery in Ipswich" by Jesse Fewkes, and "Ipswich Mills and Factories," by T. Frank Waters, with Proceedings at the Annual Meeting. Price 25 cents.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

XIV

THE SIMPLE COBLER

OF

AGGAWAM

BY

REV. NATHANIEL WARD

A REPRINT OF THE 4TH EDITION, PUBLISHED IN 1647, WITH FAC-SIMILES
OF TITLE PAGE, PREFACE, AND HEAD-LINES, AND
THE EXACT TEXT
AND AN ESSAY

NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBLER

BY

THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS

PRESIDENT OF THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

Salem Press:
THE SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.
1905



Gift
The Society
24Ja '06

THE
SIMPLE COBLER
OF
AGGAVAMM in AMERICA.

WILLING
To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to be paid for his work, by Old English wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

The Fourth Edition, with some Amendments.

*In rebus arduis ac tenai spe, fortissima
quæque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.*

In English,
When bootes and shoes are torne up to the heels,
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the heels.

This is no time to feare *Apoles gramm :*
Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by J. D. & R. I. for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the signe of the
Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

2

23

21



TO THE
READER

Gentlemen,



*Pray make a little roomie for a
Cobler, his work was done in time,
but a ship setting Jayle one day
too soon makes it appeare some
weeks too late; Seeing hee is so
reasonable as to demand no other
pay for his labour and leather, but leave to pay us
well for our faults, let it be well accepted, as Coun-
sell in our occasions to come, and as Testimony to what
is past,*

By a Friend.



SUTOR ULTRA CREPIDAM.



EITHER I am in an Appoplexie, or that man is in a Lethargie, who doth not now sensibly feele God shaking the heavens over his head, and the earth under his feet: The Heavens so, as the Sun begins to turne into darknesse, the Moon into blood, the Starres to fall down to the ground; So that little Light of Comfort or Counsell is left to the sonnes of men: The Earth so, as the foundations are failing, the righteous scarce know where to finde rest, the inhabitants stagger like drunken men: it is in a manner dissolved both in Religions and Relations: And no marvell; for, they have defiled it by transgressing the Lawes, changing the Ordinances, and breaking the Everlasting Covenant. The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States and Churches may stand quiet if they will; if they will not, Hee can easily shake them off into delusions, and distractions enough.

Sathan

The Simple Cobler of

Here is lately brought us an Extract of a *Magna Charta*, so called, compiled between the Sub-planters of a *West-Indian* Island; whereof the first Article of constitution, firmly provides free stable-room and litter for all kinde of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be. Wee are very sorry to see such professed prophanenesse in *English* Professors, as industriously to lay their Religious foundations on the ruine of true Religion; which strictly binds every conscience *to contend earnestly for the Truth: to preserve unity of spirit, Faith and Ordinances, to be all like minded, of one accord; every man to take his brother into his Christian care: to stand fast with one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel.* and by no meanes to permit Heresies or erroneous opinions: But God abhorring such loathsome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blasted that enterprize, which might otherwise have prospered well, for ought I know; I presume their case is generally knowne ere this.

If the devill might have his free option, I beleeve he would ask nothing else, but liberty to enfranchise all false Religions, and to embondage the true; nor should hee need: It is much to be feared, that laxe Tolerations upon State-pretences and planting necessities, will be the next subtle Stratagem he will spread to distate the Truth of God and supplant the peace of the Churches. Tolerations in things tolerable, exquisitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture, and pensill of the Spirit, are the sacred favours of Truth,
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the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartiments of Christian fraternity: but irregular dispensations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error, the redoubts of Schisme, the perillous irritaments of carnall and spirituall enmity.

My heart hath naturally detested foure things: The standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth; Alchymized coines; Tolerations of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes: He that willingly assents to the last, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conscience will tell him, he is either an Atheist, or an Heretique, or an Hypocrite, or at best a captive to some Lust: Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the world. True Religion is *Ignis probationis*, which doth *congregare homogenea & segregare heterogenea*.

Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak consciences, argues a conscience too strong: pressed uniformity in these, causes much disunity: To tolerate more then indifferents, is not to deale indifferently with God: He that doth it, takes his Scepter out of his hand, and bids him stand by. Who hath to doe to institute Religion but God. The power of all Religion and Ordinances, lies in their purity: their purity in their simplicity: then are mixtures pernicious. I lived in a City, where a Papist preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopard-like.

If the whole Creature should conspire to doe the

Creator a mischief, or offer him an infoleny, it would be in nothing more, than in erecting untruths against his Truth, or by sophisticating his Truths with humane medleyes: the removing of some one jota in Scripture, may draw out all the life, and traverse all the Truth of the whole Bible: but to authorise an untruth, by a Toleration of State, is to build a Sconce against the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his Chaire: To tell a practicall lye, is a great sin, but yet transient; but to set up a Theoricall untruth, is to warrant every lye that lyes from its root to the top of every branch it hath, which are not a few.

I would willingly hope that no Member of the Parliament hath skilfully ingratiated himselfe into the hearts of the House, that he might watch a time to midwife out some ungracious Toleration for his own turne, and for the sake of that, some other, I would also hope that a word of generall caution should not be particularly misapplied. I am the freer to suggest it, because I know not one man of that mind, my aime is generall, and I desire may be so accepted. Yet good Gentlemen, look well about you, and remember how *Tiberius* play'd the Fox with the Senate of *Rome*, and how *Fabius Maximus* cropt his ears for his cunning.

That State is wise, that will improve all paines and patience rather to compose, then tolerate differences in Religion. There is no divine Truth, but hath much Cœlestiall fire in it from the Spirit of Truth: nor no irreligious untruth, without its proportion of Antifire from the spirit of Error to contradict it: the zeale of the one, the virulency of the other, must necessarily kindle Combuftions. Fiery diseases feated in the
spirit,

spirit, imbroile the whole frame of the body: others more externall and coole, are lesse dangerous. They which divide in Religion, divide in God; they who divide in him, divide beyond *Genus Generalissimum*, where there is no reconciliation, without atonement; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is also one.

Wise are those men who will be perswaded rather to live within the pale of Truth where they may be quiet, than in the purlieves, where they are sure to be hunted ever & anon, do Authority what it can. Every singular Opinion, hath'a singular opinion of it self; and he that holds it a singular opinion of himself, & a simple opinion of all contra-fentients: he that confutes them, must confute al three at once, or else he does nothing; which will not be done without more stir than the peace of the State or Church can indure.

And prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazard all by yeelding nothing. To sell all peace of Country, to buy some peace of conscience unseasonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience: they deal not equally, that set any Truth of God at such a rate; but they deal wisely that will stay till the Market is fallen.

My prognosticks deceive me not a little, if once within three seaven years, peace prove not such a penny-worth at most Marts in Christendome, that hee that would not lay down his money, his lust, his opinion, his will, I had almost said the best flower of his Crowne for it, while he might have had it; will tell his own heart, he plaid the very ill husband.

Concerning Tolerations I may further asfert.

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That Persecution of true Religion, and Toleration of false, are the *Jannes* and *Jambres* to the Kingdome of Christ, whereof the last is farre the worst. *Augustines* tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though he had never spake word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi.*

Frederick Duke of *Saxon*, spake not one foote beyond the mark when he said. He had rather the Earth should swallow him up quick, then he should give a toleration to any opinion against any truth of God.

He that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or discrepant way of Religion, besides his own, unlesse it be in matters meerly indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not sincere in it.

He that is willing to tolerate any unfound Opinion, that his own may also be tolerated, though never so found, will for a need hang Gods Bible at the Devills girdle.

Every Toleration of false Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errours and sins in it, as all the false Religions and Opinions it tolerats, and one found one more.

That State that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their Morall Laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.

He that will rather make an irreligious quarell with other Religions then try the Truth of his own by valuable Arguments, and peaceable Sufferings; either his Religion, or himselfe is irreligious.

Experience will teach Churches and Christians,
that

that it is farre better to live in a State united, though a little Corrupt, then in a State, whereof some Part is incorrupt, and all the rest divided.

I am not altogether ignorant of the eight Rules given by Orthodox divines about giving Tolerations, yet with their favour I dare affirme,

That there is no Rule given by God for any State to give an affirmative Toleration to any false Religion, or Opinion whatsoever; they must connive in some Cases, but may not concede in any.

That the State of *England* (so farre as my Intelligence serves) might in time have prevented with ease and may yet without any great difficultie deny both Toleration, and irregular connivences *salva Republica*.

That if the State of *England* shall either willingly Tolerate, or weakly connive at such Courses, the Church of that Kingdome will sooner become the Devils dancing-Schoole, then Gods Temple: The Civill State a Beare-garden, then an Exchange: The whole Realme a Pais base then an *England*. And what pity it is, that that Country which hath been the Staple of Truth to all Christendome, should now become the Aviary of Errors to the whole world, let every fearing heart judge.

I take Liberty of Conscience to be nothing but a freedome from sinne, and error. *Conscientia in tantum libera, in quantum ab errore liberata*. And Liberty of Error nothing but a Prison for Conscience. Then small will be the kindnesse of a State to build such Prisons for their Subjects.

The Scripture saith, there is nothing makes free but Truth, and Truth saith, there is no Truth but one:

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If the States of the World would make it their sum-
 merous Care to preserve this One Truth in its purity
 and Authority it would ease you of all other Politi-
 call cares. I am sure Sathan makes it his grand, if not
 only taske, to adulterate Truth; Falshood is his sole
 Scepter, whereby he first ruffled, and ever since ruined
 the World.

If Truth be but One, me thinks all the Opinionists
 in *England* should not be all in that One Truth, some
 of them I doubt are out. He that can extract an unity
 out of such a disparity, or contract such a disparity in-
 to an unity; had need be a better Artist, then ever was
Drebell.

If two Centers (as we may suppose) be in one Cir-
 cle, and lines drawn from both to all the points of the
 Compasse, they will certainly crosse one another, and
 probably cut through the Centers themselves.

There is talk of an univerfall Toleration, I would
 talke as loud as I could against it, did I know what
 more apt and reasonable Sacrifice *England* could offer
 to God for his late performing all his heavenly Truths
 then an univerfall Toleration of all hellish Errors, or
 how they shall make an univerfall Reformation, but
 by making Christs Academy the Divills Univerfity,
 where any man may commence Heretique *per saltum*;
 where he that is *filius Diabolicus*, or *simpliciter pes-*
simus, may have his grace to goe to Hell *cum Publico*
Privilegio; and carry as many after him, as he can.

Religio docenda est, non coerenda is a pretty piece of
album Latinum for some kinde of throats that are wil-
 lingly fore, but *Hæresis dedocenda est non permittenda*,
 will be found a farre better *Diamoron* for the Gar-
 garifines

garimes this Age wants, if timely and throughly applied.

If there be roome in *England* for

<i>Familiſts Libertines Eraſtians Antitrinitarians Anabaptiſts Aniscripturiſts Arminians Manifeſtarians Millinaries Antinomians Socinians Arrians Perſectiſts Browniſts * Mortalians Seekers Enthuſiaſts, &c.</i>	} the rom for	<i>Manes Lemures Dryades Homadryades Potamides Naiades Hinnides Pierides Nereides Pales Anonides Parcades Caſtalides Monides Charites Heliconides Pegaſides. &c.</i>
Religious Men but pernicious Heretiques	} Good Spi- rits, but ve- ry Devils.	

* By Browniſts I mean not Independents, bedew-clawd Separatiſts: far be it from me to wrong godly Independents I truely acknowledge that I judge my ſelf neither able nor worthy to honour ſome of them as they deſerve

In a word room for Hell above ground.

It is ſaid, Though a man have light enough himſelfe to ſee the Truth, yet if he hath not enough to enlighten others, he is bound to tolerate them, I will engage my ſelf, that all the Devils in *Britanie* ſhall ſell themſelves to their ſhirts, to purchaſe a Leaſe of this Poſition

tion for three of their Lives, under the Seale of the Parliament.

It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse then this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the univerrall Ideot of the world.

It is said, That Civill Magistrates ought not to meddle with Ecclesiasticall matters.

I would answer to this so well as I could, did I not know that some papers lately brought out of *New-England*, are going to the Presse, wherein the Opinions of the Elders there in a late Synod, concerning this point are manifested, which I suppose will give clearer satisfaction then I can.

The true English of all this their false Latine, is nothing but a generall Toleration of all Opinions; which motion if it be like to take, it were very requisite, that the City would repaire *Pauls* with all the speed they can, for an English *Pantheon*, and bestow it upon the Sectaries, freely to assemble in, then there may be some hope that *London* will be quiet in time.

But why dwell I so intolerable long about Tolerations, I hope my fears are but panick, against which I have a double cordiall. First, that the Parliament will not though they could: Secondly, that they cannot though they would grant such Tolerations. God who hath so honoured them with eminent wisdom

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in all other things, will not suffer them to cast both his, and their Honour in the dust of perpetuall Infamy, doe what they can; nor shall those who have spent so great a part of their substance in redeeming their Civill Liberties from Ufurpation, lose all that remains in enthralling their spirituall Liberty by Toleration.

It is said Opinionists are many, and strong, that *de sunt Vires*, that it is *turbata respublica*, I am very sorry for it, but more sorry, if dependency of minde shall cause the least tergiversation in Gods Worthies, who have receiv'd such pledges of his presence in their late Counsels, and Conflicts. It is not thousands of Opinionists that can pinion his Everlasting armes, I can hardly beleieve there is a greater unbeliever then my Selfe, yet I can verily beleieve that the God of Truth will in a short time scatter them all like smoake before the wind. I confesse I am troubled to see Men so over-troubled about them; I am rather glad to heare the Devill is breaking up house in *England*, and removing somewhither else, give him leave to sell all his rags, and odde-ends by the out-cry; and let his petty Chapmen make their Market while they may, upon my poore credit it will not last long. Hee that hath done so much for *England* will go on to perfect his owne praise, and his Peoples Peace: Let good men stand still, and behold his further Salvation. He that sitteth in the Heavens laughs at them, the most High hath them in Derision, and their folly shall certainly be manifested to all men.

Yet I dare not but adde, and in the Name of God will adde, that if any Publique members of Church or

State, have been either open fautors, or private abettors of any blasphemous, contagious Opinions, It will be their wisdom to proportion their repentance to their Sin, before God makes them Publique monuments of Ignominie, and Apostasie.

Thirdly, That all Christian States, ought to disavow and decry all such Errors, by some peremptory Statutory Act, and that in time, that Subjects knowing fully the minde of the State, might not delude themselves with vaine hopes of unfufferable Liberties. It is lesse to say, *Statuatur veritas, ruat Regnum*, than *Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum*; but there is no such danger in either of them. Feare nothing Gentlemen, *Rubiconem transiistis, jacta est alea*, ye have turned the Devill out of doores; fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, lest he makes another errand for it againe. *Quæ relinquuntur in morbis post indicationem, recidivas facere consuevere*. Christ would have his Church without spot or wrinkle; They that help make it so, shall lose neither honour nor labour: If yee be wise, suffer no more thorns in his sides or your owne. When God kindles such fires as these, hee doth not usually quench them, till the very scum on the pot sides be boyled cleane away, *Ezek. 24. 10, 11*. Yee were better to doe it your selves, than leave it to him: the Arme of the Lord is mighty, his hand very heavy; who can dwell with his devouring fire, and long lasting burnings?

Fourthly, to make speedy provision against Obstinates and Disseminaries: where under favour, two things will be found requisite. First, variety of penalties, I meane certaine, not indefinite: I am a
Crabbat

Crabbat againſt Arbitrary Government. Experience hath taught us here, that politicall, domeſticall, and perſonall reſpects, will not admit one and the ſame remedy for all, without ſad inconveniences. Secondly, juſt ſeverity: perſecution hath ever ſpread Truth, proſecution ſcattered Errour: Ten of the moſt Chriſtian Emperors, found that way beſt; Schollars know whom I meane: Five of the ancient Fathers perſwaded to it, of whom *Auguſtine* was one, who for a time argued hard for indulgency: but upon conference with other prudent Biſhops, altered his judgement, as appears in three of his Epiftles, to *Marcellinus*, *Donatus*, and *Boniface*. I would be underſtood, not onely an Allower, but an humble Petitioner, that ignorant and tender conſcienced Anabaptiſts may have due time and means of conviction.

Fifthly, That every Prophet, to whom God hath given the tongue of the learned, ſhould teach, and every Angel who hath a pen and inkehorne by his ſide write againſt theſe grieving extravagancies: writing of many books, I grant is irkeſome, reading endleſſe. A reaſonable man would thinke Divines had declaimed ſufficiently upon theſe Themes. I have ever thought the Rule given, *Titus* 3. 10. which cuts the work ſhort and ſharpe to be more properly prevalent, then wearifome waiting upon unwearable Spirits. It is a moſt toylſome taſke to run the wild-goofe chafe after a well-breath'd Opinioniſt: they delight in vitilitigation: it is an itch that loves alive to be ſcrub'd: they deſire not ſatiſfaction, but ſatiſdiction, whereof themſelves muſt be judges: yet in new eruptions of Error with new objections, ſilence is ſinfull.

As for my self, I am none of the disputers of this world: all I can doe, is to guesse when men speak true or false Divinity: if I can but finde the parentall root, or formall reason of a Truth, I am quiet; if I cannot, I shoure up my slender judgement as long as I can, with two or three the handfomest props I can get: I shall therefore leave Arguments to acuter heads, and onely speak a word of Love, with all Christian respect to our deare Brethren in *England*, which are against Baptizing of Infants: I intreate them to consider these few things seriously and meekly. First, what a high pitch of boldnesse it is for man to cut a principall Ordinance out of the Kingdome of God; If it be but to make a dislocation, which so far disgoods the Ordinance, I feare it altogether unhallows it, to transplace or transtyme a stated Institution of Christ, without his direction, I thinke, is to destroy it. Secondly, what a Cruelty it is to de-vest Children of that onely externall priviledge which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them to interest them visibly in Himselfe, His Son, His Spirit, His Covenant of Grace, and the tender bosome of their carefull Mother the Church. Thirdly, what an Inhumanity it is, to deprive Parents of that comfort they may take from the baptisme of their Infants dying in their Childehood. Fourthly, How unseasonable and unkindly it is, to interturbe the State and Church with these Amalekitish on-sets, when they are in their extreame pains of travell with their lives. Fifthly, to take a through view of those who have preambled this by path. Being sometimes in the Crowds of foraigne Wederdopers, that is,
Ana-

Anabaptists; and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had; I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them.

First, a flat formality of Spirit without salt or favour in the spiritualities of Christ, as if their Religion began and ended in their Opinion. Secondly, a shallow flighting of such as dissent from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches and carriage. Thirdly, a feeble, yet peremptory obstinacy; seldom are any of them reclaimed. Fourthly, a shameful sliding into other such tarpauling tenets, to keep themselves dry from the showers of Justice, as a rational mind would never entertain, if it were not Error-blasted from Heaven and Hell. I should as shrewdly suspect that Opinion, that will cordially corrive with two or three sottish errors, as that faith that can professedly live with two or three sordid sins. I dare not feare our godly Brethren in *England* to be yet coming to this passe; how soon they may, themselves know not, the times are slippery: They will undoubtedly finde God as jealous of his Ordinances, as themselves are zealous of their Opinions.

Sixthly, that Authority ought to see their Subjects children baptized, though their Parents judgements be against it, if there be no other Evangelicall barre in the way.

Seventhly, that prudent men, especially young, should doe well not to ingage themselves in conference with Errorists, without a good calling and great caution; their breath is contagious, their leprey spreading: receive not him that is weak, saith the Apostle to doubtfull disputations; much lesse may they run, them-

themselves into dangerous Sophistifications. He usually hears best in their meetings, that stops his ears clofett; he opens his mouth to best purpose, that keeps it fhut, and he doth best of all, that declines their company as wisely as he may.

Brethren, have an extraordinary care also of the late Theosophers, that teach men to climbe to heaven upon a ladder of lying figments. Rather then the devill will lose his game, he will out-shoot Christ in his owne bow; he will out-law the Law, quite out of the word and world: over-Gospell the Gospell, and quidanye Christ, with Sugar and Rats-bane. Hee was Professour not long since at *Schlestat* in *Alsatia*, where he learned, that no poyson is so deadly as the poyson of Grace.

The wisest way, when all is said, is with all humility and feare, to take Christ as himselfe hath revealed himselfe in his Gospel, and not as the Devill presents him to prestigiated fanfies. I have ever hated the way of the Rosie-Crucians, who reject things as Gods wisdom hath tempered them, and will have nothing but their Spirits. If I were to give phyfick to Sprys, I would do so too: but when I want Phyfick for my body, I would not have my soule tartared: nor my Animall Spirits purged any way, but by my Naturall, and those by my bodily humours, and those by such Ordinaries, as have the nearest vicinage to them, and not by Metaphysicall Limbeckings. I cannot thinke that *materia prima* or *secunda*, should bee good for me, that am at least, *Materia millesima sexcentesima quadragesima quinta*.

Here I hold my selfe bound to set up a Beacon, to
give

give warning of a new-fprung Sect of phrantasticks, which would perfwade themselves and others, that they have difcovered the Nor-west paffage to Heaven. Thefe wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners fuch bold ignotions of a new Gofpell, new Chrif, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unfetled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God. I defire all good men may be fav'd from their Lunatick Creed, by Infidelity; and rather beleeve thefe torrid overtures will prove in time, nothing but horrid raptures downe to the loweft hell, from which he that would be delivered, let him avoid thefe blafphemers, a late fry of croaking Frogs, not to be indured in a Religious State, no, if it were poffible, not an houre.

As fome are playing young Spaniels, quefting at every bird that rifes; fo others, held very good men, are at a dead ftand, not knowing what to doe or fay; and are therefore called Seekers, looking for new Nuntio's from Chrif, to affoile thefe benighted queftions, and to give new Orders for new Churches. I crave leave with all refpect to tell them, that if they looke into *Act. 20. 20. 25. Gal. 1. 8. 9. 1 Tim. 6. 13. 16.* and finde them not there; they may happily feek as the young Prophets did for *Elijah's* corps, where it never was, nor ever will be found.

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghof, fhould give *Timothie* the folemneft charge, was ever given mortall man, to obferve the Rules he had given, till the comming of Chrif, if new things muft be expected.

Woe be to them, who ever they be, that fo trouble the wayes of God that they who have found the way

to heaven cannot find the way to Church: And woe be to them, that so gaze at the glorious light, they say, will breake forth in the thousand yeares to come, that they make little of the gracious Truth that hath been revealed these sixteen hundred years past. And woe be to them that so under-value the first Master Builders, I mean the Apostles of Christ, that unlesse he sends wiser than they, He must be accounted lesse faithfull in his house than *Moses* was.

I have cause enough to be as charitable to others as any man living; yet I cannot but feare, that those men never Moored their Anchors well in the firme foile of Heaven; that are weather-waft up and down with every eddy-wind of every new doctrine. The good Spirit of God doth not usuallly tie up the Helme, and suffer passengers to heaven to ride a drift, hither and thither, as every wave and current carries them: that is a fitter course for such as the Apostle calls wandring Starrs and Meteors, without any certaine motion, hurried about with tempests, bred of the Exhalations of their owne pride and selfe-wittednesse: whose damnation fleepeth not, and to whom the mist of darknesse is reserved for ever, that they may suffer irreparable shipwreck upon the Sands and Rocks of their owne Errors, being of old ordained to condemnation.

Eightly, let all confiderate men beware of ungrounded opinions in Religion: Since I knew what to feare, my heart hath dreaded three things: a blazing starre appearing in the aire: a State Comet, I meane a favourite rising in a Kingdome, a new Opinion spreading in Religion: these are Exorbitancies:
which

which is a formidable word; a *vacuum* and an exorbitancy, are mundicidious evils, Concerning Novelities of opinions; I shall expresse my thoughts in these briefe passages. First, that Truth is the best boone God ever gave the world: there is nothing in the world, world, any further then Truth makes it so, it is better then any creat' *Ens* or *Bonum*, which are but Truths twins. Secondly, the least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome of his Truths; Take away the least *vericulum* out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conserved by an Arme of superiordinary power. Thirdly, the least Evangelicall Truth is more worth than all the Civill Truths in the world, that are meerly so. Fourthly, that Truth is the Parent of all liberty whether politicall or personall; so much untruth, so much thraldome, *Ioh.* 8. 32.

Hence it is, that God is so jealous of his Truths, that he hath taken order in his due justice: First, that no practicall sin is so sinfull as some error in judgement; no man so accursed with indelible infamy and dedolent impenitency, as Authors of Heresie. Secondly, that the least Error, if grown sturdy and pressed, shall fet open the Spittle-doore of all the squint-eyd', wry-necked, and brafen-faced Errors that are or ever were of that litter; if they be not enough to serve its turne, it will beget more, though it hath not one cruff of reason to maintain them. Thridly, that that State which will permit Errors in Religion, shall admit Errors in Policy unavoidably. Fourthly, that that Policy which will suffer irreligious errors, shall suffer the

loffe of fo much Liberty in one kind or other, I will not exempt *Venice, Rhagufe, the Cantons, the Netherlands,* or any.

¶*An eafie head may foon demonftrate, that the pre-mentioned Planters, by Tolerating all Religions, had immazed themfelves in the moft intolerable confufions and inextricable thraldomes the world ever heard of. I am perfwaded the Devill himfelfe was never willing with their proceedings, for feare it would breake his wind and wits to attend fuch a Province. I fpeak it ferioufly, according to my meaning. How all Religions fhould enjoy their liberty, Juftice its due regularity, Civill cohabitation morall honefty, in one and the fame Jurifdiction, is beyond the Attique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can fo compromife, exadverfe, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize fuch a multimouftrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I trust I may fay with all humble reverence, they can do more then the Senate of Heaven. My *modus loquendi* pardoned: I intirely wifh much welfare and more wifdom to that Plantation.

It is greatly to be lamented, to obferve the wanton fearleffeneffe of this Age, efppecially of younger profeffors, to greet new opinions and Opinionifts: as if former truths were growne fuperannuate, and fapleffe, if not altogether antiquate. *Non fenefcet veritas.* No man ever faw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinkle, or morphey on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare long. Hee that cannot folace himfelfe with any faving truth, as affectionately as at the firft acquaintance with it,
hath

hath not only a fastidious, but an adulterous heart.

If all be true we heare, Never was any people under the Sun, so sick of new opinions as *English-men*; nor of new fashions as *English-women*: If God helpe not the one, and the devill leave not helping the other, a blind man may easily foresee what will become of both. I have spoken what I intend for the present to men; I shall speak a word to the women anon: in the mean time I intreat them to prepare patience.

Ninthly, that godly humble Christians ought not to wonder impatiently at the wonderfull workes of God in these times: it is full Season for him to worke Sovereign worke, to vindicate his Sovereignty, that men may feare before him. States are unstated, Rulers growne Over-rulers, Subjects worse then men, Churches-decayed. Tofts, Professors, empty casks filled with unholy humours; I speake not of all, but too many; I condemne not the generation of the just God hath his remnant, whom he will carefully preserve. If it bee time for men to take up Defensive Arms against such as are called Gods, upon the point of *Salus populi*, it is high time for him that is God indeed, to draw his Sword against wormes and no men, upon the point of *Majestas imperii*: The piercing of his Sword shall discover the thoughts of many hearts.

Lastly, I dare averre, that it ill becomes Christians any thing well-fhod with the preparation of the Gospel, to meditate flight from their deare Countrey upon these disturbances. Stand your grounds ye *Eleazars* and *Shammahs*, stir not a foot so long as you have halfe a foot of ground to stand upon: after one or

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two fuch Worthlies, a great Victory may be regained, and flying *Israel* may returne to a rich fpoile. *Englishmen*, be advifed to love *England*, with your hearts and to preferve it by your Prayers. I am bold to fay that fince the pure Primitive time, the Gofpel never thrived fo well in any foile on earth, as in the *Brittish*, nor is the like goodneffe of nature, or Cornucopian plenty elfe-where to be found: if ye lofe that Country and finde a better before ye come to Heaven, my Cofmography failes me. I am farre from discouraging any, whom neceffity of Confcience or condition thrufts out by head and fhoulders: if God calls any into a Wilderneffe, Hee will be noe wilderneffe to them, *Jer. 2. 31.* witneffe his large beneficence to us here beyond expectation.

Ye fay, why come not we over to helpe the Lord againft the Mighty, in thefe Sacred battailes:

I anfwer, many here are diligently obferving the counfell of the fame Prophet, *22. 10. Weepe not for him that is dead, neither bemoan him; but weep for him that is gone away and fhall returne no more to fee his Native Country.* Divers make it an Article of our *American Creed*, which a celebrate Divine of *England* hath obferved upon *Heb. 11. 9.* That no man ought to forfake his owne cuntry, but upon extraordinary caufe, and when that caufe ceafeth, he is bound in confcience to returne if he can: We are looking to him who hath our hopes and feafons in his only wife hand.

In the mean time we defire to bow our knees before the Throne of Grace day and night, that the Lord would be pleased in his tender mercy to ftill the fad unquietneffe and per-peracute contentions, of that
moft

moft comfortable and renowned Ifland, that at length He may have praife in his Churches, and his Churches peace in him, through Jefus Chrifft.

SHould I not keepe promise in fpeaking a little to Womens fashions, they would take it unkindly: I was loath to pefter better matter with fuch ftuffe; I rather thought it meet to let them ftand by themfelves, like the *Quæ Genus* in the Grammer, being Deficients, or Redundants, not to be brought under any Rule: I fhall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loofe tongued Liberty, and mifpend a word or two upon their long-wafted, but fhort-skirted patience: a little ufe of my ftirrup will doe no harme.

Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet?

*Gray Gravity it felfe can well beteam,
That Language be adapted to the Theme.
He that to Parrots fpeaks, muft parrotife:
He that instructs a foole, may act th'unwife.*

It is known more then enough, that I am neither Nigard, nor Cinick, to the due bravery of the true Gentry: if any man milikes a bullymong droffock more then I, let him take her for his labour: I honour the woman that can honour her felfe with her attire: a good Text alwayes deferves a fair Margent; I am not much offended, if I fee a trimme, far trimmer than fhe that weares it: in a word, whatever Chriftianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with *London* meafure:

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future: but when I heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudiuftertian fashion of the Court; with egge to be in it in all hafte, whatever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing, fitter to be kickt, if fhee were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd.

To speak moderately, I truly confesse it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those women should have any true grace, or valuable vertue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gantbar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hye-roglyphicks, or at the best into French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English woman should scorne with her heels: it is no marvell they weare drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrils brains to help them frisk from one ill-favour'd fashion to another.

*The fewhimm' Crown'd shees, these fashion-fansying wits,
Are empty thin brain'd shells, and fiddling Kits.*

The very troublers and impoverishers of mankind, I can hardly forbear to commend to the world a saying of a Lady living sometime with the Queen of *Bohemia*, I know not where shee found it, but it is pitty it should be lost.

*The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble;
women*

*Women and care, and care and women, and women and
(care and trouble.*

The Verfes are even enough for fuch odde peg-
ma's I can make my felfe ficke at any time, with com-
paring the dazzling fplendor wherewith our Gentle-
women were imbellifhed in fome former habits, with
the gut-foundred goofdom, wherewith they are now
furcingle and debauched. Wee have about five or
fix of them in our Colony: if I fee any of them acci-
dentally, I cannot cleane my phanfie of them for a
moneth after. I have been a folitary widdower almoft
twelve yeares, purpofed lately to make a ftep over to
my Native Country for a yoke-fellow: but when I
confider how women there have tripe-wifed them-
felves with their cladments, I have no heart to the
voyage, leaft their naufeous fhapes and the Sea, fhould
work too forely upon my ftomach. I fpeak fadly; me
thinkes it fhould breake the hearts of Englifh-men, to
fee fo many goodly Englifh-women imprifoned in
French Cages, peering out of their hood-holes for
fome men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and
no body relieves them.

It is a more common then convenient faying, that
nine Taylors make a man: it were well if nineteene
could make a woman to her minde: if Taylors were
men indeed, well furnifhed but with meer morall prin-
ciples, they would difdain to be led about like Apes,
by fuch mymick Marmofets. It is a moft unworthy
thing, for men that have bones in them, to fpend their
lives in making fidle-cafes for futulous womens phan-
fies; which are the very pettitoes of Infirmity, the
E giblets

giblets of perquisquilian toys. I am so charitable to think, that most of that mystery would worke the cheerfuller while they live, if they might bee well discharged of the tyring slavery of mil-tyring women: it is no little labour to be continually putting up English-women into Out-landish caskes; who if they be not shifted anew, once in a few months, grow too fowre for their Husbands. What this Trade will answer for themselves when God shall take measure of Taylors consciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when

*The joyning of the Red-Rose with the White,
Did set our State into a Damask plight.*

But now our Roses are turned to *Flore de lices*, our Carnations to Tulips, our Gilliflowers to Dayzes, our City-Dames, to an indenominable Quæmalry of o-verturcal'd things. Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need to take measure every noone: and he that makes for women, as often, to keepe them from Lunacy.

I have often heard divers Ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearisome varieties and chargeable changes of fashions: I marvell themselves preferre not a Bill of redresse. ¶ I would *Essex* Ladies would lead the *Chore*, for the honour of their County and persons; or rather the thrice honorable Ladies of the Court, whom it best beefemes: who may wel presume of a *Le Roy le veult* from our sober King, a *Les Seigneurs ont assentus* from our prudent Peers, and the like *Assentus*, from our confiderate, I dare not
fay

All the Counties and shires of England have had wars in them since the Conquest, but *Essex*, which is onely free, and should be thankfull.

say wife-worne Commons: who I beleeve had much rather paffe one fuch Bill, than pay fo many Taylors Bills as they are forced to doe.

Moſt deare and unparallel'd Ladies, be pleaſed to attempt it: as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature; ſo aſſume the honour to give, and not take Law from any, in matter of attire: if ye can tranſact ſo faire a motion among your ſelves unanimouſly, I dare ſay, they that moſt re-nite, will leaſt repent. What greater honour can your Honors deſire, then to build a Promontory preſident to all foraigne Ladies, to deſerve ſo eminently at the hands of all the Engliſh Gentry preſent and to come: and to confute the opinion of all the wiſe men in the world; who never thought it poſſible for women to doe ſo good a work?

If any man think I have ſpoken rather merrily than ſeriouſly he is much miſtaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more then I ought. I confeſſe I veer'd my tongue to this kinde of Language *de industria* though unwillingly, ſuppoſing thoſe I ſpeak to are uncapable of grave and rati-onall arguments.

I deſire all Ladies and Gentlewomen to underſtand that all this while I intend not ſuch as through neceſſary modeſty to avoyd moroſe ſingularity, follow faſhions ſlowly, a flight ſhot or two off, ſhewing by their moderation, that they rather draw countermont with their hearts, then put on by their examples.

I point my pen only againſt the light-heel'd beagles that lead the chafe ſo faſt, that they run all civility out of breath, againſt theſe Ape-headed pullets, which

invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty fake.

In a word, if I begin once to declaine against fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is fomewhat in the bufineffe; I confesse to the world, I never had grace enough to be ftrict in that kinde; and of late years, I have found fyrrope of pride very wholesome in a due *Dos*, which makes mee keep fuch ftore of that drugge by me, that if any body comes to me for a queftion-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard meafure, or under-weight.

But I addrefse my felf to thofe who can both hear and mend all if they please: I ferioufly fear, if the pious Parliament doe not find a time to ftate fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in part, God will hardly finde a time to ftate Religion or Peace: They are the furquedryes of pride, the wantonneffe of idleneffe, provoking fins, the certain prodromies of affured judgement, *Zeph.* 1. 7, 8.

It is beyond all account, how many Gentlemens and Citizens eftates are deplumed by their feather-headed wifes, what ufefull fupplies the pannage of *England* would afford other Countries, what rich returns to it felfe, if it were not flic'd out into male and female fripperies: and what a multitude of mif-employ'd hands, might be better improv'd in fome more manly Manufactures for the publique weale: it is not eafily credible, what may be faid of the preterpluralities of Taylors in *London*: I have heard an honeft man fay, that not long fince there were numbered between *Temple-barre* and *Charing-Croffe*, eight thou-
fand

find of that Trade: let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about *London*, and in all *England*, they will appeare to be very numerous. If the Parliament would please to mend women, which their Husbands dare not doe, there need not so many men to make and mend as there are. I hope the present dolefull estate of the Realme, will perswade more strongly to some considerate course herein, than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would speake a word to long haire, whereof I will say no more but this: if God proves not such a Barbor to it as he threatens, unlesse it be amended, *Esa.* 7. 20. before the Peace of the State and Church be well settled, then let my prophesie be scorned, as a sound minde scornes the ryot of that sin, and more it needs not. If those who are tearmed Rattle-heads and Impuritans would take up a Resolution to begin in moderation of haire, to the just reproach of those that are called Puritans and Round-heads, I would honour their manlineffe, as much as the others godlineffe, so long as I knew what man or honour meant: if neither can finde a Barbour's shop, let them turne in, to *Psal.* 68.21. *Jer.* 7.29. *1 Cor.* 11.14. if it be thought no wisdome in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Sciffers, let it be thought no Injustice in God, not to distinguish them by the Sword. I had rather God should know me by my sobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his owne sin. A short promise, is a farre safer guard than a long lock: it is an ill distinction which God is loth to looke at, and his Angels cannot know his Saints by. Though

it be not the mark of the Beast, yet it may be the mark of a beast prepared to slaughter. I am sure men use not to wear such manes; I am also sure Soldiers use to wear other marklets or notadoes in time of battell.

HAVING done with the upper part of my work, I would now with all humble willingnesse set on the best peece of Soule-leather I have, did I not fear I should break my All, which though it may be a right old English blade, yet it is but little and weake. I should esteem it the best piece of workmanship my Cobling hand ever wrought, if it would please Him whose worke it is, to direct me to speake such a word over the Sea, as the good old woman of *Abel* did over the wall, in the like exigent: but alas, I am but simple. What if I be?

*When States dishelv'd are, and Lawes untwist,
Wise men keep their tongues, fools speak what they list.*

I would not be so unwise as to grieve the wife, if I were wise enough to foresee it: I would speake nothing to the Cause or Continuance of these wearisome Warres hitherto; the one is enough debated, the other more than enough peracted. Nor would I declaim of the uncomlineesse, unbrotherlineesse, unseasonableneesse and unreasonableneesse of these direfull digladiations: every stroak struck sounds too loud upon this harsh string. I would much rather speake perswasives to a comely brotherly seasonable and reasonable cessation of Armes on both sides, by a
drawn

drawn battaile: Wherein if I fhall adventure a few over-bold words, I intreat my ignorance, impartiality, and Loyalty may plead pardon for me.

Foure meanes there are, and no more, within the compaffe of my confideration, conducing to what is defired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hofts taken downe, I meane by Reformation: Or to fet up white colours inftead of red, on one fide or other, I meane by Composition: Or by furling up all the Enfignes on both fides, I meane by mutuall and generall Ceffation: Or by ftill displaying all the Colours and Cornets of every batallion, I mean by profecution: without Reformation there will hardly be any Composition; without Composition little hope of Ceffation; without Ceffation there muft and will be Profecution; which God forbid.

Reformation.

WHen the Roman Standard was defixed with fuch difficulty at the battaile between *Hannibal* and *Flaminius* at *Thrafimene*, it proved an ill Omen. *When God gives quietneffe, who can make trouble; when he hideth his face, who can behold him? Whether it be againft a Nation or a man onely. That the Hypocrite reigne not, left the people be infnared, Job 34. 29, 30.* How can the fword of the Lord put it felfe up into its fcabbard and be quiet. when himfelf hath given it a charge to the contrary? *Jer. 47. 6, 7.* It was a Cardinall Truth which Cardinall *Poole* fpake to *H. 8. Penes Reges est inferre bellum, penes autem Deum terminare.* If Kings will make their beginnings, God will make his ends: much more when himfelfe begins

gins: *When I begin, I will also make an end*, 1 Sam. 3. 12. Farre better were it, for men to make an end with him in time, than put him to make such an end with them as he there intends.

Politically Reformation he seemes to call for now *indigitanter*. When he beholds Christian Kingdomes and States unfound in their foundations, illineal in their superstructures, unjust in their administrations; he kicks them in peeces with the foot of his Indignation: But when Religious Statesmen frame and build by the levell and plummet of his wisdom, then people may say as his servants of old, *Looke upon Zion the City of our Solemnities; Your eyes shall see it a quiet habitation, a Tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall be removed, neither shall any of the coards thereof bee broken*, Isa. 33. 20. neither by civill Commotions nor foreign Invasions, When the coards of a State are exquisitely tight, and the stakes firmly pitched; such a Tent though but a Tent shall not easily flutter or fall: But *if the Tacklings be so loose, that the maine Mast cannot stand steady, nor the Saile be well spread; then may the lame take and divide a great prey*, ver. 23. If Religion, Laws, Liberties, and foraign Federacies be flight: the strength of strong men shall be weaknesse, and the weaknesse of the weak victorious.

Purapoliteja ne unum admittit solacismulum, neque valet, præscriptio in politicis aut moralibus. It may maintain a bright conjecture, against a rusty Truth: a legible possession, against an obliterate Claime: an inconvenience, against a convenience; where no cleare remedy may be had: but never anything that is formally

mally finfull, or materially mischievous. When rotten States are foundly mended from head to foot, proportions duly admeasured, Justice justly dispenced; then shall Rulers and Subjects have peace with God and themselves: but till then, the gayest Kingdomes shall be but ruffling feuffling, removing and commoving hovells. For *England*, however the upper Stories are throadly shattered; yet the foundations and frame being good or mendable by the Architects now at worke, there is good hope, when peace is settled, people shall dwell more wind-tight and water-tight than formerly, I earnestly wish our Mr. Builders to remember, that punctuality in Divinity and Politic, is but regularity; that what is amisse in the mould, will misfashion the profult; and that if this market be slipt, things may grow as deare as ever they were. Most expert Gentlemen, bee intreated at length to set our Head right on our Shoulders, that we may once look upwards and goe forwards like proper Englishmen.

God will also have Ecclesiasticall Reformation now, or nothing: And here he stands not upon Kings, Parliaments or Assemblies, but upon his own Termes. I feare Hee will have all drosse and base mettalls thoroughly melted away by these combustions, before Hee quenches them; all his Ordinances and vessells cast into his own fashion, in his own mould, to his own *amufsim*, before he restores peace. If this first worke bee thoroughly and throughoutly dispatched as I hope it is, the great *Remora* is removed. If the Parliament and Assembly be pleased to be as curious and industrious as I have seen a great Popish Bishop in

execrating a Protestant Par. Church one day, and consecrating it the next; they may adjourn a while with leave enough,

Some ten or twelve years before these Wars there came to my view these two Predictions.

1. *When God shall purge this Land with soap and nitre,
Woe be to the Crowne, woe be to the Mitre.*

The Accent of the blow shall fall there.

He that pities not the Crowne, pities not his own soule. Hee that pities not those that wore the Mitre, more than they pitied themselves, or the Churches over which they insulted, or the State then corrupted and now Corruined by their pride and negligence, is to blame.

2. *There is a set of Bishops comming next behind,
Will ride the Devill off his legs, and break his wind.*

Poore men! they might have kept his back till this time for ought I know, had they not put him beyond his pace: but Schollers must gallop, though they tumble for it. Yet I commend them for this, they gave him such straynes as made him blow short ever since. I doubt the Assembly troubles him; and I doubt he troubles them. Well, the Bishops are gone: If they have carried away with them all that was in the pockets of their Holliday hose, farre them well; let them come againe when I give them a new *Conge d' stier*, or send a pursuivant for them; which if I doe, I shall never trust my selfe more, though they have often done

done it for me, who never deserved that honour. Some of them I confesse were very honest men, and would have been honefter if they dared for their fellows.

The sad worke now is to intitute better things in their Roome, and to induct better men in their roome; rather where and how to finde those things, they having cunningly laid them so farre out of the way; I doubt some good men cannot see them, when they look full upon them: it is like, the Bishops carried away their eyes with them, but I fear they left their Spectacles behind them. I use no spectacles, yet my eyes are not fine enough, nor my hand steady enough to cut by such fine threads as are now spun. I am I know not what; I cannot tell what to make of my selfe, nor I think no body else: My Trade is to finde more faults than others will mend; and I am very diligent at it; yet it scarce findes me a living, though the Country finds me more worke than I can turne my hand to.

