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CONTENTS: This is chiefly a biography, with letters, inserted of Daniel Gookin. It deals with the ancestry of Daniel. All chapter head bands illustrate armorial bearings of these ancestors. Includes Copleston, Denne, Fauntleroy, Hymerford, Meye, Vowell and related families.

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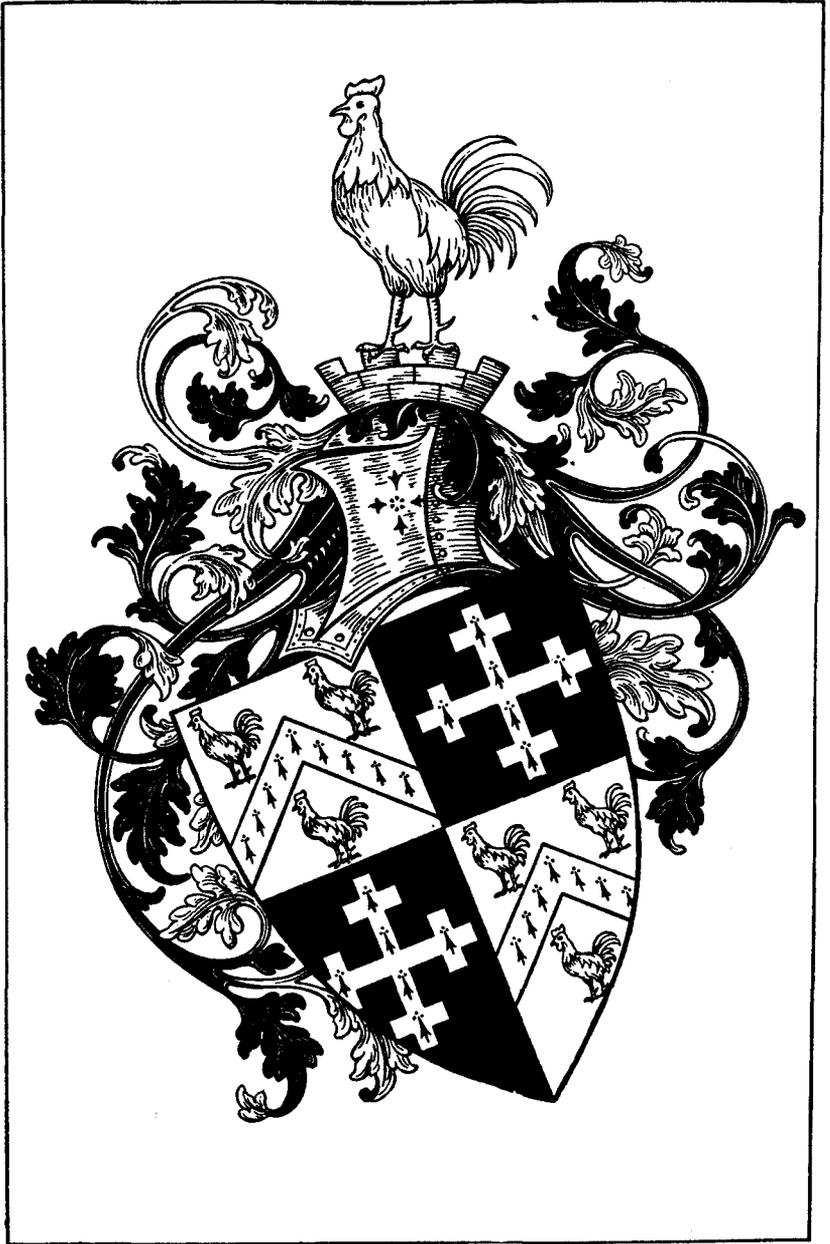
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MAJOR GENERAL DANIEL GOOKIN

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DANIEL GOOKIN

1612-1687

ASSISTANT AND MAJOR GENERAL
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

HIS LIFE AND LETTERS
AND SOME ACCOUNT OF
HIS ANCESTRY



BY
FREDERICK WILLIAM GOOKIN

CHICAGO
PRIVATELY PRINTED
1912

TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN WINGATE THORNTON
DESCENDANT
AND ARDENT ADMIRER OF
DANIEL GOOKIN

PREFACE



HAT no extended biography of Daniel Gookin has heretofore been published is without doubt attributable to the paucity of the available material. About 1840 Mr. John Wingate Thornton began to gather information about his distinguished ancestor, and in 1847 the facts he had been able to get together were embodied in an article upon "The Gookin Family," printed that year in the first volume of "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register." For more than thirty years Mr. Thornton was an eager gleaner of every item he could discover concerning the "grand old American patriarch and sage." Though, to his deep regret, he was unable to carry out his design of writing the life of Daniel Gookin, by his early researches he laid a foundation for which I am greatly indebted.

It is now thirty-six years since Mr. Thornton resigned his cherished task to my hands and I began the collection of data for the present work. In the scant leisure of a busy life this has been necessarily a slow process; and it is only within recent years that a considerable part of the information I sought has come to light. The more important facts of General Gookin's career are well known, but it has proved a difficult matter to supplement them with the mass of lesser items without which a well-rounded portrait could not be presented. Such a portrait I have endeavoured to prepare, but I am deeply sensible of many deficiencies. I have used the utmost care to secure accuracy of detail, and I can only hope that mistakes are few. Such as it is, the book is offered as a tribute to the memory of Daniel Gookin on the three-hundredth anniversary of his birth. It forms a part of an extended history of the Gookin family, other portions of which I hope to print at some future time.

The armorial bearings that appear in the head bands I have drawn for the several chapters are those of a number of

General Gookin's ancestors, and also the coats borne by his brother, John Gookin, and his uncle, Sir Vincent Gookin.

I desire here to make grateful acknowledgement to the many people who have contributed information or in one way or another have helped in the work of gathering material. It is impracticable to mention all by name, but I wish in particular to record my indebtedness to my wife for her very efficient assistance, to Miss Elizabeth Thornton for the family papers collected by her father and for her constant interest in my progress, to Mr. Lincoln N. Kinnicutt for his generous encouragement of the publication, to Mr. Charles T. Tatman for the photograph of General Gookin's sword now in his possession, to Mr. Richard B. Townshend and Dr. Lyon G. Tyler for transcripts of documents, and to Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore and Mr. J. Henry Lea for aid in my researches in England.

FREDERICK WILLIAM GOOKIN.

13 West Walton Place, Chicago,
November 23, 1912.

CONTENTS

PART I. THE ANCESTORS OF DANIEL GOOKIN

CHAPTER I

Fourth in descent from Arnold Gookin—The ancient Kentish families of Cokyn and Colkin—Early variations in the spelling of Gookin—Thomas Gookin of Bekesbourne—The Durrant family—Children of Thomas Gookin and Amy Durrant—The families of Denne, Tupton, and Hever—John Gookin of Ripple—Marriage and removal to Appleton—Removal to Little Betteshanger—Subscribes to Armada defense fund—Acquisition of Manor of Ripple Court—Children of John Gookin and Catherine Denne—Grant of Armorial bearings 3

CHAPTER II

The sons of John Gookin—Friendship between his sons Thomas and John—The widow of Thomas alienates her husband's family—The education of gentlemen's sons—Daniel Gookin's marriage to Mary Byrd—Rev. Richard Byrd—His education and early benefices—Tutor to Lord Burghley's grandson—In Paris with his charge—Young Cecil turns Papist—Letter to Burghley complaining of cruel treatment by English Ambassador—Archdeacon of Cleveland—Canon of Canterbury Cathedral—Byrd's father-in-law Bishop Meye—Marriage to Amy Vowell—Education—Master of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge—Archdeacon East Riding of Yorkshire—Friendship of Earl of Shrewsbury—Appointed Bishop of Carlisle—Censured by the Puritans—Impoverished by relieving distress of poor people—Dies of plague—The families of Vowell, Hymerford, Copleston, and Fauntleroy 15

PART II. DANIEL GOOKIN OF CARRIGALINE

CHAPTER III

Early life—His brother Vincent settles in Ireland—Munster at beginning of seventeenth century—Daniel removes to Coolmain, county Cork—Death of his mother—Ripple Court turned over to his brother Thomas—John Gookin joins his son Daniel in Ireland—Daniel buys Manor of Carrigaline from Thomas Petley—Rival claim of Earl of Cork—Daniel sells Carrigaline to Cork and takes lease for twenty-two years—Shareholder in Virginia Company—The Longford plantation—Daniel sells to Francis Edgeworth 29

CHAPTER IV

Projects plantation in Virginia—Contract with Virginia Company for transport of cattle—Sails for Virginia in "The Flyinge Harte"—Arrival at Newport News—Rejoicing by Company in London at good news—The Indian Massacre of March, 1622—Daniel alone refuses order of concentration—Governor Wyatt his guest—Sails for England in the "Sea Flower"—Arrives in London bringing news of massacre—Obtains patent to Newport News plantation—Names it Marie's Mount—Takes share in New England Company—Dispatches the Providence to Virginia—An unprofitable venture—Muster of his Servants at Marie's Mount 38

CHAPTER V

Attends meetings of Virginia Company—Death of his father—Fails to secure patent—Death of brother Thomas Gookin—Witness in suit of Thomas Milton vs. Jane Gookin—Wife Mary obtains loan from Lord Cork—Lease of Carrigaline sold to Lord Cork—Vincent Gookin knighted at Dublin—Daniel secures patent to Saint Brandan's Isle—Dies in City of Cork—Inventory of his effects—His children—Death of his mother at Bitton, Gloucestershire—His son John in Virginia—Marries Sarah Offley, widow of Captain Thorowgood—Dies at Lynn Haven—Widow marries Colonel Francis Yardley 49

PART III. DANIEL GOOKIN OF CAMBRIDGE

CHAPTER VI

Boyhood at Carrigaline—Early visit to Virginia—Granted 2500 acres land on James River—Sale of Marie's Mount plantation—Marriage to Mary Dolling—Military Service—Return to Virginia—Captain of Upper Norfolk trained band—Granted 1400 acres on Rappahannock River—Signs Nansemond petition inviting Puritan ministers from New England—Tompson, Knowles, and James sail for Virginia—Cool reception by Governor Berkeley—Statute of conformity passed—Cotton Mather upon Tompson's mission—Daniel decides to leave Virginia—Acquires land in Maryland—Sails for Boston 61

CHAPTER VII

Arrival at Boston—Admitted to First Church—Residence in Roxbury—Friendship with Rev. John Eliot formed—Daniel's other neighbors and associates—Trade with Maryland and Virginia 72

CHAPTER VIII

Buys house in Cambridge—Granted farm at Shawshine—Captain of Cambridge trained band—Distinguished residents of Cambridge—Chosen Deputy to the General Court—Visit to England in 1650—Relatives then living—Again elected Deputy—Chosen Speaker—Elected an Assistant, or one of the Council of Magistrates—Assists Eliot in the work of Christianizing the Indians 78

CHAPTER IX

Sails for England in autumn of 1654—Changed conditions since last visit—Cromwell intent upon project for colonization of Jamaica—Daniel sent for and commissioned to urge New England colonists to remove thither—Instructions given him by the Council of State 85

CHAPTER X

Enters upon task reluctantly—Fate of Major Sedgwick's regiment—Daniel arrives at Boston on the Fraternity—Letters to Secretary Thurloe—Journey to Connecticut and New Haven colonies—Discouraging news from Jamaica makes his effort futile—Writes Secretary Thurloe his work at an end—Requests permission to return to England—Report of heavy mortality among the Nevis planters stops further efforts 92

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER XI

Again sails for England, November, 1657—A narrow escape from losing his life—
The state of England—Cromwell's death—Appointed Collector of Customs at
Dunkirk—Appointed Deputy Treasurer at War—The Restoration—Daniel
sails for home—Whalley and Goffe his fellow passengers—Arrival at Boston—
The regicides at Cambridge—The controversy with the King's Commis-
sioners—Daniel refuses to answer before them 104

CHAPTER XII

Granted 500 acres in the Pequot country—Rival claimants from Rhode Island—
Daniel petitions the Commissioners—Sells the land to Simon Lynde—Granted
another farm near Concord—The extent of his public service and other employ-
ments—Refuses appointment as licenser of the press—Takes part in public
debate with the Anabaptists 111

CHAPTER XIII

Opens negotiations for purchase of colony of Maine—Letter to Ferdinando Gorges—
Interference by the Royal Commissioners—Letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle—
Final report of the purchase of the Gorges claim 117

CHAPTER XIV

Daniel's work among the Indians—His estimate of Eliot's efforts to Christianize
them—Daniel his constant associate and coadjutor—Appointed Superintendent
of the Praying Indians—The nature of his work in this office—His compensa-
tion—Eliot writes the Commissioners of the Corporation for Propagating the
Gospel among the Indians in New England—Daniel's account of a journey
to the Nipmuck country in company with Eliot—Correspondence with Gover-
nor Prince 126

CHAPTER XV

The outbreak of King Philip's War—Unheeded warning given by Daniel Gookin
—He urges defensive measures—Advises utilizing the Christian Indian—Panic-
stricken frenzy of the colonists—Their rage against Gookin—His firm stand—
A Boston Merchant's letter to London 141

CHAPTER XVI

Calumnies echoed from other colonies—The Christian Indians removed to Deer
Island—A winter visit to Concord—The fidelity of the Indians—Gookin and
Danforth warned—The case of Richard Scott—The Christian Indians at last
employed against the enemy—Daniel effects release of Mrs. Rowlandson from
captivity—Eliot, Gookin, and Danforth run down in Boston harbor . . . 149

CHAPTER XVII

The election in 1676—Daniel not returned as an Assistant—General Court appoints
him Major of the Middlesex Regiment—His activity in raising troops for serv-
ice in the field—The Indians removed from Deer Island—Eliot and Gookin
resume their work among them—An attempt to run down Thomas Danforth
—Revulsion of feeling—Daniel again chosen Assistant 156

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XVIII

Daniel writes Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians—His Historical Collections of the Indians in New England—His History of New England—His equipment for this undertaking—The manuscript burned—A third tract 161

CHAPTER XIX

The "Father of Worcester"—Preliminaries of Quinsigamond settlement—Daniel at head of Committee—Visit to the site—Work interrupted by Indian war—Renewed in 1683—Town named Worcester—Conjectured reasons for the name—Close relation between Cromwell and several members of the Gookin family—Daniel's constant interest in the settlement. 166

CHAPTER XX

Controversy over charter privileges—Divergent views in the colony—Daniel opposes sending agents to England—Opposes submission to the acts of trade—Makes written protest—Radical party in the ascendant—Daniel hailed as people's champion—Appointed Major General of the colony—Incurs Randolph's enmity—The abrogation of the charter. 171

CHAPTER XXI

Death of Mrs. Gookin—Children of Daniel Gookin and Mary Dolling—Marriage to Mrs. Hannah Savage—Zeal in Indian work unabated—Illegal sale of liquor to Indians—General Gookin's last illness and death—Eliot solicits gift for his widow from Robert Boyle—Daniel's will—Declaration of his religious faith—His homestead in Cambridge—Inventory of estate—Death of Mrs. Hannah Gookin 179

CHAPTER XXII

Esteem of contemporaries—Nobility of character—Literary style—Originates doctrine "No taxation without representation"—George Bishop's railing—Daniel a just judge—The case of Silvanus Warro—Controversy with Caleb Grant—Justice Sewall's dream of Daniel Gookin 192

Index 199

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Armorial bearings of Major General Daniel Gookin: arms of <i>Gookin</i> quartering <i>Durrant</i> <i>Frontispiece</i>	
Arms of Gookin: Gules, a chevron ermine, between three cocks, or. Headband to Chapter I	3
St. Augustine's Church, Northbourne, Kent, and Interior of the old church, Ripple, Kent	10
Armorial bearings granted John Gookin, Esquire, of Ripple Court, in 1609.	12
Seal of Major General Daniel Gookin	14
Arms of Durrant of Littlebourne, Kent: sable, a cross-crosslet, ermine. Headband to Chapter II	15
Hatchment used at the funeral of Thomas Gookin, Esquire, of Ripple Court, in January 1625: arms of <i>Gookin</i> quartering <i>Durrant</i> and impaling <i>Thurston</i> ; argent, on a bend, gules, three mullets, or, in chief a bear (?), gules	16
Arms of Denne of Denne Hill, Kent: azure, three leopard's heads coupé at the neck, or. Headband to Chapter III	29
Dovecote at Ripple Court built by General Gookin's cousin, John Gookin, Esquire, in 1647	30
Arms of Byrd of Saffron Walden, Essex: quarterly, argent and sable, in the chief dexter quarter an eagle, sable. Headband to Chapter IV	38
Arms of Meye as borne by Bishop John Meye: sable, a chevron, or, between three cross-crosslets fitchée, argent; on a chief, or, three roses. Headband to Chapter V	49
Arms of Daniel Gookin of Carrigaline, Cork: arms of <i>Gookin</i> quartering <i>Durrant</i> , and impaling Byrd. Headband to Chapter VI	61
Arms of Canon Richard Byrd: arms of <i>Byrd</i> impaling <i>Meye</i> . Headband to Chapter VII	72
Arms of Tufton of Northiam, Sussex: argent, on a pale, sable, an eagle, argent. Headband to Chapter VIII	78
Arms of Hever of Cranbrook, Kent: gules, a cross, argent, a label of five, azure. Headband to Chapter IX.	85
Arms of Nicholas Tufton, Esquire, of Northiam, Sussex: arms of <i>Tufton</i> with arms of <i>Hever</i> on an inescutcheon. Headband to Chapter X	92

Facsimile of letter from Daniel Gookin to Secretary Thurloe	96
Jamaica colonization handbill circulated by Daniel Gookin	98
Arms of Apuldrefield of Otterprey in Challock, Kent: quarterly, 1st and 4th, sable, a cross voided, or, 2d and 3d, ermine, a bend, vair, or and gules. Headband to Chapter XI	104
Arms of Fauntleroy of Fauntleroy's Marsh, Dorset: gules, three infant's heads couped at the shoulders, proper, crined or. Head- band to Chapter XII	111
Arms of Dryland of Kent: gules, guttée d'eau, a fess wavy, argent. Headband to Chapter XIII	117
Arms of Hymerford of East Coker, Somerset: argent, a chevron between three drakes, sable. Headband to Chapter XIV	126
Arms of Copleston of Copleston, Devon: argent, a chevron engrailed, gules, between three leopard's faces, azure. Headband to Chap- ter XV	141
Arms of William Hymerford of East Coker: arms of <i>Hymerford</i> with arms of <i>Copleston</i> on an inescutcheon. Headband to Chapter XVI	149
Placard threatening the lives of Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth	154
Arms of Vowell of Wells, Somerset: gules, three escutcheons, argent, each charged with a cinquefoil, azure. Headband to Chapter XVII	156
Arms of William Vowell of Creake Abbey, Norfolk: arms of <i>Vowell</i> , with arms of <i>Hymerford</i> quartering <i>Copleston</i> on an ines- cutcheon. Headband to Chapter XVIII	161
Arms of Ashhurst of Ashhurst, Kent: gules, a cross engrailed, or, in the chief dexter quarter a fleur de lys, or. Headband to Chapter XIX	166
General Gookin's rapier, and cane carried by his grandson, Daniel Gookin of Worcester, Massachusetts	168
Arms of General Gookin's grandfather, John Gookin, Esquire, of Ripple Court: arms of <i>Gookin</i> quartering <i>Durrant</i> and impaling <i>Denne</i> . Headband to Chapter XX	171
Arms of John Gookin of Lynn Haven, Virginia: arms of <i>Gookin</i> quar- tering <i>Durrant</i> and impaling <i>Offley</i> , argent, on a cross pattée flory, azure, between four Cornish choughs, a lion passant guardant, or. Headband to Chapter XXI	179
Tomb of Major General Daniel Gookin at Cambridge, Mass.	186
Arms of Sir Vincent Gookin, Knight, of Courtmacsherry, Cork: arms of <i>Gookin</i> impaling arms of <i>Crooke</i> ; a fess engrailed between three eagles, tinctures not known. Headband to Chapter XXII	192
Letter of Daniel Gookin to Captain Wade	196

PART I
THE ANCESTORS OF DANIEL GOOKIN

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CHAPTER I



ANIEL GOOKIN, the subject of this memoir, was the third son of Daniel Gookin of Carrigaline, Ireland, and the fourth in descent from Arnold Gookin, who, in the reign of King Henry VIII, lived in Ickham, a parish in the county of Kent, lying about five miles to the east and a little to the north of the city of Canterbury.

Nothing is certainly known concerning Arnold Gookin save his place of residence, and, in a general way, the period in which he lived. In the pedigree signed by his great grandson Thomas Gookin, which appears in the *Visitation of Kent* in 1619, he is called "Arnoldus Gokin de com. Cantii." And in the record preserved at the College of Arms of the bearings granted to his grandson John Gookin of Ripple Court in 1609 by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms, he is described as "Arnoldus Cokeine alias Gookeine of Ickham in Kent."

Hasted, in his "History of Kent," says that Cokyn's Hospital in Canterbury was founded in 1199 by William Cokyn, "whose name in his posterity long survived him in this city."¹ The same authority also states that an aldermanry of Canterbury including the presidency of a ward-mote, or ward-court, held every three weeks, was transmitted by inheritance in fee, through several generations of Cokyns.² In the reign of

¹ 2nd Edition *Canterbury*, 1801, xii, 115-116. In *Ireland's Kent*, i, 133, the name is given as John Cokyn.

² *Hasted's Kent*, xi, 78.

King Edward III one Edmund Cokyn alias Cockayne was returned, as a citizen of Canterbury, Member of Parliament at Westminster in 1343 and again in 1345 and 1353.¹ Another citizen of Canterbury named John Colkin built a seat known as "Colkins" at Boughton-under-Blean and died possessed of it in the tenth year of Edward III (1340): several of his posterity were buried in the church at Boughton and their arms, *a griffin segreant*, figured in brass upon their tombstones, all of which had been "long since destroyed" when Hasted wrote his book at the end of the eighteenth century, save only one inscribed "Orate pro anima Johannis Colkin, obiit 18 April, 1405."² Under Edward I (1272-1307) the manor of Fredville or Froidville at Nonington, a few miles northwest of Dover, was owned by John Colkin, and it remained in his line until the close of the reign of Richard II (circa 1399)³. Hasted says this family bore a different coat of arms from the Boughton family but he does not state what their bearings were.

Although nothing has yet been discovered that throws any light upon Arnold Gookin's parentage, the surmise that he was the descendant of one or the other of these worthies is in accord with all of the circumstances with which we are acquainted and appears to be well within the limits of probability. In the sixteenth century the spelling of proper names was so erratic that inferences drawn therefrom should be made with much caution. Nevertheless it is worth noting that in the will of Jane Durrant,⁴ dated November 12, 1548, the earliest known document in which a member of the Gookin family is named, Arnold's son is described as "Thos. Golkyn" and as "Thos. Golkyne." In the will of his brother-in-law John Durrant, made in 1561, Thomas is called "Thomas Golkyn" and his wife "Amy Golkin." Five years later the name appears upon the Bekesbourne Parish Register as "Goolkyn" and "Goolken"; while in 1587 the Rector of Northbourne

¹Hasted's Kent, xi, 48.

²Hasted's Kent, vii, 11, 14-15; Weaver's Ancient Funeral Monuments, 1631, p. 274.

³Ireland's Kent, i, 595; Hasted, ix, 257.

⁴See infra p. 6.

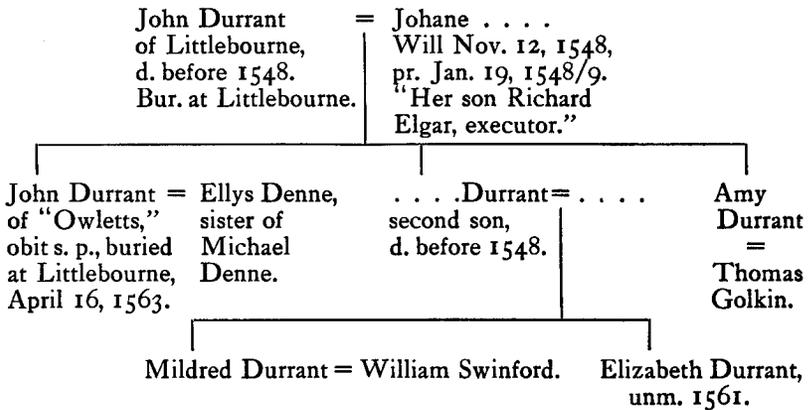
thought "Gowkin" the proper form. Upon the Parish Register of Ripple the name occurs eight times between 1571 and 1582, and in each instance it is spelled "Gookyn." In Thomas Gookin's will made in 1595 the spelling "Gookin" appears for the first time so far as our present knowledge extends. Thomas signed the will with a cross, which may have been because he had not learned to write, but was, perhaps, because of the infirmity of old age. His grandson Thomas Gookin wrote the name Gokin. This is the only known variation from the normal spelling that has ever been made by a member of the family; to others, however, the name has always presented strange difficulty from the sixteenth century down to the present day.¹

As two of Arnold Gookin's grandchildren were married in 1566, the date of his birth must have been some time in the reign of King Henry VII. His only child of whom there is record was his son Thomas, born at least as early as 1518, and probably several years before that. Thomas Gookin lived in Bekesbourne, which lies three miles from Canterbury in an easterly direction, the parishes of Littlebourne and Ickham adjoining it to the north and northeast. His wife, whom he married about 1538, though perhaps some years earlier, was Amy Durrant. She was the daughter of John Durrant of Littlebourne, who, as appears from the churchwarden's accounts for that parish, was one of the tenants of the Court Lodge at the time of the Reformation. He bore the arms: Sable, a cross-crosslet ermine. Dying before 1548 he left, besides his daughter Amy, an only surviving son, John Durrant, who was the owner of the ancient seat of Howlets or Owllets in the extreme northeastern angle of Bekesbourne close to the Ickham line in a vale facing the downs and not far from Littlebourne. The younger John Durrant was a rich man. His will, which was dated January 9, 1560/1, and proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Canterbury June 5, 1563, was a voluminous affair, covering no less than twenty

¹The author has noted a long list of variant spellings. Some of the most astonishing are quite recent; and as he writes these words a letter comes to him addressed to Mr. Evokin.

THE DURRANT FAMILY

pages. From it and the will of his mother, and the Littlebourne parish records, we get the following pedigree:



A large portion of the estate of John Durrant the younger was devised to his sister Amy, and as he died without issue she inherited the Durrant arms, which thus became a part of the Gookin coat.

Amy Gookin died in February, 1580/1, and was buried on the 15th of that month in the churchyard at Bekesbourne.¹ Two years later Thomas Gookin married again, taking as his second wife Sybbell Blacke of Boughton-Aluph, widow. The license for this marriage was issued June 22, 1583.² Fifteen years later Sybbell passed away. She was buried at Bekesbourne August 29, 1598. Thomas, who had reached a ripe old age, survived her less than a year, and was buried at Bekesbourne June 14, 1599. There were no children by the second marriage, but by Amy Durrant Thomas had John Gookin, his only son³ and heir, and five daughters, namely: Amy who married Robert Syme and had, before 1560, a daughter Alice; Thomasin, who married Robert Cowper or Cooper before 1560; Elizabeth, who married Thomas Long, an alderman of

¹ Bekesbourne Parish Register.

² Cantab. Mar. Lic. 1st Ser. C. 181.

³ So described in his will, pr. July 7, 1599, Archdeaconry Court, Canterbury.

Canterbury; Jhoane, who married John Sanders; and Cicely, who was baptized at Ickham January 8, 1558/9, and was buried there later in the same month. Amy, Thomasin, and Elizabeth were all older than John. Amy was the oldest and was probably born about 1540. John, who was presumably of legal age at the time of his marriage, must have come into the world as early as 1545.

On October 28 in the year 1566, the eighth of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a double wedding ceremony was performed in the little church at Bekesbourne, John Gookin taking as his wife Catherine Denne,¹ while his sister Jhoane Gookin was married to John Sanders. Catherine Denne was the second daughter of William Denne of Kingston, Kent, Esquire, by his wife Agnes, daughter of Nicholas Tufton of Northiam Place in Sussex, Esquire, ancestor of the Earls of Thanet. The Denne family is one of the oldest of the Kentish gentry, claiming descent from Robert de Den, pincerna, butler, or sewer, to King Edward the Confessor. The following pedigree in which that descent is shown is taken from Berry's *Kent Genealogies*.²

Robert de Den or De Dene, pincerna,=
 butler or sewer to Edward the Con-
 fessor. Held large estates in Sussex,
 Kent, and Normandy. Vide Dorset
 MSS., Collin's Peerage, and Harris'
 "Kent."

Robert de Dene (See Dorset MSS.)=

¹There is some reason to think that this was not the first alliance between the Gookin and the Denne families. Thomas Gookin of Bekesbourne mentioned in his will, "Amy Dens and Elyzabethe Dens my kenswomen." This points to a connection prior to the testator's time and suggests the possibility that Arnold Gookin's wife or his mother may have been a Denne, or that he may have had a sister who married into that family.

²Pages 269-270. Berry states that the pedigree is registered at the College of Arms down to the visitation of 1619. No attempt at verification has been made by the author of this memoir. See, however, Hasted ix, 344-46. Notes and Queries ii, 473.

DENNE PEDIGREE

Ralph de Dene, 20, William the Conqueror, Lord of Buckhurst in Sussex. See Cotton MSS. and Dugdale's Monast. Angl. = de Gatton

Robert de Dene. Held estates in Kent. Endowed Bayham Abbey. See Cotton MSS. = Sybylla

William de Denne, of Denne, parish of Kingston, co. Kent. Lived in time of King John. =

Sir Alured Denne of Denne, Knt., Seneschal of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Escheator of County of Kent, 19 Henry III (1234). Illustrious for his learning. Ap. by Henry III with Sir Henry de Bath to form the important laws of Romney Marsh. He at this early period sealed with three leopard's heads. =

Walter Denne of Denne, s. and heir as appears by charter dated 41 Henry III (1256). =

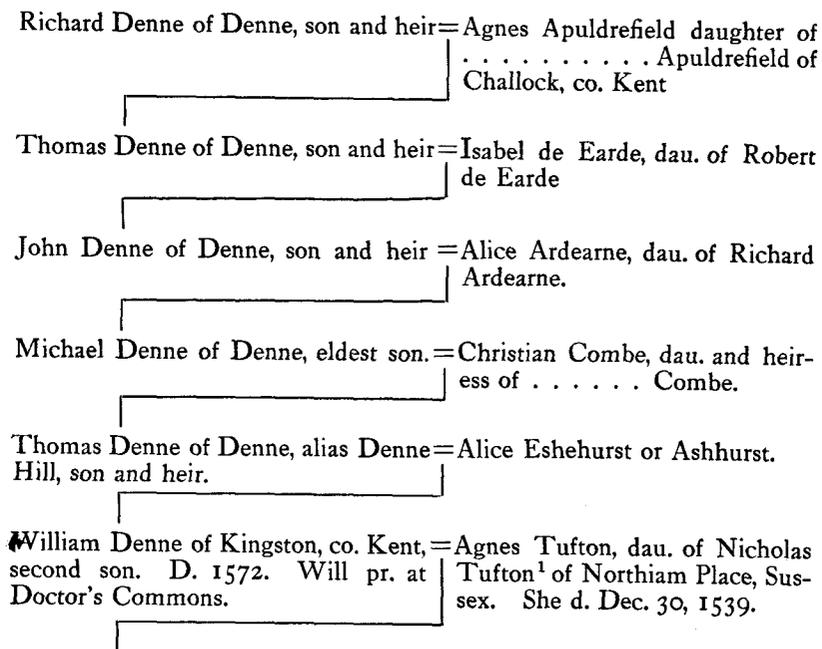
Walter Denne of Denne. Enfeoffed lands in Denne, 9 Edward I (1280). =

John Denne of Denne, 2 Edward II (1308). =

Sir William Denne of Denne, Knt., s. and heir, 2 Edward III (1328). M. P. for Canterbury 19 Edw. II and for Kent 14 Edw. III. =

DENNE PEDIGREE

9



1. Vincent Denne LL.D., son and heir. D. 1591. Married Jane, dau. of . . . Kittall of London, and had five sons.
2. Thomas Denne of Addisham, Kent, 2d son, barrister-at-law. Married Jane, dau. of John Swift, and had five sons and six daughters.
3. Mary Denne, eldest daughter. D. Feb. 28, 1599/1600, aged 72. She married 1st, John Coppin of Deal, and 2d, about 1589, Thomas Boys of Eythorne and Barfriston, Kent.
4. Catherine Denne, 2d daughter, married October 28, 1566, to John Gookin.

William Denne of Kingston bore the ancient family coat: Azure, three leopard's heads couped at the neck, or.

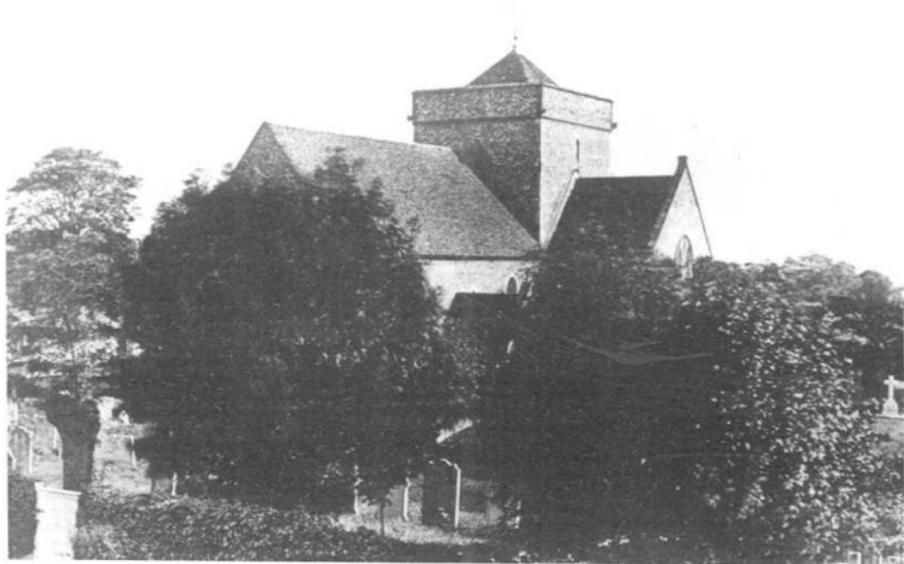
¹In "Memorials of the Family of Tufton, Earls of Thanet" a shadowy pedigree is given, said to be based upon ancient deeds in the possession of the Earl of Thanet, carrying the line back to one Elphege de Toketon, Lord of the Manor of Sileham and Toketon, at Rainham, Kent, whose grandson, Sir William de Toketon, was knighted and living about the latter end of the reign of Henry III. The author of the book, which was published at Gravesend in 1800, did not regard the evidence as conclusive. Nicholas Tufton died in 1538. His wife was Margaret Hever, daughter and heiress of John Hever of Cranbrooke, co. Kent, Esquire, a descendant of the Hevers of Hever Castle, co. Kent.

It is probable that Catherine Denne brought her husband a considerable addition to his fortune. The young couple remained in Bekesbourne for a little more than a year after their marriage and there their eldest daughter was baptized on August 28, 1567. Not long after this event they removed to Appleton, a short distance South of Walmer, John having purchased the lands there now known as Appleton Farms, which, prior to the dissolution, had been owned by the Monastery of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr, in the adjoining parish of East Langdon. At Appleton John and Catherine made their home for fifteen years or more, during which their family and their fortune steadily increased. Though their lands were in an outlying portion of the parish of Waldershare their church affiliation was with the parish of Ripple, where six of their children were baptized. Their nearest neighbors were the families of Thomas Marsh and his brother John Marsh, who lived about a quarter of a mile away, near the little hamlet of Marton,¹ and Simon Edolph, whose seat, St. Radigund's Abbey, was only about a mile to the east on a tall hill. In after years all three of these families were allied by marriage with that of John Gookin. Mary, his third daughter, became, in 1586, the wife of Richard Marsh, son of Thomas; in 1610 her youngest sister was married to John Marsh's grandson Thomas Marsh; and about a quarter of a century later still John Gookin's grandson Thomas Gookin married Jane Edolph, granddaughter of Simon.

In February, 1586, John Gookin bought from the heirs of Thomas Stoughton, gentleman, of Ash,² the estate called Little Betteshanger in the western part of the parish of Northbourne and removed thither with his family. The distance from Appleton was not more than five or six miles, but it involved a severance of relations with the church at Ripple and their transfer to the church at Northbourne, situated about a mile to the east of the new place of residence. Two years after this removal, reports of the formation of the Spanish

¹Now transformed to Martin. The Marsh family is said to have been seated at Marton as early as the reign of Edward III.

²Pedes Finium, Hilary, 28 Elizabeth.



St. Augustine's Church, Northbourne, Kent.



Interior of the old church, Ripple, Kent.

armada greatly excited and alarmed the people of England, and on January 16, 1588/9 the Queen issued a proclamation asking for a loan for the defence of the kingdom in view of "the great preparacōns made by the Kinge of Spaine both by Sea and land the last yere." In the county of Kent there were eight subscribers in the month of February and thirty-nine in March. Sixth on the latter list was the name of "John Gookyn of Norborne, Esq.," who subscribed fifty pounds, which was double the sum advanced by most of the other gentlemen subscribers.¹

John was already a rich man when, at the death of his father in June, 1599, his fortune was augmented by the inheritance of the Bekesbourne estate. In the following year or soon thereafter, by purchase from John Hales, Esq., of Tenderden he acquired the Manor of Ripple, otherwise known as Ripple Court, in the parish of Ripple. According to Hasted² it was a part of the ancient possessions of the abbot and convent of St. Augustine at Northbourne until the dissolution of that establishment, when King Henry VIII, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign (1542-43), granted it to Archbishop Cranmer, who, not long afterward, in exchange for other lands, reconveyed it to the crown, where it remained until Queen Elizabeth, in or about the year 1599, granted it to John Hales. Presumably this grant brought John Gookin a long-coveted opportunity to establish himself in the principal manor in the section wherein he had spent the greater part of his life. Ripple Court thus became the family seat and it continued as such during three generations.³ The manor house was situated about a mile southwest of Walmer and between two and three miles south and east of Northbourne in a fine location on the brow of a hill one hundred and seventy-three feet above the sea. It probably faced toward the northeast, as does the modern mansion built⁴ upon the ancient site, which commands

¹ Br. Mus., Stowe MS., 165.

² History of Kent, ix, 565-67. See also Ireland, i, 647.

³ It was sold in 1668 by John Gookin's grandson and namesake. The vendor's sons joined in the conveyance to break the entail.

⁴ In 1828 by John Baker Sladen, Esq. It is now the residence of his grandson, Colonel Joseph Sladen. One only of the ancient buildings is now standing, a dove-

an extensive view across Sholden Downs and the Lydden valley and up the coast as far as Ramsgate.

When John and Catherine Gookin took possession of Ripple Court only their four youngest children were still living beneath the parental roof. Altogether twelve children were born to them. Anne, the eldest, probably died in infancy. Amy and Mary were presumably twins, born in 1568 or 1569. Amy was married in September, 1586, to Ingram Joule, or Jewell, of Capel-le-Ferne, Kent; Mary was married twice, her first husband being Richard Marsh to whom she was united on July 12, 1586, and her second being Thomas Grant of Eythorne, the marriage taking place in June, 1615. Elizabeth, the fourth child, was baptized at Ripple, December 7, 1571, and buried July 25, 1575. Thomas, the eldest son and heir, was baptized at Ripple, January 13, 1571/2. John, the second son, was baptized at Ripple, August 17, 1575. Next came another Elizabeth, baptized at Ripple, November 30, 1578, and married January 13, 1595/6 to Clement Swinforde. A son Daniel was baptized at Ripple March 31, 1580/1, and buried October 25 of the same year. Another Daniel, the fourth son, was baptized at Ripple, October 28, 1582; Vincent, the fifth son, was born probably in 1585. Katherine, the sixth daughter, was baptized at Northbourne, October, 1587, and on November 4, 1605, was married to Thomas Milton, gentleman, of London. Margaret, the seventh daughter and youngest child, was baptized at Northbourne December 7, 1589 and was married September 4, 1610, to Thomas Marsh, Esq., of Marton.

John Gookin bore for his arms: Gules, a chevron ermine between three cocks, or. Crest: On a mural crown gules, a cock or, crested, barbed, beaked, and membered gules. This coat was granted to him in 1609 by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms. The Records of the College of Arms in London, however, show the chevron or, instead of ermine. In one of the books of the college there is a sketch of the coat with the tinctures indicated in trick, and accompanying it the following inscription in English, Latin, and French:

cote built in 1647 by John Gookin. It bears the date and the initials of John and his wife Elizabeth in large characters in raised brickwork on one of the end walls.



Armorial bearings granted to John Gookin, Esquire, of Ripple Court, in 1609.

COKEINE ALĪ GOOKEINE

E. G. a Chevron bet. 3 cocks, O.

L. In Scuto sanguineo Trabem acuminatim deflexam (quam Chevernum vocant) auream inter tres Gallos ejusdem coloris incestum.

F. De Gucules au Chevron d'Or acompagné de trois Coqs d'Or.

To John Gookeine, son¹ of Arnold Cokeine alias Gookeine of Ickham in Kent.

. of ye abovesaid Arms and Crest, viz.: On a Crowne murall a Cock O. crested, barb'd, beaqued and memb. G.

. An^o Regni Jac I, VII, An^o Dom. 1609.

It is evident that this was only a project drawn up before the grant was engrossed, and that in the grant as issued to John Gookin the chevron was ermine. Certain it is that as borne by the members of the family in the seventeenth century, it was ermine, not or. It so appears upon the hatchment used at the funeral of John's eldest son, Thomas Gookin of Ripple Court, who died in January, 1624/5²; upon the monument in St. Nicholas's Church, Ringwold, Kent, to the memory of Jane Edolph, wife of John Gookin's grandson Thomas Gookin of Harbledown; and upon the seal used by another grandson, Major General Daniel Gookin of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Hasted confirms this usage,³ as does Gwillim⁴ who says:

"*Gules, a chevron ermine, between three Cocks, Or, is borne by the name of Gookeyn, and was the coat of John Gookeyn, son of Arnold Gookeyn, Anno 1609, attested by John Philipot, Somerset, Herald.*"

Although Gwillim must have made the statement about John Gookin's parentage from the memorandum preserved by the College of Arms, it is significant that he did not accept the description of the arms as there recited. Moreover, in Stowe MS. 618, "John Philipott's Visitation of Kent, 1619,"

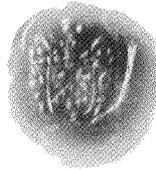
¹ An obvious mistake of a kind not unique in the records made by the heralds of that period.

² This hatchment is now in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston.

³ Vol. ix, 567.

⁴ A Display of Heraldry, 6th Ed. 1724, p. 233.

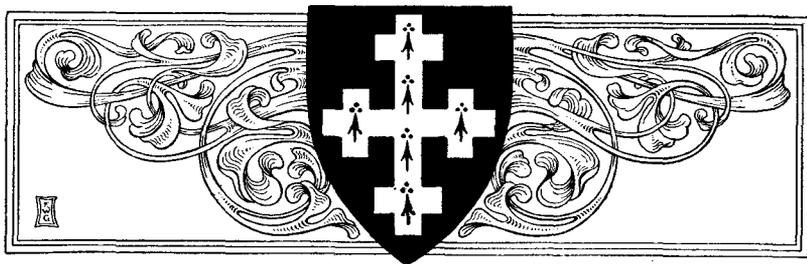
the drawing of the Gookin coat shows the chevron ermine and the mural crown in the crest, gules, as they appear in Thomas Gookin's hatchment. Further confirmation of both of these differences from the College of Arms memorandum is afforded



Seal of Major General Daniel Gookin from letter to Secretary Thurloe.¹

by Harleian MS. 5507, "Philipots' Visitation of Kent, 1619, with additions by Hasted," and Harleian MS. 6138, a copy of the 1619 Visitation by Henry Lily.

¹Rawl. MSS., xxxiv, 609.



CHAPTER II

JOHAN GOOKIN'S younger sons, Daniel and Vincent, early left home in search of fortune. John, the second son, became a barrister at law and had chambers in Lincoln's Inn, though he lived during the greater part of his life at Little Betteshanger, which his father gave to him when he removed to Ripple Court. John was deeply attached to his older brother Thomas and they undertook a number of business ventures together, which, after the death of Thomas in January, 1624/5, resulted in long drawn out litigation between his widow and his brothers. Thomas was a kindly man, dignified in his bearing as became his station in life, extremely pious,¹ and of benevolent disposition. His wife Jane—only daughter and heir of Richard Thurston, Esq., of Challock, Kent—was of different mold. Forceful and aggressive, she attempted to saddle upon her brothers-in-law her husband's share of obligations for which they were jointly liable. This, however, was a losing speculation on her part, for she gained nothing by it and succeeded only in alienating all the members of her husband's family.

It was not customary in the sixteenth century for English gentlemen to give a liberal education to any of their sons save those destined for the learned professions. Vincent Gookin, as we know from his own statement, was taught little more than

¹In 1624 he published a volume of verse entitled "Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer, the Key of Heavenly and Earthly Paradise." A copy of this book, perhaps the only one in existence, is in the library of the British Museum.

to read and write. His brother Daniel appears to have received a better equipment, and there is some reason to think he may have been intended for the church. As his career very largely determined that of his son, and as the story of his life has never been printed, it is here narrated in such detail as may be perceived through the veil of the intervening years.

Of Daniel's early life little is known. He was still at Ripple in August, 1601, when, with his brother John, he signed a marriage license bond for Thomas Gillowe of Walmer. Thereafter he disappears from our view until January 20, 1608/9, when, by deed indented, his father conveyed to him several parcels of land near Ripple.¹ This was in anticipation of his marriage, which took place on the thirty-first of the same month in Canterbury Cathedral, to Mary Byrd, daughter of Rev. Richard Byrd, D.D., one of the Canons of the Cathedral.

Daniel Gookin's father-in-law was a scholar of some repute for his learning. He was of the Byrds of Saffron Walden in Essex, but which member of that very large family was his father has not been ascertained. He was born, it may be assumed, in or about the year 1546, for in February, 1564/5, he was matriculated at Cambridge as a sizar of Trinity College. Competing successfully for a scholarship on the foundation, he was sworn in as a Scholar of Trinity on May 18 of the same year, and in 1568/9 was graduated with the degree of B.A. Shortly afterward he was elected a Fellow of the college, and in 1572 commenced studies for the M.A. degree. In 1576 he appears to have been serving a cure at or near Saffron Walden where a new sect of dissenters calling themselves "pure brethren" had arisen. "A sort of libertines they were," says Strype,² "that reckoned themselves not bound to the observation of the moral law of the ten commandments, as being obligatory to such only as were Jews." Byrd wrote to Dr. Whitgift soliciting his advice as to how he could best answer the questions propounded by these sectaries.³ On May

¹ Close Roll, 9 James I, No 30.

² Annals of the Reformation, II, ii, 64-65.

³ Strype, Life of Whitgift, 151.



Hatchment used at the funeral of Thomas Gookin, Esquire,
of Ripple Court, Kent, in January, 1625.

2, 1577, letters patent were issued at Westminster granting to "Richard Bearde, M.A.," for life, the rectory of the Church of All Saints at Northampton, but, as neither the First Fruits Composition Books, the Institution Books, nor the Induction Books for that parish contain any reference to his having taken up the incumbency, it is apparent that he was never instituted to the living. In 1578 he published a small volume of "Latin Verses on Whitaker's translation of Jewel against Harding,"¹ and in 1580 he was given the degree of B.D. at Cambridge. His relatives at this time were bestirring to get him into a comfortable living, and on December 1, 1581, Queen Elizabeth granted to William Woodhall of Walden (son-in-law of Thomas Byrd of Walden and nephew of the Puritan Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall) and his brother-in-law Rev. William Wilson, S.T.P., Chancellor of St. Paul's,² a patent for the next advowson and presentation to the prebends of Canterbury Cathedral on behalf of Richard Bird, S. T. P.³

While waiting for a vacancy to occur Byrd accepted a position as tutor to William Cecil,⁴ eldest son of Sir Thomas Cecil, eldest son of Lord Burghley, and in 1583 he was in Paris with his charge. Dr. William Parry, a notorious scoundrel who traveled abroad as a spy for Queen Elizabeth, in a letter written to Lord Burghley in October of that year, reported the arrival in Paris of the Queen's Ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, "and in his retinue Mr. Will. Cecil," of whom, says Strype,⁵ "he gave a good character knowing how acceptable it would be to that lord, his grandfather, viz: 'That his good-nature and towardness began to make a very good show already. That he [Parry] would do his best to make it appear how much he was bound unto his lordship.' And concerning one Mr. Bird, whom his lordship had appointed to be

¹ Hexastichon Latinum in conversionem Juelli contra Hardingum, per Whitakerum. Lond. MDLXXVIII. Cf. Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britanico-Hibernica*. Lond. 1748, p. 102.

² Shortly afterward Canon of St. George's, Windsor.

³ Patent Rolls, 24 Eliz. Pt. 7.

⁴ At the death of his father in 1622 he succeeded as second Earl of Exeter. He died in 1640.

⁵ *Annals* III, i, 273.

his governor and to attend him in his journey, he added 'That his lordship, in his opinion, had made a very good choice of him, whose government and care of Mr. Cecil could not be amended. That he was very well lodged in good air and neighborhood. And that Mr. Pallavicini (an eminent Italian merchant in London, now there as it seems on some of the queen's business) had especial care of him and so had my lord ambassador and his lady.'” Unluckily for Richard Byrd, notwithstanding this care and his own watchfulness, young Mr. Cecil got out of hand and became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. This greatly incensed the English ambassador, who blamed the tutor and subjected him to gross indignities. After his return to England Byrd wrote to Lord Burghley complaining of the injustice of the harsh treatment he had received.¹

*To the right honorable, my very
good Lord, the L. Burghley
L. High Treasurer of England.*

In most humble wise I beseech yo^r Honor to pardon me that thus long after my returne out of Fraunce I offer my lres unto yo^r L. before I presume to present myselfe. The grief and feare I sustaine by conceipt of y^r L. displeasure growing by unjust relaçon of some hath hitherto staid me together with the difficulty of my case, a poor man forced to contend for my credit against hono^r favo^r and authority. My comfort resteth in my truth and innocency (wth by privilege should be bould) and that I hoope to answeere of my life and demeanor towards M^r W. Cecill before yo^r Honor, whose wisdome and integrity is known to the whole world. What Sir Edward Stafford Her Ma^{ties} Ambassador hath written unto yo^r Honor in complaint and discredit of me, I know not, and therefore cannot pñtly answeere the pticulars, but yf otherwise then that since my being in Fraunce I have lived a true Christian, a faithfull subject to my Princes and most carefull of the charge comitted unto me, his L. hath done me wrong. Indeed he hath proceeded against me as couplable of greatest crymes, but wth what honor and justice, the hiest Judge best knoweth, and will one daie determine. First by partiall dealinge, by fowle accusaçons of intemperance, dronknness, whoredome, sediçon, treason &c. Next (notwithstanding my humble submission in writinge or my vehement contradicons of his injuste obiections sent unto yo^r L. and coming myselfe to confirme the same with all duetie) publicly in presence of manie Gentlemen of o^r nation of both religions,

¹Br. Mus., Lansdowne MSS., Vol. 46, No. 9.

assembled for the same purpose, taken by his porteur, and carried to pryson; againe, convented before them all, reviled by termes of rebel, traitor, vilaine, &c., threatened to be whipped naked by his horseboies, made a skorne to vyle disposed persons present, and a reproche and bywourde to thenemies of my faith and country absent, finally shamefully abused by his servannts, namely one Lilly a man commonlie knowen to be of most vile disposiçon; by him in the French Court, and day of the greatest entertainment of my L. of Darby, discredited to honourable Gentlemen my friends in myne own hearinge to be a vilaine a knave, &c. After in my entrance into the Chamber of Presence, procureth the French Guard by his malicious and slanderous speeches violentlie to strike me, and in the honorable presence striketh me himselfe. I complained in humble manner to his Lordship; I was contempned of him and derided and reviled of his man. Verily, my good L. yf I had bene M^r W. Cecills spaniel, I ought not thus to have ben used. Yf I can be convinced of these crimes, convicted or touched justlie with so much as suspiçon of anie of them I crave thextremest punishment without anie favour. Erred I have I confesse in some intemperate speeches, more like a naturall man then a mortified Divine, being first most intemperately used, when, yf I had had the mild spirit of Moises I should not have contained.

