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THE SIMPLE COBBLER

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AGGAWAM

by

REV. NATHANIEL WARD

A REPORT OF THE 4TH EDITION PUBLISHED IN 1845, WITH THE TITLE OF "THE SIMPLE COBBLER"

NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBBLER

by

THOMAS FRANCIS WARD

PRESIDENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

October 5, 1907

Salee Fretz
The Ledge Press Co., Fall River, Mass.
THE SIMPLE COBLER
OF AGGAWAMM 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 bee 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.

In rebus arduis ac tenai spe, fortissima
quaeque consilia tuitissima sunt. Cic.

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

This is no time to scarce Apelles grammis:
Ne Sator quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by J. D. & R. I. for Stephen Bowell, at the signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.
TO THE
READER

Gentlemen,

Pray make a little roomie for a Cobler, his work was done in time, but a ship setting sayle 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 Counsel in our occasions to come, and as Testimony to what is past,

By a Friend.
ITHER I am in an Appoplexie, or that man is in a Lethargie, who doth not now sensibly feel God shaking the heavens over his head, and the earth under his feet: The Heavens fo, 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 fo, 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 Everlafting 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 easilly shake them off into delusions, and distractions e-nough.

Sathan
Sathan is now in his passions, he feeles his passion approaching; hee loves to fifh in royled waters. Though that Dragon cannot ftting the vitals of the Elect mortally, yet that Beelzebub can fly-blow their Intellectuals miserably: They finer Religion grows, the finer hee SPins his Cobwebs, hee will hold pace with Chrifl fo long as his wits will serve him. Hee sees himfelfe beaten out of grosse Idolatries, Herefies, Ceremonies, where the Light breaks forth with power; he will therefore beftirre him to prevaricate Evangelicall Truths, and Ordinances, that if they will needs be walking, yet they fhall laborare variabitus, and not keep their path, he will put them out of time and place; Affaffinating for his Engineers, men of Paracellian parts; well complexioned for ho- nesty; for, fuch are fitteft to Mountebanke his Chimitry into ficke Churches and weake Judge- ments.

Nor fhall hee need to stretch his ftrength over- much in this worke: Too many men having not laid their foundations fure, nor ballafted their Spirits deepe with humility and feare, are preft enough of themselves to evaporate their owne apprehenfions. Thofe that are acquainted with Story know, it hath ever beene fo in new Editions of Churches: Such as are leaft able, are moft busie to pudder in the rubbifh, and to raife duft in the eyes of more fteady Repay- rers. Civill Commotions make roome for uncivill practifes: Religious mutations, for irreligious opi- nions: Change of Aire, discovers corrupt bodies; Reformation of Religion, unfound mindes. Hee that hath any well-faced phanfy in his Crowne, and doth not
not vent it now, fears the pride of his owne heart will
dub him dunces for ever. Such a one will trouble the
whole Israel of God with his most untimely births,
though he makes the bones of his vanity stick up, to
the view and griefe of all that are godly wise. The
devill defiers no better sport then to see light heads
handle their heels, and fetch their carreeers in a time,
when the Roofe of Liberty stands open.

The next perplexed Question, with pious and pon-
derous men, will be: What should bee done for the
healing of these comfortlesse exulcerations. I am the
unablest advicer of a thousand, the unworthiest of ten
thousand; yet I hope I may presume to assert what
follows without just offence.

First, such as have given or taken any unfriendly
reports of us New-English, should doe well to recol-
lect themselves. Wee have beene reputed a Colluvies
of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilder-
nes to find elbow-roome for our phanatick Doctrines
and practifes: I trust our diligence pait, and confant
sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead
better things for us. I dare take upon me, to bee the
Herauld of New-England so farre, as to proclaime to
the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Fami-
lifts, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts
shall have free Liberty to keepe away from us, and
such as will come to be gone as saft as they can, the
sooner the better.

Secondly, I dare averre, that God doth no where
in his word tolerate Christian States, to give Toler-
ations to such adversaries of his Truth, if they have
power in their hands to suppreffe them.
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 constipulation, firmly provides free stably-room and litter for all kindes of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturb any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be. We are very sorry to see such profeffed 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 erronious 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 beleev he would ask nothing else, but liberty to enfranchise all false Religions, and to embondage the true; nor shoulde hee need: It is much to be feared, that laxe Tolerations upon State-pretences and planting necesseities, 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 penfull of the Spirit, are the sacred favours of Truth, the
the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartiments of Christian fraternity: but irregular dispenfations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error, the redoubts of Schifme, the perillous irritaments of carnall and spirituall enmity.

My heart hath naturally defeeted 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 affents to the laft, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conscience will tell him, he is either an Atheift, or an Heretique, or an Hypocrite, or at beft a captive to fome Luft: 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 confcences, argues a confcience too ftrong: pressed uniformity in these, caufes much difunity: To tolerate more then indifferenters, is not to deale indifferently with God: He that doth it, takes his Scepter out of his hand, and bids him f tand by. Who hath to doe to inftitute Religion but God. The power of all Religion and Ordinances, lies in their purity: their purity in their simplicitie: then are mixtures pernicious. J lived in a City, where a Papift preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinift in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinift the other, in the fame Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but mot-ly and meagre, their affections Leopard-like.

If the whole Creature fhould confpire to doe the
Creator a mischiefe, or offer him an insolency, it would be in nothing more, than in erecting untruths against his Truth, or by sophisticating his Truths with humane medleys: 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 authorize 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 himself 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 fake 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 Celestiall 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 virulence of the other, must necessarily kindle Combustions. Fiery diseaues seated 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.

Wife are those men who will be persuadèd rather to live within the pale of Truth where they may bee quiet, than in the purlieues, 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, muft confute all three at once, or else he does nothing; which will not be done without more stirr 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 fell all peace of Country, to buy some peace of conscience unreasonably, 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 heaven years, peace prove not such a penny-worth at most Marts in Christendome, that hee that would not lay down his money, his luft, 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 assert.
That Persecution of true Religion, and Toleration of false, are the *Jannes* and *Jambres* to the Kingdom 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, unless it be in matters meere 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 Devils girdle.

Every Toleration of false Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errors 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 gi-
gen 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 falle Religi-
on, or Opinion whatsoever; they must connive in
some Cales, but may not concede in any.

That the State of England (so farre as my Intelli-
gence 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 Kingdom 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, shou'd now be-
come 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
Errour nothing but a Prison for Conscience. Then
small will be the kindnesse of a State to build such Pri-
sions for their Subjects.

The Scripture faith, there is nothing makes free but
Truth, and Truth faith, there is no Truth but one:
If the States of the World would make it their summoperous Care to preserve this One Truth in its purity and Authority it would ease you of all other Politicall 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 into an unity; had need be a better Artist, then ever was Drebell.

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

There is talk of an universal 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 universal Toleration of all hellish Errors, or how they shall make an universal Reformation, but by making Christs Academy the Divills University, where any man may commence Heretique per faltum; where he that is filius Diabolicus, or simpliciter peffimus, may have his grace to goe to Hell cum Publico Privilegio; and carry as many after him, as he can.

Religio docenda est, non coercenda is a pretty piece of album Latinum for some kinde of throats that are willingly fore, but Haeresis dedocenda est non permittenda, will be found a farre better Diamoron for the Gargarifmes
garismes this Age wants, if timely and throughly applyed.

If there be roome in England for

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If there be roome in England for

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* By Brownists I mean not Independents, butdew-clawd Separatists: far be it from me to wrong godly Independents I truly 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 Devills in Britanie shall fell themselves to their shirts, to purchase a Leafe 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 than reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Affertion worse then this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the univerfall Idol of the world.

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

I would anfwer to this fo well as I could, did I not know that some papers lately brought out of New-England, are going to the Presie, wherein the Opinions of the Elders there in a late Synod, concerning this point are manifefted, 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 repair Pauls with all the speed they can, for an English Pantheon, and beftow 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, againft 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 wifdome in
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 thole who have spent so great a part of their substance in redeeming their Civill Liberties from Ufurpation, lose all that remains in enthralling their spiritual Liberty by Toleration.

It is said Opinionists are many, and strong, that de funct Vires, that it is turbata respublica, I am very sorry for it, but more sorry, if delpondency of minde shall cause the leaft tergiverfation in Gods Worthies, who have receiv'd such pledges of his presence in their late Counfels, and Conflicts. It is not thoufands of Opinionists that can pinion his Everlafting armes, I can hardly beleive there is a greater unbeleever then my Selfe, yet I can verily beleive that the God of Truth will in a short time scatter them all like smoake before the wind. I confesse I am troubled to fee 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 fell all his rags, and odde-ends by the out-cry; and let his petty Chapman make their Market while they may, upon my poore credit it will not laft long. Hee that hath done so much for England will go on to perfect his owne praiſe, and his Peoples Peace: Let good men f tand still, and behold his further Salvation. He that sitteth in the Heavens laughs at them, the moft High hath them in Derifion, and their folly shall certainly be manifefted 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,
State, have been either open fautors, or private abetters of any blaspheamous, contagious Opinions, It will be their wisdome to proportion their repentance to their Sin, before God makes them Publique monuments of Ignominie, and Apoftafie.