For Church worke, I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent: My task is to fit and study how shapeable the Independent way will be to the body of *England*, then my head akes on one side; and how suitable the Presbyterian way, as we heare it propounded, will be to the minde of Christ, then my head akes on the other side: but when I consider how the Parliament will commoderate a way out of both, then my head leaves aking. I am not, without some contrivalls in my patching braines; but I had rather suppose them to powder, than expose them to prerregular, much lesse to preter-regular Judgements: I shall therefore rejoyce that the worke is fals

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into so good hands, heads, and hearts, who will weigh Rules by Troyweight, and not by the old Haber-du-fois: and rather then meddle where I have so little skill, I will sit by and tell my feares to them that have the patience to heare them, and leave the red-hot question to them that dare handle it.

I fear many holy men have not so deeply humbled themselves for their former mis-worshippings of God as hee will have them before he reveales his secrets to them: as they accounted things indifferent, so they account indifferent repentance will serve turne. *Sonne of man, if my people be ashamed of all that they have done, then shew them the forme of the house, and the fashion thereof, else not, Ezek. 43. 11.* A sin in Gods worship, that seemes small in the common beame of the world, may be very great in the scales of his Sanctuary. Where God is very jealous, his servants should be very cautelous.

I feare the furnace wherein our new forms are casting, is over-heat, and casts smoake in the eyes of our founders, that they cannot well see what they doe, or ought to doe; *omne perit iudicium cum res transit in affectum.* Truth and Peace are the *Castor* and *Pollux* of the Gospell: they that seeke the one without the other, are like to finde neither: Anger will hinder domestick Prayers, much more Ecclesiastique Counsels. What is produced by tumult, is either difficient or redundant. When the judgements of good men concur with an harmonious Diapason, the result is melodious and commodious. Warring and jarring men are no builders of houses for God, though otherwise very good. Instruments may be well made and
well

well strung, but if they be not well fretted, the Musique is marred. The great Turke hearing Musicians so long a tuning, he though it stood not with his state to wait for what would follow. When Christ whips Market-makers out of his Temple, he raises dust: but when he enters in with Truth and Holiness, he calls for deep silence, *Hab.* 2. 20. There must not a toole be heard when the Tabernacle is reared: Nor is that amiable or serviceable to men that passeth through so many ill animadversions of Auditors and Spectators, If the Assembly can hardly agree what to determine, people will not easily agree what to accept.

I fear, these differences and delays have occasioned men to make more new discoveries than otherwise they would. If publique Assemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of illiterate men; will soone finde a wrong. Bivious demurres breed devious resolutions. Passengers to heaven are in haste, and will walk one way or other. He that doubts of his way, thinks hee loses his day: and when men are gone a while, they will be loth to turn back. If God hide his path, Satan is at hand to turne Convoy: if any have a minde to ride poste, he will help them with a fresh spavin'd Opinion at every Stage.

*Where clocks will stand, and Dials have no light,
There men must go by guesse, be't wrong or right.*

I feare, if the Assembly of all Divines, do not consent, and concenter the sooner, God will breath a spirit of wisdom and meekness, into the Parliament of

no Divines, to whom the Imperative and Coactive power supremely belongs, to consult such a temperate way, as shall best please him, and profit his Churches, so that it shall be written upon the doore of the Assembly; *The Lord was not there.*

I feare the importunity of some impatient, and subtlety of some malevolent mindes, will put both Parliament and Assembly upon some preproperations, that will not be safe in Ecclesiasticall Constitutions. To procrastinate in matters cleare, as I said even now, may be dangerous; so, not to deliberate in dubious cases, will be as perilous. We here, though I think under favour, wee have some as able Steersmen as *England* affords, have been driven to tack about again to some other points of Christs Compasse, and to make better observations before we hoyse up sayles. It will be found great wisdom in disputable cases, not to walk on by twylight, but very cauteoufly; rather by probationers for a time, then peremptory positives. Reelings and wheelings in Church acts, are both difficult and disadvantageous. It is rather Christian modesty than shame, in the dawning of Reformation, to be very perpenfive. Christs minde is, that Evangelicall policies, should be framed by Angelicall measures; not by a line of flaxe, but by a golded Reed, *Rev. 21. 15.*

I feare, he that sayes the Presbyterian and Independent way, if rightly carryed doe not meet in one, he doth not handle his Compasses so considerately as he should.

I feare if Authority doth not establish a futable and peaceable Government of Churches the sooner, the

the bells in all the steeples will ring awke so long, that they will hardly be brought into tune any more.

My last, but not least feare, is, That God will hardly replant his Gospel in any part of Christendome, in so faire an Edition as is expected, till the whole field hath been so ploughed and harrowed, that the soile be throughly cleansed and fitted for new seed: Or whether he will not transplant it into some other Regions, I know not: This feare I have feared these 20 years, but upon what grounds I had rather bury than broach.

I dare not but adde to what preceded about Church-reformation, a most humble petition, that the Authority of the Ministry be kept in its due altitude: if it be dropp'd in the dust, it will soon bee stifled: Encroachments on both sides, have bred detriments enough to the whole. The Separatists are content their teaching Elders should sit highest on the Bench, so they may sit in the Chaire over-against them; and that their Ruling Elders shall ride on the saddle, so they may hold the bridle. That they may likewise have seasonable and honourable maintenance, and that certainly stated: which generally we find and practise here as the best way. When Elders live upon peoples good wills, people care little for their ill wills, be they never so just. Voluntary Contributions or non tributions of Members, put Ministers upon many temptations in administrations of their Offices, two houres care does more dispirit an ingenuous man than two dayes study: nor can an Elder be given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to defray it: it is pity men of gifts should live

live upon mens gifts. I have seen most of the Reformed Churches in Europ, and seene more misery in these two respects, then it is meet others should hear: the complaints of painfull *Pareus*, *David Pareus*, to my selfe, with tears, concerning the Germane Churches are not to be related.

There is yet a personall Reformation, as requisite as the politicall. When States are so reformed, that they conforme such as are profligate, into good civility: civill men, into religious morality: When Churches are so constituted, that Faith is ordained Pastour, Truth Teacher, Holinesse and Righteousnesse ruling Elders: Wisedome and Charity Deacons: Knowledge, love, hope, zeale, heavenly-mindednesse, meeknesse, patience, watchfulnesse, humility, diligence, sobriety, modesty, chastity, constancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, sincerity, &c. admitted members, and all their opposites excluded: then there will bee peace of Country and Conscience.

Did the servants of Christ know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed spirits, under strict order with loose hearts, how formes of Religion breed but formes of Godlinesse, how men by Church-discipline, learne their Church-poitures, and there rest; they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of Ordinances. If wee mocke God in these, He will mocke us; either with defeat of our hopes; or which is worfe: when wee have what we so much desire, wee shall be so much the worfe for it. It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English Christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, Wee have the good Orders here, but you have the good Christi-

Christians in *England*. Hee that prizes not Old *England* Graces, as much as New *England* Ordinances, had need goe to some other market before hee comes hither. In a word, hee that is not Pastour, Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himselfe, and looks not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent: he may be a zelot in bearing witnesse to which he likes best, and yet an Iscariot to both, in the witnesse of his owne Conscience.

I have upon strict observation, seen so much power of Godliness, and spirituall mindednesse in English Christians, living meerly upon Sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gospell was little more than symptomaticall to the State; such Epidemicall and lethall formality in other disciplined Churches, that I professe in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in secret, to consider what will become of multitudes of my dear Country-men when they shall enjoy what they now covet: Not that good Ordinances breed ill Consciences, but ill Consciences grow starke nought under good Ordinances; infomuch that might I with an hypocrite the most perilous place but Hell, I should wish him a Membership in a strict Reformed Church: and might I with a sincere Servant of God, the greatest greife earth can afford, I should wish him to live with a pure heart, in a Church impurely Reformed; yet through the improvement of Gods Spirit, that greife may sanctifie him for Gods service and presence, as much as the means he would have, but cannot.

I speak this the rather to prevent, what in me lyes,

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the imprudent romaging that is like to be in *England*, from Villages to Townes, from Townes to Cities, for Churches sake, to the undoing of Societies, Friendships, Kindreds, Families, Heritages, Callings, yea, the wise Providence of God in disposing mens habitations, now in the very Infancy of Reformation: by forgetting that a little leaven may feason a large lump: and it is much better to doe good than receive. It were a most uncharitable and unserviceable part, for good men to desert their own Congregations, where many may glorifie God in the day of his Visitation, for their presence and assistance. If a Christian would picke out a way to thrive in grace, let him study to administer grace to them that want; or to make sure a blessing upon his Family, let him labour to multiply the Family of Christ, and beleve, that he which soweth liberally, shall reape abundantly; and he that spareth more than is need, from them that have more need, shall surely come to poverty: yea, let me say, that hee who forsakes the meanes of grace for Christ and his Churches sake, shall meet with a better bargain, namely, grace it selfe. It is a time now, when full flockes should rather scatter to leane Churches than gather from other places to make themselves fat; when able Christians should rather turne Jesuites and Seminaries, than run into Covents and Frieries: had this been the course in the Primitive time, the Gospel had been pinfolded up in a few Cities, and not spread as it is.

What more ungodly sacriledge or man-stealing can there be, then to purloin from godly Ministers the first born of their fervent prayers and faithfull preachings,
the

the leven of their flocks, the incouragement of their foules, the Crowne of their labours, their Epistle to Heaven? I am glad to hear our *New-England* Elders generally detest it *dispuenter*, and look at it as a killing *Cordolium*: If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they say) let them first plough the world, sow it, and reap it with their own hands, and the Lord give them a liberall Harveft. He is a very hard man that will reap where he hath not sowed, and gathered where he hath not strowed, *Mat. 24. 25.*

He that faith, it is or was our case, doth not rightly understand himself or us, and he that takes his warrant out of *Joh. 4. 37. 38.* is little acquainted with Expositors. Wifemen are amazed to hear that conscientious Ministers dare spoile many Congregations to make one for themselves.

In matter of Reformation, this would be remembered, that in premonitory judgements, God will take good words, and sincere intents; but in peremptory, nothing but reall performances.

Composition

IF Reformation were come thus neer, I should hope Composition were not farre off: When hearts meet in God, they will soon meet in Gods wayes, and upon Gods termes. But to avoid prolixity, which steales upon me; For Composition, I shall compose halfe a dozen distichs concerning these kind of Wars; wishing I could sing asleep these odious ftirs, at least on some part, with a dull Ode. He is no Cobler that cannot sing, nor no good Cobler that can sing well:

The Simple Cobler of

Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum } They are
Qualemcumque potest———Juvenal. } these.

1.

They seldome lose the field, but often win,
 That end their warrs, before their warrs begin.

2.

Their Cause is oft the worst, that first begin,
 And they may lose the field, the field that win:

3.

In Civill warrs 'twixt Subjects and their King,
 There is no conquest got, by conquering.

4.

Warre ill begun, the onely way to mend,
 Is t'end the warre before the warre doe end.

5.

They that well end ill warrs, must have the skill,
 To make an end by Rule, and not by Will.

6.

In ending warrs 'tween Subjects and their Kings,
 Great things are sav'd, by losing little things.

Wee heare that *Majestas Imperii* hath challenged *Salus Populi* into the field; the one fighting for Prerogatives, the other defending Liberties: Were I a Constable bigge enough, I would set one of them by the heeles to keep both their hands quiet; I mean onely in a paire of stocks, made of sound reason, handsomely fitted for the legges of their Understanding.

If *Salus Populi* began, surely it was not that *Salus Populi* I left in *England*: that *Salus Populi* was as manerly a *Salus Populi* as need bee: if I be not much deceived, that *Salus Populi* suffer'd its nose to be held to the Grindstone, till it was almost ground to the gristles
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and yet grew never the sharper for ought I could discern; What was, before the world was made, I leave to better Antiquaries than my selfe; but I think, since the world began, it was never storied that *Salus Populi* began with *Majestas Imperii*, unlesse *Majestas Imperii* first unharbour'd it, and hunted it to a stand, and then it must either turne head and live, or turn taile and die: but more have been storied on the other hand than *Majestas Imperii* is willing to heare: I doubt not but *Majestas Imperii* knows, that Common-wealths cost as much the making as Crownes; and if they be well made, would yet outsell an ill-fashioned Crown, in any Market overt, if they could be well vouched.

But *Preces & Lachrymæ*, are the peoples weapons: so are Swords and Pistoles, when God and Parliaments bid them Arme. Prayers and Tears are good weapons for them that have nothing but knees and eyes; but most men are made with teeth and nailes; onely they must neither scratch for Liberties, nor bite Prerogatives, till they have wept and prayed as God would have them. If Subjects must fight for their Kings against other Kingdomes, when their Kings will; I know no reason, but they may fight against their Kings for their own Kingdomes, when Parliaments say they may and must: but Parliaments must not say they must, till God sayes they may.

I can never beleeve that *Majestas Imperii*, was ever so simple as to think, that if it extends it self beyond its due Artique at one end, but *Salus Populi* must Antartique it as farre at the other end, or else the world will be Excentrick, and then it will whirle; and if it
once

The Simple Cobler of

once fall a whirling, ten to one, it will whirle them off first, that sit in highest Chaires on cushions fill'd with Peacocks feathers; and they are like to stand their ground fastest, that owne not one foot of ground to stand upon. When Kings rise higher than they should, they exhale Subjects higher than they would: if the *Primum Mobile* should ascend one foote higher than it is, it would hurry all the nether wheelles, and the whole world on fire in 24 houres. No Prince exceeds in Sovereignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their grieffe; or some pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince.

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*The crazy world will crack, in all the middle joynts,
 If all the ends it hath, have not their parapoynts.*

Nor can I beleeeve that Crownes trouble Kings heads, so much as Kings heads trouble Crowns: nor that they are flowers of Crowns that trouble Crowns, but rather some Nettles or Thistles mistaken for flowers.

To speak plainer English, I have wondred these thirty years what Kings aile: I have seen in my time, the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes; Yet as Christian as they were, some or other were still scuffling for Prerogatives. It must be granted at all hands, that *Prærogativæ Regis* are necessary Supporters of State: and stately things to stately Kings: but if withall, they be *Derogativæ Regno*, they are but little things to wise Kings. Equity is as due to People, as Eminency to Princes: Liberty to Subjects, as Royalty to Kings: If they cannot walk together lovingly
hand

hand in hand, *paripassu*, they must cut girdles and part as good friends as they may: Nor must it be taken offensively, that when Kings are hailing up their top-gallants, Subjects lay hold on their slablines; the head and body must move alike: it is nothing meet for me to fay with *Horace*,

Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te Car'le feremus.

But I hope I may safely fay,

*The body beares the head, the head the Crown;
If both beare not alike, then one will down.*

Distracting Nature, calls for distracting Remedies; perturbing policies for disturbing cures: if one Extreame should not constitute its Anti-Extreame, all things would soon be in *extremo*: if ambitious windes get into Rulers Crownes, rebellious vapours will into Subjects Caps, be they stopt never so close: Yet the tongues of Times tell us of ten Preter royall Ufurpations, to one contra-civill Rebellion.

Civill Liberties and proprieties admeasured, to every man to his true *suum*, are the *prima pura principia, propria quarto modo*, the *sine quibus* of humane States, without which, men are but women. Peoples profrations of these things when they may lawfully helpe it, are prophane prostitutions; ignorant Ideotifmes, under-naturall noddaries; and just it is that such as underfell them, should not re-inherit them in haste, though they seek it carefully with teares. And such ufurpations by Rulers, are the unnaturalizings of nature,

nature, disfranchisements of Freedome, the Neronian nullifyings of Kingdomes: yea, I beleve the Devill himfelfe would turn Round-head, rather then fuffer thefe Columnes of Common-wealths to be flighted: as he is a creature, he fears decreation; as an Angell, dehominations; as a Prince, dif-common-wealthings; as finite, thefe pen-infinite infolencies, which are the moft finite Infinities of misery to men on this fide the worlds diffolution; therefore it is, that with Gods leave, he hath founded an alarm to all the *fufque deques* pell-mels, one and alls, now harrating fundry parts of Chrifendome. It is enough for God to be Infinite, too much for man to be Indefinite. He that will flye too high a quarry for Abfoluteneffe, fhall ftoope as much too low before he remounts his proper pitch: If *Jacob* will over top his Brother out of Gods time and way, we will fo hamftring him that he fhall make legs whether he will or no, at his brothers approach: and fuch as over-run all humane meafure, fhall feldom return to humane mercy: There are fins befides the fin againft the Holy Ghoft, which fhall not be expiated by facrifice for temporall revenge: I mean when they are boyled up to a full confiftence of contumacy and impenitency. Let absolute Demands or Commands be put into one fcale, and indefinite refusalls into the other: All the Goldfmiths in *Cheapefide*, cannot tell which weighs heaviest. Intolerable griefes to Subjects, breed the *Iliaca pafsio* in a body politick which inforces that upwards which fhould not. I fpeak thefe things to excufe, what I may, my Countrymen in the hearts of all that look upon their proceedings.

There is a quadrobulary faying, which paffes current

rent in the Westerne World, That the Emperour is King of Kings, the *Spaniard*, King of Men, the *French* King of Affes, the *King of England*, King of Devils. By his leave that first brayed the speech, they are pretty wise Devils and pretty honest; the worse they doe, is to keep their Kings from devillizing, & them selves from Assing: Were I a King (a simple supposal) I would not part with one good English Devil, for some two of the Emperours Kings, nor three of the *Spaniards* Men, nor foure *French* Affes; If I did, I should think my selfe an Affe for my labour. I know nothing that *Englishmen* want, but true Grace, and honest pride; let them be well furnished with those two, I feare they would make more Affes, then *Spaine* can make men, or the Emperour Kings. You will say I am now beyond my latchet; but you would not say so, if you knew how high my latchet will stretch; when I heare a lye with a latchet, that reaches up to his throat that first forged it.

He is a good King that undoes not his Subjects by any one of his unlimited Prerogatives: and they are a good people, that undoe not their Prince, by any one of their unbounded Liberties, be they the very least. I am sure either may, and I am sure neither would be trusted, how good soever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-risen Kings, have been the next evils to the world, unto fallen Angels; and that over-fraunchised people, are devills with smooth snaffles in their mouthes. A King that lives by Law, lives by love; and he that lives above Law, shall live under hatred doe what he can. Slavery and knavery goe as seldome asunder, as Tyranny and Cruelty. H I

I have a long while thought it very possible, in a time of Peace, and in some Kings Reigne, for disert Statesmen, to cut an exquisite thred between Kings Prerogatives, and Subjects Liberties of all sorts, so as *Cæsar* might have his due, and People their share, without such sharp disputes. Good Casuists would ease it, and ease it, part it, and part it; now it, and then it, punctually. *Aquinas*, *Suarez* or *Valentia*, would have done it long ere this, had they not benee Popish, I might have said Knavish; for if they be so any where, it is in their Tractates of Priviledges. Our Common Law doth well, but it must doe better before things do as they should. There are some *Maximes* in Law, that would be taught to speake a little more mannerly, or else well *Anti-Maxim'd*: wee say, the King can doe a Subject no wrong; why may wee not say the Parliament can doe the King no wrong? We say, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi* in taking wrong; why may wee not say, *Nullum tempus succurrit Regi* in doing wrong? which I doubt will prove as good a Canon if well examined.

Authority must have power to make and keep people honest: People, honestly to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keep both safe. Morall Lawes, Royall Prerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wisdom cannot reach, Mans experience must mend: And these Essentialls, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few mens discretion, but lineally functioned by Supreme Councils. In *pro-re-nascent* occurrences, which cannot be foreseen; Diets, Parliaments

aments, Senates, or accountable Commiffions, must have power to confult and execute againft interfilient dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know fo much before hand, by fome safe woven *manifefto*, that groffe Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their prefumptions with pretence of ignorance. I know no difference in thefe Effentials, between Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies; the rule will be found, par-rationall fay Schoolemen and Pretorians what they will. And in all, the beft ftandard to meafure Prerogatives, is the Plough ftaffe, to meafure Liberties, the Scepter: if the tearms were a little altered into Loyall Prerogatives and Royall Liberties, then we fhould be fure to have Royall Kings and Loyall Subjects.

*Subjects their King, the King his Subjects greets,
Whilome the Scepter and the Plough-ftaffe meets.*

But Progenitors have had them for four and twenty predeceffions: that would be fpoken in the Norman tongue or Cimbrian, not in the Englifh or Scotifh: When a Conquerour turnes Chriftian, Chriftianity turnes Conquerour: if they had had them time out of minde of man, before *Adam* was made, it is not a pin to the point in *foro rectæ rationis*: Justice and Equity were before time, and will be after it: Time hath neither Politicks nor Ethicks, good nor evill in it; it is an empty thing, as empty as a *New-Engliffh* purfe, and emptier it cannot bee: a man may break his neck in time, and in a leffe time then he can heale it.

But here is the deadly pang, it must now be taken by force and dint of sword: I confesse it is a deadly pang to a Spirit made all of flesh, but not to a mortified heart: it is good to let God have his will as hee please, when we have not reason to let him have it as we should; remembring, that hitherto he hath taken order that ill Prerogatives gotten by the Sword, should in time be fetcht home by the Dagger, if nothing else will doe it: Yet I trust there is both day and means to intervent this bargaine. But if they should, if God will make both King and Kingdome the better by it, what should either lose? I am sure there is no great cause for either to make great brags.

Pax quo carior, eo charior.

*A peace well made, is likeliest then to hold,
When 'tis both dearly bought and dearly sold.*

I confesse, he that parts with such pearles to be paid in old iron, had need to be pityed more by his faithfull friends, than he is like to be by his false flatterers. My heart is furcharged, I can no longer forbear.

M*Y Dearest Lord*, and my more than *dearest King*; I most humbly beseech you upon mine aged knees, that you would please to arme your minde with patience of prooffe, and to intrench your selfe as deepe as you can, in your wonted Royall meeknesse; for I am resolved to display my unfurled soule in your face, and to storme you with volyes of Love and Loyalty. You owe the meanest true Subject you have,

a close account of these open Warres: they are no *Arcana imperii*. Then give me leave to inquire of your Majesty, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace: What you doe sculking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand desolate, through your absence? What moves you to take up Armes against your faithfull Subjects, when your Armes should bee embracing your mournfull Queen? What incenses your heart to make so many widdowes and Orphans, and among the rest your owne? Doth it become you, the King of the stateliest Island the world hath, to forsake your Throne, and take up the Manufacture of cutting your Subjects throats, for no other sinne, but for Deifying you so over-much, that you cannot be quiet in your Spirit, till they have pluckt you downe as over-low? Doe your three Kingdomes so trouble you, that they must all three be set on fire at once, that when you have done, you may probably runne away by their light into utter darknesse? Doe your three Crownes sit too heavy on your head, that you will break the backs of the three bodies that set them on, and helpt you beare them so honourably? Have your three Lamb-like flocks so molested you, that you must deliver them up to the ravening teeth of evening Wolves? Are you so angry with those that never gave you just cause to be angry, but by their too much feare to anger you at all, when you gave them cause enough? Are you so weary of Peace, that you will never bee weary of Warre? Are you so willing to warre at home, who were so unwilling to warre abroad, where and when you should? Are you so weary

ry of being a good King, that you will leave your selfe never a good Subject? Have you peace of Conscience, in inforcing many of your Subjects to fight for you against their Conscience? Are you provided with Answers at the great Tribunall, for the destruction of so many thousands, whereof every man was as good a man as your Selfe, *qua* man?

Is it not a most unworthy part for you to bee running away from your Subjects in a day of battell, upon whose Pikes you may come safe with your naked breast and welcome? Is it honourable for you to bee flying on horses, from those that would esteeme it their greatest honour, to beare you on their humble shoulders to your Chaire of Estate, and set you down upon a Cushion stuffed with their hearts? Is it your prudence to be enraged with your best friends, for adventuring their lives to rescue you from your worst enemies? Were I a King, pardon the supposall, I would hang that Subject by the head, that would not take me by the heels, and dragge mee to my Court, when hee sees me shifting for life in the ruined Countrey, if nothing else would doe it; And I would honour their very heels, that would take me by the very head, and teach me, by all just meanes, to King it better, when they saw me un-Kinging my selfe, and Kingdome: Doe you not know Sir, that, as when your people are sicke of the Kings-evill, God hath given you a gift to heale them? so when your selfe are sicke of it, God hath given the Parliament a gift to heale you: Hath your Subjects love been so great to you, that you will spend it all, and leave your children little or none? Are you so exasperated against
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wife *Scotland*, that you will make *England* your foole or foot-ftoole? Is your fathers sonne growne more Orthodox, then his most Orthodox father, when he told his sonne, that a King was for a kingdome, and not a kingdome for a King? parallell to that of the Apostle; the husband is but by the wife, but the wife of the husband.

Is *Majestas Imperij* growne so kickish, that it cannot stand quiet with *Salus Populi*, unlesse it be fettered? Are you well advised, in trampling your Subjects so under your feet, that they can finde no place to be safe in, but over your head: Are you so inexorably offended with your Parliament, for suffering you to returne as you did, when you came into their house as you did, that you will be avenged on all whom they represent? Will you follow your very worst Councell so far, as to provoke your very best, to take better counsell than ever they did? If your Majesty be not Popish as you professe, and I am very willing to beleve, why doe you put the Parliament to resume the sacrament of the Alter in saying, the King and Parliament, the King and Parliament? breaking your simple Subjects braines to understand such myfticall Parlee-ment? I question much, whether they were not better speake plainer English, then such Latine as the Angels can hardly construe, and God happily loves not to perse; I can as well admit an ubiquitary King as another, if a King be abroad in any good affaire; but if a King be at home, and will circumscribe himselfe at *Oxford*, and proscribe or discribe his Parliament at *Westminster*, if that *Parliament* will prescribe what they ought, without such paradoxing,

doxing, I should think God would subscribe a *Le Dieu le veult* readily enough.

Is your *Advisera* such a *Suavamen* to you, that hath been such a *Gravamen* to Religion and Peace? Shall the cheife bearing wombe of your Kingdome, be ever so constituted, that it cannot be delivered of its owne deliverance, in what pangs soever it be, without the will of one man-midwife, and such a man as will come and not come, but as he list: nor bring a Parliament to bed of a well-begotten Liberty without an entire Subsidy? Doe not your Majesty being a Schollar, know that it was a truth long before it was spoken, that *Mundus est unus aut nullus*, that there is *Principium purum unum*, which unites the world and all that is in it; where that is broken, things fall afunder, that whatsoever is duable or triable, is fryable.

Is the *Militia* of your Kingdome, such an orient flower of your Crowne, which all good Herbalists judge but a meere nettle, while it is in any one mans hand living? May not you as well challenge the absolute disposall of all the wealth of the Kingdome as of all the strength of your Kingdome? Can you put any difference? unlesse it bee this, that mens hearts and bones are within their skins, more proper and intrinsecall, their lands and cattell more externall: dare you not *concredit* the *Militia*, with those to whom you may betrust your heart, better then your owne breast? Will they ever harme you with the *Militia*, that have no manner of *Malitia* against you, but for mis-employing the *Militia* against them by the *malitia* of your ill Counsellours? What good will the

the *Militia* doe you when you have waisted the Realm of all the best *Milites* it hath? May not your Majesty see through a paire of Spectacles, glazed with inch-board, that while you have your *Advisera* in one hand, and the *Militia* in the other, you have the necks of your Subjects under your feet, but not your heart in your owne hand? doe you not knowe that *malum est, posse malum?*

Hath Episcopacy beene such a religious Jewell in your State; that you will sell all or most of your Coronets, Caps of honour, and blue Garters, for six and twenty cloth Caps? and your Barons Cloakes, for so many Rockets, whereof usually twenty have had scarce good manners enough to keepe the other six sweet? Is no Bishop no King, such an oraculous Truth, that you will pawne your Crowne and life upon it? if you will, God may make it true indeed on your part: Had you rather part with all, then lose a few superfluous tumours, to pare off your monstrousnesse? Will you be so covetous, as to get more then you ought, by loosing more then you need? Have you not driven good Subjects enough abroad, but you will also slaughter them that stay at home? Will you take such an ill course, that no prayers can fasten that good upon you we desier? Is there not some worst root than all these growing in your Spirit, bringing forth all this bitter fruit? Against which you should take up Arms, rather then against your harmelese Subjects? Doe you not foresee, into what importable head-tearings and heart-searchings you will be ingulfed, when the Parliament shall give you a mate, though but a Stale?

I

Methinkes

Methinkes it should breake your heart, to see such a one as I, presume so much upon your clemency & too much upon your Majesty, which your selfe have so eclipsed by the interposall of your Selfe between your Selfe and your Selfe, that it hath not ray's enough left, to dazle downe the height of my affections to the awe of my Judgement.

Tref-Royall Sir, I once againe beseech you, with teares dropping from my hoary head, to cover your Selfe as close as you may, with the best shield of goodnesse you have: I have somewhat more to say, which may happily trouble not your Selfe, but your followers, more than what is already said. There lived in your Realme and Reigne two whom I may well tearme Prophets, both now in a better Kingdome; whereof one foretold two things concerning your Majesty, of these very proceedings, long before they began; which being done and past shall bee buried in silence: the other made this prediction about the same time.

*King Charles will joyne himselfe to bitter Griefe,
Then joyne to God, and prove a Godly Chiefe.*

His words were in prose these, *King Charles* will come into fetters, meaning strong afflictions, and then prove as good a King, as such a good King of *Israel*, whom he then named, but I need not: he was as inwardly acquainted with the minde of God, as fervent and frequent a Beadsmā for your welfare, and had as religious Opticks of State, as any man I know: foure other Predictions he made, full as improbable as this, whereof

whereof three are punctually performed. A good Christian being sometime in conflicts of Conscience, hurried with long tentations, used this speech to my selfe, I am now resolved to be quiet, for I plainly see, God will save me whether I will or no: If your Majesty would be pleased to thinke so in your heart, and say so with your mouth, all the good Subjects you have, would say, *Amen*, till the heavens rang, and I hope you have few so bad, but would say, *So be it*.

Much lamented Sir, if you will please to retire your Selfe to your Closet, whither you may most safely come, and make your peace with God, for the vast heritage of sinne your Intombed father left upon your score, the dreadfull Imprecation he poured upon the heads of his tender posterity in *Summerjets* and *Overburyes* Case, published in Star-chamber by his Royall command; your own sinful marriage, the sophistication of Religion and Policie in your time, the luxury of your Court and Country, your connivence with the Irish butcheries, your forgetfull breaches upon the Parliament, your compliance with Popish Doegs, with what else your Conscience shall suggest: and give us, your guilty Subjects example to doe the like, who have held pace and proportion with you in our evill ways: we will helpe you by Gods assistance, to poure out rivers of tears, to wash away the streams of blood, which have beene shed for these heavy accounts; wee will also helpe you, God helping us, to beleeve, that there is hope in *Israel* for these things; and Balme enough in his *Gilead* to heale all the broken bones of your three kingdomes, and to redouble your honour and our peace: His Arme is infinite; to

an infinite power all things are equally faifible, to an infinite mercy all finnes equally pardonable. The Lord worke thefe things in us and for us, for his compaffions fake in Jefus Chirft.

Sir, you may now please to difcover your Selfe where you think meet; I trust I have not indangered you: I presume your Ear-guard will keep farre enough from you, what ever I have faid: be it fo, I have difcharged my duty, let them looke to theirs. If my tongue fhould reach your eares, which I little hope for; let it be once faid; the great King of great *Britaine*, took advife of a fimple Cobler, yet fuch a Cobler, as will not exchange either his blood or his pride, with any Shoo-maker or Tanner in your Realme, nor with any of your late Bifhops which have flattered you thus in peeces: I would not fpeak thus in the eares of the world, through the mouth of the Preffe for all the plunder your plunderers have pillaged; were it not fomewhat to abate your Royall indignation toward a loyall Subject; a Subject whofe heart hath been long carbonado'd, *des veniam verbo*, in flames of affection towards you. Your Majesty knowes or may know, time was, when I did, or would have done you a better peece of fervice, then all your Troopes and Regiments are now doing. Should I heare any Gentleman that followes you, of my yeares, fay hee loves you better than I, if it were lawfull, I would fweare by my Sword, he faid more then his fword would make good.

Gracious Sir, Vouchsafe to pardon me my no other fins, but my long Idolatry towards you, and my loving you too hard in this fpeech, and I will pardon
you

you your Treafon againft me, even me, by committing Treafon againft your Selfe my Lord and King; and your murther, in murthering me, even me, by murthering my deare fellow Subjects, bone of my bone, and flefh of my flefh, and of yours alfo. If you will not pardon me, I will pardon my felfe, dwell in my owne clothes as long as I can, and happily make as good a fhift for my proportion, as he that hath a lighter paire of heeles: And when you have done what you please, I am refolved to be

I fpeake in terms of Divinity not of Law and am deeply grieved that I am forced to fuch neceffary overboldneffe.

As loyall a Subject to your Majesty when I have never a head on my fhoulders, as you a Royall King to me, when you have your three Crownes on your head,

Theod: de la Guard:

Sir,

I Cannot give you over thus; I moft earnestly implore you, that you would not deferre to confider your felfe throughly, you are now returned to the brinke of your Honour and our Peace, ftand not too long there, your State is full of diftractions, your people of expectations, the importune Affaires of your Kingdome perplexedly fufpended, your good Subjects are now rifing into a refolution to pray you on to your Throne, or into your Tombe, into Grace with your Parliament and people, or into Glory with the Saints in Heaven; but how you will get into the one, without paffing firft through th'other, is the riddle they cannot untye. If they fhall ply the Throne
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of Grace hard, God will certainly heare, and in a fhort time mould you to his minde, and convince you, that it had and will bee farre eafier to fit downe meekely upon the *Rectum*, than to wander refolutely in obliquities, which with Kings, feldome faile to diffembogue into bottomleffe Seas of forrowes.

Deareft Sir, be intreated to doe what you doe fincerely; the King of Heaven and Earth can fearch and difcover the hiddeneft corner of your heart, your Parliament underftands you farre better then you may conceive, they have many eares and eyes, and good ones, I beleeve they are Religioufly determined to re-cement you to your Body fo exquisitely, that the Errors of State and Church, routed by thefe late ftirs, may not re-allee hereafter, nor Themfelves be made a curle to the iffue of their own bodies, nor a Scoffe, to all Politique Bodies in Europe. The Lord give your Majefty and all your Royall Branches *the fpirit of wifedome and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and his feare*, for His mercy and Chrift his fake.

I would my skill would ferve me alfo, as well as my heart, to tranflate Prince *Rupert*, for his Queen-mothers fake, *Eliz.* a fecond. Mifmeane me not. I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wifh I had him there now: if I miftake not, he promifed then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wife hearted Palatine, a thankfull man to the Englifh; to forgive all his finnes, and at length to fave his foule, notwithstanding all his God-damme mee's: yet I may doe him wrong; I am
not

not certaine hee useth that oath; I wish no man else would; I dare say the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English these twelve years, am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adultereesses, in all this time, that I can call to minde: If these finnes bee amongst us privily, the Lord heale us. I would not bee understood to boast of our innocency; there is no cause I should, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better. But to follow my businesse.

Prosecutions of Warres between a King and his Parliament, are the direfull dilacerations of the world, the cruell Catastrophes of States, dreadfull to speak of; they are *nefanda & n'agenda*: I know no grounds can be given of them but two: Either upon Reason founded upon some surmifall of Treason, which my reason cannot reach: I could never conceive why a rationall King should commit Treason against a reasonable Parliament; or how a faithfull Parliament against their lawfull King: the most I can imagine, is a misprifion of Treason, upon a misprifion of Reason. He that knows not the spirit of his King, is an Atheist. Our King is not *Charles le simple* sometime of *France*: he understands not our King that understands him not to bee understanding. The Parliament is supposed Omniscient, because under God they are Omnipotent: if a Parliament have not as much knowledge and all other Vertues, as all the kingdome beside, they are no good Abridgement of the Common-wealth. I believe Remonstrances have demonstrated enough concer-

cerning this point of Reason, to give satisfaction to such as satisfaction will satisfy.

Or upon Will.

The Will of a King is very numinous; it hath a kinde of vast universality in it, it is many times greater then the will of his whole kingdome, stiffened with ill Counsell and ill Presidents: if it be not a foot and half lesser than the Will of his Councell, and three foot lesser than the Will of his Parliament, it is too big. I think it were well for a King if hee had no will at all, but were all Reason. What if he committed his morall will to Divines, that were no Bishops? his Politicall, to his Parliament, and a Councell chosen by Parliament? that if ever it miscarry, they may blame themselves most, and him least. I scarce know any King that hath such advantage as ours; his three kingdomes lye so distinct and entire, that if he please, he might keep them like three gardens without a weed, if he would let God keep his will, without wilfulnesse and rashnesse.

I have observed men to have two kindes of Wills, a Free-hold will, such as men hold in *Capite* of themselves; or a Copy-hold will, held at the will of other Lords or Ladies. I have read almost all the Common Law of *England*, and some Statutes; yet I never read, that the Parliament held their will in such a *Capite*: their Tenure is *Knight-service*, and good *Knight-service* too, or else they are to blame. And I am sure, a King cannot hold by Copy, at the will of other Lords; the Law calls that *base tenure*, inconsistent with Royalty; much more base is it, to hold
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at the will of Ladies: Apron-string *tenure* is very weak, tyed but of a flipping knot, which a childe may undoe, much more a King. It stands not with our Queens honour to weare an Apron, much lesse her Husband, in the strings; that were to infnare both him and her self in many unshafeties. I never heard our King was effeminate: to be a little Uxorious personally, is a vertuous vice in Oeconomicks; but Royally, a vitious vertue in Politicks. To speak English, Books & Tongues tell us, I wish they tell us true, that the Error of these Wars on our Kings part, proceeds only from ill Counsellours.

Ill Counsellours, are very ill Gamesters; if they see their own stake a losing, they will play away King, Queen, Bishops, Knights, Rooks, Pawnes, and all, before they will turn up the board; they that play for lusts, will play away themselves, and not leave themselves so much as a heart to repent; and then there is no Market left but Hell; if the case be thus, it is to no end to look for any end, till one side make an end of the other.

*They that at stake their Crownes and Honours set,
Play lasting games, if Lust or Guilt doe bet.*

Cessation.

IF God would vouchsafe to give his Majesties Religion and Reason, power to fling his Wills head over the Wall, in matter of Composition, and his Subjects strength to throw their lusts after it, Arms would be soon laid down, and Peace soon taken up. They that are not at peace with God, are not at peace with
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them-

themselves, whatever they think; and they that are not at peace with themselves, cannot be at peace with others, if occasion provokes, be their nature never so good.

So farre as I can conjecture, the chiefe impediment to a generall and mutuall Cessation of Armes, is, a despair of mutuall and generall forgiveness. If ever *England* had need of a generall Jubile in Heaven and Earth, it is now. Our King and Parliament have been at great strife, who should obtaine most Justice: if they would now strive, who should shew most Mercy, it would heare well throughout the world. Here also my speech must be twofold and blind-fold. It is now nine Moneths and more since the last credible News was acted: it is possible by this, the Parliament may be at the Kings mercy: Did I say a Kings mercy? what can I say more? no man on earth, can shew more mercy then a King, nor shall need more, when he comes to give an Account of his Kingdome: Nor did ever any Parliament merit more mercy than this, for they never finned, that I know, I mean against the Common and Statute Law of *England*: it is pity they who have given so many general pardons, should want one now.

If our King hath lost his way, and thereby learned to looke to his path better hereafter, and taught many Successors to King it right for many Ages; Methinks it should impetrate a Royall Redintegration, upon a Royall acknowledgement and ingagement. But how should an erring King trust a provoked Parliament? Surely he may trust God safe enough; who will never trust that State more with a good King, that will doe ill to a King that is turned so good. Me thinks those
passages

passages of Scripture, *Esa.* 43. 24, 25. *chap.* 57. 17, 18. The strange illation, *Hof.* 2. 13, 14. should melt a heart of Steele into floods of mercy.

For others, were my head, one of the heads which first gave the King Counsell to take up these Armes, or to persist in them, when at any time he would have disbanded, I would give that head to the Kingdome, whether they would or no; if they would not cut it off, I would cut it off my selfe, and tender it at the Parliament doore, upon condition that all other heads might stand, which stand upon penitent hearts, and will doe better on than off; then I would carry it to *London-Bridge*, and charge my tongue to teach all tongues, to pronounce Parliament right hereafter.

When a kingdom is broken juft in the neck joynt, in my poore policy, ropes and hatchets are not the kindest instruments to fet it: Next to the spilling of the blood of Christ for sin, the sparing of the blood of sinners, where it may be as well spared as spilt, is the best way of expiation. It is no rare thing for Subjects to follow a leading King; if he will take his truncheon in his hand, it is to be expected many will put their swords in their Belts. Sins that rise out of mistake of judgement, are not so sinfull as those of malice ordinarily: and when multitudes sin, multitudes of mercy are the best Anodines.

--*gratia gratis data, gratissima.*

*Grace will dissolve, but rigour hardens guilt:
Break not with Steely blows, what oyle should melt.*

*In^sBreaches integrant, 'tween Principalls of States,
Due Justice may suppressse, but Love redintegrates.*

Whofoever be pardoned, I pray let not *Britanicus* scape, I mean a pardon. I take him to bee a very fer-viceable Gentleman: Out of my intire respect to him, I fhall presume to give him half a dozen Itches of advise:

I intreat him to confider that our King is not onely a man, but a King in affliction: Kings afflictions are beyond Subjects apprehensions; a Crown may happily ake as much as a whole Common-wealth.

I desire him also to conceale himself as deeply as he can, if he cannot get a speciall pardon, to weare a Latitat, about his neck, or let him lie clofe under the Philofophers ftone, and I'll warrant him for ever being found.

If he be difcovered, I counsell him to get his head fet on faster than our *New-England* Taylors use to fet on Buttons: Kings, and Kings Childrens memories are as keen as their Subjects wits.

If he fears any fuch thing, that he would come over to us, to helpe recruite our bewildered brains: we will promise to maintain him fo long as he lives, if he will promise to live no longer then we maintain him.

If he fhould bee difcovered and his head chance to be cut off againft his will, I earnestly befeech him to bequeath his wits to me and mine in Fee-fimple, for we want them, and cannot live by our hands in this Country.

Laftly, I intreat him to keep his purfe, I give him
my

my counsell *gratis*, confeffing him to be more then my match, and that I am very loath to fall into his hands.

Profecution.

IF Reformation, Compoſition, Ceſſation, can finde no admittance, there muſt and will be Profecution: to which I would alſo ſpeake briefly and indifferently ſtill to both ſides; and firſt to that, which I had rather call Royaliſts then malignantſ; who if I miſtake not, fight againſt the Truth.

Fooliſh Cowardly man (I pray patience, for I ſpeak nothing but the pulſe of my owne heart) dreads and hates, nothing in Heaven or Earth, ſo much as Truth: it is not God, nor Law, nor finne, nor death, nor hell, that he feares, but only becauſe hee feares there is Truth in them: Could he de-truth them all, he would deſie them all: Let Perdition it ſelfe come upon him with deadly threats, fiery ſwords, diſplayed vengeance, he cares not; Let Salvation come cap in hand, with naked Reaſon, harmleſſe Religion, lawny imbracements, he will rather flye or dye, than entertaine it: come Truth in what ſhape it will, hee will reject it: and when hee can beat it off with moſt ſteely prowefſe, he thinkes himſelfe the braveſt man when in truth it is nothing but exſanguine feeble exility of Spirit. Thy heart, ſaith the Prophet *Ezek.* 16. 30. is weake, like the heart of an imperious whoriſh woman: a man would thinke, the heart of an imperious whore, were the very pummell of *Scanderbergs*; ſword; alas, ſhee is hen-hearted, ſhee dares not looke Truth in the face; if ſhe dared, ſhee would neither bee

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whorifh, nor imperious, nor weake. He fhewes more true fortitude, that prayes quarter of the leaft Truth, at a miles diftance, than hee that breakes through and hewes downe the moft Theban Phalanx that ever field bore. *Paul* expreffed more true valour, in faying, I can doe nothing againft the Truth, than *Goliah*, in defying the whole hoſte of *Iſrael*.

