

*Scribal Publication in  
Seventeenth-Century New England:  
An Introduction and a Checklist*

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**S**CRIBAL PUBLICATION—that is, the reproduction and circulation of handwritten texts—played a significant role in the civil and religious culture of seventeenth-century New England as it also did in the early Chesapeake.<sup>1</sup> That this technology should prevail in the Chesapeake has something to do with the absence of a local printing office in that region until 1685, when one was established in Maryland. On the other hand, a printing office was up and running in Cambridge, Massachusetts by the end of 1639 and a second in Boston by 1674. Yet scribal publication persisted alongside the efforts of the Cambridge and Boston printers. What follows is a preliminary effort to identify a body of texts (83) that were produced in this manner and, on the basis of this checklist, to suggest some of the implications of this mode of publication for our understanding of politics and culture.

The presence of these texts has been obscured by the aura of the ‘first’ press in British North America and the earliest of its

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1. Scribal publication in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake is described in David D. Hall, ‘The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century,’ in Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World, A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 55–82.

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imprints, especially the 'Bay Psalm Book.' But our ignorance of scribal publication also stems from the erasing of the signs of this technology as texts that began their life circulating in manuscript passed into print, some in the seventeenth century and many others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when, thanks to the efforts of collectors such as Thomas Hutchinson and a host of unsung antiquarians, manuscripts that in some instances no longer exist were preserved in a printed form. Few of us come to John Winthrop's 'Modell of Christian Charity' or John Wheelwright's fast-day sermon of January 1637 realizing that these texts circulated in manuscript long before passing into print. Only for literary coteries in the eighteenth-century colonies has the process of recovery been significantly advanced, a process this essay is meant to encourage.

Three major studies of scribal publication in Tudor-Stuart England by Harold Love, Arthur F. Marotti, and H. R. Woudhuysen, together with the work of David S. Shields on British American literature of the eighteenth century, have revived our awareness of this medium.<sup>2</sup> Love, Marotti, and Woudhuysen focus on poetry that circulated in manuscript. But each also remarks on the connections between manuscript publication and political controversies. As Marotti points out, 'the relatively closed system of manuscript . . . transmission' enabled dissidents as well as incidental critics to avoid the scrutiny that the state maintained of printers, booksellers, and writers.<sup>3</sup> Hence the concurrence between this medium and political complaint or opposition, for both could be

2. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). See also David S. Shields, 'The Manuscript in the British American World of Print,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 102 (1993): 403-16; and Phillip H. Round, 'From Her, That to Yourself More Duty Owes,' in *By Nature and By Custom Cursed: Transatlantic Civil Discourse and New England Cultural Production, 1620-1660* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), 153-204, esp. 166-74.

3. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 84.

practiced in the relative safety of coterie linked by the exchange of letters and satirical poems. Philip Sidney's hostility to the duc d'Alençon as the potential husband of Elizabeth I is a case in point, for Sidney circulated his criticism of the match, 'A letter to Queen Elizabeth,' only in manuscript, whereas John Stubbs had his right hand cut off for arguing against it in a printed pamphlet. During the troubled 1630s William Prynne and John Lilburne were among the critics of Archbishop William Laud and his policies who availed themselves of scribal publication even as they were also being harshly punished for printing other diatribes.<sup>4</sup>

Neither Marotti nor Love mentions another context for the practice, the circulation of manuscripts within religiously defined communities, usually those of a sectarian bent. Thanks to the recent work of David Como and Peter Lake documenting the history of 'Antinomians' and perfectionists of the pre-Civil War period in England, we know that these groups were sharing various texts among themselves, including a translation of a late medieval expression of mysticism, the *Theologia Germanica*.<sup>5</sup> The astonishingly prolific Quakers were another community that distributed multiple handwritten copies of a much favored genre, the letter of spiritual advice.<sup>6</sup> These examples modify Marotti's argument (made, it is only fair to note, in regard to literary texts) that 'the manuscript system of literary transmission was largely a medium for socially and politically conservative individuals,' but complement Love's description of communities of readers bound together by their common participation in the system of scribal publication.<sup>7</sup>

4. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 150–53; William Haller, ed., *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638–1647*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 1:112, 16. Woudhuysen also notes that manuscript copies were made of controversial printed texts.

5. Peter Lake and David Como, 'Puritans, Antinomians and Laudians in Caroline London: The Strange Case of Peter Shaw in its Contexts,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50 (October 1999): 4; David Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

6. For references, see David D. Hall, *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 141–48.

7. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 84. Phillip Round also emphasizes 'elite' control of scribal and print publication during the Antinomian controversy. Round, 'They Must Use Their Eares and Not Their Tongues,' in *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, 106–52.

We should not be surprised to find, therefore, that religious dissenters in early New England relied on scribal publication. Yet it must be emphasized that this medium also served the interests of the civil and religious establishment, the 'orthodoxy' that prevailed everywhere except in Rhode Island. Each civil jurisdiction relied on this technology for a host of documents such as warrants, proclamations, and sessions laws.<sup>8</sup> So did the nascent imperial system before and after 1660. Inventorying all such government-related texts would be a major enterprise in its own right, though one that would throw an interesting light on how these documents were used. In what follows, however, I have confined myself to a few examples of sessions laws or compilations.

Letters deserve a significant place in any history of scribal publication. Some that survive from the seventeenth century were personal or private,<sup>9</sup> but many others were written in order to provide advice or information that, when not explicitly official, was meant to be shared and thus made public. Some letters of this kind were passed from hand to hand, while others circulated in multiple copies. Still others were preserved in semi-official records or contemporary publications. Letters that survive because they had public or quasi-public status and were copied for the sake of record keeping include John Robinson's parting advice to the members of his Leiden congregation who were leaving for the new world and several from 'adventurers' in England to the nascent colony in Plymouth. All of these, and many others from figures such as John Winthrop, were transcribed by William Bradford into the Plymouth church records or incorporated

8. The quantity and provenance of copies of the Massachusetts Bay Company charter (described in *The Founding of Massachusetts: A Selection from the Sources* [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1930], 12-19) are another indication of the civic or political uses of the technology.

9. For letter writers and those on the receiving end, the line between public and private was easily breached. John Winthrop noted of a July 1643 Richard Saltonstall letter criticizing the policy of the Massachusetts government in the 'Warre by la tore against Daulnay' that it 'was directed to my selfe first, but came to me through many hands (and so it seems it was intended by you, being sent unsealed) . . .' *Winthrop Papers*, 6 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-), 4:403.

into his manuscript history of Plymouth Colony. Only rarely is it possible to tell whether letters archived in this manner circulated in multiple copies.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, I have omitted almost all such texts even though it seems likely that some of those preserved in *Of Plimoth Plantation* and in John Winthrop's archive were shared at the time. Yet for other letters there is excellent evidence of the production and distribution of copies. It is virtually certain that John Cotton's letter of 1630 to Samuel Skelton (no. 7) was distributed almost immediately, as were Francis Higginson's letter of July 1629 written shortly after he arrived in Salem (no. 3) and the even better known letter from Thomas Dudley to Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln (no. 8). On the other hand, a letter of spiritual counsel from the minister Joseph Eliot to his brother Benjamin was probably recopied intermittently in the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries until it was printed in 1732 (no. 65).

The checklist also ignores most of the manuscripts dealing with history and theology that early New England readers were exchanging among themselves. Some of these were probably unique, although possibly having several readers in the process of being handed around.<sup>11</sup> For sure, Bradford's history of Plymouth that Increase Mather read as he was writing his history of the Indian wars was the manuscript original. On the other hand, Samuel Stone's 'Body of Divinity' (no. 54) was more widely known and, in this instance, two manuscript copies survive. It seems clear that the circulation of these texts was an important practice in the intellectual life of the ministers.

Another category of texts that pose numerous issues for a history of scribal publication are documents relating to the 'Congregational Way.' In the 1630s and early 1640s, the flow of letters from England to the colonies included several from ministers of

10. Textual variations in copies of the Robinson letter are indicated in Nathaniel Morton, *New Englands Memorial*, ed. John Davis (Boston, 1826), 25-29.

11. The letters gathered together in the 'Mather Papers' are a rich source of these exchanges. See note 13.

broadly Puritan sympathies who were troubled by the innovative aspects of this system of ecclesiology. The colonial clergy sent back an abundance of apologies justifying their actions and elaborating on the new system. Several of these exchanges were published in London, but only after circulating in manuscript.<sup>12</sup> For example, the original of *A Letter of Many Ministers in Old England, requesting The Judgement of their Reverend Brethren in New England concerning Nine Positions*, though published in 1643, dates from 1637. It seems likely that any of these exchanges bearing the title 'A Letter' or 'A Cobby of a Letter' (no. 16) had a public life before being printed, possibly without the consent of the author(s). Some of these texts were distributed in multiple copies in the colonies. This almost surely happened with 'A Modell of Church and Civil Power,' a text drafted by several Massachusetts clergy in 1634 that came into the hands of Roger Williams, who eventually incorporated it into one of his replies to John Cotton (no. 11). However, the manuscript of Thomas Hooker's *Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline* that his colleagues reviewed at a gathering of clergy in Cambridge in 1645, three years before it was printed in London, may have been Hooker's autograph original, so I do not list it here. The checklist also omits critiques by John Davenport and others of the Synod of 1662's decision to enlarge the basis for baptism, the so-called 'half-way covenant.' Several such manuscript critiques or exchanges survive, and another by John Norton in support of the Synod was known to Increase Mather, but it is unclear which of them circulated in multiple copies.<sup>13</sup>

Certain genres were uniquely suited to scribal production. As Thomas and Lucia Knoles remark in their excellent introduction

12. B. R. Burg suggests that two at least of the treatises written by Richard Mather were distributed in manuscript before being printed: *Richard Mather of Dorchester* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 176 n.11, 177 n.26.

