

*Letters of the  
Reverend Thomas Walley of Barnstable  
to the Reverend John Cotton of Plymouth*

BY WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

ON 21 March 1677/8 the Reverend John Cotton,<sup>1</sup> Pastor of the church at Plymouth, wrote from Barnstable—where he was watching at the deathbed of a dear friend—to the Reverend Increase Mather:<sup>2</sup>

Revd and Deare Brother,

I am now in pretious Mr. Walley's study. Just going to the publick worship, this Fast Day. His death is expected before the morrow. A poore, bleeding, mourning church. The post goes for his son; in great distresse, I am your affec: Bro:

J: C:

Our glory is almost gone.  
Ah poore Plimouth Colony!  
Wee conclude his death before this come to you.

The post did not go that day, because of the rainy weather, and so Mr. Cotton continued his letter at Plymouth on the twenty-fifth.

On Friday morning I tooke my last leave of that holy man of God, who yesterday, about the time of his usuall going to the publick worship, entered into his eternall Sabbath. In the whole time of his languishing

<sup>1</sup> Son of the Reverend John Cotton of Boston. Born 15 March 1639/40, Harvard College Class of 1657, ordained at Plymouth 1669, resigned 1697 for reasons concerning which there is a difference of opinion, died 1699.

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts History Society, *Collections*, 4th ser., vol. 8 (1868), pp. 242-3.

he had sweet peace of conscience. The peace of God did rest upon that son of peace. . . . Many young ones at severall times whilst I was there, flocked to his bedside, to whom he did with very great seriousness and solemnity of spirit give this counsell, that they should highly esteeme of and improve the Covenant God had made with them. . . . These individuall words and many more, did he more than once utter in my hearing last weeke to church-seed. That blessed mouth is now silenced.

The Reverend Thomas Walley, whose death is described in these affecting words, had been the minister at Barnstable for almost fifteen years. Born in England in 1616, he became Rector of St. Mary's Whitechapel, County Middlesex, about 1648.<sup>3</sup> Ejected for non-conformity in 1662, he emigrated to New England, where (in the words of the Cape Cod historian Frederick Freeman) "invited to a charge in Boston, he gave the preference to Barnstable—a preference which it requires discrimination and a better knowledge of the Cape than is enjoyed by many non-residents at the present day to appreciate."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Walley settled at Barnstable in 1663. In May of that year the town voted to give him six acres of upland in the commons, and he was formally admitted as an inhabitant in the summer.<sup>5</sup> His task appears to have been one of conciliation, for Nathaniel Morton, writing in 1680 in the Plymouth church records, refers to the church at Barnstable and the "sad desention" that caused "a scisme . . . amongst them . . . untill the lord Raised up that worthy servant of his Mr. Thomas Walley whom the lord sperited for that work and blessed his Indeavors soe therein as that soone

<sup>3</sup> Frederick Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, Boston, 1858, vol. 1, p. 249. Edward Elbridge Salisbury, *Family-Memorials: A Series of Genealogical and Biographical Monographs of the Families of Salisbury, Aldworth-Elbridge, Sewall, Pyldren-Dummer, Walley, Quincy, Gookin, Wendell, Breese, Chevalier-Anderson, and Phillips*, New Haven, 1885, p. 284, quotes entries from the Parish Registers of St. Mary's Whitechapel which indicate that Mr. Walley was Rector in May, 1648, but not in April, 1647.

<sup>4</sup> Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 268.

after his Coming amongst them the Controversyes were settled and their Comunion Reunited, to their Generuall and Mutuall satisfaction and the Rejoyceing of the harts of the saints Round about them."<sup>6</sup>

The formal records of his life and ministry at Barnstable are scanty. He preached the election sermon, entitled *Balm in Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds*, at Plymouth on 1 June 1669, and this was printed in two editions by Samuel Green at Cambridge.<sup>7</sup> On 30 June in the same year, when the Reverend John Cotton was ordained as pastor of the church at Plymouth, "the Reverend Mr. Walley made a solemn prayer before ordination."<sup>8</sup> In 1671 Mr. Walley served with Governor Prince and Thomas Hinckley as members of a committee to prepare the body of laws of Plymouth Colony,<sup>9</sup> which were first printed in 1672. In 1674 he and the Reverend Thomas Thacher jointly contributed a preface to the Reverend Samuel Arnold's election sermon, *David serving his Generation*.<sup>10</sup> On 29 August 1675 he preached for the Reverend Increase Mather in Boston.<sup>11</sup> Mather and the