Couragious Gentlemen, Yee that will ſtab him that gives you the lye; take heed yee ſpend not your bloods, limbes and foules, in fighting for ſome untruth: and yee that will fling out the gantlet to him that calls you Coward, diſhonour not your ſelves with ſuch Cowardiſe, as to fight againft Truth, meerly for feare of it. A thouſand pities it is ſuch gallant Spirits ſhould ſpend their lives, honours, heritages, and ſweet relations in any Warres, where, for ought many of them know, ſome falſe miſtake commands in Cheife.

Honoured Country men, bee intreated to love Truth: if it loves not you againe, and repaires not all your loſſes, then inſtall ſome Untruth in its room for your Generall. If you will needs warre, be perſwaded to contend lawfully, wifely and ſtedfaſtly againſt all errours in Divinity and Policy: they are the curſed Counter-mures, dropt Portcullifes, ſcouring Angi-ports, fulphurious Granado's, laden murthers, peeviſh Galthropes, and rafcall deſparadoes, which the Prince of lyes imployes with all his ſkill and malice, to maintaine the walls and gates of his kingdome, when Truth would enter in with grace and peace to ſave forlorne finners, and diſtreſſed commonwealthes; witneſſe the preſent deplorable eſtate of ſundry States in Europe. Give

Give me leave to speake a word more: it is but this; Yee will finde it a farre easier field, to wage warre against all the Armies that ever were or will be on Earth, and all the Angels of Heaven, than to take up Armes against any truth of God: It hath more Counsell and strength than all the world besides; and will certainly either gaine or ruine, convert or subvert every man that opposes it. I hope ingenuous men will rather take advice, then offence at what I have said: I had rather please ten, than grieve one intelligent man.

If this side be resolute, I turne me to the other.

Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousnes: Yee that have the cause of Religion, the life of your Kingdome and of all the good that is in it in your hands: Goe on undauntedly: As you are Called and Chosen, so be faithfull: Yee fight the battells of the Lord, bee neither desidious nor perfidious: You serve the King of Kings, who ftiles you his heavenly Regiments, Consider well, what impregnable fighting it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your Generall, his Angels your Colonels, the Stars your fellow-souldiers, his Saints your Oratours, his Promises your victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull sounds; your Ensignes Christs Banners; where your weapons and armour are spirituall, therefore irresistable, therefore impierceable; where Sun and wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them; where hell it selfe cannot

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not hurt you, where your swords are furbuffed and fharpned by him that made their metall, where your wounds are bound up with the oyle of a good Cause, where your blood runs into the veynes of Chrif, where fudden death is prefent martyrdom and life; your funerals refurrections your honour glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetuall penfions; your names lifted among *Davids Worthies*; where your greateft loffes are greateft gaines; and where you leave the troubles of war, to lye down in downy beds of eternall reft.

What good will it doe you, deare Countrymen, to live without lives, to enjoy *England* without the God of *England* , your Kingdome without a Parliament, your Parliament without power, your Liberties without ftability, your Lawes without Juftice, your honours without vertue, your beings without wel-being, your wives without honefty, your children without morality, your fervants without civility, your lands without propriety, your goods without immunity, the Gospel without falvation, your Churches without Miniftery, your Minifters without piety, and all you have or can have, with more teares and bitterneffe of heart, than all you have and fhall have will sweeten or wipe away?

Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on refolvedly, till your hands cleave to your swords, your swords to your enemies hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to the everlasting praife of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your felves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and fervice fake.

And

And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond *Jordan*, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will fend up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of power and goodnesse, would incourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your finnes, save your soules, and bleffe your families, in the day of Battell. Wee will also pray, that the same Lord of Hosts, would discover the Counsels, defeat the Enterprizes, deride the hopes, disdaine the insolencies, and wound the hairy scalpes of your obstinate Enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly misled. Wee will likewise helpe you beleeve that God will be seene on the Mount, that it is all one with him to save by many or few, and that he doth but humble and try you for the present, that he may doe you good at the latter end. All which hee bring to passe who is able to doe exceeding abundantly, above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy sake in Jesus Christ.

Amen. Amen.

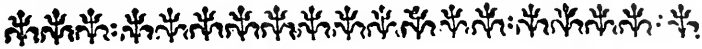
A Word of *IRELAND*:

Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath so much as one haire of Christianity or Humanity growing on his head or beard, but onely of the truculent Cut-throats, and such as shall take up Armes in their Defence.

These *Irish* anciently called *Antropophagi*, man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them, That
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when

when the Devill fhewed our Saviour all the Kingdomes of the Earth and their glory, that he would not fhew him *Ireland*, but referved it for himfelfe: it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever fince for his own peculiar; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse the glory of all the reft: he thought it wifdome to keep the land for a Boggards for his unclean fpirits imployed in this Hemifphere, and the people, to doe his Son and Heire, I mean the Pope, that fervice for which *Lewis* the eleventh kept his Barbor *Oliver*, which makes them fo blood-thirfty. They are the very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Chriftendom, the Bots that crawle on the Beafts taile I wonder *Rome* it felf is not afhamed of them.

I begge upon my, hands and knees, that the Expedition againft them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to fay briefly: Happy is he that fhall reward them as they have ferved us, and Curfed be he that fhall do that work of the Lord negligently, Curfed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood: yea, Curfed be he that maketh not his Sword ftarke drunk with *Irish* blood, that doth not recompence them double for their hellifh treachery to the *Englifh*, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their Country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Aftonifhment to Nations: Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be fpared, that pities or fpares them, and let him be accurfed, that curfeth not them bitterly.



A word of Love to the Common people of *England.*

IT is, your, now or never, to muster up puiffant Armies of prayer to the mercy Seate; your Body Representative, is now to take in hand, as intricate a peice of worke, as ever fell into the hands of any Parliament in the world, to tye an indiffoluble knot upon that webb which hath been woven with so much coft and bloud, wherein if they happen to make one false maske, it may re-imbarque themselves and you all into a deadly relapse of scorne and calamity. It is the worke of God not of man, pray speedily therefore, and speedingly, give him no rest till your rest be thoroughly re-established, Your God is a God whose name is All-sufficient, abundant in Goodnesse and Truth, on whom the Sonnes of *Iacob* never did, nor shall call in vaine, you have a Throne of Grace whereto you may goe boldly; a Christ to give you a leading by the hand and liberty of speech, an Intercessor in Heaven to offer up your prayers wrapp'd in his own; a large Charter *aske and have*, a Spirit to helpe all your infirmities in that duty, a fure Covenant that you shalbe heard, and such late encouragement as may strengthen your feeble hands for ever. If you who *may command God concerning the work of his hand*, shall faile to demand the workmanship of his hand in this worke, your children will proclaime you un-

The Simple Cobler of

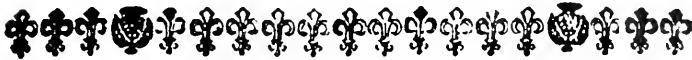
thrifths with bitter teares to the worlds end.

If you see no cause to pray, read

Jer. 18. 1. ---10.

Be also intreated to have a continuall and conscientious care not to impeach the Parliament in the hearts one of another by whispering complaints, easilier told then tryed or trued. Great bodies move but flowely, especially when they move on three leggs and are over-loden with weighty occasions. They have now fate full six years without intermission to continue your being, many of their heads are growne gray with your cares, they are the High Councill of the Kingdome, the great Gilead of your Balme, the Phisitians of all your sicknesse; if any of them doe amisse, blame your selves, you chose them, be wiser hereafter; you cannot doe the State, your selves, your posterity a more ungratefull office then to impaire them with disparagements and discouragements who are so studious to repaire your almost irreparable ruines.

Be likewise be seeched, not to flight good ministers, whom you were wont to reverence much, they are Gods Embassadors, your Ephods, your Starres, your Horse-men & Chariots, your Watchmen, & under Christ your Salvation, I know no deadlier Symptome of a dying people than to undervalue godly Ministers, whosoever despiseth them shall certainly be despised of God and men at one time or other.



A most humble heel-piece.
 TO THE
 Most Honourable Head-piece
 THE
 Parliament of *England.*

I Might excuse my selfe in Part, with a speech
Lycurgus used in the like exigent of State, *sene-
 ctute fio audacior, publica neccessitate loquacior*, but it
 much better becomes mee with all lowlineffe and
 uprightnesse, wherein I have failed to pray pardon
 on both my knees, which I most humbly and wil-
 lingly doe; only, before I rise, I crave leave to pre-
 sent this six-fold Petition.

That you would be pleased

To preserve the Sacred reputation of Parliaments,
 or, wee shall have no Common-wealth.

To uphold the due estimation of good Ministers,
 else, wee shall have no Church.

To heale the sad dislocation of our Head, through-
 ly, perfectly, or, wee shall have no King.

To

The Simple Cobler of

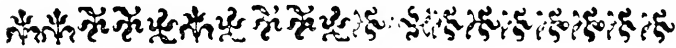
To oppugne the bold violation of divine Truths,
else wee fhall have no God.

To proceed with what zeale you began, or what
you began can come to little end.

To expedite worke with what fpeede you fafely
may, else ignorant people will feare they fhall
have no end at all.

Hee that is great in Counfell, and Wonderfull in
Working, guide and helpe you in All things, that
doing All things in Him, by Him, and for Him,
you may doe All things like Him.

So be it.



A respective word to the Ministers
of ENGLAND.

FARRE bee it from mee, while I dehorte others
to flight you my selfe, or to despise any man
but my selfe, whom I can never despise enough:
I rather humbly intreate you to forgive my bold-
nesse, who have most just cause to judge my selfe
lesse and lesse faithfull than the least of you all, yet
I dare not but bee so faithfull to you and my selfe,
as to say

They are the Ministers of *England*, that have lost
the Land; for Christs sake, put on His bowels, His
wisdom, His zeale, and recover it.

I pray

The Simple Cobler of

I pray let me drive in half a dozen
 plaine honest Country Hobnails, such as
 the Martyrs were wont to weare; to
 make my work hold the surer; and I
 have done.

1. **T**Here, lives cannot be good,
 There, Faith cannot be sure,
 Where Truth cannot be quiet,
 Nor Ordinances pure.

2. No King can King it right,
 Nor rightly sway his Rod;
 Who truly loves not Christ,
 And truly fears not God.

3. He cannot rule a Land,
 As Lands should ruled been,
 That lets himself be rul'd
 By a ruling Romane Queen.

4. No earthly man can be
 True Subject to this State;
 Who makes the Pope his Christ,
 An Heretique his Mate.

5. There Peace will goe to War,
 And Silence make a noise:
 Where upper things will not
 With nether equipoyse.

6. *The*

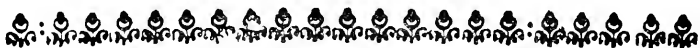
6. *The upper world shall Rule,
While Stars will run their race:
The nether world obey,
While people keep their place.*

The Clench.

I *F any of these come out
So long's the world doe last:
Then credit not a word
Of what is said and past.*

M

ERRATA



ERRATA AT NON CORRIGENDA.

NOW I come to rubbe over my work, I finde five or fix things like faults, which would be mended or commended, I know not well which, nor greatly care.

1. For *Levity*, read, *Lepidity*, ——— and that a very little, and that very necessary, if not unavoydable.

Misce stultitiam Consiliis brevem
—*Dulce est desipere in loco.* Horat.

To speak to light heads with heavy words, were to break their necks: to cloathe Summer matter, with Winter Ruggle, would make the Reader sweat. It is musick to me, to hear every Dity speak its spirit in its apt tune: every breaft, to sing its proper part, and every creature, to expresse it self in its naturall note: should I heare a Mouise roare like a Beare, a Cat lowgh like an Oxe, or a Horfe whistle like a Red-breaft, it would feare — mee.

*The world's a well string fiddle, mans tongue the quill,
That fills the world with fumble for want of skill,
When things and words in tune and tone doe meet,
The universall song goes smooth and sweet.*

2. For

2. For *audacity*, read, *veracity*, or *Verum Gallice non libenter audis*. Mart. Flattery never doth well, but when it is whisper'd through a paire of lipping teeth; Truth best, when it is spoken out, through a paire of open lips, Ye make such a noyse there, with Drums and Trumpets, that if I should not speak loud, ye could not hear me. Ye talke one to another, with whole Culvering and Canon; give us leave to talk Squibs and Pistoletto's charged with nothing but powder of Love and flott of Reason: if you will cut such deep gashes in one anothers flesh, we must sow them up with deep fitches, else ye may bleed to death: ye were better let us, your tender Countrymen doe it, than forraine Surgeons, who will handle you more cruelly, and take no other pay, but your Lives and Lands.

————— *Aspice vultus,*
Ecce meos, utinamque oculos in pectore posses
Inferere: & patrias intus deprendere Curas. Ovid.
 (Phœb.)

He that to tall men speakes, must lift up's head,
And when h'hath done, must set it where he did:
He that to proud men talkes, must put on pride;
And when h'hath done, 'tis good to lay't aside.

3. For, *Yes, but you speak at three thousand miles distance, which every Coward dare doe*, read, *if my heart deceives me not, I would speak thus, in the Presence Chamber or House of Commons*; hoping Homer will speak a good word for me.

Θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσιν ἀμείνων
 Ἔργοισι. —————

*Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax
Sic licet hospes, & è longinquis venerit oris.*

*When Kings are lost, and Subjects cast away,
A faithfull heart should speak what tongue can say:
It skils not where this faithfull heart doth dwell,
His faithfull dealing should be taken well.*

4. For, *affected termes*, read, *I hope not* ———— If I affect termes, it is my feebleness; friends that know me, think I doe not: I confesse, I see I have here and there taken a few finish stiches, which may haply please a few Velvet eares; but I cannot now well pull them out, unlesse I should seame-rend all. It seemes it is in fashion with you to fugar your papers with Carnation phrases, and spangle your speeches with new quodded words. Ermins in Minifer is every mans Coat. Yet we heare some are raking in old musty Charnel books, for old mouldy monesyllables; I wish they were all banisht to *Monmouthshire*, to return when they had more wit.

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus.* Hor.

I honour them with my heart, that can expresse more than ordinary matter in ordinary words: it is a pleasing eloquence; them more that study wisely and soberly to inhance their native language; them most of all, that esteem the late significant speech, the third great blessing of the Land; it being so enriched, that a man may speak many Tongues in his Mothers
mouth

mouth and an uplandish Rustick, more in one word than himsef and all the Parish understands. Affected termes are unaffecting things to solid hearers; yet I hold him prudent, that in these fastidious times, will helpe disedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I speak the rather because, not long since, I met with a book, the best to me I ever saw, but the Bible, yet under favour, it was somewhat underclad, especially by him who can both excogitate and expresse what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

*The world is growne so fine in words and wit,
That pens must now Sir Edward Nich 'las it.
He that much matter speaks, speaks ne'r a whit.
If's tongue doth not career't above his wit.*

5. For, *You verse it simply, what need have we of your thin Poetry;* read, I confesse I wonder at it my self, that I should turne Poet: I can impute it to nothing, but to the flatuoufnesse of our diet: they are but sudden raptures soone up, soone downe.

--*Deductum dicere Carmen,* is highly commended by *Macrobius.*

Virgil himself said,
Agrestem tenui meditabor arundine musam.

*Poetry's a gift wherein but few excell;
He doth very ill, that doth not passing well.
But he doth passing well, that doth his best,
And he doth best, that passeth all the rest.*

6. For, *tediousnesse*, read, *I am sorry for it*—We have a strong weaknesse in N. E. that when wee are speaking, we know not how to conclude: wee make many ends, before we make an end: the fault is in the Climate: we cannot helpe it though we can, which is the Arch infirmity in all morality: We are so near the West pole, that our Longitudes are as long, as any wise man would wish, and somewhat longer. I scarce know any Adage more gratefull: than *Grata brevitās*.

Verba confer maxime ad compendium. Plaut.

*Coblers will mend, but some will never mend,
But end, and end, and end, and never end.
A well-girt houre gives every man content,
Sixe ribs of beefe, are worth sixe weeks of Lent.*

For, *all my other faults, which may bee more and greater than I see*, read, *I am heartily sorry for them*, before I know them, east I should forget it after; and humbly crave pardon at adventure, having nothing that I can think of, to plead but this,

Quisquis inops peccat, minor est reus. Petron.

*Poore Coblers well may fault it now and then,
They'r ever mending faults for other men.
And if I worke for nought, why is it said,
This bungling Cobler would be soundly paid?*

*So farewell England old
If evill times ensue,
Let good men come to us,
Wee'l welcome them to New.*

*And farewell Honor'd Friends,
If happy dayes ensue,
You'l have some Guefts from hence,
Pray welcome us to you.*

*And farewell simple world,
If thou'lt thy Cranium mend,
There is my Last and All,
And a Shoem-Akers*

END.

NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBLER.

IN March, 1633, a little company of settlers, led by John Winthrop, Jr., eldest son of the Governor, invaded the wilderness and began the formal settlement of Ipswich. The young leader was a scholarly and noble-minded man, and a singularly refined group was attracted at once to the new town. For the work of the ministry, came Nathaniel Ward, and Nathaniel Rogers, both excommunicated by Laud and deposed from the ministry in England, and the young John Norton, brilliant in scholarship and destined for high place in the Colony. Thomas Dudley, retiring from the Governorship, sought a new home here, and with him came his daughter, Ann, with her husband, Simon Bradstreet, the future statesman, and Patience and her husband, Daniel Denison, renowned for his military skill and political prominence. Dr. Giles Firmin, son-in-law of Ward, and Richard Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, a man of fine intellectual parts, called at once to places of political preferment, were numbered among the earliest settlers.

Winthrop had been a student at Trinity College, Dublin. Ward, Rogers, Norton, Saltonstall, and Firmin were all Cambridge graduates. Bradstreet and Dudley were men of fine intelligence, and Ann Bradstreet was already revealing marked poetical gifts.

William Hubbard took his bachelor's degree in 1642 with the first class that graduated from Harvard, and became the minister of the Ipswich church. Ezekiel Cheever, the famous schoolmaster, came in 1650, and taught for ten years as Master of the Grammar School. Samuel Symonds grew into fame and influence in political life, Samuel Appleton won renown as Commander-in-chief during King Philip's War, and in the fiftieth year from the settlement of the town, John Rogers was called to the presidency of Harvard. A few years later, Ipswich gained a notable place in the annals of resistance to tyranny by her refusal to choose the tax commissioner ordered by Sir Edmund Andros.

From this brilliant group, came notable contributions to the literature of New England. Ann Bradstreet, inspired

by such an atmosphere, wrote the poems which were hailed with rapture as the work of the Tenth Muse. William Hubbard compiled his History of the Indian Wars. Nathaniel Ward revealed his great gifts in the preparation of *The Body of Liberties* and *The Simple Cobler*. He was the most striking figure perhaps in this illustrious company. His career in England had been noteworthy. He had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at Emmanuel College in 1600 and his Master's degree in 1603, but chose the legal profession, though his father and two brothers were clergymen. He "read almost all the Common Law of England and some Statutes," he remarks in *The Simple Cobler* (p. 66), then travelled widely in Europe and spent some time in Heidelberg. There he came in contact with the famous theologian, David Pareus, and was influenced by him to abandon the law and enter the ministry.

While rector at Stondon-Massey, near London, he became conspicuous for his Puritan practices, and was summoned before Archbishop Laud. Refusing to comply with the ecclesiastical requirements, he was roughly excommunicated. Deprived of his home by the death of his wife and deposed from the ministry, he sought a new home and work in the New World, although he was at least fifty-four years old.

He came to Ipswich in 1634, the year of his arrival, and began his work at once. Mr. John Ward Dean, in his excellent *Memoir of Mr. Ward*, states that he preached not more than two or three years, and that he was moved to resign his pastorate, partly on account of impaired health, but principally from a preference for literary employments. He was succeeded by Rev. Nathaniel Rogers in February, 1637/8, and turned at once to other and varied labors.

His house was built near the present site of the Col. Wade mansion. His sons, James and John, were often with him, and his daughter, Susan, wife of Dr. Giles Firmin, lived on the adjoining lot, where the parsonage of the South Church now stands. On the opposite side of the road, within a few rods of Mr. Ward's door, Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Rogers reared their dwellings. John Norton, Gov. Dudley and Simon Bradstreet dwelt within easy walking distance. Congenial society was never lacking.

In April, 1638, he was appointed a member of a committee to prepare a code of laws for the Colony. His legal attain-

ments fitted him pre-eminently for this work, and the code which he prepared is generally recognized to be identical with The Body of Liberties, which was eventually ratified and adopted as the written law of the Colony. It has been commended by men of high judicial attainments as a work of fine legal quality. The General Court granted Mr. Ward six hundred acres of land at Pentucket, now Haverhill, in 1641, as compensation for this service.¹

In 1643, fears were prevalent of entanglement with French colonial affairs at St. John on account of Gov. Winthrop's favorable action upon the request of La Tour to hire ships in the Colony. A Remonstrance² was drawn up signed by Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Nathaniel Ward, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers, and John Norton. The first three were magistrates. Ezekiel Rogers was minister at Rowley. This document may have contributed to the defeat of Governor Winthrop at the following election. It is natural to conclude that the conferences incidental to the formulating of this Remonstrance may have been held in Mr. Ward's house, as the oldest of the group and most delicate in health.

In the year 1645³ he was already at work on *The Simple Cobler*, which was completed in the following year and sent to London for publication. He bade farewell to Ipswich in the winter of 1646/7, and sailed for England, where he spent his declining years, and died in 1653.

During these twelve years he had tasted the bitterness of poverty. The pathos of that letter written on December 24 of 1634 or 1635 to Governor Winthrop will never be forgotten. "I heare Mr. Coddington hath the sale and disposall of much provision come in this shipp. I intreate you to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserue some meale & malt & what victuals els he thinks meete till our Riuer be open our Church will pay him duely for it I am very destitute I have not above 6 bushells corne left & other things answerable."

With grim humor, he remarks of Time in *The Simple*

¹ See an estimate of this code in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," page 47.

² Printed in full in the Hutchinson Papers, with Gov. Winthrop's answer.

³ *Simple Cobler*, p. 18: "Materia millessima sexcentesima quadregesima quinta."

Cobler (p. 53), "it is an empty thing, as empty as a New-English purse, and emptier it cannot bee;" and there is a touch of bitterness in his observations on the financial support of ministers, "nor can an Elder be given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to defray it: it is pity men of gifts should live upon mens gifts" (p. 41). "The seeds of the Bay-sickness," caused much physical pain and weakness, so that he realized his unfitness for a removal to the new plantation at Pentucket, though the project was often deliberated by the family group, and his son John removed thither, and became the minister of the new settlement.

No house ever built in our town has such associations as that in which he dwelt and wrought out *The Body of Liberties* and struck off *The Simple Cobler*, while in the humor, brooding often upon his poverty and weakness. It was standing some years after his departure. Cotton Mather, in his "Parentator, Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of his father, Increase Mather," published in 1724, remarked, quoting perhaps his father's words:

"An Hundred witty Speeches of our celebrated Ward who called himself *The Simple Cobler* of Agawam [and over whose Mantle-piece in his House, by the way, I have seen those three Words Engraved, SOBRIE JUSTE PIE and a Fourth added which was LÆTE] have been reported. But he had one Godly speech. *I have only Two Comforts to Live upon: The one is, in The Perfections of CHRIST: The other is in The Imperfections of all CHRISTIANS.*"

No deed of conveyance was recorded. It was sold undoubtedly to Jonathan Wade and Firmin's house became the property of Deacon William Goodhue.¹

The Simple Cobler was published in January, 1646/7, and attained great popularity. Four editions were printed within a few months. A reprint of the fourth London edition was published in Boston in 1713, and David Pulsifer, of the Ipswich family of that name, made a reprint of this edition in 1843. This reprint is from a copy of the fourth

¹ See a full account of land transfers in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," p. 470. Mr. John W. Nourse has discovered, in the Commoners' Record, the entry

Mr. Jonathan &	}	claim equal rights in y ^e several
Mr. Thomas Wade		

comonages, one by Mr. Nath^l Wards Entry 1641 deed^d to y^r Grandfather in 1646."

London edition, presented to the Ipswich Historical Society by the late Daniel Fuller Appleton, Esq. The title page and the two following pages have been reproduced. The page divisions and the general appearance of the book have been preserved as far as possible throughout the work. The original punctuation, capital letters, and spelling have been adhered to faithfully.

The title page is ingeniously worded. The author's name appears thinly disguised under the pseudonym, Theodore de la Guard, Theodore being the exact Greek equivalent of the Hebrew, Nathaniel, and de la Guard an easy French rendering of Ward. The mingling of classical quotations with acute and amusing English paraphrases is an admirable prelude to the method of the whole essay. The fiction of the 'Cobler' is maintained in the prefatory note, To the Reader, and in the title repeated on page 1, but it is abandoned instantly with the discussion of his theme, reappearing only in his setting on of "the best peece of Soule-leather I have" on page 32, in the snatch of song he puts in the mouth of the 'Cobler' on pages 45 and 46, the "humble heel-piece" on pages 79 and 80, and the numerous finishing touches of the Errata, with which the book ends.

A few vigorous sentences portray the confused and critical condition of public affairs. "Sathan is now in his passions, he feelles his passion approaching: hee loves to fish in royled waters." "The finer Religion grows, the finer hee spins his Cobwebs" (p. 2).

The healing of "these comfortlesse exulcerations," is a difficult task, but he endeavors to make some contribution to this end. Resenting the charge that the New England colonists are "a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wildernes to find elbow-room for our phanatick Doctrines and practises:" he proclaims in the name of the Colony "that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keepe away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better," and he avers, "that God doth no where in his word tolerate Christian States, to give Tolerations to such adversaries of his Truth, if they have power in their hands to suppress them" (p. 3). This is the keynote of his teaching. Intolerance of every false opinion or practise is the duty of the Puritans of England,

in their conflict with error. He has heard of a compact made by some planters in the West Indies, which "firmly provides free stable-room and litter for all kinde of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be," but he rejoices that "God abhorring such loathsome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blasted that enterprize" (p. 4). Four things he detests: "The standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth; Alehymized coines: Tolerations of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes" (p. 5). "To authorise an untruth," he affirms, "is to build a Sconce against the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his chaire" (p. 6). He brings all his arguments to establish the truth of his position. "Augustines tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though he had never spake word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi*" (p. 8). (No evil is worse than liberty to teach falsely.) The Scriptures teach, he affirms, that "nothing makes free but Truth, and Truth saith, there is no Truth but one" (p. 9). If there is room in England for the Errorists whom he catalogues on page 11, then there is room for the mythical and unclean sprites he mentions over against them, "In a word room for Hell above ground."

Lest any one may misunderstand his position he reaffirms it. "It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience and that it is persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse then this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the universall Ideot of the world" (p. 12). Hence Parliament should enact "some peremptory Statutory Act" against Error, and every prophet should preach against it. All infants should be baptized, "though their Parents judgements be against it" (p. 17). He gives warning of a "new sprung Sect of phrantasticks, which would perswade themselves and others, that they have discovered the Nor-west passage to Heaven. These wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners such bold ignotions of a

new Gospell, new Christ, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unsettled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God." "Blasphemers," he calls them, "a late fry of croaking frogs." "I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give *Timothie* the solemnest charge, was ever given mortal man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the coming of Christ, if new things must be expected" (p. 19).

There is so much power in false doctrine, "that the least Error, if grown sturdy and pressed, shall set open the Spittle-doore of all the squint-ey'd, wry-necked, and brasen-faced Errors that are or ever were of that litter" (p. 21). It is impossible, he maintains, to allow all religions their liberty, and secure regular justice and moral honesty in one and the same jurisdiction, and he expresses this in another extraordinary declaration: "If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize such multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quiequidlibets quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do more than the Senate of Heaven" (p. 22).

This is the climax of his argument for Intolerance, and he makes at this point a whimsical digression from the development of his theme to make an attack upon the undue regard of women for the latest fashion and men's wearing of long hair. Quoting a line from Horace, "What is to hinder one from telling the Truth laughingly?" he proceeds with bitter sarcasm to deride the "nugiperous" [light-minded] Gentledame, who inquires "what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudius tertian [day before yesterday] fashion of the Court; . . . I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd."

The ordinary resource of language fails him utterly and he betakes himself to a vocabulary of extraordinary violence. Their fashionable garb "transelouts them into gant-bar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hye-roglyphicks" (p. 26). He is sick of seeing the "gut-foundred goosdom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched." He derides tailors for spending their lives "in making fidle-cases for futulous womens phansies: which are the very pettitoes of Infirmary, the giblets of

perquisquilian toys" (p. 27). With a parting gibe at these "light-heel'd beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed pullets, which invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty sake" (p. 29), he devotes a few sentences to the enormous sin of men in wearing long hair, and then returns to the further discussion of the great questions of the time.

Four possible schemes of securing peace and harmony between King and people are discussed under the heads of Reformation, Composition, Cessation, Prosecution, and for the most part with dignity and moderation. He declares that he agrees neither with Presbyterian nor Independent nor Separatist, but advocates some middle course, that shall secure pure and undefiled religion. He calls for personal purity and sincerity in Christian living.

His discussion of the scheme of Composition, by which both *Majestas Imperii* and *Salus Populi* may be secured, leads him to some strong speech. "No Prince exceeds in Sovereignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their greife; or some pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince" (p. 48). His personal address to the King, with which this section closes, is respectful and even humble in its tone, but pointed and plain. Though he means "to storne you with volyes of Love and Loyalty" (p. 54), he asks leave "to inquire of your Majesty, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace: What you doe sculking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand desolate, through your absence?" (p. 55). He feels the critical condition of affairs, and implores the King to beware of pressing his subjects too hard. There is an unconscious prophecy of the end, we feel, in his warning words, "your good Subjects are now rising into a resolution to pray you on to your Throne, or into your Tombe, into Grace with your Parliament and people, or into Glory with the Saints in Heaven" (p. 63). Events had moved rapidly since those words were penned, and when *The Simple Cobler* appeared in print, the King was already a prisoner. "It is now nine months and more since the last credible News was acted: it is possible by this the Parliament may be at the King's mercy."

Two personal reminiscences afford an interesting digres-

sion. Prince Rupert, nephew of King Charles First, was in the field, the roystering leader of the cavalry. Somewhere on the Continent, Mr. Ward had met his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of James First and wife of the Elector of the Palatinate, and the little Rupert. "I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wish I had him there now: if I mistake not, he promised then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wise hearted Palatine, a thankfull man to the English; to forgive all his sinnes, and at length to save his soule, notwithstanding all his God-damne mee's: yet I may doe him wrong: I am not certaine hee useth that oath; I wish no man else would: I dare say the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English these twelve years, am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor ever saw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adulteresses, in all this time, that I can call to minde" (pp. 64, 65).

Under the final division, Prosecution, he appeals to his countrymen to love Truth, and pursue it at any cost. Dropping his puns, he exhorts with stirring and sonorous words, "Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousness" (p. 73).

The thrilling eloquence of this prolonged appeal, the grandeur of its imagery, the loftiness of its tone, reveal the power of the author. The final passage, beginning "And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond *Jordan*, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will send up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace," is a noble climax and end (p. 75).

Several appendices of different sorts follow. In "A Word of Ireland" (p. 75) the author lapses into brutal ferocity of speech and purpose against "the truculent cut-throats." He heaps upon them the foulest epithets and prays that the expedition then being fitted out to avenge their murder of the English in 1641, may be undertaken "while the hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot." "Cursed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood," he cries. "Cursed be he that maketh not his Sword starke drunk with *Irish* blood, that doth not recompence them double for their hellish treachery to the *English*, that maketh them

not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations; Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed that curseth not them bitterly'' (p. 76).

A few more addresses, "half a dozen plaine honest Country Hobnailes," as he styles some verses which follow, and the "Errata at non Corrigena," a burlesque upon the Errata with which books commonly ended, in his characteristic style, complete the work.

Judged by twentieth century standards, *The Simple Cobler* may be called a sad example of bigotry and pedantry, a senseless jargon of meaningless words, better forgotten than brought once more to remembrance. Yet to the thoughtful student of the Past, *The Cobler* is still a work of increasing value.

It was the product of the Puritan age, of which Carlyle wrote: "The Age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away from us but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of Memory herself; it is grown unintelligible, what we may call incredible. Its earnest Purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. We understand not even in imagination, one of a thousand of us, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive, the sound of it has become tedious as a tale of past stupidities."¹

The age of the Puritans was one of great significance in the history of humanity, and *The Simple Cobler* opens to us an impressive picture of that time. Its literary style is illustrative of the period. The Puritan scholar had only his Bible and the classics. The drama was an abomination to him. Though Shakespeare had anticipated Mr. Ward more than twenty years, with his cobbler in the first act of *Julius Cæsar*, our Ipswich sage probably knew nothing of it. But Puritan learning was profound and exact, within its limit. The extraordinary fluency in apt and striking quotations from many classic authors reveals a thorough and loving acquaintance with the ancient masters of style. Indeed, our author is not content to quote his Bible and his classics. His vocabulary abounds in words that are Latin and Greek, under slight disguise. A Latin lexicon affords a better clew to his meaning than Webster's *Unabridged*. In *Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus*, a book often

¹ Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, 1: 15.

attributed to Mr. Ward, the writer observes, "The truth is I have been so much *habituated* and *half natured* into these Latins and Greeks, ere I was aware, that I neither can expell them, nor spell my own mother-tongue after my old fashion."¹ It was not intentional pedantry, we may well believe. Many words, also, have grown obsolete in the lapse of two centuries and a half, and obscurity has appeared where there was none.

Yet, in his own time, Mr. Ward's style was peculiar to himself in large degree. His love for eccentric and "new quodled words" makes his meaning often uncertain. His wearisome antitheses lead him to strange liberties with his mother tongue. His wit becomes forced, his puns are sometimes coarse and even vulgar. His metaphors defy all rules. In the same sentence the State is a tabernacle and a ship. "We hoise up sails" is followed by "to walk on by twyilight." Nevertheless there is such piquancy and freshness, such fine sentiment, such tones of thunder, that many readers have found much to admire. Carlyle might have sat at his feet. Robert Southey, the Poet-Laureate, owned a copy of *The Simple Cobler*, marked throughout with marginal pencillings of the passages that appealed to him.² "The least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome of his Truths; take away the least *vericulum* out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conserved by an Arm of superiordinary power," is one passage thus designated (p. 21). Another was the noble sentence, worthy of Milton, it has been said, "*Non senescet veritas*, No man ever saw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinkle or morpew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare long" (p. 22).

The ungallant criticism by *The Cobler* of women's dress was only the echo of the common thought of the time. In 1634, and again in 1639, the Great and General Court condemned the wearing of laces and ribbons, ruffs and cuffs, and in 1651 it was enacted that no one whose estate did not exceed £200 should wear silk or tiffany hoods or scarfs. The wearing of long hair by men was likewise a matter of common grief to the godly minded.

¹ John Ward Dean, *Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, p. 105.

² Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. 1: p. 24.

The sharp arraignment of tolerance was the common sentiment of New and Old England. Nathaniel Ward and his friends and neighbors, Gov. Dudley and John Norton, agreed well in this. Dudley wrote:

"Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,"

and Norton declared that for the putting down of error "the holy tactics of the civil sword should be employed."¹

His fierce outburst against the Irish was in line with the preaching to which every Puritan congregation listened with delight. Thomas Hooker proclaimed to sinners: "Judge the torments of hell by some little beginning of it, and the dregs of the Lord's vengeance by some little sips of it; and judge how unable thou art to bear the whole, by thy inability to bear a little of it. . . . When God lays the flashes of hell-fire upon thy soul, thou canst not endure it. . . . If the drops be so heavy, what will the whole sea of God's vengeance be?"²

Thomas Shepard of Cambridge described the condition of the sinner: "Thy mind is a nest of all the foul opinions, heresies, that ever were vented by any man; thy heart is a foul sink of all atheism, sodomy, blasphemy, murder, whoredom, adultery, witchcraft, buggery; so that if thou hast any good thing in thee, it is but as a drop of rose-water in a bowl of poison. . . . It is true thou feelest not all these things stirring in thee at one time . . . but they are in thee like a nest of snakes in a hedge."³

They exulted in the imprecatory Psalms, in the Mosaic Law, in the lake of everlasting torment. Their pulpits were begirt with thunderings and lightnings.

John Milton closed his second "Defence of the People of England" with the prayer: "look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think it long, till they devour thy tender flock; those wild boars that have broken into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs, on the souls of thy servants. O, let them not bring about their damning designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watch-word

¹ M. C. Tyler, *Hist. of Amer. Literature*, 1: 108.

² M. C. Tyler, *Hist. of Amer. Literature*, 1: 200.

³ M. C. Tyler, *Hist. of Amer. Literature*, 1: 208.

to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again; never hope for the cheerful dawn; never more hear the bird of morning sing."

Oliver Cromwell wrote his friend Col. Walton of the death of his oldest son on the battlefield: "There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. . . . Before his death he was so full of comfort . . . he could not express it, 'It was so great above his pain.' A little after he said, One thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, What that was? he told me it was, That God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies."¹

In his letter from Dublin, Sept. 16, 1649, Cromwell wrote: "It hath pleased God to bless our endeavors at Drogheda." He wrote more particularly the next day: "Divers of the Enemy retreated into the Mill Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly pallisadoed."

"The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in armes in the Town, and I think, that night, they put to the sword about 2000 men:—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about a hundred of them possessed St Peter's Church-steeple, some the West Gate and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames 'God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn.'"

"From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes."

"I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood."

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 196.

And he concludes this letter: "And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God. And is it not so clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage and took it away again; and gave the Enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory."¹

Such was the spirit and temper of the Puritanism of the seventeenth century, in New England and Old England, in the study of the scholar, in the pulpit of the preacher, on the battlefield, where Oliver and his Psalm singers, rising from their knees in prayer, slew their enemy without pity. The intolerance, the violence, the savageness of *The Simple Cobler* is made intelligible, in a degree, by such an agreement of men of godly mind in such speech and action.

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 462, 463.

*PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
XIV.*

THE SIMPLE COBLER
OF
AGGAWAM

BY
REV. NATHANIEL WARD

A REPRINT OF THE 4TH EDITION, PUBLISHED IN 1647, WITH FAC-SIMILES
OF TITLE PAGE, PREFACE, AND HEAD-LINES, AND
THE EXACT TEXT
AND AN ESSAY

NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBLER

BY
THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS
PRESIDENT OF THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

Salem Press:
THE SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.
1905

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held December 5, 1904, at the House of the Society.

The following officers were elected.

President.—T. Frank Waters.

Vice Presidents.—John B. Brown,
Francis R. Appleton.

Directors.—Charles A. Sayward,
John H. Cogswell,
John W. Nourse.

Clerk.—John W. Goodhue.

Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.—T. Frank Waters.

Librarian.—John J. Sullivan.

SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. John J. Sullivan,	Miss Lucy Slade Lord,
Mrs. Chas. A. Sayward,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
Mrs. Edward F. Brown,	Mrs. Frank H. Stockwell,
Mrs. Cordelia Damon,	Mrs. Joseph F. Ross,
Miss Susan C. Whipple,	Mrs. Frank W. Kyes.

It was voted that the Social Committee be authorized to fill vacancies in its membership.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT, DECEMBER 5, 1904.

Our Society was organized on April 14, 1890, and as its fifteenth year is well advanced, a summary of the year may have especial interest. The Reports already read indicate a healthy and vigorous life. The Register of our House bears the names of 854 visitors, recorded during the year ending December 1st, 1904. It may occasion surprise that this is the smallest registration since the Society entered its present home, the lowest number recorded previously being 1008 in 1901. This decrease is not to be taken seriously, however. It is simply the result in part of that inevitable fluctuation in the tide of summer visitors, which is always to be reckoned on, and in part, as well, of certain easily discovered causes.

The total number of our Ipswich citizens registered is 41, while the number registered last year was 173. This discrepancy is due largely to the fact that in 1903, and for several years before, the Woman's Club gave a social, which was largely attended by its local members, whose names were duly recorded. This custom was not observed in 1904. A Midsummer Tea and other social functions found place in 1903, which were not attempted this year. There is evident, moreover, an increased disregard of the slight trouble of recording their names on the part of members who come to the House with friends. Naturally, too, the House has ceased to be a novelty, and the fee of twenty-five cents may debar our townfolk, who are not members, from frequent visits. We trust, however, there may be no diminution in the number of Ipswich visitors. We hope that members will exercise to the uttermost their privilege of bringing friends to the House, and that none will be sensitive in the matter of repeated visits.

As no registration is made on social occasions, which our citizens generally attend, many who are not members have an opportunity to see the House and taste its good cheer. We may well consider the desirability of increasing the number and variety of these special gatherings, which

appeal to many who are not interested especially in historical pursuits. Our Society is doing good service to the community when a supper is served, and the ancient rooms are filled by young and old from the representative families of our old town. The Woman's Club affords a common rallying ground for the women of the town. It remains for the Historical Society to do like service for the men and the families of the whole community. In this way, interest in the House and the Society will naturally be increased, a new pride in the rare and beautiful old building will be kindled and gradually our townfolk will come to feel that the Historical Society is a Town institution, where-in there are no lines of distinction, nor grades of privilege, and that its membership should include one representative at least of every Ipswich family. Our ideal of the Ipswich Historical Society will not be attained until this broad and comprehensive membership shall be reached, and our House shall be thronged with goodly numbers of Ipswich people, who will come, with their children and friends, to these ancient hearthstones, again and again.

It is gratifying in this connection to note that while the number of visitors from other states fell from 402 in 1903 to 306 in 1904, the number of residents of our own Commonwealth, outside of our town, increased from 403 to 502.

The courtesies of the House have been extended to the Convention of the Epworth League, April 19th; the Methuen Historical Society on July 13th; the Daughters of Rebecca on July 27th; the Art Class on August 8th; and the Hovey Family on August 24th. The Class in Architecture in the Institute of Technology with their instructor, Mr. Ross Turner, the eminent water-color artist, spent a whole day in the study of the House on October 15th.

The financial condition of the Society is very satisfactory. The receipts from the House, though less than last year for reasons already noted, have been sufficient to pay all the running expense, the insurance on the property, and a small balance toward the interest account. By the purchase of the remainder of the lot in which the House stands, the mortgage indebtedness was raised to \$3500, and the interest on the mortgage amounted to \$111.08, in 1903. Through the payment of the legacy bequeathed by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Brown and the use of a small surplus, the mortgage has been reduced this year to \$2800, but the interest has made

large demands. One hundred and thirty-five dollars were required to meet this account. Fortunately another considerable reduction of the debt can be made on January 1st, and a corresponding reduction in the expense for interest in the coming year. The assured income from the constantly enlarging membership and the steady current of visitors will soon reduce our indebtedness to a comparatively small sum.

The hearty thanks of the Society are due Mr. and Mrs. Washington P. Pickard for their efficient and enthusiastic services as Curators. They have had a fine regard for the interests of the Society in admitting visitors at almost any hour, and have shown a commendable desire to make their visits interesting. The high reputation of the House as a clean and inviting dwelling has been well sustained. Mr. Pickard has had full charge of the grounds, and has kept them in excellent fashion. The modest charge he has made for these extra services has been well earned.

Our Publications have attained now to Number XIII. The title of the last issue was "Fine Thread, Lace and Hosiery in Ipswich by Jesse Fewkes, and Ipswich Mills and Factories by T. Frank Waters." It has been well received and a considerable number has been sold. Frequent requests for these pamphlets come from large libraries, notably from the Free Public Library of Birmingham, England, and from individuals who are interested in the Town of their forbears. Number X, "The Hotel Cluny of a New England Village," has been an exceptionally popular issue, and many copies are sold every year.

By the loan of our half-tone plate of the monument which stands before the Meeting House of the South Church, the Society has contributed aid to the publication by Miss Elizabeth Porter Gould, of Boston, of her admirable book "Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster." Mr. Cheever gained high renown by his ten years' work as Master of the Ipswich Grammar School.