13. Michael G. Hall and William L. Joyce, 'The Half-Way Covenant of 1662: Some New Evidence,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 87 (1977): 97-110. Increase Mather wrote John Davenport in 1662 that he had let the members of the synod 'have a cobby of' Davenport's 'writings,' who then had it 'generally transcribed.' 'Mather Papers,' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser. 8 (1868): 205-6.

to a checklist of texts that were copied by students at early Harvard College, the faculty did not expect students to purchase the books they were studying. 'For almost the first hundred years of Harvard's existence, many of the texts used for instruction in the college were manuscripts, transmitted in manuscript only.' This rule holds, they point out, even when one or another of these texts existed in a printed version, as was true of Alexander Richardson's *The Logicians School-Master*, printed as early as 1629. Not until the 1730s was this chain of manuscript transmission terminated when Boston book-sellers began to print and publish several schoolbooks.<sup>14</sup> The scribal culture of Harvard College also encompassed the college laws that each entering student was required to copy. The college authorities refused Samuel Sewall's offer to have the laws printed, preferring, it seems, the benefits of a more immediate technology.<sup>15</sup>

A second genre that was reproduced and distributed in handwritten copies as much or more as in printed versions was the elegy or epitaph and kindred forms of poetry. So Harold Jantz demonstrated in his bibliography of *The First Century of New England Verse* (1944). Epitaphs may have been pinned to the bier of the deceased. Copies of others were almost certainly given to close kin, family members, and notables. Whatever the initial form of publication, some of these poems survive because they were copied into commonplace books, such as the one in which Joseph Tompson of Billerica, Massachusetts, preserved several of his brother Benjamin's poems on members of their family.<sup>16</sup>

14. Thomas Knoles and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, 'In Usum Pupullorum': Student Transcribed Texts at Harvard College Before 1740,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 109 (2002): 333-472; quote, 335. For logic texts used in a similar manner at Harvard and Yale, see Rick Kennedy, ed., *Aristotelian and Cartesian Logic at Harvard: Charles Morton's A Logick System & William Brattle's Compendium of Logick* (*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 67 [Boston: The Society, 1995]).

15. William C. Lane, 'Manuscript Laws of Harvard College,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 25 (1924): 244-53; 'Mather Papers,' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser. 8 (1868): 516; Sewall noted that 'to avoid writing out a copy, many [students] borrow Laws to present at their Admission.'

16. The verse, but not the journal entries, is printed in Kenneth B. Murdock, ed., *Handkerchiefs from Paul* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927). The manuscript journal is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

These manuscript versions may derive from a printed text that no longer survives; with this genre the customary sequence of script to print was frequently reversed, as it is, for example, in Samuel Sewall's commonplace book, which contains poems that reached him in printed form.<sup>17</sup> Given this interchange, determining which of the dozens of elegies listed in *The First Century of New England Verse* were distributed in manuscript copies is not easy to do. John Norton's elegy on John Cotton (1652) is a likely candidate, for its two seventeenth-century printings occurred seventeen and forty-two years later, respectively (no. 50). The checklist also includes a verse satire (no. 73) on Edward Randolph that an early nineteenth-century antiquarian may have been the first to print.

A third genre that awaits more careful study is the libel. Although printed books were frequently characterized as libels, these also circulated as brief handwritten statements. For obvious reasons—libels were guaranteed to infuriate someone, and usually someone in power—none of these statements was printed in seventeenth-century New England. Indeed, few such texts survive. One that does is the youthful Joseph Rowlandson's 'O God from heaven looke thee down,' posted on the Ipswich meetinghouse in July 1651. Because the posted version may have been the only copy, I do not list it.<sup>18</sup> Stretching the genre slightly, I have included a statement posted in Boston in 1676 threatening the

17. An interesting case in point is Benjamin Tompson's elegy on Rebecca Sewall, who died in 1710; two variant manuscript versions survive, as does a printed broadside drawn from the manuscript versions. Peter White, *Benjamin Tompson, Colonial Bard: A Critical Edition* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), 168–75. See also Samuel A. Green, 'Remarks in communicating some notes on Benjamin Tompson and his literary works,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser. 10 (1896): 274. Samuel Sewall's commonplace book is owned by the New-York Historical Society.

18. Joseph Rowlandson, 'O God from heaven looke thou downe' (July 1651), anonymous libel posted on the Ipswich, Massachusetts, meetinghouse. John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1873–85), 1:311–312, where the text is printed. Other libels are described in Roger Thompson, *Sex in Middlesex: Popular Mores in a Massachusetts County, 1649–1699* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 180, 185–86.



magistrates Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth that is preserved in two manuscript copies (no. 72), and a second dating from the mid-1680s that attacked Edward Randolph, an administrative officer of the Crown (no. 74).

Though what follows is merely a beginning on a more substantial project, some of its implications can be suggested.<sup>19</sup> Two of these are especially interesting: the role of manuscript publication in major controversies and its longer term possibilities for the publicizing of political and religious dissent. Early on, Roger Williams was sharing handwritten copies of his critiques of the Massachusetts churches and government, and the 'Antinomian controversy' of 1636-37 was awash in texts produced and distributed in handwritten copies. For this reason, and because the histories of several of these texts can be recovered, the controversy occupies a disproportionate place in the checklist. John Winthrop is our chief witness to the flurry of publication from mid-1636 to the end of 1637, remarking in his journal that 'Divers writings were published about these differences' and, some months later, that 'divers other scandalous and seditious speeches (as appears at large in the proceedings of this court)' had been 'faithfully collected and published soon after the court brake up.'<sup>20</sup> Here, 'published' does not mean printed, for it was not until 1644 that a London bookseller issued *A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that infected the Churches of New-England*, a book that, as I have remarked elsewhere, is principally a collection of documents. The

19. For Woudhuysen, Marotti, and Love, a principal matter of concern is the nature of literary authorship, as revealed in how a writer controlled (or did not control) the production and distribution of his work. There are no literary careers among the colonists comparable to those discussed in their studies.

20. Winthrop, *Journal*, 206, 216, 239. Winthrop also mentions several texts that do not survive: e.g., an 'answer' to John Wheelwright's sermon 'set out' by 'other ministers,' and a response to this 'answer' by John Cotton. Richard S. Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yaentle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 216. The checklist does not include the two versions of the 'Examination' of Anne Hutchinson. Both are included in David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History*, 2d ed. (1968; Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

strongest evidence of scribal publication is that multiple copies of some of these texts survive to this day. Still other texts from the controversy are known to us from being quoted in Samuel Groome's *A Looking Glass For The People of New England* (1676), including a letter of 1643 attributed to Anne Hutchinson.

Three dissident religious movements also relied on scribal publication, though not exclusively so: the Baptists, the Quakers, and the movement or community led by Samuel Gorton. That Gorton and his followers created a paper trail is certain, although the sources are not very specific about the nature of these texts and how they were distributed. After Gorton had been arrested by the Massachusetts authorities in 1643 and brought from Rhode Island to Boston, the General Court referred to the 'abominable heresies' contained in 'two books sent unto us by him or Randle Holden,' warning at the same time that the imprisoned Gorton should not attempt to 'either by speach or writing, publish, declare, or maintaine' his opinions.<sup>21</sup> While in London in the mid-1640s, Gorton published through the London trade, as he did again in the 1650s. It seems probable that one or more of these books contain documents that circulated initially in manuscript. For the purposes of this checklist, however, I have limited myself to a single text for which there is evidence of manuscript distribution. With the Quakers and the Baptists, it is difficult to be certain which of the reports of their punishment at the hands of the 'orthodox' or their statements of faith circulated in manuscript, as some surely did. From the moment the first Quaker itinerants arrived, they were seeking to distribute manuscripts as well as printed books, and were armed with ink and paper for doing so. Thus in 1659 the General Court of Plymouth, noting that 'many persons' in the colony were 'being corrupted by reading Quaker books, writings and Epistles which are widely distributed,' ordered the

21. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628-1686*, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., 5 vols. (Boston, 1853-54) 2:52.

seizing of such books.<sup>22</sup> Some 'writings' that originated in New England made their way to England where, beginning in 1659, they were printed in a series of Quaker martyrologies or 'sufferings'—Francis Howgill's *The popish inquisition newly erected in New-England* (1659), Humfrey Norton's *New-England's ensigne* (1659), and George Bishop's *New-England Judged* (1661; with subsequent, expanded editions), this last with an appendix containing seven such texts. Bishop described one of these texts (no. 61), a letter by William Leddra from Boston in 1661, as a 'copy' made by William Coddington, an almost certain sign of scribal transmission.<sup>23</sup>

Yet the most important and least understood role of scribal publication may have been in the shaping of public opinion and the expression of dissent in political affairs. The transition from chartered company to commonwealth in Massachusetts was charged with tensions that found expression in such texts as Israel Stoughton's statement of c. 1635 criticizing the abuse of the charter by Winthrop and his allies (no. 12). The cluster of controversies that roiled Massachusetts politics in the early 1640s—the validity of a 'Standing Council,' the intervention of the government in the dispute between two claimants to authority in French Canada, competing claims for the ownership of a pig that touched on deep feelings about the abuse of privilege, and the efforts of a small group associated with Dr. Robert Child to change how the colonists became freemen and church members<sup>24</sup>—prompted far-reaching discussion within and without the General Court via handwritten texts. For example, the 'Remonstrance' drawn up and signed by Child and several others in 1646 (no. 47) was distributed in multiple copies. Although the evidence of production

22. *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, David Pulsifer, ed., 11 vols. (Boston, 1861) 11:101. See also *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, J. Hammond Trumbull, ed., 3 vols. (Hartford, 1850–59) 1:308.

23. George Bishop, *New-England Judged, by the Spirit of the Lord* (London, 1703), 298.

24. These controversies are analyzed in Robert E. Wall, Jr., *Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade, 1640–1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

and distribution is not always explicit, any of John Winthrop's remarks about statements being 'published' should in my judgment be taken to mean that copies were distributed.

That oppositional texts were shared in some abundance should serve to modify the conventional story of 'freedom of the press' — or lack thereof throughout the century. Supervision of the Cambridge press was not as effective or heavy-handed as we may suppose. But in general the printers walked carefully. Hence, the importance of scribal publication to those who wanted to question a policy of those in office, civil or ecclesiastical. This situation persisted during King Philip's War, the turbulent years of the Dominion of New England, its overthrow in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution of December 1688, and the swirlings of dissent around the witch trials of 1692. John Palmer, an official under Governor Edmund Andros who was arrested in April 1689, had to circulate his defense of the Dominion in manuscript, as did certain Essex County leaders of a protest against the taxes levied by the Andros regime. The crisis provoked in 1692 by the trials for witchcraft yielded one of the most notable examples of an oppositional text, Thomas Brattle's anonymous letter criticizing the Court of Oyer and Terminer (no. 81).

It may seem premature to speak of a 'public sphere' in early New England.<sup>25</sup> Yet the alacrity with which John Winthrop and other leaders responded to criticism, together with the many notations in Winthrop's journal of 'rumour' and 'opinion' among 'the people,' suggest a close interplay between something resembling public debate and political decision-making. Those connections also explain why the magistrates in Massachusetts went to some lengths to explain to the general public the reasons for an expedition in 1654 against the Niantics (no. 45) at a time of local uneasiness about impressing soldiers and the possibilities of higher taxes.

