

*The 'Dayly Obseruation' of  
an Impassioned Puritan*

*A Seventeenth-Century Shorthand Diary  
Attributed to Deputy Governor  
Francis Willoughby of Massachusetts*

FRANCIS SYPHER

SHORTHAND MANUSCRIPTS invite exploration. They offer the appeal of the unknown; and they promise revelation—especially when one considers the example of Pepys's diary, which was transcribed in 1818 to make a hitherto unread work become a classic of English literature. There is no telling what other valuable literary or historical material may be held hidden in the grip of an unfamiliar shorthand system. And a general knowledge of the early uses of shorthand in America would sharpen our understanding of colonial procedure in civil and ecclesiastical administration. However, before a general survey can be written, someone will need to compile a detailed census of shorthand manuscripts, which then, of course, must be read or at least examined closely enough to form an accurate idea of their contents. It is my hope that this study, in examining one manuscript closely, will open the way to broader work by calling attention to the whole subject of shorthand manuscripts, and by illustrating an effective method of reading them.

The reason that shorthand manuscripts have been neglected is not far to seek: at first sight shorthand writing has a baffling, discouraging appearance. But unlike codes, which are designed

for concealment, shorthand is meant to be written and read with relative ease. And it was put to extensive practical use, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England, when the sudden expansion of the whole system of administration magnified the need for paperwork. Shorthand systems were a requirement for detailed court reporting and for transcribing speeches and minutes with an eye to accuracy and possible publication. Starting with the appearance in 1588 of Timothy Bright's *Characterie*, one manual of shorthand after another appeared. *The Art of Stenography*, by John Willis, published in 1602, introduced two principles that were widely imitated in later systems: the use of simplified symbols for letters of the alphabet, and the device of indicating vowels by the relative position of consonants. Other influential seventeenth-century systems were those of Thomas Shelton, Jeremiah Rich, and William Mason.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of shorthand for religious uses is apparent from the early manuals, which pay special attention to biblical and liturgical vocabulary, phrases, and proper names. Clearly the systems were widely used in transcribing sermons and debates. But from those public uses the hands were applied to private purposes as well, for there exist in British collections numerous shorthand diaries that consist of private religious meditations. The fluency and confidentiality of shorthand were well suited to such outpourings. And the texts themselves, although they will hardly hold children from play and old men from the chimney corner, have considerable historical and psychological interest. The thoughts, or rather feelings, expressed in a manuscript like the one under discussion here, allow us to overhear the inmost reflections of an earnest, active, educated seventeenth-century Puritan. The agonized tone of self-condemnation, the passionate, obsessive imploring for God's

<sup>1</sup> See Eric Sams, whose comments have been most helpful, 'Cracking the Historical Codes,' *Times Literary Supplement* (February 8, 1980), p. 154—a valuable and virtually unique discussion of shorthand materials.

mercy indicate a cast of mind that appears quite alien to the twentieth-century spirit. To be brought into such intimate contact with the mind of another age is a startling experience.

And yet, much as these texts at first appear to bring out the differences between seventeenth-century and twentieth-century thought, perhaps there are also similarities. *Angst*, in the psychological sense of the word, is conventionally regarded as a distinctive product of the technical-industrial age. But to read sympathetically the meditations of this author's heart is to perceive that the contrast is one of idiom and issue rather than of mood. With certain adjustments in vocabulary, the outpourings of our Puritan author would ring familiar within the confines of those private and secular confessionals of contemporary spiritual life, psychiatrists' offices. My impression, not based on professional clinical examination of the question, but rather upon such desultory reading as a classical education affords, is that the human spirit is one, but that its language and metaphors change—it is constantly being retailored, as Carlyle expresses it in the profound humors of *Sartor Resartus*. The difficulty is that in looking backwards we often find it impossible to see the man within the clothes that appear so strange to our time-bound eye. The language of this diary (like Teufelsdröckh's)—as alien, in a way, as its queer cursive character, yet as mundane and commonplace, for its time—takes us closer than we could imagine into some of the dark places of our historical consciousness. It is not surprising that the experience of reading this manuscript is unsettling. It is also fascinating and revealing, of ourselves, as well as of the past. From this and other points of view, diaries such as the 'Willoughby diary' deserve to be more widely known.