We may hope that a new era in the history of our Society has been marked by the election of two of our citizens to life membership, upon payment of fifty dollars each, and the payment of the first legacy the Society has received from the estate of a deceased member.

This new form of membership, hitherto held only by a lady of an old Ipswich family, by which all the privileges

and benefits of active membership are secured perpetually without further assessment, may thus be brought to the favorable notice of other friends of the Society. Such gifts are opportune and valuable. They increase our financial strength, rouse fresh confidence and encourage us to look forward to such a regular increase of resources that a larger work may be possible and wise.

The payment of the legacy may suggest to philanthropic friends of our Town, and of the Historical Society, a wise testamentary gift. Already generous provision has been made for our Public Library and for the Manning School. The Historical Society comes now to public notice as an institution, already beyond the stage when its permanence and usefulness may seriously be questioned. It is already in its fifteenth year, with a large and growing membership, a unique and valuable property, a sound financial condition, and a record of service to the community of which none need be ashamed. It is in a condition to receive and use a large endowment.

A Memorial building, of which frequent mention has already been made, would be a worthy monument to the men and women whose names are honored and loved, and would afford the opportunity for an enlargement of our collections and for a broadening of our scope of usefulness. Such a building would be a grand supplement to our ancient House. Upon its walls, without and within, might be carved the names of the wise and good of many generations. It would provide room for a large and well arranged historic museum, for the library, which is yet in embryo, of a special, historic character, and for a hall of moderate size, which would be of great value to the Town as well as to the Society. Through such a building, the noble history of our Town would make inspiring appeal to the present generation, and other generations that are to be. The erection of such a building and its endowment would require less than the cost of a single beautiful residence of the kind which are now being reared in our midst. May not some generous lover of a noble ancestor, by a munificent gift, or a group of large-minded and far-sighted men and women by their bequests make this vision a thing of brick and stone, for beauty and for use, for education and inspiration?

REPORT OF THE CURATOR
for the year ending December 1, 1904.

Total number of visitors registered, - - - - -	854
Ipswich residents, - - - - -	41
From other towns and cities in Massachusetts, -	502
From outside the State, - - - - -	311



Total registration,	- - - - -	1899		1,134
“	“	- - - - -	1900	1,513
“	“	- - - - -	1901	1,008
“	“	- - - - -	1902	1,052
“	“	- - - - -	1903	1,097

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DECEMBER 1, 1904.

T. Frank Waters in account with Ipswich Historical Society.

Dr.		
Membership Fees, - - - - -		\$345.50
Legacy, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Brown, - - - - -		500.00
Receipts from the House,		
Door Fees, - - - - -	\$130.38	
Sale of publications, - - - - -	26.50	
" " pictures, - - - - -	24.85	
" " stationery, - - - - -	1.46	
Entertainment of Methuen Historical Society,	26.50	
Supper, Nov. 30, 1904, - - - - -	32.40	
	242.09	242.09
		1087.59
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1903,		357.52
		\$1445.11

Cr.		
Paid on Mortgage, - - - - -		\$700.00
" for Interest, - - - - -		135.00
" " Printing, - - - - -		127.62
" " Insurance, - - - - -		24.00
" " Stationery and postage, - - - - -		16.09
" " Incidentals, - - - - -		45.16
" " House account, running expenses,		
Fuel, - - - - -	50.66	
Furniture, - - - - -	51.09	
Repairs and care, - - - - -	59.33	
Water, - - - - -	14.64	
Photographs, two years, - - - - -	25.74	
	201.46	201.46
Cash in treasury, - - - - -		195.78
		\$1445.11

The mortgage upon the property is now \$2800.

DONATIONS TO THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL
SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DECEMBER 1, 1904.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Annual Report. Sermon on the Utility of a Permanent Ministry by David T. Kimball. Ipswich, 1839.

BENJ. H. CONANT. Wenham Town Report.

MISS ROXANA C. COWLES. Circular Leather Valise, owned and carried by her father, Prof. John P. Cowles, on his horseback journeys in Ohio, and his Leather Sermon Case. Two reels, one with clock attachment. Spinning wheel. Celestial globe, 1818, and terrestrial globe, owned and used by Miss Zilpah P. Grant, purchased by Prof. Cowles. Pencil Drawings of County House and Kimball Manse. Two guns, one with flint lock. Cartridge-box. Tin kitchen. Toaster. Gridiron.

DUMMER ACADEMY. Catalogue.

ESSEX INSTITUTE, Salem. Publications.

MRS. JONATHAN E. GOODHUE, Newark, N. Y. The Goodhue Family.

JAMES GRIFFIN. Wasps' nest.

D. R. JACK, St. John, N. B. Publications of the New Brunswick Historical Society. No. 5. Acadensis. iv, 2, 3, 4.

MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications.

MISS ESTHER PARMENTER. Epaulet, worn by an ancestor in the war of 1812. Three chairs and a footstool made by her step-father's grandfather.

B. F. SOUTHWICK, Peabody. Set of Province Laws.

JULIA NOYES STICKNEY, West Newbury. Poem on Lake Winnipisaukee.

TOWLE MANUFACTURING Co. Outline of Life and Works of Col. Paul Revere.

FRANCIS H. WADE. Morse's Universal Geography.

Membership in the Ipswich Historical Society involves the payment of an annual due of \$2, or a single payment of \$50, which secures Life Membership. Members are entitled to a copy of the regular publications of the Society, in pamphlet form, without expense, free admission to the House with friends, and the privilege of voting in the business meetings.

There are no restrictions as to place of residence. Any person, who is interested in the Society and desires to promote its welfare, is eligible to membership. We desire to enlarge the non-resident membership list until it shall include as many as possible of those, who trace their descent to our Town.

Names may be sent at any time to the President, but the election of members usually occurs only at the annual meeting in December.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held on Monday, December 4, 1905, at Whipple House.

The following officers were elected.

President.—T. Frank Waters.

Vice Presidents.—John B. Brown,
Francis R. Appleton.

Directors.—Charles A. Sayward,
John H. Cogswell,
John W. Nourse.

Clerk.—John W. Goodhue.

Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.—T. Frank Waters.

Librarian.—John J. Sullivan.

SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. John J. Sullivan,	Miss Lucy Slade Lord,
Mrs. Chas. A. Sayward,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
Mrs. Edward F. Brown,	Mrs. Frank H. Stockwell,
Mrs. Cordelia Damon,	Mrs. Joseph F. Ross,
Miss Susan C. Whipple,	Mrs. Frank W. Kyes.

The Committee was authorized to fill any vacancies that may occur in its membership, and enlarge it, if occasion requires.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 1, 1905.

Our survey of the past year reveals stable and gratifying prosperity, as the good fortune of our Society. The list of members shows a steady gain, and every year more of our townfolk, of the summer residents, and of non-residents, who have an ancestral connection with our town, are enrolled. Thus our Society serves as a bond of union between the friends of Ipswich, wherever they are found.

The Report of the Curator shows that the registered number of visitors at Whipple House has again passed the thousand mark. As was remarked in the last Annual Report a surprisingly small number of our townspeople, though they are members of the Society, seem willing to record their names. Only seventy-three were registered last year, but our Curator reports that many more have called. Though it is a matter of regret, that we may not know how many of our citizens show their interest in the House by coming with their friends, it is gratifying that so large a number of visitors, who inspected these rooms during the year were from other towns and cities of the Commonwealth and nearly four hundred from other States. Thus the good name of the Society and its House is spread abroad, and it frequently happens, in my own experience and no doubt in yours, that in the most unexpected places chance acquaintances are met, who dilate with enthusiasm upon their visit to this ancient dwelling. As in other years, societies of various kinds seeking the most inviting locality possible for a summer holiday have bethought themselves of Ipswich. The Boston Tea Party Chapter and the Old Newbury Chapter of the D. A. R. rallied here on June 9, and the State Chapter on June 28. The Hovey Family held its annual reunion, and the Art Class of Mr. Dow gathered en masse for an evening lecture, by the President by candlelight in the quaint old rooms. A goodly number of the members of the Gloucester Scientific and Historical Society came on a bright August day, and in September some

good women of Marblehead, of Unity Rebekah Lodge, and the Holmes Outing Club of Haverhill drifted hither.

The newly organized society for lace-working met during the early summer months in the airy bed-chamber, and an elaborate and beautiful display of laces was made in the exhibition and sale arranged by them in these rooms.

Financially we stand well with the world. The single item of membership fees netted \$480, and the receipts from the House from door fees, sales of publications and the entertainment of visiting societies amounted to \$205.75. Early last spring the Ipswich Mills Corporation bought the Peatfield estate adjoining our property and established a lumber yard. The Superintendent very courteously authorized me to proceed with any scheme of shrubbery or ornamental gardening that might seem advisable to take off the rawness of the lumber piles. A spruce hedge seemed the best screen, and the trees were purchased and set out. When they were delivered, their appearance was not prepossessing and though carefully planted, all but six died.

This account has not been settled, and the sum paid by the Mills remains in the treasury, except that which was paid for the tree setting.

The expenditures included a payment of \$300 on the mortgage, reducing it to \$2500, and \$106.33 for interest. The receipts from the House furnished a surplus of nearly \$40, after all expenses incident to the House and grounds were met. A balance of \$290.60 remains in the treasury.

It will be noticed that no expense for printing has been incurred this year. The demands upon my time by the book, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which was issued in September, were so great in the early months of the year, that no attention could be given to the usual publication. At a later time, the manuscript was prepared and sent to the printer, with the expectation of distributing it in November. Unavoidable delays arose, however, and now it seems best to issue the pamphlet at once, with the proceedings of this meeting appended.

It may be a fortunate way of meeting the expense of a rather costly publication by dividing it thus between two years. This work which is nearly complete is a reprint of "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam" by our famous minister, Nathaniel Ward. The late D. F. Appleton Esq.

gave the Society a copy of the 4th edition, printed in London in 1647. Facsimiles have been made of the title-page, preface, head-lines and ornamental initials, the antique form of the letters has been used, the exact spelling, punctuation and page division has been followed, and a very near approach has been made to a reproduction. An Essay on Nathaniel Ward and The Simple Cobler has been appended. A portion of the edition will be issued in the usual form but a considerable number of copies will be bound in book form, in the hope that book-lovers may esteem it a volume worth purchasing.

Though the recently issued, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony bears the imprint of the Ipswich Historical Society, the Society has been involved in no expense in its publication, and has gained prestige as a publisher of historical works.

The principal addition to our furnishings is an ancient desk, which was put in perfect condition, and presented by Mr. Francis R. Appleton. The Secretary of the Commonwealth, with the co-operation of Mr. Tillinghast, the State Librarian, has very kindly presented the Society a full set of the Vital Statistics so far as published, and the new issues are sent as they appear. The very valuable Record of the Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, which is given by the State, is approaching completion.

Very recently, the Librarian of the State Library of Connecticut, Mr. George S. Godard, made a request for a file of our publications, and in return, has sent nineteen volumes of the State Manual, from 1887 to 1905, with the very kindly remark that "Ipswich has a tender place in the hearts of Connecticut people," because of its gift of John Winthrop Jr.

.....
The thanks of the Society are due Mr. and Mrs. Pickard for their regard for the interests of the Society and the good name of the House. Visitors always find a cordial welcome. House and grounds are always well kept and inviting.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR

During the year, December 1, 1904 to December 1, 1905, 1041 names of visitors have been registered.

73 were residents of Ipswich.

594 were residents of other towns and cities in Massachusetts.

376 were residents of other States.

June 9, The Boston Tea Party Chapter, and The Old Newbury Chapter, D. A. R. visited the house.

June 28, The State Chapter of D. A. R.

August 1, The Hovey Family held its reunion at the house.

August 2, The Gloucester Historical Society.

August 7, The Art Class of Prof. A. W. Dow.

Sept. 13, Unity Rebekah Lodge, I. O. O .F. of Marblehead.

Sept. 18, The Holmes Outing Club of Haverhill.

WASHINGTON P. PICKARD,
Curator.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE IPSWICH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DECEMBER 1, 1905.

T. F. Waters in account with the Ipswich Historical Society.

Dr.		
To Membership fees,		\$480.00
“ Contribution from Ipswich Mills, for shrubbery,		31.50
“ Receipts from Whipple House,		
Door Fees,	\$134.20	
Sale of Publications,	31.85	
“ “ Pictures,	16.50	
“ “ Stationery,	1.20	
Entertainment of the Boston Tea Party Chapter, D. A. R.,	12.00	
Entertainment of the Gloucester Historical Society,	10.00	205.75
	205.75	717.25
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1904,		208.59
		\$925.84
Cr.		
Paid on Mortgage,		\$300.00
“ for Interest,		106.33
“ “ Stationery and expressage,		13.35
“ “ Books,		7.00
“ “ Incidentals,		41.31
“ “ House account,		
Fuel,	26.82	
Table ware,	16.00	
Water bills,	14.55	
Furniture,	9.30	
Hardware,	7.77	
Supper notices, etc.,	5.50	
Pictures,	17.45	
Setting shrubbery,	9.00	
Repairs and care of house and grounds,	60.86	167.25
	167.25	635.24
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1905,		290.60
		\$925.84

The mortgage is now \$2500.

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Charles G. Rice	" "

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*Summer home in Ipswich.

IPSWICH IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

1633-1700

BY THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS

President of the Ipswich Historical Society

ONE VOLUME IN TWO PARTS

PART ONE

I	Primeval Agawam, a study of the Indian life	pp. 1-6
II	The Coming of the English	7-20
III	Homes and Dress	21-44
IV	Some notable Settlers. John Winthrop, Jr., Thomas Dudley, Richard Saltonstall, Simon and Ann Bradstreet, Rev. Nathaniel Ward, John Norton	45-55
V	The Development of our Town Government	56-67
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XI	The Charter in Peril. Samuel Symonds, Daniel Denison, John Appleton	128-145
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XIII	King Philip's War: contains Major Samuel Appleton's military letters and a complete list of the soldiers in that war	159-224
XIV	Ipswich and the Andros Government. A careful study of the attitude of Ipswich men in this critical period, with many documents, warrants for arrest, depositions, records, etc. Rev. John Wise, Major Samuel Appleton, John Appleton, Jr., Thomas French, William Goodhue, John Andrews, Robert Kinsman	225-273
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The material for this work has been derived, by original research, chiefly from the Town Records, the Records of the old Ipswich Quarter Sessions Court and other Court Records, the Massachusetts Bay Records, the Massachusetts Archives, and contemporaneous published works, so far as possible. It is illustrated with facsimiles of ancient documents and photographs.

PART TWO

is a study of the original land grants for house lots on all the ancient streets and lanes, and the successive owners to the present generation, with diagrams, maps, and photographs of many ancient dwellings.

The dates of the erection of houses are noted in many instances, and all transfers are accompanied with citations of the Book and Leaf of the ancient Ipswich Deeds (5 volumes), and the Records of the Essex County Registry of Deeds and Registry of Probate. Some eighteen hundred citations are made from the original sources, and these constitute the sole authority for this record of locations, ownerships, and the probable age and identity of dwellings.

Besides this, there are seven appendices to the volume, giving important historical material under the following heads: A summary of the names of the first settlers from 1633 to 1649; Some Early Inventories; The Letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward; The Letters of Giles Firmin; The Letters of Samuel Symonds; The Valedictory and Monitory Writing left by Sarah Goodhue; The Diary of Rev. John Wise, Chaplain in the Expedition to Quebec. There is also a copious Index.

The book will be of particular interest and importance to those who are of Ipswich ancestry, but all who dwell in Ipswich, or make their summer homes there, will find it a readable and attractive record of many events, places, and persons.

EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS AND LETTERS.

(By Bayard Tuckerman, Lecturer in English at Princeton University).

Ipswich is one of the oldest and in some respects one of the most interesting and typical of the English settlements in America. The difficulties to be encountered by the early colonists in subduing the wilderness, in wringing a livelihood from an unfruitful soil, in building up a civilization in which comfort and education were sought together, were nowhere greater and nowhere surmounted with more courageous energy. The institution of town government and the intelligent practice of the principles of political liberty are well exemplified in the history of Ipswich, while the bold resistance of her citizens to the tyranny of the English government in the time of Governor Andros has given her a claim to the title of the "Cradle of American Liberty." Mr. Waters has told this story with historical insight and literary skill, and has given us besides a mass of information regarding local customs, transfers of land and resident families, which make his work of personal interest to everyone whose ancestors have lived in the township.

As we turn the leaves of this scholarly work, the chapter headings indicate a variety of interesting subjects. Political history is studied under "The Development of our Town Government" "The Body Politic" "The Charter in Peril" "Ipswich and the Andros Government." Under the heads of "The Coming of the English" "Homes and Dress" "Some Notable Settlers" "Trades and Employments," we find a rich fund of information regarding the early inhabitants and the lives they led. In the chapter dealing with "The Sabbath and the Meeting House" with the melancholy accompaniment of "Witchcraft," the austere religious life of the early times is depicted. The relations of the settlers to the Indians are described under "Primeval Agawam" "King Philip's War" and the "War of William and Mary." The determination of the colonists to provide education for their children is shown in the article on "The Grammar School and Harvard College." Other interesting chapters deal with the "Laws and Courts" and with the curious institution of the "Common Lands and Commonage."

The second portion of the work contains an account of the ownership and transfer of lands and houses which is the fruit of research, of remarkable industry and accuracy. No one whose family has owned property within the bounds of Ipswich can fail to find facts of interest to him here. The names of early settlers are given in full and there are a number of inventories illustrative of the character of personal property held and transmitted. The letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Dr. Giles Firmin, and of Samuel Symonds, the writings of Sarah Goodhue, and the narrative of the Rev. John Wise, all of great antiquarian interest, are given in the Appendix.

Thirty-five excellent illustrations, and an Index which forms a complete guide to all the names and subjects mentioned, add greatly to the value of the work.

This history of Ipswich is the result of such painstaking and intelligent research, and is written in so attractive a style, that it cannot fail to appeal to all persons who have any connection with the town. Whoever lives in Ipswich or whose ancestors lived here, should have a copy among his books. He will find pleasure in reading it, and profit in possessing it for reference.

BAYARD TUCKERMAN.

(From the Boston Transcript.)

A most important addition to the literature of New England history is made by Mr. Thomas Franklin Waters in this volume. Ipswich — the Agawam of 270 years ago — is one of the most picturesque towns in the Commonwealth, and aside from its attractions of location and scenery, is particularly rich in historical associations. No town in its early conditions more accurately typifies early New England life, and in the narrative of its struggles and development may be read that of a score of other settlements of the same period. "I have tried," says Mr. Waters in his preface, "to tell accurately, but in readable fashion, the story of the builders of our town, their homes and home life, their employments, their Sabbath-keeping, their love of learning, their administration of town affairs, their stern delusions, their heroism in war and in resistance to tyranny." To anyone familiar with the beautiful old town the book will have all the fascination of a romance.

(From a Review by the New York Daily Tribune.)

The president of the Ipswich Historical Society has prepared in this volume a model of its kind. He tells in thoroughly entertaining fashion the history of this early Colonial town — the Agawam of Indians — and he adds in Part II such a detailed account of its houses and lands as must ever be of value to all connected by ties of blood or property with Ipswich. Photographs of the many ancient houses which survive, together with maps, diagrams and facsimiles illustrate and elucidate the text.

The story of the town holds so much of the struggle, the tragedy and the quaintness of seventeenth century life in the colony that it would have been difficult to make it other than interesting.

The services of Ipswich men in King Philip's War and their sturdy protest against the usurpation of the Andros government are chronicled here, and are not to be forgotten by Americans. In the resistance to what she considered an unjust tax, Ipswich may claim a high place among the earliest supporters of the right of self government.

(From a letter, written by C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian of Massachusetts.)

"The story of the founders of Ipswich which you have told with so much detail and skill in the first half of the volume, is of course in large

degree the story of the early life of the settlers in other parts of the Colony and this study, which you have founded with such pains-taking accuracy largely upon original and documentary sources of information makes the volume of the widest general interest to all, who have an interest in the early settlers and their mode of life. This feature of the book it seems to me, is unequalled by any other available publication and should commend it to the favorable attention of all libraries.

The topographical study which forms the latter portion of the book, is a model of what such a study should be, and in this respect, Ipswich territory is of special interest.

“You have made in this volume a contribution to the local, the fundamental history of the Commonwealth, which few, if any volumes equal and none excel.”

(From George H. Martin, Secretary of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts.)

I have examined with care the whole of your new book on Ipswich, and I have read with increasing interest as much as time would allow. It is a great book and will prove of immense service to all students of early colonial history.

I do not think I have found anywhere so vivid a picture presented of Puritan town life in all its phases as you have given. The thorough way in which you have handled the matter of land grants is a model for all local historians.

I congratulate you heartily upon having made an addition to the local history of New England, which is unsurpassed in the choice of matter, and in the felicity of its presentation.

(From The Nation, New York.)

In one feature, at least, this ample and handsomely printed work surpasses any other town history that we have ever encountered. We refer to that portion of the second half which deals with “Houses and Lands,” and which, with the aid of a diagram, traces the fortunes of each dwelling and lot of the original settler *nominatim* not only to 1700, but to the present day. This enormous labor is fortified by the citation of wills and deeds, and the result is a firm base for all future researches. It is supplemented by a summary of the names of the settlers from 1633 to 1649, with the year in which each name first occurs in the town records, and by some sample inventories of personal effects. Other remarkable lists of the early inhabitants have been constructed for the chapter entitled “The Body Politic;” and show that out of an enrolled male population in 1678 totalling 508, there were 220 commoners and 125 freemen (17 of these not being commoners). The freemen alone were entitled to vote for the officers and magistrates of

the Colony and to speak and vote in town meeting; the commoners might vote on all questions relating to the common lands; the residue, so-called Resident, were eligible for jury duty and to vote for selectmen.

Mr. Waters's historical treatment is episodal and is very pleasingly manifested in the opening chapters on the aborigines as described by the first Englishmen and on home and dress. These themes are invested with a really fresh interest, and set forth with noticeable literary skill.

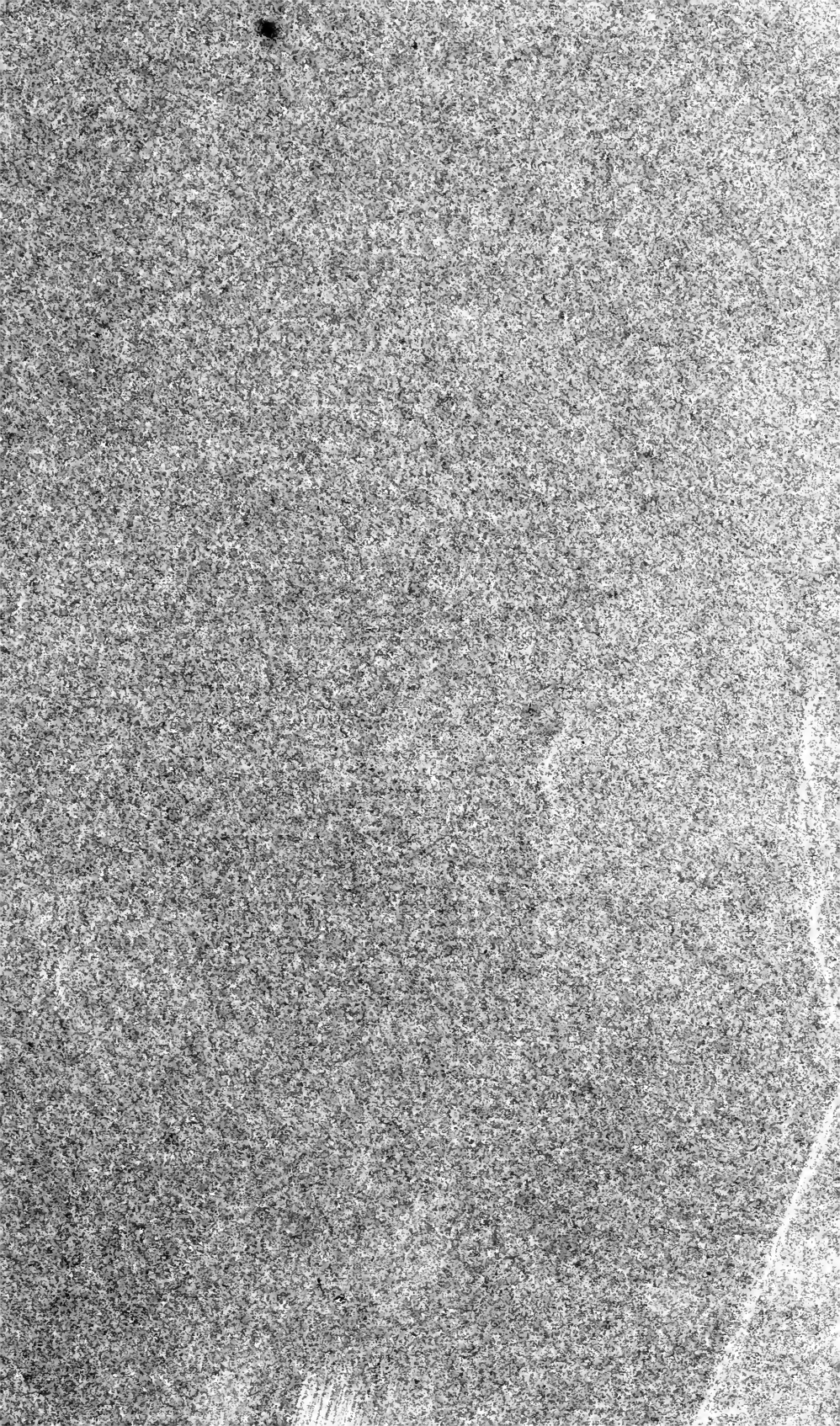
Much remains to be said or sayable, but we must stay our hand. Mr. Waters's work, which we hope he will follow up for later times, as he half promises, takes its place in the front rank of its class, and can hardly be praised too highly for diligent research, candor, taste, style and construction.

It will be found to be of particular value to the New England families bearing the names of

APPLETON	FARLEY	KNOWLTON	ROGERS
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BROWN	GOODHUE	LORD	RUST
BURNHAM	HARRIS	MANNING	SALTONSTALL
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CHOATE	HODGKINS	NORTON	SYMONDS
CLARK	HOVEY	PAINE	TREADWELL
COGSWELL	HUBBARD	PERKINS	WADE
DENISON	JEWITT	POTTER	WAINWRIGHT
DODGE	KIMBALL	PULCIFER	WHIPPLE
DUTCH	KINSMAN	RINGE	WILLCOMB
		WINTHROP	

and many others.

Price. Five dollars, net. Postage, Thirty-six cents.



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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
XV.

THE OLD BAY ROAD
FROM SALTONSTALL'S BROOK
AND
SAMUEL APPLETON'S FARM

AND

A GENEALOGY
OF THE IPSWICH DESCENDANTS
OF
SAMUEL APPLETON

BY

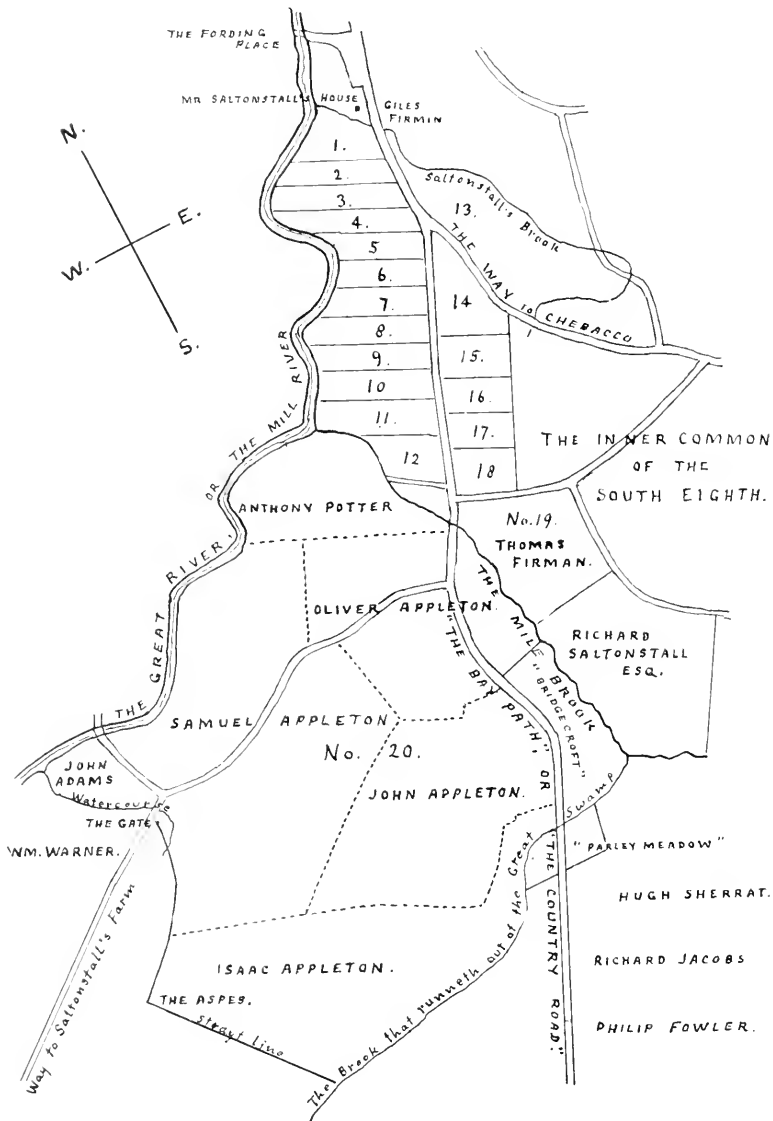
T. FRANK WATERS

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 3, 1906.

Salem Press:
THE SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.
1907

GRANTS ON A PART OF THE BAY PATH



By John W. Nourse.
1907.

*PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY*
LV.

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THE OLD BAY ROAD FROM SALTONSTALL'S BROOK
AND
SAMUEL APPLETON'S FARM.

In the year 1639, the General Court considered the unsatisfactory condition of the public highways. Sometimes they were "too strait" and "in other places travellers are forced to go farr about." It was ordered, therefore, on the 5th of November, "that all high ways shall be laid out before the next General Court."

"Every town shall choose two or three men who shall joyne with two or three of the next town & they shall have power to lay out ways where most convenient not withstanding any man's propriety or any corne ground so as it not occasion the puling downe of any man's house or laying open any garden or orchard & in comon ground or where the soyle is wet or mirye they shall lay out the ways the wider as 6 or 8 or 10 rods or more in comon ground." "Each town to make reasonable satisfaction."

At the session of the General Court, beginning Oct. 7, 1640, the surveyors reported that they had laid out the highway from Rowley to Ipswich,

"from Mr. Nelsons dwelling house pale by the end of Mussies Hill to the newe bridge over the North Ryver & so to the newe bridge over Muddy Ryver & so by the comon fence to Ipswich towne & so along by Mr. Saltonstalls house over the falls at Mile River & by marked trees over Mr. Appletons meadow called Parlye Meadow & from thence by Mr. Hubbards farm house and so upon the east side of Mr. Smiths house then over the ould planters meadow and so to the two ponds usually dry in summer near weh ponds the way doth branch one whereof is easterly of the said ponds leading through the old planters field to the Salem ferry according to the marked trees and the other way is westerly of the ponds leading to a great creek at a landing place westerly of Mr. Scrugs house."

The breadth of this highway was eight rods. Except bridging North River or Egypt River, as it is now called, and Muddy River, nothing was done apparently to make travel more easy or convenient. The traveller forded Ipswich River at the "watering place," as it was known in later years,¹ near the present foot-bridge of the Ipswich mill, rode along the highway by Mr. Saltonstall's, whose house was on or near the site of the old

¹ Ipswich in Mass. Bay Colony, pp. 460-462.

Merrifield house,¹ forded Mile River, and picked his way across Samuel Appleton's meadow by blazed trees, and on to Salem Ferry. No change in the existing road was made, except where it cut through the Appleton farm. To settle the damage at this point, the Town voted in 1650, "Granted to Mr. Apleton a p'cell of ground (in full satisfaction for the country highway going through his farnie) beyond the swamp to make his fence straight not exceeding eight acres." In the year 1680, and probably long before, bridges had been built over Saltonstall's brook, and Mile River, as John Whipple was ordered to care for the roads from "Myle Bridge" to Wenham bounds, in that year, and John Low, from Mr. Saltonstall's Bridge to Hatfield's Bridge.

Richard Saltonstall's Lot.

No. 1 on Diagram.

Mr. Richard Saltonstall's town property, as described in his deed to Samuel Bishop, included his "dwelling house & orchard with all ye land about it on both sides ye brook commonly called Saltonstall's brook it being 14 acres by estimation whether it be more or less." Sept. 23, 1680 (16: 105). But Nathaniel Rust, a glover by trade, was in possession of that part of the Saltonstall land, which lay on the south side of the brook, as early as 1689, when Capt. Cross sold the land on the north of the brook to Elisha Treadwell. (Ips. Deeds 5: 378). Mr. Rust had his tan yard, beam house, and all the appurtenances of his craft here, and here no doubt, he made the four dozen pairs of gloves ordered for Rev. Mr. Cobbet's funeral on Nov. 6, 1685. Thomas Norton was likewise a tanner, and on March 8, 1699-1700, Mr. Rust sold him an acre of land "beginning at the brook commonly called Saltingstall's Brook," running twelve rods on the road, and fifteen rods back, with all "houses, tan-yard, trees, fences, orchard, etc." and the benefit of half the brook (13: 270). Norton married Mercy Rust, the glover's daughter, and on June 18, 1701, he bought the residue of Mr. Rust's property, seven acres of arable and pasture land (23: 252).

Mr. Rust's dwelling stood where the Meeting House of the South Church is now located. He sold this to his son-in-law, Mr. Norton, and Capt.

¹ The old Merrifield house was purchased by Mrs. D. F. Appleton, and torn down in May, 1907. It was evident that the frame was largely that of a seventeenth century house. The oak summers or main floor beams were the counterpart of those in the ancient Whipple house, although the lower side including the moulded edges had been hewn away and boxed in, to suit the later fashions. Portions of a wooden partition, with the same rnde tooling that occurs in the Whipple house, were found, but not in their original place. A single corner post with chamfered edge in the second story, the ancient door post with slots for the wooden latch of the front door and the bar which locked it, and the massive oak floor joists attested an original house of the earliest period, the old whitewash revealing an original unplastered ceiling. The huge fire places had been remodelled, but the dimensions of the chimney, and the use of soft bricks laid in clay showed that it was built at a very early period.

The windows, however, were of a later period, and had never been changed. No



THE DEACON THOMAS NORTON HOUSE.

Daniel Ringe, March 9, 1710 (23:76) and their joint ownership continued until Nov. 4, 1723, when they sold to Anmi Ruhamah Wise (41:264). By that year, the venerable mansion under the great elm had been built, and here Deacon Norton lived the rest of his days. His son, Thomas, a graduate of Harvard and teacher for some years of the Grammar School, inherited the estate. His will was probated in 1750 (Pro. Rec. 329:453-5). The inventory is very elaborate, and includes the dwelling house, and homestead, valued at £266-13-4, the upper house, £80, a negro woman called Phillis, and a valuable stock of leather. Thomas, the eldest son, received the dwelling with the tan-yard, pits, etc. (Pro. Rec. 330:426), and sold the whole estate to Dummer Jewett, July 24, 1771 (129:99). His widow sold to the County of Essex, "to be improved and used as a house of correction" Jan. 21, 1791 (154:9).

The prison was built on the adjoining land to the northward and was surrounded by a high fence. The old Norton dwelling was used as the keeper's house. Though vague reports of dungeons in the cellar were current in later years, no evidence of such was found, when the building was torn down.

A new jail and prison were built on the present County property and the old mansion and eight acres were sold to Asa Brown, April 22, 1828 (250:16), who added a wing on the north side. When the new Meeting House of the South Church was built in 1837, he bought the old Rust-Norton house, and removed it to the ancient tan-yard site, where it was remodelled and became the slightly dwelling now owned and occupied by Henry Brown. A large tract adjoining the ancient Saltonstall lot was also acquired by Asa Brown, and this will now be considered.

From this point to the ancient Potter farm, now owned by George E. Barnard, the long strip bounded by the highway on the east, and the river on the west, was divided into lots, approximately six acres, and apportioned probably by grant of the Town, though only a single record remains. This land was assigned usually to residents of the south side and was used for tillage and pasturage.¹ In the earliest years no house would have been permitted, as the General Court in 1635 forbade any house more than half a mile from the meeting-house, "except mill-houses and farm houses, of such as have their dwelling-houses in the same town."

bricks were found in the walls, though a large portion of the boards were daubed with clay on the inner side, as though they had been used formerly with a clay filling. The house faced the east, while the earliest dwellings generally, if not invariably, faced the south. The carpenter's marks on the frame were frequently out of place.

The conclusion that forces itself upon us is that a large portion of the material of an earlier house, of the same dimensions, were utilized in the dwelling just removed, and that this older house occupied the same site.

The pedigree of the lot, given in Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, pp. 465-467, makes it certain that Richard Saltonstall's house must have stood near this spot, and it is almost impossible to doubt that the early dwelling, which has been revealed, was none other than the original house of Mr. Saltonstall, built in 1635 or 1636. The later building seems to have been erected early in the 18th century.

¹ It is called a "common field" in Joseph Younglove's deed, to Thomas Manning.

Nathaniel Rogers's Lower Pasture.

Lots Nos. 2 and 3 on Diagram.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, pastor of the Ipswich church, whose dwelling was very near the "Gables," owned two of these six acre lots, one of which, abutting on Mr. Saltonstall's, was granted by the Town (Town Record, 1649). Mr. Rogers bequeathed his estate to his sons, John, then his colleague, afterwards President of Harvard College, and Samuel. By the indenture of division, which they agreed upon, Pres. John received the homestead and these two lots, bounded by the land sometime Mr. Saltonstall's, north, and Thomas Burnam's land, south, March 4, 1684 (Ips. Deeds 5:146).

Thomas Burnam's Lot.

No. 4 on Diagram.

John Rogers, the eldest son of President John, Pastor of the Ipswich church, inherited the pasture lot upon the death of his father, July 2, 1684. He enlarged it April 20, 1693 (39:45) by the purchase of six and a half acres upland and swamp from Thomas Burnam, son of the original owner. His deed records the item, "which I had of my father by deed of gift bearing date of Jan. 1, 1687."

William Hubbard's Lot.

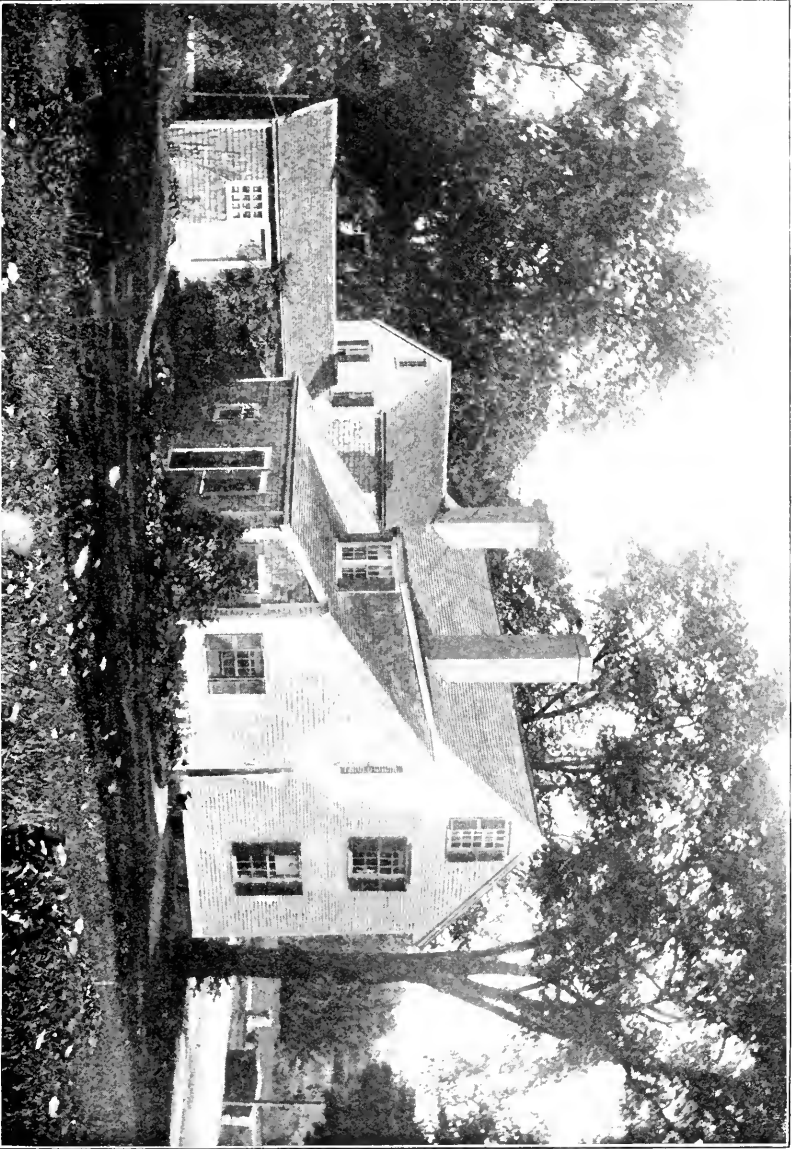
No. 5 on Diagram.

Madame Elizabeth Rogers, widow of President John, on March 26, 1685 bought the six acre lot of upland and meadow adjoining the Thomas Burnam lot on the south, of Rev. William Hubbard, who had married Margaret, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel and sister of her husband. (Ips. Deeds 5:146). This lot also became the property of Rev. John, the Pastor of the Ipswich church, and he thus owned four of the original six acre divisions. In his will, (approved Jan. 6, 1745,) he gave the two lots abutting on Thomas Norton, part of his lower pasture, to his son Samuel, a physician, who built and occupied the house now owned by Frank T. Goodhue, and the two others, to his son John, Pastor of the church at Kittery (326:460-4). The Kittery Pastor sold the lot adjoining his brother to Samuel, before May 6, 1746, and his other lot to his brother Daniel, afterwards Pastor for life at Exeter, May 6, 1746 (90:272).

Samuel became the owner of three of the original lots by this purchase, numbered 2, 3 and 4. He divided them into two "ten acre" lots and sold the southern lot to Richard Manning, May 7, 1755 (102:138) and the northern half to Col. John Choate and Abraham Choate, May 19, 1757 (103:245). Col. Choate and William Choate sold to John Heard, June 6, 1776 (135:263), and John Heard conveyed it to Michael Brown, Novem. 20, 1832 (268:78).

Richard Manning bought the adjoining lot of Rev. Daniel Rogers, June 27, 1759 (106:214). He was the son of Thomas Manning, the blacksmith, who had forged manacles and fetters for the witches in 1692,¹ and

¹ Ipswich in Mass. Bay Colony, p. 294.



THE RESIDENCE OF MR. HENRY BROWN.

whose house and shop it may be presumed as well, occupied the William Kinsman lot, now owned by Mrs. Joseph R. Wilson. The elder Manning had purchased the two original lots adjoining.

Samuel Younglove's Lot.

No. 6 on Diagram.

Samuel Younglove, the first known proprietor of the lot numbered 6, had conveyed it to his son Joseph, "my lot of upland in the field on the south side" containing six acres, Nov. 19, 1687 (Ips. Deeds 5:298) and Joseph sold to Thomas Manning the same lot, "lying within a comon field on y^e south side of the Mill River, containing eight acres," March 31, 1696 (11:103).

Dea. William Goodhue's Lot.

No. 7 on Diagram.

The lot numbered 7 was owned by Dea. William Goodhue, whose house was on the lot now occupied by the Parsonage of the South Church. John Goodhue, his grandson, conveyed it to his brother William, "y^e 8 acre lot by Windmill Hill,¹ lying between the land of Mr. Nath. Rogers and Mr. Thomas Manning," Jan. 9, 1699-1700 (14:225). The Goodhue heirs gave a deed of this lot, again called a six acre lot, to Manning, Jan. 18, 1699-1700 (13:275, 276.) Thomas Manning's will was proved May 23, 1737, (Pro. Rec. 322:49-53) and it bequeathed to his son Richard, "all the land I bought of Joseph Younglove and the Goodhues, containing eighteen or twenty acres, be the same more or less."