25. For a more general discussion, see David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

What, then, is scribal publication? Basically, it designates the process of making and distributing handwritten copies of an 'original.' Love's definition encompasses a single copy that passed from hand to hand, in this case usually a 'fair copy,' that is, a carefully copied over version of another text, possibly done by someone other than the author(s). Making copies was a slow business and an expensive one if done by scribes, as frequently happened in England. What little firm information we have of quantities suggests that the numbers were quite small. For sessions laws or the 'Body of Liberties,' production could range as high as twenty or thirty, a figure corresponding with the number of towns or persons who needed copies. This level of production was accomplished only through the services of a professional clerk and with the financial patronage of the civil state. Thus the Boston-based scrivener Thomas Lechford was billing the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1639 for preparing '12 Coppies of the said Lawes' and related texts. At the low end, we are speaking of one or two copies. The Harvard College laws and textbooks fall into a category of their own. Although the number of copies was eventually quite substantial, each was made by an individual.

Another aspect of scribal publication is that, inescapably, no two copies were exactly alike. Because the Knoleses were able to compare multiple examples of a single text, they documented a surprising range of variations in—for example—versions of Judah Monis's Hebrew grammar. When printed and manuscript copies both survive, as they do for some of the documents of the Antinomian controversy, the corruptions of certain printed texts, based as they are on scribal transmission, are suddenly evident. John Cotton's 'Moses His Judicials' can also be analyzed in this fashion and, as well, the *Mayflower Compact*.<sup>26</sup> Determining the significance of variations is, of course, a different enterprise from detecting them in the first place, but the examples I have cited

26. Variants among its seventeenth-century versions are noted in Williston Walker, ed., *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (New York, 1893), ch. 5.

should alert us to the possibility that every handwritten copy will differ in some manner from other copies made at the same time, or subsequently.

The procedures of scribal transmission also opened the door to forgeries and intentional or unintentional interpolations or deletions. Forging deeds or patents to land was a temptation some of the colonists could not resist.<sup>27</sup> Texts of treatises may have varied from one copy to the next, and books of sermons printed in London that were based on an auditor's notes were notoriously unreliable, so much so that Thomas Allen, editing John Cotton's *The Covenant of Grace* (London, 1655), assured potential readers that the copy text, though based on notes taken by an auditor, contained 'interlinings' in Cotton's 'owne hand.'<sup>28</sup>

How do we know that a text was issued in this manner? For the most part the evidence is indirect. That is, only rarely do multiple copies of a particular text survive. In the case of Cotton's letter to Skelton, the provenance of a text, in this instance a contemporary copy made by another writer, together with the fact that a copy was available to the Scotch Presbyterian Robert Baillie, is excellent evidence of the distribution of copies. For some genres, sessions laws, for example, duplication is indicated by votes by the General Court or Assembly to distribute copies to each town. For other genres, such as catechisms, their utility—indeed, their reason for being—dictated scribal publication. Otherwise, we must rely for the most part on contemporary reports indicating the receipt of a text or reporting that one was available. Sometimes we hear of texts being 'published,' which may simply mean that they were read aloud. But if this happened in several places, as was the

27. The exposure of Thomas Fugill, who as secretary of New Haven was responsible for maintaining the official record of landholdings and, in this capacity, could not resist doubling one of his allocations of land, unfolded in an investigation that involved the close study of inks. See *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven*, Charles J. Hoadly, ed., 2 vols. (Hartford, 1857-58) 1:221-24.

28. Thomas Allen, 'To the Reader,' in John Cotton, *The Covenant of Grace* (London, 1655), [sig. B 3 verso].

case with sessions laws and proclamations, we can be certain that a colony secretary or scrivener had been hard at work dispatching multiple copies. I have specified the evidence (although not exhaustively so) for each item listed in the checklist.

Should every act of duplication count as scribal publication? Truth be told, hard and fast lines are not easily drawn. Should the copies of textbooks made for personal use, one at a time, by Harvard students, be described as 'published'? The students were certainly participating in a system of transmission that was scribal, so a more generous definition of publication seems called for. As I have already noted, letters also provoke definitional issues, in part because some were 'published' by being read aloud. The one strict limitation I have imposed on this checklist is to exclude texts that were copied principally or exclusively for the sake of preservation, a routine practice of clerks and secretaries in colonies, towns, and churches in early New England. Nor does the checklist include manuscripts known to have existed, like a collection of John Davenport's sermons that someone in his congregation wanted to publish or Davenport's biography of John Cotton, but for which there is no reasonable basis for assuming reproduction.<sup>29</sup> The church records of the Baptist congregation formed in Charlestown/Boston in 1665 are a notable example of record-keeping, and Nathaniel Morton copied much of William Bradford's 'Of Plimoth Plantation' into the Plymouth church records, using it, too, as the basis for some of his own retelling of the past, *New-Englands Memoriall* (1669).<sup>30</sup> Even here, however, the boundaries are not always as obvious as one might wish.

29. Isabel M. Calder, *Letters of John Davenport: Puritan Divine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 84. John Norton drew on Davenport's biography for his own *Abel being Dead yet speaketh; Or, The Life and Death of that deservedly Famous Man of God, Mr. John Cotton* (London, 1658).

30. Nathan Wood, *The History of the First Baptist Church of Boston (1665-1899)* (Philadelphia, 1899), noting that one of its founders' narrative of his troubles is preserved in the church records; *Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1859*, 2 vols. *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 22-23 (Boston, 1920-1923), 1:6ff.

Thomas Danforth, a long-time assistant in the Massachusetts government, compiled a private archive of copies of documents relating to the disputes of the 1660s between Massachusetts and the Crown; most if not all of these texts would have been available to other members of the General Court, but I have not listed them in the checklist.<sup>31</sup> After 1660, and especially after the arrival of Edward Randolph in 1676, agents of the Crown were constantly sending reports back to England, all of them in manuscript. Copies of some of these reports were preserved on this side of the Atlantic, but it would require further work to determine which may have circulated and which were merely part of an official record. Thus I have not listed most of those that Hutchinson included in his *Original Papers* or that were subsequently brought together in *The Randolph Papers*.<sup>32</sup>

As the notations to the checklist will indicate, it has been fashioned out of a haphazard reading of many different kinds of sources; unlike Love and Woudhuysen, I have not begun from an archive of manuscripts. Recent editions of letters and papers have proved to be a major resource, as has the long-running edition of the *Winthrop Papers*. I have not pursued several avenues that would have yielded many more examples: the major manuscript collections in North American historical societies and research libraries, the manuscripts in state archives, and the manuscripts preserved in English collections, including the National Archives (formerly Public Record Office). The promise of such archives may be indicated by citing the records of the Hartford church quarrel of the late 1650s (nos. 55 and 56) that survive in the Lansdowne papers, as John Gorham Palfrey learned in the course of doing research for his *Compendious History of New England*. Much, then, remains to be done.

The checklist that follows is arranged chronologically.

31. 'Danforth Papers,' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser. 8 (1819), 46-112. Manuscript at Massachusetts Historical Society.

32. The *Curwen Papers* (American Antiquarian Society) include a copy of Randolph's report in what looks to be a clerk's hand (no. 72).



*Chronological Checklist of Scribal Publications  
in Seventeenth-Century New England*

- 1 The Leiden separatists (or 'Pilgrims'), 'reasons for transporting themselves to America' (title supplied; c. 1617).

A summary of the debate held among the Leiden congregation in 1617 on the 'proposition' that the future well-being of the community was best advanced by leaving the Netherlands and emigrating to the new world. As Larzer Ziff has noted, John Cotton listed four of these reasons in *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared* (London, 1648), remarking that 'I received them from themselves.' Ziff, ed., *John Cotton on the Churches of New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 191-92, and n.13. The 'startling fact is that his summary of the reasons for the Pilgrims' migration to America is an abbreviated but verbatim report of the reasons as they were listed in Nathaniel Morton's *New Englands Memoriall*, which was not published until 1669.' Ziff, ed., *John Cotton*, 192, n.13. Much of Morton's book is a transcription of William Bradford's 'Of Plimoth Plantation,' then in manuscript, where a fuller account is given of the debate. Although it is doubtful that Cotton would have seen this manuscript, he had probably glanced at the brief history of the Leiden community in Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (London, 1646), where the debate is summarized. It is also possible that all three writers had access to a manuscript that may no longer exist.

- 2 John White (of Dorchester, England), 'The Planters Plea.'

Published in London in 1630, 'The Planters Plea' had circulated the previous year in manuscript among the organizers of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Frank Thistlethwaite, *Dorset Pilgrims: The Story of West Country Pilgrims Who Went to New England in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Barrie and Jennings, 1989), 41.

- 3 Francis Higginson to his Friends in England, July 24, 1629, 'A true relation of the last voyage to New England, made the last summer, begun the 25th of April, being Saturday Anno Domini, 1629.'

Manuscript, Massachusetts Historical Society. A minister in the Church of England who was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Company to go to Massachusetts, Higginson wrote three separate but connected accounts of his ocean voyage and the conditions of settlement. The first letter, or 'true relation,' was printed in part by Thomas Hutchinson in *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay* (Boston, 1769), 32-47 (hereafter, Hutchinson, *Original Papers*), followed by 'Some brief Collections out of a Letter that Mr. Higginson sent to his friends at Leicester,' 47-50. That Higginson's first letter, and probably its sequels, circulated scribally is apparent from a request made in 1634 by the English minister Henry Jacie that John Winthrop, Jr., send him a copy of 'Mr. Higginsons letter.' *Winthrop Papers* (Boston, 1929-), 3:188; see also Everett H. Emerson, *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 11-12, 27-29.

- 4 'Arguments for the Plantation of New England' (August-October 1629).

Two manuscript copies survive, one in the National Archives [Public Record Office, London] and another in the Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; a third was available to Thomas Hutchinson, who printed it in *Original Papers*, 27-31, headed, 'Generall considerations for the plantation in New England, with an answer to several objections.' For a comparison of these copies, see *Winthrop Papers*, 2:106-11, followed by three versions of the text (drafts B, C, and D), 111-21.

5 'The agreement at Cambridge, August 26. 1629.'