Thirdly, That all Christian States, ought to disavow and decry all such Errors, by some peremptory Statutary Act, and that in time, that Subjects knowing fully the minde of the State, might not delude themselves with vain hopes of unsufferable Liberties. It is leffe to say, Statuatur veritas, ruat Regnum, than Fiat iustitia, ruat Calum; but there is no such danger in either of them. Feare nothing Gentlemen, Rubiconem tranfiiftis, jacta eft alea, ye have turned the Devill out of doores; fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, left he makes another errand for it againe. Quae relinquentur in morbis post indicationem, recidivas facere confuerere. Chrift would have his Church without spot or wrinckle; They that help make it fo, fhall lose neither honour nor labour: If yee be wife, suffer no more thorns in his fides or your owne. When God kindles fuch fires as these, hee doth not usually quench them, till the very fcum on the pot fides be boyled cleane away, Ezek. 24. 10, 11. Yee were better to doe it your felves, 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 lafting burnings?

Fourthly, to make speedy provision against Obftinates and Diffeminaries: where under favour, two things will be found requisite. First, variety of penaltyes, I meane certaine, not indefinite: I am a Crabbat
Crabbat against Arbitrary Government. Experience hath taught us here, that politall, domesticall, and personall repects, will not admit one and the same remedy for all, without fad inconveniences. Secondly, justseverity: persecution hath ever spread Truth, prosecution scattered Error: Ten of the most Christian Empeors, found that way best; Schollars know whom I meane: Five of the ancient Fathers perfwaded 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 understanded, not onely an Allower, but an humble Petitioner, that ignorant and tender confcienced Anabaptifts may have due time and means of conviction.

Fifthly, That every Prophet, to whom God hath given the tongue of the learned, shoulde teach, and every Angel who hath a pen and inkehorne by his fide write againft these grieving extravagancies: writing of many books, I grant is irksome, reading endleffe. 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 fhort and sharpe to be more properly prevalent, then wearifome waiting upon unwearable Spirits. It is a most toylfome taske to run the wild-goose chafe after a well-breath’d Opinionift: they delight in vitilitigation: it is an itch that loves alife to be scrub’d: they desire not satisfaction, but satisfaction, whereof themselues muft be judges: yet in new eruptions of Error with new objections, silence is sinfull.

C 3

As
As for my self, I am none of the disputers of this world: all I can doe, is to guesse when men speake true or false Divinity: if I can but finde the parentall root, or formall reaon of a Truth, I am quiet; if I cannot, I shore up my flender judgement as long as I can, with two or three the handfomeft props I can get: I fhall therefore leave Arguments to acuter heads, and onely speake a word of Love, with all Christian reſpect to our deare Brethren in England, which are againſt Baptizing of Infants: I intreate them to confider these few things feriouſly 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 fo far disgoods the Ordinance, I feare it altogether unhallows it, to tranſplace or tranftime a ſtated Institution of Chrift, without his direction, I thinke, is to deftroy it. Secondly, what a Cruelty it is to deſveft 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 baptifme of their Infants dying in their Childhood. Fourthly, How unſeafonable and unkindly it is, to interturb the State and Church with theſe Amalekitifh on-fets, when they are in their extreame pains of travell with their lives. Fifthly, to take a through view of thofe 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 spiritualties of Christ, as if their Religion began and ended in their Opinion. Secondly, a shallow flighting of such as descent from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches and carriages. Thirdly, a feeble, yet peremptory obstinacy; seldom are any of them reclaimed. Fourthly, a shamefull 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 corriive with two or three sottish errors, as that faith that can profeessedly live with two or three fordid sins. I dare not fear our godly Brethren in England to be yet comming 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 lepree spreading: receive not him that is weak, faith the Apostle to doubtfull disputations; much leffe may they run, them-
themselevs into dangerous Sophistications. He usually hears best in their meetings, that stops his ears clo-
seft; he opens his mouth to best purpose, that keeps it shut, and he doth best of all, that declines their com-
pany as wisely as he may.

Brethren, have an extraordinary care also of the late Theosophysers, that teach men to climbe to heaven upon a ladder of lying figments. Rather then the de-
 vill 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-Gospel the Gospel, and qui-
danye Christ, with Sugar and Rats-bane. Hee was Professour not long since at Schlestat in Alsatia, where he learned, that no poysyon is so deadly as the poysyon of Grace.

The wisest way, when all is said, is with all humility and seare, to take Christ as himselfe hath revealed himselfe in his Gospel, and not as the Devill presents him to prestigiated fancies. I have ever hated the way of the Rosie-Crucians, who reject things as Gods wisedome hath tempered them, and will have nothing but their Spirits. If I were to give physick to Sprysts, 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 thofe by my bodily humours, and thofe by fuch Ordinaries, as have the nearest vicinage to them, and not by Metaphyfical Limbeckings. I can-
ot thinke that materia prima or secunda, should bee good for me, that am at leaft, Materia millefima sex-
centesima quadragesima quinta.

Here I hold my selfe bound to set up a Beacon, to give
give warning of a new-sprung Sect of phrantasticks, which would perfwade 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 unfetled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God. I desire all good men may be saved from their Lunatick Creed, by Infidelity; and rather beleeve these torrid overtures will prove in time, nothing but horrid raptures downe to the lowest hell, from which he that would be delivered, let him avoid these blasphemers, a late fry of croaking Frogs, not to be indured in a Religious State, no, if it were poffible, not an houre.

As sone are playing young Spaniels, quef ting at every bird that rises; 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 Chrift, to affoile thefe benighted quef tions, and to give new Orders for new Churches. I crave leave with all reftpect 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 ne ver was, nor ever will be found.

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghoft should give Timothie the folemnneft charge, was ever given mortall man, to obferve the Rules he had given, till the comming of Chrift, if new things must 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 gratious 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 Chrift, that unlesse he sends wiser than they, He must be accounted lesse faithfull in his house than Mojes was.

I have cause enough to be as charitable to others as any man living; yet I cannot but feare, that thofe 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 usuallie 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 fuch as the Apostle calls wandring Starrs and Meteors, without any certaine motion, hurried about with tempefts, bred of the Exhalations of their owne pride and selfe-wittedneffe: whose damnation sleepeth not, and to whom the mift of darkneffe is referred for ever, that they may suffer irreparable shipwrack upon the Sands and Rocks of their owne Errors, being of old ordained to condemnation.

Eighthly, 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: thefe are Exorbitancies: which
which is a formidable word; a vacuum and an exorbitancy, are mundicidious evils, Concerning Novelties of opinions; I shall expresse my thoughts in these briefe passages. Firft, that Truth is the beft 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 leaft Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome of his Truths; Take away the leaft vericulum out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conerved by an Arme of superiordinary power. Thirdly, the leaft Evangelical Truth is more worth than all the Civill Truths in the world, that are meerly fo. Fourthly, that Truth is the Parent of all liberty whether politickal or personall; so much untruth, so much thraldome, Ioh. 8. 32.

Hence it is, that God is fo jealous of his Truths, that he hath taken order in his due justice: Firft, that no practicall fin is fo finfull as some errour in judgement; no man fo accursed with indelible infamy and dedolent impenitency, as Authors of Herefie. Secondly, that the leaft Error, if grown fturdy and press’d, shall set 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 cruft of reaason 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 fuffer irreligious errors, shall fuffer the

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

An easie head may soon demonstrate, that the pre-mentioned Planters, by Tolerating all Religions, had immazed themselves in the most intolerable confusions and inextricable thraldomes the world ever heard of. I am perswaded the Devill himself was never willing with their proceedings, for feare it would breake his wind and wits to attend such a Province. I speak it serioufly, according to my meaning. How all Religions shoulde enjoy their liberty, Justice its due regularity, Civill cohabitation morall honesty, in one and the same Jurisdiction, is beyond the Attique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can fo compromise, exadverfe, and diametrical contradictions, as to compolitize such a multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do more then the Senate of Heaven. My modus loquendi pardoned; I intirely wish much welfare and more wisdom to that Plantation.

It is greatly to be lamented, to observe the wanton fearleffeneffe of this Age, especially of younger professors, to greet new opinions and Opinionifts: as if former truths were growne superannuate, and faplesse, if not altogether antiquate. Non feneicet veritas. No man ever faw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinkle, or morphew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare long. Hee that cannot solace himselfe with any savoring truth, as affectionately as at the firft acquaintance with it, hath
hath not only a faftidious, but an adulterous heart.