Richard Manning was now the owner of four of the original divisions numbers 4, 5, 6 and 7. He sold the six acre lot which he had bought of Rev. Daniel Rogers to Samuel Chipman of Salem, June 29, 1759 (107:9) and the ten acre lot adjoining, which he had bought of Samuel Rogers, to Dr. Joseph Manning, June 26, 1765 (116:20.) Anstice Chipman, widow of Samuel, sold her lot to Dr. Manning, March 23^d 1774 (133:75).

On Nov. 6, 1770, Capt. Richard Manning conveyed the Goodhue-Younglove lots which he had inherited to his daughters. To the widow Anstice Chipman and Mary Barker, wife of Ephraim Barker of Stratham, N. H., he conveyed a twelve acre lot adjoining the lot owned by Samuel Chipman, and another lot of equal size to Martha Talton, wife of Stiles Talton of New Market, N. H., and Priscilla Heath, wife of William Heath of Salem (122:275).

Dr. Joseph Manning bequeathed the "River Pasture," 12½ acres, to his son, Dr. John, the famous physician, and 2½ acres in the southwest corner of the same, to his son Jacob, June 6, 1786 (Pro. Rec. 358:374). He had previously acquired the adjoining land, the interest of Anstice Chipman in an "undivided moiety of 8½ acres," conveyed to her and Mary

¹ The name Windmill Hill is still retained. Undoubtedly a windmill was built somewhere on this breezy height, but nothing is known of its location.

Barker by Richard Manning, Oct., 23 1775 (134:150) and he bought the interest of the heirs of Ephraim Barker "in 3 acres and three eighths, given to their mother by their grandfather," August 19, 1793 (156:278). Jacob Manning sold the whole tract, estimated as containing 12 acres, to his brother, Dr. John, August 26, 1793 (167:132).

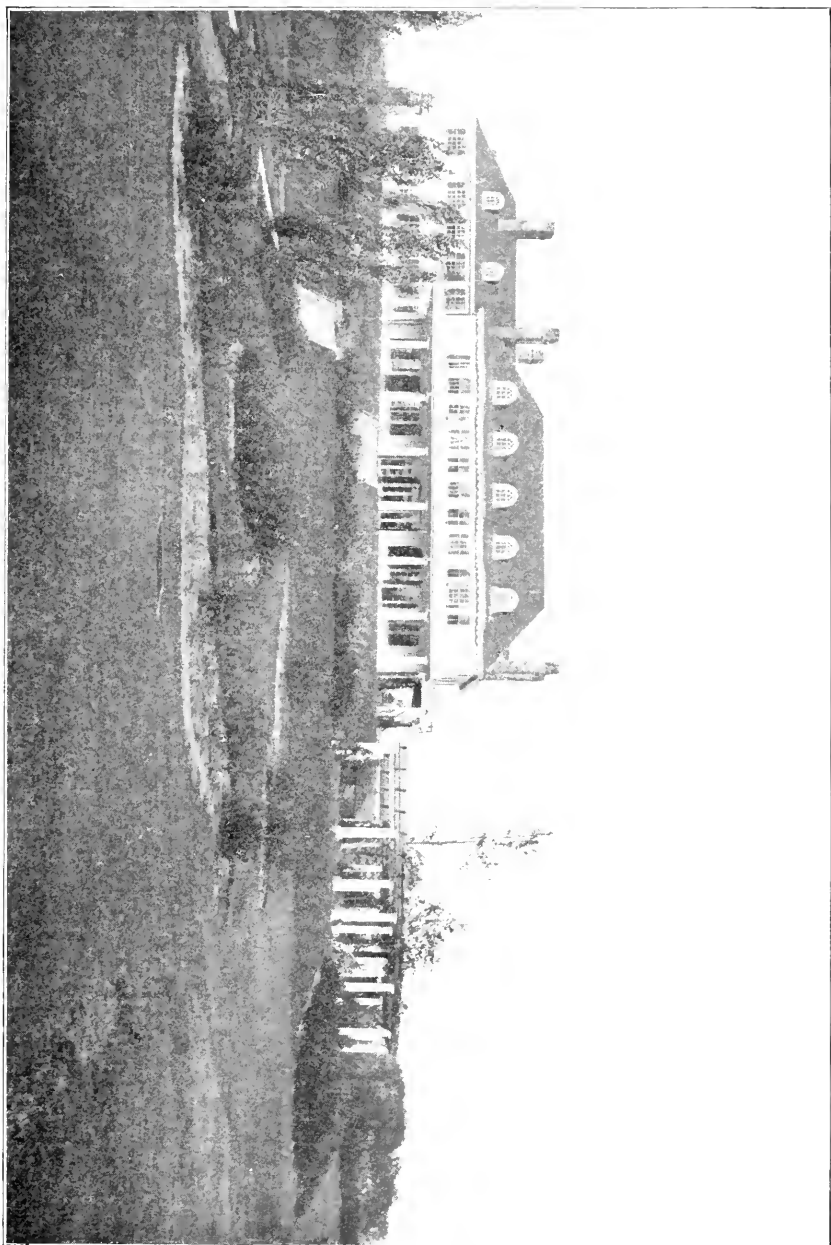
Dr. Manning sold the River Pasture, he had inherited, and the lot, he had bought of Jacob, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres in all, to Bemsly Smith, March 29, 1809 (186:157) and he conveyed it to Ammi Brown, Gent., Michael Brown, white-smith, and Asa Andrews, the Town lawyer, April 15, 1811 (193:52). By the terms of the deed, Andrews owned an undivided half, and he sold this interest to the other proprietors and John Heard, April 28, 1812 (200:175). Mr. Heard sold the Choate lot and the Asa Andrews interest to Michael Brown, Nov. 20, 1832 (268:78). Brown acquired the title to the whole tract before his death. His executors sold this, in three fields, the Heard lot, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres (325:99) a 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre lot (325:119) and a 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre lot, the Choate lot, to Asa Brown, April 23, 1841 (325:127). His purchase of the Saltonstall lot has been mentioned already.

He became now the owner of the large tract reaching from the Brook to the land now owned by Wallace P. Willett. He mortgaged 15 acres to Asa Brown Potter, adjoining the Willett land, "being the Manning lot, and part of the Heard lot," Oct. 3, 1860 (613:74) and conveyed his whole estate to Increase H. Brown, his brother, Oct. 28, 1862 (643:243). He conveyed to their sister, Mrs. Rhoda Brown Potter, April 28, 1866 (701:230). Asa also executed a deed to Mrs. Potter of the same with the condition that she pay what he owed Jonathan Sargent and the mortgages, Feb. 11, 1867 (743:198). Mrs. Potter sold 35 acres, retaining 5 acres with her homestead, to Edward B. Wildes, May 1, 1871 (822:114), who built the mansion on the hill. His widow sold the estate to Lester E. Libby, Aug. 16, 1901 (1650:284).

Henry Brown, who had inherited the estate of Mrs. Potter, bought 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of the Wildes property, June 8, 1903 (1710:348). This increased his lot to about 8 acres, and the present line of division must coincide very nearly with the original line between Saltonstall and Rogers. By the terms of the sale, Mr. Brown was obliged to remove the ancient Norton mansion near the great elm, and it was torn down, still stout and strong. Its walls were filled with brick, and its oak beams were massive and finely finished. Picturesque in architecture and in location, its destruction was a matter of general regret. John H. Procter bought the Wildes mansion and 14 acres, May 8, 1903 (1706:40). The balance of the land, 20 acres, was purchased by Mrs. Anna P. Peabody, Oct. 5, 1904 (1757:181). She has transformed the bare pastures into the beautiful estate, to which the name, Floriana, has now been given.

She also acquired the John H. Procter property, Jan. 8, 1907 (1857:355) so that her title covers the original lots of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers and his descendants, of Thomas Burnham, Rev. William Hubbard and Samuel Younglove.

The seventh lot in the old Common field, it has been said, was owned



FLORIANA

The summer home of Mrs. Anna P. Peabody.

by Dea. William Goodhue, by his grandsons John and William, and other heirs, by Thomas Manning and his son Capt. Richard, who gave it in equal divisions to his daughters, Martha Talton and Priscilla Heath. Stilman Talton of Newmarket and Martha, sold $4\frac{1}{4}$ acres, her whole interest, to William Appleton, Sept. 20, 1775 (134:156). It was inherited by Daniel Thurston, his son-in-law, and sold by him to James Potter and by Thomas Brown, Jun., guardian of the minor children of James, to the widow, Rhoda B. Potter, called 'The Appleton lot' Nov. 26, 1839 (326:4). She conveyed it to Symmes Potter, May 4, 1846 (368:6).

William Heath and Priscilla sold her lot to George Norton, Dec. 27, 1774 (133:258) who conveyed to Daniel Rogers, Jan. 7, 1783 (140:217). Its later history is merged in that of the lots adjoining on the south.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers's Upper Pasture and Isaiah Woods's Lot.

Lots Nos. 8, 9 and 10 on Diagram.

The eighth and ninth lots were owned by Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and known as the upper pasture. In the indenture of division of the estate (Ips. Deeds 5:146), these lots were apportioned to Pres. John Rogers of Harvard, bounded north by land of William Goodhue, "south by land of said John Rogers, purchased of Isaiah Wood," March 4, 1684. His purchase of the tenth lot is not known from any other source.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Portsmouth succeeded in the ownership, probably by inheritance, and sold the 20 acres of arable and pasture land, with a small house and barn, to his brother, Rev. John Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church, November 7, 1706 (39:46). We may presume that the house and barn may have been occupied by Isaiah Wood, from whom Pres. John bought a lot. No trace of these buildings can be found. Rev. John bequeathed the southern half of the upper pasture, bounded by the land of Robert Potter on the south, to his son Rev. Nathaniel, his colleague and successor, and the northern half, abutting on Mr. Manning's land to his son, Rev. Daniel of Exeter (proved Jan. 6, 1745 326:460-4). The heirs of the latter sold the lot, 11 acres, on April 28, and May 20, 1786, to Daniel Rogers of Ipswich (146:151).

After the death of Mr. Rogers, partition of the tract was made, 16 acres in all, as he had previously bought the $4\frac{1}{4}$ acre lot of George Norton. A third was set off to George Haskell by the Court of Common Pleas, Sept. term, 1839, and the balance to Martha and Mary Ann Rogers. The latter sold their portion to Capt. Symmes Potter, Feb. 15, 1840 (317:118) and George Haskell sold to him Jan. 4, 1841 (323:219). He bought the Appleton lot adjoining, as has been stated, and enlarged his holding to twenty acres. By the will of Capt. Potter, who was lost at sea, his sister, Mrs. Julia P. Willett, received his landed estate, 1859 (Pro. Rec. 420:46) and she bequeathed it to her son, Wallace P. Willett, the present owner. Four gates in the stone wall still indicate the the several lots included in the single large field.

The ten acre lot, which Rev. Nathaniel Rogers inherited in 1745, came into the possession of the Potters, who owned the large area beyond. In 1766, it had been divided. In that year, Richard Potter sold Daniel Potter, Jr., $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres, the southern half (126:173) and Daniel Potter sold Daniel Jr., the other half, $5\frac{1}{4}$ acres of upland and meadow, with a house, barn and joiner's shop, May 31, 1769 (126:174). Daniel Potter conveyed this property to Moses Willett, Nov. 20, 1810 (192:75) but it reverted to the Potter family and Daniel Potter sold the land and buildings to William H. Chapman of Salem, May 24, 1850 (429:20). Chapman sold to Rev. Daniel Fitz, D.D., Pastor of the South Church, the acreage being given as fourteen, Mar. 31, 1854 (492:34.) He conveyed to George W. Brown, Mar. 31, 1856 (529:92), who sold to Asa Wade, Dec. 27, 1862 (646:75). Mr. Wade sold the estate, reserving for the small house standing on the premises, built by Mr. Winslow, the privilege of retaining it two years, to Isaac F. Dobson, the present owner, Oct. 28, 1881 (1069:42). The dwelling is apparently the same that appears in the deed of Daniel Potter of 1769 and was built before that date.

John Dane's Lot.

No. 11 on Diagram.

John Dane owned the lot, numbered 11, in 1661, and Nathaniel Smith in 1706, by the deeds of adjoining lots, and Robert Potter owned and occupied in 1745. In the division of his estate, half the house and a piece of land 18 rods deep, 6 rods 8 links wide, was set off to the widow Mary, April 4, 1778 (Pro. Rec. 353:92). The administrator, Moses Potter, quitclaimed his interest in the estate to Stephen Brown, 3^d, April 8, 1778 (149:262). Walter Brown inherited and bought the interest of Joseph Boardman in the nine acres and half the house, April 2, 1824 (235:69). The other half of the house was bequeathed by Mary Brown to her relative Sally Berry, "as full remuneration for all care, labour and attention of every sort and kind bestowed on me during my life," Feb. 3, 1846 (Pro. Rec. 413:291). The widow Sally Berry, sold this to Capt. Symmes Potter, April 13, 1848 (395:258) and he conveyed it to Walter Brown, with a part of the lot, Jan. 15, 1857 (611:37). The administrator of Walter Brown sold to Asa Wade, June 9, 1863, (652:178). He owned the adjoining estate and moved the house from its original location near the road to the rear of the barn, where it still stands. The later history of this lot is that of the farm, of which it became a part.

John Hoyt's Lot.

No. 12 on Diagram.

In the year 1641, the Town Record has the following entry, concerning the twelfth of these river side lots:

"Granted to John Hoyt six acres of planting ground at the Mile brook having the Mile brook on the South Ipswich River on the Northwest a planting lott of John Danes on the Northeast and the Comon of the Towne of Ipswich on the Southeast."



THE DWELLING OF THE LATE EDWARD B. WILDES
now owned by Mrs. Anna P. Peabody.

Thomas Hartshorne of Reading and Sarah, his wife, who was relict of William Lampson, late of Ipswich, sold to Anthony Potter,

“our dwelling house & other outhousing with the orchard & a parcel of upland & meadow containing sixteen acres on the South side of the river within the common fence bounded with mile brook towards the west the Mill River towards the North John Danes land toward the East the comon South.”

December 11, 1661 (Ips. Deeds 4: 437).

The lot is the same in both records beyond question, though its area is 6 acres in the grant and 16 acres in the deed, and diverse compass directions appear in the bounds. Potter soon enlarged his modest farm. John Appleton, son of Samuel, the immigrant, sold him 16 acres, having the Mile brook on

“the east Mill River on the North the land of Lieut Sanuel Appleton west and other land of Potters formerly William Goodhues toward the south.”

Dec. 22, 1664

(Ips. Deeds 2: 221).

Dea. Goodhue's deed of sale of the lot mentioned in the above deed is not recorded, but a later deed records another conveyance by Dea. Goodhue to Potter for £35

“of 11 acres together with 7 acres which was sometimes W^m Lampsons in the whole 18 acres,” bounded by Lieut. Appleton's, his own land and the brook, March 12, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 220).

This completed his estate, which included the farms, now owned by the Oliver Smith heirs and George E. Barnard. Strangely enough, ten years later Samuel Appleton Sen., executed a deed of sale to Anthony Potter Sen., for £110, 5s. of the same lot already sold him, 18 acres and 62 rods,

“a part of my farm lying between the Great River and Myle brook bounded from the gate post at the highway to Boston to a small oake by the great River which are two bounds having the land of the sd Appleton on the Southwest and from the small oake to the great River coming to sd Potters land on the northwest and the land of sd Potter on the northeast on the east by myle brooke from sd Potters land up to the gate post at the highway to Boston,—”

“provided it was always intended that what damage the sd Anthony Potter shall sustain by water that comes from the sd. Appletons dam upon any of the above land that the sd Potter and his suscessors shall bear it and that the sd Appleton and his successors shall have the liberty of a highway to the Towne by the great River through the sd land as heretofore,” with provision for fence etc. 10-11-1681 (Ips. Deeds 4: 486).

The original grant to Samuel Appleton was bounded by the River and by Mile Brook, and the Appleton title seems not to have been extinguished

although Dea. Goodhue had sold two lots in this tract. John Appleton, son of Samuel, gave the deed for the first lot.

On March 14, 1693, Joseph Calef, Thomas Potter and Antony Potter were granted liberty to dam the water and build a fulling mill on Mile brook. The mill was not built apparently, as Edmund Potter, Abraham Tilton, Jr. and Antony Potter petitioned to set up a dam and grist mill in Mile brook, near the house of Thomas Potter, not to damnify Col. Appleton's saw mill. This was granted March 24, 1696, and the mill was built. The dam and an old mill building still remain.

Thomas Potter had a house therefore near this dam and mill in 1696, but the land seems to have belonged to Samuel Potter. By his will, Samuel bequeathed

"to son Samuel besides what I have given him a deed of on y^e south-erly side of y^e brook I give him . . . all my land on y^t side of sd brook. . . . He shall always have an outlett to ye Town Common from his house to y^e Common as y^e way now goes."

To his son Thomas

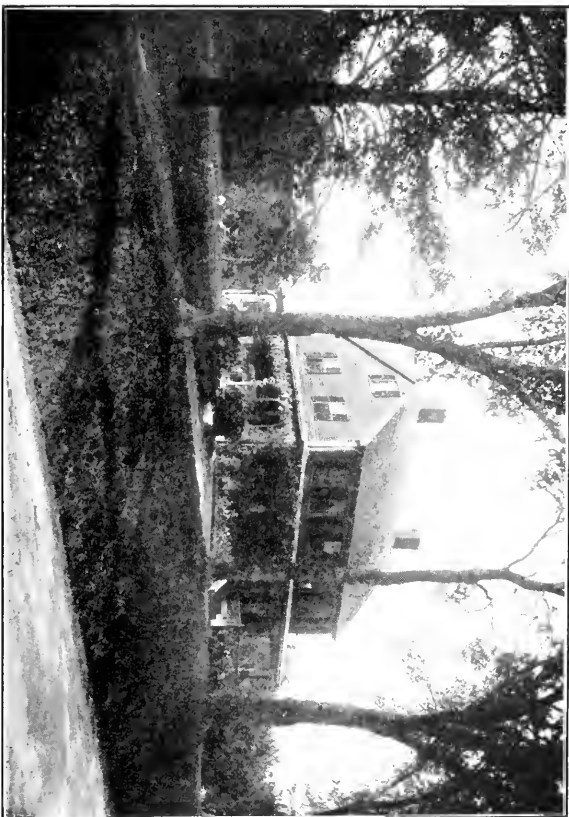
"all lands on y^e north side the brook and after wife's decease all lands housings" etc.

Proved Aug. 2, 1714

(Pro. Rec. 311:173-5).

Thomas Potter was the owner therefore, from 1714, of the principal part of the present Barnard farm, but Thomas and Antony Potter sold to Thomas Norton, tanner, whose establishment and dwelling were near Saltonstall's brook, 13 acres, bounded by Antony Potter, north, Thomas and Antony, northwest, and Thomas Potter, southwest. March 7, 1733 (86:70). Daniel Potter succeeded to the ownership and sold to his son, Richard, the house and 16 acres, beginning at the corner of Robert Potter's shop, and bounded on the other side by the brook, "as it runs to the land of Thomas Norton, then on land of Richard Potter and Jonathan Potter to first bounds." July 5, 1762 (119:155).

Richard Potter married the widow Lydia Symmes, their publishment being announced on Feb. 16, 1760, and a daughter, Sarah, was baptized Dec. 28, 1760. She lived to be 89 years old, and in her old age used to tell very interesting stories of her childhood, which are remembered by her grand-nephew Wallace P. Willett. The house in which she was born was not on the same spot as the present dwelling, but occupied the site of the original house. In her childhood, a heavy growth of oaks and hickories yet remained near the river, and from the swamp the cries of wolves and other wild animals were plainly heard at night. Her mother in turn had told her of her own childhood in the ancient 'garrison house,' on the same spot built of logs and surrounded by a stockade or wall of logs, some ten feet high, with loopholes for musket fire in case of Indian attack. The Indians were friendly and came frequently to the house for food and tobacco. Gradually their attitude became less friendly and the dwellers in the lonely house began to plan for their safety in case of an Indian assault. The cellar was



GADSHILL
The residence of Mr. Isaac F. Dobson.

built up with logs, and by removing some of these a little closet or cave was dug and cleverly concealed.

One day, when the men were at work in the fields, and the mother of the household was busy with her dinner, the little girl discovered Indians landing from their canoes in war-paint and fully armed. The mother saw that it was impossible to give the alarm. Hurrying the children into the cellar, she threw open the gate of the stockade, and dropped her hood and shawl as though they had been lost in the flight of the family, then, rushing back, she opened the log shelter and hid with her children.

The cunning ruse deceived the Indians. They entered, helped themselves to the dinner, and smoked at their leisure, doing no damage, however, to the house or furniture. Finally two or three sought the pork barrel in the cellar, and the poor children nearly died from fright, lest the slightest noise should betray their presence. But the Indians had no suspicion, and having helped themselves from the friendly barrel, they withdrew, and the whole band returned to their canoes.

This ancient tradition of the early days is a true picture, no doubt, of the anxiety and fear which beset every family on the outskirts of the villages for many years. The statement that it was a garrison house is very interesting. The committee for Essex County reported in March 1675-6 that Ipswich was well defended with its fort about the meeting house and the garrison houses.¹ The location of the latter is not given, but it is very probable that the scattered families dwelling in this neighborhood would have had at least one well defended house for a common refuge.

Richard Potter bequeathed his estate to his son Jonathan (d. roved Oct. 5, 1789. Pro. Rec. 360:290). James, the son of Jonathan, acquired the interest of Julia Ann, who became the wife of Levi Willett (Aug. 28, 1832) and Symmes, Oct. 30, 1837 (303:160). His widow, Mrs. Rhoda B. Potter, sold the farm, now including the whole tract except the Norton lot, 30 acres in all, to Capt. Symmes Potter, May 4, 1846 (368:6). Asa Wade bought of Capt. Potter, Feb. 12, 1857 (547:96) and the Walter Brown lot in 1863. He sold to Charles A. Campbell, March, 20, 1894 (1406:500), and he, in turn, to George E. Barnard, Oct. 20, 1899 (1591:475). Under the hand of the last two owners, the ancient farm has become a beautiful estate, to which the name Riverbend is happily given.

The thirteen acre lot, sold to Thomas Norton in 1733, was sold by Daniel Potter to Moses Willett, Nov. 20, 1810 (192:75). The administrator of Willett sold "the Potter lot," ten and a quarter acres, to William Manning, March 8, 1820 (270:36). Mr. Manning built the house and barn and lived here until his death. His heirs sold to George Fellows, Sept. 7, 1860 (612:246), the Fellows heirs to Willard B. and William H. Kinsman, April 13, 1883 (1105:201). Mr. Albert W. Smith bought of the Kinsman heirs, May 24, 1894 (1412:499) and sold to Asa Burnham, Dec. 14, 1895 (1465:274), Burnham to Mrs. Lavinia A. Brown, April 15, 1902 (1670:312) who conveyed to Mrs. Lavinia Campbell, wife of Chas. A. Campbell, Oct. 27,

¹ Mass. Archives Book 68 leaf 184. Ipswich in Mass. Bay Colony, pp. 207, 208.

1904 (1758:111). George E. Barnard bought the house and ten acres, but the 23 acre "Smith lot" on the east side of the highway was retained by Mr. Campbell, and is included in his estate.

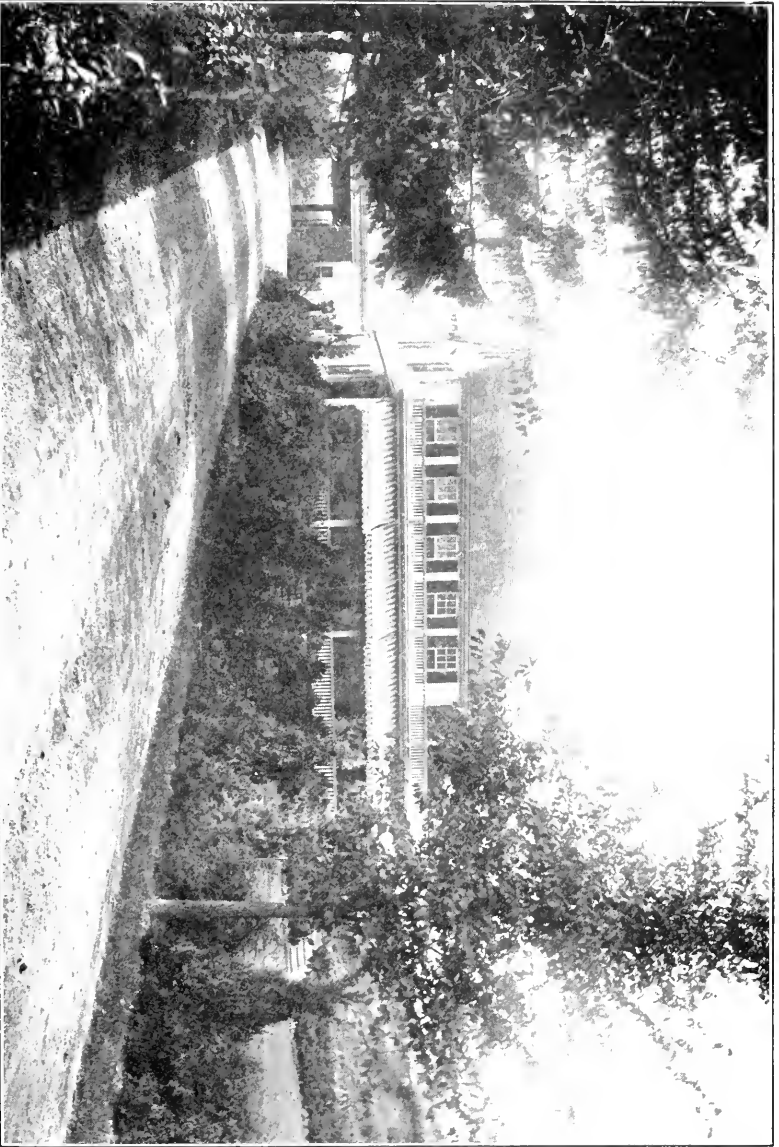
The remainder of the ancient Potter farm was in the possession of Samuel Potter, as we have noted, in 1714. He bequeathed his estate to his son Samuel, (proved Feb. 29, 1747 Pro. Rec. 327:508-9), but Richard sold Samuel a 14 acre lot, fronting on the road, and bounded by Oliver and Nathaniel Appleton's land on the south, April 3, 1775 (134:125). Moses Willett acquired possession and the widow Martha sold at auction to her sons George and Levi, and conveyed her dower as well, April 1, 1830 (257:36). The Ipswich Bank foreclosed and took the property, and sold the "Willett Farm" about 80 acres, to Daniel Whipple, April 7, 1840 (321:3). Calvin Whipple sold to Harriet C. Smith, April 3, 1868 (744:70), and her heirs still own.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers's Gravel Pit Pasture.

Returning now to the east side of the old highway, the "Gravel Pit Pasture" as it was called, including all the land from Saltonstall's brook to "Parting Paths," was granted probably to Rev. Nathaniel Rogers. It was sold by Daniel Rogers, his grandson, and son of Pres. John, to Jonathan Wade, who bequeathed "the pasture I purchased of Mr. Daniel Rogers, commonly called Gravel Pit Pasture," to his three granddaughters. The inventory gives its area as 20 acres but it was divided into three lots of 10 acres each. The northern lot was assigned to Elizabeth (Cogswell) Farley, wife of Capt. John Farley, the middle one to Abigail Cogswell, who married Thomas Pickard of Rowley, the southern lot to Susanna Cogswell, who became the wife of Moses Treadwell, in 1749 (Pro. Rec. 329:133).

Mr. Pickard sold the ten acres settled on his wife to Nathaniel Farley, April 7, 1766 (125:237), who conveyed to Abraham Choate, April 18, 1769 (125:231). Samuel Kinsman was the next owner, and he sold to Asa Baker, March 26, 1789 (149:264). Baker acquired the interest of Capt. John Farley, the northern division. In the distribution of his estate, ten acre lots were set off to Dorcas Brown and Polly, the wife of Michael Brown, April 6, 1814. After Michael's death, Polly sold the whole twenty acres with the new dwelling and barn to Ira Worcester, reserving to the Town right to dig gravel, April 23, 1841 (324:95). This pit was sold to Worcester by the Town, Aug. 9, 1854 (509:293). A brick powder house of the familiar conical shape was built on the estate by the Town in 1792. Mr. Worcester sold Jane Rowell the half acre lot on which she built a dwelling now owned by Mr. Henry P. Homans, Aug. 31, 1865 (697:274) and the remainder to Ellen M. Burnham, wife of Frank H. Burnham, reserving right to the Town to keep the powder house, April 18, 1871 (821:150). The Town attached no interest unfortunately to the picturesque structure, and it fell into ruin and disappeared. Albert S. Brown purchased the estate from Mrs. Burnham's heirs, Feb. 27, 1889 (1243:514) and occupies it.

The third division was sold by Moses Treadwell and Susanna (Cogs-



RIVER BEND FARM
The summer home of Mr. George E. Barnard.

well) to their brother-in-law Capt. John Farley, May 13, 1773 (138:151). Executions against Farley were granted to John Adams, Benj. Merrill, Aaron Perley and Sarah Willet, July 10, 1820. (Exec. No. 3: 211, 212, 213a, 213b, 221). A six acre lot was assigned to Aaron Perley and sold by him to Ira Worcester and was included in his transfer to Mrs. Burnham. Sarah Willet was assigned an interest in one acre and Adams and Merrill received the balance. Merrill sold his interest to Jeremiah Kimball, Jr., Jan. 24, 1824 (692:47). Adams sold to the same, March 24, 1824 (692:46) and Sarah Willet had already sold him her interest Novem. 24, 1823 (256:28). Jeremiah gave the four acre lot thus acquired to his son, Charles Kimball, Dec. 11, 1839 (692:47) who sold to Maynard Whittier, Dec. 26, 1873 (900:105). Mr. Whittier built the house, and still makes his home here.

The Inner Common of the South Eighth.

Lots Nos. 14 to 19.

The great tract of pasture, meadow and swamp, bounded by County Road, Essex Road, the Candlewood Road, Fellows Lane and Lakeman's Lane, was a part of the common land of the Town, and when the great area of common lands was divided into Eighths in 1709,¹ it became part of the division known as the South Eighth. The South Eighth was divided again into several sections, Gould's Pasture, Ringe's Pasture, Walker's Island, etc. and this tract, bounded as above, which was known as The Inner Common or Pasture of the South Eighth. The Town voted in 1709,

"That any commoner who has one or more rights and has built one or more new houses in the place of old ones shall have only the right for a new house which belonged to the old one."

The list of old and new commoners as they were styled was settled and the right of pasturage in these commons was restricted to these commoners, who were invariably residents of the section of the Town nearest to these several Eighths. A few years later, we find the proprietors of these Eighths had become incorporated and each had its own organization, transacted business and kept its own record. So far as known to me, the ancient records of the "Thick Woods and Pigeon Hill Eighth," now in the possession of the heirs of D. F. Appleton, and the Jeffries Neck Eighth are the only ones that have been preserved. About 1726, the proprietors of the Inner Common began to apportion individual shares and gradually division lines were run and individual titles were established.

Francis Crompton's Lot.

No. 14 on Diagram.

Beginning with the lot on the south corner of County Road and Essex Road which is alluded to as the "Parting of the way leading to Chebacco," in 1732 (61:115) and "y^e parting of y^e paths" in 1738 (77.23) Francis

¹ See Ipswich in Mass. Bay Colony, p. 73, and Chap. on Common Lands.

Crompton, the inn-keeper, whose famous hostelry was nearly opposite the present Heard mansion, owned about 19 acres. By his will, (proved March 16, 1730, Pro. Rec. 319:209-212,) 9½ acres on the corner of the Windmill Hill Pasture was assigned to his daughter Hannah Perkins. A 5¼ acre lot adjoining and fronting on the way to Chebacco was assigned to Ann Crompton and 4 acres, the eastern lot, was settled on the widow Hannah.

The daughters sold their interest to Thomas Manning, the blacksmith, Dec. 1, 1732 (61:115). He bequeathed to his sons, Joseph and Richard (will proved May 23, 1737 Pro. Rec. 322: 49-53). Dr. Joseph's half included the land on the corner, Richard's half faced the County Road, south of Joseph's. The widow Crompton's third was sold to Philemon Dane prior to 1742 (104: 77 "Dane's other land") whose heirs conveyed to Dr. Manning in 1758, 1762 and 1764 (116:121, 122). The deed of Paul Little of Falmouth describes it as "the house and garden I purchased of James Dean," but no other allusion to the dwelling occurs and it must have disappeared about this time. Dr. Joseph Manning purchased a six acre lot of his brother, Richard, June 1, 1768 (123:169) and an orchard lot of one acre, Nov. 6, 1770 (123:194). By this purchase he became the owner of the entire Crompton lot.

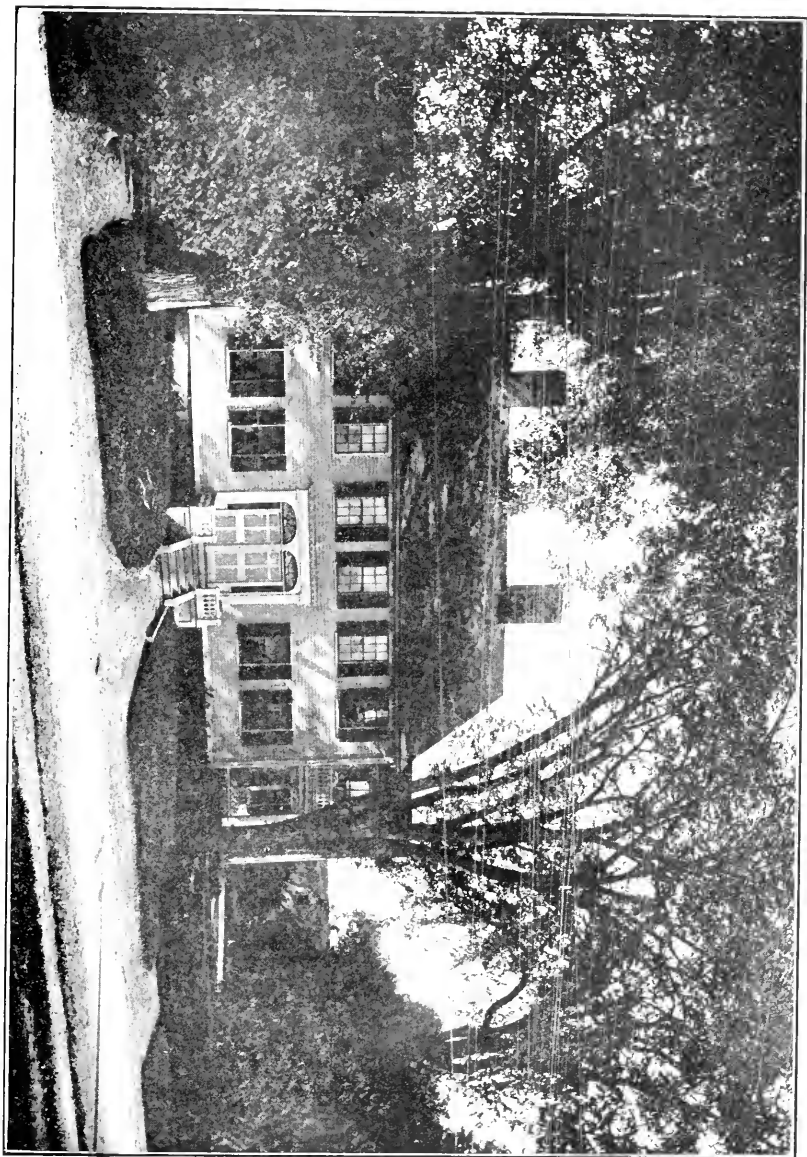
He sold it in three lots to his son Jacob, March 1, 1779 (138:93) Feb. 1, 1781, and July 8, 1782 (141:7). Jacob conveyed to Dr. John Manning, Nov. 16, 1804 (175:119), Manning sold to Thomas Beckford, Jan. 4, 1805 (175:249), Beckford to John Heard, Feb. 25, 1814 (209:105), Heard to Richard Potter, Nov. 2, 1832 (276:195). Potter sold the lot containing 16 acres or more with buildings¹ to Henry Wilson, Jr., April 30, 1846 (374: 105). Other transfers followed, to S. S. Skinner, March 31, 1847 (485:128), to Daniel C. Manning of Salem, May 21, 1862 (637:235), to John C. Carlisle, April 1, 1865 (682:55). Ira B. Carlisle, bro. of John, conveyed it to Wm. G. Brown and Abram D. Wait, April 4, 1871 (822:269).

The lot was divided by them. Land on the corner and the buildings were sold to William Kimball, Sept. 14, 1877 (984:7). His widow and daughters sold their interest in 8 acres to William Kimball, Jr., son of the deceased, March 15, 1887 (1193:113). Mr. Lewis H. Pingree purchased the interest of William in the house and a part of the land, March 13, 1906 (1817:246). Mr. Kimball sold the remainder of the lot to George E. Barnard, Oct. 19, 1906 (1846:105).

A small lot, 200 ft. front, 100 ft. deep, on County Road, was sold to Alfred Norman, Sept. 11, 1875 (936:165) who conveyed to Margaret Buzzell wife of Isaac, Feb. 3, 1877 (970:214). A house was built which is still owned by the Buzzell heirs.

A larger lot, south of the Buzzell lot, was sold to Wallace P. Willett, Aug. 30, 1875 (936:246) and was included in his sale to Frances E. Richardson, May 17, 1902, which will be noted more particularly in the sketch of the adjoining lot. The remains of the ancient stone wall, which formed the original boundary of the Crompton lot, are still in place.

¹ The house had been moved from the Sturgis lot to this site.



THE RESIDENCE OF MR. ALBERT S. BROWN.

Rev. John Rogers's Lot.

No. 15 on Diagram.

Ten acres adjoining the Crompton lot were "laid out," as the phrase was, in the division of the Common to Rev. John Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church, and sold by him to Thomas Norton, Jun., Oct. 16, 1741 (82:277). In the division of his estate, the Rogers Pasture, so called; on Windmill Hill, was assigned to the widow, Mary. (Pro. Rec. 330:426.) It was acquired by Thomas, the eldest son, who sold it to Joseph Appleton, measuring eight and a quarter acres, March 10, 1767 (123:107). Norton owned the next lot, as well, and he may have changed the original lines, or what is more likely, as Mr. Norton was a Harvard graduate and a school master, he may have surveyed the lot and determined its actual size. The traces of an old stone wall probably mark the original southern line of the Rogers Pasture.

Thomas Appleton, son and heir of Joseph, sold the Rogers Pasture to John Crocker, April 7, 1787 (146:270), who sold to Aaron Smith, Feb. 12, 1788 (147:133). Smith sold to Amos Jones 3 acres on May 23, 1817 (217:203) and the remaining 5 acres, Dec. 9, 1818 (233:10). The heirs of Jones sold to Patrick Riley, May 18, 1870 (798:79), who conveyed to Wallace P. Willett, Sept. 20, 1880 (1045:211), who already owned a part of the Manning lot as has been mentioned. He sold 5 acres, which included the latter and part of the Rogers Pasture, to Frances E., wife of Francis H. Richardson, May 17, 1902 (1676:384). The Richardson house stands on the Rogers land.

Thomas Norton Senior's Lot.

No. 16 on Diagram.

The third lot in the old South Eighth Pasture was laid out to Thomas Norton, Sr. and was owned by Thos. Norton, Jr. in 1741. Joseph Appleton acquired possession and it fell to his heirs, as well as the lot already considered. Thomas Appleton, son of Joseph, sold to John Crocker, Jr. a five acre lot, April 9, 1787 (146:270) and a smaller one of an acre and three quarters, Dec. 13, 1787 (146:107) which may have been part of the third original division and Crocker sold both to Daniel Ross, Feb. 10, 1789. Ross was a Revolutionary soldier and a cabinet maker by trade. His residence, known later as the Parsons house, still stands on the corner of Elm and County Sts. He clung tenaciously to the old order and wore his cue and small clothes as long as he lived. His tools are in the possession of the Historical Society. As he acquired the adjoining land, the history of this lot is included in that of its neighbors.

Joseph Appleton sold 6 acres to Alexander Troop, who lived on the Essex Road, on the lot now known as the "Hobson lot," Jan. 20, 1791 (152:180). Troop also owned the lot, fronting on the Essex Road, and reaching back of several of the lots which had their frontage on the County Road. His heirs sold the whole lot, including 15 acres, to John Farley, Junior, and Thomas Farley, the tanners, who lived near the site of the Parsonage.

Their barn and tan house and other buildings used by Josiah Stackpole as a soap factory, were torn down in 1906, and the Giles Firmin garden laid out on the site. The Farleys sold to Amos Jones, Feb. 17, 1820 (223:160). Thomas Wade acquired it, and by an exchange of adjoining land, conveyed the title to Daniel Ross, May 22, 1824 (235:184) who owned already the land on the north and south.

Robert Calef's Lot.

No. 17 on Diagram.

The next original lot, assigned apparently to Robert Calef, owned by his heirs in 1742, was sold by John Calef to John Appleton, $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, Nov. 6, 1752 (98:36). His son William, heir of his estate, sold to Stephen Brown, March 16, 1807 (180:122), who sold to Daniel Ross, March 29, 1817 (213:28). The old soldier, having acquired a goodly 19 acre tract by his successive purchases, sold the whole to Capt. Symmes Potter, Sept. 18, 1838 (308:91), who bequeathed it with his other lands to his sister, Mrs. Julia P. Willett. Her son, Wallace P. inherited at her death.

Thomas Manning's Lot.

No. 18 on Diagram.

Thomas Manning, the blacksmith, who bought the 20 acre lot on "Parting Paths" from Mr. Crompton, was assigned a lot of equal size, which is included in Charles A. Campbell's estate. In his will (proved May 23, 1737 Pro. Rec. 322:49-53), he bequeathed to his son Richard, his shop, barn and all his blacksmith tools, his negro man, Daniel, and a full third of the tract laid out to him in the Inner Common. He gave a third to his son John, and another to Joseph. The sons agreed to a division, Richard taking the lot adjoining the Calef land, Joseph the next, and John the third, on the corner of Lakeman's Lane, May 24, 1738 (77:23). }

The Richard Manning lot was owned later by Robert and John Potter. The administrator of Robert sold his interest to Stephen Brown, 3^d, April 8, 1778 (149:262). Joseph Boardman sold a quarter interest in this lot to Walter Brown, son of Stephen, April 2, 1824 (235:69), and he acquired a complete title. His administrator sold the lot, 6 acres, to Asa Wade, June 9, 1863 (652:179) who sold to Chas. A. Campbell, Mar. 20, 1894 (1406:500).

Dr. Joseph Manning acquired his brother's third and his son, Dr. John "for love and affection paid me by my daughter and one dollar," conveyed 12 acres to Lucretia Smith, the wife of Asa, May 14, 1806 (179:169). Asa and Lucretia Smith sold to Richard Manning, May 22, 1817 (213:154). In the inventory of Richard (Pro. Rec. 397:548, June 7, 1821) it is entered as "about eleven acres of land called the common lot," but in the conveyance by Richard Manning's heirs to William Manning, it is called the Smith lot, Jan. 24, 1833 (270:37).

Mr. Manning enlarged the lot by the purchase of the Birch Pasture, so called, 9 acres, from George Fellows, of Salem, one of the heirs of Ephraim Fellows, Jan. 8, 1833 (270:38). His heirs sold the homestead on the



FAIRVIEW

opposite side of County Road and the 23 acres to George Fellows, who removed from Salem and spent his last years near the place of his birth, Sept. 7, 1860 (612:246). His heirs sold to Willard B. and William H. Kinsman, April 13, 1883 (1105:201) and the 23 acre lot was included in the successive conveyances to Albert W. Smith, May 24, 1894 (1412:499), to Asa Burnham, Dec. 14, 1895 (1465:274) to Mrs. Lavinia A. Brown, April 15, 1902 (1670:312) and to Mrs. Lavinia Campbell, wife of Charles A., Oct. 27, 1904 (1758:111). Mr. Campbell also purchased of W. P. Willett three and a third acres, part of the original Calef lot, Oct. 12, 1900 (1621:444). The beautiful mansion on this estate, which bears the appropriate name of Fairview, was built in 1900.