<sup>6</sup> *Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1859* (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, vol. 22-3), vol. 1, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> *Balm in Gilead to Heal Sions Wounds: or, A Treatise Wherein There is a Clear Discovery of the most Prevailing Sicknesses of New England, both in the Civill and Ecclesiastical State; As also Suitable Remedies for the Cure of them: Collected out of that Spirituall Directory, The Word of God. Delivered in a Sermon Preached before the Generall Court of the Colony of New-Plimouth on the first day of June 1669, being the Day of Election There*, Cambridge: S[amuel]. G[reen]. and M[armaduke]. J[ohnson]., 1669. A second edition was published in 1670. The sermon was dedicated to Governor Thomas Prince.

<sup>8</sup> *Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1859*, vol. 1, p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Baylies, *A Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth*, Boston, 1866, vol. 1, part 2, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> *David Serving his Generation . . . a Sermon Preached to the General Court of the Colony of New-Plimouth in New England on the 3rd Day of June 1674, Being the Day of Election there*, Cambridge: Samuel Green, 1674.

<sup>11</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., vol. 13 (1899-1900), p. 351.

Reverend Samuel Angier sent him books,<sup>12</sup> and in 1670 and 1677 Indians sold him land in Barnstable.<sup>13</sup>

By his first wife, Margery, Mr. Walley had six children, all born in England.<sup>14</sup> Margery Walley is known to have been living in October 1669,<sup>15</sup> but in the autumn of 1676 her widower married, as his second wife, a Mrs. Sarah Clark. In doing so, Mr. Walley moved with creditable celerity, for he met her one week and married her the next,<sup>16</sup> as will be seen in the letters that follow.

In January 1677/8 Mr. Walley's health was failing, but, though "seeming to grow weaker and weaker" he resisted

<sup>12</sup> See Mr. Walley's letter of 9 October 1676, where he acknowledges the receipt of Mather's *A brief history of the Warr with the Indians in Newe-England*. Mr. Angier (Harvard College Class of 1673) wrote Thomas Hinckley from Cambridge, 29 January 1677, thanking for a visit while declining politely to "instruct their children in good literature," and sent "a verse-book" each to Hinckley and Walley. This *might* have been Benjamin Tompson, *New England's Crisis*, Boston, 1676. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th ser., vol. 5 (1861), pp. 12-3.

<sup>13</sup> "This Court [Court of Election, 7 June 1670], being informed that the Indians are desirous to sell a smale persell of upland att a necke called Quanamett, or neare thereabouts, on the South Sea, doth therfore order Mr. Hinkley and Mr. Bourne, of Sandwich, to purchase the same, and it is to be reserved for Mr. Thomas Walley, Senior, of Barnstable, unto the Courts confirmation thereof unto him when they shalbe in capassitie thereunto." N. B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, Boston, 1856, vol. 5, pp. 37-8.

In 1677 "Monohoo, Indian, sold to Thomas Walley, minister of the Gospel, about three-score acres of land,—all that tract lying upon the neck called Quanaumet, which he had of Akemoiet, sachem of Suckenusset, for 10 yards of trucking cloth, 10 shillings in money, 1 iron kettle, 2 knives, and a bass-hook." Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, vol. 2, p. 273.

In Massachusetts Historical Society manuscripts "Miscellaneous Bound," vol. 2, is a deed to Mr. Walley from Robert Parker, dated 10 February 1669/70 for land in Barnstable.

<sup>14</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-92, gives an account of the descendants of the Reverend Thomas Walley. The best known of these is his son John Walley (1643-1712), who was one of the original proprietors of Bristol, Rhode Island, Lieutenant General in command of land forces in Sir William Phips' expedition against Quebec in 1690, a member of the Council and Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature of Massachusetts Bay. John Walley's granddaughter Sally (1772-1845) married 18 December 1794 John Phillips, subsequently first Mayor of Boston.

<sup>15</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>16</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, Boston: Public Library, 1944, p. 19, quotes a part of Mr. Walley's letter concerning his second marriage in proof of a statement that "the decision to marry was usually made by a man or woman without reference to any particular match."