Manuscript, Massachusetts Historical Society; printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers* under the heading, 'The true coppie of the agreement. . . , ' 25-26, and printed again in *Winthrop Papers*, 2:151-52. The stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Company who signed the agreement committed themselves to 'really endeavour the prosecution of this worke,' that is, the founding of Massachusetts.

6 John Winthrop, 'Modell of Christian Charity' (1630).

Manuscript, New-York Historical Society. The only known copy of this text appears in *Winthrop Papers*, 2:282-95, but it is not in Winthrop's handwriting [282, n.1]. That copies circulated in manuscript is indicated by the Jacie letter, cited above, asking John Winthrop, Jr., for a copy of 'the Model of Charity . . .' See also Hugh Dawson, 'John Winthrop's Rite of Passage: The Origins of the "Christian Charitie" Discourse,' *Early American Literature* 26 (1991): 219-31.

7 John Cotton to Samuel Skelton, October 2, 1630.

Manuscript (dated June 15, 1631), Mather Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society; a second manuscript copy made by the English minister Richard Bernard is owned by the Pilgrim Society, Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts. The evidence for scribal publication includes not only these two manuscript copies, each with an English provenance, but also the quotation from the letter that appears in Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errours Of the Time* (London, 1645), 65. The letter was first printed in the nineteenth century. The Mather copy has been re-edited by Sargent Bush, Jr., in *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 141-50.

- 8 Thomas Dudley to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, March 12 and 28, 1630/31.

First printed in [Joshua Scottow], *Massachusetts, Or the First Planters of New England* (Boston, 1694). Another version was printed from an 'ancient MS. copy' in *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* 4 (1834): 225-49. For this and other information on the text, see Emerson, *Letters from New England*, 67.

- 9 Thomas Weld, letter to his former parishioners in Terling, Essex (undated, but summer or fall, 1632).

Manuscript copy made by the London joiner Nehemiah Wallington in his letterbook: British Museum. Sloane Mss. 922, folios 167-74; the letter has been printed most recently from this source in Emerson, *Letters from New England*, 94-98. For the context, see Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 162.

- 10 Roger Williams, 'a treatise' (mid-1633?).

No longer extant, but referred to by John Winthrop in his journal: 'a treatise which Mr. Williams (then of Salem) had sent to them, & which he had formerly written to the Governor & Councill of Plimoth . . . .' Its contents are indicated in a letter from Winthrop to John Endicott. Richard S. Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yaendle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 107, 109 (hereafter cited as Winthrop, *Journal*); *Winthrop Papers*, 3:146-49. This information is taken from Glenn W. LaFantasie, ed., *The Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 2 vols. (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1988), 1:15.

- 11 'A Modell of Church and Civil Power' (1634).

No manuscript copies seem to survive. Drawn up by a group of ministers probably in response to a request of the Massachusetts

General Court in March, 1634, asking the ministers to 'consult & advise of one uniforme order of dissipline in the churches . . . and then to consider howe farr the Magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of that uniformity & peace of the churches.' *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628-1686*, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., 5 vols. (Boston, 1853-54), 1:142-43 (hereafter cited as *Massachusetts Records*). A copy of this 'Treatise' was 'sent to some of the Brethren late of Salem,' whence it passed via Samuel Sharpe of that town to Roger Williams, who incorporated it, bit by bit, into his critique of church and state in *The Bloody Tenent, of Persecution, for cause of Conscience, discussed* ([London], 1644), 118-239. For Williams's remark on the manuscript's transmission, see *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody* (London, 1652), 291.

12 Israel Stoughton, 'A book against the Magistrates' (March [?] 1635).

No copy seems to survive. A deputy from Dorchester to the Massachusetts General Court, Stoughton was urged by various persons to put in writing the doubts he had been expressing about the structure of civil government and especially the assertion that magistrates had a 'negative voice' or veto over the actions of the deputies. He wrote out 'one sheet of paper' giving '12 reasons' for refusing to support the veto and handed it to John Warham, minister of Dorchester, who shared it with other ministers, including John Cotton, who then passed it to Governor Winthrop, who, with most of his colleagues, took strong exception to Stoughton's critique and ordered the 'book' burned. Possibly not duplicated, although the multitude of readers would suggest otherwise. 'A Letter of Israel Stoughton, 1635,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 58 (1925): 446-58; Winthrop, *Journal*, 142.

- 13 John Cotton, 'Letter, giving the Reasons of his and Mr. Hooker's Removal to New-England' (Boston, December 3, 1634).

A manuscript of this letter in the handwriting of someone other than Cotton survives in the Hutchinson Papers, Massachusetts Archives, volume 240, and was printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 54-58. It was relatively common for Cotton's letters to be written in someone else's hand, but the provenance of this copy of a letter that was sent to England strongly suggests that it is not unique. See Bush, ed., *Correspondence of John Cotton*, 181-82.

- 14 Anthony Thacher to Peter Thacher in England, 'I must turn my drowned Pen and shaking Hand to Indite the Story of such sad News . . .' (late 1635), narrating a storm that left him shipwrecked in August 1635 and the hazards endured by the survivors.

Manuscript copy, British Library; second manuscript copy, Prince Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Like no. 10, above, this letter was copied into the letter book of Nehemiah Wallington. Another copy remained in New England, probably among the Mather family papers, passing thence into the hands of Thomas Prince. An abridged version was printed in Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (Boston, 1684), 3-14. Seaver, *Wallington's World*, 207; Emerson, *Letters from New England*, 167.

- 15 John Cotton to a Minister in England (after January 1635/36).

No manuscript copy seems to survive. Published as *A Cobby of a Letter of Mr. Cotton of Boston, in New England, Sent in Answer of Certaine Objections Made against Their Discipline and Orders There, Directed to a Friend . . .* ([London], 1641). For comments on this text, see Bush, ed., *Correspondence of John Cotton*, 237-38.

16 John Cotton to Roger Williams (early 1636).

No manuscript copy seems to survive. Printed in London in 1643 as *A Letter of Mr. John Cottons, Teacher of the Church in Boston in New-England, to Mr. Williams, a Preacher There*, this letter was probably written shortly after Williams fled Massachusetts in January 1636 as part of exchanges between the two men growing out of Williams's evolving critique of the 'New England Way.' Williams himself may have transmitted a copy of the letter (or the original) to a printer/bookseller in London, where he was living in 1643. That the letter was circulating in manuscript is suggested by Cotton's remark that 'some other (unadvised) Christian . . . having gotten a coppie of the Letter, took more libertie, then God alloweth.' LaFantasie, ed., *Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 1:31-32; Bush, ed., *Correspondence*, 211-13.

17 John Cotton, 'Moses His Judicials' (October, 1636).

Manuscript, Sloane Mss., British Museum, as noted by Isabel M. Calder, *The New Haven Colony* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 44 n.30. In May 1636 the Massachusetts General Court appointed Cotton and others to a committee to prepare a system of basic laws. At a session of the General Court that began October 25, Cotton submitted 'a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method' (Winthrop, *Journal*, 195). Evidence survives of the production and circulation of several copies in addition to the one noted above. The text was taken to Long Island in 1640 by a group from Lynn who founded Southampton; they had it copied into the town book of records: *Records of the Town of Southampton*, 6 vols. (Sag Harbor, N. Y., 1874), 1:18-22. Another came into the hands of a London bookseller who published it in 1641 as *An Abstract or [sic] the Lawes of New England, As they are now established*. In 1655 this book was republished in London under the auspices of William Aspinwall, a former 'Antinomian' who had returned to England, as *An Abstract of Laws and Government. Wherein as in a Mirrour may be seen the wisdome & perfection*

of the *Government of Christs Kingdome*. Aspinwall's version incorporated Scripture references missing from the 1641 version and expanded some of the clauses. The trail thickens when we turn to the version of the 'Abstract' that Thomas Hutchinson included in *Original Papers*, 161-79. Although he seems to have relied on the London, 1655 edition for his basic text, Hutchinson had consulted 'the first draught of the laws of Mr. Cotton, which I have seen corrected with Mr. Winthrop's hand.' Thomas Hutchinson, *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, ed., 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 1:373 n. The textual variants are more fully indicated in *The Hutchinson Papers*, W. H. Whitmore, ed., 2 vols. (Albany, 1865), 1:181-205. See also Isabel M. Calder, 'John Cotton's "Moses His Judicials,"' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 28 (1933): 86-94.

- 18 John Davenport, *A Discourse About Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion* (1637-38); the title of the text when it was printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1663 and attributed to John Cotton.

No manuscript seems to survive, but the text was available to the founders of New Haven in 1638 and is addressed to a 'you,' quite possibly the minister Peter Prudden. This circumstance, together with its being printed so many years later, points to scribal publication. That John Davenport was the author and Prudden his interlocutor is plausibly argued by Bruce E. Steiner, 'Dissension at Quinnipiac: The Authorship and Setting of *A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion*,' *New England Quarterly* 54 (1981): 14-32.

- 19 John Cotton, 'Answers to the sixteen questions.'

Manuscript, Hartlib Papers, Rylands Library, University of Manchester (a reference I owe to Francis J. Bremer). These questions



were drawn up in December 1636 by a group of Massachusetts ministers and submitted to John Cotton. That this text circulated in manuscript is suggested by Winthrop's observation that 'many copies thereof were dispersed about.' Winthrop, *Journal*, 206. Happily, direct evidence is provided by this copy in the Hartlib Papers as well as evidence that points to three other copies, one of which came into the hands of a London bookseller who published the text in 1644 as *Sixteene Questions of Serious and Necessary Consequence, Propounded unto Mr. John Cotton of Boston in New-England, Together with His Answers to each Question*. Reprinted in London as *Severall Questions of Serious and Necessary Consequence*, the copy of this edition at the Massachusetts Historical Society has emendations in a hand that the nineteenth-century antiquarian Charles Deane regarded as John Cotton's. The person making the corrections thought he was working from an original: 'The printed Part I corrected by the MSS. Original,' he wrote on the inside of the title page. David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 44; the amended text follows, 46-59. A third copy (although possibly a printed version) reached Matthew Grant of Windsor, Connecticut, who copied the first six of the questions and answers into his 'Diary.' *Matthew Grant Diary*, typed transcription by Jessie A. Parsons (manuscript, Connecticut State Library). Charles Deane's copy of *Severall Questions*, with his note of Cotton's authorship of the emendations, is owned by the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

20 'The Elders Reply' (late 1636-early 1637).

Known only from a manuscript at the Massachusetts Historical Society that contains copies of other texts relating to the controversy, but almost certainly reproduced in New England. Winthrop refers to this text in his *Journal*, 206. It is printed in Hall, *Antinomian Controversy*, 60-77.