If all be true we heare, Never was any people under the Sun, so fick 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 fpoken what I intend for the prefent to men; I fhall fppeak a word to the women anon: in the mean time I intreat them to prepare patience.

Ninthly, that godly humble Chriftians ought not to wonder impatiently at the wonderfull workes of God in these times: it is full Seafon for him to worke Sovereign worke, to vindicate his Soveraignty, that men may feare before him. States are unftated, Rulers growne Over-rulers, Subjects worfe then men, Churches-decayed. Tofts, Profefors, empty casks filled with unholy humours; I fpake not of all, but too many; I condemne not the generation of the juft God hath his remnant, whom he will carefully pre- ferve. If it bee time for men to take up Defenfive Arms against fuch as are called Gods, upon the point of Salus populi, it is high time for him that is God in- deed, to draw his Sword againft wormes and no men, upon the point of Majestas imperii: The pier- cing of his Sword fhall discover the thoughts of many hearts.

Laftly, I dare averre, that it ill becomes Chriftians any thing well-shod with the preparation of the Gofpel, to meditate flight from their deare Countrey upon these disturbances. Stand your grounds ye Ele- azars and Shammahs, stir not a foot fo long as you have halfe a foot of ground to ftand upon: after one or
two such Worthies, a great Victory may be regained, and flying Israel may returne to a rich spoil. Englishmen, be advised to love England, with your hearts and to preserve it by your Prayers. I am bold to say that since the pure Primitive time, the Gospel never thrived so well in any foile on earth, as in the Brittishe, nor is the like goodness of nature, or Cornucopian plenty else-where to be found: if ye lose that Country and finde a better before ye come to Heaven, my Cosmography failes me. I am farre from discouraging any, whom necessity of Conscience or condition thrusts out by head and shoulders: if God calls any into a Wildernes, Hee will be noe wildernes to them, Jer. 2. 31. witnesse his large beneficence to us here beyond expectation.

Ye say, why come not we over to helpe the Lord against the Mighty, in these Sacred battailes:

I anfwer, many here are diligently observing 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 shall returne no more to see his Native Country. Divers make it an Article of our American Creed, which a celebrate Divine of England hath observed upon Heb. 11. 9. That no man ought to forfake his owne countrey, but upon extraordinary caufe, and when that caufe ceafeth, he is bound in conscience 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 desire 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 unquietnesse and per-peracute contentions, of that moft
moft comfortable and renowned Island, that at length He may have praise in his Churches, and his Churches peace in him, through Jesus Christ.

Should I not keep promise in speaking a little to Womens fashions, they would take it unkindly: I was loath to pester better matter with such stuffe; I rather thought it meet to let them stand by themselves, like the Quæ Genus in the Grammar, being Deficients, or Redundants, not to be brought under any Rule: I shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose tongued Liberty, and mispend a word or two upon their long-wafted, but short-skirted patience: a little use of my stirrup will doe no harme.

Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet?

Gray Gravity it selfe can well beteam,
That Language be adapted to the Theme.
He that to Parrots speaks, must parrotise:
He that instructs a foole, may act th’unwise.

It is known more then enough, that I am neither Nigard, nor Cinick, to the due bravery of the true Gentry: if any man mislikes a bullymong drofflock more then I, let him take her for his labour: I honour the woman that can honour her selfe with her attire: a good Text alwayes deserves a fair Margent; I am not much offended, if I see a trimme, far trimmer than she that weares it: in a word, whatever Christianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with London measure:
fure: but when I heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudiusfertian 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 shee 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 diffigure themselves with such exotick garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely luftre, but transclouts them into gantbar-geefe, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hyeroglyphicks, or at the best into French flurts of the paftery, which a proper English woman shoulde 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.

These whimm’Crown’d shees, these fashion-fansying wits, Are empty thin brain’d shells, and fidling Kits.

The very troublers and impoverishe rs of mankind, I can hardly forbeare 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 loft.

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 Verses are even enough for such odde pegma's I can make my selfe sicke at any time, with comparing the dazling splender wherewith our Gentle-women were imbellish'd in some former habits, with the gut-ounded goofdom, wherewith they are now furcingleed and debauched. Wee have about five or fix of them in our Colony: if I see any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanie my phansie of them for a moneth after. I have been a solitary widdower almost twelve yeares, purpoed lately to make a step over to my Native Country for a yoke-fellow: but when I consider how women there have tripe-wifed themselves with their cladments, I have no heart to the voyage, leaft their nauseous shapes and the Sea, shold work too forely upon my stomach. I speake fadly; me thinkes it shoulde breake the hearts of English-men, to see so many goodly English-women imprison'd in French Cages, peering out of their hood-holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and no body relieves them.

It is a more common then convenient sayling, that nine Taylors make a man: it were well if nineteene could make a woman to her minde: if Taylors were men indeed, well furnisht but with meer morall principles, they would disdain to be led about like Apes, by such 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 giblets
giblets of perquisquilian toyes. 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 miif-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 shal take measure of Taylors confciences 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 Giliflowers to Dayzes, our City-Dames, to an indenominable Quæmalry of o-veturcaf'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 wearifome varieties and chargable changes of fafhions: I marvell themselves prefire not a Bill of redreff. 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 beft beeffemes: who may wel prefume of a Le Roy le veult from our fober King, a Les Seigneurs ont aFFentus from our prudent Peers, and the like AFFentus, from our confiderate, I dare not say
fay wife-worne Commons: who I beleue had much rather passe one such Bill, than pay so many Taylors Bills as they are forced to doe.

Moft 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; to 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 moft re-nite, will leaft repent. What greater honour can your Honors defire, then to build a Promontory presidant 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, suppo-sing thofe I speak to are uncapable of grave and rati-onall arguments.

I desier all Ladies and Gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through nec-e-fary modesty to avoyd moro-fe singularity, follow fa-itions 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 faft, 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 declaime againft fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is somewhat in the businesse; I confesse to the world, I never had grace enough to be strict in that kinde; and of late years, I have found syrope of pride very wholesome in a due Dos, which makes mee keep such store of that drugge by me, that if any body comes to me for a question-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard meaure, or under-weight.

But I addresse my selfe to those who can both hear and mend all if they please: I serioosly fear, if the pi- ous Parliament doe not find a time to state fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in part, God will hardly finde a time to state Religion or Peace: They are the furquedryes of pride, the wantonness of idle- nesse, provoking sins, the certain prodromies of assured judgement, Zeph. 1. 7, 8.

It is beyond all account, how many Gentlemens and Citizens eftates are deplumed by their feather- headed wifes, what usefull supplies the pannage of England would afford other Countries, what rich ret- urnes to it selfe, if it were not flic’d out into male and female friperies: and what a multitude of mif-im- ploy’d hands, might be better improv’d in some more manly Manufactures for the publique weale: it is not easly credible, what may be faid of the preterplural- lities of Taylors in London: I have heard an honeft man fay, that not long fince there were numbered be- tween Temple-barre and Charing-Croffe, eight thou-
fand 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 prefent dolefull estate of the Realme, will perfwade 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 Barbore to it as he threatens, unlesse it be amended, Efa. 7. 20. before the Peace of the State and Church be well fetled, then let my prophesie be scorned, as a found minde scornes the ryot of that fin, and more it needs not. If thofe who are tearmed Rattle-heads and Impuritans would take up a Resolution to begin in moderation of haire, to the juft reproach of thofe 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 Barbours fhop, 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 Sciflers, let it bee thought no Injustice in God, not to distinguiſh them by the Sword. I had rather God should know me by my fobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his owne fin. A short promife, 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 weare such manes; I am also sure Souldiers use to weare other marklets or notadoes in time of battell.

Having done with the upper part of my work, I would now with all humble willingneffe set on the beft piece 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 beft 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 untwift,  _ 
_Wife 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 Caufe or Continuance of these wearisome Warres hitherto; the one is enough debated, the other more than enough peracted. Nor would I declaime of the uncomlineffe, unbrotherlineffe, unseasonableneffe and unreasonableneffe of these direfull digladiations: every stroak struck sounds too loud upon this harsh string. I would much rather speake perfwatisfes to a comely brotherly seasonable and reasonable ceffation of Armes on both sides, by a drawn
drawn battaile: Wherein if I shall adventure a few over-bold words, I intreat my ignorance, impartiality, and Loyalty may plead pardon for me.