To M^r W Cecill, my good Lord, I have done my dutie faithfully, as in the sight of God and as I desire mercie at his hands. In grief of hart I complain unto yo^r Hono^r as once S^t Ambrose in case not unlike, that I have been robbed of the sowle of that young gentleman by wicked and trecherous men in care and poursuit of whose safety I am fallen into these troubles. In theducaçon and government of one of his qualitie I confesse myselfe to have proceeded indiscretly. If to direct him in the true fear of God by example, by precept, by privat caution and loving admoniçon, and to instruct him in all honorable and honest qualities be points of indiscreçon. Otherwise my lord, I think I have not greatlie erred. But now are the times and manners of men, wherein Christian and vertuous educaçon is thought to base for nobilitie, and diagoras doctrine of Atheisme and sensuall libertie taken of some to be the sounder divinitie, thiniquitie of w^{ch} judgment the Lord of Justice, I doubt not will shortlie confound.

Touching one Pomere. It may please yo^r hono^r I hired thould man for o^r instruçon in the french tonge and gave him his honest reward; his books w^{ch} I borrowed I trulie restored except one pamphlet written of pilgrims not borrowed by me, but brought me by him, as poets and painters covet to have their creatures read and seen, w^{ch} being long by me, as some such toies of like substance and content, was at length lost either by some negligence in removing from one lodging to another, or as I rather think, by M^r Cecill otherwise bestowed. Soe my good Lord the cause of this ould man (who would not be satisfied with any intreatie or offer of recompence) his triple complaint.

Thus my honorable good lord I have brieflie shewed you thunhappie successe of my travaile and so humblie submit myself unto your equitie for regard of my desert; Howsoever it shall please yo^r Hono^r to determine of me, yet will I remaine not an enemy to yo^r house as some hardlie say but a most faithfull and truly affectioned servant and yo^r Hon^{rs} duringe my life most humble and bounden.

Richard Byrde



Endorsed: June, 1585. M^r Bird to my L.
The cruel and unjust dealing of Sir Edw:
Stafford towards him. His true love &
service to M^r W^m Cecill. M^r W^m Cecill
turned Papist in France. Bird his Tutor.

In what temper Lord Burghley took this appeal there is nothing to show. Apparently, however, he did not oppose the preferments that came to the unfortunate tutor only a few years later. On March 21, 1588/9, Mr. Byrd was collated to the archdeaconry of Cleveland, and in September, 1590, he was installed as a canon of Canterbury Cathedral. In 1595 he published "A Communication Dialogue wise to be learned of the ignorant," which seems to have been commonly known as Bird's Catechism.¹ He resigned his archdeaconry before 1601, and in 1608 he was given the degree of D.D. His death occurred in June, 1609, less than five months after his daughter Mary was married to Daniel Gookin, and on the nineteenth of the month he was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. Besides Mary, he had two daughters who died in infancy and a daughter "Cysly," buried at Canterbury October 22, 1608. He also had a son Peter, born in Canterbury in 1603; and it is probable that he was the father of "Elizabeth Birrde," who was married in the Cathedral on July 4, 1609, to Richard Martin. The date of this marriage, following so soon after Dr. Byrd's death, is perhaps explained by the fact that the wor-

Cooper's *Athenae Cantabridgiensis*, ii, 521.

shipful prebendary left his family in straightened circumstances. His widow renounced administration of the estate and letters were taken out by a creditor.

Dr. Byrd's wife, whom it is probable that he married after his return from France, was Elizabeth, daughter of John Meye, or May, Bishop of Carlisle, by his wife Amy, daughter of William Vowell of Creake Abbey in Norfolk, and widow of John Cowell of Lancashire. Bishop Meye was born about 1526 in the county of Suffolk. His parentage has not been ascertained, though he was an armiger and bore for his arms: Sable, a chevron or, between three cross-crosslets fitchee, argent; on a chief of the second, three roses. The charge in chief was probably an addition granted to the bishop, for his brother William Meye, Dean of St. Paul's and at the time of his death Archbishop-elect of York, bore the arms plain.

John Meye was matriculated on May 2, 1544, as a sizar of Queen's College, Cambridge. He was appointed bible-clerk of his college, and, in 1549/50, proceeded B.A. He was elected Fellow of Queen's in 1550, commenced M.A. in 1553, acted as Bursar of the college during 1553, 1554, and 1555, and at midsummer, 1557, he was ordained Priest. On November 16, 1557, he was instituted to the rectory of Aston Sandford, Buckinghamshire, on the presentation of Anne, Countess of Oxford, but resigned that benefice the following year.¹ In 1559 he was elected Master of St. Catherine's Hall in Cambridge. This post he held for about eighteen years. He commenced B.D. in 1560, and the same year was collated to the rectory of Long Stanton, St. Michael, Cambridgeshire. In 1562 Archbishop Parker collated him by lapse to the rectory of North Creake, Norfolk. In 1564 he was created D.D., and about the same time he obtained a canonry of Ely, which he held until May, 1582.² In 1565 he was nominated one of the Lent preachers at court, and on September 26 he was collated by Archbishop Parker to the rectory of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London, which he vacated in January, 1573/4. He was admitted to the archdeaconry of the East Riding of York-

¹ Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire, i, 47.

² Le Neve, Fasti, ed. Hardy, i, 361.

shire, by proxy, on August 3, 1569, and in person on October 8, 1571, and retained it until the end of 1588. He held also the moiety of the rectory of Darfield, Yorkshire. During the year beginning in November, 1569, he served as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, and, while holding this office, was one of a committee appointed to visit King's College, which had been thrown into a state of confusion by the conduct of Dr. Philip Baker, the Provost.

In 1576 the see of Durham became vacant by the death of Bishop Pilkington, and George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, wrote the Earl of Leicester at court, enclosing a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and bespeaking that powerful lord's influence with the queen to have his friend, Dr. Meye, appointed as Dr. Pilkington's successor, or else, if Dr. Barnes, the Bishop of Carlisle, should be translated to Durham, that Meye should obtain the bishopric of Carlisle. To this says Strype:¹

"The Earl of Leicester answered that her majesty had received the letter, and took his suit in good part, and added, that he knew the said May was like to have good speed for one of those bishoprics. That he had some back-friends, but that he was then past the worst; and was much bound to his lordship. Adding, that he thought the bishop would be appointed shortly."

Through the intervention of Lord Burghley Dr. Barnes was given the Durham bishopric, whereupon, in May, 1577, Dr. Meye was appointed Bishop of Carlisle. He was consecrated on September 29. On June 1, 1577, he wrote Shrewsbury a letter expressing gratitude for his friend's good offices in securing the appointment, and requesting the earl to obtain for him the queen's license to hold his other preferments *in commendam*, that among other things he might still enjoy the benefice of Darfield, which was the only place he then had to stay in, as Rose Castle, the episcopal seat, was in the possession of the temporal lord, the Lord Scroop, until Michaelmas, and he had lately parted with his Mastership of St. Catherine's Hall to one of the Earl of Leicester's chaplains, at that lord's request. Apparently the commendam was obtained

¹Annals, II, ii, 52.

without difficulty, but it seems to have subjected the bishop to censure. Strype tell us:¹

“This Darfield was a rectory in Yorkshire, containing no less than two thousand souls, young and old; but not coming all to one church, there being two chapels annexed; the one at Wombe, the other at Worseborough, which town might consist of six hundred souls more. To which parish belonged a parson (who was the bishop) and a vicar, whose living consisted of a pension of twenty-two marks; the parson’s of six or seven score pounds by the year. He allowed to the curates of the two chapels (whereof the vicar was one) five pounds yearly. And the bishop procured quarterly sermons for his head church. But for this, the bishop was unworthily slandered and clamoured at by the puritan faction after this manner: If one asked, why these stipendiaries took so little of the parson, and he received so much, answer was made, that if they refused, the bishop would take one or other that came next to hand, and create him a shepherd in one day, that would be content to serve him for less. Such slanders were easily raised, and then studiously blown about among the common people.”

¶ This was not the first occasion when Dr. Meye had been criticised by the Puritans. As Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge he was concerned with Dr. Whitgift and others in the compilation of the statutes given to the university by Queen Elizabeth in 1570.² Mr. Dering, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk and one of the leading Puritans of his day, in a letter to the chancellor of the university, dated November 18, 1570, pronounced these statutes “unrighteous,” and added, “D. May and D. Chaderton, two other of the Heades, ther is small constancie ether in ther life or in ther religion.” It should be noted, however, that all the heads of the university who were not Puritans were condemned in similar terms.

Bishop Meye’s name occurs in a commission issued on May 14, 1578, for a visitation of the Church of Durham.³ He entered upon his episcopal duties at a trying time, as appears from a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury dated at Rose Castle, December 3, 1578, requesting him to write to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to back his suit to the

¹ Annals, II, ii, 55.

² Strype. Life of Parker, ii, 37.

³ John May. Article in Dict. Nat. Biog. by Gordon Goodwin. This has been freely drawn upon in the preparation of this sketch of Bishop May’s life.

Queen for the remission of his first-fruits, as he had been put to excessive charges during the last year by hospitality and relieving of the poor in a time of great dearth in the country. He protested that when his year's account was made at Michaelmas preceding, his expenses surmounted the year's revenues of his bishopric by 600*l.*, and he concluded by begging to be excused from attending parliament on account of his poverty. Again on July 22, 1587, Meye wrote Shrewsbury that he was in debt and danger by reason of the intolerable dearth of corn in his country, and on account of process against him out of the exchequer for non-payment of 146*l.* due to the Queen for subsidy. On February 15, 1592/3, the Queen presented William Holland to the rectory of North Creake, which Meye still held. Thence arose a suit in the Queen's Bench, wherein it was held that the rectory might be treated as void by reason of Meye being subsequently inducted to Darfield.

John Meye was the author of some plays, now lost, which were acted by the members of Queen's College in 1551 and 1553. The only writings by him that are known to have survived are the letters to Lord Shrewsbury, and, among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, some notes of a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross the Sunday after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1565.¹ He died at Rose Castle on February 15, 1597/8, and was buried at Carlisle a few hours after his death, which was probably caused by the plague. The register of the parish of Dalston, in Cumberland, contains this record of his decease and place of interment:

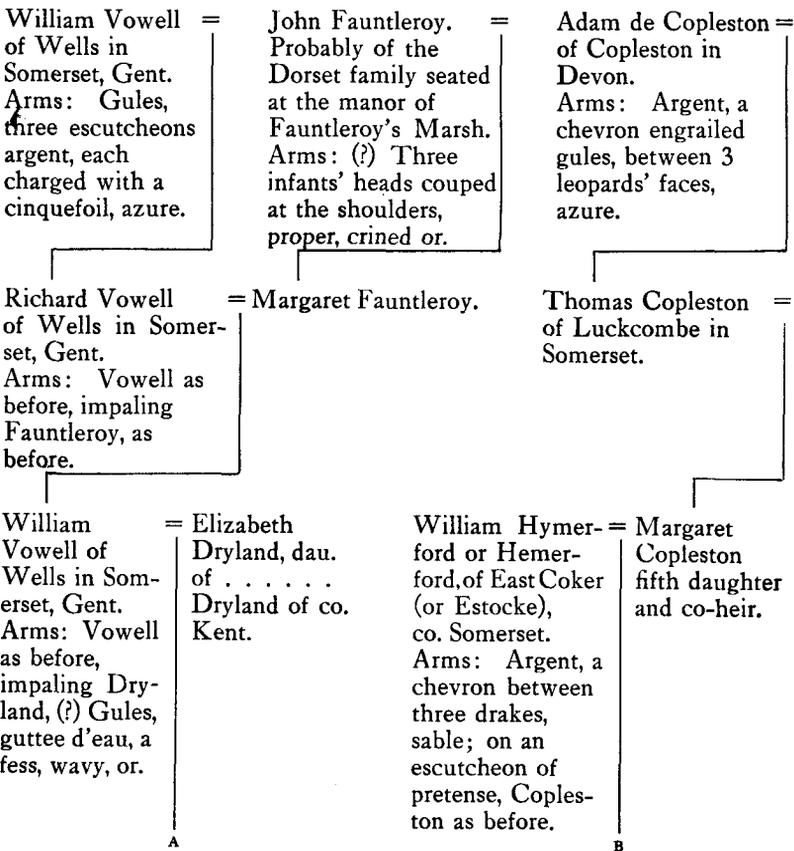
Feb. 15, 1597. Reverendus in Christo pater, Johannes Mey, divina providentia episcopus Carliolensis, hora octava matutina decimi quinti diei Februarii, mortem oppetiit, et hora octava vespertina ejusdem diei, Carliolensi in ecclesia sepultus fuit. Cujus justa celebrabantur die sequenti Dalstonii.

Bishop Meye was the father of John Meye of Shouldham Abbey, Norfolk, who married Cordelia, daughter of Martin Bowes, Esq., of London; Elizabeth, wife of Dr. Richard

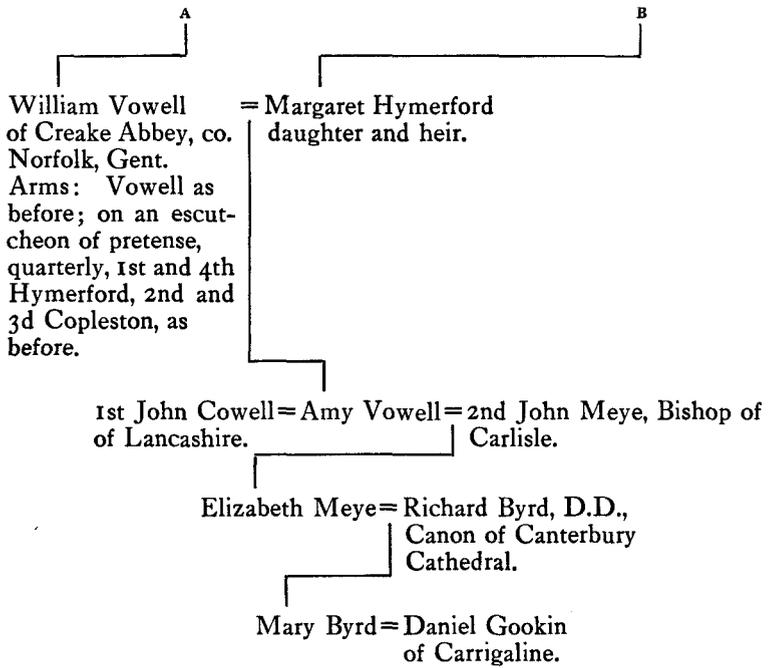
¹Hackman, Cat. of Tanner MSS., p. 1022.

Byrd; Alice, wife of Rev. Richard Burton of Burton, Yorkshire; and Anne, wife of Rev. Richard Pilkington, D.D., rector of Hambleton, Buckinghamshire.

Amy (Vowell) Meye, the bishop's lady, survived him nearly twenty-three years. After his death she appears to have lived with her daughter Anne Pilkington in the little Thames-side village of Hambleton, near Henley. She was buried there December 5, 1620. Her line of descent from several ancient families is shown in the following pedigree, which has been compiled, without other verification, from the Visitations of the counties of Norfolk, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, Hutchins' History of Dorset, and Harl. MS. 4756.



LADY MEYE'S ANCESTRY



PART II
DANIEL GOOKIN OF CARRIGALINE

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CHAPTER III



HERE Daniel Gookin lived at the time of his marriage to Mary Byrd has not been ascertained. On October 24, 1610, he sold to his brother Thomas the lands given him by his father, and about two months later, that is on January 2, 1610/1, he bought back from Thomas a parcel containing twenty-two acres of fresh marsh.¹

No record of the birth or baptism of his eldest son Richard has yet come to light, but his second son Edward was baptized at Ripple, June 23, 1611. Whether this points to residence somewhere in Kent or near there, or indicates that in the summer of 1611 Daniel brought his family from a distance for a visit to his father and mother at Ripple Court can only be conjectured. His brother Vincent, who had spent some years on the continent before reaching his majority, engaged, it is probable, in the pilchard industry, made his way to Ireland, in or about the year 1606, and settled at Courtmacsherry, in the county of Cork. Except that he was ever scrupulously upright in all his dealings with his fellow-men, Vincent Gookin was a typical adventurer of the age of adventure in which he lived. Eager, forceful, clear-sighted, and self-reliant, he quickly laid the foundation of what grew, before he reached middle life, to be a large fortune. Munster, which had been almost depopulated after Desmond's rebellion, and again devastated during the strife that followed the revolt of "red Hugh

¹Close Roll, 9 James I, Pt. 3, No. 30.

O'Neill," Earl of Tyrone, in 1598, was, in the early years of the seventeenth century, outside of a few walled towns, a wild and inhospitable country. It offered, however, unusual opportunities to the English gentlemen of hardy mould and determined spirit, mostly younger sons of good family, who soon flocked thither in considerable numbers. Without doubt it was the representations as to these opportunities made by Vincent Gookin that led Daniel to follow his brother to the new place of abode. How early the migration took place is not known, save that it was prior to June, 1616, for at that date Daniel was living in Coolmain, parish of Ringrose, county Cork, on the opposite side of the bay from Vincent's residence at Courtmacsherry.¹

In October, 1612, Catherine (Denne) Gookin, the mother of Daniel and Vincent, died and was buried in the city of Canterbury.² About this time John Gookin turned over the manor of Ripple Court to his eldest son Thomas, upon whom the reversion in tail had been settled at the time of its purchase. Not wishing, however, to part with the title during his lifetime, John put his son in possession under a twenty years' lease. For awhile thereafter it is presumable that he remained in Ripple as a member of his son's household. The militant temper of Jane Gookin, the new mistress of Ripple Court, made the family seat no longer an agreeable place for her father-in-law to live in, and so, at the age of about seventy, he undertook the journey—in that day a long and somewhat arduous one—to the south of Ireland, to make his home during his remaining years with his beloved son Daniel.

In 1619, on the 19th of June, Daniel Gookin sold to a Kentish man named Thomas Petley, for the sum of £430, the twenty-two acres of fresh marsh in the parishes of Hope All Saints and St. Mary's in Romney Marsh, Kent, not, however, conveying the dower of his wife Mary, which was expressly excepted.³ This was a part of a transaction by which Daniel

¹ Close Roll, 14 James I, Pt. 10, No. 21.

² Register Book of the Parish of St. George the Martyr, p. 136. The burial is recorded on October 28 and again on the 29th, and Catherine is described as "M^ris Gookine of the p[']ishe of St. Paule."

³ Close Roll, 14 James I, Pt. 10, No. 21.



Dovecote at Ripple Court, Kent, built by John Gookin in 1647.

purchased from Petley for sixteen hundred pounds sterling,¹ then a very considerable sum, the castle and lands of Carrigaline, situated about seven miles southeast of the city of Cork, down the harbor, at the head of an arm of the sea called the Oonbuoy River.

Carrigaline was in early times called Beauver, Beaver, or Belvoir, from the huge limestone rock which rises abruptly from the river and slopes gradually toward the land. Crowning the summit are the ruins of an ancient castle, said to have been built by Milo de Cogan in the reign of King John. Being deemed impregnable it was long the boast of its owners; but in 1568 it was captured by the Lord Deputy Sidney from James Fitzmaurice, after an obstinate resistance. Popular tradition ascribes its demolition a few years later to the rage of one of the MacDonalds, who, hearing that his daughter was ill-treated by her husband, the lord of the castle, beleaguered the place at the head of his vassals, and, having captured it, reduced it to a ruin.

When the territory of the Desmonds was divided, Carrigaline fell to the share of Sir Warham St. Leger, who, on June 17, 1595, had a grant of it, together with other adjacent lands and the fishing privileges at Croshaven and Awneldie. On March 31, 1613, St. Leger sold the castle and manor of Carrigaline, with most of the lands and the fishing at Croshaven, to Thomas Petley, who, three years later, conveyed them to Daniel Gookin. Daniel thus became the holder immediately under the chief lord of the fee, the crown. He also acquired the lease held by Thomas Petley's brother John, as is shown by the Crown Receipt Book for 1622:²

13 Nov. 1622.

Recept. de Danielo Gookin, gener', assign' Johannis Petley, tenent' Castell' et terr' de Carrigleyne alias Bever, iacen' in Com' Corck ad £10. 13^s 4^d per ann' ex s' parcell' Signior' de Carrigleyne pro redd' inde pro uno anno finit' ut Supra £10. 13. 4.

Recept. De eod. tenem' un' mercat' et un' fer' apud Carrigeline iacen' in Comit' Corcke ad xiii^s iv^d per ann. tenen' piscaçon' de Cros-

¹ Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 302.

² Irish Record Office, I E 4, xxxviii, 96.

haven parcell' terr' dūi Reg' spectan' in iure Corona Suc, iacen' in Comit predict' ad xiii^s 4^d per Ann, pro Uno Anno finit' ut supra.¹ Xxvi^s 8^d.

Shortly after he made this purchase Daniel removed to the manor house at Carrigaline with his family. He was not long permitted to remain in undisputed possession. Under date of September 19, 1617, the following entry appears in the diary of Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork:²

M^r Danyell gookin, John his man, W^m M^cDanyell, W^m Ayres and M^r Anthony Sowthall entered on my glebeland of Carrickeleyn with force and armes, and took violently away the 4th sheaf of that parcell of glebeland rent 6 acres, which land my tennant M^r Petley did let unto Donnogh o fflyn, who plowed & sewed the land: M^r Berk and M^r brickhed witnesses thereof.

Ciiij Xvj sheafs of Barly for the 4th sheaf 19th of September, 1617.

This seizure by Daniel was the assertion of superior title to the lands as against the claim of ownership made by Boyle, no doubt in consequence of a transaction recorded by him two months earlier when, on July 19, 1617, he wrote in his diary:

I dealt with Sir Warham St. Leger, for his whole state of his grandfather's seignory of Carrickeleyn, for which I gave him 20 beeves to revictuall his ship, uppon sealing of my conveighance, and I am bownd to give him thordre of twoe bonds for any such Lands as I shall receav in his right, by virtue of the deeds he now made me.

Boyle, who had been created Baron Youghal in September of the preceding year, was then easily the most powerful man in Munster. Whatever Daniel Gookin may have thought about the younger St. Leger's good faith, or of his right to make the conveyance, it was evident that Boyle had set his heart upon possessing Carrigaline, so Daniel decided that it was wiser to enter into an accommodation with him than to oppose him.

¹ 13 Nov. 1622.

Received from Daniel Gookin, gentleman, assignee of John Petley, tenant of the Castle and lands of Carrigleyn, alias Bever, lying in the County of Cork, at £10. 13. 4 per annum, from several parcels of the seignory of Carrigleyn, for the rent thereof for one year ended as above. £10. 13. 4.

Received from the same tenant of a Market and a Fair at Carrigleyn, lying in the County of Cork, at 13s. 4d. per annum; tenant of the Fishery at Croshaven, part of the lands of our Lord the King in right of his crown, lying in the County of Cork aforesaid, at 13s. 4d. for one year ended as above. Xxvis. 8d.

² Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 166.

This was effected at Dublin, in February or March, 1618. Daniel agreed to sell the manor to Boyle for £1250 sterling and a lease of the premises for twenty-two years at the favorable rental of £100 per annum. Boyle relates in his diary:¹

2 April, 1618.

I Paid M^r Gookyn Vj^{li} to make up the 44^{li} I paid him in gold at Dublin 50^{li}, being in part payment of the 1250^{li} ster: I am to paie him at Mydsomer next of the purchaze of Carrickelyne.

22 May, 1618.

I paid M^r Gookin one other C^{li} ster: which makes me 150^{li} of the 1250^{li} I am to paie for carryckeleyne.

24 June 1618.

I paid M^r gookin twelv hundreth and ffyfte pounds of ster: for the purchaze of carrickeleyne, whereof all in reddy money except fowr skoar three pounds X^s which M^r Cleyton had of myne in keeping, which by my letter I appointed him to pay M^r gookin to make up his 1250^{li} ster; which he received.²

2 July 1618.

I rodd to carrickeleyne, where owld M^r John gookin sealed & perfected (as his son daniell, upon my payment to him of 1250^{li} ster: had formerly don) my deed of bargayn and sale of the Mannor of Carrickeleyne, and a bond of 2500^{li} ster: for performance of covenants, and this daie Ja: daunt of Tracton as their Attorney delivired me seizen & also full and peaceable possession of the same.

Boyle was keenly alive to the importance of a perfect title. Continuing the foregoing entry he added:

This daie M^r David Terry fitz Edmond of Corck, gent, perfected his deed to me at Carrickeleyne, thereby conveyeing and releasing to me all his estate & demaund in the mannor of Bever alias carrickeleyne, and the Rent he pretended out of the Same.

This shows that, notwithstanding the St. Leger grant, Boyle thought it prudent to get rid of the claim of the former Irish proprietor. On July 13, 1618, he recorded:

I signed and perfected M^r gookins his lease of carrickelyne.

It may well be that one of the reasons that impelled Daniel to sell the Carrigaline estate was his desire to free his capital for the transatlantic ventures upon which he shortly afterward

¹ Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 182.

² Ibid. 194.

embarked and through which he became distinguished in the annals of early American colonization. The same spirit of enterprise that took him to Ireland, as an adventurer of land, led him to become a shareholder in the Virginia Company, and in most, if not all of the colonial undertakings of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Possibly it was business of that nature that called him to England in the summer of 1618. He was back in Ireland by November, for on the 7th of that month Lord Cork wrote in his diary:

I promised to allow M^r Danyell gookin his Michas rent of 50^{li} ster. due for carrickelyne in lieu of 50^{li} he lent my lo. Barry¹ in England.²

Again on December 18, 1618, Lord Cork records:

Paid M^r dannell gookin 40^{li} that my mother borrowed of him which my mother³ is to repay me; which she did.⁴

On March 15, 1618/9, Daniel, "having money by him," as he expressed it in a later reference to the transaction, lent sixty pounds to Jordon Condon of Shannagarry, county Cork, and took from him, his father Richard Condon, and David Power of Shannagarry, a bond conditioned for the delivery of ninety fat cows in October following.

Whether the conveyance to Lord Cork in July, 1618, was defective, or whether a fine could not then be acknowledged, does not appear, but on March 26, 1619, Cork made the following entry in his diary:

M^r Daniell gookin of Carrickeleyn and Mary his wife before my lo: Sarsfeyld acknowledged a ffyne to me of Carrickeleyn, and theruppon I made him a new lease thereof for 21 yeares delivered.⁵

On April 24, 1619, "Daniel Gookin, gent.," was appointed a member of a commission to examine into the alleged misdemeanors of one Edmond Hunt, the King's Customer for

¹David Viscount Butevant, then Lord Cork's ward; later by marriage with Boyle's eldest daughter, the Lady Alice, he became his son-in-law.

²Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 204.

³His mother-in-law, Lady Alice Fenton, wife of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Knt., principal Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor in Ireland.

⁴Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 206.

⁵Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 213. Still later, April 23, 1620, Cork wrote, "I sent my Cozen Lawrence parsons . . . to sue out my ffyne of Carrickelyne from Mr. Petley & M^r gookin. Ibid., 247.

the port and harbor of Cork, who was charged with having "committed divers abuses . . . against his Majesty and grievous exactions against his subjects."¹ This, so far as is known, was Daniel's only public employment. The next entry relating to him in Lord Cork's diary is dated October 24, 1619:

I lent my mother 40^{li} ster: which she delivered to M^r gookin in loan, and she is to give M^r Lawrence parsons order to repaie me this 40^{li} next term out of her Michas Rents.²

Condon had not repaid his loan, nor delivered the ninety fat cows, and Daniel's supply of ready money had given out. More than twelve years elapsed before he succeeded in recovering from Condon's bondsmen, and then in part only, for among his effects inventoried after his decease was a bond of William Power of Shannagarry for forty pounds, accounted worthless.

About the time the forty pounds were borrowed from Lady Fenton, Daniel Gookin took part in the plantation of the county of Longford, which was begun in 1617.³ This plantation was in pursuance of the king's policy of "reducing Ireland into order and subjection." The methods pursued were high-handed in the extreme. The ancient proprietorship of Irish lands by English lords and gentlemen who were driven out of the country by the Irish during the Barons' wars and the long struggle between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, was made a pretext for a commission of inquiry into the title which the crown might assert, with the result that a general title was found for the king. It was given out that His Majesty had only in mind the security and general good of the kingdom, to further which it was important that the Irish should be "reduced" from their "lazy, vagabond, and barbarous way of living" and be effectually restrained "from preying on other men's properties." But, as Carte observes, "the instructions he gave and the regulations he prescribed were not in all cases so exactly observed as they ought." In Longford particularly, though the king had intended that no man

¹ Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625, iii, 289.

² Lismore Papers, Ser. I, i, 233.

³ Carte's Life of Ormond, i, 23.

should be divested of his possessions without being given an equivalent, the Irish proprietors were ruthlessly stripped of them, scarce a third part of their former holdings, either in acreage or quality of soil, being allotted them. The grief of these unfortunates over the loss of their ancestral estates is graphically set forth in a petition addressed "To the Right Hon^{ble} the Commiss^{rs} authorized by His Ma^{ty} to hear the Grievances of Ireland," in which it is stated:

It fell out so that divers of the poor Natives or former freeholders of that County after the loss of all their possessions or inheritances there, Some runn madd and others died instantly for very grief; as one James McWilliam O'Ferrall of Cuilleagh, and others whose names for brevity I leave out who in their death-bedds were in such a taking that by earnest persuasions Caused some of their family and friends to bring them out of their bedds to have abroad the last sight of the hills and fields they lost in the said Plantation, every one of them dying instantly after.¹

To Daniel Gookin's credit be it said that he had no personal part in despoiling the Irish proprietors. Though it was one of the conditions upon which the large grants of land in Ireland were made to English gentlemen, by Queen Elizabeth and King James I, that the grantees should bring over natives of England to inhabit, in 1620 only one planter was resident on the Longford lands. Daniel Gookin never settled there, but on the contrary sold his grant immediately and took out his patent afterward to complete his legal title to the purchaser. In a survey of Longford by the commissioners of the crown, dated April 5, 1620, it is recited:

In the County of Longford there are 33 undertakers to whom His Majesty hath assigned several proportions of Land, the state of which Plantation followeth. . . . 4th, Daniel Gookin 500 A. This is sold to Mr. Edgeworth who hath besides a Proportion of 300 A as an undertaker; and could not buy this without special License which he hath obtained under great seal.²

The grant to Daniel Gookin was dated June 10, 1621, and is recorded in the Patent Rolls of Chancery for 19 James I.³

¹Harris MSS., Royal Dublin Soc., ii, 68.

²Harris MSS.

³The text of the grant is: "Grant to Daniel Gookin in the C^o of Longford. The lands of Coolermerigan 26 acres; Killenawse and Garrynegree 48 acres; Ros-

Daniel's deed to Edgeworth, which is recorded on the same roll, was dated July 16, 1621, and recited that "having obtained the King's license to alienate" the lands, he did so "in consideration of the sum of £350." Some interest attaches to this transaction from the fact that Francis Edgeworth, the purchaser, was the ancestor of Rev. Lovel Edgeworth, father of Maria Edgeworth the novelist, and that the tract of land is now the site of Edgeworthstown.

semyne, Lisduffe and Garriduff 78 acres pasture and 29 acres bog and wood; Lissmagunen 96 acres; Lissard and Carribolum 101 acres; Shiroe and Kilderin 61 acres; Bragwie 90 acres pasture and 40 acres bog and wood, adjacent to the lands of Lissmagunen, in the territory of Ely O'Carroll: rent for 500 acres pasture £6-5-0 English currency, and for 69 acres of bog and wood, 2*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*, To hold in free and common soccage, subject to the conditions of the Plantations of Longford; Viz.

To allow of wood for building of houses on the premises and sand and slates during the period of three years from date of the grant:—

To cause his several tenants in feefarm or for term of life or lives or years in fee tail to build in town-redes (and not dispersedly) for defence,—and to exact a fine of £5-0-0 per ann. for every house built apart.

To sew or plant one Acre with hemp for every 500 acres in his possessⁿ under pain of 20*s.* for every year's neglect.

To be personally resident for the greater part of every year upon the premises unless licensed to absent himself by the Lord Deputy,—and in that case to leave a sufficient Agent.

Lastly,—to render yearly to the Lord Deputy the prime bird out of every eyrey of Great Hawks that shall build in his woods."

Another grant covering identically the same lands, though with slight differences in spelling, was recorded on July 15 of the same year.



CHAPTER IV



IN the year 1620 Daniel Gookin projected an enterprise that was destined to have far-reaching influence upon the history of his descendants,—that of transporting cattle to the colony of Virginia, and of founding a plantation in that distant land. The records of the Virginia Company contain the following entry, under date of November 13, 1620.

Wheras vpon a former treatie¹ had wth m^r Wood in the behalfe of M^r Gookin for transportaçon of Cattle outt of Ireland into Virginia an offer was made vnto him after the rate of x^{li}: a Cowe vpon certificate of their saffe landinge, Provided they were fayr and lardge Cattle and of our English breed. The said m^r Wood hath now returned his fynall aunswere that hee cannott entertaine the bargaine under xij^{li} the Cowe without exceedinge great losse.

The answer was not, however, quite final, as appears from the minutes of the Quarter Court, held two days later.

Thomas Wood beinge now willinge (though hee conceived itt a hard bargaine) to accept of the offer of the former Courte, w^{ch} was that for everie Cowe of our English breed transported by him or his Agents safe and sound to Virginia hee should be paide Eleuen pounce and for every Shee Goate three pounds tenn shillings, vpon certificate att his returne from the Gouvernor there; Hee moved therefore now that hee might have some assurance vnder the Companies Seale for the payment of the said Monny whervppō the Courte ordered that accordinge to his request hee should have his securitie confirmed vnder the Seale of the Company for w^{ch} they gave order to m^r Deputy to see itt done.

¹The minutes of the meetings contain no record of this earlier negotiation.

The company at this period was making a strong effort to secure colonists, and in April of the following year Daniel Gookin's friend, Captain William Newce of Bandon, who had achieved some success in settling Englishmen in Munster, having built up a suburb of Bandon, known as Newce's Town, came forward with an offer "to transport at his own costs and charges 1000 persons into Virginia betwixt this and midsomer 1625: to be there planted and imployed vpon a perticular Plantacon." This offer was received with enthusiasm; the company readily granted him his request for a patent "as ample as any other, w^{ch} all manner of priuiledges, saving the Tytle of Generall, w^{ch} they could not graunt him," and constituted him Marshall of the colony, though there was "no present necessity or vse of such an officer in Virginia"; and the king conferred upon him the order of knighthood.

Stirred by these proceedings Daniel Gookin addressed a letter to the Deputy, John Ferrar. At an Extraordinary Court, held July 2, 1621:

M^r Deputy signified of a letter hee had received from m^r Gookin of Ireland who desyred y^t a Clause in the Contract between him and the Company touchinge Cattle w^{ch} hee had vndertaken to transport to Virginia after the rate of eleven pounds the Heiffer and Shee Goats att 3^{li}: 10^s apeece for w^{ch} hee might take any Comodities in Virginia att such prizes as the Company here had sett downe hee desired y^t those words might be more Cleerly explainned; And to this effect m^r Deputy signified y^t they had drawne a letter in the name of the Counsell and Company vnto m^r Gookin declaring that their intent and meaninge was itt should be lawfull and free for him and his ffactor^s to Trade barter and sell all such Comodities hee shall carry thither att such rates and prizes as hee shall thinke good and for his Cattle shall receive either of the Gouvernor or other pryvate psonns any of the Comodities there growinge att such prizes as he cann agree; And lastly y^t accordinge to m^r Gookins request in his said Ire they had promised y^t hee should have a Pattent for a pticularr Plantacon as large as y^t graunted to Sr William Newce and should also have liberty to take 100 Hoggs out of the fforrest vppon condicon that hee repay the said number againe vnto the Company within the tearme of seaven years; Provided that hee vse them for breed and encrease and not for present slaughter.

And further to this effect they had also drawne a letter to the Gouvernor and Counsell of State in Virginia both w^{ch} beinge now p'sented and read the Court did very well approve of and gave order that the Seale of

the Counsell should be affixed to that addressed to m^r Gookin and that some of y^e Counsell should signe the other to the Counsell of Virginia.¹

On the twelfth of the next month, August, 1621, seven members of the Council signed a letter to the colonial authorities, which was sent by the ship "Marmaduke," and contained the following paragraph:

Wee send you againe copies of the letters and agreements with Mr. Gookin and recomend his good entertainment to you, and in particuler we seriously advise that you do your best endeavors to pay him in tobacco though at one D waight the cow, and to take as few cows as possible may be uppon mony heare to be paid by the company; because our stocke is utterly wasted; let him have very good tobacco for his cowes now at his first voiadge, for if he make a good return it may be the occasion of a trade with you from those parts, whereby you may be abundantly supplied, not only with cattle, but with the most of these commodities that you want att better and easier rate than we from hence shalbe able.²

Shortly after this letter was dispatched Daniel Gookin set sail for Virginia in "The Flyinge Harte," which he had chartered for the voyage. This voyage was in sharp contrast to that of Sir William Newce, who preceded Daniel by about a month, and, arriving at his destination in October, accompanied by "very few people, sicklie, ragged and altogether w^{thout} p^{visione},"³ died suddenly a few days after landing. Far different is the tale of Daniel Gookin's arrival, as told by Governor Wyatt and his council, in a letter written in January, 1621/2, to the Company in London.

There arriued heere about the 22th of Nouember a shipp from M^r Gookin out of Ireland wholly vppon his owne Adventure, withoute any relatione at all to his contract wth you in England, w^{ch} was soe well furnished with all sorts of p^{visione}, as well as with Cattle as wee could wyshe all men would follow theire example, hee hath also brought with him aboute 50 men upon that Aduenture, besides some 30 other Passengers, wee haue Accordinge to their desire seated them at Newportes news, and we doe conceiue great hope yff the Irish Plantation p^{per} y^t frome Ireland greate multitude of People wilbe like to come hither.

. . .
¹Records of the Virginia Co., i, 501-502.

²Neill. The Virginia Co., p. 240.

³Gov. Wyatt to the Company. Neill, Virginia Co., p. 374.

M^r Pountis hath had some conference with y^e M^r of the Irish shipp a Dutchman, whose name ys Cornelius Johnson of Horne in Hollande, who who is soe farr in love with this Countrey as he intendeth to return hither; within this Twelve moneth, and of him selfe offered to p'cure and bringe ouer a fitt m^r workman to build Sawinge mills heere w^{ch} shall goe with the winde.¹

Daniel's arrival was chronicled also by Captain John Smith in his "Generall Historie of Virginia."²

1621—The 22^d of November arrived Master Gookin out of Ireland, with fittie men of his owne and thirtie Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of Provision and cattle and planted himself at Nupors-Newes. The cotton in a yeere grew so thick as one's arme, and so high as a man: here anything that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better.

The day before Daniel landed in Virginia the Company in London held a meeting at which

M^r Deputy gaue notice of nine Patents nowe presented in Court to passe the seale of the Companie hauinge been perticularly examined by the mornings Court w^{ch} did approue of them w^{ch} Patents were of Two sorts the one of such as were Aduenturers by moneys paid into the Treasury for w^{ch} they had allowed 100 acres of land for euery single share of Twelue pounds Ten shillings the other beinge for Planters only who had allowed fifty acres for euery person transported to Virginia: Accordinge to w^{ch} two formes the said Patents were drawne and accordingly engrossed ready for the Seale.

Among these patents was one "To Daniell Gookin of Corke, in Ireland, x^e 300 psons."

When, in March, 1622, the news of Daniel's safe arrival in Virginia reached London, it was hailed with joy. At a meeting of the Virginia Company, held on March thirteenth:

M^r Deputy signified that he had receaued of late certaine intelligence that m^r Gookins Shippe was arriued in Virginia with 40 younge Cattle well and safely landed, he therefore moued that forasmuch as diuers others might be much encouraged vpon this good newes to transport Cattle out of Ireland thither vpon reasonable condicōns, that a lre might be writt to m^r Gookin by way of offer that if any should be pleased to vndertake the like performance they shall haue for euery Heifer safely deliuered in Virginia 100 waigt of good marchantable Tobacco w^{ch} mocon

¹ Neill's Virginia Co., pp. 285, 286.

² London 1624, p. 140.

was well approued of and order giuen for a letter to be drawne to y^e effect.¹

Evidently the price of eleven pounds per head for heifers, specified in the contract with Daniel Gookin, was not so greatly to his disadvantage as his agent contended while the negotiations were pending, for, at a court held on October 24, 1621, "Notice was also given that ther were certaine sufficient men come out of Ireland who would vndertake to transporte many hundreds of Cattle to Virginia this Springe vpon the same Condiçions that m^r Gookin had donne."² And again, at a court held on April 3, 1622:

m^r Depty signified that vpon a proposiçon formerly made, vpon the good successe it pleased God to giue m^r Gookin this last Sumer in transportinge his people and cattle safely to Virginia certen gentlemen of Ireland nowe in Towne beinge much encouraged and not able to stay till next yeare made an offer to vndertake the like performance as m^r Gookin had donn, so they might knowe and be assured aforehand at what rates they should be able to put of their Cattle in Virginia at their cominge there w^{ch} offer the Court takinge into consideraçon did at length agree for that the better encouragement of such vndertakers they should haue for euery Heifer of our right English breed of twoe years old and vpwads deliuered safe and sound in Virginia allowed them there either 130 waight of Tobacco or 11^{li} in money at their elecçon for w^{ch} they should haue the Companies Seale for their security.³

On March 22, 1621/2, just four months to a day after Daniel Gookin first placed foot upon the soil of Virginia, the great massacre by the savages took place, when, out of a total of about four thousand settlers then in the colony, three hundred and forty-seven were slain. "This lamentable and so unexpected disaster," says Captain John Smith, "drave them all to their wits' end. It was twenty or thirty daies ere they could resolve what to doe: but at last it was concluded all the petty Plantations should be abandoned, and drawne only to make good five or six places. Now for want of boats it was impossible on such a sudden to bring also their Cattle and many other things, which they had then in possession, all of which

¹ Records of the Virginia Co., i, 618.

² Records of the Virginia Co., i, 535.

³ Records of the Virginia Co., i, 626.

for the most part at their departure, was burnt, ruined, and destroyed by the Salvages. Only *Master Gookins* at *Nuport's*-news would not obey the Commissioners' command in that, though he scarce had five and thirty of all sorts with him, yet he thought himself sufficient against what could happen, and so did, to his great credit, and the content of his Adventurers."¹

Presumably Daniel and his people had not wasted their time during the four months since they landed, but had built habitations of some sort, which, for security, were surrounded by palisades. In the Virginia Planters' answer to "Captain Butler's Informaçon concerning the Colony," which was written only a year later, it is stated "ther is as yett no other Artificiall Fortificaçons then Pallisadoes wherof allmost euerie Plantaçon hath one & diuers of them hath Trenches. . . . As for great Ordinance, . . . there are likewise at Newporte Newes three, all of them servicable."

Among the manuscripts in the possession of the Duke of Manchester is a letter from William Hobart to his father, in which it is stated that Mr. Gookin, at whose house Governor Wyatt and his wife were staying, had but seven men left, that it was unsafe to go out to labour without an armed guard, that there had been a second massacre of between twenty and thirty persons, and that there was very little tobacco or coin in the colony.² This letter is without date, but was probably written in April, 1622.

At the end of this month, or early in May, Daniel Gookin left the new plantation in charge of his servants and embarked for England in the "Sea Flower," carrying to the company in London the first intelligence of the disaster that had overtaken the colonists. The records of the Virginia Company show that he was in London and attended the court held on the 19th of June. Strangely enough no mention of the news of the mas-

¹ *Generall Historie*, p. 150. The same account is given by Purchas, who says: "Master *Gookins* at *Nuports-Newes*, hauing thirtie fve of all sorts with him refused that order and made good his part against the sauages." Purchas, *His Pilgrims*; iv, 1792. In the same book, iv, 1785, it is stated that "Master Daniel Gookin" was the tenth in a list of 26 patentees to whom patents were granted in 1620, and who had "Vndertaken to transport great multitudes of people and cattle to Virginia."

² Eighth Report Hist. MSS. Com., p. 41

sacre having been received appears upon the minutes; but that is no doubt attributable to the custom of recording only matters upon which formal action was taken.

Daniel's first business in London was to secure the fruits of his enterprise, in the shape of a patent to his plantation. He was present at the Preparative Court of the Virginia Company, held on July 1, and at the morning session of the Quarter Court, held two days later, when his patent was approved for confirmation at the afternoon session.¹ At this session was confirmed, also, Daniel's purchase, made soon after his arrival in Virginia, of 150 acres of land "lyinge at Newports Newes."² It was perhaps upon this tract that he made the beginning of his plantation, which he named Marie's Mount, in honour of his wife. The seignory for which he received a patent was nominally 2500 acres, but actually the tract set aside to him contained only 1681 acres according to an exact survey made in the year 1685.³

Flushed with the success that had attended his Virginia enterprise, Daniel now decided to take a share in the New England Company. The minutes of the Council of that corporation recite that on July 5, 1622, "It is agreed upon that m^r Gookyn shall bee admitted in y^e new Grant upon payment of his adventure." Being still in London on July 17 he attended the court of the Virginia Company, held that day, and was appointed one of a committee of seven to consider what course should be taken to preserve from "loss and imbeazelling" the goods of the colonists slain by the Indians at the time of the great massacre. Five days later he took out his patent from the crown to the 500 acres in county Longford which he had sold to Francis Edgeworth three years before. After this he was at last free to return to his home and family in Ireland.

Our next glimpse of Daniel is found in the diary of Lord Cork, where the following entry was made on January 19, 1622/3.

¹ Records of the Virginia Co., ii, 65, 73, 90.

² Ibid., ii, 89.

³ Grant to William Cole, April, 1685, recorded in Warwick Co., Va.

M^r Daniell gookin made & perfected vnto me a generall Release of all his right & demaund of and in the Manor of Bever als Carrickeleyn, for which (besides what I paid Sir Warham St. Leger) I paid M^r Gookin one thousand two hundreth and fffitie pounds ster: And made him a lease therof for 22 yeares at C^{li} per annum. & now in regard he extinguished the Lease I made him by passing me a ffyne & Release, I renewed his lease for 18 years from Michas Last, vpon his surrender of my former lease I made him, he promising me to make all his vnder tenants new leases on the same Rents & condicions they held before: of this manner he lets owt as muche as yelds him cl^{li}. ster: a year, besides the Kings rent and my Rent: & Keeps the house & 660 acres of the best Land free in his own occupation; which is ritchly worth one C^{li} ster: more per annum: M^r Thomas petley of whome M^r gookin purchazed it, hath also sithens Released to me all right & errors in the ffyne.¹

As the purchasing power of money in the first quarter of the seventeenth century was for most purposes from eight to ten times as great as it is to-day, it will be seen that Daniel Gookin's income of about two hundred and fifty pounds a year from Carrigaline was a very comfortable one.

After his return to Ireland Daniel set about dispatching another ship with planters and cattle for Virginia. There is no evidence that he made a second voyage himself. Indeed, though "The Flyinge Harte" had happily braved the perils of the deep, his experience in crossing the Atlantic in a small ship bearing, besides the crew, some eighty passengers and forty head of cattle, cannot have been so agreeable as to invite repetition unless as a matter of necessity.² Daniel Gookin's second venture was the sending of the "Providence"—which was perhaps owned by him—in charge of Captain John Clarke who, three years before, had piloted the Mayflower on her memorable voyage.³ The arrival of the Providence at its destina-

¹Lismore Papers, Ser. I, ii, 67-68. That the lease to Gookin did not include all of Lord Cork's interest in Carrigaline is shown by another entry in his diary on April 3, 1624: "This daie I agreed with Mr. Thomas Petlei's wife to make her a new lease in Rivercon for xvij yeares of the spiritualities of Bever alias Carrickeleyn, encreasing her Rent from the beginning of her new lease she is to paie me 40 marks ster: and afterwards cxxvj*li*. xiijs iiii*d*. ster: per annum, and defraie & bear all other chardges, ordinary and extraordinary, & fynde a sufficient curate." Ibid., ii, 125.

²For a graphic account of such a voyage see William Capp's letter to Deputy Ferrar, printed in Neill's "Virginia Vetusta," p. 131.

³Brown. The Genesis of the United States, ii, 855.

The minutes of the Virginia Co. contain this reference to Clarke, under date of February 13, 1621/2: "M^r Deputy acquainted the Court that one M^r. Jo: Clarke

tion, on April 10, 1623, is chronicled by Christopher Davison, Treasurer of the colony, in a letter from "James Cittye" to Deputy Ferrar:

The Margett and John accounted a loss ship (after a long and tedious passage, much distressed for want of sufficient provisions) arrived here about the 7th or 8th of Aprill: Not long after (about the 10th day) the ship sent by Mr. Gookin called (I think) the Providence came also to Newport's Newes."

Governor Wyatt also wrote Ferrar: "Here are two Ships newly come in the Margarett and John of which wee were in despayre, and one from Mr. Gookin with 40 men for him and 30 passengers besides: the first is in great distress for provision and like to be burdensome to the Countrey for that: the other very scant also, both having been long out, and suffered extreamly in their passage." And at the meeting of the Virginia Company on November 19, 1623, the Deputy presented a list of ships that "traded in Virginia this Summer," among them "Mr Gookin's ship—o80: Tunns."

So far as we know this second ship was the last that Daniel Gookin sent to Virginia. The venture could hardly have been a profitable one. If, as is most likely, he brought back a cargo of tobacco, he may have had to dispose of it at a heavy loss, for in 1623 the London market was overstocked with that commodity. But aside from this the promised recompense for transporting seventy colonists in the Providence was not forthcoming. Because of the difficulties in which the Virginia Company was involved in the latter part of 1623, and which resulted in the abrogation of its charter a few months later, the patent for the land to which Daniel was entitled could not be issued. This, as may be imagined, was a grievous disappointment. Not until February 25, 1634/5—two years

being taken from Virginia long since by a Spanish Shippe that came to discover that Plantacon. That forasmuch as he hath since that time donn the companie good service in many voyages to Virginia, he was an humble suitor to this court, that he might be admitted a free brother of the Companie, and have some shares of land bestowed upon him." He was admitted and given two shares. Clarke was born about 1576 and was a pilot by profession. He sailed for Virginia with Dale in 1611, and at Point Comfort, in the summer of that year, was taken prisoner by the Spaniards and held until about 1616. He died in Virginia soon after his arrival there in the Providence.

after Daniel's decease—did the Council of State for Virginia authorize the issuance of the patent, and it was almost three years later before it was actually executed and delivered to his son.