Thomas Hinckley's effort to bring the Reverend Isaac Foster<sup>17</sup> to Barnstable to assist him, teach the Indians and keep a grammar school, on the creditable ground "that a man of worth, who might be meet to succeed him, would not take up with less than the whole work and the whole pay; and a few months would determine whether we should need one for the whole work or no."<sup>18</sup> They did, for Mr. Walley died on 24 March 1677/8.

Seven letters from Mr. Walley to the Reverend John Cotton are preserved in the American Antiquarian Society among the Curwin Papers. Although Freeman in his *History of Cape Cod* mentions them and quotes brief extracts, they have never been published in full. Three other letters of the correspondence, which are owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, are also printed herewith. Roger Williams referred to the pastor of Barnstable as "that heavenly Mr. Walley."<sup>19</sup> The persual of these ten letters does much to explain the esteem and affection in which the Reverend Thomas Walley was held.

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

Reverend sir and my deare friend,

I still returne the poor pay of thanks for your continued labor of love which hath bin a great refreshing to me and others. I am glad it hath pleased God to returne you and yours in safty to your owne habitation, in which place I wish you much of the presence of God.

As to the news concerning our honored governor going forth to war,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Harvard College Class of 1671. Installed as Fellow of Harvard College, 26 May 1678.

<sup>18</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th ser., vol. 5 (1861), p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

<sup>20</sup> King Philip's War began in the summer of 1675. After the troubles at Brookfield and in the western part of the colony, the English determined to strike the Narragansetts in their own country. Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, was appointed Commander in Chief of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colony forces, which gathered at Wickford in December 1675.

in regard of his fraile body and our need of him at home I am troubled, yet who knows but God will make him a saviour to this poor distressed land. Set aside his weakness and our need of him, I know no man fitter for this great servis. We must do what we can to keep him alive and in health by our prayers if God call him forth. His call will be his warrant. If our enemies be not subdued, we shall have noe need of magistrates in a little time. We have now need of such souldiers as God will bless. I much lament the rash cruelty of our English toward innocent Indians. I have never heard what those 14 things are that are agreed upon for information. The good Lord [blot]

Sir, at present I am not very well. My messenger is in haste. My hearty love to you and good Mrs. Cotton and to all yours. Let us continue prayers for each other that we may have hearts sutable to the times and our work. I am,

Yours in our dear Lord Jesus,

Thomas Walley

November 18 1675

For the reverend and my much esteemed Friend

Mr. John Cotton, Pastor of the church of Christ at Plimoth

[Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Washburn Papers, vol. 1, p. 14.]

Feb 16 1675

Reverend and deare Sir,

The letters that you have favoured me with have been a refreshing to me in this sad time. The world grows old and withered and affords little comfort. I have great cause to complaine of my owne heart. I want wisdom, patience, a humble spirit. I feare I am vexed rather than grieved at the frowardness and discontents that are among to many at this day. The sins that God afflicts us for we are multiplying and adde to them dayly. Who shall live when God shall deal with us for our transgressions? Can we expect that we shall prosper against our enemies when nothing likes us that God doth [make]? We please not God neither can men please us. We know not the duties of an inferior state. We shall all seek to raigne till tirants raigne over us. God will certainly humble this land. God's providences seeme to preserve our enemies

to be thornes in our sides. This news from Lancaster<sup>21</sup> is exceeding sad and should greatly humble us. I long to know how it fares with the rest of that towne and what the enemie hath done there from their first coming to it, for we have uncertaine reports.

When you see our honoured Governor I pray you present my servis to him. I long to hear of his health and hope the Lord will keep up his spirit under all discouragements. We know noe man in the place he hath sustained that could have preserved his honor in the servis of this cuntry better than he hath don his, for it is difficult to be in a high place in New England.

Sir, the last Lord's day it was agreed by the elders and brethren of the church to set apart fifth day come seaven nite. It will be the 24th of this month.

I pray you faile not to be with us. It had bin this week but that we desire your help. The mercie of God to our place is soe greate that it was a dispute whether it should not be kept as a day of thansgiving, but the providences of God being mixed, I hope we shall endeavor to [accept?] them the Lord give us.

My love to yourselfe and yours. I am,

Your truly loving Friend and brother,

Tho: Walley

For the Reverend and my much esteemed friend  
Mr. John Cotton, Pastour of the Church of Christ at Plimoth, these.

[Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Davis Papers, vol. 1, p. 92]

[Published in part in Frederick Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, Boston, 1858, vol. 1, pp. 291-2.]

Reverend and deare sir,

It hath pleased God of late to visit me with sickness. My health is much impaired but the Lord is good and I have cause to bless him and through his grace submit to his will and waite upon him.

I am greatly afflicted in my spirit to see the danger we are in and the confusion and sad disorder that we are fallen into. New England must

<sup>21</sup> On 10 February 1675/6 the Indians fell upon Lancaster and nearly destroyed the town. They killed or took captive fifty people, and carried away Mrs. Rowlandson, the wife of the minister.

prepare themselves for what yoke the Lord will lay upon them, for God will not beare the prid and stubbornness of this generation. There is non to help us in this day of our trouble. A perverse spirit is among us by the righteouse judgment of God. That we are soe [ ] careless of our owne folly is not only our sin, but it is our punishment, and what it will work in the end God knows. We had some hope the Indians with us might have proved faithfull and bin a help to us, but they see our weakness and our confusion, and take great notice of the severity shewed towards the squaws that are sent away, some of them much grieved, others, I fear, provoked. They say we cannot soe easily raise armies as send away poor squaws.<sup>22</sup> The country about us is troubled and grieved at this action, accounting it very unreasonable, and what the effect will be, God only knows. I could wish our honored governor would send for them back and returne them to theyr friends. I judg it would be very acceptable to this part of the cuntry, for there is much discontent about it. Some fear we have payd deare for former acts of severity and how deare we may yet pay God knows.

[page torn] now in hast it [tear] do anything for

[page torn] of this act will do a good servis

[page torn] our honored governor soe

[page torn] it will not be thought unreasonable that they should be returned again [tear]

<sup>22</sup> Mr. Walley was rightly exercised over the unwise and cruel manner in which Indian families had been sent away into captivity and slavery. For an example of this injustice, see Samuel G. Drake, ed., *The History of King Philip's War by the Rev. Increase Mather, D.D.*, Boston, 1862, p. 249, where the case of the Indian Peter, who had guided Winslow's army (*ibid.*, pp. 104-5), is mentioned. Peter Freeman, Indian, petitioned the General Court on 14 May 1676 for the freedom of his wife "being detained from me by Capt. Samuel Mosely or his order," although "the Honorable General Josiah Winslow, Esquire" had promised him his freedom and the freedom of his wife. The petition is endorsed: "It is ordered that Peter have his wife delivered him . . . the magistrates have past this. their brethren their deputies hereto consenting. Edw. Rawson Sec. 14 May 1676. The Deputies Consent not thereto. William Torrey Clerk." But nine years later Peter was still trying to recover his daughter, for Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 250, publishes a Court order of 30 May 1685, ordering that "Peter Freeman, Indian of Narragansett, having been a guide to the English army for the Colonies, under the command of the late General Winslow, having done good service to the country, and whilst doing that service his daughter was taken and made a slave; the Court judgeth it meet to order the Treasurer to give him two English coats, two pairs of stockings, and two pairs of shoes, one for himself and one for his wife, a white shirt, four shillings in money to carry him home . . . and it is left to the Major General to inform himself where his said daughter is in captivity and with whom; and to endeavor for her reprisal and freedom that she may return to her father."



My hearty love is to you and Mrs. Cotton. I pray you [tear] present my servis to Captain Bradford.

Yours in the Lord,

Thomas Walley

April 17 1676

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

Reverend sir and my dear friend,

Your last I received for which I give you thanks as for all others. The engagement<sup>23</sup> was propounded to the people Lord's day was [word struck out] it was strongly opposed with weak arguments by one of the brethren and only one [blot] appeared to joyne with him. My desire was to put it off as you have done, but the chiefe with us were for doing it upon the day of humiliation, and then it was don, but I fear by to few, for some I suppose absented themselves and others declined it. Good men in our daies do more to hinder reformation than the profane (I meane some good men). The reliques of a ridged separation work with some who think to take some other time, to see who else will engage.