## 21 John Wheelwright, 'Fast day sermon of January 19, 1637.'

Copies were being distributed almost immediately, including one that was 'delivered unto the court' not long after the sermon was delivered; Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 94. Two manuscript copies existed in the mid-eighteenth century, one in the possession of the minister Ezra Stiles, another in the hands of Thomas Hutchinson. Of his copy Stiles wrote Hutchinson, 'I have a MS. copy, I believe in Mr. Wheelwright's own hand writing, brought off by Mr. John Coggeshall, and still preserved in that family.' Hutchinson responded tersely that he had his own copy. William A Saunders, 'Correspondence Relative to "The History of Massachusetts Bay," Between Its Author Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, and Rev. Ezra Stiles,' *New England Historical & Genealogical Register* 26 (1872): 162, 164. In the late seventeenth century the New England religious dissident Samuel Groome had a manuscript copy from which he quoted in Samuel Groome, *A Glass For the People of New England* ([London], 1676), 19-21. Presently, one manuscript, almost certainly the one in Hutchinson's hands, survives in the Hutchinson Papers, Massachusetts State Archives (vol. 240), printed for the first time in Charles Bell, ed., *John Wheelwright* (Boston: Prince Society, 1876), and another at the Massachusetts Historical Society, printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 9 (1867): 256-74. The two are collated in Hall, *Antinomian Controversy*, 152-72.

## 22 'A Book in Manuscript' (March 1637), recording the debate within the Massachusetts General Court as it acted to censor John Wheelwright.

No manuscript seems to survive of the Court's deliberations, but a copy (probably of the clerk's notes) was procured surreptitiously for Wheelwright by one of the magistrates, presumably William Coddington. This may be the very copy that reached Samuel Groome, who printed portions of it in *A Glass For the People of New England*, 6-7. The story of the Coddington/Wheelwright

copy was told by Wheelwright himself in *A Brief, and Plain Apology by John Wheelwright* (London, 1658), quoted in Sargent Bush, Jr., 'John Wheelwright's Forgotten *Apology*: The Last Word in the Antinomian Controversy,' *New England Quarterly* 64 (1991): 31. The debate is summarized in Winthrop, *Journal*, 210-11.

- 23 John Winthrop (attributed to), 'Libertye and the Weale Publick reconciled: In a briefe and cleare declaration of the misapprehension of some grieved mindes concerninge the lawfull and orderly proceedings of the late Court of Elections at Newtown, the 17th of the 3d month, 1637.'

A manuscript copy was available to Thomas Hutchinson, who printed it in *Original Papers*, 63-67. Almost certainly it was shared with other magistrates.

- 24 John Cotton's answers to three questions (1637).

Three manuscript versions survive, one at the Massachusetts Historical Society, another in the British Library, and a third in the Hartlib Papers, Rylands Library, University of Manchester. Printed in London in 1646 as *A Conference Mr. John Cotton Held in Boston With the Elders of New-England*. Hall, *Antinomian Controversy*, 173-98.

- 25 'A Catalogue of such erroneous opinions as were found to have beene brought into New-England . . . as they were condemned by an Assembly of the Churches, at New-Town, Aug. 30. 1637.'

A product of the Synod of 1637 and incorporated into *A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that infected the Churches of New-England* (1644), almost certainly, like several of the preceding texts, circulating in manuscript before being printed, although no specific evidence for this is known to me.

- 26 'A Declaration of the Intent and Equitye of the Order made in the last Court . . . .'

Customarily attributed to John Winthrop, this defense of a General Court order of May 1637 that 'no towne or person shall receive any stranger' (*Massachusetts Records*, Shurtleff, ed., 1: 196) was printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 67-71, using a manuscript. That it circulated at the time is implied by Winthrop's statement (quoted above) that 'Divers writings were published' and is indicated more explicitly by his comment in 'A Reply to an Answer' (no. 30) that, had he anticipated the 'contention' he had provoked, it 'would have discouraged me from publishing the former declaration.' Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 84.

- 27 John Wheelwright, 'A small tractate about the principal doctrine of his sermon, viz., about the covenant of grace, which was also differing from his sermon' (May? 1637).

Manuscript, apparently no longer surviving, although some of it may reappear in *A Brief, and Plain Apology by John Wheelwright*. Possibly unique, but the preparation of a response implies more than one copy. Winthrop, *Journal*, 216. Winthrop is also our authority for another text that has not survived: 'The other ministers also set out an answer to his sermon, confuting the same by many strong arguments.' Winthrop, *Journal*, 216.

- 28 Henry Vane (attributed to; however, Samuel Groome thought Wheelwright was the author), 'A briefe Answer to a certaine declaration, made of the intent and equitye of the order of court, that none should be received to inhabe within this jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates.'

A manuscript available to Hutchinson was printed in his *Original Papers*, 71-83.

- 29 John Winthrop (attributed to), 'A Reply to an Answer made to a Declaration of the Intent and Equity of the Order made at the Court in May last . . .'

A manuscript copy was owned by Hutchinson, who included it in *Original Papers*, 84-100. Winthrop's response to Vane.

- 30 A description of Mary Dyer's 'monster birth.'

At least two manuscript copies survive; for their locations, see the essay cited below. Mary Dyer gave birth in October 1637 to a stillborn, defective fetus. Not until March 1638 did word of this event reach Winthrop, who, with others, 'examined' the midwife 'about it' and recorded in his journal the gist of her description. He also had the fetus exhumed. Winthrop wrote out or (more likely) had someone else make copies of a description. One of these copies reached Roger Williams, who wrote Winthrop in April 1638 thanking him 'for that sad relation of the monster etc.' LaFantasie, ed., *Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 1:149. Other copies were sent to England where they were widely recopied; one of these copies was printed in London in 1642. See Valerie Pearl and Morris Pearl, eds., 'Governor John Winthrop on the Birth of the Antinomians' "Monster": The Earliest Reports to Reach England and the Making of a Myth,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 102 (1990): 21-37. Some of the information in this entry was provided by the editors of Winthrop, *Journal*, 254 n.24.

- 31 Roger Williams, 'Grounds against the English preaching, etc. and especially my answeres to some reasons of Mr Robinson for hearing' (1637).

No manuscript survives. Williams wrote Winthrop in July 1637 describing the contents of this manuscript, which he had already shared with the Massachusetts minister Peter Bulkeley and 'my

worthy friend Mr. Peters' (no doubt the minister Hugh Peters) and 'many others.' *Winthrop Papers*, 3:455. The probable contents are described in LaFantasie, ed., *Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 1:103-106. Although Williams spoke of the paper as 'sent to some Friends amongst you,' he may not have made more than a single copy, for he remarked to Winthrop that he was 'not able at present to transcribe the whole' in response to requests from Bulkeley and Peters that he send them copies. What he was forwarding to Bulkeley or Winthrop, or both, were 'these first loose leaves.' LaFantasie, *Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 106.

32 Thomas Lechford, 'Book of Prophesie' (1639).

Referred to in a letter of December 11, 1638, from Thomas Dudley to John Winthrop ('I have read over Mr. Lechfords booke'). No copy seems to survive. 'Note-book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq.,' *Archaeologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 7 (1885): 48-49; *Winthrop Papers*, 4:85. The 'book' (or perhaps a second manuscript) may have been Lechford's manuscript original, since he told 'the Elders' that 'it was not ready for their view; I must faire write it.' 'Note-book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq.,' 49. That it passed through the hands of several readers is warrant for including it here.

33 'Penall lawes or orders standing in force' (Connecticut, 1639).

Manuscript, no longer surviving as such but eventually incorporated into another manuscript collection of laws that was distributed to the towns in 1650. The Connecticut General Assembly ordered on October 10, 1639, that a committee of three 'review all former orders and lawes' to the end of preparing them 'to be published in the severall Townes.' A little later in the session, the secretary of the colony, Thomas Welles, was charged with giving

'direction to the Constables of every Towne to publish the same within 4 dayes more, att some publique meeting.' *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, J. Hammond Trumbull, ed., 3 vols. (Hartford, 1850-59), 1:36, 39. 'Several manuscript copies' of the 1650 code do exist in the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society and the Pequot Library, Southport, Connecticut. William DeLoss Love, *The Colonial History of Hartford* (1914; reprint, Hartford, 1935), 78 n.1.

34 'Body of Liberties' (1641).

Drafted by Nathaniel Ward and ratified by the Massachusetts General Court, this text survives in a single manuscript copy that is then, not one of the nineteen prepared in 1641 but, because it does not include the three capital laws ratified by the General Court in 1642, is descended from them. It was discovered at the Boston Athenaeum in a copy of the printed laws of 1672 that had passed through the hands of Thomas Hutchinson. Francis C. Gray, 'Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay; with the Code adopted in 1641, and called The Body of Liberties, now first printed,' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 3d. ser. 8 (1843): 191-237. At a session of the General Court in December 1641, 'Mr Deputy Endecot, Mr Downing, & Mr Hawthorne are authorised to get 19 copies of the lawes, liberties, & the formes of oathes transcribed, & subscribed by their severall hands, & none to bee authentick but such as they subscribe, & to be paid for by the cunstable of each towne, 10s a peece for each coppey, & to bee prepared within sixe weekes.' *Massachusetts Records*, Shurtleff, ed., 1:344; see also 340. The earliest version of what became the 'Body of Liberties' had been copied by Thomas Lechford in 1639 for distribution to the towns for comments. See also John Ward Dean, 'The Body of Liberties,' in *A Memoir of the Life of Nathaniel Ward* (Albany, 1868), 54-67.

- 35 A manifesto from Samuel Gorton and his followers (1641).

Enclosed within a letter of November 17, 1641, addressed 'To the Honoured Governour of Massachusetts' and signed by thirteen inhabitants of Providence: 'Here is a true Copy of their Writing inclosed, which Francis Weston gave us the 13. of this present Moneth, they having also setup [*sic*] a Copy of the same on a tree in the street.' The letter but not the 'Writing' was included in Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked: A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Against Samuel Gorton of Rhode Island* (London, 1646), Howard M. Chapin, ed. (Providence: The Club for Colonial Reprints, 1916), 56-58 (quotation, 57). For the politics surrounding this manifesto, see LaFantasie, ed., *Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 1:214, where Francis Weston is also identified.

- 36 Richard Saltonstall, 'A book . . . wherein the institution of the standing council was pretended to be a sinful innovation' (May 1642).