Thus, it will be seen, a considerable part of Daniel Gookins' capital was either tied up in this claim, or had found its way into the plantation at Marie's Mount. Upon this plantation he maintained a considerable number of servants. The muster of the inhabitants of Virginia, taken between January 20 and February 7, 1624/5, gives the names of twenty who were then on the place.¹

Newportes

newes

MR. DANNIELL GOOKINES MUSTER

Servantes

William Wadsworth aged:	26	} All w ^{ch} Came in the <i>Flyinge Harte</i> 1621:
William Foookes aged:	24	
Thomas Curtis aged:	24	
Peter Sherwood aged:	21	
Gilbert Whitfild aged:	23	
Rise Griffin aged:	24	
William Smith aged:	23	
Anthonie Ebsworth aged:	26	
Isaye Delywarr aged:	22	} in the <i>Proudence</i> 1623
Henry Carsley aged:	23	
Roger Walker aged:	22	
Edmond Morgan aged:	22	
William Clarke aged:	25	
Joseph Mosley aged:	21	
John Parratt aged:	36	
Robart Smith aged:	22	
William Crony aged:	24	
William Longe aged:	19	
Anne Ebsworth aged:	44	
Ellnor Harris aged:	21	

Dead in this Plantato
one Armestronge

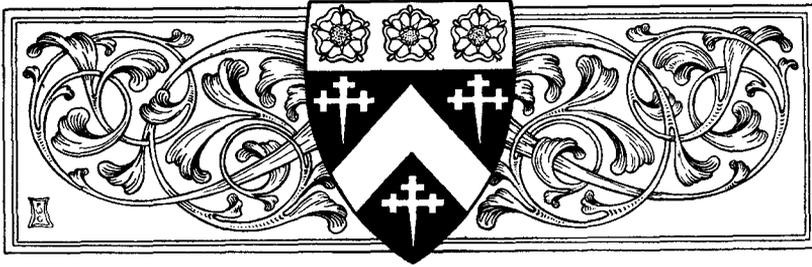
¹Hotten's Original Lists, p. 243.

From the lists of the residents at other plantations we have also the names of five others of the passengers whom Daniel Gookin brought in *The Flyinge Harte* in 1621, viz.: Philip Chapman, John Chisman, Joane Godby, John Curtis, and Elizabeth Ibottson.¹

The first manager of the Marie's Mount plantation was Richard Griffin, who appears to have been engaged for a term of five years. When he relinquished his charge on November 16, 1626, "John Thurlby merchant, Thomas Coe and William Streets, mariners, in the behalfe of Daniel Gookinge of Carygoline in the county of Cork within the kingdome of Ireland esq^r" conveyed to him "in consideration of the good and honest service the said Daniel Gooking and his assignes have had and reced from the said Richard Griffin . . . one hundred acres of land being part of the land belonging to the lordshipp of the said Daniel Gooking scituate and lyeth above Newport News at the place now called Maries Mount." Griffin was succeeded by Thomas Addison, who continued as manager until January, 1630/1, when, at his retirement, he was similarly rewarded for his faithful service by a gift of one hundred and fifty acres, conveyed to him by "Daniell Gooking of Newport News in Virginia, gent . . . in the behalfe of his father," Daniel Gookin of Carrigaline.²

¹ Hotten's Lists, pp. 250, 252, 253, 254.

² Records of the General Court of Virginia.



CHAPTER V



IN February, 1622/3, Daniel Gookin was in London, where he attended both sessions of an "Extraordinary Court" of the Virginia Company, held on the fourth of that month; but his name does not appear in the list of those present at the "Great and Generall Quarter Court," held on the following day. He was, however, still in London and attended the next "Quarter Court" on May 14, but was back in Ireland and at his home in Carrigaline when his father died there on June 23, in "perfect mind and memory" to the last, according to the witnesses to the nuncupative will the old gentleman made a few hours before he passed away. By this will John Gookin constituted his son Vincent his executor, bequeathed to him the key of his chest, and left the distribution of his remaining estate to Vincent's discretion.

Daniel was in London again a year later, endeavouring to secure his patent from the Virginia Company. He attended the court on June 7, 1624, which, as it turned out, was the last that the company was to hold, for on June 16 its charter was formally revoked by Chief Justice Ley. Nothing has yet come to light by which Daniel's movements during the next five years may be traced. In January, 1624/5, his eldest brother, Thomas Gookin of Ripple Court, died; and in the autumn of 1628 Daniel was in London, where he was a witness at the trial of a suit brought by his brother-in-law Thomas Milton against Jane Gookin the widow of Thomas, to compel her as her hus-

band's executrix to pay a bond made by Thomas Gookin upon which Milton was liable as surety and which Jane tried to avoid on the plea that it was Milton's obligation.¹

On February 26, 1628/9, the Earl of Cork, who was then in London, made the following entry in his diary:

M^r Gookin conveyed his lease of carrickelyn to the two Bedlees, and M^r W^m petley (to thvse of his wife), which petley hath thassignment, and the B^p of Corke hath in deposite the orrigenall lease of carrickleyn ffor C^{li}, for thuse wherof he hath xx^{li} out of the Rents assigned him per annum: Mr. Gookin affirmeth he paid M^r Th^o Petlie for thinheritance of carrickelyn sixteen hundreth pounds, & that he sould it vnto me for 1250^{li}, and a lease therof for 22 years delivered at C^{li} per annum, which he gayns 200^{li} a year by, and now xj years ar therof expired, he will not seale the remayn of his tearm vnder 1000^{li} ster.

Nota: he made a former assurance therof to old M^r gookin, to thuse of M^{rs} gookin, & Vincent is his exc.²

In March, 1629, Mary Gookin was in London, for Lord Cork set down in his diary: "I lent Mrs Gookin 20^{li} in golde, on her husbands bill, to be repaid the last of 8^{briis}"³ He noted this again on April 2, the item "To M^r daniell Gookins wife, on his bill, xx^{li}," appearing in a list of "The moneis I have lent since I came to London."

Daniel's transatlantic ventures had not yielded the rich harvest he anticipated, and now at the age of forty-seven he found himself so greatly in need of money that he was compelled to dispose of the lease of Carrigaline, which had already been pledged to secure various debts. On June 15, 1629, Lord Cork, who was still in London, noted in his diary:

I have agreed with M^r danyell Gooking to give him eight hundreth pounds ster: for his lease I made him of my mannor of Carrickeleyn, he making me such assurance therof as my counsell shall devise: I haue formerly on his bill lent him 20^{li}, which is to goe in part payment, and this day delivered him other v^{li}: other moneis I am to furnish him heer withall to carry him and his wife with into Ireland, where at Michas I am (vppon my assurance [being] perfected) to make y^e up 800^{li}, and at Michas he is to yeald me vp the quiett possession, to cleer the B[ishop] of Corke, Luke Brady, his brother, vincent Gookin, to deliver me vp his

¹ See supra, p. 17

² Lismore Papers, Ser. I, ii, 302, 303.

³ Ibid., 306.

orrigenall lease, His assignmt to the 2 Bellews & Wm petley in truste, and to yeald vp to me all the counterparts of the leases he hath made, and them I am to make good.¹

A week later Cork arranged to make a lease of the castle and ploughland of Carrigaline, to Mr. Thomas Daunt of Tracton Abbey, for the "Remaynder of danyell gookins lease" at an increase of v^{li} xv^s ster above the rental paid by Daniel for the entire manor.² The following entries show in detail how the sale of the lease was consummated, and also that Daniel's passion for colonial ventures was not yet abated.

31 June 1629 (London).

I entered into bond of 200^{li} to Sir fardinando George for payment of one C^{li} for M^r Gookin, this 15 of October next at M^r Burlymachies howse. this is my debt and goeth in part payment of the 800^{li} I haue, and am to paie M^r gookin for the lease I made him of carrickeleyn, which this daie he hath covenanted to assigne over in truste to M^r W^m Wiseman for my use; & I formerly paid him xxv^{li}. Then he is at Michas to abate me 50^{li} for my Michas Rent & iij^j^{li} x^s for the King's Rent soe as at Michas next 620^{li} 10^s ster.; when he hath made my assurance, and delivered M^r wiseman the possession to my vse.³

1 July 1629 (London).

I sent letters to M^r wiseman to receav of M^r walley 620^{li} x^s ster: to satisfi M^r gookin with, for his lease I bought of him of carrickelyne to M^r wiseman: tharticles between me and M^r gookin; the coppie of my lo. bicshop noat for thorigenall lease thereof: The coppie of M^r gookins deed in truste made to his ffather to his vse, with directions to M^r wiseman how to manadg that purchaze for me, and to take thassurances from M^r gookin, from his brother vincent, from both M^r Bellewes, & from W^m petley in his name in truste to my vse, to deliver it over to M^r Th^o daunt as my tenant on Michas day, who is to paie me 105^{li} 15^s ster: a year for it. And I wrott to M^r walley to paie that 620^{li} 10^s when M^r wiseman should require y^t for M^r gookin.⁴

22 February 1629/30 (Dublin)

I sent the wrytings between M^r danyell gookin & my self with my directions to M^r W^m Wiseman by John Turner to Sir Randall cleyton, with request to him to satisfie M^r danyell gookin 605^{li} ster: & I delivered M^r gookin his bond & myne of 200^{li} for the payment of one C^{li} wherin I stood bound to him for payment therof, & his bill to my cozen Stockdale for payment of V^{li} which I am to satisfy, which makes cxxx^{li}

¹ Lismore Papers, Ser. I, ii, 326, 327.

² Lismore Papers, Ser. I, ii, 328.

³ Ibid., ii, 329, 330.

⁴ Lismore Papers, Ser. I, ii.

he hath had of me in parte of 800^{li} I am to pay him for his Interest in Carrickeleyn: The C^{li} I paid to Sir ffardinandoe George.¹

7 October, 1630.

Sir Randall cleyton paid for me to Mr danyell Gookin (as the remayn for the purchase of the lease of carrickleyn) 615^{li} 3^s 9^d the Kings Rent for Easter 1630, iiiij^{li} xiiij^s xjd, ffor my Easter Rent and ffees 50^{li}, To Mr Stockdale, for his debt, 5^{li}, I paid for him to Sir ffardinando George by our bond C^{li}; I lent him in London xxv^{li}: And in this manner his 800^{li} was paid him.²

Vincent Gookin at this time was serving as high sheriff of the County of Cork, in which post he acquitted himself so well that on February 13, 1630/1, Lord Cork knighted him in the Council Chamber at Dublin.

Still allured by visions of fortune to be gained in lands beyond the seas, Daniel sought and obtained from King Charles a grant of the mythical Saint Brandan's isle, then thought to lie somewhere in the north Atlantic, off the west coast of Ireland. His petition to the King was in these words:

To the Kings Most excellent Ma^{tie}
The humble Petiçon of Daniel Gookin gent.

Sheweth that whereas y^e Petitioner is, and hath for manie yeers beine not only a great affecter and Wellwisher to all the new Plantatons in y^e late discouered Ilands and Continents in and beyond y^e Seas. Butt also a Planter and Aduenturer in the most of them himself; Holding those workes to bee of great consequence and tending both to y^e glorie of God for y^e propogating of Christian Religion in places where for the most savage and heathen people did live and inhabit: Also to the great strengthening and enritching of manie Christian Monarchs Princes theire Kingdoms and subjects, whoe by honest and industrious courses, doe discouer and bring in such comodities, and ritches into your Ma^{ties} Dominions as those places and Ilands doe affoord, w^{ch} often proouue bothe necessarie and profitable to your Ma^{ties} and your subjects.

And for that y^e Petitioner hath had credible notice and informaçon by diuers English travellers merchants and other gent expert in maritane affaires and discoueries of a certaine Iland lying in y^e maine Ocean Sea betweene y^e degrees of fiftie one and fiftie five of Northerlie latitude, and distant West and by South about three hondred leagues from y^e Blasques in your Ma^{ties} Realme of Ireland: w^{ch} said Iland being heretofore discouered in part, was named and called Saint Brandon or the Isle de Verde, and is

¹ Lismore Papers, Ser. I, iii, 19.

² Ibid., iii, 55.

likely to prooue very vsefull and pfituous to both your Ma^{ty} said Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and to affoord and yield them much fish with manie other valuable comodities and ritches in respect of the p̄pinquitie and neare neighborhood thervnto.

Humble therefore beseecheth your Ma^{ty} to graunt y^e said Iland by the said names, or by some other name and certainties by your Ma^{ty} letters Patents vnder y^e great seale of England vnto the Petitioner in as liberall and beneficiall manner and forme, and with as large preleminents and Immunities for y^e planting and enjoying thereof wth the bordering Islands (if anie bee) as your Ma^{ty} hath bein pleased to graunt Nova Scotia and other places and Islands to S^r William Alexander, Knight, and others your Ma^{ty} loving subjects in y^e like cases. And to give warrant to your Ma^{ty} Attorney gennerall to prepare a bill for your Roiall Signature, for the speedie passing therof accordingly. That y^e Petitioner maie haue power and encouragement further to discover and plant the same Island.

And the Petitioner shall dailie praie &c.

The endorsement by Secretary Coke shows that the king received the petition with favour.

Whitehall 1 March, 1630.

His M^{ty} grasious pleasure is that M^r Attorney p^o pare for his royal signature a Grant to the Pet^toner of this Isle and the Islands neare adjacent if anie bee as here desired: wth such ample and conuenient priueleges and powers as have been graunted to other discoverers and planters in like cases.

JOHN COKE.

On a sheet adjoining the foregoing petition of Mr. Gookin is, in a quaint, peculiar form of writing with abbreviations, etc., the following, viz.:

Particular instructions to be putt in to the pattend for Daniell Gokein als Gookin:

First to have free transportaçon of all manner of live cattle, as Horses, Mares, Cowes, heifers, sheepe, goats and swine Custom free or to be allowed bills of store for 7 years.

Alsoe to Coveñte to renew the pattend after the discouery of the Iland or Ilands which shall be founde betweene Ireland and Newfoundland lying, between the degrees of 50 and 55. that his Ma^{ty} would take but the 20th part of the silver or gold mynes if anie be discovered and wrought upon.

It is unlikely that Daniel Gookin tried to make use of this patent; no evidence now existing shows any attempt by him to find the phantom isle.

In May, 1631, the twelve years' litigation over the loan made by Daniel to Jordan Condon came to an end. Daniel having brought suit against David Power, one of Condon's sureties, Power sought to escape liability by filing a counter bill against Daniel in the High Court of Chancery. Answering, Daniel pleaded that the bill was "vexatious and for the purpose of delay." The court sustained this view and at last Daniel got his judgement. This is the last glimpse we get of him. After the sale of his lease of Carrigaline he removed to the City of Cork and was of Red Abbey in the parish of St. Fin Barr when he died, in February or March, 1632/3. On April 3 of that year letters of administration upon his estate were granted to his widow and his son Edward (then a boy of about eighteen), the bonds being signed by Mary Gookin and her son Richard.

Mary Gookin

Richard Gookin

Apparently there was little to administer. The inventory of the decedent's goods, made soon after his death, will perhaps be of interest to his descendants.

An Inventory of the goods of Daniel Gookin, late of Red Abbey deceased, taken by us Thomas Bate of Gill Abbey Merchant & Philip Darrell Gent. & appraised by us the 8th day of March 1633 by virtue of a commission to us directed from the Consistory Court of Cork.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, two field bed steads with testers curtains & valances, being decayed & apprized at	01.	00.	00
Item three feather beds, two flock beds, two bolsters, & six pillows, being old and decayed valued at	04.	00.	00
Item, three rugs, one caddow & four blankets	01.	00.	00
Item, two little tables, four small stools and two old chairs at	00.	06.	08

INVENTORY OF GOODS

55

IN A TRUNK

	£	s.	d.
Item, seven pairs of old sheets, six tablecloths four cub- bert cloathes, three doz of napkins. four towels, six pillobeares and a suit of child bed linen valued at	05.	10.	00

IN ANOTHER SMALL TRUNK

Item, four bearing blankets, two wrought pillobeares & three pincushions valued at	02.	00.	00
---	-----	-----	----

IN ANOTHER SMALL TRUNK

Item, two cloth suits, one cloak, six pair of stockings, one hat & a sword of the deceased valued at	03	00.	00
Item, one little jug and a desk apprized at	00.	04.	00

IN A HAMPER

Item, two chamber pots, one pint pot, one quart pot, three pewter dishes, one little flagon and a pewter band pot valued at	00.	06.	08
Item, one old brass pot, one pair pot hooks, two iron crocks, one pair of tongs, fire shovels & one Smoothing iron apprized at	00.	10	00
Item, two silver beer bowls, one wine bowl, two salt-cel- lars, whereof one a trencher salt & twelve silver spoons apprized at	06	13	04
Item, one book of Cooper's works, one of Boulton's & three of Prestones in quarto and one Bible	01.	00.	00
Item, two thousand suttle pounds of tobacco, the greater part whereof hath taken wet, valued at 3 ^d the pound	25.	00.	00
Item, an old pair of virginals valued at	00	16	00
Item, a small nag, & old mare & a coult of two weeks old	03	00	00
Item, the fourth part of a boat of seven tunes	02.	00	00

DESPERATE DEBTS

- Item, one bill of Lazerus Havarde for one pound sixteen shillings & eight pence sterling valued at [amount not stated].
- Item, one bill of Captain Bruffes of twelve pounds sterling valued at [amount not stated].
- Item, a bond of Mr William Poore of Shangarry for payment of £40.
- Item, the rest of the intestates goods were made over to his children by ffeeffment in trust to Sir Vincent Gookin Knt., William Newce of Bandon Bridge, Esq. & William Booth of Lincolnshire in the realm of England before the instestate's decease.

THOMAS BATE
PHILIP DARRELL

Exhibited the 10th September 1633 by Mary Gookin.

Daniel and Mary (Byrd) Gookin had five sons. Richard, the eldest, was born about 1609 and named after his grandfather, Dr. Byrd. At the time of his father's death he was apparently still a member of the paternal household, being described in the administrator's bond as "Richard Gookin of St. Finn Barre, Cork, Gent.," but as he did not serve as one of the administrators it may be that he was engaged in some occupation that made it impracticable. Nothing has been learned about his career, though it is certain that he died before 1655, and fair to presume that he married, since he alone of all the members of the family could have been the father of "John Gookin of St. Dunstan's in the East, London, mariner," concerning whom also nothing is known except that on November 21, 1665, being then a "bachelor aged about 28," he married "Mrs Francis Pitt of Stepney, widow, aged about 23."¹

Edward, the second son, who was baptized at Ripple in 1611, died young. Next came Daniel, born toward the end of 1612; then John, who was perhaps the twin brother of Daniel; then a second Edward, probably born in 1615, as he was old enough in April, 1633, to be constituted one of the administrators of his father's estate, yet still a minor, for his mother was appointed his guardian on the same day that the letters of administration were issued. He died, unmarried, before 1655.

It may be that there was also a daughter Mary, born about 1617, for, on July 2, 1635, a marriage license bond for the marriage of "Marie Gowkine" to "Hugh Bullock of London, gentleman"² was filed in the City of Cork. It seems more likely, however, that "Mary Gowkine" was Daniel Gookin's widow. If so, the marriage did not take place, for about three weeks later Mary, who appears to have gone to visit the family

¹ Allegations for Mar. Lic. issued by Vicar-Gen. of Archbishop of Cant., 1660-8. Har. Soc. Pub., xxxiii, 152.

² He was probably the Hugh Bullock of London, gentleman, who made his will October 20, 1649, being then aged seventy-two. It was probated November 2, 1650, (P. C. C. Pembroke, f. 168). No wife was mentioned in it. He left his estate in Virginia to his son William, who was probably the author of the well-known book, published in 1649, entitled "Virginia Impartially examined and left to publick view, to be considered by all Judicious and Honest Men." Mention was made of William's wife Elizabeth, and children Robert and Frances, and of the testator's sister Ann Mason and her daughter Ellinor Mason.

of her brother-in-law Sir Vincent Gookin, then living at Bitton in Gloucestershire, died and was buried there on July 27, 1635.

Daniel and John, the third and fourth sons of Daniel Gookin, were probably away from home at the time of their father's death. We know that Daniel was at the Marie's Mount plantation as early as 1631, when he was only eighteen, and not unlikely John may have been there with him. John's career was a short one. On October 17, 1636, he was granted 500 acres of land on the Nansemond River in Virginia for transporting ten persons to the colony,¹ and in the course of the next five years he had three additional grants aggregating 1490 acres more. In 1637 or 1638 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for keeping monthly courts in Lower Norfolk, and in 1639 was a burgess for Upper Norfolk and attended the Grand Assembly that met in James City on January 6.² A few days prior to February 4, 1640/1 he married Sarah the relict of Captain Adam Thorowgood of Lynn Haven, Lower Norfolk county. Captain Thorowgood was one of the principal men of the colony. His wife Sarah was the fifth daughter of Robert Offley, Turkey merchant of Grace street, London, whose wife Ann was the daughter of Sir Edward Osborne, Knt., Lord Mayor of London, 1583, by his wife Ann, daughter and sole heir of William Hewitt, Lord Mayor of London, 1559, "a merchant of great repute." Sarah Offley was baptized at St. Benet's April 16, 1609, and was married to Adam Thorowgood at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, July 18, 1627. She bore him a son and three daughters, who were living at the time of her marriage to John Gookin. By her second husband she had one daughter, Mary Gookin, born in 1641 or 1642, who was married about 1660 to Captain William Moseley of Rolleston, Lower Norfolk, and after his death in 1671, became the second wife of Lieut. Colonel Anthony Lawson.

In 1642 John Gookin had the title of Captain, and on March 29, 1643, he was Commander at a court held for Lower Norfolk.³ He died on November 2, 1643, being then only about

¹Va. Hist. Mag., Vol. 5, p. 458.

²Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 435; Vol. 2, p. 99.

³Lower Norfolk Co. Antiquary, i, 144.

thirty years of age. Four years later his widow was married to her third husband, Colonel Francis Yardley, son of Governor Sir George Yardley. She died in August, 1657, and was buried beside John Gookin, at Church Point, Lynn Haven. The tombstone erected to their memory is the only one now readable of those formerly in the church-yard there, the others having been submerged or destroyed by the incursion of the sea. It bears the inscription:

Here lieth y^e body of Capt John Gooking and also
y^e body of M^{rs} Sarah Yardley, who was wife to
Capt. Adam Thorowgood first, Capt John
Gooking & Collonell Francis Yardley, who
deceased August 1657.

PART III
DANIEL GOOKIN OF CAMBRIDGE

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CHAPTER VI



HE third son and namesake of Daniel Gookin of Carrigaline was born in the latter part of the year 1612. His place of nativity remains a matter of conjecture. When he was less than four years old his father was living in Ireland, so it may be assumed that Daniel's early boyhood was spent at Carrigaline and that later he was sent to England for his schooling. The earliest glimpse of him that we have reveals him in Virginia, at his father's plantation, shortly after he had passed his eighteenth birthday. Among the records of the General Court is an indenture executed February 1, 1630/1, "between Daniell Gooking of Newport Newes in Virginia, gent. of the one part and Thomas Addison late servant to the said Daniell his father of the other part," whereby "the said Daniell Gooking younger, in the behalfe of his father, as well for and in consideration of the good and honnest service the said Daniel Gooking and his assignes have had and received from the said Thomas Addison, as alsoe for and in consideration of the yearly rent and other conditions hereafter mentioned and expressed, doe give, grant, assigne and confirme unto the s^d Thomas Addison his heires one fifty acres of land, being part of the land belonging to the lordshipp of the said Daniel Gooking, is scituate and leyeth above Newport Newes at a place there now called Maries Mount."¹

DeVries, the Dutch captain, wrote that on March 20, 1633,

¹ New Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, i, 347.

he "anchored at evening, before Newport Snuw, where lived a gentleman of the name of Goegen."¹ Other than this there is nothing to show how long Daniel remained in the Colony at this time, unless it may be inferred from the date of the order of the General Court granting him 2500 acres of land upon the south side of James River, that he was still there in February, 1634/5. The language of the grant, which was not perfected until nearly three years later, is as follows:

To all to whome these p'sents shall come, I Sr John Harvy, Kt: Governor, Know yee that I the said Sr John Harvy Kt. doe wth the consent of the Counsell of State accordingly Give and graunt unto Daniell Gookin Esq^r twoe thousand five hundred acres of land, situate lying and being in the upper Countie of New Norfolk upon the northwest of Nansmond River beginning at the South East side of a Small Creeke, which lyeth in the midway betweene the mouth of Chuckatuck at New Town hundred Extending upwards upon Nansamond River South West and back into the woods North West, the said Twoe thousand five hundred acres of land being graunted unto him the said Daniell Gookin, by order of Court bearing date the 25th of february 1634 being alsoe due unto him the said Daniell Gookin by and for the transportation at his owne Expensts and charges of fiftie p'sons into this Colony whose names are in the record mentioned under this pattent, To Have and To Hold, etc., dated the 29th December 1637.²

Tho ^s Curtis	Jon Curtis	Wm. Smith
W ^m Wadsworth	Gilbert Whitfield	Hugh Jones
J ^{on} Thomas	Hen. Price	W ^m Richards
J ^{on} Garner	Phill Chapman	W ^m Hooker
W ^m Granger	J ^{on} Roe	Chas. Kenley
Griffin Marfin	Chas. Griffin	W ^m Ellis
J ^{on} Hillier	Hugh Jones	Hen Coslay
J ^{on} Scott	J ^{on} Burden	J ^{on} Buckland
Jon. Box	Jos. Mosly	Edwd. Burdon
Edw ^d Morgan	Wal. Manst	Benj. Box
Tho ^s Browne	Austin Norman	Hen. Norman
Peter Norman	Christ Elsworth	Ann Elsworth
Geo. Child	Thomas Addison	Rodger Walker
Roger Blank	W ^m Long	Thomas ffield
Robert Smith	W ^m Pensint	Morgan Phillips
W ^m Jewell	W ^m Clarke	Daniell Hopkinson
W ^m Cooney	Esay Delaware	

¹ Neill, Virginia Carolorum, p. 83.

² Records Va. Land Office, i, 511.

The inclusion in this list of the names of four of the servants of Daniel Gookin, Sr., who came in *The Flying Harte* in 1621, and of five others who were living in Elizabeth City when the census of February 16, 1623/4, was taken, and upon whose transportation into the colony the grant of land to the elder Daniel had already been based, suggests the possibility that this grant to his son may have been one of those made by complacent officials upon slender pretext of conformity to legal requirements, either for favour, or the payment of a small fee.¹ As to the justice of the grant there can be no question. It was a part of the deferred recompense to Daniel's father, who had earned thirty-five hundred acres by transporting seventy colonists in the "*Providence*" in 1623.²

Whether the alienation of the Marie's Mount plantation was of earlier or later date than this grant we do not know. It was conveyed by Daniel and John Gookin to John Chandler, but the language of the deed cannot be recovered and it is unlikely that its date will ever be known, as all the early records of Warwick county are destroyed and those of Elizabeth City go back only to 1699. It is, however, referred to in a grant to William Cole, in April, 1685, of the remainder of the tract after deducting 100 acres conveyed to Richard Griffin on November 16, 1626, and the 150 acres given to Thomas Addison in 1631. The grant to Cole reads:

To all &c. Whereas &c., Now know yee that I the said Francis Lord Howard, Governor &c, doe with the advice and consent of the Councill of State accordly give and grant unto the Hon^{ble} William Cole, Esq., one of his Majesties Councill of State of this Colony ffowerteene hundred thirty and one acres of land twelve hundred and seaventeene acres whereof lyes in Warwick County & the remainder being twoe hundred and sixteene acres³ in Elizabeth Citty County commonly called Newports News according to the most ancient and lawfull bonds thereof being all that can be found upon an exact Survey of two thousand five hundred acres of Land formerly granted to Daniell Gookin Esq., except two hundred & fifty acres formerly conveyed and made over by the said Gookin whoe together with John Gookin conveyed the aforesaid ffourtene

¹ See Campbell's History of Virginia, p. 350.

² See supra, p. 46.

³ Obviously an error in the record, for 1217 acres and 216 acres give a total of 1433, not 1431.

hundred thirty and one acres of land to John Chandler who conveyed the same to Capt. Benedict Stafford from whom the same was found to escheat in the Secretaries office under the hands and seals of John Page, Esq., escheator Gener^{al} of Warwick & Elizabeth City Counties & a jury sworne before him for the purpose dated the third day of Aprill 1684 may appeare & was since granted to the said William Cole, Esq., and Capt. Roger Jones whoe made their composition according to Act & since by the said Roger Jones assigned & made over to the said William Cole, Esq., &c.

Dated the 20th of Aprill, 1685.

The fact that the conveyance to Chandler was made by Daniel Gookin and John Gookin sets at rest all doubt that Captain John Gookin was Daniel's brother.

When we get our next glimpse of Daniel he is in London. A license was granted by the Bishop of London, November 11, 1639, for the marriage of Daniel Gookin, Gentleman, of the parish of St. Sepulchre, London, a widower, aged about 27, and Mary Dolling, of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, London, a spinster, aged about 21, whose parents were dead. They were to marry at St. Sepulchre's, but, as the early registers of that parish were destroyed in the Great Fire of 1665, the precise date of the wedding cannot be determined. No record of Daniel's previous marriage has yet come to light. There is nothing to indicate whether it took place in England or in Virginia. The parentage of his second wife is also an unsolved problem. The parish register of St. Dunstan in the West reveals nothing about her, from which it may be inferred that her birthplace was in all probability elsewhere.

In the interval between his two visits to Virginia there is reason to suppose that Daniel was, for a time at least, engaged in military service, possibly in England, but more likely in the Netherlands. Captain Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence," calls him a "Kentish souldier," an appellation which would hardly have been bestowed because of his command of the trained bands in Virginia and Massachusetts. Whatever the service, however, its duration could not have been longer than a very few years.

Early in 1641, Daniel and Mary Gookin, with their infant son, set sail for Virginia to make their home in the new world.

Opening before Daniel there was the alluring prospect of territorial lordship made possible by the grant of land obtained three years before; whereas, being a younger son and possessed of only moderate means, the hope of acquiring a considerable landed estate in England must have seemed very far away. Though it is scarcely possible to doubt that he was already a Puritan when he came over, his religious faith cannot have been an impelling force in determining him to settle in Virginia. The impulse of the English Puritans to seek a refuge beyond the sea had been checked and the tide of emigration to New England had been brought almost to an end by the hopes which the assembling of the Long Parliament, the year before, had awakened. Moreover, intolerance of open non-conformity to the Church of England was then more marked in the southern colony than in the mother country.

On his arrival in Virginia, Daniel proceeded to the Nansmond plantation and took up his residence there. His fellow colonists were not long in recognizing him as a man of ability. He was made a burgess and represented Upper Norfolk in the Grand Assembly which met at Jamestown January 12, 1641/2.¹ Upon the records his name appears as "Captain" Daniel Gookin, which very likely indicates that the title was acquired before he left England. However that may be, he was soon given the title in Virginia. "At a court holden at James Citty the nyne and twentyeth of June 1642. Present Sr Willian Berkeley kn^t Governo^r &c. Capt. John West M^r Rich. Kemp Capt. William Brocas Capt. Christ Wormley Capt. Hum. Higginson. The comi^on for the monethly court of Upp. Norfolke to be renewed and the com^{rs} to be as followeth: Capt. Daniell Gookin comander, M^r ffrancis Hough Capt. Tho. Burbage M^r John Hill Mr. Olliver Spry, Mr Thomas Dew M^r Randall Crew M^r Robert Bennett Mr Philip Bennett. The Cpts. of trayned Bands to be as followeth: Capt. Daniel Gookin, Capt. Thomas Burbage."

It is interesting, in view of the circumstances of his later life, that the duties of these offices soon brought Daniel into

¹ Va. Hist. Mag., ix, 51.

contact with the Indians of the neighborhood, and that one of the earliest of the occasions was at the instance of his brother John Gookin, for it is recorded in the order book of the General Court of Virginia:

At a Quarter Court holden at James City the 22th of November 1642. Present Sr William Berkeley Knight . . . Whereas Capt. John Gookin hath represented to the Board certayne Outrages aud Robberyes committed by the Indians belonging to Nanzemond in the county of the lower Norfolk, The Court hath therefore ordered according to the request of the said Capt. John Gooking, That Authority be given to the Comander of the Upp. Norfolk either by Lre or Commiçon to send to the Indian King of Nansimond that those Indians who have comitted the Outrages may be sent in to receive such condigne punishm^t as the nature of the offense may justly merritt, as alsoe to restore the goods stollen, which if he shall refuse to pforme that then the said Comander shall have power to apprehend any of the Indians they can and to keepe them in hold untill satisfaccōn and restituçōn be accordingly made.

In the autumn of this year Daniel received a patent for an additional fourteen hundred acres of land.

"To all to whome, etc., . . . now know yee, that the said Sr William Berkeley Kt. doe wth the Consent of the Counsell of State accordingly give and graunt unto Capt. Daniell Gookin ffourteen hundred acres of land situate or being in Rappahaunocke River about thirty-five miles upon the north side and beginning at a marked red ooke standing on the River side on the westward side of a pond of water and extending for length east north east three hundred and twentie pole unto a marked red ooke, and for breadth from the first mentioned marked tree by south, south-east line nigh unto the River side seaven hundred pole unto a marked white ooke standing on a point on the westward side of the mouth of a small creeke and soe extending for length East North East three hundred and twenty pole unto a marked pyne, and soe North North West parrallel to the River Course unto the second mentioned red ooke, the said ffourteen hundred acres of land being due unto him the said Capt. Daniell Gookin by and for the transportation of twentie eight persons into this colony whose names are in the record mentioned under this pattent.

"To Have and to Hold," etc., "Yielding and paying" etc., "which payment is to be made seaven Yeares after the date of these p'sents and not before," etc., "Provided alwaies that the said Capt. Daniell Gookin his heirs or assigns doe not plant or seat or cause to bee seated on the said ffourteen hundred acres of land wth in the terme of three yeares next ensuing after admittance cultivation" grant to be void. "Given by a Grand Assembly for the seating of Rappahannock River aforesaid," etc., "dated the fouerth of November 1642."

The names of the twenty-eight persons are recorded with this instrument:

William Wildly	Christ. Vaughan
Jon. Morgan	fferdinand Heath
Margarett Davis	Tho ^s Beede
William Paine	Roger Wilcox
Eliza: Brooke	Thos. Ringall
Robert Mason	Rich. Browne
Marsoy Lanmore	Robert Bernard
William Webb	James Perkins
J ^{on} Addison	Tho. Perkins
(Daniel Gookin) himself 2 several times into this Colony.	
Mrs. Mary Gookin	Sam ^l Gookin
Thomas Warren	William Shepperd
Edward Cooke	Mary Codne
John Bright	Jacob, a negroe

There can be little doubt that most of these were indented servants brought over by Daniel to assist in the cultivation of the Nansemond plantation. The negro, whose full name was Jacob Warrow, was a slave. He was owned by Daniel until 1655, when he was murdered by the Indians.¹

Among his neighbors in the Upper Norfolk country, Daniel found to his great delight that there were a considerable number of Puritan families. They had, in all probability, a rude chapel in the forest, wherein, as was customary in those days in settlements without a minister, a Bible and a few valuable religious books were fastened to a desk, for the devout to open and read. Services of some sort were held on the Lord's Day, but the lack of the preaching which was both the chief solace and intellectual diversion of the early Puritans, was keenly felt. Accordingly on May 24, 1642, Richard Bennett, Daniel Gookin, John Hull and seventy-one others, addressed a letter to the elders of the church in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, "bemoaning their sad condition for want of the means of salvation and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness they might call to office."²

¹ See *infra*, p. 76.

² Winthrop's *Hist. of New Eng.*, ed. by James Savage, ii, 93.

This letter, now known as the "Nansemond petition," Bennett carried to Boston, where he arrived upon a small coasting vessel, early in September. The petition having been read to the people "upon a lecture day, the elders met," says Winthrop, "and set a day apart to seek God in it, and agreed upon three who might most likely be spared." Two of these declined to go and the choice finally rested upon Rev. William Tompson of Braintree, an Oxford graduate and a preacher of distinction, and Rev. John Knowles, a ripe scholar from Emanuel College, who had been the pastor at Watertown. With the consent of their churches, Tompson and Knowles left on October 7 for Taunton, where a pinnacle awaited them, and a few days later they were joined by Rev. Thomas James of New Haven, who had for ten years been a faithful preacher at Charlestown. Eleven weeks were consumed in the voyage to Virginia. At Hell Gate their small craft was wrecked and they narrowly escaped with their lives. Another vessel having been procured at Manhattan, despite the cold reception accorded them by the Dutch Governor, "they set sail in the dead of winter, and had much foul weather, so as with great difficulty and danger they arrived safe in Virginia." "Here," says Winthrop, "they found very loving and liberal entertainment, and were bestowed in several places, not by the governour, but by some well disposed people who desired their company."¹

Among these well disposed persons Daniel Gookin was easily the most prominent, and no stretch of the imagination is required to see him welcoming the ministers with open hands. By Governor Berkeley, a zealous and bigoted adherent to the Church of England, though they brought letters to him from Governor Winthrop, their reception was frigid in the extreme. He told them bluntly that their presence was not desired, and as they persisted, nevertheless, in striving to spread their obnoxious doctrine, he lost no time in taking steps to repel the invasion. At the next meeting of the Assembly, in March, 1642/3, the following act was passed: "For the preservation

¹Hist. New Eng., ii, 115.

of the puritie of doctrine & unities of the church, It is enacted that all ministers whatsoever which shall reside in the collony are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the church of England, and the laws therein established, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach publickly or privatly, And that the Gov. and Counsel do take care that all nonconformists upon notice of them shall be compelled to depart the collony with all conveniencie."¹

After the enactment of this statute the Governor was not long in getting rid of Knowles and James, who left for New England in April. Knowles arrived in Boston in June, bearing letters telling of the work of the three missionaries, "whereby it appeared that God had greatly blessed their ministry there, so as the people's hearts were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances, and though the state did silence the ministers, because they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people resorted to them in private houses to hear them as before."²

While there is no positive evidence that Tompson made Daniel Gookin's house his headquarters, yet it is more than likely that such was the case. Certain it is that they were closely associated at this time; so much, at least, we learn from the testimony of Cotton Mather's oft quoted, and misquoted, doggerel:

Hearers, like doves, flocked with contentious wing,
Who should be first, feed most, most homeward bring,
Laden with honey, like Hyblæan bees,
They knead it into combs upon their knees.

.

A constellation of great converts there,
Shone round him, and his heavenly glory were.
GOOKINS was one of these; by Tompson's pains,
CHRIST and NEW ENGLAND a dear GOOKINS gains.³

It is easy to infer too much from this utterance, written fifty-five years after the occurrences described, and eleven years

¹ Henning's Statutes at Large, i, 277.

² Winthrop, ii, 116.

³ Magnalia Christi Americana, i, 440.

after Daniel Gookin's death, and not to make sufficient allowance for the exigencies of metrical composition. The assertion of John Fiske that Daniel was a "brand snatched from the burning," a "wayward son . . . whose conversion was from worldliness or perhaps devilry rather than from prelacy," is nothing else than gratuitous assumption.¹

Unquestionably it was Thompson's influence that induced Daniel to remove to Massachusetts. To the same source also we may with safety attribute a strengthening of his belief in the doctrines of the Puritans and the fanning of his religious ardor into a more active flame; but, as he was one of the foremost signers of the Nansemond petition, it is equally certain that he was already a convert before Thompson set foot on Virginia soil.

After the passage of the act of conformity, Virginia was no longer an agreeable place for Daniel Gookin to live, and he soon began to plan for removal. Accompanied by Thompson and others, Daniel first emigrated, in the summer of 1643, to the neighboring colony of Maryland, where he acquired land in the vicinity of South and Severn Rivers, near the site of Annapolis.² Though Lord Baltimore and Governor Calvert were Papists, the newcomers were not looked upon by them as intruders, but were welcomed as most desirable, and Thompson labored on in the colony until the latter part of 1648,

¹ *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, i, 304.

Professor Fiske appears to have derived his "inspiration" from "A Puritan Colony in Maryland," by Daniel R. Randall, printed in "Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies," 4th Ser., No. 6, p. 10. It would be difficult to cite a better illustration of the danger of drawing upon the imagination for one's facts than is furnished by the following extract: "But still Thompson labored on among his many converts. Of these, Daniel Godkin or Gookin the wayward son of a good old Puritan of that name, was the most incorrigible. However, the Rev. Thompson's public teaching and private exhortation converted him so completely from his evil ways that the good people were a little skeptical of his sincerity, and Daniel left the home of his fathers, changed his name to Gookin, and went to Boston, there to signalize himself by his good works. Mather celebrated Thompson's work and particularly this wonderful conversion by writing thereon a poem, of which I quote a stanza:

A constellation of great converts there
Shone round him, and his heavenly glory wear;
Godkin was one of them; by Thompson's pains
Christ and New England a dear Godkin gains."

Thus too often is so-called history written.

² *Terra Mariæ*, by Edward D. Neill, p. 79.

“winning golden opinions by his quiet, conservative, and Christian course.”¹

Notwithstanding the welcome accorded him and the toleration displayed by Governor Calvert in protecting all settlers in their conscientious scruples, a short stay convinced Daniel that Maryland, under Papist rule, was not the place for him. Moreover Massachusetts held out the powerful attraction of life in a Puritan community, where he would be surrounded by others holding like views with himself, and thither, “having his affection strongly set on the truths of Christ and his pure Ordinances,”² he made up his mind to go. The sudden death of his brother John, at Lynn Haven early in November, 1643, by breaking the strongest tie that bound him to Virginia, made this decision all the easier. So, about the beginning of May, 1644, leaving his three plantations in the charge of servants, with his wife and infant daughter³ he set sail for Boston. While they were engaged in their preparations for leaving, Virginia was plunged into desolation by the great Indian Massacre of April 18, when so many of the colonists lost their lives. The news of this disaster Daniel was the first to carry to New England.

¹ *Terra Mariæ*, p. 81.

² Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England*, p. 109.

³ Samuel, his first-born, had died before this time.



CHAPTER VII



THE ship that bore Daniel Gookin and his family to New England arrived at Boston May 20, 1644. Only with difficulty, and bearing in mind the absorption of the seventeenth century men in their religious views, can we, in these days of universal toleration and faiths lightly held, conceive the joy that Daniel must have felt when he found himself breathing the air of a community where the Puritan Church and the civil state had been "planted and growne up (like two twinnes) together like that of Israel in the wilderness."¹ His reception could not well have been more cordial. On May 26, six days after his landing, he was admitted to the First Church in Boston, and on May 29, only three days later, he was made a freeman. It was very uncommon for one to be allowed to take his oath so soon after arriving within the jurisdiction, and the unusual honours plainly evince that Daniel's reputation had preceded him. Without doubt it was his kindness to the missionaries in Virginia and their reports of his zeal and piety that gained him this distinction. He was now in his thirty-second year, tall in stature and robust in physique; in bearing grave and dignified. Though a Puritan of the Puritans, stern and uncompromising in matters of religion, the dominating notes in his character were his tenderness of heart and compassion, and his abiding sense of

¹"The Book Of General Lawes And Libertyes Concerning The Inhabitants Of The Massachusets." Cambridge, 1648.

justice. To such a nature selfish striving for his own advancement was impossible. No man could be more tenacious of his rights, or could more stoutly uphold them when called in question. But what he insisted upon for himself, he freely accorded to others,—even to the despised red men, for whose advancement he laboured so unceasingly to the end of his days.

The records of the First Church in Boston, of which Rev. John Cotton was the pastor, show that “Mrs. Mary Gookin, or brother Captaine Gookin’s wife” was admitted as a member on October 12, 1644. With this church Daniel and Mary continued their affiliation until their removal to Cambridge, nearly four years later. During most, if not all of the intervening time, their residence was in Roxbury, where they were near neighbors of Rev. John Eliot, the famous pastor of the First Church of that town, justly renowned as the “Apostle” to the Indians of New England. It is not improbable that Eliot may have influenced Daniel in selecting Roxbury as his place of abode. However that may be, a close friendship soon grew up between them which continued unbroken to the end of Daniel’s life, and was cemented by many years of labour together in the service of the Lord. They were not far apart in age, Eliot being only eight years the elder, and they had much in common besides their adhesion to the same religious tenets. Both were men of broad views, in many ways open-minded for their day and generation; both were simple in their lives and of the serene temper that conquers many difficulties; both had the rare gift of sympathy combined with calmness of judgement. Austere and intolerant in matters of doctrine they undoubtedly were, but in that they were only the product of their age. Toleration, as then conceived, was a sin of the first magnitude. It is the child of doubt, and in the seventeenth century few men had any doubt whatever that they were right in their religious beliefs, and that those who differed from them were as certainly wrong. The prevailing view was well formulated by Nathaniel Ward. “Every toleration of false religions or opinions,” he wrote, “hath as many errors and sins in it as all the false religions and opinions it tolerates.”¹ Reli-

¹ Simple Cobler of Agawam, p. 8.

gious persecution was the natural sequence. The men of New England did not mean to be cruel and uncharitable, but in their eyes the dissemination of unsound doctrine was monstrous iniquity, destructive alike to the souls of men and to the kingdom of God upon earth. And so, while they recognized the impossibility of coercing belief, they nevertheless felt it their bounden duty to inflict dreadful penalties upon the unorthodox.

The New England of Eliot and Gookin was essentially a theocracy. Religion filled men's thoughts and was regarded as the only real concern in life. Church and state were not merely linked together; they were one and the same, for the Church was the State. Citizenship was conferred upon those only who had received baptism and the Lord's supper. The ministers were the most influential men in the colony, the most respected and beloved. The esteem in which they were held was well deserved. They were, indeed, a singularly able and learned body of men, who strove with all their might to exemplify in their lives the purifying effect of the doctrines they preached. Such men as John Cotton, Thomas Shepard, John Eliot, Thomas Hooker, Nathaniel Ward, Richard Mather, Roger Williams, Davenport, Chauncey, Norton, Dunster,—scholars all, and many of them graduates of Cambridge and Oxford,—would have been notable in any environment. To the members of their flocks their interminable prayers and long-drawn-out sermons afforded not merely spiritual solace and refreshment; they were a source of keen intellectual pleasure as well, and to a large extent filled the place that in modern life is occupied by secular entertainments. "Mr. Torrey stood up and prayed near two hours, but the time obliged him to close, to our regret," wrote a Harvard graduate,¹ "and we could have gladly heard him an hour longer." Learning was held in high esteem. Not only the clergy, but many of the leaders among the laity, as the elder and younger Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Simon Bradstreet, William Brewster, William Bradford, John Pynchon, John Haynes, and

¹Quoted by J. L. Sibley, *Harv. Grad.*, 566.

Daniel Gookin, were men of education. "Probably no other community of pioneers ever so honoured study, so revered the symbols and instruments of learning. Theirs was a social structure with its corner-stone resting on a book."¹ Work and food were plentiful, luxuries were few; plain living and high thinking came nearer being the standard than, perhaps, they have ever been elsewhere.

Little is known about Daniel's occupations during the three or more years of his residence in Roxbury. He was one of the founders of the free grammar school established in the summer or autumn of 1645.² Drake says he was a deputy from Roxbury to the General Court.³ If so, the records of the Court fail to show that he attended any of the sessions of that body. This, perhaps, is accounted for by absence in Maryland or Virginia. The business of his plantations in the southern colonies appears to have occupied his attention for some time after his removal to Massachusetts, and to have occasioned at least one voyage to the river James. In a letter from the elder Winthrop to his son, dated Boston, May 14, 1647, he says:

"Here came in this morning a ship from Virginia with captain Gookin and some others. She was bought by him [of] the governour there. She came out ten days since, and we hear by her, that Mr. Whiting's pinnace is safe there, and another of Connecticut."⁴

Not unlikely the voyage to Virginia was for the purpose of trade, and on the return trip he may have carried to Boston the corn and tobacco grown upon his plantations. On April 6 of the next year, 1648, he sold five hundred acres of the plantation on the Rappahannock River to Captain Thomas Burbage. How long he continued to own and cultivate the remaining nine hundred acres and the larger plantation on the Nansmond has not been ascertained. The Maryland plantation was still in his possession in 1655, when Jacob Warrow and

¹ Moses Coit Tyler, *Hist. of Am. Literature*, i, 99.

² Ellis, *Hist. of Roxbury Town*, p. 37.

³ F. S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury, Its Memorable Persons and Places*, p. 190.

⁴ Savage's Winthrop, ii, 432.

another of his negro servants were murdered by two Indians, who were afterward apprehended and brought to justice. At the trial, "Mary, the servant who had escaped, notwithstanding the severity of her wound, was the chief witness. But Warcosse, the Emperor, had sent down to St. Mary's some articles found in possession of the suspected Indians, and which it was known had belonged to Captain Gookins. And the Indians, who spoke through interpreters, confessed at the trial they were present at the murder—at one moment admitting, at the next denying, their guilt, 'fearful and desiring' says the record, 'to conceal it.' They were convicted, sentenced, and executed on the same day."¹

One other mention of Captain Gookin in connection with the South River plantation is found in contemporary records. When, in March, 1654/5, William Stone, who had resigned as Governor of Maryland under Lord Baltimore the preceding July, organized an armed force against the existing authorities and arrived off the mouth of the river Severn with two hundred men in twelve boats, he chased a small New England trading vessel belonging to Captain Gookin, which was in charge of Captain John Cutts, and fired several shots at her.²

On May 29 of this year, 1655, a suit "betweene Elias Parkman, plaintiffe, & Capt. Dann. Gookin defendant, in reference to the said Parkman's voyage to Virginia," was decided by the General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The record says: "The Court, on hearing of the case and all parties concerned therein, doe judge that although there were five persons, old & young, shipt aboard the said Parkman by the defendent, yett, in regard two of them were very young he shall be allowed for transporting three persons and a halfe only the some of seven pounds, and for a parcell of goods which he carried twenty shillings; of w^{ch} fower pounds tenn shillings is found paid in a parcell of tobacco; but nothing due to the plaint^t for the fower thousand of bread w^{ch} was shipt on another vessell; so that the Court finds for the plaintiff three pounds tenn shillings, and two pounds five shillings and eight pence costs."

¹ George Lynn Lachlan Davis, in "The Day Star of Freedom," Baltimore, 1858.

² E. D. Neill, *Terra Mariæ*, 123.