Four means there are, and no more, within the compass of my consideration, conducing to what is desired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hosts taken downe, I mean by Reformation: Or to set up white colours instead of red, on one side or other, I mean by Composition: Or by furling up all the Ensignes on both sides, I mean by mutual and generall Ceffation: Or by still dis-playing all the Colours and Cornets of every battal-ion, I mean by prosecution: without Reformation there will hardly be any Composition; without Composition little hope of Ceffation; without Ceffation there must and will be Prosecution; which God forbid.

Reformation.

When the Roman Standard was defixed with such difficulty at the battaile between Hannibal and Flaminius at Thrasimene, it proved an ill Omen. When God gives quietnesse, who can make trouble; when he hideth his face, who can behold him? Whether it be against a Nation or a man onely. That the Hypocrite reign not, lest the people be insnared, Job 34. 29, 30. How can the sword of the Lord put it selfe up into its scabbard and be quiet, when himself hath given it a charge to the contrary? Jer. 47. 6, 7. It was a Cardinall Truth which Cardinall Poole spake to H. 8. Pennes Reges est interre bellum, penes autem Deum terminare. If Kings will make their beginnings, God will make his ends: much more when himselfe be-
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.

Politcall Reformation he seemes to call for now indigitanter. When he beholds Christian Kingdomes and States unfound in their foundations, illineal in their superftructures, unjust in their adminiftrations; he kicks them in pieces with the foot of his Indignation: But when Religious Statesmen frame and build by the levell and plummet of his wisdome, then people may say as his fervants 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 foraign Invasions, When the coards of a State are exquifitely 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 Maft cannot stand steady, nor the Saile be well spread; then may the lame take and devise a great prey, ver. 23. If Religion, Laws, Liberties, and foraigne Federacies be flight: the strenght of strong men shall beweaknesse, and the weaknesse of the weak victorious.

Purapoliteja ne unum admittit solacismulum, neque valet, praescriptio in politicis aut moralibus. It may maintain a bright conjecture, against a ruftry Truth: a legible poffeflion, against an obliterate Claime: an inconvenience, against a convenience; where no cleare remedy may be had: but never anything that is formally
mally sinful, or materially mischievous. When rotten States are soundly mended from head to foot, proportions duly admeasured, Justice justly dispenc'd; then shall Rulers and Subjects have peace with God and themselves: but till then, the gayest Kingdomes shall be but ruffling scuffling, removing and commoving hovells. For England, however the upper Stories are shroadly shattered; yet the foundations and frame being good or mendable by the Architectors now at worke, there is good hope, when peace is settled, people shall dwell more wind-tight and watertight than formerly, I earnestly wish our Mr. Builders to remember, that punctuality in Divinity and Politie, is but regularity; that what is amisse in the mould, will misfashion the profult: and that if this market be flipt, things may grow as deare as ever they were. Moft 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 Ecclefiasticall 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 droffe and base mettalls throughly 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 amisim, before he restores peace. If this first worke bee throughly 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 induftrious as I have seen a great Popish Bishop in
execrating a Protestant Par. Church one day, and con-
secrating 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
   foule. Hee that pities not thofe that wore the Mitre,
   more than they pitied themselves, or the Churches
   over which they infulted, 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 muft gallop, though they
tumble for it. Yet I commend them for this, they
gave him fuch ftraynes 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 poc-
kets of their Holliday hose, farre them well; let them
come againe when I give them a new Conge d’ ftier,
or fend a pursuivant for them; which if I doe, I flall
never truft my selfe more, though they have often
done
done it for me, who never deserved that honour. Some of them I confess were very honest men, and would have been honest if they dared for their fellows.

The sad work now is to institute better things in their room, and to induct better men in their room; 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 prerereal regular, much lesse to preter-regular Judgements: I shall therefore rejoyce that the worke is fallen
into so good hands, heads, and hearts, who will weigh 
Rules by Troyweight, and not by the old Haber-du-
pois: and rather then meddle where I have so little 
skill, I will fit by and tell my feares to them that have 
the patience to heare them, and leave the red-hot que-
tion to them that dare handle it.

I fear many holy men have not so deeply humbled 
themselves for their former mis-worships 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 fa-
shion thereof, else not, Ezek. 43. 11. A sin in Gods wor-
ship, that seemes small in the common beame of the 
world, may be very great in the fcoales of his Sanctuary. Where God is very jealous, his servants should 
be very cautelous.

I feare the furnace wherein our new forms are cast-
ing, is over-heat, and cafts smoake in the eyes of our 
founders, that they cannot well fee what they doe, or 
ought to doe; omne perit judicium cum res transit in 
affectum. Truth and Peace are the Castor and Pollux 
of the Gospell: they that seeke the one without the o-
ther, are like to finde neither: Anger will hinder do-
meftick Prayers, much more Eccleiaftique Counsels. 
What is produced by tumult, is either efficient or re-
dundant. When the judgements of good men con-
curre with an harmonious Diapason, the resutl is me-
lodious 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 Musitians 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 publick Assemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of illiterate men; will soon 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 fear, if the Assembly of all Divines, do not consent, and center the sooner, God will breath a spirit of wisdome and meeknesse, into the Parliament of
no Divines, to whom the Imperative and Coactive power supremely belongs, to confult such a contemperate way, as shall beft 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 subtilety of some malevolent mindes, will put both Parliament and Assembly upon some preproperations, that will not be safe in Ecclesiastical Constitutions. To procrastinate in matters cleare, as I said even now, may be dangerous; fo, not to deliberate in dubious cases, will be as perilous. We here, though I think under favour, we have some as able Steerfmen as England affords, have been driven to tack about again to some other points of Christs Compassfe, and to make better obervations before we hoyfe up fayles. 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 positves. Reelings and wheelings in Church acts, are both difficult and disadvantagious. 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 fo considerately as he should.

I feare if Authority doth not eftablifh a futable and peaceable Government of Churches the sooner, the
the bells in all the steeples will ring awake so long; that
they will hardly be brought into tune any more.

My last, but not least fear, 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 Re-
gions, I know not: This fear 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 higheft on the Bench,
so they may sit in the Chaire over-againft them; and
that their Ruling Elders shall ride on the saddle, so
they may hold the bridle. That they may likewise
have seafonable and honourable maintenance, and that
certainly stated: which generally we find and practife
here as the best way. When Elders live upon peo-
bles good wills, people care little for their ill wills,
be they never fo juft. Voluntary Contributions or
non tributions of Members, put Ministers upon
many temptations in administrations of their Offices,
two hours care does more difpirit an ingenuous
man than two dayes study: nor can an Elder be gi-
ven to hospitability, 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 seen 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 politcall. When States are so reformed, that they conforme such as are profigate, into good civility: civil men, into religious morality: When Churches are so constitutted, that Faith is ordained Paftour, 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 forms of Religion breed but forms of Godlinesse, how men by Church-discipline, learne their Church-postures, 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 worser: when wee have what we so much desire, wee shall be so much the worser 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 Paftour, Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himselfe, and lookes not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyteran or Independent: he may be a zelot in bearing witnesse to which he likes beft, and yet an Ifcarriot to both, in the witnesse of his owne Conscience.

I have upon ftrict observation, seen so much power of Godlineffe, and spirituall mindednesse in English Christians, living meerly upon Sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gofpell was little more than symptomaticall to the State; fuch Epidemical and lethall formality in other disciplinated Churches, that I profeffe 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 Consciencies, but ill Consciences grow starke nought under good Ordinances; infomuch that might I wish an hypocrite the moft perilous place but Hell, I should wish him a Membership in a ftrict Reformed Church: and might I wish 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,
the imprudent romaging that is like to be in England, from Villages to Townes, from Townes to Cities, for Churches fake, to the undoing of Societies, Friendships, Kindreds, Families, Heritages, Callings, yea, the wife Providence of God in disposing mens habitations, now in the very Infancy of Reformation: by forgetting that a little leaven may season 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 defect their own Congregations, where many may glorifie God in the day of his Visitation, for their preference 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 believe, that he which soweth liberally, shall reap 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 forfaikes the meanes of grace for Christ and his Churches fake, shall meet with a better bar-gaine, namely, grace itselfe. 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 sacrilegious or man-stealing can there be, then to purloin from godly Ministers the first born of their fervent prayers and faithful preachings, the
the leaven of their flocks, the incouragement of their foules, the Crowne of their labours, their Epiftle to Heaven? I am glad to hear our New-England Elders generally deteft it dispuenter, and look at it as a kil-
ing Cordolium: If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they say) let them firft plough the world, sow it, and reap it with their own hands, and the Lord give them a liberall Harvest. He is a ve-
ry hard man that will reap where he hath not sowed, and gathered where he hath not ftrowed, Mat. 24. 25. 

He that faith, it is or was our case, doth not rightly understand himfelf or us, and he that takes his warrant out of Joh. 4. 37. 38. is little acquainted with Exposi-
tors. Wifemen are amazed to hear that confcientious Minifters dare spoile many Congregations to make one for themselves.