No copy seems to survive, but its contents can be inferred from John Winthrop's response, printed in *Winthrop Papers*, 4:347-48. Possibly circulated but not reproduced in copies. The physical 'book' was 'brought into the court' and, upon inquiry, was 'found to have been made by Mr. Saltonstall . . . and by him sent to Mr. Hathorn . . . [who] delivered it to one of the freemen to consider of . . . till he delivered it to Mr. Dudley.' Winthrop, *Journal*, 390. See also *Massachusetts Records*, Shurtleff, ed., 2:5, 20, 21.

- 37 John Winthrop, 'A discourse concerning Fornication, Rape etc.' (c. 1642).

No copy seems to survive, but Thomas Shepard had read the discourse, having received it from the Boston minister John



Wilson. *Winthrop Papers*, 4:345. Winthrop was prompted to write this 'discourse' by the shocking discovery in late 1641 of the sexual abuse of two young sisters, Dorcas and Sarah Humfrey; to everyone's dismay the colony had no law that dealt with the exact nature of the criminal offence. Winthrop, *Journal*, 370-71.

- 38 John Winthrop, 'A breaviate of the Case betwene Richard Sheareman pl[aintiff] by petition and Capt. Robert Keaine defen[dan]tt aboute the title to A straye Sowe supposed to be broughtt from Deare Iland about (9)ber 1636' (July 15, 1642).

Manuscript, American Antiquarian Society. Printed in Arthur Prentice Rugg, 'A Famous Colonial Litigation: The Case Between Richard Sherman and Capt. Robert Keayne, 1642,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 30 (1920): 217-50, and again in *Winthrop Papers*, 4: 349-52, where it is described as 'a copy in an unidentified contemporary handwriting.' We learn from an entry in Winthrop's journal that 'the elders' complained to him of having 'published a writing about the case of the sow . . . wherein some passages gave offence . . . ' Winthrop, *Journal*, 454; the entry continues with Winthrop's apology/explanation for his actions. The material form of the copy and the fact that the 'writing' was this well known are strong evidence that it circulated in manuscript. The long-running litigation and public controversy about the ownership of this pig may be followed in Winthrop's *Journal*.

- 39 Richard Saltonstall and others, 'Letter to the Honourable Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, and the Reverend Elders at or near the Bay 5th 14th 1643.'

Manuscript, Hutchinson Papers, Massachusetts Archives, volume 240; first printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 115-19,

and reprinted in *Winthrop Papers*, 4:397-401, where it is described as being mainly in Saltonstall's hand. Possibly not reproduced in copies, but the political context suggests otherwise. Saltonstall was protesting the support Winthrop was giving one side in 'this Warre by la Tore agaynst Daulnay.' *Winthrop Papers*, 4: 398.

- 40 John Winthrop, 'Gentlemen and beloved brethren' (c. July, 1643).

Manuscript, Hutchinson Papers, Massachusetts Archives, volume 240. Winthrop's answer to no. 39, above, was first printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 121-32, and again in *Winthrop Papers*, 4:402-10. 'Divers also wrote to the governour, laying before him great dangers, others charging sin upon the conscience in all these proceedings; so as he was forced to write and publish the true state of the cause, and the reasons of all their proceedings . . . .' Winthrop, *Journal*, 443.

- 41 'Synodicall Propositions' (September, 1643), based on 'some notes' taken at a meeting of clergy to deal with disputes over church order.

No manuscript seems to survive, but a copy reached the Scottish Presbyterian Samuel Rutherford, who published it, interspersed with his criticism, in *The Due right of Presbyteries* (London, 1644), 477ff. See Winthrop, *Journal*, 476; Williston Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (New York, 1893), 137 n.3.

- 42 John Cotton, 'The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England' (early 1640s); title taken from the printed version.

That this description and defense of the 'New England Way' circulated in England in manuscript is evident from the fact that, as Larzer Ziff has noted, 'Presbyterian attacks on it were in print before it arrived at the press' and from Cotton's dismay when it was

printed in 1645. Larzer Ziff, *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism, and the American Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 191.

- 43 'To the Elders and Churches of Christ Both in Plymouth Patent and the Bay' (1644); its title may also have been 'A Relation, &c. of our Church State Sent to Elders in the Bay.'

Manuscript prepared by the Scituate, Massachusetts, church. Preserved in the Scituate church records and from this source known to Samuel Deane, who printed it in *History of Scituate, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1831), 73-75, noting that John Cotton had received a copy.

- 44 John Winthrop, 'A Reply to the Answ: made to the Discourse about the Neg: vote' (1644).

Manuscript, Hutchinson Papers, Massachusetts Archives, volume 240. Printed in *Winthrop Papers*, 4:380-91, from this copy. For the context, see Robert E. Wall, Jr., *Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade, 1640-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

- 45 'A Declaration of former Passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrohigansetts, with their confederates, wherein the grounds & justice of the ensuing warr are opened and cleared. Published by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies at Boston, the 11th of the 6th Month, 1654.'

Preserved in the minutes of the Commissioners, copies were also made for each colony. A surviving manuscript was printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 138-46, with his note: 'Made publick, I never met with it in print.' It was, however, printed in 1645 by Stephen Daye. See also *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, David Pulsifer, ed., 11 vols. (Boston, 1861), 9:50-56.

- 46 'The Result of the Disputations of the Synod, or Assembly, at Cambridge in New-England, Begun upon the first day of the 7th Month, An. Dom. 1646. About the power of the Civill Magistrate in matters of the first Table . . .'

A report drafted by a subcommittee of the ministers who met in Cambridge in September 1646, the opening session of a synod that reconvened in 1647 and again in 1648, when agreement was reached on 'A Platform of Church Discipline,' familiarly known as the Cambridge Platform. Writing from Hartford, Connecticut, to his son-in-law Thomas Shepard in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Thomas Hooker referred to 'copies sent us' and complained that others had been dispatched to England. John A. Albro, 'Life of Thomas Shepard,' in *The Works of Thomas Shepard*, ed. Albro, 3 vols. (Boston, 1853), 1:clxvi. A copy of this report was carried from Massachusetts to England in 1651 by the former minister of Charlestown, Thomas Allen, who arranged for it to be printed as *The Result of the Disputations of the Synod, or Assembly, at Cambridge in New-England*, separately paginated but bound in with Cotton, *The Covenant of Grace* (London, 1655).

- 47 Robert Child and others, 'The Remonstrance and humble petition of us whose names are underwritten, in behalfe of ourselves and divers others within this jurisdiction' (1646).

In *New Englands Salamander Discovered*, Edward Winslow declared that 'copies were dispersed into the hands of some knowne ill affected people in the severall governments adjoyn- ing; as Plymouth, Conectacut, New Haven, &c.' Edward Winslow, *New Englands Salamander Discovered* (London, 1647; reprint, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser. 2 (1793): 116). John Child printed the Remonstrance in *New-Englands Jonas* (London, 1647) from a copy that made its way to England; using another copy, Thomas Hutchinson printed it in *Original Papers*, 188-96.

- 48 'A Declaration of the General Court holden at Boston 4 (9) 1646, concerning a Remonstrance and Petition exhibited at last Session of the Court.'

No manuscript copy seems to survive, but one was available to Thomas Hutchinson, who printed it in *Original Papers*, 196-218. A response to the Child petition (no. 47). In January 1647 Samuel Symonds of Ipswich asked John Winthrop to send 'a Cobby of the Courts answere to the peticion and remonstrance.' He refers to an additional exchange of documents, for he also wanted copies of 'the Charge: of their answere thereunto: and also of a reply (if any be made unto it) if none be made, then a cobby of the reply to their answere in the first particular, which I suppose is with the rest in mr. Secretaries hands.' *Winthrop Papers*, 5:125.

- 49 Capital laws of New Haven Colony, adopted November 7, 1649.

The only existing reference to them appears in the records of a meeting of the town of Guilford in January 1650, at which the 'Capitall and all other lawes and orders made at the last Generall Court for the Jurisdiction' were ordered read. Manuscript Book of Records, Guilford, Connecticut, quoted in William K. Holdsworth, 'Law and Society in Colonial Connecticut, 1636-1672' (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1974), 125. See also *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven*, Charles J. Hoadly, ed., 2 vols. (Hartford, 1857-58), 1:499.

- 50 John Norton, 'A Funeral Elegie upon the death of the truly Reverend Mr. John Cotton' (December 1652).

No manuscript seems to survive. Printed in Nathaniel Morton, *New Englands Memoriall* (Cambridge, 1669), 136-37 and printed a second time, with minor variants, in [Joshua Scottow], *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony*, 75-76. The long interval between the writing of this elegy and its publication strongly suggests scribal circulation.

- 51 'An Abreviat of ye grounds of the present expedition agtr Ninniget, to be published by the Elders of ye severall Congregations' (October 1654).

Manuscript, Massachusetts State Archives. One of several scribal texts relating to actions taken by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, Pulsifer, ed., 10:435-37.

- 52 Thomas Mayhew, 'A large and Excellent Catechism for the Indians of this Island [Martha's Vineyard],' (date uncertain, but before his death in 1657).

As Mayhew's grandson noted of the text, it was 'agreeable unto their own Dialect; but not being printed the Original is, I think, utterly lost, and there only remains of it, about 40 pages in Octavo, transcribed as I suppose, by some Indian after his Death. . . .' No copy seems to have survived. Possibly reproduced individually by Indian converts. Experience Mayhew to Paul Dudley, Chilmark, March 20, 1721/22, *New England Historical & Genealogical Register* 39 (1885): 13.

- 53 William Harris, 'writings' or 'dangerous writings containing his notorious defiance to the authority of his highness the Lord Protector etc. and the high Court of Parliament of England' (c. 1656).

No copy seems to survive. A dissident in Rhode Island, Harris was arrested on the orders of Roger Williams in 1657. Prior to being arrested he had 'sent his writings or Books to the Main and to the Island.' In them he inveighed 'against all earthly powers, parliaments, laws, charters, magistrates, prisons, rates, yea, against all kings and princes. . . .' LaFantasie, ed., *Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 2:479.

- 54 Samuel Stone, 'The Whole Body of Divinity in a Catechetical way' (1650s?).