Fifteen years later Daniel was still interested in the coasting trade. The town of Cambridge, on November 14, 1670, "Granted to the owners of the Ketches that are to [be] builded in the town liberty to fell timber upon the common for the building of the said Ketches." The owners were Daniel Gookin, Walter Hastings, and Samuel Champney. In April, 1672, they recovered ten pounds damage and costs of court, against William Carr, for unworkmanlike conduct in building the vessels, which, as appears from the County Court Records, were of thirty-five and twenty-eight tons. Small as they seem to us nowadays, it appears from Randolph's narrative that more than two-thirds of all the vessels owned in the colony in 1676 ranged in size from six to fifty tons. A curious deposition relating to Carr's delinquency is in possession of the compiler of this history. It is in the handwriting of Captain Gookin.

David Fiske Aged about 49: yeares beeing sworn saith that hee wrought wth William Carr upon the vessells built by him in Cambridge about 4 months in the winter 1670 & I Do say & Affirme y^t William Carr master of the worke Did not follow his worke diligently him selfe nor improue & employ the hands y^t wrought wth him w^{ch} was not less than six or seauen som times; and in particuler when hee had sett out a peece of worke to hew or fitt hee would Repaire under the shed & sitt & smoke & when y^e worke was done the workmen were faine to goe & call him to sett out more worke; & the whilst hee did it they were faine to stand still w^{ch} was an occasion of loss of much time, wheras hee might easily have prepared worke ready against the other was done also I do further Afirme y^t hee the said Carr did seldome while I was their Do an hours worke or two in a day wth his owne hands. And also I do say y^t I saw him order the cutting of the best oake planks in the yard for Ribben. Further hee saith not.

Taken upon oath this 1: of Aprill
1672 before me

DANIEL GOOKIN

Thomas Longhorne aged about 51 saith that w^{ch} is aboue written is Truth & further hee adds y^t hee being sawier in the yard from first to Last doth Judge that the owners Are damnified about 10: pounds in Respect of the timber sawed & gotten for the vessells that lies there part of it in the yards unused.



CHAPTER VIII



THE General Court, on March 7, 1643/4, confirmed to the town of Cambridge a conditional grant, made nearly three years earlier, of "all the land lying upon Saweshin Ryver, and between that and Concord Ryver, and between that and Merrimack Ryver," not previously granted by the Court. This territory, then designated as Shawshine, included the present town of Billerica, parts of Bedford and Carlisle, and a part of Tewksbury, or of Chelmsford, or both. No general division of the land was made before 1652, but a number of grants were made to individuals. The earliest of these was on April 9, 1648, when, at a general meeting the whole town, having had "special warning to meet for the disposing of Shawshine," one thousand acres were set aside "for the good of the church," and "also there was granted to several brethren that had no house-rights in the town, if they did desire it," farms at Shawshine:—"Imprimis, Capt. Googine a farm, if he buy a house in the town."

If this were intended to help a wavering decision it seems to have accomplished its purpose. A house was bought from Edward Collins. It stood on the easterly side of Crooked street (now Holyoke street) about a hundred feet south of Braintree street (now Harvard street), on the site now occupied by the club house of the Hasty Pudding Club. The removal from Roxbury may have antedated the promise of

the farm.¹ More probably it took place toward the end of the summer. The records of the First Church in Boston contain this entry: "The 3^d Day of y^e 7th Month 1648, our brother Captaine Gookin and o^r Sister Mrs. Mary Gookin his wife, were according to their owne Desires wth y^e Consent of y^e Church by their silence dismissed to y^e church at Cambridge and to have Ires accordingly." Daniel had now reached the age of thirty-six. At the time of his removal to Cambridge his family consisted of his wife and his daughters, Mary aged about six, and Elizabeth aged two. A third daughter, born in Roxbury the preceding year, had lived not quite three months.

The farm at Shawshine was granted in April, 1649, when at a town meeting it was agreed "that Mr. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, should have 500 acres, whereof 400 is granted by the town to his own person and theirs, to enjoy freely forever, and the other 100 acres for the use of Harvard College. Item, unto Mr. Daniell Googine 500 acres."

When Daniel became a resident of Cambridge the trainband was in charge of the ensign, John Stedman. In 1645 its Captain, George Cooke, had returned to England to take service on the side of the Parliament in the great civil war, and the General Court had deputed his brother Joseph "to take care of the company" during his absence, but had relieved him from this duty in November, 1647. The date of Daniel Gookin's appointment does not appear upon the records, but he was probably made Captain soon after he removed to the town. This command he held for nearly forty years, being, as Captain Edward Johnson said of him, "a very forward man to advance Marshal discipline, and withal the truths of Christ."² The ractice pthen prevailed for a Captain to retain command of his company, however highly promoted, so long as he remained in office, the immediate command being exercised by the Lieutenant. Thus, while in later years Daniel was made Serjeant-Major and afterward Major-General, he

¹This is the view held by Paige, *Hist. Cambridge*, p. 398, note.

²Wonder Working Providence, Ed. Poole, 192.

was still Captain of the Cambridge Company and seems to have been rather indiscriminately addressed as such, even after he had attained the higher rank.

Easily the most distinguished resident of Cambridge, when Daniel Gookin went there to live, was the minister, Rev. Thomas Shepard, one of the most eminent of the New England clergy, and a man renowned not only for his learning and his skill as a preacher but for his clear judgement, sagacity and foresight. His house on Braintree street was but a short distance from Daniel's, and the two men formed a close friendship which, however, was soon cut short by Shepard's sudden death, in August, 1649. This event caused general lamentation and gloom throughout the colony, but was particularly felt by the members of his congregation, and by none more keenly, it may safely be said, than by his friend and neighbor Daniel Gookin.¹ Others of Daniel's especial friends in those early days were Deacon Richard Champney, the thrifty Ruling Elder of the Cambridge Church, who lived almost directly opposite him on Holyoke street, and Edmund Frost, the other Ruling Elder, of pious memory, but not gifted with the worldly wisdom of his associate. Besides these there were Edward Collins, Edward Jackson and his brothers John and Richard, Edward Goffe, and Edmund Angier, all men of substance and weight in the town. But the closest and most enduring friendship was that formed with Thomas Danforth, the brilliant and forceful young man of twenty-six, who, when Daniel settled in Cambridge, had already been for three years Selectman and Town Clerk,—offices which he held for many years until the duties of the higher positions to which he was called made it necessary to relieve him of the burden of these. This friendship lasted and grew closer and stronger as long as Daniel lived. It was founded on a community of ideas that held the two men firmly together in time of stress when they worked courageously side by side breasting popular clamour until in the end they overcame it and finally turned the tide in their favour.

¹ Shepard's son, Thomas, afterward the minister at Charlestown, who was a lad of fourteen when his father died, chose Daniel Gookin as his guardian.

In the spring of 1649 Daniel was chosen as Deputy from Cambridge to the General Court, held in Boston May 2, and on the 4th he and Captain Prichard were appointed a committee "to draw up lawyes for womens dowryes." That he was not re-elected the following year is attributable to his having been called to England. The records of the General Court show that on May 23, and again on May 30, 1650, "Daniel Gookin, Edward Collins, with the rest of the overseers & ex^{rs} of the est. of M^r Tho^s Sheppard," presented a petition to sell lands. Daniel, however, had probably set sail before this time. He was in London in July, for on July 24 the Council of State at Westminster ordered the issuance of "a warrant to Daniel Gookin to export to New England 30 barrels of powder, 10 tons of shot and lead, and fifty arms for the use of the plantation."¹ This seems to indicate that the voyage to the mother country was undertaken, in part at least, upon the public service. Though the king had been brought to the block the year before, and Cromwell had "pacified" Ireland with fire and sword, and a temporary calm in Scotland had been brought about by the capture and execution of Montrose, and in England the Puritans were clearly in the ascendant, it was still a distracted country at the time of Daniel's visit. Having accomplished the business that took him thither, or, it may be, finding that little could be done under existing conditions, and having, it may be assumed, paid visits to some of his cousins, whom he had not seen for nine years,² he took the earliest opportunity of returning to his family. That he had been loath to leave them may well be imagined, for his son Daniel was born during his absence.

In the spring of 1651 Captain Gookin and Mr. Edward Jackson were returned as Deputies from Cambridge to the

¹Br. Rec. Office Interregnum Entry Book, xxxvi, 13.

²These cousins were the only relatives he then had left. Samuel Gookin, son of his uncle John, was in London. Thomas Gookin, son of his uncle Thomas, lived in Harbledown near Canterbury; John, his elder brother, the lord of the manor of Ripple Court, was a royalist, and probably living in Paris. Vincent Gookin, son of his uncle Vincent, was in Ireland, occupied with official duties, having been appointed by Cromwell one of the Commissioners of the Revenue. His brother, Captain Robert, and the younger children of Sir Vincent were also in Ireland. Besides these some of the daughters of Thomas may have still been living.

General Court. When the Court met, on May 7, Daniel was chosen Speaker. The same day he was named as one of a committee of ten, headed by Simon Bradstreet, "to consider the offences on doctrinal points by Mr. Marmaduke Mathewes, hearing to be June 11 next at the Shipp in Boston." On the 22d of the month he was appointed one of a committee to draw up instructions for the Commissioners of the United Colonies; and on the 26th he was placed on a committee "to draw the case against Mr. Richard Leader, accused of reproaching and slandering the Court." In 1651 he was also chosen Associate for the County Court, held at Cambridge.

At the election held May 26, 1652, Daniel was chosen an Assistant, or one of the Council of eighteen magistrates to whom, with the Governor and the Deputy Governor, the government of the colony was entrusted. To this office he was re-elected continuously for a period of thirty-five years, save only in 1676 when he suffered defeat because the populace, maddened by the Indian war then raging, misconstrued his noble care of the friendly Indians and included him with them in their unreasoning indignation. The functions of the Assistants were not merely executive. They acted also as judges, being assigned from time to time to hold court in various places within the jurisdiction. Says Cotton Mather: "The freemen of New England had a great variety of worthy men among whom they might chuse a number of Magistrates to be the assistants of their Governours, both in directing the general affairs of the land, and in dispensing of justice unto the people."¹ Having mentioned a number of them, and among them Daniel Gookin, he goes on to say, "that these names are proper and worthy to be found in our Church-History will be acknowledged when it is considered, not only that they were the members of Congregational churches, and by the members of the churches chosen to be the rulers of the Commonwealth; and that their exemplary behaviour in their magistracy was generally such as to 'adorn the doctrine

¹*Magnalia*, i, 141.

of God our Saviour,' and, according to the old Jewish wishes (tr. It is forbidden to man to rule like a prince over people, and with a proud spirit; he should exercise authority in meekness and fear) but also that their love to, and zeal for and care of these churches was not the least part of their character."

Few details about Captain Gookin's life during the year 1652 have come down to us. His son Samuel was born in April, bringing the number of his living children up to four. From a curious tract, printed in London in that year, entitled "Strength out of Weaknesse; or a Glorious Manifestation," it appears that before this date Daniel had entered upon the work of assisting John Eliot in his efforts to Christianize the Indians. In this tract is printed "a private passage from one in New England to his godly Friend here, who was so much affected therewith, as he found out our Treasurer of the Corporation, by name Mr. Richard Floyd at the Meremaide in Cheapside, and desired it might be published to the world." Having related questions asked of a Praying Indian, the narrative proceeds:

By this time Captaine Gooking came to us, and he asked him this Question:

Q. What he would thinke if he should finde more affliction and trouble in God's wayes, then he did in the way of Indianisme.

A. His answer was, when the Lord did first turne me to himselfe and his wayes, he stripped mee as bare as my skinne, and if the Lord should strip mee as bare as my skinne againe, and so big Saggamore should come to mee, and say, I will give you so big Wampum, so big Beaver, and leave this way, and turne to us againe: I would say, take your riches to your selfe, i would never forsake God and his wayes againe.

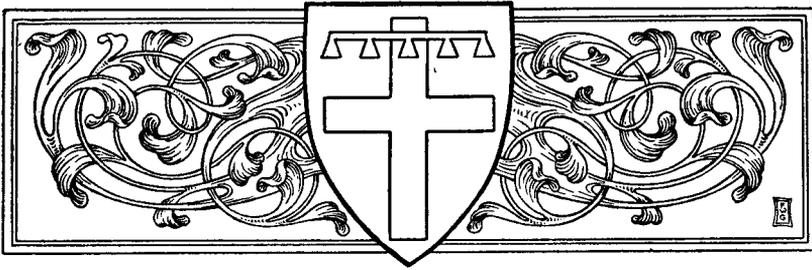
This is a relation taken by myselfe,

WILLIAM FRENCH¹

For some reason, not explained in the record, Daniel did not attend the session of the General Court on May 18, 1653, when he was for the second time chosen Assistant. His absence may have been due to indisposition, but whatever the cause it was of short duration, for on June 2 he was placed on a committee to consider a petition by the inhabitants of Ded-

¹The tract in which this appears is reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., Ser. 3, Vol. iv.

ham. Later in the year he was one of those appointed to examine the state of Harvard College. He was also on a committee which considered a remonstrance made by twenty-nine of the men of Woburn, who wished to be allowed to have a minister who would preach certain doctrines that had become ruling views with them, and which afterward caused them to remove to Rhode Island.



CHAPTER IX



APTAIN GOOKIN was for the third time elected Assistant on May 3, 1654, and was present at the meeting of the Court held that day. Thereafter we lose track of his movements for more than a year. The probability is that during the summer or autumn he sailed for England, whither he was called by personal business, which apparently was an effort to secure the property left by his elder brother Edward Gookin, of whose estate he was on July 3, 1655, appointed administrator. It was necessary in those days to take passage when and as opportunity offered and it may be that Daniel had to leave home before the birth of his son Solomon, who came into the world on June 20, but lived less than a month, dying on July 16. Whether his departure was shortly before, or not long after these events, we may be sure that he went away reluctantly and with an anxious heart, but sustained by his abiding faith that his dear ones were in the hands of the ever-living God. He had reason, too, to feel that he could rely upon the prudence and judgment of his wife Mary, and that good friends and neighbors would be ready to look after her and the children in case of need.

The interval since Daniel's last visit to London had witnessed many changes. Cromwell had been proclaimed Protector, and now, for the first time in fourteen years, an election had been held, and the first Protectorate Parliament was in

session. Among its members was Daniel's cousin, Vincent Gookin, who, like himself, was a man of high aims and unswerving devotion to the path of duty. Vincent was then in the midst of his struggle in opposition to the Irish transplanting. His pamphlet, "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland discussed," was published on January 3, 1655, and in the storm which it awakened Daniel had an opportunity of observing how much moral courage is required to withstand popular clamour, little thinking that he would himself have to undergo a similar experience twenty years later.

The mind of Cromwell, at this period, was much occupied with his resolution to extend the power of England beyond the seas, and at the same time, by striking a blow at the dominion of Antichrist, to further the welfare of "the people of God," whom he held it his special mission to protect. At Christmastide he had dispatched Admiral Penn and General Venables on their ill-starred expedition to wrest the West Indies from the grasp of Spain. Failing miserably in their attack upon San Domingo, they turned their attention to Jamaica. There they were more successful, the Spanish garrison being too small to make a stand against even such a force as the tattered remnants of Venables' army. A landing was made at Kingston on May 10, 1655, and the island became an English possession.

The news of this conquest reached Cromwell on August 4, in a letter from Venables. Details were soon forthcoming. Penn arrived at Plymouth on September 1, and was followed on the 10th by his associate whom he had supposed to be mortally ill when he left for home. The expedition was a bitter disappointment to the Protector. The acquisition of Jamaica afforded small consolation for the failure to gain such a foothold in the West Indies as would dominate the trade-route of the Spanish treasure ships. Still, as the island had been taken he determined to hold it. The English garrison, a disorganized and cowardly mob, deserted by their commander, could not be relied upon, even with the aid of the reinforcements under Major Sedgwick which had been dispatched as early as June 11, when the news of the Hispaniola disaster

had not yet reached England. The need was for planters, not discontented military colonists. In the efforts made to secure these no time was lost. Requests were sent to those in authority in Scotland and Ireland to aid by sending out young persons of both sexes,—a futile proceeding, as it fortunately turned out. It was in New England that Cromwell thought he saw the most immediate source of supply. Would not many of the settlers in the rugged land of the North eagerly embrace the opportunity to found a new Puritan colony in a sunnier clime? Would not the husbandmen of Massachusetts and Connecticut be attracted by the more productive soil? Would not the change be for their interest, as well as for that of the mother country? Daniel Gookin, then, as it seemed, providentially in England, was sent for. Though he told Cromwell plainly that he did not share his views and was dubious as to the outcome, he was nevertheless commissioned to urge the people of New England to transfer themselves to Jamaica. In furtherance of this mission he was ordered to take passage for Boston on a vessel then about to sail.

It would be interesting to know in what way Cromwell became acquainted with Daniel. His acquaintance with Vincent Gookin was intimate and of long standing, and it may be that Daniel was known to him prior to this visit to England. If the introduction was made by Vincent, it must have taken place some months before the colonization of Jamaica was thought of, for he left London for Ireland early in July and, being detained en route, was in Milford Haven during August and half of September, not reaching Dublin until toward the end of the month.

At a meeting of the Council of State, on September 21, 1655, the committee for Jamaica was ordered to confer with Captain Gookin and the Treasurer was authorized to advance £300 to defray his expenses. At another meeting, held on the 26th, Cromwell presiding, the following "Instructions Given to M^r Daniell Gookin being reported from y^e Com^{tes} of the Counsell to whom the business of Jamaica was referred were this day read and approved and ordered to be offered to

his Highness as y^e advice of the Counsell w^{ch} are in hoc verba."

Instructions given unto M^r Daniell Gookin.

I. You shall upon the receipt of these Instructions repaire aboard the Ketch the Fraternitie bound for New England in which you are by the blessing of God to take your passage thither where being arrived

II. You shall apply your selfe to the Govern^{rs} Magistrates and Generall Courts of the English Colonyes or to such Churches Townes or Persons of the English their as you shall find to be for the advantage of the present service, and acquaint them That it hath pleased God to put the Island of Jamaica in America into the hands and possession of this State. The army sent from hence into those parts in December 1654 having landed at the Towne called Jago De la beiga the tenth of May and that wee are assured as well by severall Letters from thence Dated the 25th of July last as by Generall Venables and Generall Penn the first whereof came from thence the 25th day of July and the latter the 25th day of June That our fforces are in the full possession thereof The people who were found upon that place [the number whereof were about 1400] being fled to the hills with an intention to get over to some other parts of the King of Spaynes Dominions Save that some of the Negroes Portugueses and others doe daily submitt themselves to our Comander in Chiefe there to be by him Disposed of.

III. You shall describe unto them the content, situation and goodnesse of the said Island as the same is expressed in the Paper now delivered unto you which Wee received from our officers and Commissioners as also the plenty of horses and other cattle which are thereupon and you shall also let them know the goodnesse safetie and conveniences for Trade of the Harb^{or} where our men now are fortifieing and of other Harbours that are in that Island.

IV. You shall assure them that of the Army which landed the tenth of May their are between six and seven thousand men well Armed and that since that, viz^t the beginning of July last Wee have sent from hence another Regiment of ffoote Consisting of eight hundred souldiers Drawn out of our old Regiments with provisions of Bread and other necessaryes for the whole army for eight months imbarqued in twelve Shippes Eight whereof are good men of warr wth which Maio^r Robert Sedgwick is sent as a Com^r in the civill affaires, and that there is also a squadron of eleaven shippes of good fforce under the comand of Vice Adm^{ll} Goodson besides the said eight Shippes of Warr and one other Shipp of war of countenance in all to the number of Twenty with other Shippes of Burden and victuallers, all w^{ch} are appointed to remaine in those Seas and attend unto that service.

V. You shall assure That Wee shalle through the blessing of God endeavor to defend the said Island against all attempts whatsoever and for that purpose shall Constantly send further Supplies both of men and ship-

ping from hence as likewise of bread and other provisions untill the Island is able to supply it selfe. Our intention being if the Lord Please to have a good fleet alwaies in those Seas.

VI. This being the true State of that affaire and the reality of our Intentions therein Wee have thought it expedient to send you into the aforesaid Colonies and people to explaine and Declare these things unto them and to make them an offer of removing themselves or such numbers of them as shalbe thought convenient out of those parts where they now are unto Jamaica which Wee have done chiefly upon these ensueing reasons amongst many others.

1. Our desire is That this place (if the Lord so please) may be inhabited by People who know the Lord and walke in his feare that by their light they may enlighten the parts about them which was a choise end of our undertaking this Designe, and might alsoe from amongst them have persons fitt for Rulers and Magistrates who may be an encouragement^t to the good and a terror to the evill doers.

2. Out of Love and affection to themselves and the fellow feeling Wee have alwaies had of the difficulties and necessities they have been put to contest with ever since they were driven from the Land of their Nativity into that Desert and barren Wildernes for their Consciencess sake wth wee could not but make manifest at this tyme when as Wee thinke an opportunity is offered for their enlargem^t and removing of them out of a hard Countrey into a Land of plenty.

3. Considering that God by His providence through the many difficulties and necessities they are exercised with had put it into some of their hearts to seek a new plantation and particularly them of New Haven who (as wee are informed) are upon thoughts of removing into the Bay of De La-Ware and that the Distance between New England and this Island is not soe great but will afford a greater convenience of Trade and correspondence with their brethren they leave behind them then the Bay before mentioned, Wee have thought fitt to make this offer to them And for their better encouragement therein you are to make to them these following Propositions.

1. That in case any entire Colony or Colonyes or a Considerable number of Persons will transplant themselves thither such part of the Island lying next some good Harbour shalbe set out unto them as shalbe answerable to their numb^{rs} and shalbe graunted to them and their heires for ever with all edifices Horses Cattle tame or wyld, fisheries woods Trees fruits and Profitts thereupon the same not being alreadye or shall not before an agreement made wth them be sett forth to some Planters To be held in free and Comon Soccage without any rent for the first seven yeares and then one penny an Acre and noe more.

2. That they shall have Libertie graunted to them for the Space of seven yeares to hunt take and Dispose of to their owne use such horses and other Cattle as are or shalbe upon the said Island the same not

being marked by or belonging to other Planters Subject nevertheless to Such rules and Directions as to their hunting and takeing of Horses Cattle and other Beasts out of their owne bounds and lymitts as shall from tyme to tyme be made by the persons authorized for managing the Affaires of the said Island.

3. That His Highness will Graunt them Letters Patents under the Great Seale of Incorporation with as Large Priviledges and Imunities both for Chooseing their officers and otherwise as are graunted to any Citty or towne Corporate within the Comonwealth of England.

4. That neither they nor their servants shall without their owne Consent be drawne out into the Warrs unless it be in case of Invasion or Rebellion and for the defence of the said Island.

5. That noe Custome excise impost or other duty shalbe sett and imposed for the Space of three yeares to be accompted from the 29th Day of Septemb^r which shalbe in the yeare of our Lord 1656 upon any their goods or merchandizes of the groth production or manufacture of the said Island which they shall transport into the Comonwealth.

6. That his Highnesse will take care and be oblidge to appointe from tyme to tyme Such a Governo^r and Comāder in chiefe of the said Island and such persons to assist him in the management of the affaires thereof as shalbee men of Integritye and feareing God and that he will from tyme to tyme elect and constitute some from amongst them to be of that number who for their fidelitye prudence Godliness and honestie may be fitt for such Trust And that as speedy as may be a Civill Government shalbe settled agreeable to the word of God, and as far as the condition of that place will admitt, to the Lawes of England, where provision shalbe made that the Churches of Christ shall have liberty and protection in all waies of Godliness and Honestie.

7. That towards the transportation of themselves their Servants and Estates His Highnes will furnish them with Six Shipps of convenient burden if they desire that number and also a fitting convoy, They undertaking to victuall Shipps of burden from the tyme the said Shipps shall arrive in their ports for the purpose aforesaid untill they have performed their voyage.

8. As to the quantity and proportion of Land to be appointed for them according to the first Proposition you are authorized to propound That such quantity of Land shalbe set forth as will answeere the proportion of twenty Acres for every Male of twelve yeares old and upwards and ten acres Per Poll for all other Male or female to be transported as aforesaid.

9. That the said quantity of Land shalbe set forth unto them within Six weeks after the agreement made for their transportation and Signification of their desires on that behalfe to the Comāder in Chiefe or Com^{rs} intrusted for that purpose to whom you shall direct yo^r selfe or any other persons concerned herein in prosecution of the premises or any part of them.

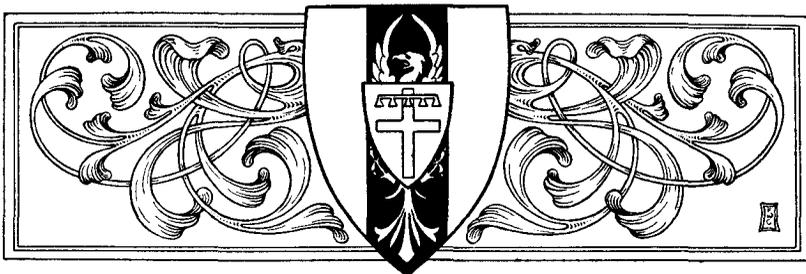
10. That they doe engage to transport the whole number of Males for w^{ch} twenty Acres to each is to be set forth within two yeares after the aforesaid Agreement and that they doe begin their worke of transporting some tyme before the end of September 1656.

11. You shall from tyme to tyme as you have opportunity or by an expresse if you find it necessary send unto Us in writting a particular Account of your proceedings upon these Instructions and of what else shall occur in reference thereunto whereupon you shall receive Our further directions for the managem^t of this affaire as the Case shall require and such agreem^t as you shall make in the meane tyme pursuant to these Instructions Wee shall confirme and ratifie.¹

At the same session it was resolved:

“That it be referred to the Com^{rs} of the Adm^{ty} and Navy to give order for a fitt ship to convoy as farr and beyond the Island of Scilly a vessell now bound for New England wherein M^r Daniell Gookin employed in the States Service is to be embarqued.”

¹Interregnum Entry Book civ, 304-306.



CHAPTER X



DANIEL entered upon his employment in this affair with many misgivings. His mission, indeed, was foredoomed to failure from its inception. Not only were important considerations overlooked in the hastily formulated instructions, but New England was far from being the barren wilderness that Cromwell supposed, and, to the sturdy colonists, life in the tropics did not appear so alluring as his imagination pictured it. Moreover, any leanings in that direction they might have entertained, were dispelled by news which reached them of the melancholy fate of the soldiers who formed the Jamaica garrison. On November 5, 1655, while Daniel Gookin was still detained in England, Major Sedgwick, who had been sent out with the fresh regiment that left England in June and arrived at Kingston October 1, sent the Protector a disheartening report.

“For the army,” he wrote, “I found them in as sad and deplorable and distracted condition as can be thought of, and indeed think, as never poor Englishmen were in: the commanders—some dead, some sick, and some in indifferent health: the soldiery—many dead, their carcasses lying unburied in the highways and among bushes . . . many of them that were alive walked like ghosts or dead men, who, as I went through the town, lay groaning and crying out, ‘Bread, for the Lord’s sake!’” The misfortunes of this shiftless and disorderly rabble, of whom Sedgwick complained, “Dig or

plant they neither can nor will, but do rather starve than work," though due to their own improvidence and absolute neglect of all sanitary precautions, was attributed by them to the unhealthfulness of the island.

Though Daniel's instructions were issued on September 26, he was not able to leave England until about the 10th of November, when he finally set sail. The Council of State passed an order on December 19 "for the payment of 50s. a day demurrage whilst the vessel was waiting to receive Mr. Gookin who was bound to New England on the Commonwealth service," and on May 15, 1656, the Admiralty Commissioners authorized the payment to Peter Cole, owner of the "Fraternity," of 17*l.* 10*s.* for seven days' demurrage, pursuant to said order.

The winter passage across the Atlantic in a small craft did not prove to be a pleasure trip. The words "trying" and "exercising" which Captain Gookin used in describing it indicate that he met with grave peril as well as discomfort. However, the voyage was safely accomplished at last and on January 20, 1655/6, the Fraternity arrived at Boston. Two days later Daniel wrote Secretary Thurloe as follows:

DANIEL GOOKIN TO SECRETARY THURLOE

S^r

In obedience to your commaunds, these are to give acco^t: that it pleased the Lord two dayes since, to land me safe in New England after ten weekes of an exercising passage from Isle of Wight, and here finding a shipp readie to sett saile to the barbadoes, and some persons therin to passe for England; w^{ch} opertunity I thought it expedient to take, seeing their is no probability of another for a good space. It is little y^t I cann at p^{sent} acquaint yo^r hono^r wth concerning the affaire of his Highnes comitted to mee, but only in generall some principal men in the country doe well resent the designe of his highnesse & I doubt not but will promote the same; only some unworthy persons (that came from thence, have as I understand) brought up an evell report upon the Island in Respect of the unhelthfulnes therof, how farr it may be prejudicial I cannot yet resolve, but hope not much: I trust (through God's assistance) Not to be wanting in my duty, and to give you full information as things Ripen, w^{ch} I desire the Lord to accomplish to his owne Glory and His Highneses satisfaction. So with my humble services & hartly praiers that the Lord would Bless & prosper all yo^r waighty affaires; desiring excuse for this abrupt &

scribed letter, beeing surprised through shortnes of time, humbly taking leave, I Remaine

Your humble servant

Boston in New England
January 21th 1655¹

DANIEL GOOKIN

The sailing of the ship for Barbados being delayed, this letter was supplemented two days later by another, of similar content but more carefully written.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO SECRETARY THURLOE²

Sr

Your commands obleidging me to give inteligence by all oppertunities, it was expedient not to omit this per the Barbadoes, no other beeing like to offer it selfe for a good space; it is but very little hitherto that I have to acquaint your honer with, seeing it is only fouer days since my arrivall in New England after ten weeks of a trying passage from the Isle of Wight, it cannot yet bee collected upon any grounds of certainty what will be the issue of my Employ. I hope the best, and trust through God's assistance not to be wanting in my utmost endeavours. I have communicated the matter to the Governor and some other principall men, who seeme to resent things very well, and promise their best counsell and incouragement, being possessed of his Highnesse ayme at God's honer therin, together with his speciaall respects to this people. As for other coloneys that are remote, and where I expect most may be done, I cannot addresse myself to them until the sharpness of the winter be past, which for the present renders the waies impassable, but in the interim, shall prosecute the worke in this Coloney.

There are two things received by the people that seeme obstacles to the worke; one is the unhelthfulness of the island occasioned by an evell report raised by some unworthy persons that have come from thence into these parts; the other is strong fears of continuell invasion and disquiett by the Spaniards. I hope that both may be taken off or eased when truth is discovered. I can conclude nothing, but commit the success to the Lord who worketh all things according to the counsell of his owne will. With my humble services and unworthy prayers for the Lord's presence and grace continually to abide with his Highness and his helpers, to strengthen and incourage their harts and hands in the Lords worke, with my perticular respects to your honour I remaine

Sir

Your affectionate and humble servant

Boston, January 24th 1655

DANIEL GOOKIN

¹Rawl. MSS. A 34, 609. The date of this hastily written letter is manifestly an error. It should have been dated January 22.

²Rawl. MSS. A 34, 689.

Three months and a half elapsed before the next report was dispatched. It tells of faithful work, but records failure to make headway against obstacles that were in truth unsurmountable.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO SECRETARY THURLOE¹

Right Hon^{ble}

Since my arrivall in New England w^{ch} was the 20th of January last, I wrote two le^{rs} by way of Barbadoes, & this third also the same way (being destitute of a direct conveyance from hence) the sume of the two first was principaly to informe yo^r honno^r of my arrivall here & of a little motion that I had then made in his Highnesse's affayres, but the sharpnes of the winter, at that time in its strength, not only prevented my travill into other Colonies, but the meeting of the Councell of this Colonie, until the 7th of March last (notwithstanding the Governour called them to meet a month before) in which intervale of time I endeavored to make knowne to perticuler persons his Highnes desires, but little was done during that season for the forementioned reasons, but after the Council of this Colonie met & I had delivered his Highnes le^{rs} & shewed my instructions they thankfully accepted his Highnes love in this offer, & readily orderd the promotion of his desires, requiring their officers to publish the matter, in that way I thought expedient, whereupon I forthwith caused a short declaration to be printed & sent abroad unto all the Townes & plantations of the English, not only in this but other Colonies, the Copie of which declaration & the Councills order I have inclosed, procuring & imploying some persons of trust in places remote to be helpfull in promoting the busines. Shortly after this was done, about midle of April (as soone as the waies were well passable) I tooke my journey unto the Colonies of Conecticott & New Haven (150 miles out right for the most part through the wilderness) And unto the magistrates of those Colonies declared the busines, delivering his Highnes le^{rs} to M^r Eaton Gou^rno^r of New Haven; Those Gentⁿ Thankfully accepted his Highneses love and abundant kindnes as wel in this as in former matters & readily caused the printed papers to be published, manefesting themselves very willing to further the worke in the West indies which they trust is of God. But as to this place of Jamaica the minds of most men were averse for p^sent forasmuch as about that very time there came divers le^{rs} from thence dated in November, declaring the sore hand of God in the sicknes and mortality of the English upon the Island, inasmuch that of 8 or 9 m Englishmen landed there, more then one halfe were dead; & such as yet lived were in a languishing condition, wherin also was related the death of Majo^r General ffortescue, M^r Gage & divers others, persons of note. This Tydings was a very great discouragement to the most & best per-

¹ Rawl. MSS. xxxviii, 263.

sons which otherwise 'tis probable would have ingaged to remove, only some few about 100 have subscribed, & those not very considerable for qualitie. But if the Lord should please to give the state either Hispaniola, Cuba, or any other likly and healthfull place, I have good reason to beleve that Sundry considerable psons and Churches wth their officers would Transplant from hence into those parts (but as for the Island of Jamaica, though, through the favor of God late inteligence of the 7th of March last from the Comissioners give great hopes that the Lord is returning to visitt the remnant y^t is left wth health & cure & also they give great incuradgment concerning the fertility and Comoditie of the said Island, which tydings I have endeavored to publish, but what the effects then may bee, as to the drawing in of persons it beeing hardly yet knowne fully, I cannot determine). But this place namely Jamaica through many hard reports of it hath at p^rsent but a low esteeme in these parts, & in some respects as I conceive much worse yⁿ it deserves. But yet notwithstanding their are about 20 persons wherof some are Godly and of Credit who intend & desire to pass from hence to the said Island; & I have by advise from the Comissioners ordered that they may pass theither in a ship of the states lately come from thence & now here lading masts & deales, for the fleet; wherof is Comāder one Martin, beeing to resume about 6 weeks hence unto Jamaica now if the Lord please to carry them safe and that the Island be liked by them (as I trust it may) then they intend to fetch or send for their families & upon their good inteligence It is very probable that divers will remove, and in the interim (if the Lords thoughts be) to transplant any Considerable number of persons from hence, tis possible that upon this last newes I may shortly heare of greater motions among the people then formerly. Thus I have as briefly as I could perticularly declared to yo^r Hono^r the substance of what is hitherto done.

There is one thing further that I desire to mention w^{ch} is an obiection I meet wth from some principal persons, y^t incline to transplant, & indeed the motions of such will draw or hinder many, if His Highnes see cause to remove it, tis probable it may further the work; They say their is no incuradgement in the propositions for ministers or men of place but what is equall with other men, now if a minister & his people should remove the people wil not be in capacity to maintaine their ministers & other publicke persons y^t attend publicke worke untill they bee for some yeares settled & have by the blessing of God gained some estate & y^o rather forasmuch as they who transplant from hence are disabled to carry their estates theither, w^{ch} consists principaly in catle & land, now therefore if their were some annuall allowances proposed for such persons for a few yeares untill the people were inabled to maintayne y^m, or other meanes contrived it would take of this hindrance.

I am hartily sorry that my service hath hetherto beene of so litle profit unto His Highnes & the state, (whom I desire through the

Right Hon^{ble}
Hon^{ble}

269

since my arrivall in New England which was the 20th of January last. I
found two Letters by way of Barbadoes, & this third also the same way
(being destitute of a direct conveyance from hence, the time
of the two first was principally to informe y^e honours of my
arrivall here, & of a little motion that I had ^{then} made in his
Highneses affaires, but the sharpnes of the winter, at that
time in its strength, not only prevented my travell into other
Colonies, but the meeting of the Councill of this Colonie,
until the 7th of march last (notwithstanding the Governour
called them to meet a month before), in which intervall of time
I endeavored to make knowne to particuler persons, his Highnes
desires, but little was done during that season for the fore-
mentioned reason, but after the Councill of this Colonie
met & I had delivred his Highneses Letters, & shewed my instructions,
they thankfully accepted his Highneses Love in this offer, &
readily ordered the promotion of his desires, requiring
their officers to publish the matter, in that way I thought
expedient, whereupon I forthwith caused a short declaration
to be printed & sent abroad unto all the Townes & plantations
of the English, not only in this but other Colonies, the
Copie of which declaration & the Councills order I have
inclosed, procuring & employing some persons of trust in
places remote to be helpfull in promoting the busines,
shortly after this was done, about middle of April I took
my journey unto the Colonies of Connecticut, & New Haven,
150 miles out right for the most part through the wilderness.
And unto the magistrates of these Colonies declared the
busines, delivring his Highneses Letters, to Mr. John Gorton of
New Haven; these Gent^l thankfully accepted his Highneses
Love and abundant kindness, as well in this as in former matters
& readily caused the printed papers to be published, manifesting
themselves very willing to further the worke in the
West Indies which they trust is of God; but as to this place
Jamaica the minds of most men were directed for present
forasmuch as

strength of God to serve with a faithfull hart diligently) but I trust his Highnes wisdom & yo^r wil consider the providences of God that hath occurred and also remember some litle mention I made of my feares this way before I came forth upon this imploy, but yet I am not out of hope that his Highnesses godly intentions & desires in this great worke in the West indies, & elsewhere wilbe owned & crowned wth the Lords Blessing in his best season. Thus with my most humble service p^rsented & earnest praires unto him upon whose shoulders all Gou^rnment is, That he will in favor give his gracious p^rsence & assistance unto his Highnes & yo^r Honours in all emergencies I Remaine desirous to Bee:

S^r
 His Highnes &
 yo^r Honers
 most humble &
 faithful servant
 DANIEL GOOKIN

Cambridge in N. E.
 May the 10th 1656

Accompanying this letter was a transcript of the order adopted by the Council at their meeting in Boston, March 7, 1655/6.

Wheras Capt. Daniel Gookin hath p^rsented to the Council a letter from his Highness, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, & Hath shewen unto us also the instructions w^{ch} hee receued from his said Highnes, in both which it appeares that the said Capt. is imployed to Communicate to the seuerall Townes and inhabitants of this Jurisdiction, his Highnes propositions to remoue such of the inhabitants as shall desire to be transplanted to Jamaica The Councell readily graunts the said Capt. Gookin liberty to Communicate his said Instructions to any or euery Congregation or Towne within this Jurisdiction, according as hee shall see cause, And for that end he is at his Libertie to imploy any meet person or officer to Congregate the said people for that end on any lecture or other weeke day.

By the Council
 EDWARD RAWSON Secret^y

A copy was also enclosed of the printed announcement here given in fac-simile.

*To all Persons whom these may CONCERN, in the Several
 Townes, and Plantations of the UNITED COLONIES
 in NEW-ENGLAND.*

It is hereby declared, That his Highness the Lord Protectour of the Common wealth of England &c: hath Commissioned and Impowred

M^r *Daniel Gookin* dwelling at *Cambridg* in the Massachusets, to make agreement with any convenient number of the English in the Colonies of New-England, who shall desire to remove themselves or families into *Jamacia* in the *West-Indies*, now in possession of the State of England; And for their better Incouragement, His Highness (bearing a special affection to the people of New England, and being very desirous to have the said place inhabited by a stock of such as know the LORD, and walk in his Fear,) will graunt them, Ships for transportation; a sufficient proportion of Land to them and their heires for ever near some good harbour in the said Island; Protection (by God's blessing) from all enemies; a share of all the Horses, Cattle, and other beasts, wild and tame upon the place freely, Together with other Priviledges and Immunities, the particulars wherof may be known by those who shall see cause to address themselves to the said *Daniel Gookin* (or such as he shall desire to be helpfull herein, whose names are underneath expressed in writing)¹ who will be ready to make full agreement with them according to his Highness Instructions, and take their reciprocall Ingagements and Subscriptions to remove accordingly. Farther it is desired that such as incline to the Design aforesaid to make known themselves without delay it being his Highness Pleasure that the work of Transporting should be begun before the end of September next.

Dated this 25 of *March* 1656.

From the outset it must have appeared to Daniel that it was scarcely worth while to persist in the face of such adverse conditions. By midsummer he regarded his task as practically at an end, as is shown by his next letter, written July 24.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO SECRETARY THURLOE²

Right Honer^{ble}

Please herby to understand, that I have written severall lefs by way of Barbados, & comited them to the faithfulest persons I could meet with, some wherof (I trust) are long since come to your hands, but I never had oppertunitie to write directly from hence untill this p'sent (and I saw not any nessesseitie for an expresse). I have given ptcular acct. formerly what successe his Highness affairs (committed to me) hath found in these pts, the summe wherof is that the generalitye of the godly in all the Country do cordially Resent his Highnes good will, faver, & love, as well in this as other matters, & do unfainedly (I trust) beare upon their harts before the Lord, him his work & helpers, and I have ground to thinke that all the English Coloneys will see cause in peticuler lefs of thanks to manefest their duty

¹ None appended to this copy.

² Rawl. MSS. xxxix, 431-2.

2

*TO all Persons whom these may CONCERN, in the Several
Towns, and Plantations of the UNITED COLONIES,
in New-England.*

IT is hereby declared, That his Highness the Lord Protector of the Common wealth of England &c: hath Commissioned and Impowered *M^r Daniel Gookin* dwelling at *Cambridg* in the Massachusets, to make agreement with any convenient number of the English in the Colonies of New-England, who shall desire to remove themselves or families into *Jamaica* in the *West-Indies*, now in possession of the State of England; And for their better Incouragement, His Highness (bearing a special affection to the people of New England, and being very desirous to have the said place inhabited by a stock of such as know the LORD, and walk in his Fear,) will graunt them, Ships for transportation; a sufficient proportion of Land to them and their heires for ever near some good harbour in the said Island; Protection (by Gods blessing) from all enemies; a share of all the Horses, Cattle and other beasts, wild and tame upon the place freely, Together with other Priviledges and Immanities, the particulars wherof may be known by those who shall see cause to address themselves to the said *Daniel Gookin* (or such as he shall desire to be helpfull herein, whose names are underneath expressed in writing) who will be ready to make full agreement with them according to his Highness Instructions, and take their reciprocall Ingagements and Subscriptions to remove accordingly. Farther it is desired that such as incline to the Design aforesaid, do make known themselves without delay, it being his Highness Pleasure that the work of Transporting should be begun before the end of September next.

Dated this 25 of *March* 1656.



and speciall Respects to his Highnes. As soone as the weather was travellable, I visited all the united Colonies of the English, wch are 4 in Number & a good distance from each other and in all of them endeve'd the promotion of his Highnes desires and offers of transplantation to Jamaica; indeed I found sundry considerable psons who have had much motion upon their harts to gratifie the cordiall offers of his Highnes. But discouradgments from the great Mortalitie of the English upon the place, the prophanesesse of the generalitie of the soldiers, The continuall hazard of men's lives, by the sculking Nigroes² & spanyards, all wch & sundry other matters were and are strongly reported here, wch doth (for the present) cause many to suspend their resolves & desire to wait longer intreating the lord to guide them in a right way for them & there wives & little ones, only there are about three hundred soules, who have ingaged to remove next Attuñe, if their be transportation wherof I have advised the Comissioners at Jamaica about a month since by one of the states ships that loded masts here, for Jamaica; in w^{ch} shipp also went three godly persons from hence to see the Island and upon their liking to take possession for their Brethren & companions that Intend to follow; divers wherof especially heads of families are godly honest & industrious people & if the Lord see meet to cary them theither I have cause to hope they wilbe a blessing to the place. I have not absolutely ingaged shipping to be sent for seeing their numbers are so fewe; but have left it to the Comissioners, at y^e Island to doe as they shal have orders.

It is a triall to mee (but the Lords disposeings silenceth my hart) that his Highnes Cost & my travel hath been hitherto so ineffectuall, but I doubt not the Lord will accept and owne in Cht Jesus what ever hath been intented in this matter, in order to his glory & his peoples welfare, and that those concerned shall find returnes of this bread cast upon the waters in its best season.

I now wait for his Highnes & yo^r honours further pleasure in this or any other matter here, wherin such an unworthy one as my selfe might be any way servicable, for tis upon my hart to spend & be spent for the Lord & for his Highnes & the saints whome my hart is much devoted to in the Lord, being perswaded through grace that the Lord wilbe with his Highnes & Helpers in the work of these though the floods of Sathan & his Instruments, bee very deepe in their enmitie & malignatie; But the Lord hath laid helpe upon one y^t is mighty & able to save to the very uttermost all that come to god by him & the gounment is upon his shoulders & though instruments may sometime be plunged deepe, yet wth him is wisdom, counel & strength.

If his highnes pleasure bee to dismissee mee from this worke (which seems ended) I humbly intreat it may bee signified unto mee the next returne of shippingg to these parts, because the Lord seems to call mee

¹ Not until the end of the eighteenth century were the English settlers free from the depredations of the "Maroons," as these negroes were called.

back to England, for the Issuing a buisnes of some concernment to me, which i left at my coming away, unfinished (but committed it to friends who have made no progress therein.)

Thus Right Hon^{ble} desiring hartily to pray to the Lord for his gracious presence & assistance to follow his Highnes and helpers, and that yo^r persons & prairs may be neare unto the Lord day and night that he may maintaine the cause of his servant & the cause of his people Israel & doe every day in the day as the matter shall require, I humbly take leave, Intreating to be acco^{ted} one of the number of his Highneses & yo^r Honours Faithfull (though unworthy) servants

DANIEL GOOKIN

Cambridge in New England
xxiiijth vth month
1656

On October 23 Governor Endicott "in the name and wth the consent of the Generall Court," addressed a letter to the Protector, in which he said: "We received by Captaine Gookin yo^r Highnes proposalls for the removeall of some of o^rs to the Island of Jamaica, wth by o^r order were comunicated to the people of this Jurisdi^{con}, in compliance wth yo^r Highnes good and pious intentions of planting the place wth such as through the blessing of God may hopefullie promote a designe so religious: But if by the intelligence from thence of the mortallitie of the English there, the motion heere answereth not expectation May it please your Highnes not to impute it to us as declyning yo^r service, much less as dis-accepting yo^r favo^r & endeavours of promoting what may conduce to o^r welfare."¹

A month later Daniel felt constrained to make yet another report. Even the scant measure of success indicated in his last letter had faded away.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO SECRETARY THURLOE²

Right Hon^{ble}

The fruit of my labour in his Highnes service (through the disposing hand of God) being rendered very unanswerable to his pious intentions it is hardly worth my troubling your honour with the recitall thereof, only duty obleidging me to faithfulness, I shall acquaint your honour how things now stand in reference to that affayre.

¹ Rawl. MSS. A xliii, 125.

² Ibid 241.

In severall letters by way of Barbadoes, and one from hence, which was the only direct convayance (hitherto providence p^resented), I signified to yo^r Honour in perticular my proceedings in that service, the sume whereof was to declare What I had done in order to promote his Highnes gracious tenders, to plant the island of Jamaica with some godly people from these parts; and to that end I personally travilled to the severall colonies, viz: Conecticut, New Haven, and New Plimouth, and Bay, who did all thankfully resent his Highnes great love and favour, and I conceive have written to that end. But the great difficulties and discouradgment the English have grapled with in that place, being fully known heere, have made the most considerable persons slow to appeare or ingage to transplant for the p^resent, lest they should bring themselves and families into great inconveniences; only there was about three hundred souls that subscribed, who for the most part are young persons under family government, and many of them females, and for quality of low estate, but divers personally godly. Three of this number tooke oppertunitie to passe to the island in July last (in a ship of the state's that loded masts heere) to discover the condition and sutableness of the island for themselves and freinds to move unto; two of which three persons returned from the said Island about four daies since in a vessel of this country that was there: they brought letters to me and a packett and a single letter for yo^r honour, which I have delivered to James Garret, commander of the ship Hopwell now bound for England the first winde, with expresse charge to send it upp with all speed after his arrivall. These two persons that are returned (for the third abides their for further triall) do report something for encouradgment and something the Contrary. To the first they speak fully of the fertilitie, pleasantness, and present healthfulness of the Island and how much good may, in all probability, bee done there by an industrious and diligent people. The discouradgements they relate are the weak, low, and careless posture of the English upon the place in order to settlement, with the scarcity of victuall and their whole dependance upon forraigne supplis, neglecting planting for the moste part; also the death of their friend Major Robert Sedgwicke and some others adds to their present discouradgements; and they apprehend that the poore people engaged are not in a fitt posture to remove att present, seeing their numbers for quality and quantitie is too weake to setle and cary on a plantation for the honour of his Highnes or thier owne comfort. Yet this I perceive, that severall of them stand much inclined to remove, and some will goe, if shipping present, and many more, if the Lord so please to change the face of things hereafter.

I doubt not but the packett from thence will spare me a labour in recitall of what I heard from thence. Their present strait is want of bread and some other provisions wherof some late supply is transported from hence. The ship Church, fly-boate, one Evans commander, sent thither for that ende, which ship landed about 90 cwt of biskett and above

2500 bushells of pease, whose dispatch and furtherance from hence, about a month past, I gave my help unto, being therunto desired by letters from the Commissioners at Jamaica.

I have noe more at present to add but my humble service to your honour, and my poore prayers to the King of Heaven to preserve, guide, strengthen, and prosper his Highness in the Lorde's worke, whom faithfully to serve as the Lord enableth, shall be the studdy and desire of

S^r his Highness and
your honours
servant

DANIEL GOOKIN

23^d of the 8th month
1656

In November Luke Stokes, the Governor of Nevis, removed to Jamaica with "no less than 1600 of the poorer inhabitants of his island,"¹ and settled at Port Morant. These people had long been accustomed to West Indian life, yet before they had been three months in their new home they lost two-thirds of their number, including Stokes himself. After this additional evidence of the dangers to which colonists in Jamaica exposed themselves, further effort on the part of Daniel Gookin was clearly perceived to be useless. In June he sent a letter which may be regarded as his final report.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO SECRETARY THURLOE²

Right Hon^{ble}

The disposing hand of God hath so rendered that affayre of transplanting New England people into Jamaica, that a further account is scarcely worth his Highness knowledge; yet duty obliedging me, I dare not omitt it. So it is, that since the returne of those that went to view the Island from hence, and the intelligence by the last of them, of the mortalitie amongst the Nevis planters, such a dampe is put to the most active ingagers, that all are silent to a remove at present. I am apt to thinke, that divers of them will find cause to repent of this their change, and breach of promise, seeing there is no just cause of discouragement as I can perceive. As for that of Nevis men, that place (as I hear) was ominous to the Spanyard for unhealthfulness; and all men, even those that went, report the delicasy and fertility of the Island, which, by God's

¹Gardiner, *Hist. Com and Prot. Ed.* 1903, iv, 223.

²Rawl. MSS. A li, 185.

bleasing, would have been a meanes to put a change unto some of their low conditions; besides the opportunity might have bene put into their hands to enlarde the profession of the gospell, where Sathan & Antichrist hath so long had his throne: but the mind and hart of man is so blind and unstable, that he is most ready to miss his own mercy and neglect his duty.