In matter of Reformation, this would be remem-
bred, 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 fhould 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 fteales upon me; For Composition, I fhall compofe halfe a dozen diffichs concerning thefe kind of Wars; with-
ing I could fing afleep thefe odious ftirs, at leaft on some part, with a dull Ode. He is no Cobler that cannot sing, nor no good Cobler that can sing well:

G 2

Si
Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum
They are
Qualem cunque poteft—–Juvenal.] these.

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

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

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

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

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

In ending warres '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 one-
y in a paire of stocks, made of sound reason, hand-
fomely 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 man-
nerly a Salus Populi as need bee: if I be not much de-
ceived, that Salus Populi suffer'd its nofe to be held to
the Grindstone, till it was almost ground to the gristles and
and yet grew never the sharper for ought I could discerne; What was, before the world was made, I leave to better Antiquaries then my selfe; but I think, since the world began, it was never storiied that Salus Populi began with Majestas Imperii, unlefe Majestas Imperii first unharbour'd it, and hunted it to a ftrand, and then it must either turne head and live, or turn taile and die: but more have been storiyed on the other hand than Majestas Imperii is willing to heare: I doubt not but Majestas Imperii knows, that Common-wealths coft as much the making as Crownes; and if they be well made, would yet outfell an ill-fashion'd Crown, in any Market overt, if they could be well vouched.

But Preces & Lachrymæ, are the peoples weapons: so are Swords and Piftoles, 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 fayes they may.

I can never beleev That Majestas Imperii, was ever fo simpfe as to think, that if it extends it felf beyond its due Artique at one end, but Salus Populi must Antarticke it as farre at the other end, or elfe the world will be Excentrick, and then it will whirle; and if it once
once fall a whirling, ten to one, it will whirle them off firft, that fit in higheft Chaires on cushions fill'd with Peacocks feathers; and they are like to ftand their ground faftest, that owne not one foot of ground to ftand upon. When Kings rise higher than they shoud, 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 wheeles, and the whole world on fire in 24 houres. No Prince exceeds in Soveraignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their griefe; or some pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince.

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

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

To speake plainer Englifh, I have wondred these thirty years what Kings aile: I have seen in my time, the beft part of twenty Chriftian Kings and Princes; Yet as Chriftian as they were, some or other were still scuffling for Prerogatives. It must be granted at all hands, that *Prerogative Regis* are neceffary Supporters of State: and ftately things to ftately Kings: but if withall, they be *Derogative Regno*, they are but lit- tle things to wise Kings. Equity is as due to People, as Eminency to Princes: Liberty to Subjects, as Roy- alty 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 say with *Horace*,

*Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te Car'le Jeremus.*

But I hope I may safely say,

*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 Usurpations*, 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 *fine quibus* of humane States, without which, men are but women. Peoples prostrations of these things when they may lawfully helpe it, are prophane prostitutions; ignorant Ideotismes, under-naturall noddaries; and just it is that such as underfell them, should not re-inherit them in hafte, though they seek it carefully with teares. And such usurpations by *Rulers*, are the unnaturalizings of *nature*,
nature, disfranchisements of Freedome, the Neronian nullifyings of Kingdomes: yea, I beleev the Devill himfelfe would turn Round-head, rather then suffer these 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 insolencies, which are the most finite Infinites of misery to men on this fide the worlds dissolution; therefore it is, that with Gods leave, he hath founded an alarm to all the fusque deques pell-mels, one and alls, now harrasing fundry parts of Christendome. It is enough for God to be Infinite, too much for man to be Indefinite. He that will flye too high a quarry for Absolutenefle, 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 hamstring 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 befdies the fin against the Holy Ghost, which fhall not be expiated by Sacrifice 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 refufalls into the other: All the Goldsmiths in Cheapeside, cannot tell which weighs heaviest. Intolerable griefes to Subjects, breed the Iliaca pa/sio in a body politick which inforces that upwards which fhould not. I fpake 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 cur-
rent in the Westerne World, That the Emperor is King of Kings, the Spaniard, King of Men, the French King of Asses, 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 Affing: Were I a King (a simple supposall) 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 Asses; If I did, I should think my selfe an Asse for my labour. I know nothing that Englishmen want, but true Grace, and honest pride; let them be well furnifht with thofe two, I feare they would make more Asses, then Spaine can make men, or the Emperor Kings. You will say I am now beyond my latchet; but you would not say fo, 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 leaft. I am fure either may, and I am fure neither would be trusted, how good foever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-rifen Kings, have been the next evills to the world, unto fallen Angels; and that over-franchised 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 feldome afunder, as Tyranyny and Cruelty.
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 forts,
so as Cæsar might have his due, and People their share,
without such sharp disputes. Good Casuists would
cafe it, and cafe 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 beene
Popish, I might have said Knavishe; for if they be so
any where, it is in their Tractates of Priviledges.
Our Common Law doth well, but it muft doe better
before things do as they shou'd. There are some Max-
imes in Law, that would be taught to speake a little
more mannerly, or else well Anti-Maxim'd: wee fay,
the King can doe a Subject no wrong; why may wee
not fay the Parliament can doe the King no wrong?
We fay, Nulhum tempus occurrir Regi in taking wrong;
why may wee not fay, Nulhum tempus fuccurrir Regi
in doing wrong? which I doubt will prove as good a
Canon if well examined.

Authority muft have power to make and keep peo-
ple 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
meafure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wif-
dome cannot reach, Mans experience muft mend:
And thefe Effentialls, muft not be Ephorized or Tri-
buned by one or a few mens discretion, but lineally
sanctioned by Supreme Councecls. In pro-re-nascent
occurrences, which cannot be forefeen; Diets, Parli-
aments
aments, Senates, or accountable Commissions, must have power to consult and execute against interstitial dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know so much before hand, by some safe woven manifesto, that gross Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their presumptions with pretence of ignorance. I know no difference in these Essentials, between Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies; the rule will be found, par-rational say Schoolemen and Pretorians what they will. And in all, the best standard to measure Prerogatives, is the Plough staffe, to measure Liberties, the Scepter: if the tearms were a little altered into Loyall Prerogatives and Royall Liberties, then we should be sure to have Royall Kings and Loyall Subjects.

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

But Progenitors have had them for four and twenty predeceffions: that would be spoken in the Norman tongue or Cimbrian, not in the English or Scottifh: When a Conquerour turnes Chriftian, Chriftianity turns 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: Juftice 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-English purfe, and emptier it cannot bee: a man may break his neck in time, and in a leffe time then he can heale it.

H 2

But
But here is the deadly pang, it must now be taken by force and dint of sword: I confess 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 he please, when we have not reason to let him have it as we should; remembering, that hitherto he hath taken order that ill Prerogatives gotten by the Sword, should in time be fetched home by the Dagger, if nothing else will do it: Yet I trust there is both day and means to intervent this bargain. But if they should, if God will make both King and Kingdom 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 fold.

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

MY 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 profe, and to intrench your selfe as deepe as you can, in your wonted Royall meeknesse; for I am resolved to display my unfurled foule 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 Majestye, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace: What you doe feulking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand defolate, 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 stateliefst Island the world hath, to forfake 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 fit to 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 caufe to be angry, but by their too much feare to anger you at all, when you gave them caufe 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 wea-
ry of being a good King, that you will leave your selfe never a good Subject? Have you peace of Conscience, in enforcing 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 bear 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 me to my Court, when hee sees me shifting for life in the ruined Countrie, 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 Kingdom: Doe you not know Sir, that, as when your people are fickle of the Kings-evill, God hath given you a gift to heale them? so when your selfe are fickle 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 wife
AGGAVVAM in America.

wife Scotland, that you will make England your foole or foot-foole? Is your fathers sonne growne more Orthodox, then his moft 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 Imperii growne so kickish, that it cannot stand quiet with Salus Populi, unleffe it be fetted? Are you well advised, in trampling your Subjects fo 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 Counsell fo far, as to provoke your very best, to take better counsell than ever they did? If your Majesty be not Popish as you profess, and I am very willing to beleive, 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 myytticall Parlee-ment? I question much, whether they were not better speake plainer English, then such Latine as the Angels can hardly conftrue, and God happily loves not to perfe; I can as well admitt an ubiquitary King as another, if a King be abroad in any good affaire; but if a King be at home, and will circumfcribe himfelfe at Oxford, and proscribe or difcribing his Parliament at Westminster, if that Parliament will prescribe what they ought, without such para-
doxing,
doxing, I should think God would subscribe a _Le Dieu le veult_ readily enough.