The book in question—in the manuscript department of the American Antiquarian Society—is a small (5½ by 7 inches), vellum-bound volume, much soiled and worn around the edges. On the cover, in the hand of Isaiah Thomas, is written: 'Sermons by Rev. Tho<sup>s</sup> Allen and Rev. Tho<sup>s</sup> Shepard the Elder

with Observations in Shorthand supposed to be written by Tho<sup>s</sup> Shepard jun<sup>r</sup> son of Thomas Shepard of Cambridge.' The full contents are:

- folios 1<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>v</sup> Mr. Tho: Allen: Text 3 John :33:v:6 Mo: 3 day [1644] Hee that hath received his Testimony, hath set too his seale that God is true . . .
- folios 12<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>v</sup> The second sermon: Text in the :3: John the :33: vers.: Hee that hath received his Testimony, hath set to his seale that God is true.
- folios 21<sup>r</sup>–28<sup>v</sup> The Third sermon: text :3: John :33:v: hee that receaveth his Testimony, hath set to his seale that God is true:.
- folios 29<sup>r</sup>–44<sup>r</sup> 1644 4 Mo: 16: Day Mr Thomas [Thomas *is written in another hand over William, which has been crossed out*] Shepheard: Text : 10<sup>th</sup> : Hebrews : 23 : v : for Faithfull is hee that Promised,
- folios 44<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup> Arguments why children of Beleuers should be Baptized taken out of seuerall writers on yt subject.
- folios 45<sup>v</sup>–46<sup>v</sup> Scripture grounds tending to proue y<sup>e</sup> Baptizing of y<sup>e</sup> seed of Beleuers
- folio 47<sup>r</sup> [Biblical references, with shorthand notes.]
- folios 47<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>v</sup> [Columns of figures, representing monetary accounts.]
- folio 49<sup>r</sup> [Biblical references, with shorthand notes.]
- folio 49<sup>v</sup> [Monetary accounts.]
- folios 50<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>v</sup> A Continuation of my dayly obseruation
- folio 77<sup>r</sup> [Blank, except for a note of the dates covered by the shorthand diary.]
- folio 77<sup>v</sup> [Notes in shorthand and longhand.]
- folio 78<sup>r</sup> [Blank.]
- folio 78<sup>v</sup> [Notes in shorthand and longhand.]
- folio 79<sup>r</sup> [Monetary accounts.]
- folio 79<sup>v</sup> [Blank.]

The sermons on folios 1-44<sup>r</sup> are carefully written out, letter by letter, so as to resemble, almost, a printed page. The rest of the book is written far less carefully. It would appear that after the sermons had been transcribed into the volume, it was used as a notebook by different persons. After folio 48, there are four stubs of leaves that have been torn out. From this point the book has been turned over, and written in from the back forwards, including all text on folios 49-79. Between folio 78 and folio 79 there are stubs of thirty-seven leaves that have been cut away. Apparently the book originally contained 120 folios, before various leaves were removed from it. The shorthand text contains approximately 43,200 words, which would come out to about 108 printed pages.

With the book is a more or less contemporary key to the shorthand system, consisting of one sheet, about 7½ by 12 inches, ruled on both sides in vertical columns, in which the shorthand symbols are written, one below the next, and the longhand equivalents beside them. It appears as though the author of the key picked random sentences from different places in the diary, so as to form a general idea of its contents. But as he realized that the book was almost entirely of a personal nature, and had few references to external events, he evidently went no further in his transcription.<sup>2</sup>

The volume was among the papers of the Mather family, and is listed in an inventory titled: 'Remains of Mathers' Library Folio & 4<sup>to</sup> Purchased by I. Thomas and by him presented to the American Antiquarian Society.' The book is described as: 'Sermons by Rev. Tho<sup>s</sup> Allen, and Rev. Tho<sup>s</sup> Shepard the Elder in 1644. Daily Observations in Shorthand supposed to have been written by Tho<sup>s</sup> Shepard, jun<sup>r</sup> of Charlestown, son of the Rev. T. S. of Cambridge. 4<sup>to</sup> 200 pages.' The figure for the number of pages must have been an estimate, unless, as

<sup>2</sup> There are other papers in the folder with the manuscript volume, but they are of relatively recent date, and contain little original information.

seems unlikely, leaves were removed after the acquisition of the book by the Society, in 1814. It is currently catalogued as part of the papers of the Shepard family, ca. 1636-81.