I doe further account myself obleidged to acquaint your honor with intelligence lately had by the Captaine of a French man of Warre named Mon. Bleau, who arrived at the Dutch plantation adjacent to us with a rich Spanish prize. This Captaine professeth great respects to the noble English nation, and gives reason for it from severall curtisies he received in the West Indies, both from Admiral Goodson and others. In a shipp he tooke that was bound from Cuba to Spaine, he intercepted letters that spake the purposes of the Spanyards upon Cuba, to attempt the retaking of Jamaica; which they are animated unto by intelligence gather'd from an Englishman in their power, whom hee called an engineere, who belonged to Jamaica: this advice the Frenchman gives to the Governor of this place, in a letter sent on purpose, which I had the sight of, and intends to bee here shortly himselfe, and then to give more particular information from the letters themselves, which wilbe coppied out, and sent for England to his Highness. I have advised Colonell Brayne¹ of this by a letre wrote yesterday, that passeth in a fly-boat of the States, now ready to saile hence, laden with masts and deales, under the command of one Furmage.

And now, Right Honourable, since my service for his Highness in this place seemes fully ended at present, I hope it may be no offence if I returne for England by the next ship, respecting some perticular occasions of my owne left undone at my coming away; and also to tender myselfe ready (if called thereunto) with my poor witt to serve his renowned Highness in the Lord, unto whome my hart stands firmly bent and devoted, as to him, whome the God of Heaven hath eminently designed to doe great things for the honor of his great name and inlardgement of the Kingdome of his Christ, and good of his poore church; which the good Lord strengthens him and his helpers into every day more and more; and when their work is finished, receive him and them into the third heaven to triumph in glory through Eternitie. So he, humbly and earnestly desires to pray, who is

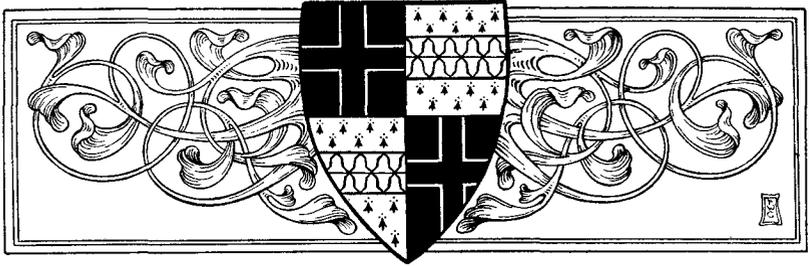
His Highness and
your Honour's
servant

Cambridge, in New England

June xxth 1657

DANIEL GOOKIN

¹The new Governor of Jamaica who had arrived at his post in December with a considerable force. He sent the discontented soldiers home, and by his firmness and good judgement, within a few months, effectually remedied the conditions that prevailed before his arrival.



CHAPTER XI



ALTHOUGH in June, 1657, Daniel announced his intention of sailing for England "in the next ship," the opportunity did not come for nearly five months. When at last it did arrive, he had a narrow escape from losing his life. This is the story as told by himself:

"But An. 1657, in the month of November,¹ Mr. Mayhew, the son,² took shipping at Boston, to pass for England, about some special concerns, intending to return with the first opportunity; for he left his wife and children at the Vineyard: in truth his heart was very much in that work,³ to my knowledge, I being well acquainted with him. He took his passage for England in the best of two ships then bound for London, whereof one James Garrett was master. The other ship, whereof John Pierse was commander, I went passenger therein, with Mr. Hezekiah Usher senior of Boston and several other persons. Both these ships sailed from Boston in company. Mr. Garrett's ship, which was about four hundred tons, had good accomodations, and greater far than the other: and she had aboard her a very rich lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in number; whereof divers of them were persons of great worth and virtue, both men and women; especially Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Davis, Mr. Ince, and Mr. Pelham, all scholars, and masters of art, as I take it most of them. The second of these, viz. Mr. Davis, son to one of that name at New Haven, was one of the best accomplished persons for learning, as ever was bred at Harvard College in Cambridge in New England. Myself was once intended and resolved to pass in that ship: but the master, who sometimes had been employed by me, and from whom I expected a common courtesy, carried it something unkindly as I conceived,

¹ November 13. See Diary of John Hull in Tr. Am. Ant. Soc. iii, 181.

² Rev. Thomas Mayhew, junior, of Martha's Vineyard.

³ Preaching to the Indians, which he did in their own tongue.

about my accomodations of a cabin: which was an occasion to divert me to the other ship, where I also had good company, and my life also preserved, as the sequel proved: For this ship of Garret's perished in the passage, and was never heard of more."¹

Arriving in England about the time of the summary dissolution of the second Protectorate parliament on February 4, 1657/8, after its short and stormy second session, Daniel found that since he sailed away, two years before, a noticeable change had taken place in the temper of the people. Restlessness under the arbitrary rule of the Major Generals, and dissatisfaction with the ascendancy of the military party were becoming very general. And in spite of the intensity of his Puritanism some echo must have reached him of the growing reaction against excessive religious enthusiasm,—a reaction, which, following Cromwell's willingness to accord liberty of conscience to others, was the harbinger of the age of toleration. It was indeed an eventful time. In June came the joyful news of the defeat of the Spanish forces by the English and French allies at the battle of the Dunes, followed a few days later by the formal delivery of Dunkirk into the hands of the English. Then, at the beginning of September, came that cruel blow to the hopes of the Puritans, the death of the Lord Protector, awakening apprehensions that were to increase daily as the incompetency of his successor became more manifest.

It would, perhaps, be possible to trace Daniel's movements during this year if more had been learned about the "special concernment" that took him to England. Whatever it was, progress appears to have been slow. While waiting, other occupation was possible. So he sought and obtained the post of collector of customs at Dunkirk, the minutes of the Council of State for March 10, 1658/9, recording that he was "to be commissioned to receive the duties there."² This place was apparently a temporary one, for during the summer he laid a petition before the Council intimating his desire for some employment, "at Dunkirk if possible."³ This received

¹Hist. Collections of the Ind. in New Eng., chap. ix

²Cal. State Papers Dom. 1658-59, p. 302.

³This seems to point to Dunkirk as the place of residence of Edward Gookin. The Letters of Administration issued by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury ran to

favorable consideration. The Committee for Dunkirk, on August 30, recommended that Mr. Gookin "be nominated Deputy Treasurer at War, to reside in Dunkirk, and receive and pay all moneys for the forces there, and also for contingencies, that the accounts may be better kept, and he is to be responsible for all, and communicate the state of affairs as occasion requires."¹ The appointment was accordingly made by the Council of State, September 2, 1659.²

When, on May 25, 1660, King Charles II sailed across the English Channel to land at Dover, where the cliffs "were covered by thousands of gazers, among whom scarcely one could be found who was not weeping with delight,"³ Daniel Gookin, having embarked for home on the same ship⁴ that had brought him to England a little more than two years earlier, had looked for the last time upon his native land, and was several days out upon the long voyage across the Atlantic. With him as fellow passengers were the regicides, General Whalley and Colonel Goffe, who had thought it prudent to flee to the new world before Charles should arrive and take up the reins of government. Had the diary which Goffe kept from May 4, 1660, the day he left Westminster, until the year 1667,⁵ not been destroyed when the Boston mob set fire to Governor Hutchinson's house, we should no doubt have many interesting details concerning this voyage and about Daniel Gookin during the seven months the regicides spent in Cambridge. All of this diary that survives is a transcript of a few entries.

12d. 3m [May 12, 1660]—The King was proclaimed at Gravesend; there was much rejoycing among the people, but God's people lamented over y^e grt profaneness wth wch y^t Joy was express'd. It was observed y^t many dogs did y^t day run mad; & dyed suddenly in y^e Town.

"Daniel Gookin, natural, lawfull, and only brother of Edward Gookin, late in the parts upon or beyond the seas, batchelor, deceased" (Adm. Act Book, July, 1655).

¹ Cal. S. P. Dom. 1658-9, p. 161.

² Ibid., p. 165.

³ Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, ch. 1.

⁴ Presumably the "Royal Exchange," which was the name of the ship commanded by Capt. Pierce in 1668.

⁵ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass. Bay*, Ed. 1795, p. 197.

13 d 2m — Wee Kept Sabbath aboard. To a good Ministers Church in the Towne was stuck up near ye pulpit a Broom; in token as was by all conceived, y^t ye minister should shortly be swept away from them.

27d 5m [July 27, 1660]—Wee came to Anchor between Boston & Charlestown; between 8 & 9 in y^e morning: All in good health thro: ye good hand of God! upon us: oh! y^t men would praise the Lord for his goodness . . . as ps. 107, 21, &c.

29d 5m.—Lord's Day, heard Mr. Mitchell preach.

9d 6m. [Aug. 9 1660]—Went to Boston Lecture, heard Norton. Scotch ship brought threatn'd recognition by one who came in it. At Night majr Gookin shewed us a printed paper y^t was brought in y^e Scotch Ship, wherein y^e Lds do order 66 members of y^e High court of Justice to be secured, wth y^r Estates,—its dated 18d May 1660, but I will meditate on Hebr. 13. 5. 6.

16d 6m—Sup'd with Mr. Chauncey, he was persuaded y^e Ld had brought us to this country for good both to them and ourselves.

It can scarcely be doubted that Whalley and Goffe took up their residence in Cambridge at the instance of their friend Gookin, both for their greater security, and that he might have more abundant opportunity of enjoying their society. And as they proceeded thither on the day of their landing, it is possible that for a time, at least, they were his guests, though prudence must have dictated that their stay under his roof should not be longer than until they could find a suitable abiding place elsewhere. They were, it is said, "held in exceedingly great esteem for their piety and parts," and, during their stay in the colony, "held meetings where they preached and prayed, and were looked upon as men dropped down from heaven."¹ With their further story this history is not concerned, save that when word reached Boston that complaints were abroad about the way they were received by the principal men of the colony, Daniel Gookin was one of the Magistrates who were present at the session of the General Court on December 19, and helped make the "Address to the King" which it was thought wise to send to Charles by a special messenger. Two months later, on the day that Whalley and Goffe set out for New Haven under the guidance of an Indian, Daniel was one of those who attended a Council meeting to

¹Cal. S. P. Col. 1661-8, p. 54.

consider what should be done about their apprehension! Again on March 8 we find his name recorded among those present at a meeting of the Council when a warrant for the arrest of the judges was issued¹ and given to a deputy who was sent as far as Springfield on their track, but, as was no doubt expected, returned empty handed. These pretended efforts did not deceive the government in England, and the show of earnest endeavor following the receipt, a few days later, of an order for the regicides' arrest—the search for them being then committed to two zealous royalists—was made too late to create a different impression. An English correspondent of Rev. John Davenport of New Haven wrote, October 28, 1661: "The Bay stirring soe much for the Apprehending of W: & G: signifie at present heere but little, because they were so long with them & then did nothing."²

Realizing that the dissatisfaction of the English government with their reception of Whalley and Goffe, as also with their persistent disregard of the navigation laws, and various other acts of insubordination, threatened to involve them in grave difficulties, the General Court when it met on May 22, 1661, attempted to remove some of the causes of offence. At the close of the session a Committee was appointed "to consider and debate such matter or thing of public concernment touching our patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his Majesty, as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient, and draw up the result of their apprehensions, and present the same to the next session for consideration and approbation, that so (if the will of God be) we may speak and act the same thing, becoming prudent, honest, conscientious, and faithful men."

The report, signed by Thomas Danforth, and probably written by him, is an exceedingly adroit document. While setting forth the duty of allegiance to the King, and incidentally affirming that "The warrant and letter from the King's majesty, for the apprehending of Col. Whalley and Col. Goffe, ought to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authority

¹ Suffolk Deeds v, III.

² Quoted by George Sheldon, in "Whalley and Goffe in New England," printed as an introduction to the new edition of Judd's History of Hadley.

of this country," stress is laid upon their liberties under their charter. These are set forth and defined in eight paragraphs, of which the last one well summarizes the position maintained during the long struggle that followed, by the party of which Danforth and Gookin were the leaders. "We conceive any imposition prejudicial to the country contrary to any just law of ours, not repugnant to the laws of England, to be an infringement of our right."

In their attitude of resistance to all encroachments on their chartered rights, these sturdy Puritans never wavered. "Daniel Gookin, before he took the oath of allegiance in Court, May 24th, 1665, did openly and plainly declare that in taking that oath he would be so understood as not to infringe the liberty and privileges granted in his Majesty's royal charter to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, whereof he is a member, and unto which he is sworn formerly. Boston the 24th of May 1665. DANIEL GOOKIN."¹

It was this spirit of unwillingness on the part of the colonists to submit to arbitrary government that had led the English government, in 1664, to appoint a board of commissioners, consisting of Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, to visit New England and enforce their subjection. Fortunately, Colonel Nichols, the senior member of the commission, was a man of sense. Nevertheless, much friction was engendered by the invitation, but so shrewdly was the controversy managed by the General Court, that in the end the commissioners were discomfited and obliged to return without having accomplished their object. Credit for this is due in large measure to Gookin and Danforth, whose efforts were untiring. When Colonel Nicholls arrived in Boston, they, together with Edward Collins, William Parks, and Lieut. Hopestill Foster, were constituted a committee "to consider of the matters presented by his majesties honorable commissioners." On the same day Gookin and Danforth were appointed on another committee, "to consider of all the papers delivered into this Court

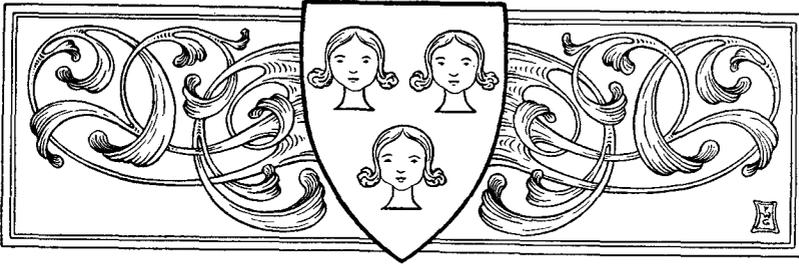
¹Mass. Archives, cvi, 132. A similar statement by Danforth, dated May 26, 1665, is also preserved in the same volume.

by Colonell Richard Nicholls & the rest of his majesties commissioners."

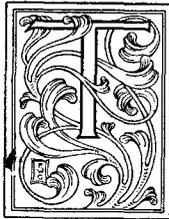
Later in the same month—May, 1665—it was ordered by the General Court, "that the Gouverno^r, Deputy Gouverno^r, Capt. Daniel Gookin, M^r Thomas Danforth, Major Geñll Jn^o Leueret, & the secretary be a comittee to peruse all the letters & writings of publick concernment that hath past this Court in their transactions wth the hono^rable comissioners, & what is of publick concernmt to be sent to England, & to take order for the sending of them to such persons as they, or the major part of them, shall judg meet; who are also impoured or the major pt of them, to act in all things as they shall judg meete, to send for England by the first and second ships copies prepared to follow that all may be improved for this colonies advantage."

The details of the long controversy with the Commissioners have often been told, and need not here be dwelt upon, except as regards one incident in which Captain Gookin figures. Carr wrote Lord Arlington, the English Secretary of State, under date of December 14, 1665: "Col. Whalley and Goff were entertained and feasted in every place after they were told they were traitors and ought to be apprehended. They were furnished at Cambridge with horses and a guide, and sent to New Haven for security. Capt. Daniel Gooking, being reported to have brought over and to manage their estates, the Commissioners seized his cattle in the King's Province for his Majesty's use, but he refused to answer before the Commissioners, so no more was done in it. Capt. Pierce, who transported Whalley and Goff into New England, may say something to their estate. They of this colony say that Charles I granted them a charter as a warrant against himself and successors, and so long as they pay the fifth of all gold and silver ore they are not obliged to the King but by civility."¹

¹Cal. S. P. Col. Am. and West Ind. 1661-8, p. 345. The warrant for the seizure of Daniel Gookin's estate was issued at Warwick, March 21, 1664/5.



CHAPTER XII



THE General Court on May 15, 1657, "In ans^r to the mo^on of Major Symon Willard and Cap^t Daniell Gookin in reference to their publick service donne," granted them five hundred acres of land apiece. In October, shortly before Captain Gookin sailed for England the Court ordered that his grant "be laid out in some convenient place on the eastermost side of Pequot River; and on the 26th of May following Captain George Dennison reported that he had laid out "unto Capt. Daniell Gookin, in the Pequot countrie, five hundred acres of land, being bounded on the west wth Poquatucke River, on y^e south wth the Sound, on the east wth Thomas Prentice, & on the north wth the wildernes."

Returning from England at the end of July, 1660, Daniel found that Southertowne, as the place where his grant was located had been named, was claimed by Rhode Island men, who had trespassed upon the lands and threatened the settlers. A warrant for the arrest of these "sundry rude fellows," issued October 8, 1661, by Governor Endicott, Deputy Governor Bellingham, and Daniel Gookin, resulted in the commitment of Tobias Saunders and Robert Burdett until they should pay a fine of £100 apiece.¹ After this quiet reigned until the following spring, when the Rhode Island General Court took cognizance of the matter, as appears by the following document, which is on file in the Massachusetts archives, though

¹ Records of the Colony of R. I. and Prov. Plantations, i, 155-6.

curiously no mention of it appears upon the records of the Rhode Island Court.¹

At a Generall Court begun the 20th of May 1662, holden at Warwick, in his Majesty's name for the Collony of Providence Plantations, &c.

Ordered, by the authority abovesayd, that the following prohibition be signed by the Recorder, and sent unto Capt. Daniel Gookin and to every other person that it may concerne, viz:

Whereas the Court is informed that you the above named Captaine Danyell Gookin, or any other person or persons not having the leave of this Collony's Court, are endeavouring to force into this jurisdiction and to take possession of lands within the same at or about Pawcatuck, alias Misquamacott, by building, fencing, planting and otherwise, which your forceable entrance being wholly without the leave and contrary to the minds of this Collony, is, in a very high degree contrary unto the peace, crowne and dignity of our Lord the King.

And therefore you, and every of you are in his Majesty's name required to desist from and forbear such intrusions . . . as you will answer the contrary at your own perill," &c.

The annoyance continuing, Daniel and the other grantees complained to the Commissioners for the United Colonies, who took up the matter at a meeting held in Boston, September 4, 1662, and addressed a letter to the Rhode Island Court:

"Gentlemen: Wee are enformed your people proceed with an high hand, and pretend authoritie for their acting, and officers calling themselves Constables redde assist them in their Injuries and offensive (truly wee may say) wicked demeanours: building upon the land; threatening Captaine Gokens tenant, to carry him to prison and drive away his cattle; cutting his grasse; by giueing ill example to Pequot Indians that are in subjection to us; by profaning the sabbath, and selling great quantities of liquors to them; which once and againe wee thought meet to present to you considering that the rather (though wee could not ezely) the persons aforesaid acted without your Incouragement, because wee haue seen a warrant signed by your Recorder, Joseph Torey, warning Captaine Gokens and others to advise and forebear any further or future possession of any of the lands att or about Pocatuck,

¹Records of R. I. and Prov. Plantations, i. 463.

as they will answer the contrary att their perill." Then follows a statement of the legal claim to the Paucatuck lands, and a formal requirement that the Rhode Island men should withdraw.

When the King's commissioners appeared upon the scene, the Rhode Island claimants appealed to them, with such success that at a meeting held at Warwick April 4, 1665, they declared all the grants made by Massachusetts within the disputed territory "to be voyd." Thereupon the grantees joined in a petition to the Massachusetts General Court for relief.

The humble petition of Daniel Gookin, Amos Richison, Thomas Prentice, Dean Winthrop, Roger Plaisted, Charles Chancy, præsideñt of the colledg. in behalfe of that society, & severall others,

Humbly sheweth,—

That whereas your petitioners have had severall parcells of land granted unto us in the Pequot country, neere the River of Pawcatucke, which were laid out & confirmed by this Court, allowed & approved by the comissioners of the United Colonies, wth the consent of the Indians that remained & lived upon it, upon which grounds some of us were encouraged to lay out our estates in the emproovement thereof for severall yeares, not doubting the justnes of the title, being both conquered & long possessed, all which notwthstanding, it hath pleased his majesties honorable comissioners (through some misinformation as wee conceive) to give forth an order, under three of their handes & seales, requiring us & our tennants to depart of from the said lands, & out of our houses & possessions there, & to put of all our catle at or before the 29th day of September next, wthout calling some of us to answer or speake for our rights, which decree, if it Take effect (& wee know no way to prevent it,) is like to be the ruine of some of our families; therefore our humble request to the honoured Court is, that you will conferr wth the hono^rable Comissioners about this matter & use some meanes for our reliefe (for some of us have sought it of them wthout effect hitherto;) but it may be the Court will cleare matters to them for their better information.

The Court ordered Secretary Rawson to lay this petition before the Commissioners. Apparently the Commissioners reversed their decision, for Daniel Gookin remained in possession of his grant until February 6, 1671/2, when he and his wife conveyed to "Symon Lynde of Boston merchant," for the sum of £206 sterling, "All that our farme and housing thereon

(being an Neck of Land) sittuate lying & being in the Pequitt Cunter^v on Pawcutuck River," &c.

It may well be that the small benefit he had been able to realize from the grant of the Paucatuck farm, was one of the "severall considerations especially moving" thereto, that led the General Court, on October 11, 1665, to make Daniel another grant of five hundred acres. This, at his request, was set out to him "betweene Concord & Lancaster bounds, next adjoining to the Indian plantation called Nashobah," and the location was confirmed by the Court on May 27, 1668.

The extent and variety of Daniel's public service at this period well merited the additional grant. He must, indeed, have been nearly if not quite the busiest man in the colony, and the salary of thirty pounds a year, which he received as Assistant, can hardly have been an adequate compensation for the time he gave to the affairs of the commonwealth. The records of the colony show that he was a faithful attendant at the sessions of the General Court and at the meetings of the Governor and Council.¹ No other member was more active. We find him engaged on many committees; to audit the Treasurer's account; "to find out the best way and means to make agreement and contract with an honest person to prosecute the Indian trade" on the behalf of the state; to treat with the mint master "for allowing such an annuall some as may be agreed upon as a meete honorarium;" to draw up orders concerning the militia; to visit Harvard college and examine the Treasurer's accounts; to determine the differences between President Dunster and Thomas Danforth; even to lay out land grants in the Paucatuck region. These are only a few out of many that might be named. More important were designations to hold the County Courts, as for Norfolk County in 1660, for Suffolk in 1663, and his appointment in 1668 as one of the Commissioners of Revenue from imposts. In the larger affairs of State, his clear judgement and sagacious coun-

¹ Council meetings appear to have been held at all hours. In Prov. Papers of N. H., i, 273, is printed a letter from Governor Bellingham, July 12, 1665, in which he refers to expediting a messenger to Cambridge to call Gookin, Danforth and others to meet at the Governor's house in Boston, "by sixe of the clocke this morning."

sel were highly valued and often called in requisition. Whenever "uncomfortable differences" arose between the towns, or with other colonies, his name was almost certain to be placed upon, and often at the head of, the Committee deputed to deal therewith. Such assignments were not infrequent and sometimes involved considerable labour, as well as the exercise of great pains and discrimination.

Withal he had his routine business as a magistrate to attend to, besides which his farms had to be looked after and the trade with the Maryland and Virginia plantations.¹ Still he found time to do his full duty as Captain of the Cambridge trained band; to attend religious services and lectures with punctilious regularity; to take his part in catechising the youth of Cambridge; to serve the town as Selectman from 1660 to 1672; to perform the many neighborly offices that necessarily entered largely into the life of one dwelling in a small and remote community. Nor is the tale yet told. As Superintendent of the Praying Indians he had to spend much of his time in journeys through the wilderness to their several settlements, besides listening to their appeals when they called upon him in Cambridge (as they appear to have done rather frequently), and accompanying Eliot when he went among them to preach. And as employment for his leisure hours he projected and steadily worked upon a history of the colony,—of which, unfortunately, but a small fragment has survived.

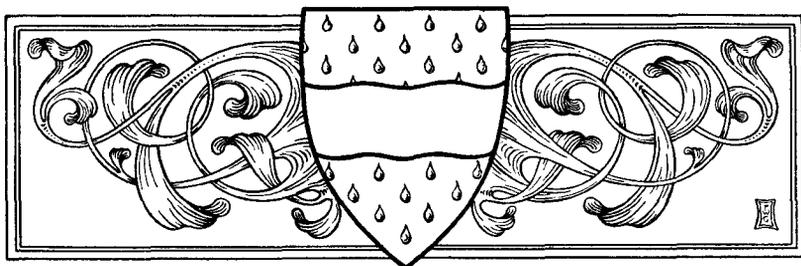
Only one instance is recorded of Daniel's declination of a public trust. The publication, in 1662, of some religious tracts which the ministers thought too liberal, resulted in an order by the General Court that no books should be printed in future unless approved by two official licensers. Daniel Gookin and the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell were appointed, but refused to act. As the court had adjourned, and no printing could be done without authorization by the licensers, the presses had to stand idle until the Court convened in May,

¹He may perhaps have made a voyage to Virginia in 1664. By the General Court on May 18, "Capt. Daniel Gookin is hereby desired & appointed to keepe the Courts in Portsmouth or Dover & Yorke, for this year, if he come home & be well," but he does not appear to have served.

1663, when it was "ordered that the Printing Presse be at liberty as formerly till this court shall take further order, and the late order is hereby repealed."

A glimpse of Daniel in still another capacity is afforded by an account in a manuscript found among the Danforth papers of a "public dispute" with the Anabaptists, "that it might be determined whether they were erroneous or not."¹ Six eminent clergymen were "nominated to manage the dispute on the Pedobaptist side, which was appointed to be April 14, 1668, in the meeting house in Boston at 9 o'clock in the morning. But lest these six learned clergymen should not be a match for a few illiterate Baptists, the governour and magistrates were requested to meet with them," and so Daniel Gookin's name appears in the list of debaters. It was an animated session, in which the Baptists were worsted, not being able to convince their opponents. In July some of them were imprisoned for heresy, the warrant for their arrest being signed by Daniel Gookin and five others.

¹Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls. 2 Ser. viii, 111.



CHAPTER XIII



THE public documents that came from Daniel Gookin's hand testify in no uncertain manner to his qualifications for handling important affairs of State. The letter in which he opened negotiations with Ferdinando Gorges looking toward the purchase of his claim to the province of Maine, displays ability that any diplomat might envy.

Not only had troublesome questions of jurisdiction grown out of the uncertainty as to the boundary between Maine and Massachusetts Bay, but the earlier date of the Massachusetts charter and the virtual abandonment of the northern province by the elder Gorges made complications that became more and more embarrassing as time went on without a settlement being effected.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO FERDINANDO GORGES¹

S^r

Though I am a stranger unto yo^u in person, yet tis not improbable that you have heard of my name, because my father who bore the same name was intimately acquainted with your honoured p^rdecessor S^r Ferdinando Gorges, and was interested with him in his New England affaires, as some writeings concerning that matter under S^r Ferdinando's hand and seale in my possession do evince, and tis like the same may be wth your selfe.

The providence of God having sett the bounds of my habitation in New England, where I have resided neare twenty yeares and a good part of that time employed in publique affaires and so have had more opertunity to understand some things relating to your selfe in your claime to the

¹Br. Record Office, Col. Papers, xvii, No. 57.

province of Maine, as also the claime made to the same by the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and now things grow up to a greater diference than formerly betwene them and you: being studious of peace and unity in waies of righteousness among the English in this wilderness I have p'sumed to set before you a few considerations touching this affaire wherein my desire is to intend yo^r honno^r and benefitt as well as the publique good before hinted.

S^r tis not unknowne to you (I conceive) how the body of the people in that provin^{ce} several years since (being wearied with anarchy among themselves) made their earnest application unto the jurisdiction of the Bay for protection and government, and accordingly were accepted upon articles, submitting and swearing fidelity to the same, which agreement was to continue inviolable untill the supreme power in England did release them, after wth time the extent of the line of the Massachusetts pattent to the N. E. (never before stated) did according to the judgment of good artists therein imployd, take in the greatest part if not all yo^r province; under wth settlement those parts have remained in a quiet posture for sundry yeares, but of late they have been interupted upon p^rtence of commission for your selfe, the consequences whereof hath tended much to the disturbance of the peace and good government of that place, and I beleve hath brought but little profit to yourselves, for the body of the people in conscience to their oath and articles still adhere to the gov^rment of the Bay, and frequently make their adreeses to it for protection and justice, and yo^{rs} doe not appear to have strength and interest enough to compose and satisfy them. The jurisdiction of Massachusetts have not been forward to enter into a contest wth you in this matter, finding it difficult to rule wel, a remote and divided people, but the frequent solicitations of the people in that province urging a performance of covenant hath put them upon endeavors to p^rserve peace and order among them and suprese the contrary. And for that end commissioners have been once and againe sent and compositions made wth yours, But p^rsently againe broken by some among them on p^rtence of yo^r authority so that now it is probable you will heare, and y^t wth great agravations, that Mr. Jordan is secured, the only end whereof is to p^rserve publique peace, for some men there are in the world who are impatient of any power that will bridle their lusts and disorders.

This being the state of that affaire I pray Sir, consider whether it will not be advisable for you not too readily to entertaine prejudice from those mens information nor yet countenance them in their actings which I assure you are neither for your honour nor profit, but to consult whether it be not now for your interest to make some honorable composition with the jurisdiction of Massachusetts for yo^r claime which I beleeve they wil comply withall rather than ingage in a contest with you; and will not this more conduce to yo^r advantage then a continual exhausting (what you can rationally expect from them if not more) for the support of the govern-

ment there besides the hazard and discouragement of the more sober and industrious part of the people do desert the place, which they are ready to do as I heare if things remaine as they are, and as for yo^r propriety in any lands possessed and improved you may still retayne y^m if you please som . . . ¹ in a letter or imploy some person to deale in it you may hav . . . ble . . . ¹ some of money paid you for your claime.

S^r I desire you will seriously consider what is here p^resented which you may bee assured is from one that wishes your best good, so desiring the Lord God to direct you herein that you may doe that which is most for his glory and yo^r best good craveing excuse for my boldness with the presentiment of my respects and service, I remaine S^r

Yours to hono^r and serve you

DANIEL GOOKIN

Cambridge in New England,
June 25th 1663

This letter, written, as has been said, "with consummate skill and ingenuity," might have led to results more speedily than it did, but for the interference of the royal commissioners, who thought to set everything at rest by passing an act "for enervating the authority of both the clayming parties" and placing the disputed territory directly under that of the King. Nevertheless, the controversy dragged on, and little progress had been made when, ten years later, the questions at issue were described in a letter addressed to the Honourable Robert Boyle, the authorship of which may be confidently ascribed to Daniel Gookin, though it may be that some of the other signers took part in its composition.

GOVERNOR LEVERETT AND OTHERS TO ROBERT BOYLE²

Honourable Sir,

As an addition to your former kindness, touching the present of masts sent from this colony to his Majesty, we are lately informed that you have been pleased to speak on our behalf in the ears of his most excellent Majesty, our gracious Sovereign, when our adversaries, by their hard speeches and false suggestions have laboured to alienate his royal heart and affections from us; which favour of yours (to a people that are so great strangers to you, and so undeserving your love) calls for gratitude. And therefore, should we be silent in our most thankful acknowledgement thereof, first unto God, that hath so inclined your heart, and nextly to

¹Torn off with the seal.

²Life of Boyle, by Thos. Birch, p. 453.

yourself, as an instrument (and if we may presume to say) an advocate for this part of God's poor church in the wilderness, it would render us most unworthy of our profession.

Sir, we need not put you in mind, that the poor church of Christ in all ages, even from righteous Abel's time unto this day, hath not wanted adversaries: the ancient enmity, which God hath put between the two seeds, will never reconcile; that example in Ezra's and Nehemiah's time do sufficiently evince this; for although the people of God then had ample charters from those great princes, Cyrus and Artaxerxes, yet God was pleased, for the trial of his church, and the illustration of his own glory (in their salvation) to permit a Sanballat, a Tobiah, and others, falsely to accuse that people, to those princes, of disloyalty. Sir, we hear, that our adversaries there are plotting and designing against our peace; so much the more cause have we to lye in the dust before the Lord, imploring his assistance and salvation, as the matter shall require. And also it is our duty, not to neglect the use of that little means, that is left us, in order to the preservation of our quietness and liberties; among which, this application to yourself, and by you to our most gracious King (whose royal heart the Lord hath graciously inclined hitherto to favour our righteous cause) is the principal.

Sir, we hear of several things against us, which we do not particularly understand, but so far as is intimated to us, we will make bold here briefly to mention them, with our answers to them.

I. Our loyalty is questioned. To this we answer (in all humility, not boastingly) that the demonstrations of our loyalty are known to thousands; particularly 1. We never proclaimed or acted in the name of the late power in England in his Majesty's absence, as all other remote colonies did. 2. It is known, that in our public prayers, as well as in private families, we pray for our King. 3. When a squadron of his ships, under Sir John Harmon, commander, were in the West Indies, streightened for provisions; we freely and seasonably sent a ship laden with provisions for their supply. 4. In that present of a ship laden with masts, sent for the supply of his royal navy. Those two last things cost this poor colony some thousands of pounds; and we have not heard that any of his Majesty's colonies (though far exceeding us in riches) have given higher demonstrations of their loyalty.

II. We are said to be factious in the principles of religion. Answer. If Mr. Perkins, and those good old Puritans, in King Edward the VIth and Queen Elizabeth's time, did, in their principles or religion, teach evil doctrine (which we conceive no true Protestant will say) then may we be rendered such; for our religion and principles are the same for substance with those old Christians and reformers called Puritans.

III. It is said, we are a divided people. We acknowledge it is a matter to be greatly bewailed, that the church of God, all the world over (by reason of man's weakness and infirmity) doth labour under diversity

of persuasions and apprehensions in matters of religion, and consequently do not live in that blessed and sweet unity that God requires: but for our parts (some petty differences excepted) we bless God, we have much peace and tranquillity in church and state.

IV. We are charged with carrying it disrespectfully toward his Majesty's commissioners. To this we say, that God and man can witness for us, that our treatment of them was with civility, according to our mean conditions. Indeed, as to yielding obedience unto their mandates, which were destructive to our royal charter; as that was contrary to his Majesty's instructions and letter sent to us by them, so we had no reason to submit to them therein.

V. We are blamed for a great omission touching baptizing of infants. To this we answer, that our principles declared to the world in print particularly that of the last synod held here, doth speak our judgments to run parallel with other reformed churches, viz. That visible confederate believers with their seed are subjects of baptism. Indeed in practice there hath been some omissions thereof, as to the largest extent, especially in some places; but endeavours are daily used to reduce each one to the rule.

VI. We are accused of rigidness to such as differ from us in matters of religion. To this we say, that from the first settling this plantation, these heterodoxes of Familism, Anabaptism, and of late Quakerism, have been looked upon by the godly here, as great errors, and the promoters of them disturbers of peace and order. Those awful and tremendous motions of that sort of people in Germany, and elsewhere, hath sufficiently alarmed all pious and prudent men to provide a defensative against them. Hence, from our first times, laws have been made to secure us from that danger; which have, at some times, upon just occasions, been executed upon some of that sort of people, who have exceeded the rules of moderation in matters of practice: but this we may say truly, that some peaceable Anabaptists, and some of other sects, who have deported themselves quietly, have and do live here, under the protection of this government, undisturbedly. Lastly, we are accused for grasping after dominions, more than belongs to us, and in particular, for taking in a place, called the province of *Mayne* belonging to Mr. *Gorge*. To this we answer, that our patent (which is of greater antiquity than his) doth take in that place; and this may be clearly demonstrated. Again, Mr. *Gorge's* predecessor, finding no profit, deserted the government thereof, and left the people under such confusion and disorder, that they were necessitated to petition earnestly unto the Massachusetts, to take them under their government; which they did, at their earnest desire, to prevent their devouring one another. The truth is, there is no profit or benefit doth accrue to our government by their addition, but cumber and trouble. They are generally a very poor people, and contribute nothing to us, for the support of the government in this place. We may truly say, our main end in

taking them under us hath been a desire to do them good, outwardly and inwardly; especially to encourage a pious and able minister to live among them, and to preach the Gospel to them, which, through the favour of God, hath been in some measure attained. Before they came under us, we know not of one preaching and pious minister in five or six villages there, and since (through God's favour) they have been well provided therewith. Godly ministers indeed were very shy to go among them to live, before they were settled under this government; and at such time, when the commissioners took them off from us, and settled some justice among themselves, it was but a little while after the commissioners were gone, but that people fell into such divisions and confusions, that many of their ministers left them; and the people again earnestly sued to us for protection and government, finding no benefit (as they alledged) by such, as the commissioners had appointed to rule them. Peradventure Mr. Gorge and some others may apprehend, they are deprived of honour and profit by us in this matter; but, we believe, as it hath, so it will be found, that neither the one nor the other would accrue to them, if they had it under their power, according to their desire.

Thus, noble Sir, we have made bold to give you an account (as briefly as we could) of what we hear is objected against us, and our answer; committing all to your goodness and wisdom, to make use of as you shall see occasion.

So desiring, in all humility, your pardon for our presumption, in giving you this trouble, with our cordial prayers unto the God of all mercy and grace, to pour upon your head and heart his richest blessings; with our most humble service and love to you presented, we take leave, desiring always to remain,

Your honor's

Most affectionate friends and servants

JOHN LEVERETT, Governor
 SAMUEL SYMONDS, Deputy Governor
 DANIEL GOOKIN, Assistant
 RICHARD RUSSELL
 THOMAS DANFORTH
 JOHN PYNCHON
 WILLIAM STOUGHTON
 EDWARD TYNG

This is a duplicate of a letter sent in December last. Dated in Boston in New England, May 10, 1673.

More than five years were still to elapse before the affair was finally adjusted by the purchase of the Gorges claim for the sum of £1250. The final report upon the matter, made to the General Court, was drawn up by Daniel Gookin and is distinguished by its clear and cogent reasoning.

October 8 1678

A returne of the comitte appointed by the Gen'll Court, to consider of the matter p'sented Relating to the province of Mayne.¹

The principall question (as we humbly conceive) touching this affaire (at p'sent) Is Whether it bee best for the country, to Hold & Reteayne their interest in this province, or to sel & Alienate the same unto others? In Answer hereunto, the Comitte judge it best for the country to close in the Affirmative, for which they humbly offer these Reasons with Answers to some objections to the contrary.

1. was it not this courts order unto our Agents to endeavor to purchas this pattent which being done accordingly it seems unbecoming the Gravity wisdom & prudence of this court, to bee yea & nay in a matter of such moment & that before experience is made of any inconvece thereby

2 Because our Agents intimate in their lette^s that they transacted this matter by the concurrent advise of our freinds upon the place; who yet continue of the same mind as is certifyd by o^r Agents last letters dated in August last.

3 Because our [enimies] in England particularly M^r Mason & M^r Randolph vigorously opposed our Agents in that Bargaine & prevailed so farr as to frustrate the first attempt, this act of these o^r Il willers is an Argument of the goodness of the King for us :

4 In this pattent is granted both Government & Soyle & lands &c of which latter there is a considerable quantity, not in propriety of any english man, sufficient to countervale the purchase, & their is little reason to feare wee shall be deprived y^of, because in all his maties Grants p^rprity is reserved. And as for the Gouernment it is not impossible wee may enjoy the same also by the helpe of God, having to doe therin with so gracious a prince.

5 It may be considered & our long experience hath given us a sufficient demonstration herof, that the settlement of Good neighbors in this territory (w^oh matter lyes wholly in o^r hands) wilbe greatly advantageous & conducing to our future quiet, but the settlement thereof by il neighbours when it is in other mens hands wee cannot p^rvent, may prove a great trouble and affliction to us, of which wee have had experience in former times.

6 This place is plentifully furnished on the coasts with good harbours for fishing & timber of all sorts both for exportation abroad & use at home; which are convecnyes that may bee Beneficiall to the publike good if prudently managed.

7 The interest y^t wee herby have in the Ilands of Nantucket & Marthas Vineyard wth a share in the 4 townes on the west of pasquataway, is to bee considered as a matter of waight. more reasons might bee added but wee forbear & come to consider som objections.

¹Coll. Maine Hist. Soc. Doc. History of Maine, iv. 382-5.

Objection 1 It is probable our ill willers wil not bee wanting in their endeavors to incense our gracious King against us & Aleadge y^t by this Acquisition wee aspire after dominion & enlargement of territory wch is not for his hono^r or interst to Admitt.

Answer If his matie should receive any impressions against us in this case, and declare dissatisfaction—it is then time enough to Returne him such Answer as becomes Dutiful and loyall subjects.

Objection 2 It is a great some of mony to be paid for it & the country being greatly impoverished by the late warre, & much in debt are not in a good capacity to disburse this summe without great inconvenience.

Answer 1 The some of 1250^l starling w^{ch} is the some to bee payd for it is not as wee conceve so considerable but the country may pay it without any great determent especially considering the advantages acrewing therby before hinted & it is very probable y^t some purchasers wil soone appeare to by some parcell of this land to reimburse the treasury of y^e country; Truly we conceve God hath put an oppertunty into o^r hand by this purchase of y^t province w^{ch} wee should thankfully acknowled & improve for Gods hono^r and the publike good; & not through feare of contingent events, decline, this oppertunty.

Ans. 2: If upon Experience wee find it Burthensome or inconvenient for us there is no cause to doubt (as wee judge) but wee may ease o^rselves without any damage to the country.

3 objection In this pattent it is required that the Religion profesed in the Church of England, and Ecclesiastical Gouernment therof shalbe profesed settled & established in & through the said province; This injunction may prove A Snare to us.

Answer 1 The Religion of the Church of England, in the Doctrinall part of it conteyned in the 39 Articles, is sound & orthodox & for the substance therof is not only professed by all protestants generally but by our selves also, hence there is no reason for any good Chitian to thinke it a snare.

Ans. 2 as for the ecclesiastical Gounment of England, which is established by the lawes of that land, Although in our judgment wee differ from it, yet wee must remember wee are prohibited in our charter of the Massachusetts, to make any law repugnant to the laws of England, of which lawes this is one, therefore may not make any law against it.

Ans 3 If it should happen that any of his Maties subjects that doe or shal hereafter live there, should profes & practise in matters of Religion According to the church of England, is there not as Good reason for us to Admit them, that act therin not against any law made by us, As to permit quakers and other perswasions dif. from us, to practise their religion contrary unto our lawes & that not in remote parts of the country but in o^r chiefest towns; They that profes Religion according to the Church of England owne Good & sound principles in doctrine & are obedient to civil order, But the other persuasions oppose both. Therefore which are like to be the best neighbors & Subjects let Reason Judge.

Objection 4 There was an inconvenience unto this General Court in the number of Deputyes Sent from that province in former times which have had to great an influence upon our affayres; & yet the people of y^t province have paid little or nothing to support this Goum^t & being few & poor are like to do litle for y^e future for o^r Benefit & therefore wer like to bee burthensom rather than beneficial.

I Answer The number of Deputyes in y^t County According to reason may & ought to be limited to a lesser number & according to their ability they are obliged to pay taxes as others doe; for now those priviledges they had before by Articles are extinct.

Thus desiring the lord to guide & direct the hon^{ble} Court in the conclusion that it may bee for Gods honour & publike good we remaine yo^r Humble servants

DANIEL GOOKIN Sen
 BARTHŌ GEDNEY
 WILLIAM JOHNSON
 JO. WAYTE



CHAPTER XIV



IN nothing else do the sterling traits of Daniel Gookin's character stand forth more saliently than in his work among the Indians of Massachusetts. The story of that work is the record of long years of painstaking effort and self-sacrificing devotion; of steady persistence in the face of difficulties and discouragements; of unwavering determination, matched only by that of his friend and associate, the saintly Eliot. It was work that called for never-failing tact, firmness tempered by discretion, patience, and kindly sympathy. To these qualities, possessed in full measure by both Eliot and Gookin, the success that attended their labours may be ascribed. Another essential qualification was abundance of "the judgement of Charity," to quote Daniel's own phrase. "For my own part, I have no doubt, but am fully satisfied," were his words in speaking of the Indian converts, "that divers of them do fear God and are true believers; but yet I will not deny but that there may be some of them hypocrites, that profess religion, and yet are not sound hearted. But things that are secret belong to God; and things that are revealed, unto us and our children."¹

"Things that are secret belong to God!" In this pregnant expression is revealed the attitude of mind with which he regarded his fellow men. And what eloquent testimony it bears to the loftiness of his soul!

¹Hist. Collections of the Ind. in New Eng., p. 183.

Daniel's interest in the red men was awakened very soon after his removal to Massachusetts, and may not improbably have had its inception during his earlier experiences in Virginia. When he took up his abode in Roxbury, Eliot was deep in his study of the Indian language, with the assistance of one Job Nesutan, "a very good linguist in the English tongue," whom he hired to live in his family and act as his teacher, and who, later on, became his assistant in translating the Bible and other books. The motives that impelled the Apostle to undertake the conversion and civilization of the Indians have been set forth by Daniel, and in so doing it is safe to say that his own motives are also presented.

"In this work," he wrote, "did this good man industriously travail sundry years, without any external encouragement, from men I mean, as to the receiving any salary or reward. Indeed verbal encouragements, and the presence of divers persons at his lectures, he wanted not. The truth is, Mr. Eliot engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians upon a very pure and sincere account: for I being his neighbour and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprise, he was pleased to communicate unto me his design, and the motives that induced him thereunto; which, as I remember, were principally these three.

"First, the Glory of God, in the conversion of some of these poor, desolate souls.

"Secondly, his compassion and ardent affection to them, as of mankind in their great blindness and ignorance.

"Thirdly, and not the least, to endeavour, so far as in him lay the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise, that New England people had made unto their King, when he granted them their patent or charter, viz: that one principal end of their going to plant these countries, was to communicate the gospel unto the native Indians."

By the autumn of 1646 Eliot had made such progress in his studies "that he adventured to make beginning to preach the glad tidings of salvation" to the Indians, in their own tongue. His first lecture without the aid of an interpreter was made on October 28, at "Nonantum, near Watertown mill,

upon the south side of the Charles river, about four or five miles from his own house; where lived at that time Waban, one of their principal men, and some Indians with him." In his account of this memorable occasion, Eliot states that he was accompanied by "three others," one of whom was in all probability his friend Gookin. Certain it is that Daniel was in the habit of attending these discourses, which were continued for several years until the Indians removed to Natick, for he relates an incident about an Indian convert named Hiacoomes, told him by the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., "in travelling on foot between Watertown lecture and Cambridge, the Indian that was the principal person concerned being with him." This was either in 1649 or early in 1650.

Being away from the colony a good deal during the earlier years of his residence in Cambridge, it is likely that Captain Gookin was drawn into the Indian work gradually. By the year 1656 the settlements, or as they were denominated "praying towns," six in number, of the Indians who had made profession of Christianity and formally submitted to the government of Massachusetts, had become so well established that the General Court found it desirable to appoint and empower "one of the English magistrates to join with the chief of their rulers, and keep a higher Court among them; extending the power of this court to the latitude of a county court among the English; from the jurisdiction whereof nothing for good order and government civil or criminal is excepted, but appeals, life, limb, banishment and cases of divorce." Obviously the fittest of the Magistrates for this position was Eliot's chosen associate and coadjutor, already, for his interest in their welfare and in fostering their education, known as the Indians' friend. Daniel was accordingly appointed the first ruler, or Superintendent, of the Praying Indians. This was in 1656, not long after his return from England, and while he was engaged upon the bootless mission for the colonization of Jamaica. He entered upon his duties with zeal, but being called back to England the next year, Major General Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester was appointed in his stead. Though Daniel returned in the summer of 1660, General Atherton continued

to serve until the following year, when he was taken ill and died. Then, on November 27, 1661, "in answer to the petition of Mr John Eliot in behalf of the Indians," Captain Gookin was again appointed "to keep Courts amongst" them. In this position he continued until the abrogation of the Charter Government, in 1686. As interpreted by this faithful servant of the commonwealth, the duties imposed were not light. He has told us himself in what they consisted. After reciting the orders passed by the General Court, "For the better ordering and governing the Indians subject to us, especially those of Natick, Punkapaog, &c.," and the requirement that he should once a year make known to them "such necessary and wholesome laws, which are in force, and may be made from time to time, to reduce them to civility of life," and to determine all causes arising thereunder, except a few of which cognizance was reserved to the General Court, he proceeds:¹

“Besides the work above mentioned, transacted by the English magistrate and his assistants, there are sundry other things done by him in order to their good; as the making of orders, and giving instructions and directions, backed with penalties, for promoting and practising morality, civility, industry, and diligence in their particular callings: for idleness and improvidence are the Indians' great sin, and is a kind of second nature to them, which by good example and wholesome laws, gradually applied, with God's blessing may be rooted out.

“Likewise it is the care of this English magistrate, intrusted with this affair, to make and execute good orders for keeping holy the sabbath day; and that the people do attend the public worship of God; and that schools for the education of youth be settled and continued among them; and to provide that the Indian teachers² and rulers have some small encouragement

¹ Hist. Collections of the Ind. in New Eng., chap. VI.

² Further on he says: "Their teachers are generally chosen from among themselves—except some few English teachers—of the most pious and able men among them. If these did not supply, they would generally be destitute: for the learned English young men do not hitherto incline or endeavour to fit themselves for that service, by learning the Indian language. Possibly the reasons may be: First, the difficulty to attain that speech. Secondly, little encouragement while they prepare

distributed among them, according to the people's ability, which is done out of the tenths of their yearly increase of all sorts of grain and pulse. This tithes is set apart at the ingathering and threshing of their grain, and brought into one place in each town, as due unto the Lord; and is disposed of by order of the Court, for support of those that attend public service in both orders, in that place proportionably.

"Besides the particulars above mentioned, there are sundry other things, that fall under the consideration of the English magistrate, that have great influence into their religious concern, and hath frequent occasions and opportunities to press christian exhortations upon them for their soul's good."

After passing to some other matters, he adds: "Before we conclude this chapter, it may not be impertinent for the better clearing of things, to remark, that the English magistrate attending this service among the Indians, never had any compensation for his travail and expenses in this kind, either from Indians or English in New England; though it is well known, he hath, as well as their teacher, Mr. Eliot, had many weary journies among them yearly, and under sundry trials, when he is forced to lodge in their woods and wigwams.¹ But the Honourable Corporation at London, for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England, have been pleased of late years, by the hands of their delegates, the honoured Commissioners of the united colonies in New England, to confer upon him out of the publick stock, at first fifteen pounds, now twenty pounds, New England money, per annum, and as an *honorarium* for his service among the praying Indians. This is

for it. Thirdly, the difficulty in the practice of such a calling among them, by reason of the poverty and barbarity, which cannot be grappled with, unless the person be very much mortified, self-denying and of a publick spirit, seeking greatly God's glory; and these are rare qualifications in young men. It is but one of a hundred that is so endowed."