We had news the last day of the week from sea, John Huchins being a-fishing and meeting with a fishing boat, that the united forces had

<sup>23</sup> The circumstances of this letter are explained by *Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1859*, vol. 1, pp. 148 ff. "The Generall Court in June [1676], being sensible of the heavy hand of God upon the country in the continuance of the war with the heathen appointed a day of Humiliation to be kept, 22 day of it and added thereto a solemne motion to all our churches to renew a covenant engagement to God for Reformation of all provoking evils. The church attended that day of prayer and then the elders appointed a church meeting to be on June 29." On that day a church covenant was read, and a day set [10 July] for the church to come together for renewal of the covenant. The completing of the matter was reserved until 18 July, a day of humiliation set apart "for this service; the morning was spent in prayer and preaching by the pastor . . . in the afternoone the Elder began with prayer and was large in it, then we proceeded to a renewall of Covenant . . . and it is never to be forgotten how ready God was to heare the cry of his poore people in the day of trouble and save them, for immediately upon this motion from authority and the churches hearkening thereunto, God turned his hand against our Heathen-enemies and subdued them wonderfully, and within a moneth after our solem day, the great Head of all the mischief, Philip, was slaine, and the Governor and magistrates the week before his death sent an order to all our churches to keep August 12 as a day of publick thanksgiving for the beginning of revenge upon the enemy, and on that every day, soone after the publick worship was ended, his Head was brought into Plymouth in great triumph, he being slaine 2 or 3 days before, soe that in the day of our praises our eyes saw the salvation of God, a strong engagement to us to be carefull to pay our vows made to the most High in the days of distresse."

killed between 2 and 300 Indians. We suspend our faith until we heare from you, but sure of late God hath given us some tokens of favor for which we have great cause to be thankful.

I am at present not well and indeed seldom have good health. My hearty love to yourself and good Mrs. Cotton. I commend you to our good God and rest

Your truly affectionate friend,

Thomas Walley

June 26 1676

We hope before long to have news from good Captain Bradford.

It was well my letter was inanimate; otherwise it might have been set in the stocks.

For the reverend and much respected friend

Mr. John Cotton, Plimoth

[Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Davis Papers, vol. 1, p. 94.]

Reverend and deare Friend,

Your continuous love, labor and care multiples engagements upon me for thankfullness. I hope I am much affected with the greate goodness of God to this poor afflicted cuntry, and that God is pleased to give us any smiles from himself. We dayly long to heare from our army. Oh! that God would pardon theyr sin and ours and make us all humble that God may come into us. A frame of heart suitable to God's dealings with us would give assurance of deliverance, but we are (I trust) far from it, which causeth many sad thoughts of heart, but God can glorify himself in saving an unworthy people. I am glad of the success Ben: Church hath; it is the good fruit of the coming in of Indians to us.<sup>24</sup> Those that come in are conquered and help to conquer others. I observe throughout the land where Indians are imploied there hath bin the greatest success, if not the only success, which is a humbling providence of God that we have soe much need of them and cannot doe our work without them. It should teach us to be wise in our carriage towards them.

As for the corne that is in your hand to dispose of, I desire Mr. Hinkley and you will [ord]er it when you are together. It is a great mercie that

<sup>24</sup> Benjamin Church was very active in hunting and bringing in Indians. One of King Philip's men deserted to Church, which eventually led to Philip being killed on 12 August 1676.

God stirs up the hearts of any to help this poor cuntry. God that raiseth us friends I trust will be our friend to help us in all our difficulties.

The news from England (if true) is straing. The Lord pity his people there. I doubt not but when you have news from our Army you will take the first opportunity to acquaint us with it. I pray you present my hearty love to good Mrs. Cotton, and when you write to Major Bradford present my servis to him. I commit you to the Lord. I pray dayly for you. I beg yours for me. I am,

Your truly loving ffriend and Brother in Christ

Tho: Walley

July 18 1676

The Reverend and much esteemed friend, Mr. John Cotton, Plimoth

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

[Endorsed by Rev. John Cotton on back "From Mr. Walley 7br 20 received]

Reverend and worthy sir,

I have this week received two letters from you for which I returne thanks and see we have still cause to acknowledge the goodness of God to a poor sinful land. If God would reforme us, we should have peace and health restored.

You have sent to me for my notes upon James 5, v. 14, and truly I am ashamed to send them to you for they are as all that I doe is very imperfect, and this being a limited subject there being scarcely any paralel scriptures there is little more in it than a collection of what others have don. My commentary spoke allmost the same thing and allmost in the same words, and I have not time to mend it, and could I pray you cover my weakness and send my notes againe by Mr. Hinkly or some other as soon as you can.