Is your _Adviser_ 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 fo constituted, that it cannot be delivered of its owne deliverance, in what pangs euer it be, without the will of one man-midwife, and such a man as will come and not come, but as he lift: 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 asunder, 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 dispofall of all the wealth of the Kingdome as of all the strengt 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 betrutf your heart, better then your owne breaft? Will they ever harme you with the _Militia_, that have no manner of _Malitia_ against you, but for mif-imploying the _Militia_ against them by the _malitia_ of your ill Counfellours? What good will the
the Militia doe you when you have wafted the Realm of all the best Milites it hath? May not your Majesty fee through a paire of Spectacles, glazed with inchboard, 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 Epifcopacy beene such a religious Jewell in your State; that you will fell all or moft of your Coronets, Caps of honour, and blue Garters, for fix and twenty cloth Caps? and your Barons Cloakes, for fo many Rockets, whereof usually twenty have had scarce good manners enough to keepe the other fix sweet? Is no Bifhop no King, fuch 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 monftroufnesse? Will you be fo covetous, as to get more then you ought, by loofing more then you need? Have you not driven good Subjects enough abroad, but you wil also slaughter them that stay at home? Will you take such an ill course, that no prayers can fasten that good upon you we defier? Is there not some worf root than all thefe growing in your Spirit, bringing forth al this bitter fruit? Againft which you shoule take up Arms, rather then againft your harmeleffe Subjects? Doe you not forefee, into what importable head-tearings and heart-fearchings you will be ingulfed, when the Parliament shall give you a mate, though but a Stale?

I

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

Tref-Royall Sir, I once againe befeech you, with teares dropping from my hoary head, to cover your Selfe as clofe as you may, with the best shield of goodneffe you have: I have somewhat more to say, which may happily trouble not your Selfe, but your followers, more than what is already faid. There liued in your Realme and Reigne two whom I may well tearme Prophets, both now in a better King-dome; whereof one foretold two things concerning your Majestie, of thefe very proceedings, long before they began; which being done and past shall bee buried in finence: the other made this prediction about the fame time.

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

His words were in profe thefe, 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 Beadifman 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 safe 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 Clozet, 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 dreadful Imprecation he poured upon the heads of his tender posterity in *Summerfets* and *Overburyes* Cafe, published in Starchamber by his Royall command; your own sinful marriage, the sophistification 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 sugget: and give us, your guilty Subjects example to doe the like, who have held pace and proportion with you in our evil ways: we will helpe you by Gods assistans, 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 beleive, that there is hope in *Israel* for these things; and Balme enough in his *Gilead* to heale all the broken bones of your three kingdoms, and to redouble your honour and our peace: His Arme is infinite; to
an infinite power all things are equally faible, to an
infinite mercy all finnes equally pardonable. The
Lord worke thefe things in us and for us, for his com-
passions fake in Jefus Chirft.

Sir, you may now pleafe to discover your Selfe
where you think meet; I truftr have not indangered
you: I prefume your Ear-guard will keep farre enough
from you, what ever I have faid: be it fo, I have dis-
charged my duty, let them looke to theirs. If my
tongue fhoild reach your eares, which I little hope
for; let it be once faid; the great King of great Bri-
taine, took advise of a fimple Cobler, yet fuch a Cob-
ler, 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 Bifhaps which have flattered
you thus in peeces: I would not fpeak thus in the eares
of the world, through the mouth of the Prefle for all
the plunder your plunderers have pillaged; were it
not somewhat to abate your Royall indignation to-
ward a loyall Subject; a Subject whose heart hath
been long carbonado’d, des veniam verbo, in flames of
affection towards you. Your Majefty knowes or may
know, time was, when I did, or would have done
you a better peece of service, 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
fware 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 lo-
ving you too hard in this fpéech, and I will pardon
you
you your Treafon againft me, even me, by commit-
ting 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 selfe, dwell in
my owne clothes as long as I can, and happily make
as good a shift for my proportion, as he that hath a
lighter paire of heele:s And when you have done
what you please, I am resolved to be

As loyall a Subject to your Majesty when I
have never a head on my shoulders, 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 im-
plore you, that you would not deferre to confider
your selfe throughly, you are now returned to the
brinke of your Honour and our Peace, stand 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 passing firft through th’other, is the ridd-
dle they cannot untye. If they fhall ply the Throne of
of Grace hard, God will certainly heare, and in a short time mould you to his minde, and convince you, that it had and will bee farre easier to fit downe meekely upon the Rectum, than to wander resolutely in obliquities, which with Kings, feldome faile to diffembogue into bottomleffe Seas of sorowes.

Deareft Sir, be intreated to doe what you doe sincerely; the King of Heaven and Earth can search and discover 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 beleeeve they are Religioufly determined to re-cement you to your Body fo exquifitely, that the Errors of State and Church, routed by thefe late ftirs, may not re-allee hereafter, nor Themfelves be made a curfe to the ifue of their own bodies, nor a Scoffe, to all Politique Bodies in Europe. The Lord give your Majesty and all your Royall Branches the Spirit of wisedome 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 second. Mismeane me not. I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wish I had him there now: if I mistake 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-damne 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 Devils 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 Adulteresses, 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 buineffe.

Prosecutions of Warres between a King and his Parliament, are the direfull dilacerations of the world, the cruell Catastrophes of States, dreadfull to speake 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 rational King should commit Treason against a reasonable Parliament; or how a faithfull Parliament against their lawfull King: the most I can imagine, is a misprision of Treason, upon a misprision 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 understandes not our King that undertandes him not to bee understanding. The Parliament is suppos'd Omnifcient, 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 con-
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 vaft univerfality in it, it is many times greater then the will of his whole kingdom, stiffened with ill Counfell 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 leaft. I feare know any King that hath such advantage as ours; his three kingdomes lye fo distinct and entire, that if he pleafe, he might keep them like three gardens without a weed, if he would let God keep his will, without wilfulnesse and rashnesse.

I have oberved 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 almoft all the Common Law of England, and fome 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 fure, a King cannot hold by Copy, at the will of other Lords; the Law calls that baise tenure, inconsistent with Royalty; much more base is it, to hold at
at the will of Ladies: Apron-string tenure is very weak, tyed but of a slipping 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 stringes; that were to infure both him and her self in many unsafeties. 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 Counfellours.

Ill Counfellours, are very ill Gamesters; if they see their own stake a loosing, they will play away King, Queen, Bishops, Knights, Rooks, Pawnes, and all, before they will turn up the board; they that play for lufts, 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 lafting 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 lufts 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 them-
The Simple Cobler of

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 Ceffation of Armes, is, a defpaire of mutuall and generall forgivenesse. 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 speeche must be twofold and blind-fold. It is now nine Moneths and more since the laft 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 Kingdom: Nor did ever any Parliament merit more mercy than this, for they never sinned, 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 therby 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 thinkes these 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 persift 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 just in the neck joynt, in my poore policy, ropes and hatchets are not the kindliest 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 beft 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 fo finfull as thofe of malice ordinarily: and when multitudes sin, multitudes of mercy are the beft Anodines.

--gratia gratis data, gratissima.

Grace will dissolve, but rigour hardens guilt:
Break not with Steely blows, what oyle should melt.
Whosoever be pardoned, I pray let not *Britanicus* escape, I mean a pardon. I take him to bee a very serviceable Gentleman; Out of my intire respect to him, I shall presume to give him half a dozen stitches of advife:

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

I defire him alfo to conceale himfelf as deeply as he can, if he cannot get a fpeciall pardon, to weare a Lajtitat, about his neck, or let him lie clofe under the Philosophers stone, and I’le warrant him for ever being found.

If he be discovered, I counfell him to get his head fet on faster than our *New-England* Taylors ufe 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 promife to maintain him fo long as he lives, if he will promife 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-siple, 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, confesseing him to be more then my match, and that I am very loath to fall into his hands.

Prosecution.

If Reformation, Composition, Cessation, can finde no admittance, there muft and will be Prosecution: to which I would also speake briefly and indifferently still to both fides; and firft to that, which I had rather call Royalifts then malignants; who if I mistake not, fight againft the Truth.

Foolifh Cowardly man (I pray patience, for I speake nothing but the pulfe of my owne heart) dreads and hates, nothing in Heaven or Earth, fo much as Truth: it is not God, nor Law, nor finne, nor death, nor hell, that he feares, but only becaufe hee feares there is Truth in them: Could he de-truth them all, he would defie them all: Let Perdition it selfe come upon him with deadly threats, fiery fwords, displayed vengeance, he cares not; Let Salvation come cap in hand, with naked Reafon, harmleffe 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 moft feely prowffe, he thinkes himfelfe the braveft man when in truth it is nothing but exsanguine feeble exility of Spirit. Thy heart, faith the Prophet Ezek. 16. 30. is weake, like the heart of an imperious whorifh woman: a man would thinke, the heart of an imperious whore, were the very pummell of Scanderbergs; fword; alas, fhee is hen-hearted, fhee dares not looke Truth in the face; if fhe dared, fhee would neither bee who-
whorish, nor imperious, nor weake. He fhewes more true fortitude, that prays quarter of the leaft Truth, at a miles distance, than hee that breaks through and hewes downe the moft Theban Phalanx that ever field bore. *Paul* exprest more true valour, in saying, I can doe nothing against the Truth, than *Goliah*, in defying the whole hofte of *Israel*.