At least two manuscript copies survive, one at the Connecticut Historical Society, a second at the Massachusetts Historical Society in the handwriting of Samuel Willard, who had prepared it for the press, with the concluding inscription, 'Deo soli honor et gloria: Finished Sept. 13, 1697, pr S. Willard.' Stone shared the ministry of the Hartford church with Thomas Hooker and remained its minister after Hooker's death in 1647. As in the case of the Harvard College textbooks mentioned in the introduction, Stone's 'Body of Divinity' was copied by students. So Cotton Mather informs us in the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702; reprint, 2 vols. Hartford, Conn., 1853-54), 1:435-38.

- 55 Samuel Stone and others, 'A true copy of the Counsell's answers to several questions sent to the Massachusetts from our Generall Court, being presented to this Court, signed by the Reverend Mr. Sam: Stone, in the name of the rest of the Counsell, They doe order that coppies should goe forth to the severall Churches in this Collony' (August, 1657).

This is probably the text that is printed from the Lansdowne Papers, British Library, in *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 2 (1870), 73-77. One of several petitions, complaints, and 'remonstrances' flowing from the quarrel that divided the Hartford, Connecticut, church in the 1650s. *Connecticut Records*, Trumbull, ed., 1:302. A thorough account of the dispute may be found in George Leon Walker, 'The Quarrel in Stone's Day,' in *History of the First Church in Hartford, 1633-1883* (Hartford, 1884), 146-81.

- 56 'Remonstrance' by dissenting brethren in Hartford, Connecticut, church (October 26, 1657) providing 'Somewhat of the ground of our withdrawing, wee have sent you here inclosed.'

Manuscript, Lansdowne Papers, British Library, printed in *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 2 (1870): 77-78, with

the notation that the enclosure has not survived. This remonstrance was read aloud in the Wethersfield church in November 1657. We learn more of the circulation of the 'Remonstrance' from actions taken by the Particular Court, which noted that the text had been 'published and read in severall Chs tending to the defamation of Mr Stone and the Ch: at Hartford.' See *Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut, 1639-1663*, in *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 22 (1928): 184.

57. *A Disputation concerning Church-Members and their Children in Answer to XXI. Questions* (London, 1659).

A report of a ministerial assembly held in Boston in June 1657 to debate the scope of infant baptism. Numerous manuscript copies were made, some of them at the behest of the Connecticut General Court, which ordered in August 'that coppies should goe forth to the severall Churches in this Collony.' *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, ed. Trumbull, 1:302. One manuscript copy survives in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society in the handwriting of Richard Mather. A second, entitled 'An Answer to ye 21 Questions sent from ye Honbl Generall Court at Hartford, to ye Honbbl Genrll Court at Boston,' is owned by Dr. Ted Steinboch (Louisville, Ky). A third was carried to England and given to a printer by Nathaniel or Increase Mather, whence the imprint cited above. The context is described in Walker, 'The Half-Way Covenant Decisions of 1657 and 1662,' in *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, 238-339.

58 Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, 'A Declaration of Faith, and an Exhortation to Obedience Thereto, Issued by Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, while in Prison at Boston in New England, 1657.'



Manuscript whereabouts unknown. A partially mutilated version of this text was printed in James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London, 1850-58), 1:90-92, from an 'original . . . obtained' in the mid-nineteenth century from Quakers in Pembroke, Massachusetts. Like other Quaker letters it was probably distributed in multiple copies. When Cassandra Southwick of Salem was arrested in 1657 for sympathizing with the itinerants, she had in her possession a copy of a 'paper on Truth and the Scriptures' that almost certainly was this 'Declaration.' Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), 69.

- 59 'The Booke of the Generall Lawes and Liberties of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth . . . and published by the Authoritie of the generall Court' (September 1658).

Manuscript copy, Massachusetts State Archives. The Plymouth Colony General Court ordered that 'every township in this Government shall have a booke of the lawes of the Collonie and that they bee read openly once every yeare.' William Brigham, *The Compact with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth* (Boston, 1836), 36, 121.

- 60 'Declaration to vindicate the justice of this Courts proceedings in reference to the Quakers' (title supplied; October 18, 1659).

A defense of the Massachusetts General Court's actions in ordering the execution of two Quaker missionaries, the manuscript text was distributed 'from the secretary to the tounes, in writing' by order of the Court. Simultaneously the Court ordered another version 'to the presse, to be printed.' This latter text is probably the one that is preserved in the colony's records, where it comes after the order to have the two versions reproduced: *Massachusetts*

*Records*, Shurtleff, ed., 4, pt 1: 384-90. No copy of the printed Declaration<sup>33</sup> seems to have survived. Occasioned by uneasiness about the executions; we learn from the Quaker martyrologist George Bishop's report that the law ordering the execution of any Quaker who returned after being banished had been opposed by a majority of the deputies. Bishop, *New-England Judged* (London, 1703), 101-2.

- 61 William Leddra, 'To Friends in New-England, or where this may come, Greeting' and subscribed, 'Boston-Prison, in New England, 1660.'

No manuscript survives; printed in Bishop, *New-England Judged*, 292-98, with the notation (298) by Bishop: 'This was given forth about three Months before he suffered, and was copied by W. Coddington of Rhode-Island.'

- 62 Charles R (Charles II), 'Trusty and well beloved' (1661 or 1662; probable opening of this proclamation).

Addressed to the Massachusetts General Court, which in October 1662 ordered it to be published, that is, distributed in handwritten copies. The copy sent to Woburn was known to the nineteenth-century antiquarian Samuel Drake, who quoted an endorsement: 'To ye Constable of Wooberne who is hereby required to publish or cause the same to be published at A Generall toune meeting there.' The Woburn constable, Isaac Cole, refused to do so, and the General Court also heard that 'some one' of the Woburn selectmen 'have spoken of said letter to be Popery, &c.' *New England Historical & Genealogical Register* 5 (1851): 392; *Massachusetts Records*, Shurtleff, ed., 4, pt. 2: 58, 72.

33. A year earlier, in October 1658, the Court had ordered another declaration about the Quakers printed. Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, 14 vols. (Chicago and Worcester, 1903-59), 1:11.

- 63 The Council of New Haven Colony, A 'declaration' requiring 'all the members and inhabitants of this Colony . . . to returne to theire due obedience, and payeing their Arrears of rates' (December 28, 1663).

No manuscript copies seem to have survived of those that were 'sent to the severall Townes of this Colonie, and sett up in publick places, to be seen and read of all, that all might obey it.' The copy put up in Stamford was 'violently plucked downe' by the local constable. Isabel M. Calder, *Letters of John Davenport: Puritan Divine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 235-36; *New Haven Records*, Hoadly, ed., 2:511-12, 512 n, 527.

- 64 Samuel Maverick, 'A Briefe Discription [*sic*] of New England and the Severall Townes therein, Together with the Present Government Thereof' (undated, but almost certainly written in 1661).

One manuscript version survives in the Egerton Ms., 2395 ff. 397-411, British Library; and was printed in the *New England Historical & Genealogical Register* 39 (1885) 33-48; this same manuscript was printed in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 2d ser. 1 (1884-85): 231-49. Maverick had been one of the 'Remonstrants' of 1646 (see above, no. 48). For the context of this text, see George Lyman Kittredge, 'Robert Child the Remonstrant,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 21 (1919): 67.

- 65 Joseph Eliot to his brother Benjamin, 'A Copy of an excellent Letter wrote by the Rev. Mr. John [*sic*] Eliot of Guilford, deceased, to his Brother Mr. Benjamin Eliot of Roxbury.' Guilford, May 18, 1664.

Minister in Guilford, Connecticut, Eliot wrote this letter to a brother who remained in Roxbury. Manuscript known to

Thomas Prince, who, in editing it for publication, noted his text was 'Carefully Corrected from Five several manuscripts.' Printed several times in the course of the eighteenth century, usually attached to another letter of counsel written by Jonathan Mitchell, as it was in Prince's initial edition: *Mr. Mitchel's Letter to His Brother* (Boston? 1732?), 19-22.

- 66 John Tyso, 'The Copy of a Letter which was delivered into the Hands of R. Bellingham, late Governour of Boston in New-England, for him to read and consider, with his Assistants, & the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, with the rest of their Brethren where this may come,' dated 'Boston-Prison-House, the 15th of the 4th Moneth, 1667.'

Manuscript may not survive. Like similar Quaker texts, this 'letter' was almost certainly shared with Friends in England and New England. Samuel Groome published it in *A Glass For the People of New England*, 34-39.

- 67 John Mason, 'Brief History of the Pequot War' (undated, but probably written in the 1660s).

This account by the principal commander of the force that attacked a Pequot fort in May 1637 was initially printed, abridged, and otherwise modified, in Increase Mather, *A Relation Of the Troubles which have hapned in New-England, By reason of the Indians there* (Boston, 1677). The Boston antiquarian Thomas Prince, who oversaw the first full printing, noted in his edition of *A Brief History of the Pequot War: Especially Of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut In 1637* (Boston, 1736), v, that Mather attributed the text to John Allyn, Secretary of Connecticut, from whom he seems to have received his copy. A different manuscript, with prefaces that either were not in the Allyn copy or that Mather omitted, was given to Prince by one of Mason's grandsons. Mason may have been moved to write this narrative

by the agitation in 1659 over the 'Right of the Massachusetts by Conquest' to some of the lands formerly held by the Pequots. See *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, Pulsifer, ed., 10:228-36, for a 'Paper' Mason wrote reliving the accomplishments of the soldiers under his command in 1637.

- 68 Obadiah Homes, 'Confession of Faith' (title supplied; c. 1675).

Manuscript, Newport Historical Society. Printed in Isaac Backus, *A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists*, David Weston, ed. (1777; 2d ed., 2 vols., [Newton, Mass., 1871]), 1:206-9 n; printed again (together with other portions of a longer 'Testimony') in *Baptist Piety: The Last Will and Testimony of Obadiab Holmes*, Edwin S. Gaustad, ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 85-92. No other copies known, but presumably they were made at the time, for Holmes concluded the 'Confession' specifying 'This for Mr. John Angher, and my brother Robert Holmes, and brother-in-law and sisters, with Mary Nonly, and to them that love and fear the Lord. For Robert Holmes . . . in the parish of Manchester, Lancaster.'

- 69 John Easton, 'A Relation of the Indyan Warre, by Mr. Easton, of Roade Isld., 1675.'

Manuscript, New York State Library, Albany. Printed in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699*, Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1913), 7-17. The evidence for its circulation in manuscript is that Increase Mather responded angrily to it in *A Relation Of the Troubles* (Boston, 1677).<sup>34</sup> Easton, a Rhode Island Quaker and political leader, offered a refreshingly contrarian view of the origins of King Philip's War.