¹In another place he says: "I have often lodged in their wigwams; and have found them as warm as the best English houses. In their wigwams they make a kind of couch or mattresses, firm and strong, raised about a foot high from the earth; first covered with boards that they split out of trees; and upon the boards they spread mats generally and sometimes bear skins and deer skins. These are large enough for three or four persons to lodge upon: and one may either draw nearer or keep at a more distance from the heat of the fire, as they please; for their mattresses are six or eight feet broad."

spoken here to declare, that those that labour in this harvest, are first to endeavour to learn perfectly that first lesson in Christ's school, I mean self denial. Secondly, to keepe the eye of faith fixed upon God, whose work it is, who will never fail to recompense either here or hereafter, all that work in his harvest. Indeed if he please to employ and accept us in Christ Jesus, it is a sufficient reward. Lastly, let not any one be so uncharitable, as to think that what is here mentioned, is to reflect upon any, or to repine at God's bounty in the portion allotted, being it is far more than was expected. When the work was engaged in and undertaken, the principles and motions thereunto were, through grace, of higher alloy than gold, yea than fine gold."

Small as was this honorarium, not much, if any, more than enough to defray the expenses to which he was put, and perhaps inadequate for his reimbursement, there is some reason to believe that without it he would not have been able to continue the work. In 1663 the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New England—which had been formed in 1650 by philanthropic men in England who had been stirred by the accounts of the labours of Eliot and Mayhew,—being straightened in means, desired that the appropriation formerly made by the Commissioners might "be forborne; unlesse it be thought . . . that some unavoidable prejudice might happen to the work for the want therof."¹ The Commissioners, in their reply, stated they found Captain Gookin's labours among the Indians "of much use and benefit to them; and therefore could not but desire him to go on in that worke."² Eliot's letter to the Commissioners is preserved in the Connecticut Archives.³ It bears date August 25, 1664. In it he says:

"Because of what was written by the Honorable Corporation of laying aside Capt. Gookin in this worke, I was bold to request of them his continuance and encouragem^t, presenting my reasons, w^{ch} I thank God and them were so accepted as that they doe approve both of his labour and

¹ Hazard's Hist. Colls., ii, 470.

² Ibid., ii, 474.

³ Ecclesiastical Papers, vol. 1, Doc. 10a.

incouragem^t, w^{ch} they leave to yourselves for the measure; and my humble request is that it may be hono^rable. If I thought it were needful, I could p^rsent you wth reasons w^{ch} I doubt not but would be accepted by you. This is one, that doth necessarily bring much resort to his house, and of such as caⁿot in co^mon civility and humanity be sent away wthout enter-
tainment. Which I intreat your prudent consideration of.

“The Hon^rable Corporation doe require of me to give them intima-
tion how a greater revennue might be best employed in this work: now
my opinion hath allways bene, y^t the sending forth and supporting fitting
instrum^{ts} is a necessary and I conceive, the best way, to p^romote this
worke; and you see y^t Divine Providence hath ripened more feilds
toward this harvest, w^{ch} call for more labourers, and will multiply the
labours of such as he therein employed; w^{ch} affords another reason of an
honorable incouragm^t to Capt. Gookin, whose busynesse doth much
inlarge, had he wherewth to afford answerable attendance.”

In 1668 the Corporation's revenue, “because of losses in
the great London fire,” had fallen so low that the Commission-
ers were requested “to abate all charge that is not essentiall to
the being of this good worke.” Answering this, the Commis-
sioners said in their reply:

“Nor doe wee understand that your caution therein respects Captain
Gookin, whose great labour and good success therein is of such use that if
not attended by him must bee by some other or the want thereof wilbee
soon found.”

The account given by Daniel of a journey which he and
Eliot took to visit seven “new praying towns in the Nip-
muck country,” affords a life-like picture of these devoted men
engaged in the work they had so much at heart.

“The Indians of some of these towns began to hearken
unto the gospel about three years since, or thereabouts. In
July 1673, Mr. Eliot and myself made a journey to visit some
of them, and encourage and exhort them to proceed in the
ways of God.

“This year again, on the 14th of September last, 1674, we
both took another journey. Our design was to travel further
among them, and to confirm their souls in the christian
religion, and to settle teachers in every town, and to establish

civil government among them, as in other praying towns. We took with us five or six godly persons who we intended to present unto them for ministers.

“The first of these new praying towns is Manchage,¹ which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river, about eight miles; and is from Hassanamesitt,² west and by south, about ten miles; and it is from Boston about fifty miles, on the same rhumb . . . For this place we appointed Waabeskamin, a hopeful young man, for their minister . . .

“Above five miles distant from hence is a second town called Chabanakongkomun³ . . . Mr. Eliot preached unto this people, and we prayde and sung psalms with them, and they were exhorted by us to stand steadfast in the faith. A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them, touching matters of religion and civil order. The teacher Joseph and the constable James went with us unto the next town which is called Maanexit⁴ . . . The inhabitants are about twenty families, and, as we compute, one hundred souls. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people out of the xxivth Ps. 7 to the end: *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in &c.* After sermon was ended, we presented unto them John Moqua, a pious and sober person there present, for their present minister, which they thankfully accepted. Then their teacher named, and set, and rehearsed, a suitable psalm, which being sung, and a conclusion with prayer, they were exhorted, both the teacher to be diligent and faithful, and to take care of the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, and the people also to give obedience and subjection to him in the Lord.”

“Being straightened for time,” they passed by the fourth village, and proceeded to Wabquissit, in the southwest corner of what is now Woodstock, Connecticut.

“We came thither late in the evening, upon the 15th of September and took up our quarters at the sagamore’s wigwam, who was not at home: but his squaw courteously admit-

¹Oxford.

²Grafton.

³Dudley.

⁴The northeast part of Woodstock, Conn.

ted us, and provided liberally, in their way, for the Indians that accompanied us. This sagamore inclines to religion, and keeps the meeting on sabbath days at his house, which is spacious, about sixty feet in length, and twenty feet in width. . . .

“We being at Wabquissit, at the sagamore’s wigwam, divers of the principal people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent a good part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations. There was a person among them, who sitting mute a great space, at last spake to this effect: That he was agent for Unkas, sachem of Mohegan who challenged right to, and dominion over, this people of Wabquissit and said he, Unkas is not well pleased, that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God.

“Unto which speech Mr. Eliot first answered, that it was his work to call upon all men every where, as he had opportunity, especially the Indians, to repent and embrace the gospel; but he did not meddle with civil right or jurisdiction.

“When he had done speaking, then I declared to him, and desired him to inform Unkas what I said, that Wabquissit was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and that the government of that people did belong to them; and that they do look upon themselves concerned to promote the good of all people within their limits, especially if they embraced christianity. Yet it was not hereby intended to abridge the Indian sachems of their just and ancient right over the Indians, in respect of paying tribute or any other dues. But the main design of the English was to bring them to the good knowledge of God in Christ Jesus; and to suppress among them those sins of drunkenness, idolatry, powowing or witchcraft, whoredom, murder, and like sins. As for the English, they had taken no tribute from them, nor taxed them with any thing of that kind.

“Upon the 16th day of September, being at Wabquissit, as soon as the people were come together, Mr. Eliot first prayed, and then preached to them in their own language out of Mat. vi. 33. *First seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto you.* Their teacher Samp-

son first reading and setting the cxix Ps. 1st part, which was sung. The exercise was concluded with prayer.

"Then I began a court among the Indians. And first I approved their teacher Sampson, and their constable Black James; giving each of them a charge to be diligent and faithful in their places. Also I exhorted the people to yield obedience to the gospel of Christ and to those set in order there. Then published a warrant or order, that I had prepared, empowering the constable to suppress drunkenness, sabbath breaking, especially powowing and idolatry. And after warning given, to apprehend all delinquents, and bring them before authority, to answer for their misdoings; the smaller faults to bring before Wattascompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck country; for idolatry and powowing to bring them before me: So we took leave of this people of Wabquissit, and about eleven o'clock returned back to Maanexit and Chabanakongkomun, where we lodged this night.

"We took leave of the christian Indians at Chabanakongkomun, and took our journey, 17th of the seventh month, by Manchage, to Pakachoog; which lieth from Manchage, north west, about twelve miles. We arrived there about noon. This village lieth about three miles south from the new road way that leadeth from Boston to Connecticut; about eighteen miles, west southerly, from Marlborough; and from Boston about forty four miles. It consists of about twenty families and hath about one hundred souls therein. This town is seated upon a fertile hill¹ and is denominated from a delicate spring of water that is there. We repaired to the sagamore's house, called John, alias Horowanninit, who kindly entertained us. . . . As soon as the people could be got together, Mr. Eliot preached unto them; and they attended reverently. Their teacher, named James Speen, being present, read and set the tune of a psalm, that was sung affectionately. Then was the whole duty concluded with prayer.

"After some short respite, a court was kept among them, My chief assistant was Wattascompanum, ruler of the Nip-

¹ Probably the hill called Boggachoag, situated partly in Worcester and partly in Ward.

muck Indians, a grave and pious man, of the chief sachem's blood of the Nipmuck country. He resides at Hassanamesitt; but by former appointment, calleth here, together with some others. The principal matter done at this court, was first to constitute John and Solomon to be rulers of this people and co-ordinate in power, clothed with the authority of the English government, which they accepted: also to allow and approve James Speen for their minister. . . .

“After this business was over, it being night before we had finished the court, there was an Indian present, which came into the wigwam about an hour before. He was belonging to Weshakim or Nashaway. This Indian desired liberty to speak; which being admitted, he made a speech with much affection and gravity to this effect: To declare that he belonged to Washakim near Nashaway; and that he was desirously willing, as well as some others of his people, to pray to God; but that there were sundry of that people very wicked and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed among them; and therefore he earnestly importuned me, that I would put forth power to help in that case, to suppress the sin of drunkenness. Then I asked him, whether he would take upon him the office of a constable, and I would give him power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strong drink from them, and bring the delinquent before me to receive punishment. His answer was, that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, then he would come to me for a black staff and power. I asked him whether he were willing to have Jethro to go and preach to them: to which he readily complied, and seemed joyful thereat. After this discourse, we concluded with singing a psalm and prayer; and so retired to rest. And the next morning early, being September the 18th, we took our leave of the Indians, and passed to Marlborough; and from thence returned to our own habitations.”

At the time these words were written, in November, 1674, Daniel estimated the number of Indian converts to be no less than eleven hundred souls. The greatest obstacles against

which Eliot and Gookin had to contend arose even more from the arrogance and cupidity of their fellow colonists than from the savagery and intractability of the Indians. "I am not ignorant," Daniel wrote, "that there are some persons, both in Old and New England, that have less thoughts of this work, and are very prone to speak diminutively thereof." When Major Gibbons was sent against the Narragansetts, in 1645, he was instructed "to have due regard to the distance which is to be observed betwixt Christians and Barbarians, as well in wars as in other negotiations." By the common people the Indians were generally regarded with mingled contempt and fear. Insolent and even brutal treatment by the whites was far too frequent. And, to quote Daniel Gookin's words, "though all strong drink is strictly prohibited to be sold to any Indian in the Massachusetts colony, upon the penalty of forty shillings a pint; yet some ill-disposed people, for filthy lucre's sake, do sell unto the Indians secretly, though the Indians will rarely discover their evil merchants—they do rather suffer whipping or fine than tell. Hereby they are made drunk very often; and being drunk, are many times outrageous and mad, fighting with and killing one another, yea sometimes their own relations." In another place he says: "I have often seriously considered what course to take, to restrain this beastly sin of drunkenness among them; but hitherto cannot reach it. For if it were possible, as it is not, to prevent the English selling them strong drink; yet having a native liberty to plant orchards and sow grain, as barley and the like, of which they may and do make strong drink that doth inebriate them: so that nothing can overcome this exorbitancy, but the sovereign grace of God in Christ; which is the only antidote to prevent and mortify the poison of sin."

Although the noble and disinterested character of Daniel Gookin's work among the Indian converts committed to his charge was appreciated at its true worth by the principal men of the colony, among the less intelligent of the people slanderous tongues were not wanting to defame him when anything occurred to awaken the fear and hatred with which many of them regarded their savage neighbors. In the spring of 1671,

when apprehension was caused by the threatening attitude of King Philip, a report was circulated that the testimony given by an Indian at Plymouth implicated Daniel as having used words to inflame the truculent chief toward the people of that colony. The suggestion that this testimony was given out by the Plymouth authorities led Daniel to address a spirited letter to Thomas Prince.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO GOVERNOR PRINCE¹

Honoured Sir,

I understand, by a paper brought hither by Mr. Southworth, (being a copy of some Indian testimony left upon record there), wherein I am accused for speaking words to a Natick Indian, tending to animate Philip and his Indians against you. Sir, I look upon it favoring of as little charity as justice, to receive, record, and publish Indian reports, tending to the infamy of any christian man, much more a person in public place, without any other demonstration than such figment and falsehood as usually accompany the Indians' tales. I charge no person with doing this thing; neither do I desire to know who it is; the Lord forgive him or them as I do, that have been the inventors or fomentors of such a false and reproachful scandal.

Sir, let me say to you in the words of truth and soberness, and upon the fidelity of a christian, and in the presence of God, before whom all things are naked and open, that such a thing never entered into my heart, much less into my lips; neither did I, to my remembrance, either see or speak with any Natick Indian for several months before I heard of this report; nor ever did I speak or lisp to any Indian of Natick, or other, the least word about the business, since first I heard of those differences between your colony and the Indians. At the court of assistants, March sitting last, at the time when your letter came, and the court considered of it, my own conscience, and others present there, can witness how forward I was to strengthen your hands in that matter; but first to try all ways of prudence to issue your controversy: but in case the Indians be not reduced to order, then to give forth our utmost assistance, as the case should require. And of this, both yourself and all others may rest assured, that this report is a devised thing; and I may say of it as Nehemiah, (vid. Nehemiah vi, 8.) that there is no such thing, but the authors of it have feigned it out of their own heart, to this end my hands might be weakened in the work God hath committed to me: but I trust in God, he will disappoint satan, and do my duty.

Sir, thus much I thought expedient to write unto you about this matter; not that I stand in need of an apology, for my innocency is to me a

¹Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Ser. i, vi, 198, 199.

sufficient shield in that respect; but if I should be altogether silent, it might be interpreted that I am guilty. Sir, I trust yourself and other your magistrates will put on such christian charity as not to credit such reports; but I am not unwilling this should be searched to the bottom, and see my accusers face to face and not to shun any scrutiny therein.

Thus desiring to present my due respects to yourself, and the rest of the magistrates, I remain

Your assured loving friend

DANIEL GOOKIN

Cambridge, the 12th of April, 1671.

The falsity of the accusation is shown by Governor Prince's reply, which shows also that he held his correspondent in high esteem.

GOVERNOR PRINCE TO DANIEL GOOKIN

Honored Sir,

Yours of 14th instant I received yesterday, by which I perceive you are much troubled about a copy of an Indian testimony by Mr. Southworth to Boston; not because we took it for truth, but that we might know whether there were truth in it or not, (reports being indeed very false, not only among Indians but many English also), which, for aught I yet see, might lawfully be done, without the least impeachment or diminution to charity or justice to any christian man, though in place. But whereas you please to charge us with receiving, recording, and publishing such falsehoods to your infamy; Sir, I do assure you, in a word of truth, there is nor was not any such thing; and therefore I might say the charge is wanting in charity, justice, and truth also. And whereas it is said you should speak words to animate Philip and his Indians against us; it is some mistake or misrepresentation, for that paper spoke it not. That spake of *not fighting with Indians about horses and hogs*, but as matters too low to shed blood, and verily, Sir, we think so too; and therefore advised them to keep on the north side of the line, and not go to Philip to fight; but if any did go, and were killed, they should keep an account of them, for what end I know not. The last words about keeping an account are to me enigmatical; but in the whole, not one word of animating *Philip* and his Indians to fight against us; and therefore that report cannot be rationally fathered upon that paper. For your readiness, with the rest of the honoured magistrates, to strengthen our weakness in case of need, we do and shall acknowledge it as a signal token of your brotherly love and care for us: and your sending messengers to see the ground or cause of all their hostile preparations, a high experiment of christian prudence, he was acceptable to us, and owned of the Lord also, by the good success most pleased to give to their endeavours and travel; who have, I hope, so fully informed not only the honourable court that sent them, but all others, that any scruples or jealousies on our part needlessly to interrupt

the peace of the country, is, by that prudent act of yours, removed. And truly, Sir, what was mentioned in that note, was never so received by us; but upon your disowning it, we should readily reject it as a false report, without any of those several kinds of asseverations you please to express.

Sir, I hope you will still retain a charitable opinion of us, and your good affection towards us, notwithstanding what weakness you may apprehend in us. That must be owned on all hands to be a real truth, *in many things we offend all*, and need another manner of covering for our best actions from the pure eyes of the eternal Judge than our own righteousness, even the perfect righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, to whose grace I unfeignedly commend you and rest,

Sir, your friend and servant,

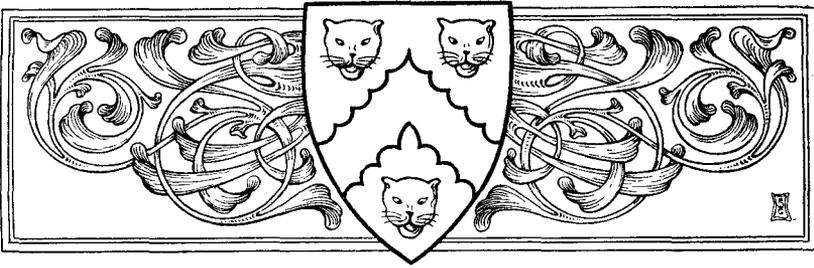
Plymouth, this 26th of April, 1671

THOMAS PRINCE

Endorsed :

These for his very good friend captain
Daniel Gookin, at Cambridge, to be
presented.

Before this letter was written the trouble with Philip had been averted, and not until four years later did open hostilities begin between him and the white men.



CHAPTER XV



HE outbreak, on June 24, 1675, of the carnival of burning, pillage, and carnage generally known as King Philip's War, brought new and arduous duties upon the Superintendent of the Praying Indians, and for some years the work he had carried on with the Apostle Eliot was grievously interrupted.

Warning of the impending conflict was first given by one of the Christian Indians to Daniel Gookin, who relates that "About this time the beginning of April, Waban,¹ the principal Ruler of the praying Indians living at Natick, came to one of the magistrates on purpose and informed him that he had ground to fear that Sachem Philip and other Indians his confederates, intended some mischief shortly to the English and Christian Indians. Again, in May, about six weeks before the war began, he came again and renewed the same. Others also of the Christian Indians did speak the same thing, and that when the woods were grown thick with green trees then it was likely to appear, earnestly desiring that care might be had and means used for prevention, at least for preparation for such a thing; and a month after the war began."²

Serenely confident that one white man was a match for ten

¹Elsewhere described by Daniel as "a person of great prudence and piety." He was then "above seventy years of age."

²History of the Christian Indians. Coll. Am. Antiq. Soc. ii, 440, 441. All of the words of Daniel Gookin quoted in this chapter and the next are taken from this source.

Indians, little apprehension seems to have been awakened by these repeated warnings. In vain did Daniel Gookin urge the defensive measures of which he speaks in the following words:

“The situation of those towns was such that the Indians in them might have been improved as a wall of defence about the greatest part of the colony of Massachusetts; for the first named of those villages bordered upon the Merrimack river, and the rest in order about twelve or fourteen miles asunder, including most of the frontiers. And *had the suggestions and importunate solicitations of some persons, who had knowledge and experience of the fidelity and integrity of the Praying Indians* been attended and practiced in the beginning of the war, many and great mischiefs might have been (according to reason) prevented; for most of the praying towns, in the beginning of the war, had put themselves into a posture of defence, and had made forts for their security against the common enemy; and it was suggested and proposed to the authority of the country, that some English men, about one third part, might have been joined with those Christian Indians in each fort, which the praying Indians greatly desired, that thereby their fidelity might have been better demonstrated, and that with the assistance and company of some of those English soldiers, they might daily scout or range the woods from town to town, in their several assigned stations, and hereby might have been as a living wall to guard the English frontiers, and consequently the greatest part of the Jurisdiction, which, with the blessing of God, might have prevented the desolations and devastations that afterward ensued . . . But such was the unhappiness of their affairs, or rather the displeasure of God in the case, that those counsels were rejected, and on the contrary a spirit of enmity and hatred conceived by many against those poor Christian Indians, as I apprehend without cause, so far as I could ever understand, which was, according to the operation of second causes, a very great occasion of many distressing calamities that befell both one and the other.”

Hostilities began with the attack on the settlers at Swanzy, on the 24th of June. When, two days later, Major Thomas

Savage, with a foot company under Captain Daniel Henschman, and a troop commanded by Captain Thomas Prentice set forth against the enemy, they "at first thought easily to chastise the insolent doings and murderous practices of the heathen." But, as Captain Gookin goes on to say, "it was found another manner of thing than was expected; for our men could see no enemy to shoot at, but yet felt their bullets out of the thick bushes where they lay in ambushments. The enemy also used this stratagem, to apparel themselves from the waist upwards with green boughs, that our Englishmen could not readily discern them, or distinguish them from the natural bushes; this manner of fighting our men had little experience of, and hence were under great disadvantages. The English wanted not courage or resolution, but could not discern or find an enemy to fight with, yet were galled by the enemy."

Although the General Court had rejected Daniel Gookin's suggestions for utilizing the Christian Indians in the defense of the colony, the Governor and Council were more ready to listen to him. They "judged it very necessary," he says, "to arm and send forth some of the praying Indians to assist our forces, hereby not only to try their fidelity, but to deal the better with the enemy in their own ways and methods according to the Indian manner of fighting, wherein our Indians were well skilled." Accordingly, on July 2, Captain Gookin was instructed "to raise a company of the praying Indians forthwith, to be armed and furnished and sent to the army at Mount Hope." Messengers were at once sent by him "to all the praying Indians,¹ for one-third of their able men, who all readily and cheerfully appeared, and being enlisted were about 52."

These Indians, according to the testimony of Major Savage, Captain Prentice and Captain Henschman, under whom they served, acquitted themselves courageously and faithfully. It would not have been surprising had it been otherwise, for they were so shabbily treated by some of the officers and soldiers as to cause them great disgust. And afterward, when the

¹Though these are his own words, they should be understood as including only the Indians belonging to the so-called old praying towns.

mass of the colonists were overcome by panic-stricken frenzy and hatred of all Indians indiscriminately, these men reported that the Christian Indian soldiers "were cowards and skulked behind trees in fight, and that they shot over the enemies heads and such like reproaches."

In August the anger of the populace was greatly inflamed by the sad fate of Captain Hutchinson's expedition to Quabaog, or Brookfield. To their irrational passion it signified nothing that the escape of the survivors was engineered by the two Christian Indians who accompanied the party, and that, through the skilful guidance of others, the relief forces under Major Willard avoided the enemy lying in wait for them. "Notwithstanding those signal and faithful services done by those Christian Indians, and divers others not here related," wrote Daniel Gookin, "yet the animosity and rage of the common people increased against them, that the very name of a praying Indian was spoken against, in so much, that some wise and principal men advise some that were concerned with them to forbear giving that epithet of praying. This rage of the people, as I contend, was occasioned from hence. Because much mischief being done and English blood shed by the brutish enemy, and because some neighbour Indians to the English at Quabage, Hadley, and Springfield (though none of those were praying Indians) had proved perfidious and were become enemies . . . the defection of those Indians . . . had a tendency to exasperate the English against all Indians, that they would admit no distinction between one Indian and another, forgetting that the Scriptures do record that sundry of the heathen in Israel's time, being proselyted to the Church proved very faithful and worthy men and women."

This temper among the people was too violent to be ignored. "Things growing to this height," says Daniel Gookin, "the Governor and Council, against their own reason and inclination, were put upon a kind of necessity, for gratifying the people, to disband all the praying Indians, and to make and publish an order to confine them to five of their own villages, and not stir above one mile from the centre of such place, upon peril of their lives." The only result of this order,

which was passed at a council held in Boston, August 30, 1675, was that "the poor Christian Indians were reduced to great sufferings, being hindered from their hunting and looking after their cattle, swine, and getting in their corn, or laboring among the English to get clothes, and many other ways incommoded; also, were daily exposed to be slain or imprisoned, if at any time they were found without their limits."

The very day this order was promulgated, Captain Samuel Mosely sent to Boston "pinioned and fastened with lines from neck to neck," fifteen of the Indians residing in Okonhome-sitt, near Marlborough. Eleven of these were, by a renegade Indian to secure his own safety, accused of having committed the murder of seven persons at Lancaster on August 22. The people, now wrought up to fever heat, would have condemned them without a hearing, and included in their anger the few who dared stand up for them. In the words of Daniel Gookin: "Notwithstanding the Council's endeavors in the former orders,¹ and the testimony of these English witnesses on behalf of the Christian Indians, yet the clamors and animosity among the common people increased daily, not only against the Indians, but also all such English as were judged to be charitable to them. And particularly many harsh reflections and speeches were uttered against Major² Daniel Gookin, and Mr. John Eliot, the former of whom had been appointed by the authority of the General Court of Massachusetts, and approbation of the Honorable Governor and Corporation for Gospelizing those Indians to rule and govern those Indians about twenty years, and the latter had been their teacher and minister about thirty years, as if they did support and protect those Indians against the English; whereas (God knows) there was no ground for such an imputation, but was a device and contrivance of Satan and his instruments to hinder and subvert the work of religion among the Indians. . . . It might rationally have been considered, that those two persons above-named, who had (one of them for above twenty years, and the other about thirty years), been acquainted with, and conver-

¹For the segregation of the praying Indians.

²This title was not conferred upon him until May of the next year.

sant among those Christian Indians, should have more knowledge and experience of them than others had, and consequently should be able to speak more particularly concerning such of those Indians whom they knew (according to a judgment of charity) to be honest and pious persons. And if at such a time they should have been wholly silent and remiss in giving a modest testimony concerning them when called thereunto, God might justly have charged it upon them, as a sin and neglect of their duty, had they for fear declined to witness the truth for Christ, and for these his poor distressed servants, some of the Christian Indians."

It was not, indeed, in the nature of a man of Daniel Gookin's stamp to keep silent under such circumstances. Instead he put forth all his powers in the interest of humanity and justice. By his fellow magistrates he was listened to with the utmost respect and consideration, both for his motives and the sanity of his judgement. By the insensate people it was but natural that he should be misconceived. The prevailing temper toward him is shown in a pamphlet entitled "The Present State of New England with Respect to the Indian War, Wherein is an Account of the true Reason thereof (as far as can be Judged by Men) Together with most of the Remarkable Passages that have happened from the 20th of June, till the 10th of November, 1675. Faithfully composed by a Merchant of Boston, and Communicated to his Friend in London 1675."

"There are" says the unknown author of this tract, "also another sort of *Indians*, (best known to the Commonalty of *Boston*) by the name of Mr. *Elliot's Indians* or Captain *Guggins Indians*.

"This Mr. *Elliot*, you must understand, is the Man that hath by his own great Labour and Study, invented the way of Printing the *Indian Language*, and hath also perfectly translated the whole Bible, with the Singing Psalms in Meeter; the Assemblies Catechism; the Practice of Piety, into the *Indian Language*; as also Written several Books, very profitable for understanding the Grounds of Christian Religion: For which Pains and Labour he deserves Honour from all such who are

Well-Wishers to things of the like Nature, whose Name will never Die in *New England*.

"This Captain *Guggins*, is a Captain and Justice of Peace at Cambridg: He receives Thirty Pound *per annum* from the *English*, as fit to Judg among the *Indians*, to Judg any difference (not Capital) among themselves, or between them and the *English*.¹

"Toward the latter end of August, Captain *Moseley* took eight *Indians* alive, and sent them Prisoners to *Boston*, who were put in prison there; these were the number of *Mr. Elliot's Indians*; (as also many of those *Indians* that were Shipt off by Captain *Sprague*, for the *Straits* and *Gales*) these men were at several times tried for their Lives, and condemned to Die: Mean time *Mr. Elliot* and Captain *Guggins* pleaded so very hard for the *Indians*, that the whole Council knew not what to do about them. They hearkened unto *Mr. Elliot* for His Gravity Age and Wisdom, and also for that he hath been the chief Instrument that the Lord hath made use of, in Propogating the Gospel among the Heathen; And was their Teacher, till such time that some *Indians* were brought up in the University to supply his place. But for Captain *Guggins*, why such a wise Council as they should be so over-born by him, cannot be judged otherwise than because of his daily troubling them with his Impertinences and multitudinous Speeches, in so much that it was told him on the Bench by a very worthy Person² there present, that he ought rather to be Confined among his *Indians*, than to sit on the Bench; his taking the *Indians* part so much hath made him a By-word both among Men and Boys: But so it was, that by one and two at a time most of these eight *Indians* (and four more sent afterwards on the same account) were let loose by night,³ which so Exasperated the Commonalty, that about the 10th of *September* at nine a Clock at night, there gathered together about forty

¹ Thus is Daniel's salary as a Magistrate ingeniously made to appear as a compensation for his work among the *Indians*.

² "Capt. Oliver."

³ Daniel Gookin says only two *Indians* were released and that they were not accused of any crime. The others were tried and acquitted, toward the end of September. Coll. Am. Ant. Soc. ii, 460, 466.

Men (some of note) and came to the House of Captain James Oliver; two or three of them went into his Entry to desire to speak with him, which was to desire him to be their Leader, and they should joyn together and go break open the Prison, and take one *Indian* out thence and Hang him: Captain *Oliver* hearing their request, took his Cane and cudgelled them stoutly and so for that time dismiss the Company; which had he but in the least countenanced it might have been accompanied with ill Events in the end. Immediately Captain *Oliver* went and acquainted Mr. *Ting* his neighbour, (a Justice of Peace) and they both went the next Morning and acquainted the Governour, who thank'd Captain *Oliver* for what he had done last night, but this rested not here: For the Commonalty were so enraged against Mr. Elliot, and Captain *Guggins* especially, that Captain *Guggins* said on the Bench, that he was afraid to go along the streets; the answer was made, you may thank yourself; however an Order was issued out for the Execution of that one (notorious above the rest) *Indian*, and accordingly he was led by a Rope about his Neck to the Gallows; when he came there the Executioners (for there were many) flung one end over the Post, and so hoisted him up like a Dog, three or four times, he being yet half alive and half dead; then came an *Indian*, a Friend of his, and with a Knife made a hole in his Breast to his Heart, and sucked out his Heartblood: Being asked the reason therefore, his answer, *Umh, umh, nu*, me stronger as I was before, me be so strong as me and he too, he be ver' strong Man fore he die. Thus with the Dog-like death (good enough) of one poor Heathen, was the People's Rage laid in some measure, but in a short time it began to work (not without cause enough)."¹

¹Daniel Gookin makes no mention of this affair in his History of the Christian Indians. Instead he says that the judges and jurors, through the blessing of God, were prevented from bringing blood upon the land. The unreliability of the author of the Letter to London is as evident as is his animus.



CHAPTER XVI



LL report travels quickly, and the calumnies uttered against Captain Gookin were not long in finding their echo in the neighboring colonies. In a letter dated Providence, October 20, 1675, Mary Pray—probably the wife of Ephraim Pray—wrote as follows, to Captain Oliver: “The Indians boast and say those Indians that are caled praying Indians never shut at the other Indians, but up into the tops of the trees or into the ground; and when they make shew of going first into the swamp they comonly give the Indians noatis how to escape the English. Sir, we have experience of them that they are as bad as any other; and it is report by the Indians them selves tha^t Cap. Gucking helps them to powder and they sel it to those that are employed by Philip to bye it for him. This we have ground to believe.”¹

By the end of October the clamor had become so insistent that an order was passed to remove all of the Natick Indians from their habitations and to quarter them upon Deer Island, in Boston Harbor. They were accordingly transferred thither on the night of October 30, and so “put upon a bleake bare Iland,” to quote the words of John Eliot, in a letter to Hon. Robert Boyle, “where yeⁱ suffer hunger & could, there is neither foode nor competent fuel to be had, & yeⁱ are bare in clouthing,” they were forced to spend the winter. This removal was referred to by the author of the Letter to London, as follows:

¹Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., Ser. 5, i, 106.

“Care now is taken to satisfy the (reasonable) desires of the Commonalty, concerning Mr. *Elliot's Indians*, and *Capt. Guggins Indians*. They that wear the name of *Praying Indians*, but rather (as Mr. *Hezekiah Ushur* termed *Preying Indians*) they have made Preys of much *English Blood*, but now they are all reduced to their several Confinements; which is much to a general Satisfaction.”

About ten days after this, an incident occurred, which though trivial in itself, gave new life to the popular indignation against Daniel Gookin. Having been specially ordered by the Council to endeavour to gain intelligence of the enemy's movements, he sent out one Job Kattenanit, a trusty Indian, armed with a pass to provide for his safe conduct at his return. Shortly after setting out, Job was halted by some of Captain Henchman's scouts, and the pass meeting with “hard construction,” he was carried back to Boston and placed in prison. “He had,” says Daniel, “committed no offence (that ever I heard of) but was imprisoned merely to still the clamors of the people, who railed much against this poor fellow, and fain would have had him put to death, (though they knew not wherefore). But those murmurings were not only against the Indian, but as much against Major Gookin, who granted him the certificate; some not sparing to say that he was sent forth to give intelligence to the enemy, and such like false and reproachful reflections upon their friends, that had many ways approved their fidelity to the country. But this was an hour of temptation and murmuring, as sometime God's own people are inclined unto, as at Massah and Meribah. Thus it pleased God to exercise this poor Job, yet reserved him for greater service afterward, as in the sequel will appear.”

The winter and spring of 1675-6 was for Daniel Gookin a trying time, as well as a very busy one. Meetings of the Council were frequent, and amid all his other duties the Indians were a never-ceasing care. He records that upon December 13, “in a cold and very sharp season,” he rode with Major Simon Willard and Rev. John Eliot to Concord to visit the Nashobah Christian Indians there domiciled by order of the General Court, and “to endeavour to quiet and compose the

minds of the English there, touching those Indians." Again he says: "About the latter end of Dec., I had (among others) sometimes opportunity to accompany Mr. Elliot to visit and comfort the poor Christian Indians confined to Deer Island who were (a little before) increased to be about five hundred souls, by addition of the Punkapog Indians, sent thither upon as little cause as the Naticks were." And when, after the memorable Swamp Fight of December 19, the Council "were very desirous to use means to gain intelligence of the state of the enemy," he went again to the island on the 28th of the month and secured two trustworthy and capable men to serve as spies. Daniel tells us that, having spoken to the men, who were selected after a conference with two or three of the chiefs, they answered "that they were very sensible of the great hazard and danger in this undertaking; yet their love to the English, and that they might give more demonstrations of their fidelity, . . . by God's assistance, they would willingly adventure their lives."

One of the men selected was Job Kattenanit, who had fared so ill when setting forth upon a similar mission six weeks earlier, and who, because he had not thought it necessary to avoid Captain Henchman's scouts, being armed with a pass from Captain Gookin, had spent three weeks "in a small prison, which was very noisome." This time Job got safely away to the enemies' country, with his companion, who was named James Quannapohit. James returned on January 24, "very weary, faint and spent in travelling near eighty miles upon snow shoes, and was brought to Captain Gookin's house. He was the bearer of important news, which he gave to the Council the next day. "Job," to quote Daniel Gookin's words, "staid behind, and returned not until the 9th of February; and then, about ten o'clock in the night, came to Major Gookin's house at Cambridge, conducted thither by one Joseph Miller, that lived near the falls of Charles River. He brought tidings, that before he came from the enemy at Menemesse, a party of the Indians, about four hundred, were marched forth to attack and burn Lancaster; and on the morrow, which was February 10th, they would attempt it . . . As soon as Major

Gookin understood this tidings by Job, he rose out of his bed and, advising with Mr. Danforth, one of the Council, that lived near him, they despatched away post, in the night, to Marlborough, Concord, and Lancaster, ordering forces to surround Lancaster with all speed."

The difficulty of convincing people against their will becomes an impossibility when they are carried away by a popular craze. "After the coming back of those spies," says Daniel, "they were sent again to Deer Island. And although they had run such hazards, and done so good service (in the judgment of the authority of the country and other wise and prudent men), yet the vulgar spared not to load them with reproaches, and to impute the burning of Mendon (a deserted village) unto them, and to say that all they informed were lies, and that they held correspondence with the enemy, or else they had not come back safe; and divers other things were muttered both against the spies and authority that sent them, tending to calumniate the poor men that had undertaken and effected this great affair, which none else (but they) were willing to engage in; which declares the rude temper of those times."

While the Governor and most of the magistrates appear to have supported Daniel, his friend and neighbor Thomas Danforth was the most outspoken in defending him from these aspersions. So actively, indeed, did he second Daniel in his efforts in behalf of the maligned praying Indians, that he incurred a share in the popular hostility. A fresh outburst came after the burning of Lancaster on February 10th, followed eleven days later by the attack on Medfield. The intelligence of these disasters, says Daniel Gookin, "occasioned many thoughts of hearty and hurrying motions, and gave opportunity to the vulgar to cry out, 'Oh, come, let us go down to Deer Island, and kill all the praying Indians.'"¹ It may even be that a massacre of these poor creatures would have been attempted, but for the timely discovery of a plot to that end, and a warning given to the ringleaders who were sent for by the Council. Foiled in this project, written handbills threatening the lives

¹ Gookin's *Hist. of the Christian Ind.*, 494.

of Gookin and Danforth were posted in Boston. In the State archives are two weather-stained copies of these placards, both reading as follows:¹

Boston, February 28, 1675

Reader thou art desired not to suppress this paper but to promote its designe, which is to certify (those traytors to their king and countrey) Guggins and Danford, that some generous spirits have vowed their destruction; as Christians wee warne them to prepare for death, for though they will deservedly dye, yet we wish the health of their soules.

By y^e new society

A. B. C. D.

The author of this manifesto was, perhaps, one Richard Scott, who on the very day these placards appeared, gave vent to his feeling in the manner set forth in the following testimony which was taken at his trial, less than a week later.

“Elizabeth Belcher, aged 57, Martha Remington, aged 31, and Mary Mitchell, aged 20, being sworne, doe say, that on y^e 28th day of Feb^r last, ab^t 10 of the clocke at night, Ri: Scott came into y^e house of y^e said Belcher, and suddenly after he came in broak out into many hideous railing expressions ag^t y^e worth Capt. Daniel Gookin, calling him an Irish dog y^t was never faithful to his country, the sonne of a whoare, a bitch, a rogue, God confound him, & God rott his soul, saying if I could meet him alone I would pistoll him. I wish my knife and sizers were in his heart. He is the devil’s interpreter. I and two or three more designed to cut off all Gookin’s brethren at the Island, but some English dog discovered it, the devil will plague him,” etc. Sworn before Simon Willard, Assistant, March 4, 1675/6.² Scott was fined and imprisoned, but afterward, having made a very humble confession, he was released.

Earlier in the day when Scott thus misbehaved, the General Court had adjourned, after having voted to raise an army of six hundred men to be placed under the command of Major Thomas Savage; but, as Daniel Gookin tells us, he “was not willing to undertake the charge unless he might have some of

¹ Mass. Archives, xxx, 193.

² Ibid, xxx, 192.

the Christian Indians upon Deer Island to go with him for guides, &c; for the Major, being an experienced soldier, well considered the great necessity of such helps in such an undertaking." Among the more intelligent members of the community the value of the services that these friendly Indians might render was beginning to be appreciated. In the midst of the sad tidings of fresh ravages that came thick and fast in March and April, 1676, Captain Daniel Henchman "made motions to the Council, once and, again, of his readiness to conduct these Indians against the enemy." Though his offer was not accepted, a little later the Council decided to arm and send forth a company of them under Captain Samuel Hunting. These had just been got together at Charlestown when word came of the threatened attack upon Sudbury. The intelligence reached Daniel Gookin at Charlestown. As he says: "Just at the beginning of the Lecture there, as soon as these tidings came, Major Gookin and Mr. Thomas Danforth (two of the Magistrates) who were then hearing the Lecture Sermon, being acquainted herewith, withdrew out of the meeting-house, and immediately gave orders for a ply of horse, belonging to Capt. Prentiss' troops, under conduct of Corporal Phipps, and the Indian company under Capt. Hunting, forthwith to march away for the relief of Sudbury." In the encounter that followed the Christian Indian soldiers gave such a good account of themselves that thenceforward, as long as the war lasted, they were constantly employed in expeditions against the enemy.

In March Captain Gookin was much occupied with the problem of securing the release of the wife and children of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, who were among the captives carried away from Lancaster. The service of taking a message to the hostile savages was so dangerous that for some time Daniel was unable to persuade any one to undertake it, though he went to the Indians' camp on the Island and, as he phrased it, "did his utmost endeavours to procure an Indian to adventure." Persisting in his efforts, however, at last a messenger was found to conduct the negotiations, and being sent to Daniel's house in Cambridge, he was there "fitted and fur-

Dorset February 23. 1675.

193

Reader thou art desired not to suppress this paper, but to
promote its desirability, which is to certify (those traitors to
their King and Country) Guggins and Danforth, that
some generous spirits have doomed their destruction as
Christians will, must, whom to prepare for death, for
though they will deservedly dye; yet we wish & health
of their soules

By the Society A. B. C. D.

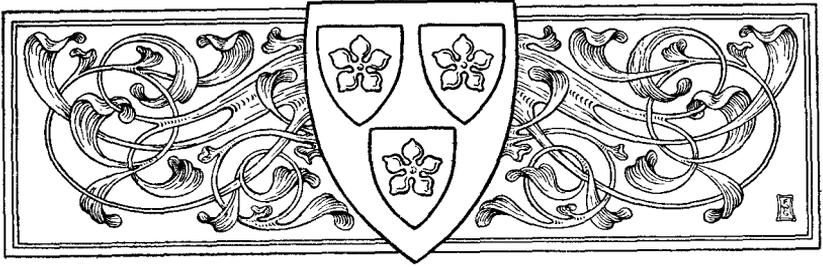
Placard threatening the lives of Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth.

nished for this enterprise," which not only ended in the redemption of the prisoners, but also, says Daniel, "had no small influence into the abatement of the enemy's violence and our troubles."

A mishap that befel the three friends of the Indians, Gookin, Eliot, and Danforth, early in April, and came near causing the loss of their lives, is very likely attributable to the prevailing animosity with which they were regarded. The story is related by Mr. Eliot in a memorandum entered upon the Record of his Church.

"1676, on the 7th day of the 2^d month, Capt. Gookins, M^r Danforth & M^r Stoughton w^r sent by the Councill to order matters at long Iland for the Indians planting there, y^ei called me wth y^m. In o^r way thither, a great boate of about 14 ton, meeting us, turn head upon us, (wheth^r willfully or by negligence, God he knoweth) y^ei run the sterne o^r boate w^r we 4 sat, under water, o^r boats saile, or something tangled wth the great boat, & by God's mercy kept to it. My Cosin Jakob & cosin Perrie being forwarder in o^r boat quickly got up into the great boat. I so sunke y^t I drank in salt water twice, & could not help it. God assisted my two cosins to deliver us all, & help us up into the great boat. We were not far fr'm the Castle, where we went ashore, dryed & refreshed, & yⁿ went to the Iland p'formed o^r work, returned well home at night praised be the Lord. Some thanked God & some wished we had bene drowned. Soone after, one y^t wished we had bene drowned, was himselfe drowned about the same place w^r we w^r so wonderfully delivered, the history w^roff is,"—here the account abruptly ends.

It is recorded that on this occasion Daniel Gookin lost "a large cloak of drab due berry lin'd through with fine serge, cost in London about eight pounds," also "a new pair of gloves cost 2^s and a rattan, headed with Ivory worth 18^d," while Mr. Eliot lost "a good castor hat worth ten shillings."



CHAPTER XVII



FOR more than twenty years, when the votes for magistrates were opened in Boston at the spring meeting of General Court, Daniel Gookin's name had always stood at or near the head of the list. In May, 1676, the votes in his favor dropped from about twelve hundred to 446 and he failed of election. John Eliot thus recorded the event:

“Month 3 day 4. Election Day, the people in their distemper left out Capt. Gookin & put him off the Bench.”

The ballot was taken at the darkest time in the war and in all probability the result was not unexpected. All of the candidates known to stand up for the Christian Indians lost votes, Thomas Danforth getting only 840, Joseph Dudley 669, while Major Thomas Savage received barely 441.

When the General Court met, the members made haste to manifest their sympathy for Daniel Gookin, and their confidence in his motives and his ability. One of their first acts was to promote him to the office of Sergeant-major of the regiment of Middlesex, or commander-in-chief of the military forces of the county. This was on May 5, 1676, when he was “by the whole Court chosen and appointed.” The duties proper to that office had been performed by him since October 13, 1675, when, in the absence of the Major, he had been instructed to put the whole command “into a posture of warr.” In compliance with the order he had, on November 2,

dispatched Captain Joseph Sill with sixty men of Charlestown, Watertown, and Cambridge, against the enemy. His letter of instructions closes thus:

“So desiring the ever-living Lord God to accompany you and your company with his gracious conduct and presence, and that he will for Christ’s sake appear in all the mounts of difficulty, and cover all your heads in the day of battle, and deliver the bloodthirsty and cruel enemy of God and his people into your hands, and make you executioners of his just indignation upon them, and return you victorious unto us, I commit you and your company unto God, and remain

Your very loving friend

DANIEL GOOKIN, Senr”¹

Other evidences of Daniel’s military activity at this period are not wanting. Service in the field, it hardly need be pointed out, was not expected of him; that was for younger men. Moreover he was far too important a person to be spared from the seat of the government. Various papers that have been preserved tell of duties that devolved upon him. For example, on January 11, 1675/6, “the committee of militia of Charlestown, Cambridge, and Watertown,” were “ordered and required to impress such armor, breasts, backs, and head-pieces, and blunderbusses, as you can find in your respective towns, and to give express and speedy order that they may be cleaned and fitted for service, and sent in to Cambridge to Captain Gookin at or before the 15th of this instant, by him to be sent up to the army by such troopers as are ordered to go up to the army.”² Again, on April 25, 1676, instructions were given to Captain Gookin as “Commander-in-chief of all the forces of horse and foot in this expedition, for the service of the Colony, against the enemy.”³ A letter written by him to the Council for the management of the War, four days before he was given his commission as Major, shows that in this, as in everything that came to his hand to do, his energies were put forth unsparingly.

¹Mass. Arch., lxxviii, 40. Daniel’s signature was afterwards erased from this letter and “By the Council, E. R. S.” substituted.

²Ibid, p. 114.

³Ibid., p. 228.

“Honored Sirs,

I received your orders after I was retired to rest; but I suddenly got up and issued forth warrants for the delinquents, and sent away the warrant to Capt. Prentice, and also sent warrants to the commander-in-chief of Charlestown, Watertown, Cambridge, and the Village, Malden, and Woburn, to raise one fourth part of their companies to appear at Cambridge this morning at eight a clock. But I fear the rain and darkness of the last night hath impeded their rendesvous at the time; but sometime today I hope they will appear, or at least some of them. I judge, if the Captains do their duty in uprightness, there may be about 100 men, or near it. I have written to Capt. Hammond to send up Capt. Cutler to conduct this company; I am uncertain about his compliance; I desire your order, in case of failure, and also directions to what rendesvous to send this company when raised. It is a very afflictive time to be called off, considering we have planting in hand this week, and our fortification pressing upon our shoulders.¹ But God sees meet to order it so that this rod must smart sharply. I pray let me have your directions sent away with all speed. I stay at home on purpose to despatch these soldiers. So with my dutiful respects to your honored selves, I remain

Your assured friend and servant,

May the first, 1676

DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen.²

Having given Daniel his appointment as Major, the General Court, taking notice of “the present distressed condition of the Indians at the island, they being ready to perish for want of bread,” ordered that a man with a boat be employed to assist them in catching fish. A few days later it was decided to remove them “to convenient places for their planting.” Most of the able-bodied men had taken service in the army. Those who were left were nearly all old men, women and children, about four hundred in number. So “the Council ordered Maj. Gookin & M^r Eliot to make the seperation” and “Maj^r Gookin to appoint y^e committees time & place for reception of each parcell of Indians & to impress boats, &c., for their removal forthwith, & that he takes care to arm & dispatch the Indian souldjers.”

The removal was effected on May 12, when, in the words of John Eliot, as set down in his Church record, “the Indians

¹This refers to the stockade ordered built by the town at a meeting held March 27. The attack on Medfield, six days before, had caused great alarm and a feeling of insecurity even in the vicinity of Boston.

²Mass. Archives, lxviii, 247.

came off the Iland. Capt. Gookin cars for y^m at Cambridge." Daniel's own account is more specific. "Major Gookin, their old friend and ruler, . . . forthwith hired boats to bring them from the Islands to Cambridge, not far from the house of Mr. Thomas Oliver, a pious man, and of a very loving, compassionate spirit to those poor Indians; who, when others were shy, he freely offered a place for their present settlement upon his land, which was very commodious for situation being near Charles River, convenient for fishing, and where there was plenty of fuel; and Mr. Oliver had a good fortification at his house, near the place where the wigwams stood, where, (if need were) they might retreat for their security. This deliverance from the Island was a jubilee to those poor creatures; and though many of them were sick at this time of their removal, especially some of the chief men, as Waban, John Thomas, and Josiah Harding, with divers other men, women and children, were sick of a dysentery and fever, at their first coming up from the Island; but by the care of the Major, and his wife, and Mr. Eliot, making provision for them, of food and medicines, several of them recovered, particularly Waban and John Thomas; the one the principal ruler, and the other a principal teacher of them, who were both extreme low, but God had in mercy raised them up."

In the autumn, the war being over, the Indians removed, "some to the falls of Charles river, and some settled about Hoanantum Hill,¹ not far from Mr. Oliver's, near the very place where they first began to pray to God, and Mr. Eliot first taught them, which was about thirty years since. Here Anthony, one of the teachers, built a large wigwam, at which place the lecture and school were kept in the winter 1676; where Major Gookin and Mr. Eliot ordinarily met every fortnight; and the other week among the Packemitt² Indians, who were also brought from the Island at the same time and placed near Brush Hill in Milton." Thus at the earliest moment practicable, did the indefatigable Eliot and Gookin again take up their interrupted missionary labours. The

¹ Otherwise known as Nonantum.

² Or Punkapog, now Stoughton.

value of this work to the Colony had been amply demonstrated by the conduct of the Christian Indians during the war. But for it there can be little doubt that many of these Indians would have been arrayed against the English, and that the terrors of the sanguinary conflict would have been far greater than they were. Yet even the efficient aid rendered by the Indian soldiers, and the proof this gave of their fidelity, did not entirely eradicate the prejudice felt against them and their defenders. As late as October, 1677, when the Indians had gone back to their settlements at Natick and Punkapog, one John Jones having been arrested for attempting to run down Thomas Danforth, John Marshall testified that on October 9, 1677:

"I saw John Joans driveing his trucks, whipping his horses which caused them to run very furiously; the worshipful Thomas Danforth being before the trucks shifted the way several times to escape the horses, and I was afraid they would have ran over him; but having escaped them when the said Joans came to the wharfe where I was, I asked him why he drave his trucks soe hard to run over people, and told him he had like to have ran over Mr. Danforth; he answered it was noe matter if Mr. Danforth and Major Gucking were both hanged.

"Sworn in Court. J. Dudley Assistant, 12, 8, 77. Said Jones is sentenced to be admonished, and not to drive a cart in Boston upon penalty of a severe whipping. J. Dudley, per order." Thus was the punishment neatly made to fit the offense.