Thomas Firman's Lot.

No. 19 on Diagram.

The natural boundary of the Inner Common of the South Eighth, of which we have been speaking, on the south side, would seem to have been the water course, variously known as Mile Brook or River, or The Mile Brook or "the river that runneth, out of the great Pond," or Annable's Brook occasionally, or Saw Mill Brook. As there were other brooks called Two Mile Brook and Three Mile Brook, the length of the stream seems to have suggested the name.

But for some reason which can not be guessed even, a generous tract of land bordering on the brook, reaching from the present County Road to the Candlewood road, was granted at a very early date to three men. Thomas Firman was the earliest known owner of a tract which was sold for twenty acres, in 1647, but a little later for forty acres. Richard Saltonstall, Esq. owned a forty acre tract on the east side of Firman's, which was sold by his heirs as fifty acres a century later and John Andrews owned from Saltonstall's line to the Candlewood road. Each of these will be considered in due time, but at present we are concerned only with the Firman lot.

Firman sold twenty acres upland and meadow, bounded by the Mile brook southwest, the Saltonstall pasture southeast and "the rest on common ground," to Thomas Low and Edward Bragg, Oct. 27, 1647 (Ips. Deeds 1:35). Bragg eventually disposed of his interest and Low sold or bequeathed the whole lot to his son John. Of these transfers no record remains.

John Low, Senior, and Dorcas, sold 10 acres to Joseph Fellows, Jan. 1, 1689 (10:8) and 30 acres to his son John, Junior, reserving to his own use 2 acres next the brook, Oct. 10, 1692 (10:148). John Jr. sold 4 acres to Ruth Fellows, widow of Joseph, Dec. 7, 1693 (10:5). The small two acre lot bounded by the Bay Road west, and Mile brook south, came into the possession of Thorndike Low, son of John. The remainder of the farm was sold by John Low, Junior, measuring forty acres, with all the buildings, "y^e easterly side upon y^e common land of the Town of Ipswich and northwesterly upon sd. common," to Abraham Tilton, Jun., Novem. 19, 1699 (15:296) who sold to Thomas Manning, the locksmith, who owned the two large lots which have been considered, February 1706-7 (19:153).

In his will (proved May 23, 1737 Pro. Rec. 322:49-53) he directed, "I give to my son, John Manning, all that my farm I bought of Abraham Tilton, containing 50 acres, be it more or less, with all the buildings standing upon it."

Thorndike Low's two acres and buildings had come into the possession of Eliczer Foster, who sold or mortgaged his modest estate to Capt. Daniel Ringe, March 27, 1722 (39:245) but acquired it again, Oct. 5, 1727 (49:254). On March 3, 1741 (84:1) he sold to John Manning his neighbor, "my dwelling and land containing about four acres being the same I purchased of Capt. Daniel Ringe, and the land I purchased of Simon Wood, Thomas Wade and Jonathan Fellows, Committee to the Proprietors in the South Eighth."

John Manning's will (proved Sept. 11, 1775 Pro. Rec. 351:335) bequeathed half the farm, now estimated as about 60 acres, to his son John, and a quarter to each of the other sons, Thomas and Richard. John Manning, Jr. bequeathed to his sons Richard and William in equal parts "one undivided half of about sixty acres, lying in common with John Manning, 3d." His inventory includes "one dwelling house and other buildings, with 81 rods under and adjoining, as well as the undivided half of the farm," April, 1814 (Pro. Rec. 385:168, 232). Richard acquired his brother's interest and at his death, Judith, his widow, and the sons, Daniel C. and George, then residents of Salem, sold their interest to William, son of Richard, including the "Smith lot," the purchase of which by Richard has been already noted, Jan. 24, 1833 (270:37). William Manning, bought the lot on the west side of County Road and built a new home and sold his house and 29 acres to Alfred Manning, April 26, 1858 (569:235), who conveyed to J. Frank Smith, May 9, 1873 (881:174). Smith sold the farm "40 acres tillage and meadow with buildings" to William L. Sturgis, the present owner, April 20, 1877 (974:256).

The eastern half of the John Manning farm, bequeathed to Richard and Thomas, was owned eventually by Richard. His son Richard, Jr., of Salem, conveyed to John Manning, 3^d, his right to the farm, one half and one acre more, undivided with his brother John, May 8, 1795 (160:23). Mr. Ebenezer Fall married Abigail the daughter of John Manning. At the decease of Mr. Manning, John W. Dodge and his wife Sarah (Manning) sold their interest to Mr. Fall, March 13, 1845 (882:266) and a small lot, adjoining, May 7, 1859 (882:267). He sold the farm to Mrs. Lavinia A. Brown June 10, 1905 (1783:278). The present dwelling was built by John Manning, 3^d.

The Bay Road, it has been said, was laid out in 1640 by a Committee acting under the direction of the General Court in the precise location County Road occupies to-day. The road was defined "by marked trees over Mr. Appletons meadow, called Parlye Meadow & from thence by Mr. Hubbards farm house." The low, swampy ground, over which a broad causeway has since been built in Ipswich and Hamilton, was an embarrassing obstacle to travel.

But the task of constructing a proper highway was begun about the

time when the road was formally laid out. The Town Record, under the date, The 4th of the 2 mo. 1643 contains the item,

"Granted to Mr. William Hubbard the p'cell of land viewed by Mr. Appleton and George Giddings containing about 50 acres 25 whereof is in consideration of the highway that leadeth through his farme and the other 25 acres are for work to be done towards making the great swamp sufficient. Mr. Saltonstall Mr. Appleton Robert Andrews and George Giddings are to pportion the work."

Presumably the work was done and the Long Bridge or corduroy, which gave the name Long Bridge Swamp to the locality, may have been built at that time.

It has been a matter of current tradition that in order to avoid this swamp, the original highway left the present County Road near the bridge over Mile River and followed Lakeman's Lane and Fellows Lane, and a way over land now owned by James H. Proctor to Mile River, where a bridge was built with long causeways on either side at a very early date, and then on the high ground on the south side of Mile River to the main road again.

A grant of 40 acres had been made to Richard Jacob "on the north-west syde the River that runneth out of the great pond" before 1638 and this substantial bridge and causeway gave easy access to his house, which was erected on the lot, near the bridge.

More detailed study of this ancient bridge and the highways which led to it will be made when the lands adjacent are considered. At present it may be noted that the first trace of a public highway in this locality occurs in the vote of the Town on Dec. 6, 1658. "Ordered, that George Giddings and Edward Brag are apoynted to lay out a highway through Mr. Saltingstall's 40 acres and a pt. of Jo. Andrews his farm to the Bridge over the River to Rich. Jacobs House, a rod and a half wide."

A road already existed, no doubt, before this date, as the bridge was already built. Mr. Saltonstall's forty acres is now included in James H. Proctor's large estate. The John Andrews farm was owned afterwards by William Fellows and his heirs and is now included in the farm of Benjamin R. Horton. The way thus laid out is evidently the present Fellows Lane, from the Candlewood road to the old cart path leading toward Mile River that is still in use, across the land of the Daniel Appleton heirs. No mention is made of laying out a way from the Bay Road to this old causeway and bridge. But a way existed and was in common use, as appears from the complaint made by some inhabitants of Ipswich and Wenham in July, 1727. "that there hath been an highway used for 60 or 70 years from Mr. Appleton's mill¹ in that part of Ipswich towards Chebacco," now closed by the proprietors of the commons, etc.²

This old way, then, was undoubtedly in use in 1657, but the broad high way over Mile River and through the Appleton Farm was laid out in

¹ Major Appleton's saw mill was on the South side of the Mile River, near the bridge.

² Records Gen. Sessions Court, pp. 53 and 59, 1727.

1640, and a substantial thoroughfare, no doubt, had been constructed many years before the other road was established. It may be possible, to be sure, that for a few years the travelled path avoided the swamp by crossing the river at the Jacobs farm, but no evidence exists to substantiate the suggestion.

The complaint just mentioned was made to the Selectmen. Failing of any relief, the complainants carried their case to the General Session Court, affirming that this road was "of Great use to that part of the Town to go to their market and about their occasions and for them and many others to go to their farms and lands in that part of the Town," which way the proprietors of Ipswich have stopped up by fencing in their Divisions of Common for the opening of which the Petitioners made their application." The Court appointed a Committee of three to make inspection and proper inquiries. This was done forthwith, and a report was made "that the way used and petitioned for is of more benefit to the petitioners and others than damage to the Proprietors."

The Town or the Proprietors failed to take any action, and the Court proceeded¹ to appoint a Committee "to open the old way above mentioned by laying out the same two rods wide." The Committee reported, July 17, 1728.² "We have laid out said way as followeth, beginning near said mill where the old way leadeth toward Chebacco & so staked said way Two rods wide till it cometh to the Road leading from the Country Road to Chebacco," *i. e.*, for the most part the present Fellows Lane.

But now Thomas Manning, whose land was cut by the road, became an aggrieved party and he complained to the Court in 1735 that "he is debarred from improving a quantity of land next Elder Foster's land," and asked that the highway might be relocated. This was referred to a Committee and report was made, July 8, 1735.³ A new location was made, beginning at Eliezer Foster's fence, crossing his land about 3 rods from the northerly corner of his barn by Manning's fence to the road, which was adopted.

But once again the good offices of the Court were sought in 1741. On August 11, "Upon reading the petition of Symonds Epes, Jonathan Wade, Esqrs & sundry others, that the way leading from the Saw Mill Bridge to Chebacco Road now going up the Hill before Mr. Eleazer Foster's House hath by long experience been found very inconvenient by reason of the length and heighth of the Hill praying that it may go in upon Mr. John Manning's land where it will be very convenient to the Improvers etc.," a Committee was again appointed. It reported that John Manning lay out the highway through his own land. John Manning reported on Jan. 19, 1741-2 that he had laid out a way 2 rods wide all along by the southwest-erly side of Dr. Joseph Manning's land, being about 36 rods on the land from the Country road to the former way leading towards Chebacco.⁴ Here it remains, now bearing the name Lakeman's Lane.

¹ P. 74, Court Records.

² P. 81, Court Records.

³ P. 390, Court Records.

⁴ P. 747, Court Records.

The ancient road evidently ascended the hill on the Sturgis property near the bridge. Faint traces of it are still visible and on the slope of the hill, a little way from the main road, the site of a house is easily seen, and the well near by. This may have been the ancient Thorndike Lowe dwelling afterwards owned by Eleazer Foster or perhaps the original John Lowe dwelling on the Manning farm.

Samuel Appleton's Farm.

No. 20 on Diagram.

"Granted Mr. Samuel Appleton by the company of freemen . . . a farme containing foure hundred and sixty acres more or less meadow and upland as it lyeth bounded by the River commonly called the Mile brook on the Northeast and by the great River on the Northwest on the West in part by the Land of William Warener and by a swamp on the Southeast and partly also at the same end by the Land of Hugh Sherrat to enjoy all the sayd Landes to him his heirs and assigns forever. Entered into the Town booke folio 16 the 20th of December 1638."

"The farme further bounded from the Land of William Warener by markt trees and a water course and then [] markt trees to the gate standing upon the high [] leading to Salem from thence as the fence runs [] the aspes and soe with a strayt line to the brook."

It will be noted that Dec. 20th 1638 is the date of the entry of the grant, not of the grant itself. This is unknown. Under the date Feb. 13th, 1636, the entry in the Town Record occurs. "Granted to John Severance, a six acre planting lott on the farr side the Brooke, and on this side Appletons farme." It is also recorded that certain lands were granted to Thomas Wells in the year 1635, but the entry was made on June 1, 1638. The frequent allusions to Folios of various numbers in the earliest records and to old books, which had been copied, show that the contemporaneous record of Town votes does not exist. In fact, the first volume of our present Town Records is a composite work, compiled by the late Nathaniel R. Farley from two ancient books of record, identical in considerable degree, yet with marked differences, the character and critical historic value of which are yet to be determined. The date of the grant of this great farm cannot be decided, therefore, and may be coincident with the arrival of Mr. Appleton.

It is recorded, under the date 2nd day of March, 1637.

"All those that have planting ground by the River side beyond Mr. Appleton's are to take the lott layers and lay out a highway as may be most convenient as themselves can best agree and return it to the eleven men."

This alludes undoubtedly to the road now called Waldingfield Road which led to the river lots of William Warner, Mark Quilter and others and the great 1200 acre farm of Richard Saltonstall, Esq. It was not much of a highway in the modern sense of the term as the east end of Quilters 20 acres came "up to a path leading to Mr. Saltonstalls farm."¹

In 1648, Mr. Appleton received the grant of "a little p'cell of land lying by the Highway leading to his farm by the Pequid lotts,"² and in

¹ Town Record, 1638.

² Granted to the men who marched against the Pequods. They have not been located.

1650, there was "granted to Mr. Appleton a p'cell of ground (in full satisfaction for the Country highway going through his farm) beyond the swamp to make his fence straight not exceeding eight acres."¹ He acquired also Parlye's meadow.

Samuel Appleton died in June 1670, in Rowley, where it is supposed he made his home the latter years of his life with his daughter Sarah, wife of the Rev. Samuel Phillips. It may be that he made conveyance of his farm before his death, as John Appleton, his elder son, sold Anthony Potter 16 acres, bounded by Mile brook on the east, the Mill River on the north and land of Lieut. Samuel Appleton west, Dec. 22, 1664 (Ips. Deeds 2:406) and Lieut. Samuel, his younger son, sold John Adams, a house and 20 acres "near Samuels farm," Dec. 2, 1665 (Ips. Deeds 2:513). With the exception of the 16 acre lot which his brother sold to Anthony Potter, Samuel seems to have owned the whole farm. He conveyed 18 acres more to Anthony Potter, 10-11-1681 (Ips. Deeds 3:486).

Here Major Appleton made his home in his declining years. His public services had been great and arduous, as a military commander, an Assistant, and an uncompromising opponent of Gov. Andros.² He owned a house in the town of Ipswich, but preferred the farm. He had a saw mill, which abutted on the southeast corner of the bridge, known sometimes as Saw Mill Bridge or Mile Brook Bridge, and the mill pond flowed the low ground over several acres probably.

The name, Appleton's Bridge, was also in use. On March 2^d, 1762, Oliver Appleton, who owned the saw mill, and others, petitioned the Town concerning the bridge. On May 13th, it was voted that "Col. Choate, Capt. Farley, and Capt. Baker be a Committee to take a view of Appleton's Bridge, & consider the expediency of building sd bridge into a stone bridge, and inquire what difference in cost between a Plank Bridge and a Rock Bridge and report as soon as may be." The Committee reported on July 2nd, and the Town voted, "That said bridge be built into a Rock bridge in the most prudent, expeditious and effectual manner, the abutments & pier & covering rock at ye expense & charge of ye Town, said bridge to be built on y^e place where it is now began." Col. John Choate and Capt. Isaac Smith, who owned the Col. Samuel Appleton farm, were appointed the building Committee. The bridge is still in use and antedates the Choate Bridge by two years.

Samuel Appleton's sons also settled on the great farm. To John, he conveyed by deed a house, and a goodly portion of land on Novem. 12, 1688 (Ips. Deeds 5:299) and a similar portion without a dwelling to Isaac on the same date (11:108). He died in his quiet farm house in 1696. His will, which was proved June 16, 1696 (Pro. Rec. 305:168), confirmed to John and Isaac the portions they had already received and divided the remainder to his widow Mary, and his sons, Samuel and Oliver, with a provision for the distribution of Bridge croft after his wife's decease.

¹ Town Record.

² See Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, for the history of his public services.

The Isaac Appleton Farm.

The farm allotted to Isaac has continued in his direct line to the present day. He bore the title of Major and he had a part in the military operations of his time. He died May 22, 1747, and bequeathed the farm to his son Isaac. The will was refused allowance, on the ground of his lack of mental soundness, but was eventually approved in 1785 (Pro. Rec. 328: 211-215).

Isaac, son of the Major, lived to the great age of 91 years. He died Dec. 18, 1794, bequeathing his estate to his son, Samuel, by his will, proved Jan. 5, 1795. The old house built by Major Isaac was replaced by the present dwelling on the same site, which was built by Samuel in 1794.

Samuel's will, proved June 1819 (Pro. Rec. 393:529-30), divided the farm between his sons Samuel Gilman and Timothy. Samuel died on July 2, 1852, at the age of 81. Timothy survived five years, and died on the 22nd of March, 1857, at the age of 78. Gen. James, their brother, removed from Portland after Samuel Gilman's death and bought the interests of the surviving heirs. His life had been active and conspicuous. His military career began while he was residing in Gloucester, during the war of 1812. He rose through all the grades and became Brigadier-General of the Massachusetts militia. As business affairs promised well in Portland, he removed thither and became prominent in public life. He was an influential member of the State Legislature, where he introduced the Prohibitory Law, although the credit of its inception has been given to Neal Dow, and became an enthusiastic leader in the Temperance work. He retired from public life on his removal to the ancestral farm, but retained his interest in public affairs, and made a memorable address to the Ipswich company, at the depot, when it started for the front, at the beginning of the Civil War.

Gen. James Appleton died Aug. 25, 1862 and his son, Daniel Fuller Appleton, acquired the interest of the other heirs, and made his summer home at the farm until his death in 1904. His son, Francis Randall, succeeded him in the ownership of the ancient domain.

Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D., who had married Harriette Appleton, daughter of Gen. James, built a summer cottage near the homestead, which received the name, Briar Hill. It is still occupied by the heirs.

The John Appleton Farm.

John, son of Major Samuel, died in 1724, at the age of 29, and by his will, proved June 8, 1724 (Pro. Rec. 315:107-9) devised his estate to his son Benjamin. Benjamin's widow, Elizabeth (Wade), was appointed administratrix, March 1, 1731 (Pro. Rec. 318:74). The heirs sold to Daniel Deane or Dane, Jan. 13, 1752 (97:322). Mr. Dane conveyed it to his son, Nathan Dane, the famous Professor of Law at Harvard, April 4, 1780 (139:57). He was born in the year 1752, and he may have seen the light, as it has been affirmed, in the ancient dwelling which still stands, though the timbers of the house indicate that it is not the original dwelling built by

John Appleton. Nathan Dane enlarged his farm by the purchase of about 31 acres with a dwelling on the east side of County Road, bounded by the land of Oliver Appleton, north, and Mile River, east, from the guardian of Jacob Brown, a person non compos mentis, June 30, 1790 (152:33). This lot was a part of the original Jacobs farm. Thomas Jacobs had bequeathed the farm, containing about 50 acres, to Abigail, wife of Thomas Brown, which Thomas and Abigail Brown conveyed to Jacob Brown, Feb. 21, 1758 (123:42). Jacob built the house undoubtedly. On July 13, 1802 (177:89), Mr. Dane sold to Samuel Safford and it has always been affirmed that Daniel Safford, of Boston, who built the fence around Boston Common was born in the old house, which still remains. An engraving of this dwelling forms the frontispiece to his biography. The Safford heirs sold to Benjamin Patch, Dec. 25, 1816 (211:203) and April 19, 1817 (214:66, 67). Mr. Patch sold at once the 30 acre lot, which Jacob Brown had owned and occupied, to Benjamin and Samuel Patch, April 22, 1817 (226:82). The original John Appleton farm remained in his possession until his death. The administrator of his estate sold a 20 acre lot to Asa Wade, who sold to his son Henry F. Wade. He sold to D. F. Appleton, Jan. 6, 1868 (740:158) and it is now owned by Francis R. Appleton. Henry Wilson and Lucy his wife, heir of Benj. Patch, sold to D. F. Appleton a small acre and a half lot, Nov. 23, 1866 (732:82) and ten acres, April 8, 1869 (772:178). They also sold 12 acres to Francis R. Appleton, December 18, 1874 (920:129). The remainder of the farm, 80 acres, with the old house, was sold by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson to Daniel Fuller Appleton, Jan. 2, 1890 (1269:156) who conveyed to his son, James W. Appleton, Feb. 15, 1894 (1402:278) and he in turn, to his brother Francis.

Reverting to the 30 acre lot between County Road and Mile River, 6 acres fell to Sally Annable. Daniel Annable and other heirs conveyed three-fifths of this to Samuel and George Patch, Jan. 1, 1824 (234:138) and Ira Dannels and wife conveyed a quarter interest to the same, April 20, 1824 (235:277). Another 6 acre lot was conveyed by George Patch to Ephraim Patch, Feb. 26, 1845 (620:38). His administrator sold the southern half of this lot to the widow, Lucy Patch, March 20, 1861 (620:39) and the rest to Henry Wilson. Mr. Wilson sold to Albert S. Brown, July 1, 1864 (678:226) and Mrs. Patch sold her interest to him, Dec. 21, 1868 (762:128). Mr. Brown sold the whole lot to D. F. Appleton, Feb. 21, 1889 (1248:504) and Mr. Appleton conveyed to his son Francis, Aug. 7, 1894 (1420:153). The old Jacob Brown cellar is still visible on this lot.

The Samuel Appleton Farm.

Samuel, eldest son of Major Samuel, attained the rank of Colonel in active service in Nova Scotia and elsewhere and was a conspicuous citizen. His will was proved, Nov. 25, 1725 (Pro. Rec. 315:307) and it made his son Samuel, the fourth of the name in successive generations, a merchant of Boston, his heir. He died in London of smallpox, Dec. 21, 1728. Jasper Waters, and Jasper Waters, Jun., drapers of London, brought suit against

his estate and gained possession, April 2, 1731 (97:86). Their attorney sold the farm to Isaac Smith and Nathan Chapman, July 25, 1751 (97:88). Mr. Smith had bought the saw mill near by, Feb. 24, 1745 (88:156). They sold 28½ acres abutting on the Daniel Dane farm to Isaac Appleton and Philip Brown, March 10, 1752 (99:157) and on March 25, 1752 (104:215) Capt. Smith bought Chapman's interest. His son, Samuel, bought the interest of the other heirs, and acquired the title, Feb. 10, 1814 (203:8). The farm had preserved nearly its original dimension down to this time, but was now dismembered. On May 27, 1803, some years before he acquired his title to the farm, Samuel Smith sold 10¾ acres of pasture land to Manasseh Dodge (210:67), and some years later, he sold 23¾ acres adjoining the above to Benjamin Dodge. Winthrop L. Dodge inherited and sold the two lots to Oliver Underhill, April 11, 1860 (679:81). William Willcomb and his wife Laura (Underhill) in her own right sold 5 acres of meadow and the 33 acres of pasture to Daniel F. Appleton, Sept. 15, 1881 (1068:167) who conveyed to his son Francis R. Appleton, Dec. 25, 1891 (1334:94). Mr. Appleton built his mansion to which he has given the name, New House, on this pasture lot.

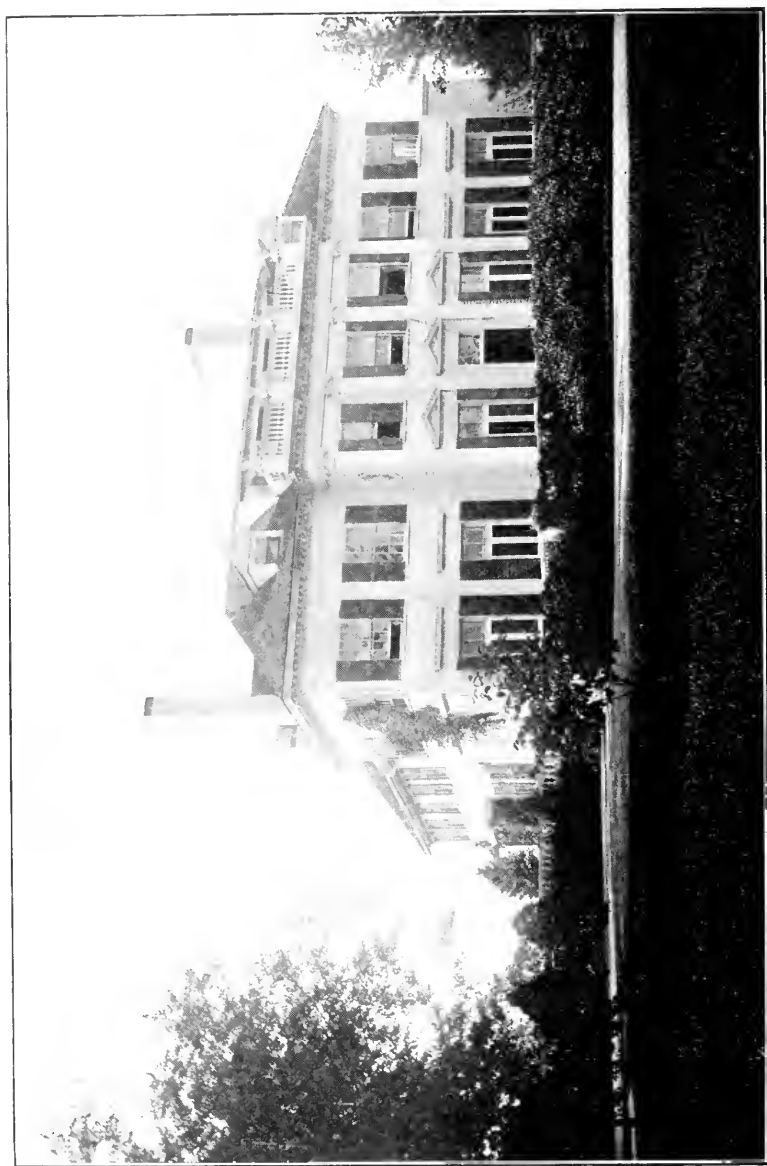
On Feb. 23, 1814, Samuel Smith sold 15 acres of upland to David Dodge, the miller (212:268). The first mills on the upper river were built by John Adams, to whom Major Samuel Appleton had sold a house and 20 acres. John Adams, Sen., conveyed his house, lands, the corn mill, etc. to his son John, April 7, 1698 (13:291). Isaac Smith and his wife, Eunice, sold to Paul Dodge.

"all y^t our Estate now in our possession together with y^e Reversion & remainder, which Remainder that is now in y: Possession & improvement of Our Father, Mr. Nath^l Cross, being the Dower of his wife, Phebe, heretofore Phebe Adams & natural mother to said Eunice . . . commonly called Adamses Mills."

including house, barn, grist and saw mills, about 42 acres, December 1, 1750 (96:180).

Barnabas Dodge, son of Paul, inherited the estate and bequeathed it to his son, David. David sold his whole possession, including the 15 acre lot, purchased of Samuel Smith and a one acre lot with a dwelling near by, to Ammi Smith, January 2, 1827 (242:273). Horatio Smith and the other heirs sold the same to Caleb and Jerome Norwood of Rockport, April 21, 1868 (746:148). The one acre lot, from which the house had disappeared, was sold by Caleb J. Norwood to Francis R. Appleton, Nov. 4, 1886 (1185:225). It was then known as Kent's Corner, probably from the blacksmith, who had a shop here, years ago. It was in all probability a part of the 20 acres, which John Adams bought of Major Appleton.

Mr. Norwood sold the 15 acre lot, which Samuel Smith sold to David Dodge, to Bayard Tuckerman, Sept. 11, 1890 (1290:48). Mr. Tuckerman built his dwelling on the slightly eminence, thus acquired, and gave the name Sunswyck to his new home. He had married Annie, daughter of Rev. John Cotton Smith, D.D., and granddaughter of Gen. James Appleton, and the ancient Appleton pasture now returned to its own



WALDINGFIELD
The residence of Mr. Randolph M. Appleton.

Samuel Smith also sold a meadow lot of $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres to David Wallace and a similar lot of 7 acres adjoining to John Adams, on Feb. 22, 1814 (217: 85, 86). John Adams sold to Silsbee Adams, May 22, 1860 (651:118), who conveyed to D. F. Appleton, July 20, 1883 (1112:29). Mary E. Wallace, widow of David, empowered Aretas D. Wallace, as executor, to sell her estate. He sold the meadow lot to D. F. Appleton, March 9, 1883 (1103: 275). On Dec. 25, 1891, Mr. Appleton conveyed the Adams Meadow, "lying directly in front of New House," and the Wallace meadow adjoining to Francis R. Appleton (1334: 93 & 97).

A lot of upland and meadow, $25\frac{3}{4}$ acres, was sold by Samuel Smith to Oliver Appleton, May 11, 1814 (215:52). The later history of the lot is included in that of the Oliver Appleton farm.

The remainder of the Col. Samuel Appleton farm, with the old mansion, which has been identified with Major Appleton's house, was sold by Samuel Smith to Samuel Obeare of Wenham, Dec. 22, 1818 (226:65), by Obeare to Hamilton Brown, April 13, 1821 (226:65). His son, Albert S. Brown, sold 4 acres of meadow and upland on the easterly side of the railroad to Francis R. Appleton, Feb. 21, 1889 (1248: 503) and on the same date a parcel of meadow on the west side of the railroad to Daniel Fuller Appleton (1248:504), which he conveyed to Francis Randall, Dec. 25, 1891 (1334: 95). The farm, sixty acres and buildings, was sold by Mr. Brown to Helen K., wife of Randolph M. Appleton, son of D. F. Appleton, Feb. 21, 1889 (1248:505). The old house was removed from its original location under the great elms and made a part of the new mansion, which was built near by. The name of this estate, Waldingfield, is that of the English village, Little Waldingfield in Suffolk, from which Samuel Appleton migrated to the new land.

The Oliver Appleton Farm.

Oliver succeeded his father, Major Samuel, in the ownership of the saw mill, the ox pasture and other lands. He built a house for himself on the corner of Waldingfield Road and County Road, from which the Aaron Lord house was removed. He attained the venerable age of 83, which was common in his family line, and died, Jan. 9, 1759. His will, proved March 20, 1759 (Pro. Rec. 336:130) divided his estate. To his son Oliver, he gave the mill, and part of his land, the rest to Nathaniel.

Nathaniel received the homestead, which was attained by purchase from the other heirs by his daughter Susanna, wife of Jeremiah Choate Underhill. His son, Oliver Underhill, succeeded him, and his heirs sold to their sister, Catherine E., wife of Aaron Lord, Aug. 30, 1878 (1004:190) who sold to Ruth Appleton Tuckerman, daughter of D. F. Appleton, and wife of Charles S. Tuckerman, the house and land adjoining, Oct. 23, 1901 (1656: 40), and the remainder of the land to Francis R. Appleton, Oct. 23, 1891 (1324:512).

Oliver Appleton, son of Oliver, built a house for his residence on the south side of the present Waldingfield road. His son, Oliver, the third of

the name, bought the holdings of the other heirs, May 5, 1803 (Pro. Rec. 370:107). He sold to his sons, Tristram and Nathaniel, Mar. 31, 1823 (232:71). They conveyed to Oliver Underhill, April 18, 1832 (265:66,) who sold to Henry Wilson, June 13, 1835 (284:41) including the mill privilege. Mr. Wilson bequeathed the estate to his grandson, Joseph R., son of his son Henry, who sold 20 acres at the R. R. crossing to Fanny Appleton, wife of Francis R., Jan. 31, 1896 (1470:123), 9 acres to Randolph M. Appleton, April 4, 1900 (1606:248) and the "Middle Gate Lot," 4½ acres on County Road, to Mrs. Francis R. Appleton, on same date (1606:249). His widow, Annie M., sold his estate to Francis R. Appleton, April 23, 1901 (1646:57), who transferred 11 acres on the north side of the road to his brother-in-law, Chas. S. Tuckerman. Mr. Tuckerman removed both the Henry Wilson house and the Underhill house from their original foundations to a new site on the hill, and combined these in one large mansion. "Applefield" is the name of the estate, a happy union of Waldingfield and the apple orchard, which covers several acres.

Thus, the ancient Appleton grant is now almost entirely in the possession of the direct descendants of the emigrant. The lots sold by Captain John and Major Samuel to Anthony Potter are still a part of that farm, now owned by the heirs of Harriet Smith, but these are the only parts in the hands of strangers. The Oliver Appleton farm is owned in part by Mrs. Charles S. Tuckerman, daughter of Daniel Fuller Appleton, and the remainder is in possession of Francis R. Appleton. The Samuel Appleton farm is owned in part by Randolph M. Appleton, in part by Bayard Tuckerman, and the balance by Francis R. Appleton. The latter also owns the Isaac and John Appleton farms and he has added to the ancestral acres, large tracts that were never in the Appleton possession. Mrs. Gerald L. Hoyt, daughter of Daniel Fuller Appleton occupies the cottage, which was built upon the old Appleton school-house as a base. Briar Hill is still the summer home of the heirs of Rev. John Cotton Smith and Harriet, the daughter of Gen. James Appleton.

A GENEALOGY OF THE IPSWICH DESCENDANTS
OF
SAMUEL APPLETON.*

1. SAMUEL APPLETON was born at Little Waldingfield, England in 1586. He married at Preston, England, on Jan. 24, 1616, Judith Everard. Their children were:

- 2 MARY, born at Little Waldingfield, 1616.
- 3 JUDITH, born at Little Waldingfield, 1618; died at Reydon, Eng., in 1629.
- 4 MARTHA, born at Little Waldingfield, 1620; married Richard Jacobs of Ipswich; died Sept. 8, 1659.
- 5 JOHN, born at Little Waldingfield, 1622. See No. 5.
- 6 SAMUEL, born at Little Waldingfield, 1625. See No. 6.
- 7 SARAH, born at Reydon, 1629; married Rev. Samuel Phillips of Rowley, Oct., 1651.

He married Martha

- 8 JUDITH, born at Reydon, 1634; married Samuel Rogers of Ipswich, Dec. 24, 1657; died July, 1659.

He took the freeman's oath on May 25, 1636, and was resident in Ipswich as early as July, 1636. The widow Sarah Dillingham of Ipswich bequeathed to Mr. Samuel Appleton five pounds, and to his wife a silver porringer, and committed the education and government of her child, and the care of her estate to Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Appleton, in her will, dated July 10th of that year. The title Mr. indicated social position above the ordinary. Winthrop's Diary mentions that out of sixty-two persons admitted to be freemen, on the above date, Mr. Appleton and three others were the only ones who were entitled to this honorary prefix.

He was chosen Deputy to the General Court in May, 1637, and received several grants of land, which are noted in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1633-1700," besides his great farm.

* In the preparation of this Genealogy much help has been derived from the Genealogy published by William Sumner Appleton in 1874. But a fresh examination has been made of the Vital Statistics of Ipswich and many corrections and additions have been made, bringing the statistics down to the present date.

SECOND GENERATION.

5. CAPTAIN JOHN APPLETON,² born at Little Walingfield, England in 1622, had a long and distinguished public career, which is described in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony." He married Priscilla, daughter of Rev. Jesse Glover, and lived on the north side of the Topsfield road, near the residence of Mrs. Lavinia Brown. He died Nov. 4, 1699. His wife had died a little before, Feb. 18, 1698.

- 9 JOHN, born Oct. 16, 1652. See No. 9.
- 10 ELIZABETH, born 1654; married Richard Dummer of Newbury, Nov. 2, 1673.
- 11 SAMUEL. See No. 11.
- 12 PRISCILLA, born Dec. 25, 1657; married Rev. Joseph Capen of Topsfield in 1684; died Oct. 18, 1743.
- 13 JESSE, born March 27, 1660; died April 11, 1660.
- 14 JESSE, born 1662; died at Boston, Nov. 18, 1721.
- 15 SARAH, born Aug. 19, 1671; married Daniel Rogers of Ipswich. He died Dec. 1, 1722.
- 16 MARY, born April 15, 1673; married Nathaniel Thomas of Marshfield, June 20, 1694; died Oct. 7, 1727.

6. MAJOR SAMUEL APPLETON,^{2*} was born at Little Walingfield, England, 1625. He married Hannah, daughter of William Paine of Ipswich, April 2, 1651.

- 17 HANNAH, born Jan. 9, 1652; married William Downes of Boston.
- 18 JUDITH, born Aug. 19, 1653; married Samuel Wolcott of Wethersfield, March 6, 1678.
- 19 SAMUEL, born Nov. 3, 1654. See No. 19.

Married 2d, Mary, daughter of John Oliver of Newbury, Dec. 8, 1656. She died, Feb. 15, 1698.

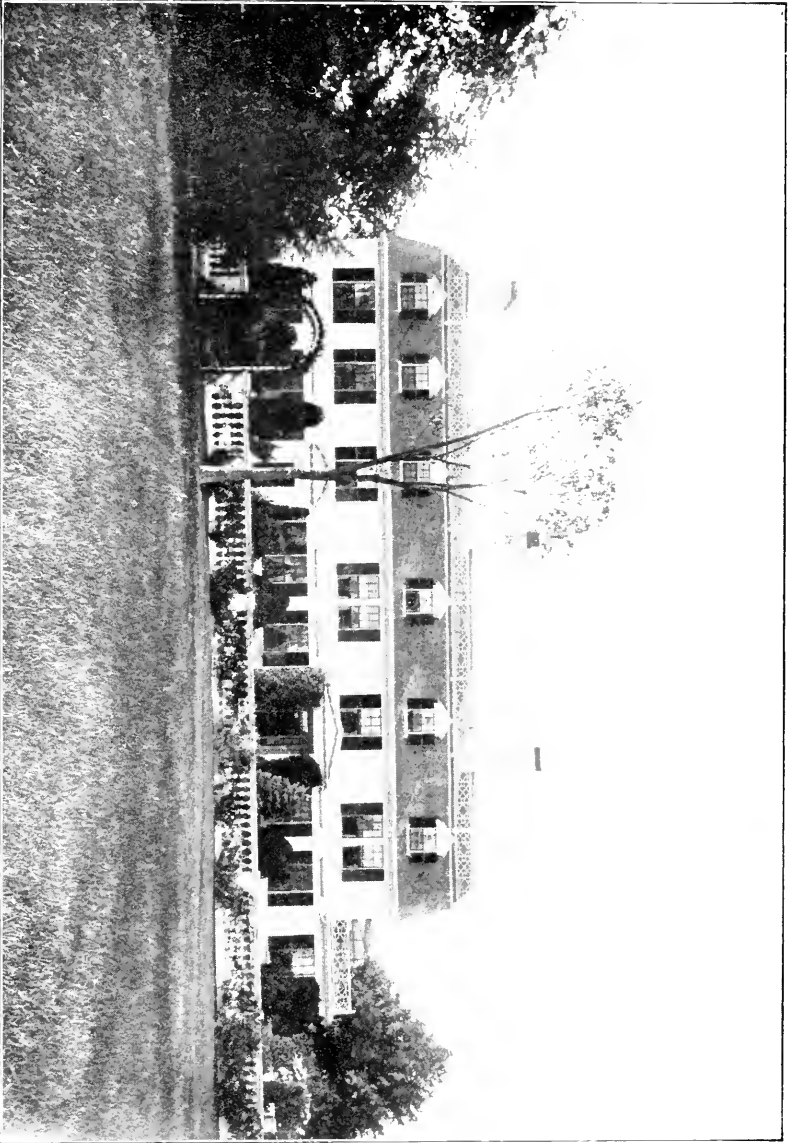
- 20 JOHN, born 1660. See No. 20.
- 21 ISAAC, born 1664. See No. 21.
- 22 JOANNA, born ; married Matthew Whipple.
- 23 JOSEPH, born June 5, 1674; died in 1689.
- 24 OLIVER, born June 1676; died June 30, 1676.
- 25 MARY, born June 1676; died June 9, 1676.
- 26 OLIVER, born 1677. See No. 26.
- 27 MARY, born about Oct. 20, 1679; died 1689.

Maj. Samuel Appleton died May 15, 1696, and was buried in the old Burying Ground, where a simple stone marks his grave.

THIRD GENERATION.

9. COL. JOHN APPLETON,³ son of Captain John,² was born Oct. 16, 1652. He was the Town Clerk of that historic Town meeting, on August 23, 1687, when the vote to refuse assent to the Andros edict was passed,

* His public life is described at length in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony."



NEW HOUSE
The summer home of Mr. Francis R. Appleton.

and he was included in the famous company which was arrested and fined.* He was a Lieut.-Colonel, a Deputy, a Councillor, and Judge of Probate for thirty-seven years. He was also Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He bought the houseslot Feb. 25, 1707, on which he built his dwelling, which was bequeathed to his son, and is now in a remodelled form, owned by Mr. Moritz B. Philipp on the corner of Central and Market Streets.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Rogers, President of Harvard College, Nov. 23, 1681. He died Sept. 11, 1739, his widow, March 13, 1754.

- 28 ELIZABETH, born April 23, 1682; married Rev. Jabez Fitch of Portsmouth, July 26, 1704; died Oct. 18, 1765.
- 29 JOHN, born Nov. 23, 1683; died at Cambridge, Sept. 23, 1699.
- 30 WILLIAM, born Oct. 15, 1686; died July 10, 1689.
- 31 DANIEL, born Aug. 17, 1688; died Oct. 7, 1689.
- 32 DANIEL, born Aug. 8, 1692. See No. 32.^s
- 33 NATHANIEL, born Dec. 9, 1693. A. B. Harvard, 1712. Ordained at Cambridge in 1717, and continued his ministry sixty-six years. For more than sixty years, a Fellow of Harvard College, and received degree of D.D. in 1771. He died Feb. 9, 1784.
- 34 PRISCILLA, born Jan. 3, 1697; married Rev. Robert Ward of Wenham, June 28, 1722; died July 22, 1724.
- 35 MARGARET, born Mar. 19, 1701; married Rev. Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard College, Nov. 9, 1725; died June 25, 1740.
- 36 JOHN, born Aug. 18, 1704; died Sept. 13, 1705.

11. SAMUEL APPLETON,³ son of Captain John², inherited from his father land on the Topsfield Road and probably had his home there. He married Mary, daughter of Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury. He died Aug. 16, 1693. His widow survived until June 9, 1712.

- 37 JESSE, born Nov. 30, 1684; died 1707.
- 38 SAMUEL, born July 21, 1686; died young.
- 39 THOMAS.
- 40 JOHN. See No. 40.

19. COL. SAMUEL APPLETON,³ son of Major Samuel,² was born Nov. 3, 1654. He was a resident of Lynn from 1680 to 1688, and owned the iron-works near the ledge, known as Appleton's Pulpit. The authenticity of the legend, which has been perpetuated in a bronze tablet, is considered in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," page 272. A warrant was issued for his arrest for opposition to the Andros government, but he was never brought to trial.

He went as a Commissioner to Quebec in 1706 to bring home the prisoners, who were detained there, and returned to Boston, November 21st, with the Rev. John Williams of Deerfield and fifty-six other redeemed captives. He commanded a regiment in the expedition to Port Royal in 1707.

He bought the Shoreborne Wilson house, now owned and occupied by Mr. Samuel N. Baker on Dec. 17, 1702, and it was his home for the remainder of his life.

* See Chapter XIV, "Ipswich and the Andros Government" in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony."

He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Whittingham of Boston, June 19, 1682. "The Hon^{bl} Col^o Samuel Appleton dyed October the 30th 1725." A stately monument marks his grave in the old Burying Ground. His widow survived him, and married Rev. Edward Payson of Rowley, published Sept. 10, 1726.

- 41 MARY, born at Lynn, Mar. 30, 1683; died young.
- 42 HANNAH, born at Lynn, Nov. 1, 1684; married at Ipswich, 1st, William Clark of Boston, Oct. 11, 1705; married 2d, Josiah Willard of Boston, April 7, 1726; died July 28, 1766.
- 43 ELIZABETH, born at Lynn, July 10, 1687; died June 13, 1703.
- 44 MARTHA, born at Ipswich; married Joseph Wise of Ipswich, published Feb. 5, 1709.
- 45 SAMUEL, born at Ipswich. See No. 45.
- 46 WHITTINGHAM, born at Ipswich, Dec. 29, 1706.
- 47 ELIZABETH, born at Ipswich, Aug. 31, 1712; married David Payson of Rowley, Mar. 5, 1728.

20. JOHN APPLETON,³ son of Major Samuel,² was born in 1660. He inherited a portion of the ancestral farm, as has been noted in the history of the farm.