34. Thomas J. Holmes, *Increase Mather: A Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Cleveland: privately printed, 1931), 1:71.

- 70 Handwritten placard, 'Reader thou art desired not to suppress this paper . . . which is to certify (those traytors to their king and countrey) Guggins and Danford. . . , ' signed 'By ye new society A. B. C. D.' and dated Boston, February 28, 1675/76.

Manuscript, Massachusetts Archives; unusually, two handwritten copies survive. Facsimile printed in Gookin, *Daniel Gookin*, between pages 154 and 155. During King Philip's War the efforts of Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth to protect various groups of Christian Indians had aroused a great deal of anger, to which this placard is witness.

- 71 Edward Randolph, 'To the right honorable the Lords of his Majesties most honorable Privy Council appointed a committee for trade and plantations. An answer to severall heads of enquiry concerning the present state of New England' (September 20, 1676).

A manuscript copy that came into Hutchinson's hands was printed in Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 477-503. A manuscript copy in a clerk's hand survives in the Curwen Papers, American Antiquarian Society. It is safe to infer that other copies were sent to England.

- 72 Daniel Gookin, 'Narrative of troubles with the Manquaoy Indians' (title supplied; c. 1680).

Present whereabouts of the three copies described in the following letter is unknown. On November 4, 1680, the Massachusetts minister-cum-missionary John Eliot wrote Robert Boyle, Governor of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, 'We are in great affliction by the Manquaoy Indians, more than 60 at several times have been killed or captived; a narrative whereof Major Gookin presented to Lord Culpepper, who was affected with it. Also he presented a copy thereof to Sir Edmund Andros, who was likewise affected with it though it is said, that he

might have prevented it. . . . Major Gookin intendeth to present your honour with a copy of the same narrative.' Quoted in Frederick William Gookin, *Daniel Gookin, 1612-1687* (Chicago: privately printed, 1912), 165. For two other near-book-length manuscripts that disappeared for many years, see Gookin, *Daniel Gookin*, 161.

- 73 'A paper of scandalous verses' entitled 'Randolph's Welcome Back Again' (January 1679 or 1680).

Manuscript, present location unknown. A poem satirizing Edward Randolph, the king's customs collector, who wrote Edward Winslow on January 29, 1679, shortly after returning from a visit to New Hampshire: 'I am received at Boston more like a spy, than one of his Majesty's servants. They . . . have prepared a welcome for me, by a paper of scandalous verses . . . .' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1st ser. 6 (1790; reprint, 1846): 93. The poem itself was printed for the first time in *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous: and Monthly Literary Journal*, ed. John Farmer and J. B. Moore 3 (1824): 30-32.

- 74 (Thomas Cheevers?), 'A libellous Paper . . . highly reflecting upon your Majesties Proceedings' (October 1683).

No manuscript seems to survive of the copies that were 'dispers'd in Boston,' as reported by Edward Randolph in a letter sent to Charles II in February 1684. According to Randolph's summary, the libel portrayed the 'horrid Conspiracy' (the Rye House plot of 1683) as 'butt a sham plott &c. That the Governor Magistrates and Ministers were grievous Backsliders and betrayers of their Libertyes and Country &c. It was verily believed that one Cheesers a young hott headed Minister was the Author of that Paper . . . .' *Edward Randolph*, 7 vols. (Boston: Publications of the Prince Society, 1898-1909), 3:277. This may possibly be the 'Treasonable Libel' that, a year later, Joseph Dudley complained he 'can gett no copy of.' Mather Papers, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4th ser. 8 (1868): 483.

- 75 John Wise and others, 'factious & seditious . . . writings' (August 1687).

These are probably the texts noted in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indian, 1685-1688*, 12 (1899): 473. When the Ipswich town meeting met on August 23, 1687, various town notables, including the minister of Chebacco Parish, John Wise, spoke against an 'order' issued by the Dominion of New England ' . . . to assess ye Inhabitants' on the grounds that 'the sd act doth infringe their Liberty as Free borne English subjects of his Majestie.' The town voted 'that they are not willing to choose a Commissioner [tax collector] for such an end.' Thereafter, neighboring towns were visited by leaders of the Ipswich protest, who carried copies of the town vote with them. The Topsfield and Ipswich town meetings' actions were sent to England. The warrant for the arrest of the Ipswich clerk, John Appleton, specified that he had 'putt into writing & published' the town action. Thomas J. Waters, 'Ipswich and the Andros Government,' in *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, 2 vols. (Ipswich, 1905), 1: chap. 14; quotations, 239, 242.

- 76 James Fitch, 'A Plain Short Discourse' and 'A Little of the Much' (1691 and 1692).

No copy seems to survive of texts known only from the reference to them in the preface to Gershom Bulkeley's 'Will and Doom, Or the Miseries of Connecticut by and under an Usurped and Arbitrary Power' (c. 1703), where it is clearly indicated that copies were in circulation. In his first allusion to them, Bulkeley wrote, 'Hath not Capt. James Fitch given out two manuscripts, wherein the actions of this Colony of Connecticut are abundantly justified.' The second allusion, on the following page, reads: ' . . . we cannot deny but that James Fitch . . . hath scattered two scurrilous libels, one about the beginning of the year 1691 . . . entitled A Plain Short Discourse, &c., the other about the beginning of 1692, entitled A Little of the Much, &c. endeavoring to justify



that which cannot be justified.' *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 3 (1895): 82, 83. Bulkeley had cast himself as a defender of the Dominion of New England that had been overthrown in 1689.

- 77 John Palmer, *An Impartial Account of the State of New England: or, the Late Government there, Vindicated* (London, 1689).

Circulating in manuscript in New England before being printed in Boston without notation of printer or date, as *The Present State of New England, impartially considered in a Letter to the Clergy, by F. L.* An official in the Dominion of New England, Palmer was imprisoned in Boston in the aftermath of the popular uprising of April 1689. Before he returned to England Palmer wrote this defense of the regime. As he tells us in the preface to the English edition, he had to circulate the 'Impartial Account' anonymously in manuscript: 'the Press being forbid to any that were injur'd, to justifie themselves, though open to all that would calumniate, and abuse them; so that for several Months it appeared in Manuscript, by stealth, branded with the hard Name of a Treasonable and Seditious Libel; and would have been little better than Death, for any one, in whose Hands it should have been found; but remained unanswered, although Care was taken that it came to the Hands of some of the Persons to whom it was directed.' *The Andros Tracts*, W. H. Whitmore, ed., 2 vols. (Boston, 1868) 1:23-24. The full text of the London edition, which varies from the Boston one, is printed in this collection.

- 78 Thomas Graves, 'To James Russell of Charlestowne, Esq.' (September 21, 1689).

A copy of this statement, Graves's order forbidding the Middlesex County Court to meet, that he issued in his capacity as a justice of the peace, came into the hands of the Connecticut royalist Gershon Bulkeley, who included it in *The People's Right to Election*

(Philadelphia, 1689), 17. Complaints were made to the Massachusetts government against Graves and others for publishing a 'seditious writing.' Graves and his supporters rejected the authority of the provisional government that came into being after the overthrow of the Dominion of New England. Richard Frothingham, Jr., *The History of Charlestown, Massachusetts* (Charlestown, 1845), 229; see also the group's manuscript 'Address,' on pages 230-31.

79 Cotton Mather, 'Political Fables' (undated, but 1692).

Manuscript, Hutchinson Papers, Massachusetts State Archives, volume 240. Written to defend Increase Mather's role in gaining the Massachusetts charter of 1691, these 'Fables' were 'handed about' in Boston. Robert Calef, though not always a reliable source, is our authority for their circulation, writing in *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (London, 1700), 151, that 'Tho' this Paper was judged not convenient to be Printed, yet some Copies were taken. . . .' First printed in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 3d ser. 1 (1825): 126-33, it was printed again in *Andros Tracts*, 2: 325-32. For commentary, see Kenneth B. Murdock, ed., *Cotton Mather Selections* (New York: Hafner Library of Classics, 1926), liv-lvi.

80 William Milborne (and others), 'seditious and scandalous papers or writings' (before June 25, 1692).

No copies survive of the 'two papers' which were 'laid before his Excellency and Council' on June 25, 1692; their form as petitions implies scribal circulation. Milborne, a resident of Boston and assistant minister of the Baptist congregation there, admitted to the Council that they 'were of his writing.' In them he engaged in 'very high reflections upon the administration of public justice,' declaring that some accused witches were 'Innocent' and that 'if sd. specter testimonie pass for evidence have great grounds to fear that the Innocent will be condemned.' George H. Moore, 'Notes

on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, with Illustrative Documents,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 2 (1883): 171, and 171 n. See also David William Voorhees, "'Fanatiks" and "Fifth Monarchists": The Milborne Family in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World,' *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 129 (1998): 67-75, quote p. 74.

- 81 Thomas Brattle, 'Letter giving a Full and Candid Account of the Delusion called Witchcraft, which prevailed in New England; and of the Judicial trials and Executions at Salem ...' (October 8, 1692).

This letter questioning the witchcraft trials survives in a single copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was published for the first time in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1st ser. 5 (1792): 61-79. The copy is not in Brattle's handwriting. 'That the extant copy is without superscription, and signed by initials only, may point to such a use [i.e. to be circulated in copies]. It must not be forgotten that it was written on the eve of the session of the General Court.' George Lincoln Burr, ed., *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), 168 n.1; John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1873-85), 2:489-98.

- 82 Samuel Stow, 'Annalls of God's Blessing of N.E.' (1695).

No copy may survive. In May 1695 the General Court of Connecticut thanked Stow, the longtime minister in Middletown, for 'his great paynes in preparing a History of the Annalls of New England.' Stow indicated in a letter (June 9, 1696) to Wait Winthrop that Cotton Mather had a copy, adding that 'Those my Chronilogicall Decads have rings or loops by which they may be fastened together or hang'd up, to preserve from mice or rats,' a statement that implies the production of multiple copies. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 6th ser. 5 (1892): 35, and 35 n.

- 83 Samuel Willard, *Brief Directions to a Young Scholar Designing the Ministry, for the Study of Divinity* (Boston, 1735).

No manuscript copies are known. Dating undoubtedly from Willard's term as president of Harvard College (1701-7), and copied by students, probably those in residence for the M. A. degree. The two editors who oversaw its publication, Jonathan Sewall and Thomas Prince, remarked that 'care hath been taken by comparing several copies,' adding that the text has been 'made more extensively useful by the Press, than while dispersed in . . . private Manuscripts' (i-ii).

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