As for my journey to Boston it is spoiled. God hath sent me a wife home to me and saved the labor of a tedious journey. The last day of the last week I came to a resolve to stay at home and not to look after a wife till the spring. The next morning I heard Mrs. Clark of the [i]sland was come to our towne, who had been motioned by some of my friends. The providence of God hath soe ordered it that we are agreed to become

one.<sup>25</sup> I have had waighty reasons in my owne opinion moving me to it. I desire you will pray that the blessing of God may be with us. She is one of the members and I judg hath escaped the polutions of the place where shee lived, and of which she is aweary.

I pray you present my servis to our honoured Governor. I give him humble thanks for his kind invitation and to you for all your love. With my hearty love to yourself and good Mrs. Cotton, committing you to the Lord, I subscribe myself

Yours in our deare Lord

Thomas Walley

[in left margin]

A third letter I had by Mrs. Clark. We are like to marry next week. Pray for us, but we invite few, excuse me.

[no date]

For the reverend and my truly loving friend

Mr. John Cotton, Plimoth

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

Reverend and deare friend,

I heard of your being at Boston, otherwise I had not bin soe long without a letter from you nor you without one from me, and now I have little to write but only to tell you that I soe like my new condition that I desire to be thankfull to God for it. I think I could not have a better wife. The providence of God hath ordered this business, I trust, in greate mercie to me. Pray that God will every way bring it to my good, and make us blessings one to another and to our family and the place we live in. I hope it is the answer of my prayer.

Though my son and daughter are come from Boston to visit us, they have brought us scarsly any news. What you have I pray you send me, and when you write to the Reverend Mr. Mather I desire you would in

<sup>25</sup> Not all colonial clergy were able to find second wives so rapidly. Mr. Walley's contemporary in Andover, the Reverend Francis Dane, although he eventually married three times, became so perplexed in the search for his second that he put his sorrows into verse.

“. . . Long have I looked about  
But could not I yet Matron yet find out  
But some objections crosst my purpose so  
As yet I sayd I know not wt to doe . . .”

See Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, Boston, 1880, p. 424.

my name give him thanks for the book<sup>26</sup> he sent me, and wish the exhortation<sup>27</sup> he hath annexed to it were written upon all hearts in New England. He seems to me to be a man very faithful to God, to his people, and to the whole cuntry. The Lord bless his labors and make them effectually to many.

If yourself and Mrs. Cotton will give us a visit, though I cannot make her mistress of my house, yet I will entertain you both as my loving Friends. I present my hearty love to you both and pray that God will bless you with all needful blessings. I am,

Your extremely loving friend and brother in the Lord,  
Thomas Walley

October 9 1676  
To the reverend my much honored friend  
Mr. J. Cotton, Plimoth

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

Reverend and dear sir,

I bless God we came safe to Boston the Fryday last in the morning. Upon Lord's day came the news of four vessels with 200 men in them and 16 peeces of ordnance from Major Andros, who are to take possession of the eastern parts and build a strong fort,<sup>28</sup> which seemes to be a plot and a snare, but God will have us depend upon him. Those vessels

<sup>26</sup> Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in Newe-England, (From June 24, 1675 when the first English-man was Murdered by the Indians, to August 12, 1676, when Philip, alias Metacomet, the Principall Author and Beginner of the Warr, was slain.) Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr, is Summarily Expressed. Together with a Serious Exhortation to the Inhabitants of that Land*, Boston: John Foster, 1676.

<sup>27</sup> The separate title page reads *An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New-England, To Hearken to the Voice of God in his late and Present Dispensations As ever they Desire to Escape Another Judgement, Seven times Greater than Anything which as yet Hath Been*, Boston: John Foster, 1676.

<sup>28</sup> Samuel G. Drake, ed., *The History of the Indian Wars in New England . . . by the Rev. William Hubbard*, Roxbury, 1865, vol. 2, pp. 238-9. "During these troubles Major Andros, the Governor of New York, being willing to secure the Interest of his Highness the Duke of York in those Parts, lest, in the Absence of the English, some foreign Nation should take the Advantage of possessing themselves of any part of the Dominions belonging to our Nation, timely sent a Sloop with a considerable number of soldiers to the parts about Pemaquid."

were met at Cape Cod. 200 Mohakes are to meet them.<sup>29</sup> Uncas' son is taken by the Mohakes. Major Clark is now ready to goe to the eastward, some say with 300 men; what to doe I know not.