He married 1st, Rebecca, daughter of John Ruck of Salem, April 1, 1689.

- 48 JOHN, born May 28, 1695; died young.

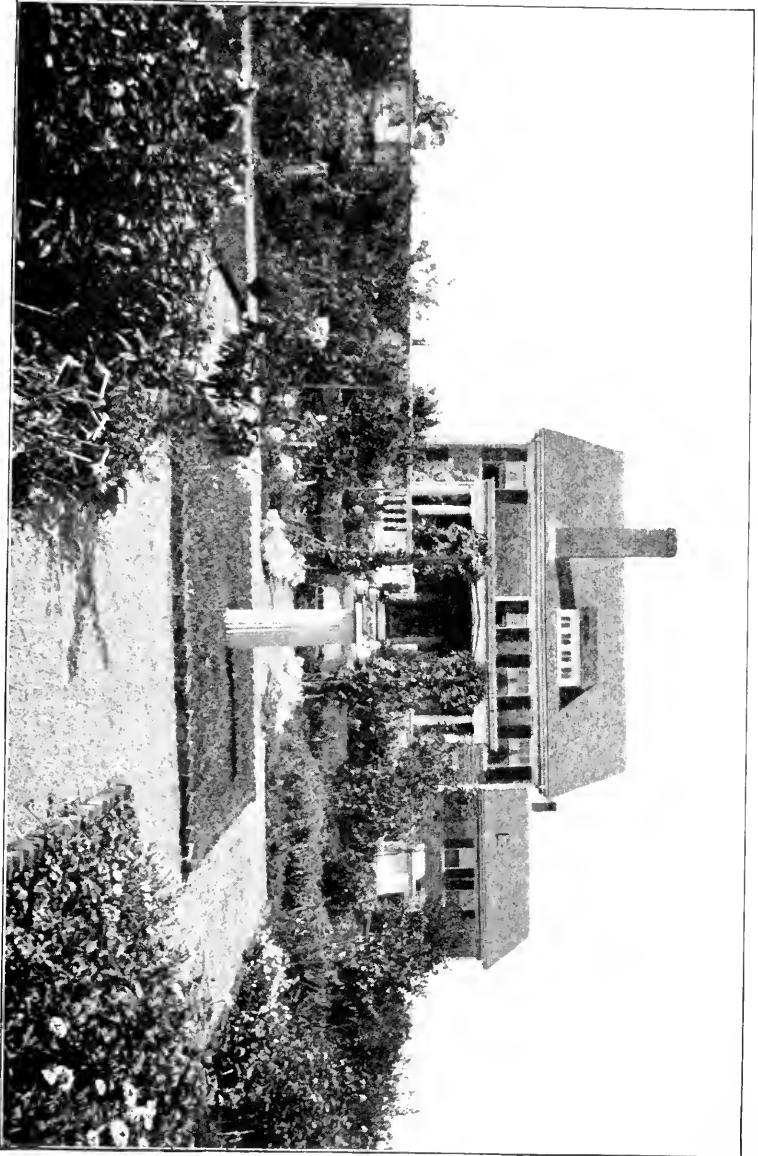
Married 2d, Elizabeth, daughter of John Baker, widow of Benjamin Dutch, published Aug. 31, 1700.

- 49 BENJAMIN, born Nov. 14, 1702. See No. 49.
- 50 SARAH, baptized June 24, 1705; married Aaron Potter, published, Sept. 16, 1721.

He died May 17, 1724, his widow, Mar. 24, 1750.

21. MAJOR ISAAC APPLETON,³ son of Major Samuel,² was born in 1664. He made his home on the farm he had inherited. He married Priscilla, daughter of Thomas Baker of Topsfield, who died May 26, 1731. He survived until May 22, 1747.

- 51 PRISCILLA, born Mar. 16, 1697; married 1st, Thomas Burnham, published Dec. 13, 1718. He died April 4, 1730. Married 2d, Arthur Abbott, May 23, 1734.
- 52 ISAAC, born Mar. 21, 1699; died July 30, 1700.
- 53 MARY, born Oct. 1, 1701; married William Osgood of Andover, Jan. 6, 1730.
- 54 ISAAC, born May 30, 1704. See No. 54.
- 55 REBECCA, born 1706; married William Dodge of Wenham, Jan. 9, 1729; died Nov. 1794.
- 56 ELIZABETH, born 1706; married Josiah Fairfield of Wenham, Aug. 4, 1731.
- 57 MARTHA, born July 30, 1708; married John White of Haverhill, Aug. 4, 1731.
- 58 JOANNA, baptized Nov. 17, 1717; married William Story of Boston, May 14, 1747; died July 16, 1775.



APPLEFIELD
The summer home of Mrs. Charles S. Tuckerman.

26. OLIVER APPLETON,³ son of Major Samuel,² was born in 1677. He inherited the saw mill, and a portion of the farm, from his father. He married Sarah, daughter of Tobijah Perkins of Topsfield, Dec. 17, 1701. He died Jan. 9, 1759, his widow, Dec. 30, 1769

- 59 OLIVER, born 1702. See No. 59.
- 60 WILLIAM, born 1703; died April 8, 1725.
- 61 JOSEPH, born Dec. 24, 1705. See No. 61.
- 62 JOHN, born 1707. See No. 62.
- 63 SARAH, born 1709; married 1st, Benjamin Swain of Reading, Dec. 7, 1727; married, 2d, Benjamin Wyman, Nov. 16, 1752.
- 64 HANNAH, born Mar. 22, 1711; married Dr. Thomas Swain of Reading, published Sept. 26, 1730.
- 65 SAMUEL, baptized Mar. 22, 1713; lived in Haverhill, died Oct. 27, 1780.
- 66 THOMAS, born Dec. 19, 1714; died Sept. 12, 1724.
- 67 LUCY, born Jan. 20, 1717; died Mar. 14, 1737 at Haverhill.
- 68 MARY, born ; married Nathaniel Whipple; published Nov. 10, 1744; died Mar. 2, 1810.
- 69 DANIEL, baptized Mar. 1, 1719; died April 8, 1807.
- 70 NATHANIEL, baptized April 23, 1721. See No. 70.
- 71 PRISCILLA, baptized Nov. 1, 1724; died young.

FOURTH GENERATION.

32. DANIEL APPLETON,⁴ son of Colonel, John,³ was born Aug. 8, 1692. He was a Colonel, a Representative, a Justice of the Court of Sessions, and Register of Probate from Jan. 9, 1723 to August, 1762. His home was in the mansion built by his father, on the corner of Market and Central Streets. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Berry of Cambridge, June 8, 1715. He died Aug. 17, 1762, his widow, Nov. 28, 1773.

- 72 ELIZABETH, born July 28, 1717; died Aug. 26, 1717.
- 73 ELIZABETH, born Sept. 20, 1718; died Oct., 1718.
- 74 JOHN, born Dec. 9, 1719; died Sept. 22, 1720.
- 75 MARGARET, baptized Sept. 30, 1722; died Oct. 19, 1722.
- 76 DANIEL, baptized Feb. 16, 1724; died Mar. 13, 1724.
- 77 MARGARET, born Nov. 28, 1725; died July 27, 1747.
- 78 ELIZABETH, born Aug. 24, 1727; married Rev. John Walley, Pastor of the South Church, Ipswich, Oct. 20, 1748; died Oct., 1798.
- 79 JOHN, born, Jan. 19, 1731; died April 23, 1731.
- 80 MARY, born March 14, 1733; died Oct., 1801.
- 81 JOHN, born and baptized May 19, 1734; died Aug. 28, 1740.
- 82 DANIEL, born July 26, 1736; died Aug. 16, 1736.

40. JOHN APPLETON,⁴ son of Samuel,³ called John 3d in 1723, sheriff in 1745, married Mary, daughter of Rev. James Allin of Salisbury, Feb. 28, 1717, who died Oct. 26, 1749. He died July 25, 1750.

- 83 MARY, born Sept. 28, 1718; died young.
- 84 ELIZABETH, baptized Dec. 4, 1720; married Thomas Sewall of Kittery, published Mar. 1, 1744.
- 85 SARAH, baptized Dec. 10, 1721; married George Eustis of Boston, published Mar. 1, 1744.

- 86 SAMUEL, baptized Aug. 31, 1723; died Sept. 16, 1723.
 87 MARY, born Oct. 9, 1724; married Samuel Rindge, published Nov. 23, 1729; died Dec. 26, 1746.
 88 ANNE, baptized Mar. 6, 1726; died Aug. 8, 1747.
 89 JOHN, baptized Aug. 20, 1727; died 1755.
 90 LUCY, baptized Nov. 24, 1728; died June 10, 1745.
 91 SAMUEL, baptized Oct. 4, 1730; died Nov. 8, 1730.
 92 MARGARET, baptized Oct. 24, 1731.
 93 MARTHA, born ; died Oct. 21, 1746.
 94 PRISCILLA, born ; died Sept. 17, 1748, "being the last of seven daughters dying with a Consumption within the space of 3 years." Town Record.

45. SAMUEL APPLETON,¹ son of Colonel Samuel,³ inherited the farm and his father's residence (the Samuel N. Baker house). He removed to Boston, and engaged in large mercantile ventures, which resulted disastrously, as his estate was insolvent, after his sudden death in London of smallpox, on Dec. 15, 1728. He married Anna, daughter of John Gerrish of Boston, Mar. 19, 1719. She survived her husband and married Rev. Joshua Cee of Boston, April 17, 1734.

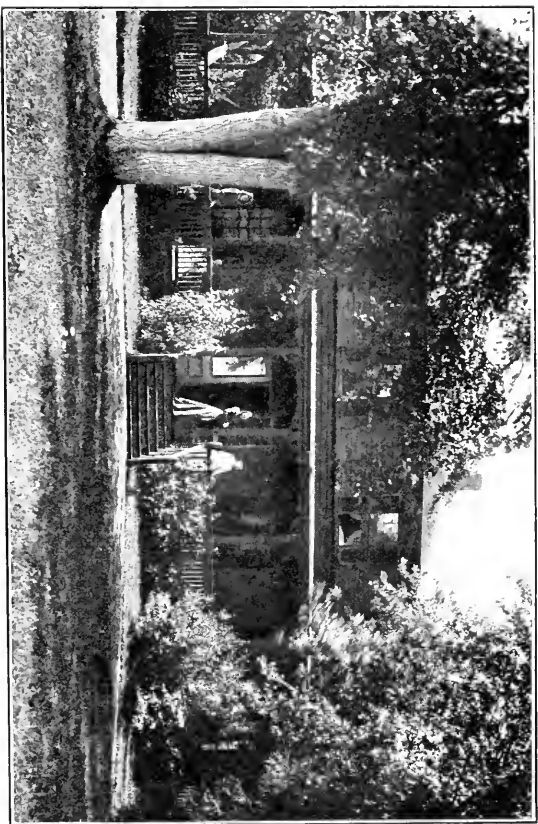
- 95 SAMUEL, baptized at Ipswich, April 3, 1720; died April 5, 1720.
 96 MARY, baptized at Ipswich, Dec. 9, 1722; died Dec. 29, 1722.
 97 SAMUEL, born at Boston, Aug. 15, 1726.
 98 ANNE, born at Boston, 1728.

49. BENJAMIN APPLETON,⁴ son of John,³ was born Nov. 14, 1702. His home was on the farm he had inherited. He married Elizabeth Wade, published Feb. 23, 1723, and died in his thirtieth year, Feb. 13, 1732. His widow married William Cogswell, Mar. 13, 1735.

- 99 ELIZABETH, baptized July 12, 1724.
 100 SARAH, baptized July 31, 1726; died Aug. 12, 1726.
 101 JOHN, born Mar. 10, 1728; died June 9, 1728.
 102 MARY, born March 30, 1729; married Jonathan Cogswell, Jr., Dec. 28, 1748.
 103 SARAH, baptized Nov. 22, 1730; married Peter Smith, Mar. 29, 1753.
 104 BENJAMIN, born June 2, 1732; died June 15, 1732.

54. ISAAC APPLETON,⁴ son of Major Isaac,³ was born May 30, 1704. He spent his life in the home he had inherited on the farm. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Sawyer of Wells, published April 25, 1730.

- 105 ISAAC, baptized May 30, 1731; married Mary, daughter of Joseph Adams of Concord, and removed to New Ipswich, N. H., where he died Feb. 25, 1806.
 106 FRANCIS, baptized Mar. 25, 1733. See No. 106.
 107 ELIZABETH, baptized Oct. 24, 1736; married Samuel Bartlett of Newton, published Sept. 5, 1760.
 108 SAMUEL, born 1739. See No. 108.
 109 THOMAS, baptized Oct. 5, 1740. See No. 109.
 110 JOHN, baptized Dec. 26, 1742; married Mercy Bradbury at Buxton, Me., Sept. 12, 1771, who died June 26, 1826. He died at Buxton, June 20, 1829.



BRIAR HILL,

The summer home of the heirs of Rev. John Cotton Smith, D.D.

- 111 DANIEL, baptized April 7, 1745; married Eliz. Adams, published June 29, 1776; removed to Buxton, and died there March 14, 1836.
- 112 WILLIAM, baptized April 12, 1747; married Sarah, daughter of Jotham Odiorne of Port-mouth, where he lived, and died May, 1785.
- 113 MARY, baptized July 2, 1749; married Mager Woodbury, Nov. 25, 1784; died March 10, 1828.
- 114 JOSEPH, baptized June 9, 1751, A. B. Brown University, 1772. Pastor at North Brookfield, where he died July 25, 1795. He married Mary, daughter of Joseph Hook of Kingston, N. H.

His wife died April 29, 1785. "Mr. Isaac Appleton, age 82 years and Mrs. Hephzibah Appleton, aged 70 years, published intention of marriage Nov. 5, 1785," Town Record. They were married Dec. 11, 1785, and the bride died July 7, 1788. Mr. Appleton died on Dec. 18, 1794, aged 91, in the house in which he was born. His second wife was probably the widow of Dea. Joseph Appleton, who died Nov. 20, 1782.

59. OLIVER APPLETON,⁴ son of Oliver,³ was born in 1702. He inherited from his father the saw-mill and a portion of his farm in 1759. He built the house on the south side of Waldingfield Road, which was owned later by Mr. Henry Wilson, and was incorporated by Mr. Chas. S. Tuckerman in his residence.

He married Bethiah Whipple, on Jan. 9, 1729, and two children were born.

- 115 WILLIAM, born Jan. 23, 1731; died Aug. 1, 1736.
- 116 HANNAH, baptized between the 1st and 4th of July, 1736; died Oct. 19, 1736.

Bethiah died on July 10, 1736, and he married Sarah Whipple,* Dec. 5, 1739.

- 117 OLIVER, baptized Sept. 5, 1740; died young.
- 118 SARAH, baptized Oct. 19, 1741; married George Norton, published Oct. 20, 1764.
- 119 HANNAH, baptized Sept. 11, 1743; died July 25, 1764.
- 120 BETHIAH, baptized Oct. 27, 1745; married Joshua Giddings of Hamilton, April 26, 1770; died Jan. 16, 1831.
- 121 LUCY, baptized Jan. 31, 1747; died June 12, 1778, of smallpox.
- 122 MEHTABE, baptized Jan. 21, 1753; died Aug. 11, 1818.
- 123 KATHARINE, baptized May 18, 1755; married William Whipple⁵ of Hamilton, May 29, 1776; died Jan. 15, 1829.
- 124 MARY OLIVER, born July 25, 1757.
- 125 OLIVER, baptized June 15, 1760. See No. 125.
- 126 Rebecca, baptized Mar. 13, 1763; married Jacob Perkins of Malden, Aug. 1, 1789.

Oliver Appleton died Aug. 5, 1787, his widow June 22, 1811.

* In the Town Record, Oliver Appleton was published with Sarah Whipple, Oct. 13, 1739. In the record of marriage, the bride's name is Sarah Frail, but the Town Clerk evidently was in error. The entry preceding is Jacob Fellows and Sarah Frail. He unconsciously repeated the name, in recording the next marriage.

61. DEA. JOSEPH APPLETON,⁴ son of Oliver,³ was born Dec. 24, 1705. He bought the house lot, bounded by County Road and the South Common, later known as the John Wade lot, now owned by Mrs. Daniel Fuller Appleton, Jan. 4, 1730. He married Hephzibah Swain of Reading, Nov. 16, 1732, and built a dwelling on the above lot.

He was a member of the Committee which had charge of building Choate Bridge in 1764, and received 20£ for measuring rocks, keeping and settling accounts, paying and receiving money, etc. He was a Deacon of the South Church, and was a member of the Joint Committee of the First and South Parishes, which bought the first lot for the Burying ground on the South side, Aug. 20, 1773. He died Nov. 20, 1782.

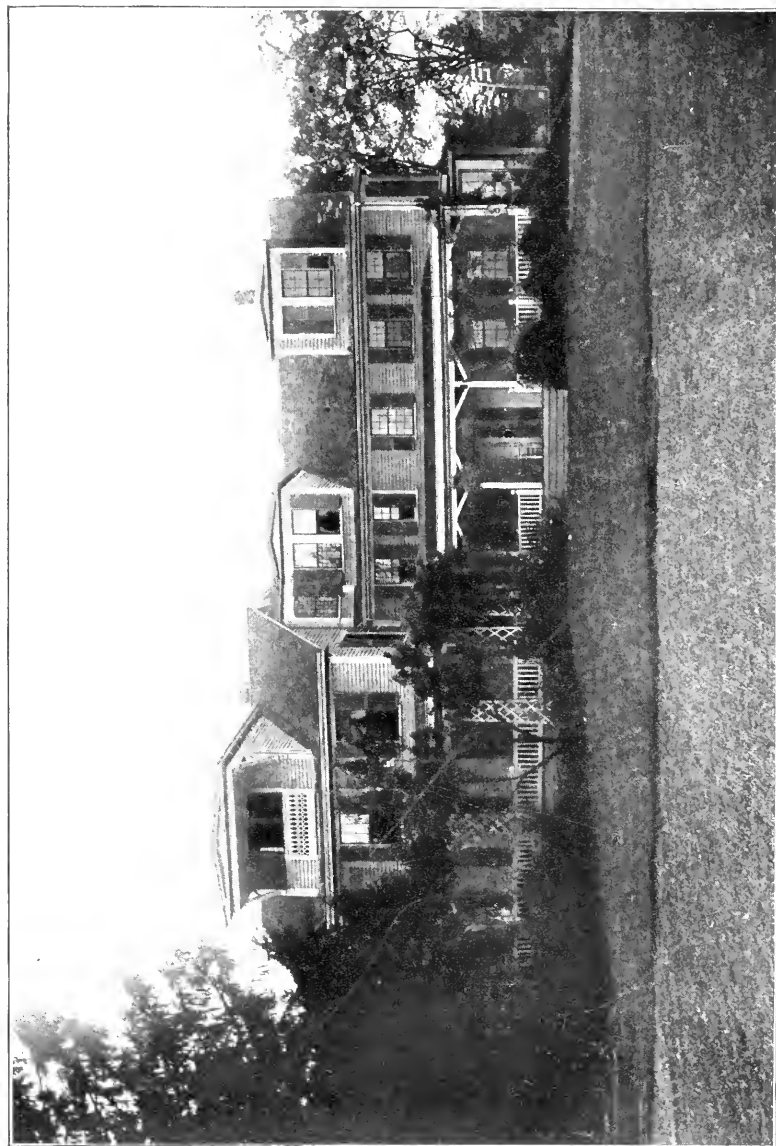
- 127 HEPHZIBAH, baptized May 19, 1734; died July 22, 1736.
- 128 ELIZABETH, baptized July, 1736; died July 30, 1736.
- 129 JOSEPH, baptized June 29, 1740. See No. 129.
- 130 HEPHZIBAH, born Nov. 17, 1741; married Nathaniel Day, Mar. 8, 1763.
- 131 AARON, baptized Sept. 25, 1743; died May 3, 1744.
- 132 AARON, baptized April 28, 1745; died Sept. 27, 1745.
- 133 THOMAS, baptized Jan. 18, 1747. See No. 133.
- 134 EBENEZER, baptized, Feb. 18, 1749; died young.

62. JOHN APPLETON,⁴ son of Oliver,³ was born in 1707. He bought a house lot of Isaac Fitts, on South Market street, March 24, 1734, and ten years later bought the adjoining lot, on which the Bank Building and other buildings now stand. Here he made his home. He married Lucy Boardman, Aug. 4, 1731, who died Feb. 24, 1790. He died Jan. 4, 1794.

- 135 LUCY, baptized Mar. 19, 1732; married Abraham How; published Dec. 14, 1752.
- 136 BENJAMIN, baptized Oct. 20, 1734; removed to Gloucester.
- 137 WILLIAM, baptized Jan. 8, 1738. See No. 137.
- 138 MARGARET, baptized Jan. 30, 1743; married Daniel Thurston.
- 139 MARY, baptized Feb. 24, 1745; married Daniel Rogers.
- 140 ELIZABETH, baptized April 17, 1748; married Aaron Treadwell, published April 18, 1767.
- 141 JOHN, baptized Oct. 21, 1750; died April 12, 1798, occasioned by a fall.

70. LIEUT. NATHANIEL APPLETON,⁴ son of Oliver,³ was baptized, April 23, 1721. He inherited from his father the farm now included in Applefield, owned by Mrs. Charles S. Tuckerman. His house was on the site of the more recent Aaron Lord house, on the corner of Waldingfield road. He married Susannah Brown of Reading, published April 27, 1745. He died Feb. 16, 1798, his widow, Nov. 2, 1807, aged 82 years.

- 142 NATHANIEL, baptized May 11, 1746; died Aug., 1747.
- 143 NATHANIEL, baptized Mar. 6, 1747.
- 144 BENJAMIN, baptized April 22, 1750. See No. 144.
- 145 SUSANNAH, baptized Oct. 21, 1752; died July, 1764.
- 146 SARAH, baptized Mar. 16, 1755; died July, 1764.
- 147 OLIVER, baptized Nov. 27, 1757. See No. 147.
- 148 EUNICE, baptized May 4, 1760; married Ephraim Fellows, Nov. 24, 1778.



THE SUMMER HOME OF MRS. DANIEL FULLER APPLETON.
Built by Samuel Appleton in 1794. Enlarged by Daniel Fuller Appleton.

- 149 SARAH, baptized Feb. 10, 1765; married John Winn of Salem, Nov. 2, 1793.
 150 SUSANNA, baptized Aug. 16, 1767; married Jeremiah Choate Underhill, Oct. 21, 1798.
 151 LUCY, born Dec. 31, 1771; died Feb. 10, 1792.

FIFTH GENERATION.

106. FRANCIS APPLETON,⁵ son of Isaac,⁴ was born in 1739. He married Elizabeth Hubbard, May 5, 1758, and lived in Ipswich for some years after his marriage. He then removed to New Ipswich, N. H., where his last child was born. His wife died Nov. 7, 1815. He survived until Jan. 29, 1816.

- 152 FRANCIS, born at Ipswich, May 28, 1759, of Dublin, N. H.
 153 ISAAC, born at Ipswich, baptized Jan. 25, 1761.
 154 JOHN, baptized at Ipswich, April 3, 1763; of New Ipswich.
 155 MARY, baptized at Ipswich, Dec. 29, 1765.
 156 ELIZABETH, born at Ipswich, 1767.
 157 JESSE, born at New Ipswich, Nov. 17, 1772. He entered Dartmouth College in 1788, was ordained at Hampton, Feb., 1797, and was elected President of Bowdoin College, in 1807. He died at Brunswick, Nov. 12, 1819.

108. SAMUEL APPLETON,⁵ son of Isaac,⁴ was born in 1739. He inherited his father's farm and built the house, now the summer residence of Mrs. D. F. Appleton, in 1794. He married Mary, daughter of Rev. Timothy White of Haverhill, published Nov. 26, 1768.

He died May 15, 1819, his widow, Nov. 10, 1834.

- 158 ELIZABETH, born Dec. 6, 1769; died Jan. 7, 1790.
 159 SAMUEL GILMAN, born Feb. 26, 1771; married Mary Andrews, Jan. 5, 1836. He died July 2, 1852. His widow married Jacob Dodge of Wenham, Oct. 18, 1853.
 160 MARY, born Dec. 3, 1772; married Amos Sawyer of Salem, June 7, 1798.
 161 SUSANNA, born Dec. 21, 1774; married John Willet of Bridgton, Me., Jan. 23, 1803.
 162 ISAAC, born Dec. 15, 1776; removed to Beverly, married Sarah Dyson.
 163 TIMOTHY, born Nov. 13, 1778; died March 22, 1857.
 164 JOHN WHITE, born Nov. 29, 1780; married 1st, Sarah P., daughter of Rev. Elisha Williams of Beverly, Sept. 14, 1806, 2d, her sister Sophia, Jan. 29, 1810. He died at Baltimore, Mar. 27, 1862.
 165 REBECCA, born Mar. 19, 1783; married Joseph Brown, Jr., Jan. 15, 1808.
 166 JAMES, born Feb. 14, 1785. See No. 166.
 167 GARDNER, born Mar. 2, 1787; married Nancy Woodbury.
 168 JOANNA, born July 19, 1789; married 1st, Capt. Samuel Safford, Nov. 21, 1811. Married 2d, Eben Dodge of Salem.
 169 NATHAN DANF, born May 29, 1794. A. B. Dartmouth, 1813; married Julia, daughter of Abiel Hall of Alfred, Maine, where he made his residence and died Nov. 12, 1861.

109. THOMAS APPLETON,⁵ son of Isaac,⁴ was born Oct. 5, 1740. He married Susanna Perkins, July 13, 1767.

- 170 ISAAC, born Aug. 24, 1768; died at sea 1790.
 171 ELIZABETH, born July 7, 1770; married James Woodbury of Beverly.

Susanna died May 22, 1773, aged 32 years.

He married Lydia, daughter of Daniel Dane, Oct. 19, 1773, who died at Beverly, Aug. 23, 1845, aged 103 years, 8 months, 5 days. He died Sept. 15, 1830.

- 172 DANIEL, born in Hamilton, Nov. 5, 1774; baptized in Ipswich, April 9, 1775. See No. 172.
 173 LYDIA, born in Beverly, Aug. 22, 1776; baptized in Ipswich, Oct. 12, 1777; married Jonathan Lamson of Hamilton, April 30, 1809.
 174 SARAH, baptized in Ipswich, April 23, 1782.

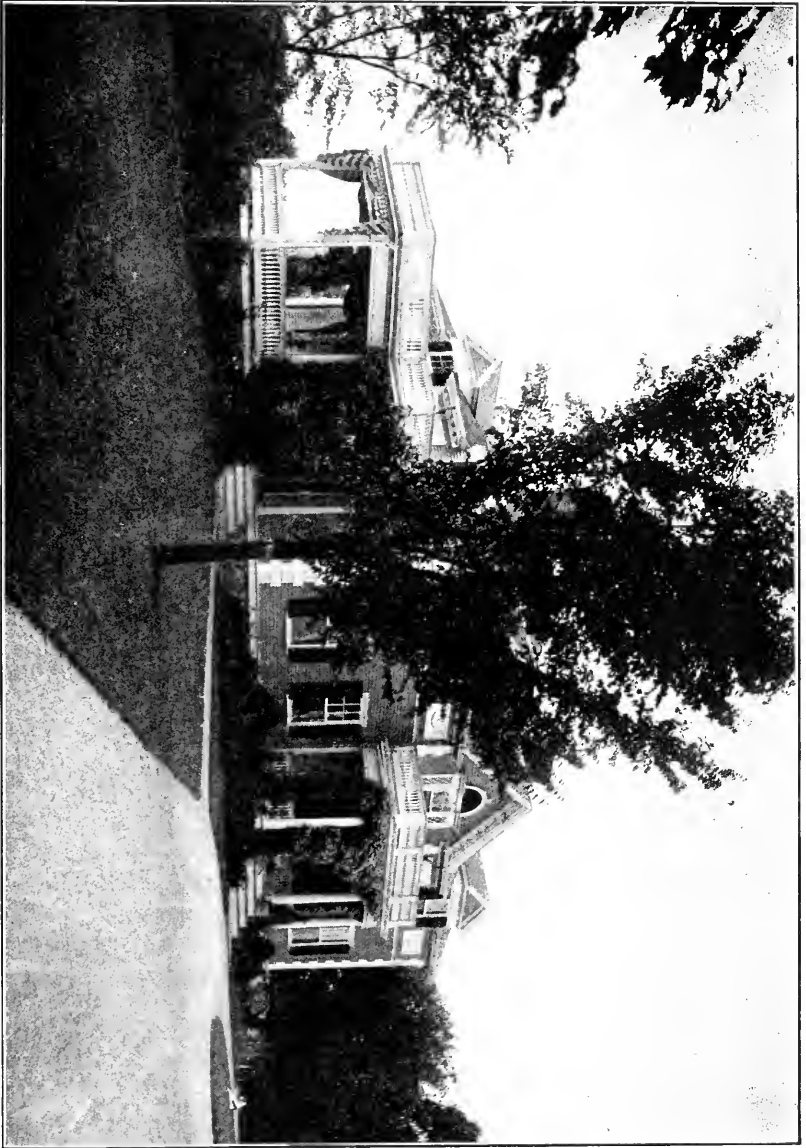
125. OLIVER APPLETON,⁵ son of Oliver,⁴ was baptized June 15, 1760. He bought the interest of the other heirs in the homestead in 1803, and sold to his sons Tristram and Nathaniel, March 31, 1823. He married Martha, daughter of John Patch, March 12, 1789. He died in Hamilton, Dec. 18, 1852, his widow, Aug. 31, 1861.

- 175 MARTHA, born Oct. 3, 1789; married Charles Baker, Aug. 19, 1813.
 176 OLIVER, born Mar. 15, 1791; married Anstice, daughter of Ebenezer Cogswell, July 2, 1816, and removed to Hamilton. An infant, 7 mos. old, died Feb. 21, 1823. He died in Hamilton.
 177 LUCY, born Nov. 26, 1792; died April 29, 1878.
 178 HANNAH, born Sept. 27, 1794; married 1st, William M. Smith of Ipswich, Oct. 2, 1814, who died at sea, 1816; married 2d, Temple Cutler of Hamilton, April 5, 1823; died January 16, 1889.
 179 GEORGE, born July 29, 1796, lived in Hamilton.
 180 TRISTRAM, born June 23, 1798, lived in Hamilton.
 181 NATHANIEL, born April 3, 1809, lived in Hamilton.
 182 ABIGAIL, born May 2, 1802; died Nov. 9, 1818.
 183 SARAH, born April 21, 1804; married Tristram Brown, Jr., May 13, 1830; died April, 1891.
 184 JOSHUA, born March 21, 1806; died Dec. 9, 1806.
 185 MEHITABLE, born July 16, 1808; married John Foster of Hamilton.

129. JOSEPH APPLETON, JR.,⁵ son of Deacon Joseph,⁴ was baptized June 29, 1740. He married Hannah Bacheller of Haverhill, June 17, 1762.

- 186 JOSEPH, born _____, 1766; died Jan. 26, 1786.
 187 HANNAH, baptized Oct. 8, 1769; married Daniel Wallis, Oct. 13, 1791.
 188 HEPHIZIBAH, baptized Oct. 8, 1769.
 189 LOIS, born Feb. 8, 1774; married John Williamson, Oct. 25, 1793. He married again, Eunice Perkins, Jan. 19, 1776.
 190 EUNICE, baptized June 1, 1777.
 191 SALOME, baptized June 1, 1777; married David Tucker, Jr., Oct. 6, 1812.
 192 AARON, born May 10, 1779; married Lucy Sweet, Oct. 7, 1800; died in the West Indies, Sept., 1802.

He died Dec. 10, 1812, his widow, May 1, 1821.



SUNSWICH
The summer home of Mr. Bayard Tuckerman.

133. THOMAS APPLETON,⁴ son of Deacon Joseph,⁴ was baptized Jan. 18, 1747. He became the owner of the house, known later as the Merrifield house, on the County Road, on the South side, recently torn down. He sold the northeast half to John Wade, April 19, 1794, but retained the other half, and in his will, devised the lower floor to his daughter, Mehitable, the wife of Thomas Merrifield, and the upper to Abigail, the widow of his son, Daniel, and her daughter, Abigail G. Appleton, March 12, 1842.

He married Mehitable, daughter of John Crocker, published Nov. 26, 1768. She died May 20, 1804, aged 54. He died May 21, 1810, aged 64.

- 193 THOMAS, born Oct., 1772, removed to Marblehead; at the age of 75 years, he married for his third wife, Mehitable Lancaster of Ipswich, aged 60, May 6, 1851.
 194 MEHITABLE, born Mar. 21, 1775; married Thomas Merrifield, Nov. 25, 1798; died Oct. 24, 1859.
 195 DANIEL, born June 8, 1786. See No. 195.
 196 AN INFANT, died July 1, 1791.

137. WILLIAM APPLETON,⁵ son of John 3d⁴, was baptized Jan. 8, 1738. He married Sarah Kinsman, published April 21, 1764, and bought a house lot of Sarah Rust on which he built his dwelling, Mar. 25, 1766. In the division of his estate, in 1808, the dwelling was assigned to his daughter Sarah Choate, and is still known as the Sally Choate house.

He died August 9, 1807, his widow, June 10, 1809.

- 197 WILLIAM, baptized June 30, 1765, removed to Salem, where he married Ist, Anna Bowditch, Dec. 22, 1793. Married 2d, Tamesin Abbott of Andover, July 23, 1807. He died at Salem, Sept., 1822.
 198 SARAH, baptized Jan. 4, 1767; married David Choate of Gloucester, July 18, 1789.
 199 LUCY, baptized Nov. 13, 1768; married John Baker, Jr., June 1, 1800.
 200 HANNAH, born Aug. 16, 1770; married Moses Wallis, May 25, 1800.
 201 MARY, baptized July 5, 1772; married Ebenezer Bowditch of Salem, 1797.
 202 ELIZABETH, baptized, Aug. 21, 1774.

SIXTH GENERATION.

166. GEN. JAMES APPLETON,⁶ son of Samuel,⁵ was born Feb. 14, 1785. A brief sketch of his life has been given in the history of the farm. He married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Daniel Fuller of Gloucester, Nov. 15, 1807.

Gen. James died at Ipswich, Aug. 25, 1862. His widow, Jan. 7, 1872.

- 203 SAMUEL GILMAN, born at Gloucester, Nov. 5, 1808; married Sarah, daughter of Sylvester Gardner of Manlius, N. Y., Sept. 30, 1839; an Episcopal clergyman; died at Morrisania, Nov. 29, 1873.

- 204 SARAH FULLER, born at Gloucester, Jan. 20, 1811; married at Marblehead, Rev. Stephen C. Millett of Salem, May 6, 1833; died June 7, 1884.
- 205 JAMES, born at Gloucester, Mar. 11, 1813; married Sarah Bristol, daughter of Samuel L. Edwards of Manlius, N. Y., June 21, 1842; died March, 1884.
- 206 MARY WHITE, born at Gloucester, Nov. 15, 1815; died Jan. 14, 1905.
- 207 ELIZABETH PUTNAM, born at Gloucester, Dec. 3, 1818; married Shelton L. Hall of Racine, Wis., Sept. 2, 1845; died Mar. 29, 1897 at Racine.
- 208 JOANNA DODGE, born at Marblehead, Feb. 23, 1821; married Peyton R. Morgan, Nov. 9, 1843; died at Racine, April 25, 1870.
- 209 HANNAH FULLER, born at Marblehead, April 21, 1823; married Robert H. Thayer, April 27, 1854; died at Orange, N. J., Nov. 10, 1903.
- 210 DANIEL FULLER, born at Marblehead, Jan. 31, 1826. See No. 210.
- 211 HARRIETTE HOOPER, born at Marblehead, Mar. 24, 1828; married Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D., Dec. 9, 1849, then Rector of St. John's Church, Bangor. He was Rector of the Church of the Ascension, New York, from 1859 until his death, Jan. 9, 1882. His wife died Aug 26, 1905.
- 212 ANNA WHITMORE, born at Marblehead, Jan. 31, 1831; married Dr. Chas. H. Osgood, June 21, 1852.

172. DANIEL APPLETON,⁶ son of Thomas⁵, was born in Hamilton, Nov. 5, 1774. He married, Martha Woodbury of Beverly, Nov. 26, 1801, and made his home in that town.

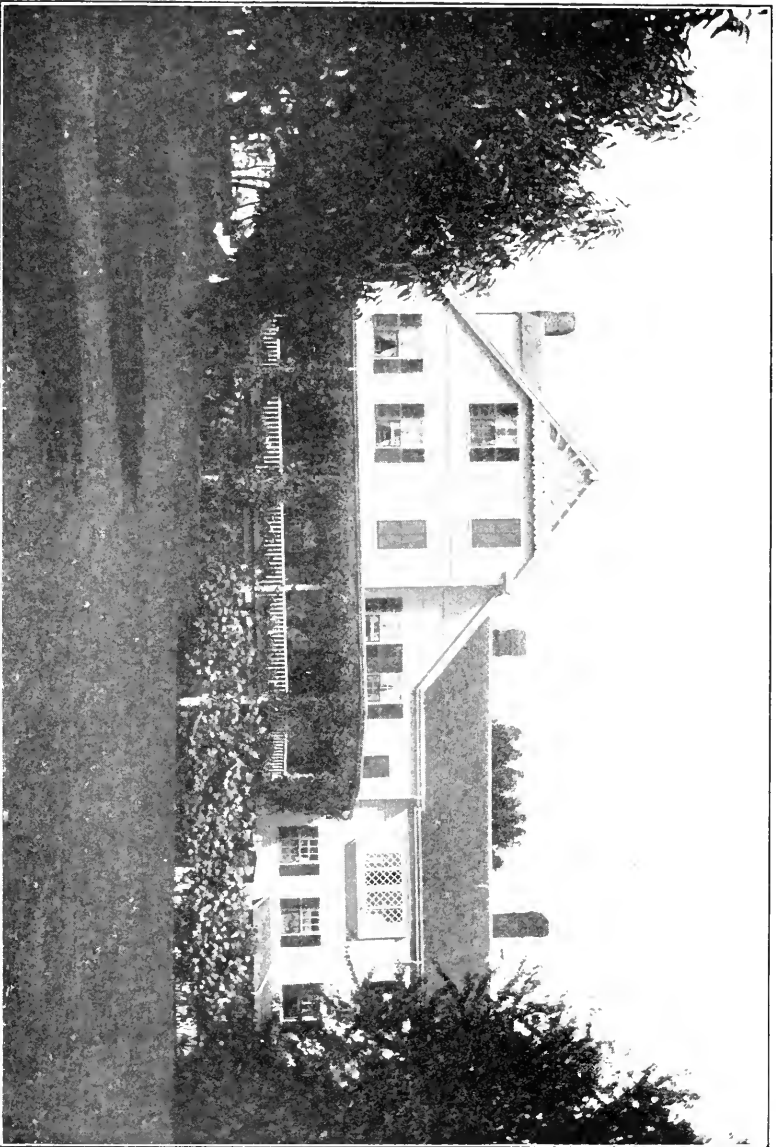
213 DANIEL, born in Beverly, July 4, 1802. A large family of children was born, by this marriage, and a second, with Mary Baker Allen, daughter of William Allen of Manchester. Daniel returned to Ipswich and is the only one, who comes within the scope of this sketch. See No. 213.

195. DANIEL APPLETON,⁶ son of Thomas⁵, was born June 8, 1786. He married Abigail, daughter of Richard Lakeman, Nov. 15, 1812. He died in Dartmoor prison, Jan. 4, 1815. His widow occupied a tenement on the second floor of the old Merrifield house, which was bequeathed her by Thomas Appleton, father of her husband. She died April 15, 1857, at the age of 64 years 6 months.

214 ABIGAIL G., born 1814; died June 9, 1886.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

210. DANIEL FULLER APPLETON,⁷ son of Gen. James⁶, was born in Marblehead, Jan. 31, 1826. He learned the trade of watch maker and jeweller in Portland, with his brother James, but went to New York, in 1846. He entered the employment of Royal Roblins, and later became his partner, under the firm name of Roblins and Appleton. In 1857, the firm became owners of the new and small watch factory at Waltham, which has grown to be the great manufactory of the American Waltham Watch



THE COTTAGE
The summer home of Mr. Gerald L. Hoyt.

Co. Mr. Appleton retained his interest in the business until his death, and his sons have succeeded him.

He was a member of the first National Convention of the Republican party, which nominated John C. Fremont for President, and was invited to sit on the platform at the Convention, which nominated Mr. McKinley for the first time.

While his business interests were in New York, his summer home was at the farm, to which he was greatly attached.

He married 1st, Julia, daughter of Nicholas P. Randall of Manlius, N. Y., June 9, 1853, who died Aug. 20, 1886, at the age of 59 years, 4 months, 11 days.

- 215 FRANCIS RANDALL, born Aug. 5, 1854. See No. 215.
 216 RUTH, born May 30, 1857; married Charles Sanders Tuckerman, A. B. Harvard, 1874, on April 15, 1880, who died Aug. 27, 1904.
- 1 Muriel, born in Brookline, March 6, 1881.
 - 2 John Appleton, born in Boston, Nov. 26, 1884. A. B. Harvard, 1905.
 - 3 Julia Appleton, born in Ipswich, May 17, 1888.
 - 4 Leverett Saltonstall, born in Salem, Dec. 3, 1892. Their summer home, Applefield, is within the bounds of the original Appleton Farm. For the remainder of the year, their home is in Boston.
- 217 MARY ELIZA, born April 21, 1860; married Gerald Livingstone Hoyt, of Staatsburgh, N. Y., A. B. Yale, 1872, on Nov. 22, 1881.
- 1 Julia Marion, born in New York, Mar. 3, 1883.
 - 2 Lydig, born in New York, Dec. 21, 1883. A. B. Yale, 1906. Their summer home, "The Cottage," is on the Farm. Their winter residence is in New York.
- 218 RANDOLPH MORGAN, born Jan. 4, 1862. See No. 218.
 219 JAMES WALDINGFIELD, born June 4, 1867. A. B. Harvard, 1888.

Mr. Appleton married 2d, Susan A., daughter of Prof. John P. Cowles, of Ipswich, Dec. 17, 1889. He died Feb. 5, 1904.

213. DANIEL APPLETON,⁷ son of Daniel,⁶ was born July 4, 1802, in Beverly. He bought a portion of the Joseph Fellows farm, with half the house, Jan. 16, 1832, and married Mehitable K. Cleaves of Beverly, April 10, 1832. They set up their home on the farm, where he died Oct. 20, 1859. His widow lived until Nov. 22, 1888, dying at the age of 83 years, 11 months.

- 220 DANIEL WOODBURY, born May 21, 1833. See No. 220.
 221 MARIETTA DANE, born April 4, 1836; died Sept. 18, 1869.
 222 JOHN WILLIAM ELIOT, born May 22, 1850; died April 2, 1855.

EIGHTH GENERATION.

215. FRANCIS RANDALL APPLETON,⁸ son of Daniel Fuller,⁷ was born in New York, Aug. 5, 1854. He was graduated from Harvard College, 1875, and took the degree of L. L. B. at Columbia, 1877. His summer

home, New House, was built on a lot, originally included in the Appleton Farm. His business interests are in New York, where he resides during the winter months.

He married Fanny Lanier, daughter of Charles Lanier, Esq. at Lenox, Mass., Oct. 7, 1884.

- 223 FRANCIS RANDALL, JR., born in Lenox, July 9, 1885. A. B. Harvard, 1907.
- 224 CHARLES LANIER, born in New York, Sept. 25, 1886.
- 225 RUTH, born in New York, Jan. 10, 1891.
- 226 ALICE, born in New York, Dec. 8, 1894.
- 227 JAMES, born in New York, Mar. 6, 1899.

218. RANDOLPH MORGAN APPLETON,⁸ son of Daniel Fuller,⁷ was born at New York, Jan. 4, 1862, and was graduated from Harvard College, 1884.

He married Helen Kortright, of Boston, June 2, 1888. His estate bears the ancestral name, Waldingfield.

- 228 MADELINE, born in Ipswich, July 8, 1891.
- 229 JULIA, born in Ipswich, June 5, 1894.
- 230 SYBIL, born in Boston, Dec. 28, 1899.