Couragious Gentlemen, Yee that will ftab him that gives you the lye: take heed yee fpend not your bloods, limbes and foules, in fighting for some un-truth: and yee that will fling out the gantlet to him that calls you Coward, difhonour not your selves with fuch Cowardife, as to fight againft Truth, meer-ly for feare of it. A thousand pities it is fuch gallant Spirits fhould fpend their lives, honours, heritages, and sweet relations in any Warres, where, for ought many of them know, fome falsfie miſtake commands in Cheiffe.

Honoured Country men, bee intreated to love Truth: if it loves not you againe, and repaires not all your loffes, then inftall fome Untruth in its room for your Generall. If you will needs warre, be perfwa- ded to contend lawfully, wifely and ftedfaftly againft all errours in Divinity and Policy: they are the cur- fed Counter-mures, dropt Portcullifes, fcouring Angi-ports, fulpfurious Granado’s, laden murthe- rers, peevifh Galthropes, and raſcall desparadoes, which the Prince of lyes impoyes 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 fave forlorne finners, and dftreffed common- wealthes; witneffe the preſent deplorable eftate of fundry States in Europe.
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 beside; and will certainly either gaine or ruine, convert or subvert every man that oppofes it. I hope ingenuous men will rather take advice, then offence at what I have said: I had rather please ten, than grieve one intelli- gent man.

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

Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperoufly, 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 Chofen, fo be faithfull: Yee fight the battells of the Lord, bee neither defidious nor perfidious: You serve the King of Kings, who frites you his heavenly Re- giments, Confider well, what impregnable fighting it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hofts is your Ge- nerall, his Angels your Colonels, the Stars your fel- low-fouldiers, his Saints your Oratours, his Promifes your victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull founds; your Ensignes Chrifts Banners; where your weapons and armour are spirituall, therefore irrefiftable, therefore impierceable; where Sun and wind cannot difadvan- tage you, you are above them; where hell it felfe can- not
not hurt you, where your swords are furbished and sharpened 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 Christ, where sudden death is present martyrdom and life; your funerals resurrections your honour glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetuall pensions; your names lifted among Davids Worthies; where your greatest losses are greatest gains; and where you leave the troubles of war, to lye down in downy beds of eternall rest.

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 stability, your Lawes without Justice, your honours without vertue, your beings without wel-being, your wives without honesty, your children without morality, your servants without civility, your lands without propriety, your goods without immunity, the Gospel without salvation, your Churches without Minifter, your Ministers without piety, and all you have or can have, with more teares and bitterness of heart, than all you have and shall have will sweeten or wipe away?

Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on resolvedly, 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 praise of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your selves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and service sake.

And
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, that the God of power and goodnesse, would incourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your finnes, fave your foules, and bleffe your families, in the day of Battell. Wee will also pray, that the fame Lord of Hofts, would discover the Counfels, defeat the Enterprizes, deride the hopes, difdaine the infolencies, and wound the hairy scalpes of your obfinate Enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly misled. Wee will likewise helpe you beleeve that God will be feen on the Mount, that it is all one with him to fave by many or few, and that he doth but humble and try you for the prefent, that he may doe you good at the latter end. All which hee bring to paffe who is able to doe exceeding abundantly, above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy fake in Jefus Chrift. Amen. Amen.

A Word of IRELAND:
Not of the Nation univerfally, nor of any man in it, that hath fo much as one haire of Christianity or Humanity growing on his head or beard, but onely of the truculent Cut-throats, and fuch as fhall take up Armes in their Defence.

Thefe Irifh anciently called Antropophagi, man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them, That when
when the Devill shewed our Saviour all the Kingdomes of the Earth and their glory, that he would not shew him Ireland, but referred it for himselfe: it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse the glory of all the rest: he thought it wifdome to keep the land for a Boggards for his unclean spirits employed in this Hemisphere, and the people, to doe his Son and Heire, I mean the Pope, that service for which Lewis the eleventh kept his Barbor Oliver, which makes them so blood-thirsty. They are the very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Christendom, the Bots that crawle on the Beasts taile...

I wonder Rome it self is not ashamed of them.

I begge upon my, hands and knees, that the Expedition against them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our Soul’diers are hot, to whom I will be bold to say briefly: Happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us, and Cursed be he that shall do that work of the Lord negligently, Cursed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood: yea, 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 Aftonishment to Nations: Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accurfed, that curseth not them bitterly.
A word of Love to the Common people of England.

It is, your, now or never, to muster up puissant 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 indissoluble knot upon that webb which hath been woven with so much cost and bloud, wherein if they happen to make one falfe 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 throughly re-eftablished, 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 where-ży you may goe boldly; a Chrif to give you a leading by the hand and liberty of speech, an Interceffor 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 sure Covenant that you shalbe heard, and such late incouragement as may strengthen your feeble hands for ever. If you who may command God concerning the work of his hand, shal fail to demand the workemanfhip of his hand in this worke, your children will proclame you un-
thrifits 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 bodyes move but slowely, especially when they move on three legs and are over-loden with weighty occasions. They have now fate full six years without intermision to continue your being, many of their heads are growne gray with your cares, they are the High Councell of the Kingdome, the great Gilead of your Balme, the Phisitians of all your ficknesse; 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 disencouragements who are so studious to repaire your almost irreparable ruines.

Be likewise be seeched, not to slight good ministers, whom you were wont to reverence much, they are Gods Embassadours, your Ephods, your Starres, your Horfe-men & Chariots, your Watchmen, & under Chrift your Salvation, I know no deadlier Symptome of a dying people than to undervalue godly Minifters, whosoever despifeth them shall certainly be despifed of God and men at one time or other.
A most humble heel-piece.

TO THE

Most Honourable Head-piece

THE


I Might excuse my selfe in Part, with a speech Lycurgus used in the like exigent of State, sene-
cutute fio audacior, publica necessitate loquacior, but it much better becomes mee with all lowlinesse and uprightness, wherein I have failed to pray pardon on both my knees, which I most humbly and willingly doe; only, before I rife, I crave leave to pre-
fent this fix-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, prefectly, or, wee shall have no King.

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

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

To expedite worke with what speed you safely may, else ignorant people will feare they shall have no end at all.

Hee that is great in Counsell, 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 dehort 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 boldness, who have most just cause to judge my selfe lefse and lefse faithfull than the leaft 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 loft the Land; for Christ's sake, put on His bowels, His wisdom, His zeal, and recover it.

I pray
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 truely loves not Christ,
   And truely 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 noife:
   Where upper things will not
   With nether equipoyje.

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.

If 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 Confiliis brevem
—Dulce est desipere in loco. Horat.

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

The world’s a well strung fidle, mans tongue the quill,
That fills the world with jumble for want of skill,
When things and words in tune and tone doe meet,
The univerfall 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 whispered through a pair of liping teeth; Truth beft, when it is spoken out, through a pair of open lips, Ye make such a noyfe there, with Drums and Trumpets, that if I shou'd not speake loud, ye could not 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 shott of Reafon: if you will cut fuch deep gashes in one anothers flefh, we must fow them up with deep stitches, else ye may bleed to death: ye were better let us, your tender Counrymen doe it, than forneaine 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, muft lift up's head,
And when h' hath done, muft fet it where he did:
He that to proud men talkes, muft put on pride;
And when h' hath done, 'tis good to lay't aside.

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

Θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀµείνων
'Ergoisi.
Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax
Sit 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 stitches, 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 sugar your papers with Carnation phraes, and spangle your speeches with new quodled words. Ermins in Minifer is every mans Coat. Yet we heare some are raking in old mufthy Charnel books, for old mouldy monesyllables; I wish they were all banifht to Monmouthshire, to return when they had more wit.

Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, jî 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 inhaunce their native language; them moft of all, that esteem the late significant speche, the third great blesing of the Land; it being so enriched, that a man may speake many Tongues in his Mothers mouth
mouth and an uplandish Rustick, more in one word than himfelfe and all the Parifh understands. Affected termes are unaffecting things to solid hearers; yet I hold him prudent, that in thefe fattidious times, will helpe difedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I speake the rather because, not long fince, I met with a book, the beft to me I ever faw, but the Bible, yet under favour, it was somewhat underclad, especially by him who can both excogitate and exprefle what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

The world is growne fo 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 careen’t above his wit.