Noe more news except I should tell you that an old man was like to be whiped for kissing his wife.

Sir, I hope to be with you at Plimoth. If I must preach I must. If God help me, I shall be willing—pray for me—but I think it is good for you to be ready, and then it is most meet you should preach. My hearty love to yourself and Mrs. Cotton. I have written from Barnstable and know not whether you have received it. I commit you to the good God. I am

Your assured friend

Thomas Walley

June 26 1677

To the reverend and my much esteemed friend

Mr. John Cotton, Pastour of the church of Christ at Plimoth  
these

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

Reverend sir,

For yours I give you thanks. If Mr. Mather's news be true it is very good, but we are doubtfull there was some mistake in figures or some other way. One of our vessels came home but two or three days before January that brought other news.

As to myself, I think I am something better than I have bin, but still weak and often ill, but I have cause to be thankfull God is good to me. As to your question or case, I can say little—only this:

1. It is not safe upon the account of the law to divulge what is confessed to you alone. Suppose the man deny it againe, how will you prove it?

<sup>29</sup> Drake, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 226. "An attempt was made against our Indian Enemies, by way of a Diversion, in the Spring of the last year, 1677, by treating with the Mohawks or Mawques Indians, partly to secure them to be our Friends, as hitherto they had been, and partly to see if they could not be induced to prosecute their inbred antipathy against our Indian Enemies, with whom they have had a long and deadly feud heretofore. Something was done that way by the help and advice of Major Andros, the Governor of New York; and probably the Fear thereof was the only thing that awed the Indians about Pemaquid into a stricter Correspondency and more ready compliance with the English."

2. If any man out of trouble of conscience confess his sin privatly, provided the crime be not capital and that noe innocent person suffer for want of discovery of the same, I judg it may and ought to be kept secret, but if at last the person falls into the same sin againe and againe, then the sinner hath brooken his promise of reformation and God by his providence hath discovered him.

But it there be two or more witnesses that have heard you say he confessed to you, you have betrayed yourself, but I have heard of no such thing. For the money, though the paying of it will strengthen their suspition, yet you need not care. If they will not receive the money upon your warning, let them stay till they are willing.

Your book I have sent you and give you thanks for the trust of it. It is a good book and many choice things in it.

Sir, I present my hearty love to yourself and Mrs. Cotton. The Lord bless you and yours. Pray for me. I am

Your affectionate and truly loving friend

Thomas Walley

January 16th 1677

[in left margin] Sir, I have sent you some trouble by Mr. Howland, if he cannot doe it himself, which is to send money I have sent sealed in a bag to my son at Boston, which I pray you do for me with his letter when you have opportunity.

For the reverend and my much honoured Friend

Mr. John Cotton, Pastour of the church of Christ in Plimoth  
these

[Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, Curwin Papers, vol. 3]

Reverend and dear sir,

My hearty salutations to yourself and Mrs. Cotton, rejoycing to hear of the repairing of her then impayred health when I was last with you.

Sir, I was willing to present you with a few lines having so opportune a season as by one of your own household. I did and doe lament truly my providentiall obstacles that we could not *convenire in uno sortio* on the last kindness to Barnstable, in whose service the past day I have been engaged. The Lord by solemn and tremendous strokes on sundry of our poor flock that dwell solitary in the woods did interrupt my at-

tendance and service at Barnstable, for whom in subserviency to our common Lord and Master I hope I have an engaged heart. The Lord's stroke indeed is solemn by smiting sundry in their intellectuals in a strang and unusual manner, if my noviced apprehension fayl me not, though not according to the form of a diabolical possession as some may apprehend.<sup>80</sup> As also the day following your sol[em]n ministr[y] at Barnstable we had a town meeting injoined into the concernments and agitations of which conventicle I did apprehend myself not to be a little engaged, as did afterwards appear concerning the canonical ground on which the meeting house to be erected should stand, the town being divided in their interest and [page torn] recommend the [rest of page wanting].

[No signature or date, but in Thomas Walley's handwriting, and on the back endorsed by recipient "Mr. Walley"]

<sup>80</sup> I have been unable to find any contemporary references that explain this curious passage.



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