220. DANIEL WOODBURY APPLETON,⁸ son of Daniel,⁷ was born May 21, 1833. He married Lucy Abby, daughter of Jarvis Lamson of Hamilton, April 28, 1870, who died Dec. 6, 1883, aged 34 years, 5 months. He died Oct. 27, 1903, in the house, in which he was born.

- 231 DANIEL HOWARD, born Nov. 30, 1874. See No. 231.
- 232 MARIETTA DANE, born Nov. 13, 1876; married Amos E. L. Scotton, Aug. 24, 1896.
 - 1 Gladys Appleton, born Nov. 29, 1896.
 - 2 Edward Lawrence, born July 13, 1899.
 - 3 Lucie Abbie, born Jan. 10, 1901.
 - 4 Harold Everett, born July 29, 1902.

- 233 ELIOT LAMSON, born April 9, 1831.

NINTH GENERATION.

231. DANIEL HOWARD APPLETON,⁹ son of Daniel W.,⁸ was born Nov. 30, 1874; married Cora M. Manthorn, Aug. 3, 1895; died June 14, 1899.

- 234 DANIEL HOWARD, JR., born, 1895.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held on Monday, December 3, 1906, at Whipple House.

The following officers were elected.

President.—T. Frank Waters.

Vice Presidents.—John B. Brown,
Francis R. Appleton.

Directors.—Charles A. Sayward,
John H. Cogswell,
John W. Nourse.

Clerk.—John W. Goodhue.

Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.—T. Frank Waters.

Librarian.—John J. Sullivan.

SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Edward Damon,	Miss Lucy Slade Lord,
Mrs. Howard B. Dawson,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
Mrs. Francis H. Richardson.	Mrs. Frank H. Stockwell,
Mrs. Henry R. Kenyon,	Mrs. Joseph F. Ross,
Miss Sarah E. Lakeman,	Mrs. Frank W. Kyes.

The Committee was authorized to fill any vacancies that may occur in its membership, and enlarge it, if occasion requires.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT—DEC. 3, 1906.

We may congratulate ourselves on the abundant and increasing prosperity of our Society. In some respects, the record of the year, which has now ended, has been phenomenal.

Our House, always our most valuable and most interesting asset, is coming into wider and wider renown. The Report of our Curator, to be sure, indicates only the average number of visitors, whose names have been recorded, a round thousand, including the 89 names of our townspeople. But it is acquiring distinction as a notable old mansion and winning its way into the hearts of our townsfolk. When friends are being entertained they are invariably brought here, and when the annual supper is spread and the old rooms are lighted and warmed in the olden style, and the long tables are heavy with the ancient good cheer, a multitude comes to enjoy the grand occasion.

But friends from afar have come pressing in this year as never before. The Bay State League, a federation of the historical societies of eastern Massachusetts, met here on June 2nd. Their headquarters were established in our House, and their lunch was eaten in our garden, their boxes being supplemented with hot coffee and cold water by our Social Committee. The annual meeting with addresses was held in the South Church and a tour of sight-seeing to view the historic spots of our Town was planned for the final feature of the day's doings. A severe thunder-shower made this impossible.

A week later, under sunnier skies, the Governor Thomas Dudley Family gathered in the ancient dwelling, where Dudley and Bradstreet, no doubt, had often hob-nobbed with Elder Whipple. Their visit to the ancient house-sites on High Street was the occasion of brief but admirable services of commemoration. The graduating class of the Grammar School came one afternoon, with their teacher, Miss Isabel G. Arthur, and saw the rooms and their furnishings. It was a happy thought on her part and

we are led to inquire why other teachers do not come with their classes? No better illustration of the early life of our Town and no finer inspiration to historical study can be imagined.

The last of the June pilgrimages was the great visitation of the Old South Historical Society on the 24th. Nearly three hundred tickets had been sold and the ladies had undertaken the formidable task of providing lunch for this hungry multitude. The work was entered upon with enthusiasm and extraordinary interest in the success of the undertaking was shown by our citizens generally. Generous gifts of money and food revealed loyalty to our Society as universal. Unfortunately the day proved wet and cold, but a visit was paid to our House and to some of the nearer historic localities before lunch was served. The broad steps and ample corridors and lower rooms of the South Church afforded a timely shelter, and a convenient place for the mid-day rest and refreshment. Then the auditorium was thrown open and inspiring addresses were delivered by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead and others. The river trip was abandoned of necessity, but a line of trolley cars bore our guests away to Newburyport and the Merrimac.

The Hovey family made its annual visit and the Saturday Evening Club of Bradford came down in the late Fall to have a quiet supper in our great kitchen. The sum total, financially, from these pilgrimages and gastronomic enterprizes was \$187.92, to which is to be added a large prospective asset from the vivid remembrances of many pilgrims, who will come again to see the House at their leisure. The door fees paid by visitors amounted to \$156.75. Publications were sold to the amount of \$27.55 and notwithstanding the superabundance of cheap pictures in the store windows, the sale of photographs of the House, without and within, doubled that of the previous year (amounting to \$30.45). A small percentage of profit remains, but the interest of visitors is enhanced.

The total receipts, which may be credited to our House account, as it is always the foremost thing in the minds of those who come, were \$402.67. The expense of maintenance, including fuel for the curator, sundry repairs, cost of photographs, the care of the house and grounds, and re-setting a line of spruce trees, was \$179.23. The cost of the last item was met, however,

by the balance of the contribution of the Ipswich Mill, carried over from the previous year. No small credit for this gratifying exhibit is due to our excellent curator, Mr. Washington P. Pickard, for his constant endeavors for the advantage of the Society and his fidelity to all the details of his responsible office.

The receipts from membership fees were \$378.36, and from book sales by mail, \$29.94, making the total income \$810.97. Adding \$290.60, the balance from 1905, the credit account is \$1101.57. The expenditures include as the principal items, \$100 for interest on the mortgage, \$200 paid on the face of the mortgage, reducing it to \$2300, \$179.23 on the House account, and \$334.26 for printing. This large item is due to the rather ambitious character of our last issue. "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam," by the eminent Nathaniel Ward, the 4th edition, 1647, was included in the list of valuable books, given by the late Daniel Fuller Appleton. This unique work has been reproduced with facsimile title page, preface, initial letters, head lines, etc. and an antique type, which resembles the original. The paging has also been preserved. Part of the edition was published in pamphlet form and the remainder, on heavier paper, has been bound in boards. It has met with a very complimentary reception from Mr. Mead and other historical students and will have a steady sale, we may reasonably believe. As no publication was issued in 1905, the average expenditure for the two years has not been exceeded very materially. The work of publication is the most enduring and perhaps the most valuable service to the great public, that an Historical Society can perform. Our Society has attained an honorable distinction for its work both for quality and quantity and the sale is steady. The aggregate receipt of about \$60 from this source is a very satisfactory interest on the original cost. Some of the contributions which have come to us this year are of especial interest. Miss R. B. Manning of Salem gave the "Publishment Box" used by Ebenezer Burnham, the Town Clerk of Ipswich, for the displaying of marriage intentions. Mr. William E. Gould of Brookline presented an original musical composition, entitled *Mannerling*, written by Gen. Henry K. Oliver of Salem on his 75th birthday and given to the donor. Mrs. Josiah Dudley has deposited with us the portrait of Rev. Daniel Fitz, D.D., painted by a native

artist in Canton and a painting of the ship Malay, which was commanded by Capt. Dudley and by Captain Joseph Willcomb. The valuable collection of sea-charts, owned by the late Capt. Richard T. Dodge, is likely to come into our possession. We hope that this will prove to be a nucleus of a marine collection, which would be of rare interest. The old sailors are passing away, and the sailing ships, which opened a career for many Ipswich boys are fast disappearing. A collection of old log-books, pictures and full rigged models of the sailing craft of various builds with lists of the vessels, built in our own ship yards, and of the men, who sailed in them, if it is to be made at all, must be made now, and any contributions of this kind will be particularly welcome.

But where would such a collection be displayed? Not in this House, for the rooms would afford no opportunity for its proper arrangement. For this, and for other collections, which are now waiting, and for our growing library a new building, designed for museum purposes, and for the various needs of the society, will soon be needed. We suggest to our wealthy and public-spirited friends, if the funds for such a building are not forthcoming, that provision be made for legacies, which will be available for this end. The Nantucket Historical Association has recently received a legacy of \$10,000. The Beverly Historical Society fell heir to the fine old mansion, which answers its purposes so admirably. The Methuen Society has been richly endowed by Mr. Searles. A Memorial building, designed to commemorate the fame of Ipswich men and women and perpetuate their remembrance, which would provide room for an Art collection, for a lecture hall, as well as for a large museum, would be of great value to our Society and to the Town. When will the first gift be announced?

That the pride of ancestry is strong, has been illustrated very effectively. The Giles Firmin Garden, named in honor of the first Ipswich physician, whose home lot included the newly made garden, was the beneficiary of a summer fete on the grounds of Mr. Henry Brown, in August, 1906. The guests were invited to enroll their names and also that of any citizen of ancient Ipswich, to whom they trace their ancestry. Great enthusiasm

was aroused and it was found that the following early settlers were represented by the appended number of guests.

Samuel Appleton	19	Thomas Knowlton	1
John Baker	3	Mistress Hannah Lake	1
Thos. Boreman	4	Archelaus Lakeman	1
Thos. Burnham	3	Robert Lord	4
John Caldwell	3	John Perkins	2
John Cogswell	2	Anthony Potter	3
John Dane	1	John Proctor	1
Gen. Daniel Denison	1	Rev. Nath. Rogers	3
Sarah Dillingham	2	Kilicross Ross	1
Gov. Thos. Dudley	1	Henry Russell	1
Michael Farley	1	The Worshipful Mr. Richard	
Philip Fowler	3	Saltonstall	1
Edward French	1	Richard Sutton	1
Dea. William Goodhue	2	Edward Treadwell	1
Thomas Harris	4	Thomas Treadwell	1
Luke Heard	2	Jonathan Wade	2
Daniel Hovey	1	Matthew Whipple	1
Richard Kimball	2	John Winthrop, Jr.	2
Robert Kinsman	8	Rev. John Wise	1

Surely, this just pride in such eminent ancestry may bring forth fruit in due time, in the enduring and honorable Memorial which we desire.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR
FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 3, 1906.

Names recorded in the Register.	984
Names of Ipswich residents,	89
Names of residents of Massachusetts not including Ipswich,	584
Names of residents of other States,	311

On June 2, the Bay State League of Historical Societies visited the House.

June 9, the Governor Thomas Dudley Family Association.

June , The ninth Grade, Manning Grammar School.

June 24, The Old South Historical Society. About 230 came, but only a small number recorded their names.

Aug. 7, The Hovey Family.

Nov. , The Saturday Evening Club from Bradford.

The actual number of visitors to the House was probably about 1200.

WASHINGTON P. PICKARD.
Curator.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING, DECEMBER 3, 1906.

T. F. Waters in account with the Ipswich Historical Society.

Dr.		
To Membership fees,		\$378.36
“ Sales of books, by mail		29.94
“ Receipts from Whipple House,		
Door fees,	\$156.75	
Sales of books,	27.55	
“ “ photographs,	30.45	
From entertainment of the Gov. Thomas		
Dudley Family Asso.,	15.00	
“ Hovey Family,	5.00	
“ Bay State League,	14.32	
“ Old South Historical Soc.,	100.45	
“ Saturday Evening Club,	6.50	
“ Annual Supper,	46.65	402.67
	402.67	810.97
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1905,		290.60
		\$1101.57
Cr.		
Paid on Mortgage,		\$200.00
“ “ Interest,		100.00
“ “ Printing,		334.26
“ Stationary, Postage, etc.,		25.68
“ Incidentals,		4.80
House account,		
Paid for Fuel,	45.86	
“ Table furnishings and partial Pay-		
ment for stove,	18.50	
“ Water Tax,	11.00	
“ Photographs,	31.35	
“ Trees and setting,	20.00	
“ Repairs,	5.77	
“ Care of house and grounds,	46.75	179.23
	179.23	843.97
Cash in treasury, Dec. 3, 1906,		257.60
		\$1101.57

MEMBERS.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Mrs. Alice C. Bemis	Colorado Springs, Col.
James H. Proctor	Ipswich, Mass.
Charles G. Rice	" "

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Dr. Charles E. Ames,	Rev. Temple Cutler,
Mrs. Susan A. R. Appleton,	Arthur C. Damon,
Francis R. Appleton,	Mrs. Carrie Damon,
Mrs. Frances L. Appleton,	Mrs. Cordelia Damon,
Francis R. Appleton, Jr.,	Everett G. Damon,
James W. Appleton,	Harry K. Damon,
Randolph M. Appleton,	Mrs. Abby Danforth,
Miss S. Isabel Arthur,	Miss Edith L. Daniels,
Dr. G. Guy Bailey,	Mrs. Howard Dawson,
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Baker,	George G. Dexter,
Mrs. Ellen B. Baker,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
John H. Baker,	Harry K. Dodge,
Miss Katharine C. Baker,	Rev. John M. Donovan,
Charles W. Bamford,	Arthur W. Dow,
George E. Barnard,	Dana F. Dow,
Miss Mary D. Bates,	Mrs. Sarah B. Dudley,
John A. Blake,	Mrs. Charles G. Dyer,
James W. Bond,	Mrs. Emma Farley,
Warren Boynton,	Miss Lucy R. Farley,
Albert S. Brown,	Miss Abbie M. Fellows,
Albert S. Brown, Jr.,	Benjamin Fewkes,
Charles W. Brown,	James E. Gallagher,
Edward F. Brown,	John S. Glover,
Mrs. Carrie R. Brown,	Charles E. Goodhue,
Henry Brown,	Frank T. Goodhue,
Mrs. Lavinia A. Brown,	John W. Goodhue,
Robert Brown,	William Goodhue,
Ralph W. Burnham,	John J. Gould,
Mrs. Nellie Mae Burnham,	James Graffum,
Fred F. Byron,	Mrs. Eliza H. Green,
Miss Joanna Caldwell,	Mrs. Lois H. Hardy,
Miss Lydia A. Caldwell,	George Harris,
Miss Sarah P. Caldwell,	Mrs. Kate L. Haskell,
Charles A. Campbell,	George H. W. Hayes,
Mrs. Lavinia Campbell,	Mrs. Alice L. Heard,
Edward W. Choate,	Miss Alice Heard,
Philip E. Clarke,	John Heard,
Mrs. Mary E. Clarke,	Miss Mary A. Hodgdon,
Sturgis Coffin, 2d,	Miss S. Louise Holmes,
John H. Cogswell,	Charles G. Hull,
Miss Harriet D. Condon,	Miss Lucy S. Jewett,
Brainerd J. Conley,	Miss Amy M. Johnson,
Rev. Edward Constant,	Miss Ida B. Johnson,
Miss Roxana C. Cowles,	John A. Johnson,

Miss Ellen M. Jordan,	Mrs. Anna C. C. Robinson,
Albert Joyce,	Miss Anna W. Ross,
Charles M. Kelly,	Frederick G. Ross,
Mrs. Caroline Kenyon,	Mrs. Mary F. Ross,
Fred A. Kimball,	Joseph F. Ross,
Robert S. Kimball,	Mrs. Helene Ross,
Mrs. Isabelle G. Kimball,	William S. Russell,
Miss Bethiah D. Kinsman,	William W. Russell,
Mrs. Susan K. Kinsman,	Daniel Safford,
Willard F. Kinsman,	Angus Savory,
Mrs. Mary Q. Kinsman,	Charles A. Sayward,
Dr. Frank W. Kyes,	Mrs. Henrietta W. Sayward,
Mrs. Georgie C. Kyes,	George A. Schofield,
Elizabeth E. Lakeman,	Amos E. Scotton,
J. Howard Lakeman,	Mrs. Harriet G. Shaw,
Mrs. G. F. Langdon,	Dexter M. Smith,
Austin L. Lord,	Mrs. Olive P. Smith,
George A. Lord,	Mrs. Elizabeth K. Spaulding,
Miss Lucy Slade Lord,	George W. Starkey,
Thomas H. Lord,	Dr. Frank H. Stockwell,
Mrs. Lucretia S. Lord,	Mrs. Sadie B. Stockwell,
Walter E. Lord,	Edward M. Sullivan,
Mrs. Mary B. Main,	John J. Sullivan,
James F. Mann,	Mrs. Elizabeth M. Sullivan,
Joseph Marshall,	Arthur L. Sweetser,
Everard H. Martin,	Samuel H. Thurston,
Mrs. Marietta K. Martin,	George W. Tozer,
Miss Abby L. Newman,	Miss Ellen R. Trask,
William J. Norwood,	Miss Laura B. Underhill,
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Norwood,	Jesse H. Wade,
John W. Nourse,	Miss Nellie F. Wade,
Charles H. Noyes,	Miss Emma E. Wait,
Mrs. Harriet E. Noyes,	Luther Wait,
Rev. Reginald Pearce,	Rev. T. Frank Waters,
I. E. B. Perkins,	Mrs. Adeline M. Waters,
Miss Carrie S. Perley,	Miss Susan C. Whipple,
Augustine H. Plonff,	Mrs. Marianna Whittier,
Mrs. Frances E. Richardson,	Miss Eva Adams Willcomb,
James S. Robinson, Jr.,	Chester P. Woodbury,

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Frederick J. Alley	Hamilton, Mass.
Mrs. Mary G. Alley	" "
William F. J. Boardman	Hartford, Conn.
Albert D. Bosson*	Chelsea, Mass.
Mrs. Alice C. Bosson*	" "
Mrs. Mary P. Bosworth	New York, N. Y.
John B. Brown*	Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Lucy T. Brown*	" "
Frank T. Burnham	So. Framingham, Mass.
Rev. Augustine Caldwell	Eliot, Me.
Eben Caldwell	Elizabeth, N. J.
Miss Florence F. Caldwell	Philadelphia, Pa.
John A. Caldwell	Winchester, Mass.
Mrs. Luther Caldwell	Lynn, Mass.
Miss Mira E. Caldwell	" "

* Summer home in Ipswich.

Winthrop Chanler	Genesee, N. Y.
Rufus Choate	Essex, Mass.
Alexander B. Clark	Peabody, Mass.
Mrs. Edward Cordis	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Mrs. Lina C. Cushing	Washington, D. C.
Charles Davis	East Milton,
Fellowes Davis	New York, N. Y.
Horatio Davis	Boston, Mass.
Joseph D. Dodge	Lynn, Mass.
Mrs. Edith S. Dole	Newbury, Mass.
Joseph K. Farley	Lihue, Kauai, Hawaiian Islands.
Sylvanus C. Farley	Alton, Ill.
Amos Tuck French	New York, N. Y.
Edward B. George	Rowley, Mass.
Dr. J. L. Goodale*	Boston, Mass.
Dr. E. S. Goodhue	Wailuku, Maui, Hawaiian Islands.
Samuel V. Goodhue	Salem, Mass.
William E. Gould	Brookline, Mass.
Dr. F. B. Harrington*	Boston, Mass.
Miss Louise M. Hodgkins	Wilbraham, Mass.
Rev. Horace C. Hovey	Newburyport, Mass.
Miss Ruth A. Hovey	Lake Mohonk, N. Y.
Gerald L. Hoyt*	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. May Hoyt*	" " "
Miss Julia Hoyt*	" " "
Lydig Hoyt*	London, Eng.
Albert P. Jordan	Fresno, Cal.
Arthur S. Kimball	Oberlin, Ohio.
Rev. John C. Kimball	Greenfield, Mass.
Rev. Frederic J. Kinsman	New York, N. Y.
Curtis E. Lakeman	Albany, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary A. Lord*	Boston, Mass.
Dr. Sidney A. Lord	Cromwell, Conn.
Mrs. Frances E. Markoe	Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Anna Osgood*	Orange, N. J.
Rev. Robert B. Parker*	Providence, R. I.
Mrs. Mary A. Parsons	Lynnfield Center, Mass.
Asahel H. Patch	Clarksville, Tenn.
Mrs. Anna P. Peabody*	Boston, Mass.
Moritz B. Philipp*	New York, N. Y.
Bowen W. Pierson	" " "
Frederick H. Plouff	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Jesse W. P. Purdy	Reading, Penn.
A. Davidson Remick	Boston, Mass.
James E. Richardson	Salem, Mass.
Dr. Mark W. Richardson*	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lucy C. Roberts	Cambridge, Mass.
Derby Rogers	New Canaan, Conn.
Albert Russell	Portland, Me.
Mrs. E. M. H. Slade	New York, N. Y.
Edward H. Smith	Salem, Mass.
Miss Elizabeth P. Smith	" " "
Henry P. Smith	Brookline, Mass.
Mrs. Caroline P. Smith	" " "
Rev. R. Cotton Smith*	Washington, D. C.
Dr. E. W. Taylor*	Boston, Mass.
Rev. William G. Thayer*	Southboro, Mass.

* Summer home in Ipswich.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Andrew S. Thomson	Wenham, Mass.
Dr. Harvey P. Towle*	Boston, Mass.
Dr. Chas. W. Townsend*	“ “
Miss Ann H. Treadwell	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Bayard Tuckerman*	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Ruth A. Tuckerman*	Boston, Mass.
Charles H. Tweed	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Wade	Newton, Mass.
Major Chas. W. Whipple	New York, N. Y.
Wallace P. Willett*	East Orange, N. J.
Mrs. Elizabeth Willett*	“ “ “
Egerton L. Winthrop, Jr.	New York, N. Y.
Frederic Winthrop	Hamilton, Mass.
Robert D. Winthrop	New York, N. Y.
Chalmers Wood*	“ “ “

HONORARY MEMBERS.

John Albee, Jr.	Swampscott, Mass.
Miss Caroline Farley	Cambridge, Mass.
Frank C. Farley	So. Manchester, Conn.
Mrs. Katherine S. Farley	“ “
Mrs. Eunice W. Felton	Cambridge, Mass.
Jesse Fewkes	Newton, Mass.
Reginald Foster	Boston, Mass.
Augustus P. Gardner	Hamilton, Mass.
Charles L. Goodhue	Springfield, Mass.
Miss Alice A. Gray	Sauquoit, N. Y.
Miss Emily R. Gray	“ “
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Albert Farley Heard, 2d	Boston, Mass.
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Josiah H. Mann	Ipswich, Mass.
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Richard M. Saltonstall	Boston, Mass.
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Joseph Spiller	Boston, Mass.
Miss Ellen A. Stone	East Lexington, Mass.
Harry W. Tyler	Boston, Mass.
Albert Wade	Alton, Ill.
Edward P. Wade	“ “
W. F. Warner	St. Louis, Mo.
George Willcomb	Boston, Mass.

*Summer home in Ipswich.

Membership in the Ipswich Historical Society involves the payment of an annual due of \$2, or a single payment of \$50, which secures Life Membership. Members are entitled to a copy of the regular publications of the Society, in pamphlet form, without expense, free admission to the House with friends, and the privilege of voting in the business meetings.

There are no restrictions as to place of residence. Any person, who is interested in the Society and desires to promote its welfare, is eligible to membership. We desire to enlarge the non-resident membership list until it shall include as many as possible of those, who trace their descent to our Town.

Names may be sent at any time to the President, but the election of members usually occurs only at the annual meeting in December.

IPSWICH IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

—1633-1700—

By Thomas Franklin Waters, President of the Ipswich Historical Society

ONE VOLUME IN TWO PARTS

PART ONE

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II	The Coming of the English	7-20
III	Homes and Dress	21-44
IV	Some notable Settlers. John Winthrop, Jr., Thomas Dudley, Richard Saltonstall, Simon and Ann Bradstreet, Rev. Nathaniel Ward, John Norton	45-55
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IX	The Sabbath and the Meeting House	107-118
X	The Early Military Annals	119-127
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XIII	King Philip's War; contains Major Samuel Appleton's military letters and a complete list of the soldiers in that war	159-224
XIV	Ipswich and the Andros Government. A careful study of the attitude of Ipswich men in this critical period, with many documents, warrants for arrest, depositions, records, etc. Rev. John Wise, Major Samuel Appleton, John Appleton, Jr., Thomas French, William Goodhue, John Andrews, Robert Kinsman	225-273
XV	Laws and Courts	274-286
XVI	Witchcraft	287-300
XVII	War of William and Mary and other Indian troubles, with a list of soldiers so far as known	301-313

The material for this work has been derived, by original research, chiefly from the Town Records, the Records of the old Ipswich Quarter Sessions Court and other Court Records, the Massachusetts Bay Records, the Massachusetts Archives, and contemporaneous published works, so far as possible.

It is illustrated with facsimiles of ancient documents and photographs.

PART TWO

is a study of the original land grants for house lots on all the ancient streets and lanes, and the successive owners to the present generation, with diagrams, maps, and photographs of many ancient dwellings.

The dates of the erection of houses are noted in many instances, and all transfers are accompanied with citations of the Book and Leaf of the ancient Ipswich Deeds (5 volumes), and the Records of the Essex County Registry of Deeds and Registry of Probate. Some eighteen hundred citations are made from the original sources, and these constitute the sole authority for this record of locations, ownerships, and the probable age and identity of dwellings.

Besides this, there are seven appendices to the volume, giving important historical material under the following heads: A summary of the names of the first settlers from 1633 to 1649; Some Early Inventories; The Letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward; The Letters of Giles Firmin; The Letters of Samuel Symonds; The Valedictory and Monitory Writing left by Sarah Goodhue; The Diary of Rev. John Wise, Chaplain in the Expedition to Quebec. There is also a copious Index.

The book will be of particular interest and importance to those who are of Ipswich ancestry, and especially, those related to the Ipswich families of

APPLETON	FARLEY	KNOWLTON	ROGERS
BAKER	FOSTER	LAKEMAN	ROSS
BROWN	GOODHUE	LORD	RUST
BURNHAM	HARRIS	MANNING	SALTONSTALL
CALDWELL	HEARD	NEWMAN	SMITH
CHOATE	HODGKINS	NORTON	SYMONDS
CLARK	HOVEY	PAINE	TREADWELL
COGSWELL	HUBBARD	PERKINS	WADE
DENISON	JEWITT	POTTER	WAINWRIGHT
DODGE	KIMBALL	PULCIFER	WHIPPLE
DUTCH	KINSMAN	RINGE	WILLCOMB
	WINTHROP		

and many others.

Price. Five dollars, net. Postage, thirty-six cents.

EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS AND LETTERS.

(From *The Nation*, *New York*.)

In one feature, at least, this ample and handsomely printed work surpasses any other town history that we have ever encountered. We refer to that portion of the second half which deals with "Houses and Lands," and which, with the aid of a diagram, traces the fortunes of each dwelling and lot of the original settler *nominatim* not only to 1700, but to the present day. This enormous labor is fortified by the citation of wills and deeds, and the result is a firm base for all future researches. It is supplemented by a summary of the names of the settlers from 1633 to 1649, with the year in which each name first occurs in the town records, and by some sample inventories of personal effects. Other remarkable lists of the early inhabitants have been constructed for the chapter entitled "The Body Politic;" and show that out of an enrolled male population in 1678 totalling 508, there were 220 commoners and 125 freemen (17 of these not being commoners). The freemen alone were entitled to vote for the officers and magistrates of the Colony and to speak and vote in town meeting; the commoners might vote on all questions relating to the common lands; the residue, so-called Resident, were eligible for jury duty and to vote for selectmen.

Mr. Waters's historical treatment is episodic and is very pleasingly manifested in the opening chapters on the aborigines as described by the first Englishmen and on home and dress. These themes are invested with a really fresh interest, and set forth with noticeable literary skill.

Much remains to be said or sayable, but we must stay our hand. Mr. Waters's work, which we hope he will follow up for later times, as he half promises, takes its place in the front rank of its class, and can hardly be praised too highly for diligent research, candor, taste, style and construction.

(From a letter, written by C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian of Massachusetts.)

"The story of the founders of Ipswich which you have told with so much detail and skill in the first half of the volume, is of course in large degree the story of the early life of the settlers in other parts of the Colony and this study, which you have founded with such pains-taking accuracy largely upon original and documentary sources of information makes the volume of the widest general interest to all, who have an interest in the early settlers and their mode of life. This feature of the book it seems to me, is unequalled by any other available publication and should commend it to the favorable attention of all libraries.

The topographical study which forms the latter portion of the book, is a model of what such a study should be, and in this respect, Ipswich territory is of special interest.

“You have made in this volume a contribution to the local, the fundamental history of the Commonwealth, which few, if any volumes equal and none excel.”

(From a Review by the New York Daily Tribune.)

The president of the Ipswich Historical Society has prepared in this volume a model of its kind. He tells in thoroughly entertaining fashion the history of this early Colonial town — the Agawam of Indians — and he adds in Part II such a detailed account of its houses and lands as must ever be of value to all connected by ties of blood or property with Ipswich. Photographs of the many ancient houses which survive, together with maps, diagrams and facsimiles illustrate and elucidate the text.

The story of the town holds so much of the struggle, the tragedy and the quaintness of seventeenth century life in the colony that it would have been difficult to make it other than interesting.

The services of Ipswich men in King Philip's War and their sturdy protest against the usurpation of the Andros government are chronicled here, and are not to be forgotten by Americans. In the resistance to what she considered an unjust tax, Ipswich may claim a high place among the earliest supporters of the right of self government.

(From George H. Martin, Secretary of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts.)

I have examined with care the whole of your new book on Ipswich and I have read with increasing interest as much as time would allow. It is a great book and will prove of immense service to all students of early colonial history.

I do not think I have found anywhere so vivid a picture presented of Puritan town life in all its phases as you have given. The thorough way in which you have handled the matter of land grants is a model for all local historians.

I congratulate you heartily upon having made an addition to the local history of New England, which is unsurpassed in the choice of matter, and in the felicity of its presentation.

(From the Boston Transcript.)

A most important addition to the literature of New England history is made by Mr. Thomas Franklin Waters in this volume. Ipswich — the Agawam of 270 years ago — is one of the most picturesque towns in the Commonwealth, and aside from its attractions of location and scenery, is particularly rich in historical associations. No town in its early conditions more accurately typifies early New England life, and in the narrative of its struggles and development may be read that of a score of other settlements of the same period. “I have tried,” says Mr. Waters in his preface, “to tell accurately, but in readable fashion, the story of the builders of

our town, their homes and home life, their employments, their Sabbath-keeping, their love of learning, their administration of town affairs, their stern delusions, their heroism in war and in resistance to tyranny." To anyone familiar with the beautiful old town the book will have all the fascination of a romance.

(*By Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in The Lend a Hand Record.*)

Here is a model town history. It covers the history of the old town of Ipswich in Massachusetts from the year 1633, when it was what we may call almost the model settlement of Winthrop's party, and extending to the year 1700. That is to say, it is the history of the first two generations of the Bay colonists. The settlement was led by John Winthrop, the son of the Governor, and from the first it had the cordial cooperation of the General Court of Massachusetts. Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, the Minister of the South Church in Ipswich, has given the careful work of years to this history and has now presented it to us in a form worthy of such a history.

It has enough fac-similes of the very earliest papers, not only to give us a breeze of the atmosphere of the town, but to show us how carefully they have been worked over and digested, and indeed, to make it unnecessary for us to search for hours in the original documents. It is not everybody who has at hand the old map of New England, from Hubbard's History,—“The best which could be got,” that is the pathetic inscription on the original,—with its gigantic enlargement of Lake Winnepesaukee, its convenient north and south straight line of the Connecticut, its frequent mountains and its infrequent trees, its spire crowned villages and its little army of red folks, with the ships in the Bay. These are all tokens of the simplicity of the geography of ancient time, such as make it real to us as no description can.

The volume is divided into part first, which is distinctly historical, and part second, “Houses and Lands,” which meets the local necessity as to the original division of land and the changes which followed in the first century of the history. The chapters in the historical part are all interesting. The study of home and dress, of common laws, of commonage, of the boards of charity, of the perils of the charter, of the grammar school and the college, and of witchcraft, will demand the attention of all careful students of the foundation of New England.

The work of Nathaniel Ward as one of the real founders of our infant state is so important that it deserved the most careful study and this it has received here. Massachusetts has few such men in its history. Ward graduated at Emmanuel College as early as 1603. He is acquainted with Lord Bacon, with Archbishop Usher, and with David Pareus, the famous theologian of Heidelberg; he studied law afterwards, entered the ministry of the church when he was forty-six years of age; he is excommunicated in 1633; and in the sixty-fourth year of his age, landed in Massachusetts Bay. There is something pathetic in thinking of this accomplished old

man in the wilderness life of Ipswich, and something truly magnificent in the work assigned to him and by him so well performed. He was appointed by the General Court in 1638 to draw up its first code of laws. His legal training fitted him for this task. He spent three years in it and the result is "The Body of Liberties." Of this Francis Gray said that while it retains some strong traces of the time, it is in the main far in advance of the common law of England at this time. Ward is better known perhaps as the author of the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam." But the humour and wit of that book ought not eclipse in men's minds the fact that the corner stone of New England legislation was laid by him. He ranks first among our law givers of that great century.

The name of William Hubbard, the historian of New England, is another Ipswich name of the seventeenth century, very important in our New England history. These two names alone would make Ipswich one of the most distinguished towns in Massachusetts. But whoever will carefully study Mr. Waters's valuable book will see what were not only the beginnings but the successful prosecution of many of the enterprises and successes which look back to the seventeenth century. All persons interested in New England life and history owe a great debt to the author.

E. E. H.

(From Appleton Morgan, President of the New York Shakespeare Society.)

The Complete Book of the Town of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in that Essex County, where Rufus Choate said there was more History to the square inch than in any other spot under the skies, deserved to be written, and the Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, President of the Ipswich Historical Society has written it in a splendid imperial octavo volume of 586 compact pages. It is illuminated with valuable pictures, and nothing has been omitted of the muniments of the quaint old precinct. Ipswich has its legends as well as its history, but Mr. Waters has been a very Draco here!

His unswerving and uncompromising fidelity to facts will admit no plea of *ben trovato*, and he tumbles into oblivion many a cherished romance and tradition, but he packs their places with invaluable records and rescued chronicles!

The history of New England cannot be written—and henceforth nobody will attempt to write it—without Mr. Waters's volume. It is a work of enormous patience and ability, and is in all ways a model of what a Town History should be.

(By Bayard Tuckerman, Lecturer in English at Princeton University.)

Ipswich is one of the oldest and in some respects one of the most interesting and typical of the English settlements in America. The difficulties to be encountered by the early colonists in subduing the wilderness, in winning a livelihood from an unfruitful soil, in building up a civilization

in which comfort and education were sought together, were nowhere greater and nowhere surmounted with more courageous energy.

The institution of town government and the intelligent practice of the principles of political liberty are well exemplified in the history of Ipswich, while the bold resistance of her citizens to the tyranny of the English government in the time of Governor Andros has given her a claim to the title of the "Cradle of American Liberty." Mr. Waters has told this story with historical insight and literary skill, and has given us besides a mass of information regarding local customs, transfers of land and resident families, which make his work of personal interest to everyone whose ancestors have lived in the township.

As we turn the leaves of this scholarly work, the chapter headings indicate a variety of interesting subjects. Political history is studied under "The Development of our Town Government" "The Body Politic" "The Charter in Peril" "Ipswich and the Andros Government." Under the heads of "The Coming of the English" "Homes and Dress" "Some Notable Settlers" "Trades and Employments," we find a rich fund of information regarding the early inhabitants and the lives they led.

In the chapter dealing with "The Sabbath and the Meeting House" with the melancholy accompaniment of "Witchcraft," the austere religious life of the early times is depicted. The relations of the settlers to the Indians are described under "Primeval Agawam" "King Philip's War" and the "War of William and Mary."

The determination of the colonists to provide education for their children is shown in the article on "The Grammar School and Harvard College." Other interesting chapters deal with the "Laws and Courts" and with the curious institution of the "Common Lands and Commonage."

The second portion of the work contains an account of the ownership and transfer of lands and houses which is the fruit of research, of remarkable industry and accuracy. No one whose family has owned property within the bounds of Ipswich can fail to find facts of interest to him here.

The names of early settlers are given in full and there are a number of inventories illustrative of the character of personal property held and transmitted. The letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Dr. Giles Firmin, and of Samuel Symonds, the writings of Sarah Goodhue, and the narrative of the Rev. John Wise, all of great antiquarian interest, are given in the Appendix.

Thirty-five excellent illustrations, and an Index which forms a complete guide to all the names and subjects mentioned, add greatly to the value of the work.

This history of Ipswich is the result of such painstaking and intelligent research, and is written in so attractive a style, that it cannot fail to appeal to all persons who have any connection with the town. Whoever lives in Ipswich or whose ancestors lived here, should have a copy among his books. He will find pleasure in reading it, and profit in possessing it for reference.

BAYARD TUCKERMAN.

... PUBLICATIONS ...

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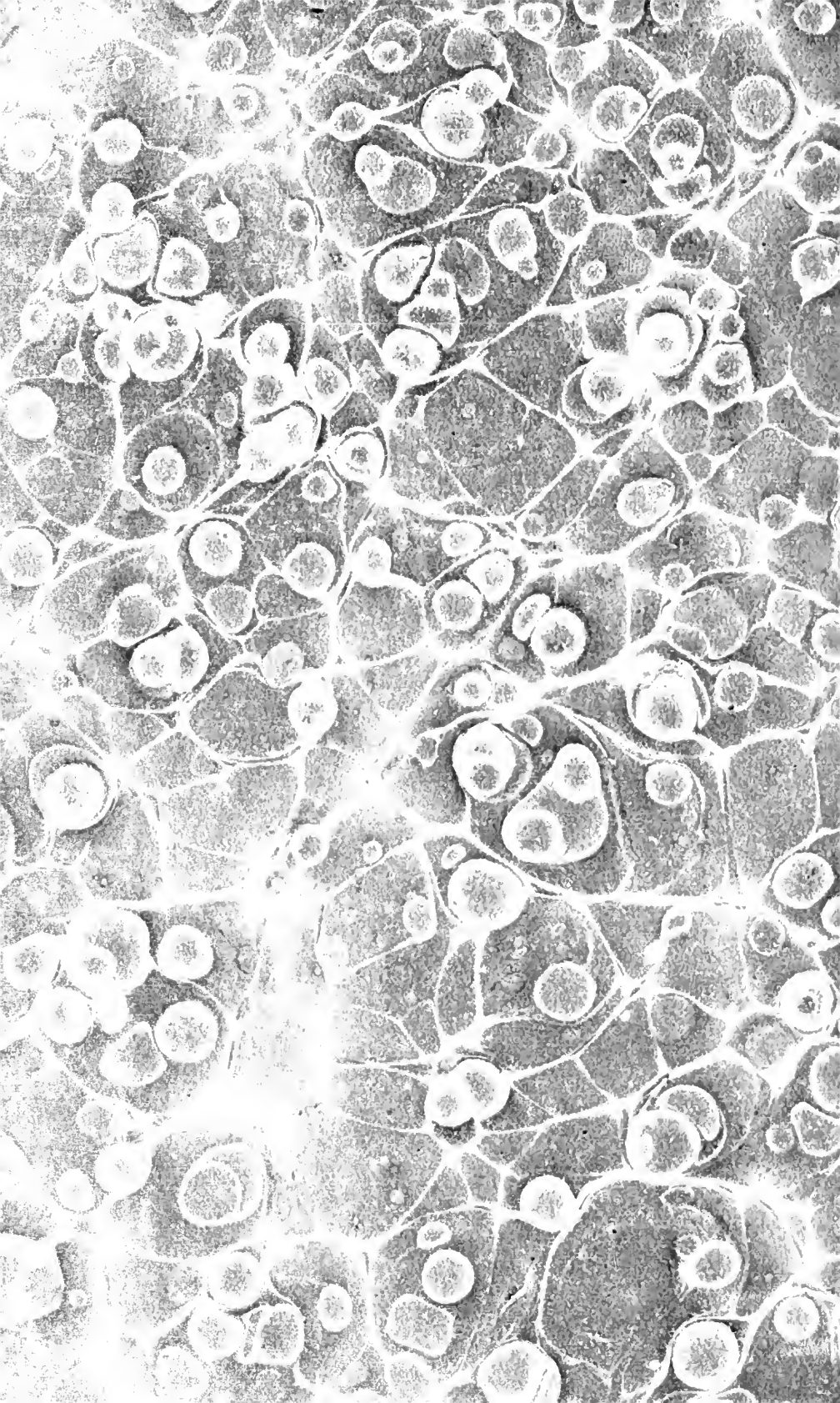
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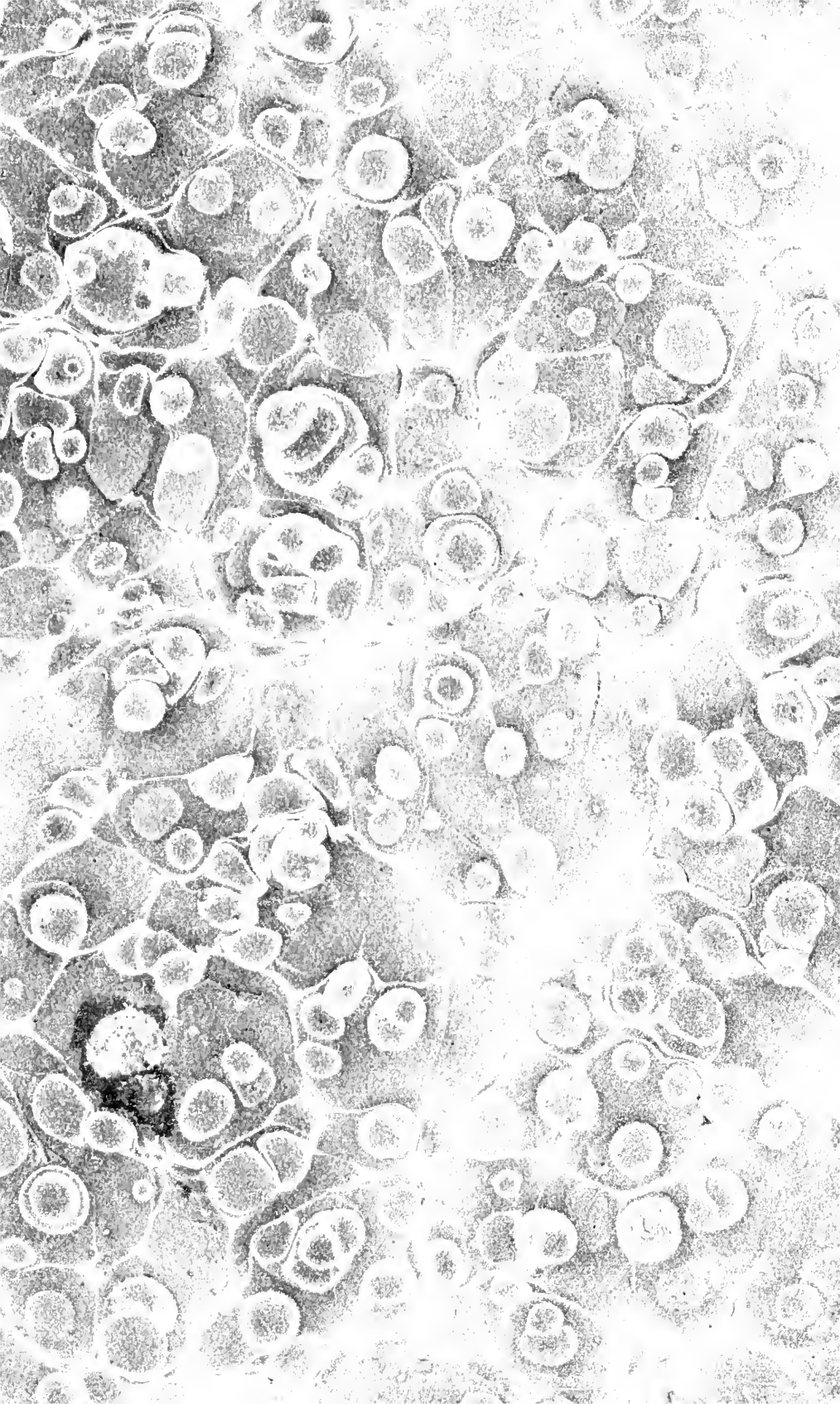
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