5. For, You verse it simply, what need have we of your thin Poetry; read, I confefle I wonder at it my felf, that I fhould turne Poet: I can impute it to nothing, but to the flatoufneffe of our diet: they are but sudden raptures foone up, foone downe.

--Deductum dicere Carmen, is highly commended by Macrobius.
Virgil himfelfe faid,
Agretem tenui meditabor arundine musam.

Poetry’s a gift wherein but few excell;
He doth very ill, that doth not paffing well.
But he doth paffing well, that doth his best,
And he doth beft, that paffeth all the rest.

M 3 6. For
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 wife man would wish, and somewhat longer. I fearce know any Adage more gratefull: than Grata brevitas.

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 beeje, are worth fixe 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, least I shou’d 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’re ever mending faults for other men.
And if I worke for nought, why is it said,
This bungling Cobler would be soundly paid?

So
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 Guests from hence,
Pray welcome us to you.

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

END.
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. Win-
throp’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 magis-
trates. Ezekiel Rogers was minister at Rowley. This
document may have contributed to the defeat of Gov-
ernor 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 Ips-
wich 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 for-
gotten. "I heare Mr. Coddington hath the sale and dis-
posall of much provision come in this shipp. I intreat
you to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserve
some meale & mall & 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 quadra-
gesima 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 LAETE] 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 Pulisfer, 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 & Mr. Thomas Wade \> claim equal

\> rights in y\(^e\) several comonages, one by Mr. Nath\(^3\) Wards Entry 1641 deed\(^d\) to y\(^e\) 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 piece 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 feeles 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-roome 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 supresse 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 kindes of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discomfit 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; Alchymized 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 catalogue 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 persuade 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 unsetled 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 comming 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 quicquidlibets 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 kicke, 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 vio- lence. Their fashionable garb “transclouts them into gant-bar-geese, ill-shappen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hye-roglyphicks” (p. 26). He is sick of seeing the “gutfoundred goosdom, wherewith they are now sureengled and debauched.” He derides tailors for spending their lives “in making fidle-cases for futulous womens phansies: which are the very pettitoes of Infirmity, the giblets of
perquisquilian toyes’’ (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, meery 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 Soveraignty, 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 mercie.’’

Two personal reminiscences afford an interesting digres-
sion. Prince Rupert, nephew of King Charles First, was in the field, the roystering leader of the cavalrty. 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 sinner, and at length to save his soule, notwithstanding all his God-damme 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 Devil's 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 mind." (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 Corrigenda,” 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 capabili-
ties 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.’’

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." 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 houye up sals" is followed by "to walk on by twylight." 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. "The least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome of his Truths; take away the least vericum 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 superordinary 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 morphew 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.

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?"

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."

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.'"

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 grait, 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."

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
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:
THB SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.
1905
MINUTES AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 5, 1904

SEAL OF THE

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 townsfolk, 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 townsfolk will come to feel that the Historical Society is a Town institution, wherein 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.

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1,052</td>
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<td>1903</td>
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Total number of visitors registered: 854
Ipswich residents: 41
From other towns and cities in Massachusetts: 502
From outside the State: 311
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

Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1903, 1087.59

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.


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.


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 Winnipissaukee.


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 townsfolk, 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 Cobler 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 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

205.75 717.25

Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1904,

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

167.25 635.24

Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1905,

The mortgage is now $2500.

(121)
MEMBERS.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Mrs. Alice C. Bemis  .  .  .  Colorado Springs, Col.
Charles G. Rice  .  .  .  .  .  .  "  "

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Dr. Charles E. Ames,
Mrs. Susan A. R. Appleton,
Francis R. Appleton,
Mrs. Frances L. Appleton,
James W. Appleton,
Randolph M. Appleton,
Miss S. Isabel Arthur,
Dr. G. Guy Bailey,
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Baker,
Mrs. Ellen B. Baker,
John H. Baker,
Miss Katharine C. Baker,
Charles W. Bamford,
George E. Barnard,
Miss Mary D. Bates,
John A. Blake,
James W. Bond,
Warren Boynton,
Albert S. Brown,
Albert S. Brown, Jr.,
Miss Annie Gertrude Brown,
Charles W. Brown,
Edward F. Brown,
Mrs. Carrie R. Brown,
Henry Brown,
Mrs. Lavinia A. Brown,
Robert Brown,
Ralph W. Burnham,
Mrs. Nellie Mac Burnham,
Fred F. Byron,
Miss Joanna Caldwell,
Miss Lydia A. Caldwell,
Miss Sarah P. Caldwell,
Charles A. Campbell,
Mrs. Lavinia Campbell,
Edward W. Choate,
Philip E. Clarke,
Mrs. Mary E. Clarke,
Miss Lucy C. Coburn,
Sturgis Coffin, 2d,
John H. Cogswell,

Theodore F. Cogswell,
Miss Harriet D. Condon,
Brainerd J. Conley,
Rev. Edward Constant,
Miss Roxana C. Cowles,
Rev. Temple Cutler,
Arthur C. Damon,
Mrs. Carrie Damon,
Mrs. Cordelia Damon,
Everett G. Damon,
Harry K. Damon,
Mrs. Abby Danforth,
Miss Edith L. Daniels,
Mrs. Howard Dawson,
George G. Dexter,
Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
Harry K. Dodge,
Rev. John M. Donovan,
Mrs. Sarah B. Dudley,
Mrs. Charles G. Dyer,
Miss Emeline C. Farley,
Mrs. Emma Farley,
Miss Lucy R. Farley,
Miss Abbie M. Fellows,
Benjamin Fewkes,
James E. Gallagher,
John S. Glover,
Charles E. Goodhue,
Frank T. Goodhue,
John W. Goodhue,
William Goodhue,
John J. Gould,
David A. Grady,
James Graffum,
Mrs. Eliza H. Green,
Mrs. Lois H. Hardy,
George Harris,
Mrs. Kate L. Haskell,
George H. W. Hayes,
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*Summer home in Ipswich.
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Chas. W. Townsend*</td>
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<td>Miss Ann H. Treadwell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayard Tuckerman*</td>
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<td>Mrs. Ruth A. Tuckerman*</td>
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* Summer home in Ipswich.
**HONORARY MEMBERS.**

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<td>Miss Laura B. Underbill*</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. Margaret Wade</td>
<td>Newton, Mass.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallace P. Willett*</td>
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<td>Mrs. Elizabeth Willett*</td>
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<td>Frederic Winthrop</td>
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<td>Robert D. Winthrop</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chalmers Wood*</td>
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**NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS.**

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<td>Frank C. Farley</td>
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<td>Mrs. Eunice W. Felton</td>
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<td>Jesse Fewkes</td>
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<td>Reginald Foster</td>
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<td>Charles L. Goodhue</td>
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<td>Miss Alice A. Gray</td>
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<td>Miss Emily R. Gray</td>
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<td>Otis Kimball</td>
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<td>Mrs. Otis Kimball</td>
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<td>Miss Sarah S. Kimball</td>
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<td>Frederick J. Kingsbury</td>
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<td>Miss Caroline T. Leeds</td>
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<td>Miss Katherine P. Loring</td>
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<td>Mrs. Susan M. Loring</td>
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<td>Josiah H. Mann</td>
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<tr>
<td>George von L. Meyer</td>
<td>St. Petersburg, Russia.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Esther Parmenter</td>
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<td>Mrs. Mary S. C. Peabody</td>
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<td>Richard M. Saltonstall</td>
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<td>Denison R. Slade</td>
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<td>Joseph Spiller</td>
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<td>Miss Ellen A. Stone</td>
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<td>Harry W. Tyler</td>
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<td>Albert Wade</td>
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<td>Edward P. Wade</td>
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<td>W. F. Warner</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
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<td>George Willcomb</td>
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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
V The Development of our Town Government . . . 56–67
VI Common Lands and Commonage . . . 68–74
VII Trades and Employments . . . 75–86
VIII The Body Politic . . . 87–106
IX The Sabbath and the Meeting House . . . 107–118
X The Early Military Annals . . . 119–127
XII The Grammar School and Harvard College. Ezekiel Cheever and his successors, and many famous pupils of the Grammar School . . . 146–158
XIII King Philip’s War; contains Major Samuel Appleton’s military letters and a complete list of the soldiers in that war . . . . 159–224
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, 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 "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 episodical 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

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<td>DUTCH</td>
<td>KINSMAN</td>
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and many others.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY


8. Proctor family, and Sargent and Aikens families: A Study of Ipswich to the Beginning of Their Homes, and the Earliest at the Dedication of Proctor's Church, 189-1902. Price 25 cents.


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