Although a few shallow persons, like Jones, remained obdurate and unconvinced, the steadfast demeanour of Daniel Gookin, his calm and unflinching attitude in the time of disturbance, his care to refrain from recrimination when reviled, and his unselfish devotion to the welfare of the community, soon silenced most of the outcry against him and brought about a revulsion of feeling in his favour. When election day came around, in May, 1677, he was once more chosen Assistant, and reinstated in his place upon the bench.



CHAPTER XVIII



MILITARY duties, in addition to those that came to him as magistrate and as a member of the Council, made 1677 a busy year for Major Gookin. Nevertheless he found time in the autumn to write for the "Corporation for Gospelizing the Indians in New England," as he styled it, "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, 1677." This work, accompanied by an epistle dedicatory, dated December 18, 1677, was sent by him to Robert Boyle, the Governor of the Society. No doubt he hoped that the society would see fit to publish it, but for some reason this was not done, and the manuscript was lost until 1835, when it turned up in the hands of an English clergyman. By him it was loaned to the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Pittsburgh, from whom it was borrowed by Mr. Jared Sparks, who brought it to the attention of the American Antiquarian Society, and, in 1836, it was published in Volume II of "Archæologia Americana" — the Transactions and Proceedings of that society.

This work formed a supplement to an earlier treatise entitled "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," which Daniel finished in 1674, and transmitted to Mr. Boyle in December of that year. This manuscript, like the other, was long forgotten, but finally coming to light in a library in England, it was first printed in 1792 in Volume I of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A sepa-

rate edition was also issued the same year, "at the Apollo Press in Boston, by Belknap and Hall."¹ Although complete in itself, this work was designed as a part of a general History of New England which he had projected upon a plan more comprehensive and philosophical than was attempted by any one else for more than a century after his time. In a post-script to the treatise he outlined the scope of the history and his reasons for undertaking its preparation, in words which testify alike to his modesty and his eminent fitness for the task.

Concerning this matter the reader may please to understand, that when I first drew up these Collections, it was intended for a second book of the history of New-England. But that being not yet above half-finished, and this concerning the Indians being distinct from the other, which treateth principally of the Indians in New-England, although it was no great incongruity, had it accompanied the rest: But for some reasons at this juncture, I have thought it not unseasonable to emit this of the Indians first. The scope and design of the author in that intended history, you may see in what follows, setting forth the number and subjects of each book.

THE HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND, ESPECIALLY OF THE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN EIGHT BOOKS,
FAITHFULLY COLLECTED BY DANIEL GOOKIN,
ONE OF THE MAGISTRATES THEREOF.

BOOK I. Describeth the country of New-England in general: the extent thereof: the division of it into four colonies: the situation of the several harbours and islands: the nature of the land and soil: the commodities and product both of the earth and sea, before it was inhabited by the English nation: and divers other things relating thereunto: with a map of the country, to be placed at the end of the first book.

BOOK II. Treateth of the Indians, natives of the country: their customs, manners, and government, before the English settled there: also their present state in matters of religion and government; and in especial of the praying Indians, who have visibly received the gospel; mentioning the means and instruments that God hath used for their civilizing and conversion, and the success thereof through the blessing of God: the present state of these praying Indians: the number and situation of their towns, and their churches and people, both in the colony of Massachusetts, and elsewhere in the country; with divers other matters referring to that affair.

¹A copy of this edition, perhaps unique, is in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison. The volume of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections containing it has been twice reprinted; in 1806 and again in 1859.

BOOK III. Setteth forth the first discovery, planting, and settling New-England by the English: as the time when it was undertaken; the occasion inducing them to transplant themselves and families; the condition and quality of the first undertakers; especially those of Massachusetts colony; and the grounds and motives for their removal from their native country unto New-England: with divers other matters concerning the same: and in the close of this book, a brief account of the author's life, and the reasons inducing him to remove himself and family into New-England.

BOOK IV. Discourseth of the civil government of New-England; particularly of the colony of Massachusetts, which is founded upon the royal charter of king Charles the first, of famous memory; with a recital of the chief heads of the said charter or patent: with the several gradations of the courts, both executive and legislative: together with a brief mention of the state of the confederacy between the united colonies of New-England, viz. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Plymouth, with the publick benefit and safety occurring to the whole country thereby.

BOOK V. Of the present condition and state of the country: as the number and names of the counties and towns; A conjecture of the number of people in the country: the military forces of horse and foot: their fortifications upon their principal harbours: their navigation and number of ships and other vessels: their money and commodities raised in the country, for use at home, or commerce abroad: of foreign commodities most suitable for the country's use, to be imported: of their manufactures; with the opportunities and advantages to increase the same, which hitherto hath been obstructed, and the reason thereof: with some arguments to excite the people unto more intenseness and diligence in improving the manufacture of the country.

BOOK VI. Giveth an account of the worthies in New-England, and especially the magistrates and ministers in all the colonies: their names and the characters of some of the most eminent of them that are deceased: with the names of the governours of Massachusetts, from the beginning until this present, and the times of their death: and sundry other matters appertaining thereto.

BOOK VII. Mentioneth some of the most eminent and remarkable mercies, providences and doings of God for this people in New England, from the first beginning of this plantation unto this day; wherein many wonderful salvations of the almighty and our most gracious God hath showed and extended towards them, which they should declare unto their children and children's children, that so the great name of Jehovah may be magnified and only¹ exalted.

BOOK VIII. Declareth their religion and the order of their church government in New England: with a rehearsal of their faith and platform

¹Thus printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, but possibly a misreading of the word "duly."

of church discipline, drawn out of the word of God: with a vindication of this people from the unjust imputations of separatism, anabaptism, and other heterodoxies: also a brief mention of the college at Cambridge in New-England: the present state thereof: the care and faithful endeavours used, that it may be upheld and encouraged for the education of learned and able men, to supply both orders of church and state in future times: also a brief commemoration of the names of the presidents and fellows, that have been of that society; with other learned men, dead and living, that have been graduates there from its first foundation.

You may here see my design, which I earnestly desired might have been drawn by a more able pen: and I have often earnestly moved able persons to undertake it: but not knowing of any, and being unwilling that a matter of so great concernment for the honour of God and the good of men, should be buried in oblivion, I have adventured in my old age, and in a plain style, to draw some rude delineaments of God's beautiful work in this land. I have, through grace, travelled half way in this work, as is said before; but in truth, I find myself clogged with so many avocations; as my publick employ among the English and Indians, and my own personal and family exercises, which by reason of my low estate in the world are the more obstructive and perplexing: so that I cannot proceed in this work so vigorously as I desire. Yet I shall endeavour, by God's assistance, if he please to spare me life and ability, to make what speedy progress I can. If this tract concerning the Indians find acceptance, I shall be the more encouraged to finish and send forth the other; which although it should prove very imperfect, by reason of the weakness and unworthiness of the author; yet I shall endeavour that it be drawn according to truth; and then, if it be of no other use, it may serve to inform my children, or possibly contribute some little help to a more able pen, to set forth the same thing, more exactly and exquisitely garnished, in after times.

The language of this statement would alone be enough to certify his mental equipment for the undertaking. No other man in New England had better opportunities for ascertaining facts, no other had such certain poise, such breadth of outlook. It is impossible to peruse his works, and in especial his history of the Christian Indians, and not feel a growing admiration and respect for him both as a man and as a writer. The entire absence of bitterness even when referring to the brutal reviling to which he was subjected, bears silent witness to his largeness of mind and the sweetness of his disposition. The tranquil tone is that of a strong man resting secure in the consciousness of rectitude, and upheld by an unshakable faith in the

beneficence of God and by resignation to His will. "As we study his writings," says Moses Coit Tyler, "we see shining through them the signals of a very noble manhood,—modesty, tenderness, strength, devoutness, a heart full of sympathy for every kind of distress, a hand able and quick to reach out and obey the promptings of his heart. Then, too, we are impressed by his uncommon intellectual value. We find that he had width and grip in his ideas; his mind was trained to orderly movement; his style rose clear and free above the turbid and pedantic rhetoric of his age and neighborhood; his reading was shown, not in the flapping tags of quotation, but in a diffused intelligence, fullness, and poise of thought; as an historian, he had the primary virtues—truth, fairness, lucidity."¹

It would be difficult to add anything to a pronouncement at once so just and so appreciative.

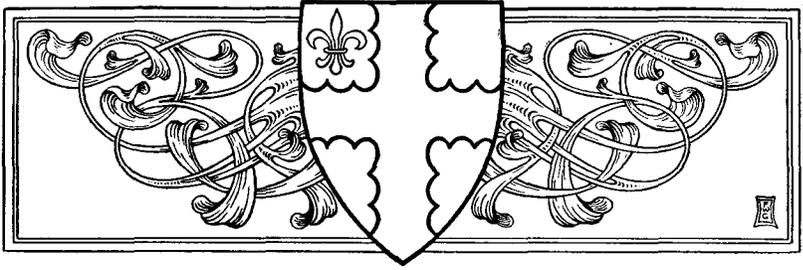
How nearly Daniel was able to complete his *History of Massachusetts* we shall probably never know. The family tradition is that the manuscript was destroyed when the tavern kept by his grandson, Richard Gookin, at Dedham, was burned in 1742; and as extended and careful search has failed to yield any trace of it, this tradition may be assumed to be correct. Its loss, as has been well said, is indeed, "a calamity to early American History."²

An intimation that Daniel was the author of a third tract relating to the Indians, is found in a letter addressed by John Eliot to Robert Boyle, under date, November 4, 1680.³ "We are in great affliction by the Manquaoy Indians," he writes; "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 Edmond 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." Some day, it is to be hoped, one of these copies may yet come to light.

¹ *History of Am. Literature*, i, 151.

² *Ibid.*, i, 157.

³ *Birch's Life of Boyle*, London, 1744, p. 436.



CHAPTER XIX



HE name of Daniel Gookin is so intimately connected with the establishment of the city of Worcester, that he may not improperly be regarded as in a sense its founder. "To ascribed to Major General Daniel Gookin the title of Father of Worcester," says Ellery B. Crane, "would be conferring a compliment well deserved, and at the same time impart an honor to Worcester which she need not feel ashamed of or reluctant to accept."¹

The first action looking toward the forming of a settlement was taken by the General Court on October 11, 1665, when in answer to a petition by Lieut. Thomas Noyes of Sudbury and several others, the Court, "understanding that there is a meet place for a plantation about ten miles from Marlborough westward, at or neere Quansicamug Pond, which, that it may be improved for that end, & not spoyled by granting of farmes," named Captain Gookin, Captain Edward Johnson, Lieut. Joshua Fisher, and Lieut. Thomas Noyes, as a committee "to make a survey of the place."

The death of Lieut. Noyes and other impediments prevented this Committee from doing anything, and so the matter rested until May 15, 1667, when the Court again nominated Captain Daniel Gookin, Captain Edward Johnson, Samuel Andrew, and Andrew Belcher, Senior, "as a committee to take an exact view of the said place as soone as conveniently they

¹Historical Notes on the Early Settlement of Worcester, p. 20.

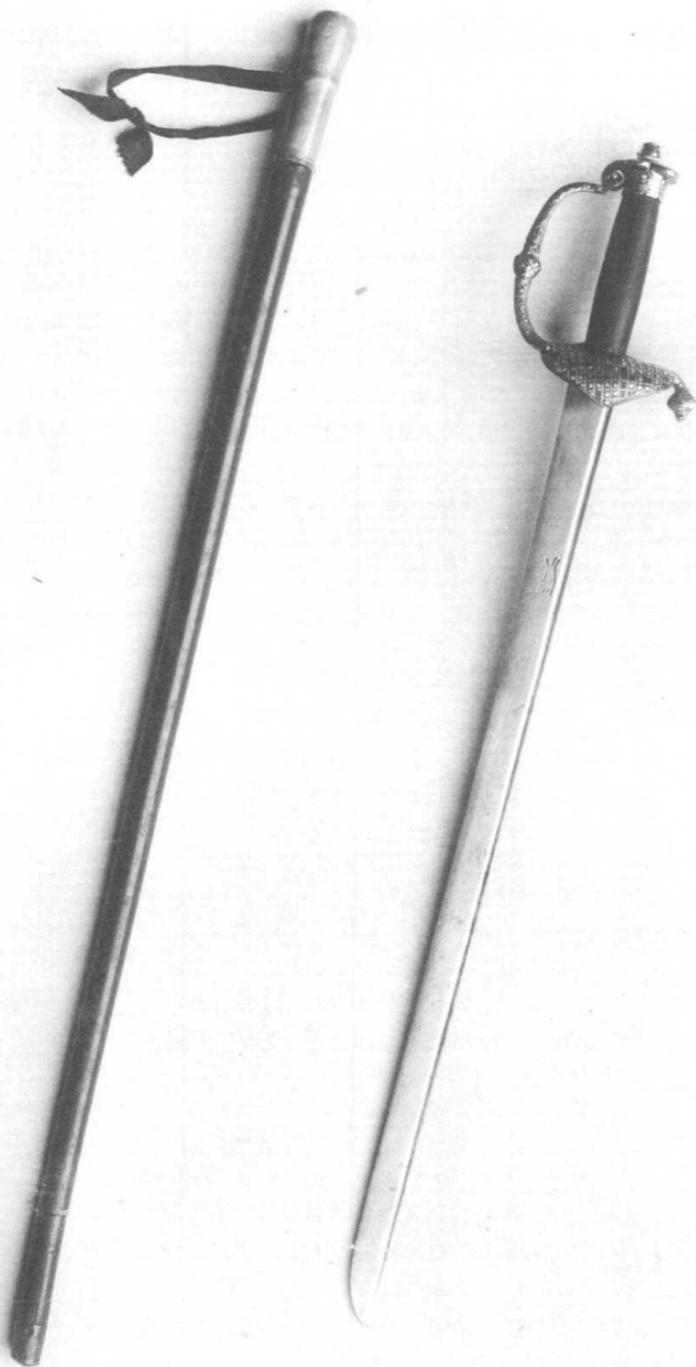
can." The report of this Committee was not made until October 20, 1668. It recommended the place as suitable for a small plantation, whereupon, on November 7, the Court appointed "Capt. Daniel Gookin, Capt. Thō. Prentice, M^r Daniel Henchman, & Leiftenⁿ Beare, or any three of them to be a committee, whereof Capt. Danil Gookin to be one," to lay out and establish the settlement.

Taking several prospective settlers with them, all four commissioners visited the site early in May of the next year. They found it "very commodious for the scittuation of a towne," but in part taken up by grants of the Court, and therefore unavailable for the purpose, unless the grantees should be dispossessed and provided for elsewhere. In consequence, four more years elapsed before the settlement could begin. The first book of "Records of the Proprietors," consisting of twenty-eight closely written pages in the hand of Daniel Gookin, shows that by 1673 the difficulties had been cleared away and lots had been assigned to thirty-two persons. Only fourteen of these perfected their titles by paying their share of the expense incurred by the Committee, which included Indian purchase money. Among the fourteen were Daniel Gookin, his son Samuel, and Daniel Henchman, who, next to Gookin was the most active member of the Commission.

In the autumn of this year a house situated "a little beyond the brook," was built by the Committee. This, with the houses of Ephraim Curtis and Thomas Brown, finished in 1674, are all that are certainly known to have been erected prior to the Indian war which broke out a year later, when they were burned by the savages. Though the Committee resumed their labours after the war was over, they found it exceedingly difficult to secure acceptable men who were willing to settle in the new town. The matter had come so nearly to a standstill by 1682 that the General Court gave notice that unless substantial progress was made in the near future the place would be forfeited. Accordingly it was arranged that a new survey should be made, which was done upon a new plat and the lots reassigned in different and more widely scattered locations, only five persons, of whom Daniel Gookin was one, appearing as proprie-

tors in both grants. This was in 1683. The next year a few log houses were built, and Captain Daniel Henchman went to Worcester to reside and to give the settlement his personal superintendence. His efforts were short-lived, for he died at his home there, on October 15, 1685.

At a General Court held in Boston on October 15, 1684, "Upon y^e motion & desire of Maj^o Gen^{all} Daniel Gookin, Cap^t Thomas Prentice & Daniel Henchman this Courts Committee for y^e settling of a new Plantation neare Quansikomond, Humbly desireing y^t y^e Court will please to name y^e Town Worcester," that name was accordingly bestowed upon it. What reason Daniel Gookin may have had for this selection can only be conjectured. The view has been advanced by Senator George F. Hoar, Ellery B. Crane, and others that it was intended as a tribute to the memory of Oliver Cromwell. That Daniel should wish to do him honour is most likely, not alone because he was an ardent admirer of the great defender of the liberties of the English people, but also because of the close relation that had existed between the Protector and several members of the Gookin family. Daniel's employment as Cromwell's agent in his cherished scheme of building up the colony of Jamaica has already been related. His cousin Vincent Gookin, the leader of the Moderate party in the three Cromwellian parliaments; the protagonist of the Irish, who, by his determined efforts, frustrated the movement for their wholesale transplantation to Connaught; Commissioner of the Admiralty; Commissioner General for the Revenues of Ireland; and Surveyor General of Ireland under the Protectorate, was the personal choice of Cromwell for the public offices that he held. Captain Robert Gookin, Vincent's younger brother, was a zealous and faithful adherent to whom Cromwell directed that a large grant of land in Ireland should be made, in spite of the opposition of Fleetwood and others; and still another cousin, Samuel Gookin of London, the son of Daniel's uncle John, was appointed one of the Commissioners for Compounding with the Loyalists, commonly known at the time as the Drury House Trustees, from their place of meeting, and sometimes referred to as the "Treason Trustees."



Daniel Gookin's rapier, and cane carried by his grandson, Daniel Gookin, of Worcester, Massachusetts. Now in the possession of their descendant, Charles T. Tatman.

Clearly there were strong personal reasons why Daniel Gookin may have had Cromwell in mind when naming the new settlement. Yet it may be doubted whether these were uppermost in his mind. In its military aspects the battle of Worcester cannot be considered as one of Cromwell's great achievements. To the Puritans of his day, however, the victory gained there was one of deep significance. Hugh Peters gave voice to their feelings in his address to the militiamen who had taken part in the battle,—“When your wives and children shall ask where you have been and what news: say you have been at Worcester, where England's sorrows began, and where they are happily ended.” As these words were printed in the “Diurnal,” it is not improbable that they reached Daniel Gookin and made a deep impression upon him. He was in England in 1650, and from his familiarity with the distressing conditions that prevailed there he could well understand why the defeat of the King's forces at Worcester in the succeeding year should be regarded by Cromwell as “a crowning mercy.” Whether the impression was still strong enough thirty-three years later to determine the choice of a name for the Quinsigamond plantation is a question to which no certain answer is forthcoming. So far as is known, however, Daniel Gookin had no personal associations with the English city, and it may well be that he was influenced by both of the considerations here set forth.

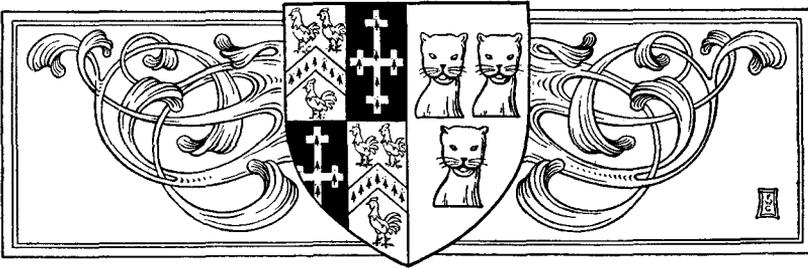
In 1685 a controversy arose between two of the settlers, Captain John Wing and George Danson, in regard to their lands. This was finally ended by a committee appointed on June 11, 1686, on the application of Wing and other proprietors of the town. The committee consisted of Major General Daniel Gookin, Captain Thomas Prentice, William Bond, Captain Joseph Lynd, and Deacon John Haynes. They were instructed to regulate the affairs of the settlement and to confirm titles to lands in Worcester, and “any three of them were empowered to act provided Major Gookin was one of the three.”

Daniel Gookin, now an old man and nearing the end of his career, kept up his interest in the settlement as long as he

lived. It was out of the question that he should go there to dwell. But it was on his recommendation that the town was laid out, and, under more favorable circumstances, it is probable that his endeavors to build it up would have met with greater success. The set-back caused by Philip's war, however, was too lasting to be overcome until long after Daniel had been laid to rest.

The lots in Worcester granted to Daniel were not disposed of by his heirs until 1720, when they were sold to John Smith for the sum of £120.

When, in the year 1731, the county of Worcester was formed, Daniel Gookin's grandson and namesake, the son of his son Samuel, was commissioned Sheriff, and he held the office until his death in June, 1743.



CHAPTER XX



SOON after the restoration of Charles II to the crown, a controversy began with the colonists over their charter privileges, which continued with scarcely any intermission for more than twenty years. Both sides were desirous of avoiding open rupture, yet neither showed the least disposition to yield. The tenacity with which the colonists held to what they regarded as their rights, was matched by equal determination on the part of the crown to exercise authority over them. The men at the head of the Colonial government showed themselves adepts at clever fencing, and for a long time a crisis was averted. Gradually, however, the tension became more acute. In the years following the Indian war much fuel was added to the flame by the machinations of that "evil genius of New England," Edward Randolph. And when, in 1681, a royal mandate was received, directing that authorized agents be sent to London to represent the colony and answer to a land claimant, it was perceived that at last the issue had been presented in a form that could no longer be evaded.

The seriousness of the situation was admitted by all, but grave differences of opinion arose as to the best policy to pursue. The government divided into two parties, both agreed as to the importance of the privileges conferred by the charter, but differing as to their extent, and upon the measures that should be taken to preserve them. Governor Brad-

street, and with him William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, and William Brown, were for bowing to the storm, hoping thus it would pass by and leave them unharmed. Opposed to this view was the other party, of which Thomas Danforth and Daniel Gookin were the leaders. Arrayed with them were several of the principal members of the court, and they appear to have had the support also of the more intelligent part of the community.

For several years Major Gookin's popularity had been steadily growing. In his opposition to the arbitrary measures proposed by the crown, he displayed the same spirit of dogged determination with which he adhered to the cause of the Christian Indians in the face of popular delirium. Of possible consequences to himself he took no note in either case. As he stood between the unhappy red men and the enraged colonists, while clearly recognizing the danger of personal violence to himself, so now he came forward and openly advocated the policy he believed to be right. To yield to the king's demands he clearly foresaw would be a fatal mistake. So he stoutly stood for a strict construction of the charter. He opposed the sending agents to England. He opposed submission to the acts of trade. Resistance might endanger their charter; submission would certainly destroy its substance.

Not for himself did he take this stand. He was sixty-eight years old, and it could make little difference to him personally, during the few remaining years that he could hope would be his portion. Yet from the fullness of his heart did he draw up the following paper which he desired might be lodged with the Court as his dying testimony.

Honored Gentlemen:—Hauing liberty by law (title Liberties common) to present in speech or writing any *necessary* motion, or information, *whereof* that meeting hath proper cognizance so it bee don in *conuenient* time, due order and Respective manner—I have chosen the latter way and hope I shall attend the qualifications as to time, order and manner.

It is much upon my hart to suggest to your prudent, pious and serious consideration my poore thoughts touching the matters lyeing before you, which (to my weake understanding) is a case of great concernment, as to weale or woe of thousands of the Lord's poore people in this wilderness, yt for the testimony of Jesus transplanted themselves into

this wilderness yn vnhabited; and here purchasing ye right of the natives did sit downe in this vacuum, as it were, and who with great labour and sufferings, for many yeares conflicting with hard winters and hot summers haue possessed and left to yr posterity Those inheritances so rightfully allotted to ym According to the Law of God and man; those considerations render the matter most momentous to me.

Your present work (as I understand) is, to draw up instructions for An Agent or Agents to bee sent for England, in compliance with his ma'ties commands in his last letter, which requires vs to send Agents, within 3 months duly impoured to Answer a claime made by one Mr. Mason claiming title to a certaine tract of land within this jurisdiction, particularly between the riuers of Naumkeike¹ and Merimack, upon wh land many of our principal townes are seated, and many thousands of people interested and concerned who haue right to these lands by the Generall Court's grant, Indian Title, and yt impoured, and that for about fifty yeares, and without any claime made by Mr. Mason, or his *predecessors*, and besides their title hath beene established by o'r law till possession, printed and published, when conuenient time was granted to enter ye claimes if any, and upon the pr'mises many sales and Alienations haue (doubtles) beene made; and diuers of the first planters deceased, leaving their inheritances to ye quiet poss'ion of yr posterity; All this notwithstanding by the Letters aforesaid (wch there is good ground to think hath beene procured and sent ouer more by the sollicitation of our enimies yn any disposition in his moste excelent ma'tie (o'r gracious king) to quel so great disquiet and disturbance to his poore inocent and Loyal Subjects, inhabiting in this place, as is occassioned therby, in requiring us to send an Agent or Agents to Answer before him and unto Mr. Mason's claimes, on behalf of these proprietors called Ter tennants, and to abide by the termination y't shall be there giuen; Could wee promise o'rselues, that the conclusion would bee in o'r fauor, which we have no assurance to expect, yet the scruple with me for sending at all as the case is circumstanced is not remoued, but remains vntouched.

I. Because this pr'cedent in conceding to send Agent or Agents for the tryalls and to Answer particular complaints and claymes in England before his ma'tie touching proprietries,² will (as I humbly conceue) have a tendency, if not certenly subuert and destroy the mayne nerves of o'r Government and Charter, lawes and liberties. Besides (as I apr'hend) it will bereaue us of o'r liberties as Englishmen, (confirmed many times by magna charta, who are to bee tryed in all their concernes, ciuil, or criminal by 12 honest men of the neighbourhood, under oath and in his ma'ties Courts, before his sworn Judges and not before his ma'ties Royal person; surely o'r com'g 3 thousand miles under security of his ma'ties title, and by his good leave to plant this howling wilderness hath not deusted us

¹Otherwise, Salem.

²I. e., proprietorship of lands.

of that native liberty w^h o^r countrymen enjoy. Now if Mr. Mason haue any claime to make, of any man within this jurisdiction, his ma'ties Courts heere established by charter are open to him: And he may implead any man yt doth him wrong before ye Jury and sworne Judges; according to law and p^{attent} heretofore and lately confirmed by his Royal ma'tie as under his signet doth or may appeare.

2d. To send Agents not duly impoured as his ma'ties lt^r requires will probably offend and prouoake his ma'tie rather yn please him and give him occasion either to imprison o^r Agents, until they be fully impoured or otherwise pass a finall Judgment in the case (if Agents bee there) though they stand mute and doe not plead to the case. And on the other hand if Agents are sent duly impoured to Answer as the letter requires, yn let it bee considered whether wee doe not, at once, undoe ourselues and posterity, in being obliged to Respond any complaint or try any case, ciuill or criminal wch it shall please any person, that delights in giuing us trouble, is pleased to bring thither, the Greevous Burden and inconuience whereof would bee intolerable. I conceue, if one of the twaine must bee submitted to, it were much Better to desire yt A General Gouvernor or Commission^rs might bee Constituted here in the country to try all cases ciuill, criminal and military according to discretion, as was Attempted by the Commissioners Anno 1664, 1665. But then God was pleased to influence his people with such a degree of virtue and courage, firmly to Adhere unto o^r charter and the Laws and Liberties thereby established; and God of his grace and goodness was then pleased, upon our humble Adreses to o^r King, to incline his ma'ties Royall hart to accept of o^r Answer and not to give us further trouble, the consequence whereof was yt we have enjoyed o^r mercys 15 years longer, and who knows But it may bee so now if wee make our humble Adreses and give o^r reasons for not sending Agents; surely o^r God is the same, yesterday and to-day and for euer; and our king is the same, inclining to fau^r the Righteous caus of his poore inocente and loyal subjects and I doubt not if wee make triall and follow our endea^r by faith and prair but God will appear for us, in mercy, & make a good Issue of this affayre.

The sending of Agents will contract a very great charge and expenses wch the poore people are very unable to stand under, considering the great diminishings yt wee haue had by warr, small pox, fires, sea loses, Blastings and other publicke loses, for my part, I see not how mony will be raised to defray this charge unles it bee borrowed upon interest of some particular man; moreouer the country is yet in debt and pays interest for mony yearly; especially to bee at so great cost for no other end (in probability) but to cut us short of o^r Liberties and priviledges as too late experience in o^r former Agent's Negotiations doth evidence.

Besides this matter of Mr. Mason's claims wee are required to send Agents to Attend the Regulation of o^r Government, &c., and to satisfy his ma'tie in Admitting freemen as is proposed in ye letter. And to give

an Acc't what encouragement is giuen to such persons as desire to worship God According to the way of the church of England.

Now to send Agents to Answer and attend these things, who sees not how grate a snare It may proue unto us, for Touching our Government wee are well contented with it and o'r charter and desire no change. If there should bee any Lawes yt are Repugnant to ye Laws of England, (I know not any,) they may be repealed.

Concerning Freeman's Admission, nothing is more cleare in the charter, yn this, that the Gouver'n and Company haue free liberty to admit whome they thinke meet.

As for any that desire to worship God According to the manner of the church of England, there is no law to pr'hibite or restraine ym neith'r is it meet to make any law to yt effect because it would bee repugnant to the law of England. But for this Gou'ment to declare or make a law to Encourage Any to practise yt worship here, may it not bee feared this would offend God, and bee condemning the doings and sufferings of o'rselues and fathers that first planted this country.

These things considered and many more I might Aleadge giue mee cause to desire your pardon that I cannot consent or iudge it expedient to send An Agent or Agents at this time as things are circumstanced.

Therefore I conceiue it is much the Best and safest course not to send any Agent at all and consequently the committe may forbear to draw up Instruction for them but rather pr'sent to the court the difficulties in the case; and if you please, I am not unwilling that this paper bee pr'sented to the Honored Court to consider of.

And rather if you see meet to draw up and pr'sent to the Gen'll Court a humble and Argumentative Address to his Sacred ma'tie To pardon his poore yet Loyal people in this matter so destructive to the quiet and so inconsistent with their well being.

But to this it may be objected,

I objection, that it is our duty to send Agents because the King commands it, otherwise we may be found Breakers of the fi'th command.

Answer—I humbly conceue wee ought to distinguish of o'r duty to Super'rs, sometimes possibly they may require vnlawful things as the Rulers of the Jewes did of the Apostles; Acts, 4 : 18. 19.—in wch case [the] Holy Ghost tels us our duty in yt text. 2dly. Rulers may command things yt considered in their tendencies and circumstances and comixture with religion, may be of a morall nature and consequently unlawful and not to be allow'd in doing. But rather Runne the Hazard of Suffering, of which nature I humbly conceaue is the pr'sent cause, for if wee send agents as the letter requires wee doe destroy ourselues in our greatest concerns as I apr'hend: now selfe preservation, is a moral duty and not only Reason and Religion but nature, doth teach us this. Againe, if this Gouernment of ours bee of Chhts establishing and gift and a part of his purchase, as I iudge it is, will it not bee a moral end for us to bee

Active in parting with it. I remember yt eminent Mr. Mitchell, now in heaven, in his publicke lecture (February 1660,) speaking of Cht's Kingly Government upon a ciuil Acct, did Declare that this Governement settled in ye Massachus'ts according to pattennt and laws was as hee said a specimen of that ciuil Gour'nt, that the lord Cht Jesus Design'd to establish in the whole world where in such as are godly p'rons, and vnder his Kingly Governement in his church should bee electers and elected to pouer. And therefore said hee who eu'r hee bee yt shall goe about to subuert or undermine this Governement, hee sets himselfe against Cht Jesus, and hee will (then) haue Cht for his enemy. Also Reverend Mr. Shepard in his booke of the ten Uirgins, 25 math. in ye 1 part, page 166, speaks to ye same purpose. These persons were burning and shineing lights in yr Generation and much of God's mynd did they know and speak.

Object. 2. But if wee send no Agents wee must expect sad consequences yrof such as putting us out of his ma'ties Allegeance, damning o'r patent, inhibiting trade, and such like.

Answer 1: Something hath been spoken aboue to this matter to wh I Refer.

2: I verily Belieue yt so gracious a prince as o'r king is will bee very slow to deale so seuerely against his poore loyall subjects yt Are not conscious wee haue shewed any disloyalty to him or his pr'desc'rs, nor have been unwilling to obey him in the lord. But when the case is so circumstanced yt we must be Accounted offenders or Ruine o'rselues; of 2 evels ye least is to be chosen.

3: But if it should bee soe yt wee must suffer in this case wee may have ground to hope yt God o'r father in Cht will support and comfort us in all o'r tribulations and in his due time deliuer vs. Much more might be s'd Touching the pr'my'es. But I have been too tedious And longer yn I intended for wch I crave yr pardon and humbly intreat a candid construction of this paper a coveringe of all the imperfections yr off: This case, as is aboue hinted, is very momentous and therefore I intreat you candidly to peruse what is s'd, if there bee little waight in it (as some may thinke) it is satisfactory to me, that I haue offered it to yr consideration, and yt I have in this great cause (before I goe hence and bee no more wch I must shortly expect) giuen my testimony and declared my judgment in this great concerne of Jesus Cht, To whome I commit all and yorselues also desiring him to be to you as hee is in himselfe, the mighty counsellor, King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

I remaine your most humble seruant
and His ma'ties most Loyal Subject,
DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen'r.

Cambridge, February 14, 1680.

These for the Hon'rabl Symon Bradstreet Esq. Gouvernour, and Thomas Danforth Esq. Deputy Gouvernour, and the Rest of the Honored

Gent. of the Committee of the General Court appointed to draw up and prepare instructions for Agents to bee sent for England Sitting in Boston, pr'sented."

The emission of this paper not only won the day for the contention of the radical party, but also gained for its author a measure of public approbation that must have been peculiarly sweet after the obloquy so unjustly visited upon him five years before. The defender of the red men was now hailed as the champion of the people. At the next General Election, May 11, 1681, he was made Major General, or commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the colony. Thus did the people manifest their respect and esteem, and their confidence not alone in his judgement in civil matters, but in his capacity as a commander. As he was already a magistrate, it was, indeed, the highest honor within their power to confer, unless they had elected him governor, which would have violated all their traditions, the custom being to retain faithful public servants in office as long as they were able and willing to serve.

The five years during which Daniel Gookin held the position of Major General was a time of ever-increasing distress in the affairs of the colony, until finally these troubles culminated, in 1686, with the abrogation of the charter government by James II. In the struggle with the crown, the active leadership during this acute stage fell to Thomas Danforth, but Daniel Gookin, despite his years and the multiplicity of his employments, was his zealous and able second. Together they fought Edward Randolph at every turn, incurring, as was natural, the enmity of that infamous self-seeker, who, on May 29, 1682, wrote the Bishop of London:

"I think I have so clearly layd downe the matter of fact, sent over their lawes and orders to confirme what I have wrote, that they cannot deny them: However, if commanded, I will readily pass the seas to attend at Whitehall, especially if Danford, Goggin, and Newell, magistrates, and Cooke, Hutchinson and Fisher, members of their late General Court and great opposers of the honest Governor and majestrates be sent for to appeare before his Majesty; till which time this country will always be a shame as well as inconveniency to the government at home."¹

¹ Hutchinson's Coll., p. 499.

King James, however, was too closely occupied with more important things to heed this suggestion. Danforth and Gookin maintained their attitude resolutely to the end; and though at last they were overborne, yet in the sequel, when the colony was reduced to a position little better than slavery, the validity of Daniel's arguments was made manifest.

Chief Justice Sewall's diary affords a glimpse of General Gookin in the sorrowful days when the colony was deprived of its charter.

"Satterday, May 15, 1686.

"Gov^r Hinkley, Major Richards, Mr Russell and Self sent to by Major Dudley to come to Capt. Paige's where we saw the Exemplification of the Judgement against the Charter . . . before we returned, the Magistrates were gone to the Governour's and from thence they adjourned till Monday one o'clock. Major Generall came home and dined with me."

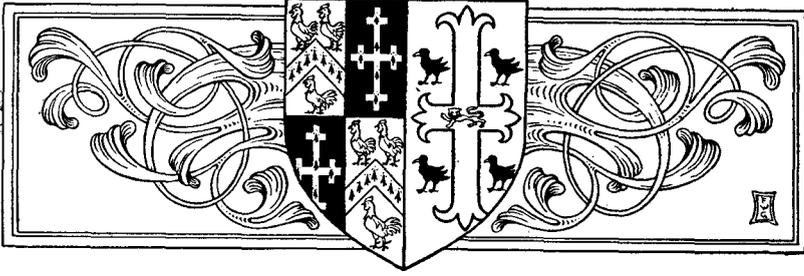
Monday, May 17th, 1686.

"Generall Court sits at One a'clock. I goe thither, about 3. The Old Government draws to the North-side, Mr. Addington, Capt. Smith and I sit at the Table, there not being room: Major Dudley the Præsident, Major Pynchon, Capt. Gedney, Mr. Mason, Randolph, Capt. Winthrop, Mr. Wharton came in on the Left, Mr. Stoughton I left out: Came also Capt. King's Frigot, Gov^r Hinkley, Gov^r West and sate on the Bench, and the Room pretty well filled with Spectators in an instant.

"Major Dudley made a Speech, that was sorry could treat them no longer as Governour and Company; Produced the Exemplification of the Charter's Condemnation, the Commission under the Broad Seal of England—both: Letter of the Lords, Commission of Admiralty, openly exhibiting them to the People; when had done, Deputy Governour said suppos'd they expected not the Court's answer now; which the Præsident took up and said they could not acknowledge them as such and could no way capitulate with them, to which I think no Reply.

"When gone Major Generall, Major Richards, Mr. Russel and Self spake our minds. I chose to say after the Major Generall adding that the foundations being destroyed what can the Righteous do; speaking against a Protest; which some spake for."

There was, indeed, nothing that could be done, and we can easily picture to ourselves the grief and bitter feeling of helplessness that then came over Daniel Gookin and his associates in the old government. The abrogation of the charter was a blow that shattered the very foundation of their civil rights, and with a Papist upon the throne of England the outlook for the colony seemed dark and cheerless.



CHAPTER XXI



RS. MARY GOOKIN, Daniel's wife and his faithful companion for almost forty-four years, passed away on Saturday, October 27, 1683,¹ leaving his home desolate. It is greatly to be regretted by her descendants that no contemporary account of Mary has been handed down to our time. All we can know of her is that she was a pious, godly woman, and the worthy helpmeet of one of the noblest and purest of men. The one mention of her that Daniel makes in his writings shows her assisting him in ministering to the sick among the Natick Indians after their release from Deer Island.² She was the mother of all his children, nine in number.

Samuel, the eldest, was born in England about 1640, and died in infancy, in Virginia. Mary, the second child, was born in Virginia about 1642, and on June 8, 1670, was married to Edmund Batter of Salem, as his second wife. He died in August, 1685, at the age of 76, and Mary survived him until 1702.

Elizabeth, the third child, was born in Roxbury, Mass., March 14, 1644/5. On May 23, 1666, she was married to Rev. John Eliot, Jr., who died on October 11, 1668. By him she had a son, John Eliot, who grew up in the household of his grandfather Daniel Gookin, by whom he was greatly beloved.

¹See "Diary of Rev. Noadiah Russell," N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., 1853.

²Supra, p. 159.

Elizabeth remained a widow and lived with her father until December 8, 1680, when she became the second wife of Colonel Edmund Quincy of Braintree. From her all the Quincys in the United States descend. Colonel Quincy died January 8, 1697/8, and Elizabeth died on November 30, 1700.

The fourth child, Hannah, was baptized in Roxbury, May 9, 1647, and died there August 2 of the same year. Daniel, the fifth child, was born in Cambridge, April 8, and died September 3, 1649.

Another son Daniel was born in Cambridge, July 12, 1650. He was at first a fellow of Harvard College, but at the instance of his father he entered the ministry, settled at Sherburne, and engaged in the work of preaching to the Christian Indians at Natick, which he began about the time of his marriage to Elizabeth Quincy, daughter of Colonel Edmund Quincy by his first wife, Joanna Hoar. This marriage took place on October 4, 1682. It was a great consolation to the Major General during his last years that his eldest son, described by John Eliot as "a pious and learned young man,"¹ should devote his life to the spiritual enlightenment of the savages. He continued in the work until physical infirmity and advancing years compelled him to desist. On January 2, 1691, his wife Elizabeth died, and on July 21 of the following year he married Bethiah, daughter of Richard and Thomazin Collacot, of Dorchester. Daniel died in Sherburne, January 8, 1717/8; Bethiah died in Dedham, December 12, 1729.

Daniel Gookin's seventh child, Samuel, was born in Cambridge, April 22, 1652, and died there September 16, 1730. He was Sheriff of Suffolk from 1691 until 1702 and afterward for many years, until a short time before his death, he held the same office in the county of Middlesex. His first wife and the mother of his children was Mary(?Larkin). She died about 1707 and on September 28, 1708, he married Hannah, daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Manning) Stearns, and widow of Thomas Biscoe.

Solomon, Daniel Gookin's eighth child, was born in Cam-

¹ Birch's Life of Robert Boyle, p. 444.

bridge, June 20, and died July 16, 1654. Nathaniel, the youngest of the nine, was born in Cambridge October 22, 1656. He was a man of fine ability and was greatly mourned when he died, on August 7, 1692, in his thirty-sixth year. He was then the beloved pastor of the First Church in Cambridge. His wife, whom he married August 3, 1685, was Hannah, daughter of his step-mother by her first husband, Habijah Savage.

After his wife's death Daniel's household consisted of only himself, his son Nathaniel, then beginning the second year of his pastorate of the First Church in Cambridge, and his sixteen-year-old grandson, John Eliot. About a year later Daniel married again, taking as a helpmeet in his old age, Mrs. Hannah Savage,¹ daughter of Edward and Mary (Sears) Tyng, and widow of Habijah Savage. The date of this marriage does not appear to have been recorded. It was, however, prior to April 10, 1685, on which day Daniel and Hannah, in consideration of the sum of £95 New England money, conveyed to Major John Child, of London, a farm at Pom-passetacutt that had been granted to Daniel by the General Court.

Hannah, who was born March 7, 1640, was married to her first husband, May 8, 1661. He died before May 24, 1669, leaving her with three² young children to bring up. When she married General Gookin, her son Thomas was aged twenty, and her twin daughters, Hannah and Mary, were seventeen. Both of the daughters, and probably the son also, joined Daniel Gookin's family circle when he became their step-father, and it cannot be doubted that the presence of the young people in the house helped much to cheer his life during the two years that yet remained to him. Pleasant, too, he must have found it, to watch the growth of the attachment which sprang up between his son Nathaniel and his step-daughter Hannah, and was soon followed by their marriage.

Notwithstanding his seventy-two years Daniel was still hale and hearty. His zeal in the Indian work showed no sign of

¹This alliance made Daniel brother-in-law to Daniel Searle, Rev. Samuel Willard, and Gov. Joseph Dudley, the husbands of Hannah's sisters.

²Possibly four; one, the eldest, died young, but the date is not known.

flagging, though it was carried on under great discouragements. Professions of interest were made by many, yet Eliot wrote to Boyle that Major Gookin was his "only cordial assistant." In another letter he speaks of him as "a pillar in our Indian work." The majority of the people were apathetic. Illegal seizures of property of the Indians were not uncommon and caused Daniel much trouble and annoyance. But the most frequent obstruction came from violations of the law forbidding the sale of liquor to the red men, under severe penalty. A typical case is related by Daniel in a deposition made by him in December, 1681.

"I wel remember That upon the 12th of May last in that morning John Hastings Constable of Cambridge brought from the prison before me two Indians one called Job Nesutan & the other John Chosumphs: whome hee had (wth others) Taken drunke in the street the night before. These Indians beeing questioned where they had the drink y^t made y^m drunk they would not confesse where they had the drink, so I passed a sentence upon them according to law & comitted them to prison untill it was performed: After this either the same day or y^e next day some of my family informed mee y^t they heard y^t Job the Indian in prison had informed the prison keeper that my son Samuel Gookin had let him have two pence in drinke w^{ch} made him drunk; whereupon I sent for my son Samuel & told him what I heard Job had said of him about his selling or giving him drinke. But my son answered that it was a false accusation for hee had not any strong drink in his house, whereupon I bid him goe to the prison keeper & bid him come & bring Job before me to accuse my sonne to his face that hee might cleare himself if need were as the law allowes: But as I afterwards understood Samuel Goffe interposed & quarreled with my son & kept the indian from coming before me w^{ch} was an obstruction of Justice & contempt of Authority: And about the same time another indian called John Pachanaharm hearing y^t Job had accused my sonn hee came before me & told me that he knew where Job & the other Indians had the drinke that made y^m Drunke, for hee was with them & they drunk as much cider as they desired at 3^d a quart w^{ch} they had at Sam. Goffes house: & therupon hee s^d if I would p^rmit him hee would goe presently & fetch cider there w^{ch} accordingly hee did in the sight of two English witnesses, hee carried wth him an empty bottle unto Sam Goff's house & brought it forth full of cider. So the English men seased upon him and brought both the indian & cider Before me & yⁿ I took the indians testimony of y^e former matters. Morou^r I know y^t Sam Goffe Lent Job the Indian money to Redeeme him out of prison, as the Jaylor wel knowes, & moreu^r I have good ground to Beeleve by information of the Indians that Samuel Goffe persuaded Job to accuse my

son: thereby to blemish My sonne & to conceale his owne guilt in selling the indians cider: further in this case I say not.

Sworn in Court J. R. C.

DANIEL GOOKIN

20: 10: 81

Aggression by white settlers caused General Gookin to write two letters a few years later, which reflect his constant solicitude for the welfare of his Indian charges.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO WILLIAM STOUGHTON AND JOSEPH DUDLEY¹

Gentelmen.

Cambridge, June 9th 1684

I understand that some indians are to Appeare before you this day, to claime title, by young Josias, of some land, belonging to the Township of Naticke, wth ensigne Grout of Sudbury doth as I conceue, most wrongfully & indirectly endeavor to Beareve the Natick Indians of it. I intreat you to bee very slow to make any conclusion upon it; or give yo^r sense of it untill you shall haue opertuny to know the Intrigues in the case, wth cannot bee discourd to you in a few lines. Tis most certene y^t Josias Ancesters both father & grandfather haue yelded up all y^r right to y^e English of these land & besides M^r Eliot paid to the old Indians a just compensation for all their Natural Right & gave it for a Township for y^e Indians of Naticke. The Gen^l Court has also granted y^e Indians of y^t place the tract of land, as also ye Township haue againe & they haue possest it by y^e law of possessions & their hath beene a title cried in Charles towne court 2 years since betwen Es. Grout & Natick indians for y^e individul piece of land & the Indians recoured the land & the Marshal General deleured it to y^m by execution & Grout paid all costs, yet is hee restles & would now (as I heare) by a Title from Josias and giue y^m new trouble. Many things might be s^d more to shew y^e unworthy dealing of F. Groutt in this matter, And y^t probably will appeare in due time; I haue no more to Trouble you at this time beeing in hast, Wth my due respects & seruice p^sented I remaine

Yo^r assured friend & humble Seruant

DANIEL GOOKIN Sen^r

The second letter is without date, but was probably written about the same time as the preceding one.

DANIEL GOOKIN TO JOSEPH DUDLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL

Hono^{ble} S^r

The Indians Belonging to Hassanamesit who are Beare[r]s herof doe complaine to mee (but I haue noe power to Releuee them) that one

¹ Now in possession of Charles B. Gookin, of Boston.

Edward Pratt a pretended purchaser from John Wompas deceased, Hath lately Actually built a house within their township of 4 miles square & very neare unto their orchards & planting fields: at w^{ch} they are agreed & when they aske him the Reason of his actions hee saith y^t hee hath frends lately com ov^r & in power y^t wil beare him out in it. Besides as I am informed this fellow sells the indians strong liquors. He is as I ap^hend rather to bee reputed a disorderly wandering Rouge than a sober p[']son, hee is a single man & hath neither wife nor child. These are Humbly to intreat you to direct y^e Indians what shal be done in the case & please to send a warrant for said Pratt & here his p^rtensions for his doings & proceed wth him as you shal see meet in y^r wisdome; If it were in my power or lim^{ts} I should not giue y^r hono^r this trouble.

Also these Indians desire they may be furnished with some powder & shott to defend them from the Maquas, w^{ch} they are in dayley feare of & are at present Remoued to Mendon but intend as soon as they get some powder & shot & a little corn they intend to returne to their fort at Hassanameset. If yo^e please to order y^m to receue 6^{lb} of powder & shott equivalent it may suffice. So wth my humble seruice p^rsented

I Remaine

yo^r serv^t

DANIEL GOOKIN

The summer of 1686 found Daniel still able to take the long horseback ride of twenty miles or so to Natick to look after his Indian charges and to hear his son Daniel preach to them. Sewall records attending the lecture there on September 1 and says he "came home accompanied by Major Gookin and his son Sam. till the way parted."

The next spring Daniel was stricken with his last illness. By March 18 the end was near at hand. Sewall wrote in his diary: "I go to Charlestown Lecture, and then with Capt. Hutchinson to see dying Major Gookin. He speaks to us." And then on the next day: "March 19 1686/7, Satterday, about 5 or 6 in the morn, Major Daniel Gookin dies, a right good Man."

His last days were saddened by the tribulations that had befallen the colony with the loss of the charter. Though the greater power lay with the other side in the long controversy, yet he had the satisfaction of having done all that was possible for any one to do to avert the catastrophe, and his conscience was clear.

The funeral was held on Tuesday, March 22, when his remains were placed in the burying ground of the First Church, opposite the gate to Harvard College. The grave is marked by a brick monument covered with a flat slab of brown sandstone bearing the inscription:

Here lyeth intered
y^e body of Major Gen^l
DANIEL GOOKIN^s aged
75 yeares, who
departed this life
y^e 19 of March
1686/7

For one in his station in life Daniel Gookin was possessed of small means, yet he was never so poor that he could not live as became a gentleman, though simply and frugally as did most of those by whom he was surrounded. In his later years his estate was considerably diminished. The income derived from his public employments was inadequate, and he had little time to augment it otherwise. Gradually the lands granted him by the General Court, as well as those in Virginia and Maryland, had to be sold. Still he was far from being so near to poverty as has been assumed from the language used by John Eliot in a letter to Robert Boyle, written more than a year after Daniel's death.

JOHN ELIOT TO ROBERT BOYLE¹

Roxbury, July 7, 1688.

Right honourable, deep learned, abundantly charitable, and constant nursing father,

Sir,

I am drawing home, and am glad of an opportunity to take my leave of your honour with all thankfulness. Sir, many years since you pleased to commit 30*l.* into my hand, upon a design for the promoting Christ his kingdom among the Indians; which gift of yours I have religiously kept, waiting an opportunity so to improve it; but God hath not pleased yet

¹Printed in Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 448, also in *Suffolk Co. Probate*, ii, 75.

to open such a door. I am old, and desire to finish that matter, and take the boldness to request your honour, that it may be thus disposed of. It being in the hand of major Gookin's relict widow, and he died poor, though full of good works, and greatly beneficent to the Indians, and bewailed by them to this day; therefore let his widow have 10*l.* his eldest son, who holds up a lecture among the Indians and English 10*l.* and the third 10*l.* give it to Mr. John Cotton, who helped me much in the second edition of the bible. . . .

It would appear that the gift solicited by Eliot was asked more in recognition of Daniel's services than because of the urgency of Mrs. Gookin's need. Daniel's will shows that he left her sufficiently provided for, and that his estate, despite its smallness, was not much below the average size of gentlemen's estates in New England at that period. The will is of interest also for the full and clear confession which it gives of the essentials of the faith of that time.

"The will & Testament of Daniell Gookin, Senior, Liveing at Cambridg in New England, made & don this 13th day of Aug^t 1685, Being threw the grace of God at y^e present writing hereof, of a perfect understanding & of a sound mind^e, altho. under sum bodily Infirmitye at present, & Considering also that I am through God's favour arived to neare seventy three years of aige, & Expecting Dayly when my Chang will come, I think it my Dutye Incombent upon me, To Set my house in order & to Dispose of that small Estate (mutch more than I deserve) which God hath committed to my stuardship, for the prevencion of any Difference among my Relations after my decease.

In the first place, I commit my Im̄ortall soule, and the concernes thereof into the everlasting armes of the Infinite & Eternall God, the father, the son, & the holy goust, three persons, yet but one Essence, the only liveing & the trew God; I Rely only upon the free grace of God for my Eternal salvation, through the merritts, satisfaction and Rightiousness of Jesus Christ, the only begotten sonn of the father full of grace and truth, being also Equal wth the father and holy spirrit, one god, blessed for ever, who for us men, and our salvation, in fulness of tyme, came from heaven, & took upon him the nature of man, being born of the blessed Virgin Mary, was Conceived by y^e holy Ghoust, and he is god-man in one person, and is the greate Mediator between god & man, & ever lives at the Right hand of God, in the Eternall heavens, makeing Continual Intercession for all the Elect, for whom he shed his precious blood to Redeem them from sin & y^e wrath of god, w^{ch} work of Redemption, performed fully by him is Accepted by god, and I believe that his Rightiousness, satisfaction, and merritts Imputed to me by faith, & my sinns



Tomb of Daniel Gookin, at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

and transgressions, being of god's free grace Imputed to him, I have good hope, through grace, that I am justified and adopted, & my sinns pardoned, and in some measure begun to be sanctified by the holy goust, & that after my Death & Resorection, be perfectly glorified in the full Injoyment of God to all Eternity, for my body w^{ch} though naturally fraile and Corrupt, yet through Grace, is made a temple of the holy goust, and therefore my will is that it may be Deacently Interred in the Earth in Cambridge burying place neare the dust of my wife, but I desire noe ostentation or much cost, to be expended at my funerall because it is a tyme of greate tribulacon¹ & my Estate but little & weake.

Secondly, touching my outward Estate I dispose of it as follows. To my Dearly beloved wife Hannah, I give & bequeath to her all that Estate reall and personal that she was possessed of before her marriage wth mee. Also I give unto her for terme of her life my Dwelling house, barne and out houses, orchard & gardens appertaining to it, & the use of three commons belonging to it for wood and pasturage (my house lyes adjoining to the back lane in Cambridge) to have & to hold y^e premises for her use & benefit dureing her Naturall Life, provided she Endeavor to keepe both houses & fences in Repair. Again I give unto my wife one Cow or the red heifer wth a white face. Also I give her one brown ambling mare. I give to her my second bible, also I give & bequeath to her for ever a peece of plate either a Cupp or Tankard to be made new for her marked $\frac{G}{DH}$. Also I give her the use of a feather bed & furniture dureing her life, but after her Death to be delivered as hereafter shall bee expressed. Moreover I give her the use of all the tables, cupboards, chairs & stoles or other necessary household stuff that she desires for her use while she abides in the house, to the vallue of tenn pounds.

To my sonn Daniel Gookin I give my silver Tankard, my biggest Carbine w^{ch} he hath Received already, my best bed & bolster, blew Rugg and two blanketts & the blew curtaines & vallines belonging to it, wth the straw bed under it. Also to him I give my Death's head Ring of gold w^{ch} I ware on my finger, and halfe my wareing apparell of all sorts wth my best hatt, all to be delivered to him or in case of his death before mee, to his wife & sonn Daniell three monthes after my Death. Also I give to him my Curtelax² & a silver spoone to his sonn Daniell.

Unto my sonn Samuell & his children for ever I give & bequeath the Dwelling house, barne, outhouses and yard, gardens & orchards where he now Dwelleth & all to it belonging wth two Commons, and although I changed this house &c wth him for that w^{ch} I now Live in unto w^{ch} house he built addition & barne yet forasmuch as he never had from me any

¹ When this was written judgment had been entered against the Charter, by legal process, the Freeman having on January 23, 1684, voted *nemine contradicente*, not to accede to the demand of its "full submission and entire resignation" to Charles II. And to make matters worse, Charles had died in February, 1685, and had been succeeded by a papist.

² A broad, curved sword, used by cavalrymen.

assurance or conveyance thereof so had no Legall Right to that house therefore I thought it Expedient to bequeath this to him in my will that he may have as full & Legall assurance thereof as if I had given him a deed, and I order y^t all y^e writings, and Deeds y^t I had of M^r Collins for y^e said house & Land be Delivered my sonn Samuell. Moreover I give unto my sonn Samuell my Rapier and my buff belt wth silver buckles, my pistols and holsters, my fowling peece, and one silver wine cupp and the other halfe of my apparell, & to his three children each of them a silver spoon.

Unto my sonn Nathaniell Gookin my house where I live, wth y^e barns and outhouses thereunto belonging wth all y^e orchard & gardens appertaining, wth three cow commons and what belongs to them. I give & bequeath to my son Nathaniel & his Heires forever to be possessed & enjoyed by him after my wife's decease, unto whom I have given the premises dureing Life as is above expressed, but in case my son Nath: should dye wthout children and before his present wife Hannah, then my will is that the said houses and appurtenances be for her use Dureing her Life, and after her decease to be for him or them unto whome my son Nath^l shall dispose of them provided it be to some of his Relations by blood. Also I give and bequeath to my said Sonn Nath^l my silver cupp called y^e French cupp, and y^e biggest of y^e two other silver cupps, and a silver wine cupp. I mention no bed and furniture here because I gave him that at his marriage. Also I give him my blew couch unless sonn Daniel Desire it, being sutable to his bed, but if Daniel have it, he must allow Nath the full vallue of it. Also to my sonn Nath^l I give my smallest carbine and a gold ring w^{ch} I weare on my finger, and to him I give a flock bedstead & appurtenances, & a brass candlestick wth 2 lights to bee taken in peeces.

Unto my Daughter Batter I give a silver salt seller & another silver cupp the lesser of the two, the biggest beeing already given to her brother Nath^l. Also I give her after my wife's death, or to her children to whom she shall give it, a feather bed, bolster & furniture disposed to my wife for life.

Also I give to Daughter Elizabeth one gold ring of ten shillings vallue, and to each of her children a silver spoon. I mention no more plate bedding or other things because I gave her such things at her first marriage and besides have not been wanting to her haveing helped to breed up her son John Elliot for 17 yeares at my house & y^e Colledge.

I give to m^r Hezekiah Usher and his wife, my good ffrinds, to each a gold ring of ten shillings price.

I give to son Quincy a gold ring of ten shillings vallue.

All the rest of my Estate, Reall & personall after just debts & funerall expences are paid are to be equally divided into six parts, two parts whereof I give to my Eldest sonn Daniell & his children provided y^t what he received already at his marriage, viz, a feather bed & furniture, a copper kittle, a greate brass pott, a good Cow, nine sheep & some Linen

& other things w^{ch} I vallue at ten pounds be Received as a part of his double portion besides y^e particular Legacies above. Unto my sonn Sam^l Gookin & his wife & children I give one sixth part, only he must recon to have Received in his house and land, a bed, Rug & some other things, about twenty pounds in part of his portion besides y^e Legacies above. Unto my son Nathaniell Gookin I give one sixth part accompting he hath already received a bed & furniture some Linen a jack and Dishes, besides his Legacies above about five pounds. Unto my Daughter Batter, or in case of her Death to her children equally to be divided I give one sixth part. Unto John Elliott my Grandchild I give one sixth part: the Reason of this bequest and not to my other Grandchildren is wth Respect to a benefit received from his Grandfather Elliott w^{ch} he ordered me to give to John of a greater value than this sixth part.

Lastly I do hereby appoint and ordain my Deare wife Hannah and my three sonns Daniell, Sam^l & Nath^l my Executo^{rs} unto this my will & testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale the day and yeare above written.

A Cottishall.

Postscript. Whereas I have given severall particular peeces of silver plate to my Children as is above Expressed according to y^e Desire of y^r mother Deceased, but forasmuch as I have necessary occasion to borrow of my sonn Dan^l Gookin the sum of twenty five pounds in money for w^{ch} I ingadged by a note under my hand, most of my plate for his Security, but since haveing paid him fifteen pounds of that debt and there remains only tenn pounds due to him w^{ch} I order my Executo^{rs} to pay him in money, otherwise each one of the Legatees of the plate whereof himselfe is one, to pay their proportion of that ten pounds according to the vallue of y^e plate given them. Moreover my will is that my Deare wife Remain possessed of the silver cupp called the ffrench cupp given in this will to sonn Nath. untill the Executors get her a silver cupp or Tankard made and given her according to my will above Expressed. Item I give to my wife's sonn Thomas, one Gold Ring of ten shillings price & to Daughter Hannah Gookin and to Daughter Mary Savage my wife's two Daughters, I give to Each of them a Gold Ring, vallue tenn shillings Each Ring.

Signed sealed & Delivered in presence of us, Sam^l Andrew Sen^r, Joseph Cooke

DANIEL GOOKIN Sen^r

In my accompt book Intitled Ledger N^o 1650 ffol. 112 is Expressed an accompt of my whole Estate D^r & C^r according as I could Rove at it besides the particular Legacies given to my Dear wife and children in kind.

How long Daniel Gookin occupied the house on Holyoke street, where he lived during the earlier years of his residence

in Cambridge, can only be conjectured. The probability would seem to be that the house which was afterward his home was built by him in or about the year 1671. It was situated on what is now generally known in Cambridge as the "Winthrop Estate," on the southerly side of Arrow street¹ at the easterly angle of Bow street. The grounds extended back to the Charles River. On August 14, 1671, Daniel mortgaged the dwelling, styled by him as "my mansion house" which, together with the "barne, yards, orchard and gardens adjoining & belonging thereto, by estimation two acres more or less, twenty acres of land on the south side of Charles River and all other outlands, commons & wood lots in Cambridge," as security for a loan of £100 sterling obtained from Mary Sprague, widow, of Charlestown.² Not unlikely the proceeds of this loan and the sum he received for a part of the Shawshin farm, conveyed to Robert Thompson only two days later,³ were used to pay for building the house. Presumably it was a somewhat pretentious structure for the time and place. Together with the outbuildings and gardens it was appraised in the inventory of Daniel's estate, at £140. The language of the will indicates that for a time this house was occupied by his son Samuel. In all probability this was during the period between the death of his first wife and his marriage to Mrs. Savage.

The entire estate was inventoried at 323*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* Included in this total were 120 acres of land at Marlborough, 80*l.*, 236 acres at Worcester, 10*l.*, 50 acres near Concord, 7*l.*, and "one Negro, 7*l.*"

Mrs. Hannah Gookin, Daniel's widow, survived him little more than a year. She died October 29, 1688,⁴ and two days later her remains were laid beside those of her husband in Cambridge burying ground. Sewall tells how on Oct. 31 he "went to the Funeral of Mrs. Gookin: Bearers, Mr. Dan-

¹ Formerly called the Back Lane.

² This loan was not released until April 5, 1684. It was then held by the estate of John Hull, deceased.

³ Middlesex Deeds, xxii, 316.

⁴ This is the date given upon her tombstone. The town records give it October 28.

forth, Mr. Russell, Sewall and Hutchinson, Eliakim, Mr. James Taylor and Mr. Edw. Bromfield. Note. The Tide was over the causey,¹ and Mrs. Willard, whom Mr. Pain carried, fell into the water, so that she was fain to goe to Bed presently in stead of going to the Grave, the Horse verg'd to the right till fell into the Ditch. Mr. Hutchinson's Coach-Horses also plung'd."

¹The causeway leading to Boston.



CHAPTER XXII



ALTRUISM is of all the virtues the most difficult to acquire and practice. It is also the hardest for the selfish multitude to fathom. Theoretically they applaud: actually they are apt to look askance,—the motive being beyond their ability to appreciate. The brute who rides rough shod over his fellows, rudely trampling them under foot in the pursuit of his pleasure or ambition, is accorded a more prominent place in the temple of fame than the philanthropist whose deeds, though less conspicuous, are more truly heroic. Had Daniel Gookin's talents been devoted to his own advancement, he might be better known to the world at large. Instead he chose the nobler part and his reputation is less wide than deservedly it should be.

By the principal men among his contemporaries in the colony he was held in the highest respect and esteem. Rev. John Eliot addressed him as "worshipful and honoured Sir." To Rev. Thomas Mayhew he was "much honoured Captain Gookin," and his "worthy friend." Richard Bourne called him "his much esteemed friend." These were not merely the current forms of the day; they went beyond the requirements of courtesy and indicate the personal feeling of the writers.

The truth is, that in whatever aspect the life and character of Daniel Gookin be regarded, he stands the test of the most rigid scrutiny. Close study only serves to bring the inherent nobility of the man into greater relief. His mind was that of

a statesman. The public documents prepared by him attest his sagacity and skill, the breadth of his outlook, and his understanding of his fellow men. In all that he said and did the calm certainty of his judgement is a salient trait. Yet, though never vacillating, he was never rash: his utterances have the air of one open to conviction. Logical in argument, he was singularly dispassionate, and even where his feelings were most deeply engaged it was not his way to suppress aught that might make for an opposing view. His vindication of the Christian Indians is far from being a one-sided plea. Intent upon showing how pitiable were the sufferings of his wards, he was yet more intent upon telling the truth without diminution or enlargement. Because the shortcomings of the red men are not glossed over, the pathetic recital becomes an irresistible argument. And through it the personality of the author shines forth in the clear light of unconscious self-revelation.

This careful avoidance of overstatement marks all of Daniel Gookin's writings. His "wilderness style," as he called it, is in marked contrast to the rambling and overloaded phraseology of his day. What he had to say was set down in a simple and direct manner. His concern was with the substance of his remarks rather than with their form. Yet he was appreciative of the graces of diction, as his self-deprecatory phrases bear witness. And as to his fondness for literature we have the testimony of John Dunton, who wrote: "Those Bookish Gentlemen & Ladies who contributed so much to my well being and with whom I spent some of the most agreeable minutes of my whole life, those noble friends that I would here characterize are Christopher Usher Esq., Major Dudley, Major Gookins, and others," in America.¹

From the inflexible firmness with which Daniel stood for every specific right of the colonists he has been called "the originator and prophet of that immortal dogma of our national greatness—no taxation without representation."² Though the phrase was not formulated until long after his time, and the

¹John Dunton's *Life and Errors*, p. 355.

²Moses Coit Tyler, *Hist. Am. Lit.*, i, 154.

principle was "substantially established" in English constitutional history as long ago as the year 1297 by the declaration *De Tallagio non concedendo*, confirmed in 1628 by the Petition of Right,¹ it was Daniel Gookin who, by his cogent arguments and fearless resistance to any encroachment upon political or commercial liberty did more than any other to crystallize the spirit of opposition that in later years found expression in the well-known words. To this extent, at least, he may not inaptly be credited with the authorship of the doctrine that is the corner-stone of democratic government.

To say that Daniel Gookin had his faults and weaknesses is only to assert that he was human. Yet so far were they outweighed by his virtues, that in the perspective of more than two centuries it is difficult to discern them. Bigoted in his religious views he undoubtedly was. And in his treatment of the Quakers he may perhaps have justified some of their censure. George Bishop paid his compliments to him in his book entitled "New England judged by the Spirit of the Lord." One Elizabeth Hooton (or Horton) having gone through the streets of Cambridge "crying Repentance through some part of that town, where no Friend had been before (as she heard of) she was there laid hold of by a blood-thirsty crew, and early in the morning had before Thomas Danfort and Daniel Goggings (two wicked and bloody magistrates of yours, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, and their wickedness), who committed her, and whose jaylor thrust her into a noisome, stinking dungeon, where there was nothing to lie down or sit on, and kept there two days and two nights, without helping her to bread or water; and because one Benanuel Bower (a tender Friend) brought her a little milk in this her great distress, wherein she was liked to have perished, they cast him into prison for entertaining a stranger, and fined him five pounds.² . . . They ordered her to be sent out of their coasts towards Rhode Island, and to be whipped at three towns, ten stripes at each by the way."³

¹ Hugh Chisholm. Article on "Representation" in Enc. Brit., 11th Ed.

² New England judged, etc., p. 414.

³ Ibid., p. 415. According to Sewall in his History of the Quakers, p. 327, this took place in 1662.

Returning to Cambridge she was again imprisoned, and was whipped there and at two other towns, as before. "This was the entertainment they received at Cambridge (their University of Wickedness), and from Thomas Danfort and Daniel Goggin, magistrates, who (viz. Goggin) desired his brother Hathorne to send some Quakers that way, that he might see them lashed, as is mentioned elsewhere in this treatise."¹

The extravagant railing of this fanatic can hardly be taken literally. Still, when all allowance is made, there can be no doubt that the punishment inflicted was barbarous. But we should not measure it by the standards of to-day. Attempts to subvert the religious faith of the people were then regarded as fully justifying the cruel punishment fixed by the law. This law it was Daniel Gookin's duty to enforce. That while doing so his heart may have bled for the offender is a reasonable inference from his words and acts. As a judge he was just, uncompromising and even inexorable; yet he believed in tempering justice with mercy; "'tis not my work to judge men's hearts," he wrote; "that belongs to God." In his relation with Indians and English alike, he let it be seen plainly that firmness and kindness were not incompatible. An instance of his tenderness of heart is revealed by his effort to reclaim his former slave Silvanus Warro from Captain Jonathan Wade.

In the case of Gookin vs. Wade,² "William Park aged 75 years Testifieth that when Silvanus Warro was in Jaile at Boston under the County Courts sentence to be sold for satisfaction of sd Court's sentence to pay twenty pounds to mee this deponent and for maintenance of his bastard child, s^d negro not being able to make any satisfaction, I did advise with the Worsh^u Major Gookin what to Do with him, who Counsell'd me to send him to Virginia, and told me he would provide one that would carry him and put him off for me, but afterwards Mr. Wade presenting to buy him, I acquainted y^e sd Major Gookin with it and he did freely consent to it rather than he should be ship^d off, and too my best remembrance went with me to the Jaile & advised sd Negro to be content to live with

¹New England judged, p. 418.

²Middlesex Court files, 1682, Dec.

Mr. Wade for else he must be sold out of y^e Country to satisfy the Court's sentence; and further told him that he might fall in with Mr. Wade's Negro Wench and live well, upon which advise with the Court order I this deponent made sale of s^d Negro and further saith not."

19: 10: 1682

Looking toward his release, the negro had thus bound himself:

"These p'sents witnesseth that I Silvanus Warro negro, in love & duty to my master Daniel Gookin Esq. in whose house I was borne, Bred & educated, & my parents Jacob & Maria Warrow¹ were his servants & vassals; I doe herby freely and voluntary Covenant, agree & obleidge my selfe, faithfully diligently & truly to serve & obey him the said Daniell Gookin; & his children as he shall please to appoint for the whole term of my Natural life, hee or they beeing to provide mee, meat drinke, lodging & apperel, or a sertene some of money by apris^l yearly as may be agreed, & to take care of mee in sickness & in health as Christian duty requires. In witness hereof I the said Silvanus Warrow have to this covenant put my hand & seale the 8th day of November 1682."

Major General Gookin, in his plea, closes thus:

"Neither Deacon Parker, nor Capt. Wade are wronged By my endeavo^r to recover my negro out of this Bondage to them or either of them. If any have right to him tis myself who Bred him from a child & his parents were my vassals & his Brother is now my servant & this poore negro now in his old age is willing & desirous to end his days in my service & my childrens as covenant shews; although now he be old & soe myne cannot expect any great p'fit by him, yet I cannot withdraw my naturall affection to him & to provide for him while he lives & so much y^e rather I doe this Because his father was a Godly man & this negro died in my service, in the Glorious Name of The Father, Son & Holy Ghost named upon him in Baptisme.

"I leave all I have said wth the Hono^red Court & jury desiring their tenderness & Justice in this case & do remaine

Your servant

DANIEL GOOKIN

Camb. 19th of December 1682.

As to the outward appearance of "this grand old American patriarch and sage," as Daniel has been aptly called,² a little

¹They were killed by Indians, at Daniel's Maryland plantation. See supra, p. 76.

²Moses Coit Tyler, Hist. Am. Lit., i, 154.

Capt Wade

I request you to give y^r man Silvanus leave to come to my house
either this night or to morrow early and stay all day to help
a little my wife in a smaule occasion w^e respect to y^r marriage
of my daughter to morrow; Silvanus being knowne to my old
mistres. to be a hand we desire by favour to permit y^m to come
& it shall ingage us to serve you in as great a matter
so w^e Respect to you & y^r wife I Remaine

December 7th
1680

y^rs assured friend
Daniel Gookin
ssm

may perhaps be inferred from the records of a controversy he had with one Caleb Grant. The following warrant is preserved in the Middlesex Court files:

“To the Constable of Cambridge or his Deputy.

You are hereby required in his Majesty’s name to attach the goods or in want thereof the person of Major Daniel Gookin of Cambridge and take bond of him to the value of twenty pounds with sufficient surety or sureties, for his appearance at the next County Court holden at Charles-town the 19th day of December next then and there to answer the complaint of Caleb Grant of Watertown in an action of defamation for charging him for stealing of his horse and for pulling of him by the hair and neck-cloth and punching him with his staff and all this in the King’s highway, and shaking his staff over his head and saying “Sirrah, get you out of the highway,” and coming back again several rods to the said Caleb Grant with many threatening words, saying “I have had better men than you or your father to wipe my shoes;” and for all due damages.

Hereof you are to make a true return under your hand.

Dated this 27th of November 1676

By the Court

SAMUEL GREEN

Endorsed: “I have attached the person of Major Danyell Gookin and taken bond of him to answer according to the tenor of this attachment.

ANDREW BORDMAN, Const.

29: 9: 1676

The same files yield a record of the testimony at the hearing of the case a month later:

“John Johnson aged about 39 years doth say that sometime in November last near to Mr. Danforth’s house he saw Major Gookin with sundry others among whom was Caleb Grant and some of his brothers and at a distance I saw Major Gookin hold up his staff over the head of Caleb Grant and lay his hand on his shoulder but saw no blow given nor heard any further.

“Major Gookin doth confess this testimony, he being greatly abused.
19: 10: 76 T.D.R.”

The verdict of the jury follows:

“In the case between Caleb Grant, plaintive and Major Gookin defend-ant, wee find for the defendant cost of Court.”

This view of Daniel standing in the highway seems to imply that he was a tall, muscular man, and despite his sixty-

four years, more than a match for Caleb Grant and his brothers. One more word picture of Daniel, as slight and intangible as the other, is given by Chief Justice Sewall in his diary.

Sabbath, Dec. 30th 1688

Last night I dreamed of military matters, Arms and Captains, and of a suddain, Major Gookin, very well clad from head to foot, and of a very fresh, lively countenance—his Coat and Breeches of blood-red silk, beckened me out of the room where I was to speak to him. I think 'twas from the Town-house."

The calls of duty and of friendship never found Daniel Gookin wanting. In all the relations of life he was ever steadfast, great-hearted, scrupulously upright, high-minded and self-sacrificing. He was indeed, as Chief Justice Sewall said, "a right good man."

INDEX

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INDEX

- Addington, Mr., 178.
 Addison, John, 67.
 Addison, Thomas, 48, 61, 62.
 Andrew, Samuel, 166, 189.
 Andros, Sir Edmond, 165.
 Angier, Edmund, 80.
 Apuldrefield, Agnes, 9.
 Ardearne, Alice, 9.
 Ardearne, Richard, 9.
 Armestronge —, 47.
 Ashhurst, Alice, 9.
 Atherton, Humphrey, 128.

 Bate, Thomas of Gill Abbey, 54, 55.
 Beare, Lieut., 167.
 Batter, Edmund, 179.
 Beede, Thomas, 67.
 Belcher, Andrew, 166.
 Belcher, Elizabeth, 153.
 Bellwes, the two, 51.
 Bennett, Richard, signs Nansemond petition, 67.
 Bennett, Philip, Commissioner for Upper Norfolk, 65; carries Nansemond petition to Boston, 68.
 Bennett, Robert, 65.
 Berk, Mr., 32.
 Berkeley, Sir William, Knt., 65, 66; treatment of Puritan ministers by, 68.
 Bernard, Robert, 67.
 Bird, see Byrd.
 Birde, Elizabeth, 20.
 Biscoe, Thomas, 180.
 Bishop, George, 194.
 Blacke, Sybbell, widow, 6, 9.
 Blank, Roger, 62.
 Boardman, Andrew, 197.
 Bond, William, 169.
 Booth, William, 55.
 Bourne, Richard, 192.
 Bower, Benanuel, 194.
 Bowes, Cordelia, 24.
 Bowes, Martin, of London, 24.
 Boyle, Richard, see Cork.
 Boyle, Robert, letters to, 119, 149, 165, 185.
 Box, Benjamin, 62.
 Box, John, 62.
 Bradford, William, 74.
 Bradstreet, Simon, 74, 82, 172.
 Brewster, William, 74.

 Brickhed, Mr., 32.
 Bright, John, 67.
 Brocas, Capt. William, 65.
 Bromfield, Edward, 191.
 Brooke, Elizabeth, 67.
 Brown, Thomas, 167.
 Brown, William, 172.
 Browne, Richard, 67.
 Browne, Thomas, 62.
 Buckland, John, 62.
 Bullock, Hugh, of London, 56.
 Bullock, William, 56.
 Bullock, Elizabeth, 56.
 Bullock, Robert, 56.
 Bullock, Frances, 56.
 Burbage, Capt. Thomas, 65, 75.
 Burdett, Robert, 111.
 Burlymachies, Mr., 51.
 Burden, John, 62.
 Burdon, Edward, 62.
 Burton, Rev. Richard, 25.
 Byrd, Mary, wife of Daniel Gookin of Carrigaline, 16, 20, 26; in London, 50; administratrix of her husband's estate, 54; facsimile of her signature, 54; death of, 57.
 Byrd, Peter, 20.
 Byrd, Rev. Richard, D.D., educated at Cambridge, 16; curate at Saffron Walden, 16; tutor to William Cecil, 17; Sir Edward Stafford's harsh treatment of, 18; letter to Lord Burghley, 18-20; archdeacon of Cleveland, 20; Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, 20; death of, 20; his children, 20; his wife Elizabeth Meye, 21.
 Byrd, Thomas, of Saffron Walden, 17.

 Carr, Sir Robert, 109, 110.
 Carr, William, 77.
 Carrigaline, castle and manor of, granted Sir Warham St. Leger, 31; sold to Thomas Petley, 31; bought from Petley by Daniel Gookin, 31; sold to Lord Cork, 33; leased to Thomas Daunt, 51.
 Carsley, Henry, 47.
 Cartwright, George, 109.
 Cecil, William, Earl of Exeter, tutored by Richard Byrd, 17; becomes Roman Catholic, 18.

- Champney, Richard, 80.
 Champney, Samuel, 77.
 Chandler, John, 63, 64.
 Chapman, Phillip, 48, 62.
 Chauncey, Charles, 74, 107, 113.
 Child, George, 62.
 Child, Major John, 181.
 Chisman, John, 48.
 Chosumphs, John, 182.
 Christian Indians, see Praying Indians.
 Clarke, Capt. John, 45, 46.
 Clarke, William, 47, 62.
 Clayton, Sir Randal, 33, 51, 52.
 Codne, Mary, 67.
 Coe, Thomas, 48.
 Cokyn family, 3-4.
 Cokyn, William, 3.
 Cole, Peter, 93.
 Cole, William, 63, 64.
 Colkin, John, 4.
 Collacot, Bethiah, 180.
 Collacot, Richard, 180.
 Collacot, Thomazin, 180.
 Collins, Edward, 78, 80, 81.
 Combe, Christian, 9.
 Condon, Jordan, 34, 54.
 Condon, Richard, 34.
 Cooke, Edward, 67.
 Cooke, Capt. George, 79.
 Cooke, Joseph, 189.
 Cooney, William, 62.
 Cooper, see Cowper.
 Copleston, Adam de, of Copleston, Devon, 25; arms of, 25.
 Copleston, Thomas, of Luckcombe, Somerset, 25.
 Copleston, Margaret, 25.
 Cork, Richard Boyle, First Earl of, 32; clash with Daniel Gookin, 32; buys Carrigaline from and leases it to Daniel Gookin, 33; perfects title, 44; buys the lease, 50.
 Coslay, Henry, 62.
 Cotton, Rev. John, 73, 74, 186.
 Cowper (or Cooper), Robert, 6.
 Crew, Randall, 65.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 81, 85, 86, 87, 92, 105, 168, 169.
 Croney, William, 47.
 Curtis, Ephraim, 167.
 Curtis, John, 48, 62.
 Curtis, Thomas, 47, 62.
 Cutler, Capt., 158.
 Cutts, Capt. John, 76.
 Danforth, Thomas, friendship with Daniel Gookin, 80; with Daniel Gookin in upholds charter privileges, 108-110; signs letter to Boyle, 122; incurs hostility of common people by defending Daniel Gookin, 152; his life threatened, 152, 153; run down in Boston harbor, 155; result of 1676 election, 156; assaulted by John Jones, 160; with Gookin leads in controversy with the crown, 172, 177; at Mrs. Hannah Gookin's funeral, 190; railed at by George Bishop, 194.
 Danson, George, 169.
 Darrell, Phillip, 54, 55.
 Daunt, Thomas of Tracton Abbey, 51.
 Davenport, Rev. John, 74, 108.
 Davis, Margaret, 67.
 Davis, Mr., 104.
 Delaware, Esay, (Delywarr, Isaye) 47, 62.
 de Cogan, Milo, 31.
 de Copleston, see Copleston.
 de Earde, Isabel, 9.
 de Earde, Robert, 9.
 Denne, Amy, 7.
 Denne, Catherine, marriage to John Gookin, 7; her ancestry, 7-9; death of, 30.
 Denne, Ellys (Alice), 6.
 Denne, Elyzabethe, 7.
 Denne, pedigree, 7-9; arms of, 9.
 Denne, William, of Kingston, Kent, 7.
 Dennison, Capt. George, 111.
 de Toketon, see Toketon.
 Dew, Thomas, 65.
 Dolling, Mary, marriage to Daniel Gookin, 64; in list of persons transported to Virginia by Daniel, 67; admitted First Church, Boston, 73; dismissed to Cambridge, 79; relieves sick Indians, 159; death of, 179.
 Dryland, arms of, 25.
 Dryland, Elizabeth, 25.
 Dudley, Joseph, 156, 160, 172, 178, 181, 183, 193.
 Dudley, Thomas, 74.
 Dunster, Henry, 74, 79.
 Dunton, John, 193.
 Durrant, Amy, 4, 5, 6.
 Durrant, Elizabeth, 6.
 Durrant, Jane, 4, 6.
 Durrant, John, of Littlebourne, 5; arms of, 5; pedigree of descendants, 6.
 Durrant, John, of Howlets, 4-6.
 Durrant, Mildred, 6.
 Ebsworth, Anne, 47.
 Ebsworth, Anthonie, 47.
 Edgeworth, Francis, 36, 44.
 Edgeworth, Rev. Lovel, 37.

- Edgeworth, Maria, 37.
 Edolph, Jane, 10.
 Edolph, Simon, 10.
 Eliakim, Mr., 191.
 Eliot, Rev. John, friendship with Daniel Gookin, 73; in Indian work assisted by Gookin, 83, 126; studies Indian Language, 127; preaches to Indians, 127; on his petition Gookin appointed Superintendent of Praying Indians, 129; weary journeys, 130; letter to Commissioners of the Colonies, 131; journey to Nipmuck country with Gookin, 132-136; aspersions by populace during Philip's war, 144-155; visits Nashobah Indians, 150; run down in Boston Harbor, 155; records removal of Indians from Deer Island, 158; resumes missionary work, 159; letters to Boyle, Robert, 149, 165, 185; his respect for Daniel Gookin, 192.
 Eliot, Rev. John, Jr., 179.
 Eliot, John 3d, 179, 181, 188, 189.
 Elgar, Richard, 6.
 Ellis, William, 62.
 Elsworth, Ann, 62.
 Elsworth, Christ, 62.
 Endicott, John, 100, 111.
 Fauntleroy, arms of, 25.
 Fauntleroy, John, 25.
 Fauntleroy, Margaret, 25.
 Fenton, Lady Alice, 34, 35.
 Ferrar, John, 39, 46.
 Field, Thomas, 62.
 Fisher, Lieut. Joshua, 166.
 Fiske, David, 77.
 Fiske, John, 70.
 Fitz Edmond, David Terry, 33.
 Floyd, Richard, 83.
 Fooakes, William, 47.
 Foster, Hopesstill, 109.
 French, William, 83.
 Frost, Edmund, 80.
 Garner, John, 62.
 Garret, James, master of the Hopewell, 101, 104; lost at sea, 105.
 Gedney, Bartholomew, 125, 178.
 Gibbons, Major, 137.
 Godby, Joane, 48.
 Goffe, Edward, 80.
 Goffe, Col. Edward, 106, 107, 110.
 Goffe, Samuel, 182.
 Gookin, Amy, dau. of Thomas, 6.
 Gookin, Amy, dau. of John, 12.
 Gookin, Anne, 12.
 Gookin, arms of, 12-14.
 Gookin, Arnold, 3, 4.
 Gookin, Charles B., 183.
 Gookin, Cicely, 7.
 Gookin, Daniel, son of John, 12.
 Gookin, Daniel, of Carrigaline, birth, 12; marriage, 16; removal to Munster, 30; buys Carrigaline, 31; clash with Lord Cork, 32; sells Carrigaline to Cork and takes lease, 33; the Longford plantation, 35; sells to Francis Edgeworth, 36; contract with Virginia Company, 38; sails for Virginia, 40; refuses to obey concentration order, 42; returns to England, 43; his income from Carrigaline, 45; sends The Providence to Virginia, 45; servants at Marie's Mount, 47; sells lease of Carrigaline, 50; obtains grant of St. Brandan's Isle, 52; decease, 54; dealings with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 117.
 Gookin, Major General Daniel, descent, 3; seal used by, 14; birth, 61; grant of Virginia lands to, 62; lists of colonists transported to Virginia by, 62, 67; marriage to Mary Dolling, 64; in Virginia, 64-66; another grant, 66; signs Nansmond petition, 67; acquires Maryland plantation, 70; removes to Massachusetts, 71; friendship with John Eliot, 73; removal to Cambridge, 78; captain of trained band, 79; deputy to General Court, 81; visits England, 81; Speaker of General Court, 82; Assistant, 82, 85; appointed Cromwell's agent to colonize Jamaica, 87-91; letters to Thurloe, 93-102; sails for England, 104; Collector of Customs at Dunkirk, 105; Deputy Treasurer at War, 106; return to New England, 106; pretended effort to apprehend regicides, 108; opposes encroachments on chartered rights, 109; refuses to answer Commissioners, 110; his many activities, 114; declines to act as licenser of the press, 115; conducts negotiations for purchase of Maine, 117-125; in charge of Praying Indians 128; journey to Nipmuck country, 132-136; letter to Governor Prince, 138; rage of populace against him during Philip's War, 145-155; his life threatened, 152; run down in Boston harbor, 155; appointed Major, 156; resumes Indian work, 159; re-elected Assistant, 160; his books about the Indians, 161; his History of New Eng-

- land, 162-165; founds town of Worcester, 166-170; leads in controversy with the crown, 172; appointed Major General, 177; death of his wife, 179; his children, 179; marriage to Hannah Savage, 181; last illness and death, 184; his will, 186-189; his homestead, 189; estimate of his character, 193; treatment of the Quakers, 194; the case of Silvanus Warrow, 195; controversy with Caleb Grant, 197; Justice Sewall's dream, 198.
- Gookin, Daniel, second son of General Gookin, 180.
- Gookin, Rev. Daniel, of Sherborn, third son of General Gookin, birth of, 81; biographical sketch of, 180; preaches to the Indians, 184; bequests in his father's will, 187-189.
- Gookin, Daniel, son of Daniel of Sherborn, 187.
- Gookin, Daniel, of Worcester, 170.
- Gookin, Edward, 29, 54, 56, 85, 105, 106.
- Gookin, Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas, 6.
- Gookin, Elizabeth, dau. of John, 12.
- Gookin, Elizabeth, dau. of General Gookin, 79, 179, 180, 188.
- Gookin, Hannah, 180.
- Gookin, Jhoane, 7.
- Gookin, John, of Ripple Court, parentage, 6; marries Catherine Denne, 7; removes to Appleton, Kent, 10; purchases Little Betteshanger, 10; subscribes to Spanish Armada defense loan, 11; purchases Manor of Ripple Court, 11; children, 12; arms of 12; removal to Ireland, 30; living at Carrigaline, 33; death of, 49.
- Gookin, John, of Northbourne Kent, 12, 15, 81.
- Gookin, John, grandson of John, sells Ripple Court, 11; dovecote at Ripple Court, built by, 12; royalist and residing in France, 81.
- Gookin, Capt. John, granted lands in Virginia, 57; marriage to Mrs. Sarah (Offley) Thorowgood, 57; decease, 57; inscription on tombstone, 58; joins in conveyance of Marie's Mount, 63; complains of Indian outrages, 66.
- Gookin, John, of St. Dunstan's in the East, 56.
- Gookin, Katherine, 12.
- Gookin, Margaret, 10, 12.
- Gookin, Mary, dau. of John, 10, 12.
- Gookin, Mary, 56.
- Gookin, Mary, dau. of Capt. John, 57.
- Gookin, Mary, dau. of General Gookin, 79; Marriage to Edmund Batter, 179; bequest in her father's will, 188, 189.
- Gookin, Mary, wife of General Gookin, see Dolling.
- Gookin, Rev. Nathaniel, 181, 188, 189.
- Gookin, Richard, of Cork, 29, 54, 56.
- Gookin, Richard, of Dedham, 165.
- Gookin, Capt. Robert, 81, 168.
- Gookin, Samuel, of London, 81, 168.
- Gookin, Samuel, eldest son of General Gookin, 67, 71, 179.
- Gookin, Samuel, fourth son of General Gookin, 83, 167, 180, 182, 187-189.
- Gookin, Solomon, 85, 180.
- Gookin, Thomas, of Bekesbourne, 4, 5, 6.
- Gookin, Thomas, of Ripple Court, 3, 12, 13, 15, 49.
- Gookin, Thomas, of Harbledown, 10, 13, 81.
- Gookin, Thomazin, 6.
- Gookin, variant spellings, 4-5.
- Gookin, Sir Vincent, birth of, 12; settles in Ireland, 29; executor of his father's will, 49; high sheriff of Cork, 52; knighted by Lord Cork, 52; trustee for children of his brother Daniel, 55; living at Bitton in Gloucestershire, 57.
- Gookin, Vincent, appointed Commissioner of the Revenue for Ireland, 81; member first Protectorate Parliament, 86; author of "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland discussed," 86; acquaintance with Cromwell, 87; offices to which he was appointed by Cromwell, 168.
- Gorges, Ferdinando, 117.
- Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 51, 52, 117.
- Granger, William, 62.
- Grant, Caleb, 197, 198.
- Grant, Thomas, of Eythorne, 12.
- Green, Samuel, 197.
- Griffin, Charles, 62.
- Griffin, Rise, 47.
- Griffin, Richard, 48.
- Grout, F., 183.
- Hammond, Capt., 158.
- Harris, Ellnor, 47.
- Hastings, John, 182.
- Hastings, Walter, 77.
- Haynes, John, 74, 169.
- Heath, Ferdinand, 67.
- Henchman, Capt. Daniel, 143, 150, 151, 154, 167, 168.
- Hever, John, of Cranbrooke, Kent, 9.
- Hever, Margaret, 9.

- Higginson, Capt. Humphrey, 65.
 Hill, John, 65.
 Hillier, John, 62.
 Hinkley, Gov., 178.
 Hoar, Joanna, 180.
 Hobart, William, 43.
 Hooker, Thomas, 74.
 Hooker, William, 62.
 Hopkinson, Daniel, 62.
 Horton, Elizabeth, 194.
 Hough, Francis, 65.
 Hull, John, 67.
 Hunting, Capt. Samuel, 154.
 Hutchinson, Capt., 144, 184.
 Hutchinson, Mr., 191.
 Hymerford, Margaret, 26.
 Hymerford, William, 25.
 Ibbotson, Elizabeth, 48.
 Ince, Mr., 104
 Jackson, Edward, 80, 81.
 Jackson, John, 80.
 Jackson, Richard, 80.
 James, Rev. Thomas, 68, 69.
 Jamaica, conquest by Penn and Venables, 86; Cromwell turns to New England colonists, 87; Daniel Gookin appointed his agent, 87; mortality among garrison, 92, 99, 101; fate of planters from Nevis, 102; condition remedied by Gov. Brayne, 103.
 Jewell, William, 62.
 Jewell, see Joulé.
 Johnson, Capt. Edward, 79, 166.
 Johnson, Cornelius, 41.
 Johnson, John, 197.
 Johnson, William, 125.
 Jones, Hugh, 62.
 Jones, Roger, 64.
 Jones, John, 160.
 Joulé (or Jewell), Ingram, 12.
 Kattenanit, Job, 150, 151, 152.
 Kemp, Richard, 65.
 Kenley, Charles, 62.
 Kittall, Jane, 9.
 Knowles, Rev. John, 68, 69.
 Lanmore, Marsoy, 67.
 Lawson, Lieut. Col. Anthony, 57.
 Leader, Richard, 82.
 Leverett, John, 110, 119.
 Long, Thomas, 6.
 Longe, William, 47, 62.
 Longford County, plantation of, by English, 35; grief of the Irish proprietors, 36.
 Longhorne, Thomas, 77.
 Lynd, Capt. Joseph, 169.
 Lynde, Symon, 113.
 Manst, Wal., 62.
 Marie's Mount plantation, named after Mary Gookin, 44; Servants at, 47; conveyance of part of, 48, 61; remainder conveyed to John Chandler, 63; resold to Benedict Stafford, 64; title escheated, 64; granted to William Cole, 63, 64.
 Marfin, Griffin, 62.
 Mason, Ann, 56.
 Mason, Ellinor, 56.
 Mason, Mr., 178.
 Mason, Robert, 67.
 Mather, Cotton, doggerel about Gookin and Tompson, 69, 70.
 Mather, Richard, 74.
 Mathewes, Marmaduke, 82.
 Maverick, Samuel, 109.
 May, John, Bishop of Carlisle, see Meye.
 Mayhew, Rev. Thomas, Jr., 104, 128, 192.
 Marsh, John, of Marton, Kent, 10.
 Marsh, Richard, 10.
 Marsh, Thomas, 10.
 Marsh, Thomas, Jr., 12.
 Martin, Richard, 20.
 Meye, Anne, wife of Rev. Richard Pilkington, 25.
 Meye, Arms of, 21.
 Meye, Elizabeth, 21, 24, 26.
 Meye, Bishop John, birth of, 21; arms of, 21; education at Cambridge, 21; Master of St. Catherine's Hall, 21; Rector of North Creake, 21; Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, 22; Bishop of Carlisle, 22; criticised by the Puritans, 23; death of, 24; children of, 24-25.
 Meye, John, of Shouldham Abbey, 24.
 Meye, William, Dean of St. Paul's, 21.
 Miller, Joseph, 151.
 Milton, Thomas, 12, 49.
 Mitchell, Rev. Jonathan, 107, 115.
 Moqua, John, 133.
 Morgan, Edmond, 47.
 Morgan, Edward, 62.
 Morgan, John, 67.
 Morgan, Phillips, 62.
 Moseley, Capt. Samuel, 147.
 Moseley, Capt. William, 57.
 Mosley, Joseph, 47, 62.
 Nansmond petition, signed by Daniel Gookin and others, 67; carried to Boston by Philip Bennett, 68.

- Nesutan, Job, 127, 182.
 Newce, Capt. Sir William, 39, 40, 55.
 Nichols, Col. Richard, 109, 110.
 Norman, Austin, 62.
 Norman, Henry, 62.
 Norman, Peter, 62.
 Noyes, Lieut. Thomas, 166
 Norton, Rev. John, 74, 107.
 Offley, Robert, 57.
 Offley, Sarah, 57, 58.
 Oliver, Capt. James, 147, 148, 149.
 Oliver, Thomas, 159.
 Osborne, Sir Edward, 57.
 Pachanaharm, John, 182.
 Page, John, 64.
 Pain, Mr., 191.
 Paine, William, 67.
 Park, William, 195.
 Parker, Deacon, 196.
 Parkman, Elias, 76.
 Parks, William, 109.
 Parratt, John, 47.
 Pelham, Mr., 104.
 Pensint, William, 62.
 Perkins, James, 67.
 Perkins, Thomas, 67.
 Petley, John, 31.
 Petley, Thomas, 31, 45, 50.
 Petley, William, 51.
 Pierce, John, 104, 106, 110.
 Pilkington, Rev. Richard, 25.
 Pitt, Mrs. Francis, of Stepney, 56.
 Plaisted, Roger, 113.
 Pratt, Edward, 184.
 Pray, Ephraim, 149.
 Pray, Mary, 149.
 Praying Indians, Daniel Gookin Super-
 intendent of, 128; colonists' brutal
 treatment of, 137; warning of Philip's
 War given by, 141; rage of the people
 against, 144; confined to their villages,
 144; removed to Deer Island, 149;
 company of, under Capt. Hunting, re-
 lieves Sudbury, 154; removed from
 Deer Island, 158.
 Prentice, Thomas, 111, 113, 143, 158,
 167, 169.
 Price, Henry, 62.
 Prichard, Capt., 81.
 Power, David, 34, 54.
 Power, William, 35, 55.
 Pynchon, John, 74, 122, 178.
 Quannapohitt, James, 151.
 Quincy, Col. Edmund, 180, 188.
 Quincy, Elizabeth, 180.
 Randall, Daniel R., 70.
 Randolph, Edward, 123, 171, 177, 178.
 Remington, Martha, 153.
 Richards, Major, 178.
 Richards, William, 62.
 Richison, Amos, 113.
 Ringall, Thomas, 67.
 Ripple Court, Manor of, acquired by
 John Gookin, 11; history of, 11.
 Roe, John, 62.
 Rowlandson, Rev. Joseph, 154.
 Russell, Rev. Noadiah, 179.
 Russell, Richard, 122, 178, 191.
 Sanders, John, 7.
 Saunders, Tobias, 111.
 Savage, Habijah, 181.
 Savage, Hannah, wife of General Gookin,
 181, 186, 187, 189, 190.
 Savage, Hannah, wife of Rev. Nathaniel
 Gookin, 181, 188.
 Savage, Mary, 181, 189.
 Savage, Thomas, 189.
 Savage, Major Thomas, 142, 153, 156.
 Scott, John, 62.
 Scott, Richard, 153.
 Searle, Daniel, 181.
 Sears, Mary, 181.
 Sewall, Chief Justice Samuel, extracts
 from diary, 178; goes to see General
 Gookin upon his death bed, 184; pall-
 bearer at funeral of Mrs. Hannah
 Gookin, 190; his dream of General
 Gookin, 198.
 Shepperd, William, 67.
 Sherwood, Peter, 47.
 Sill, Capt. Joseph, 157.
 Sladen, John Baker, 11.
 Sladen, Col. Joseph, 11.
 Shepard, Rev. Thomas, 74, 80, 81.
 Smith, Capt. 178.
 Smith, John, 41, 42, 43.
 Smith, Robert, 47, 62.
 Smith, William, 47, 62.
 Southworth, Mr., 138, 139.
 Speen, James, 135, 136.
 Sprague, Capt., 147.
 Spry, Oliver, 65.
 Stafford, Capt. Benedict, 64.
 Stearns, Samuel, 180.
 Stearns, Hannah, 180.
 Stedman, John, 79.
 St. Leger, Sir Warham, 31.
 St. Leger, Sir Warham, 3d, 32, 45.
 Stockdale, Mr., 51, 52.
 Stoughton, William, 122, 155, 172, 183.
 Streets, William, 48.

- Swift, Jane, 9.
 Swinforde, Clement, 12.
 Swinforde, William, 6.
 Syme, Alice, 6.
 Syme, Robert, 6.
 Symonds, Samuel, 122.
- Taylor, James, 191.
 Thomas, John, 62.
 Thompson, Robert, 190.
 Thorowgood, Capt. Adam, 57.
 Thurlby, John, 48.
 Thurloe, John, Daniel Gookin's letters to, 93, 94, 95, 98, 100, 102.
 Thurston, Jane, wife of Thomas Gookin of Ripple Court, 15; litigation with brothers-in-law, 15, 49.
 Thurston, Richard, 15.
 Toketon, Elphege de, 9.
 Toketon, Sir William de, 9.
 Tompson, Rev. William, 68, 69.
 Torey, Joseph, 112.
 Tufton, Agnes, 7, 9.
 Tufton, Nicholas, 7.
 Tufton pedigree, 9.
 Turner, John, 51.
 Tyng, Edward, 122, 148, 181.
- Usher, Christopher, 193.
 Usher, Hezekiah, 104, 150, 188.
- Vaughan, Christ., 67.
 Virginia Company, contract with Daniel Gookin, 38, 39; the Council recommends him to colonial authorities, 40; rejoicing caused by Daniel's arrival in Virginia, 41; revocation of the charter, 49.
 Vowell, Amy, 25, 26.
 Vowell, arms of, 25.
 Vowell, Richard, 25.
 Vowell, William of Creake Abbey, 26.
- Vowell, William of Wells, Somerset, 25.
- Wade, Capt. Jonathan, 195, 196.
 Wadsworth, William, 47, 62.
 Walker, Roger, 47, 62.
 Ward, Nathaniel, 74.
 Warren, Thomas, 67.
 Warrow, Jacob, 67, 75, 196.
 Warrow, Maria, 196.
 Warrow, Silvanus, 195, 196.
 Wayte, Jo., 125.
 Webb, William, 67.
 West, Governor, 178.
 West, Capt. John, 65.
 Whalley, General, 106, 107, 110.
 Wharton, Mr., 178.
 Whitfield, Gilbert, 47, 62.
 Wilcox, Roger, 67.
 Wildly, William, 67.
 Willard, Mrs., 191.
 Willard, Rev. Samuel, 181.
 Willard, Simon, 111, 144, 150.
 Williams, Roger, 74.
 Wilson, Rev. William, 17.
 Wing, John, 169.
 Winthrop, Capt., 178.
 Winthrop, Dean, 113.
 Winthrop, John, 68, 74, 75.
 Wiseman, William, 51.
 Wood, Thomas, 38.
 Worcester, settlement projected, 166; Daniel Gookin and others view site, 167; settlement interrupted by Philip's war, 167; new settlement begun, 168; name bestowed, 168; conjectured reasons for the name, 168-169.
 Wormley, Capt. Christ., 65.
 Woodhall, William, 17.
 Wyatt, Gov., 43, 46.
- Yardley, Col. Francis, 58.
 Yardley, Sir George, 58.



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