William I. Budington consulted the book in 1844, when he was gathering material for his work on the First Church in Charlestown. He described the journal as 'written in a very difficult cypher, which appears from certain internal evidences, to have been written by Gov. Willoughby.' He studied the key and identified it as being in the 'hand-writing of Thomas Shepard the 2d,' but 'notwithstanding the aid thus afforded, and the assistance of skilful friends,' he was 'unable to decypher it, or even judge of the comparative value of its contents.'<sup>3</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Richard Frothingham, Jr., examined the diary in the course of his historical investigations. In his sketch of Deputy Governor Willoughby, he refers to manuscripts of his which were in Thomas Prince's collection; it is 'supposed that these were destroyed with other papers in Prince's library, in the tower of the Old South Church, Boston, at the commencement of the Revolution.' In a footnote reference to the shorthand journal, he repeats Budington's description, but on the question of authorship allows only that the book was 'supposed to have been written' by Willoughby. Clearly, he too had been unable to form any opinion of the contents of the journal: 'It is in a difficult cypher, which I have, in vain, tried to read.'<sup>4</sup>

Some years later, Edward E. Salisbury and Evelyn McCurdy Salisbury saw and commented on the diary: 'Prof. Dexter of Yale University has examined this manuscript recently, and satisfied himself that it is a journal of Dep.-Gov. Willoughby, but found the cipher too difficult to read. Through the courtesy of the President of the Am. Antiq. Society, we have ourselves

<sup>3</sup> *History of the First Church, Charlestown* (Boston: C. Tappan, 1845), p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *The History of Charlestown, Massachusetts* (Charlestown: Charles P. Emmons; Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845-49), pp. 4, 142.

examined the old manuscript with much curiosity, but little instruction.<sup>5</sup>

The system of writing that daunted these investigators is not inherently difficult. And the book itself comes with a helpful key. All that is required is to recognize that the writing is not a code, or cipher (a term that properly refers to numerical codes), but simply a highly condensed and simplified script. It needs to be studied the way one studies the ordinary handwriting of a person whose rapid notes are difficult to anyone who is not used to them.

Shorthand writers frequently modified existing systems for their own use, so one who wishes to understand the writing must study the document itself. None of the published manuals is likely to offer an exact parallel. In this system, which partly resembles that of William Mason in *A Pen Pluck'd from an Eagle's Wing* (London, 1672; 2nd ed., 1695), each letter is reduced to a simple stroke or two. Consonants are written in a somewhat phonetic manner. Vowels are usually omitted, but indicated by positions of the consonants. A consonant written directly over a preceding consonant indicates an intervening *a*. When the consonant is written above and to the right, its position indicates an *e*. One written to the right on the same level indicates an *i*. When the consonant is to the right and below the preceding sign, it indicates an *o*. A consonant written directly underneath another indicates an intervening *u*. An initial vowel is expressed by a preliminary dot in the appropriate position, except for initial *a* and *u* which have distinct symbols. Final vowels are expressed by a dot in the appropriate position after the last consonant. In addition to the symbols for the usual consonants, there are separate symbols for *ch*, *th*, and *wh*. Also, there are concise symbols for common syllables, such as *-tion*. Finally, certain words are represented by an arbitrary symbol or abbreviation, such as *and*, *for*, *in*, *upon*. The word *Lord* is

<sup>5</sup> Chapter on Willoughby, in *Family Histories and Genealogies* (privately printed, 1892), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 528.

indicated by the character for *l* alone. The words *heart*, *world*, and *heaven* appear as pictographs.

All this seems simple enough, as, in fact, it is. But in reading a text that contains difficult words, unfamiliar ideas, and unconventional grammar, written in a rapid, fluent manner, the shorthand can become thoroughly puzzling. The symbols for *c*, *u/v*, *l*, *d*, *w*, *th* are subject to confusion with each other, as are *b*, *m*, and *t*. When the consonants run together, they can be as inscrutable as Sanskrit compounds. And the intervening vowels are often a matter of pure conjecture. A difficult word usually allows itself to be discovered after one has tried out as many combinations as the characters can be coaxed into suggesting. The procedure of trying out different possibilities can go on for hours until all at once the whole thing leaps to the eye, and one wonders why the obvious should be so hard to see. But, as with most things, it is not obvious until one knows it, and the difficulty is in the knowing.

The following extracts and accompanying plates are representative of the contents and handwriting of the diary in every respect except that they contain longhand passages. Evidently the author used this graphic distinction to separate his private meditations, or 'observations,' as he calls them, from public events. Private meditations in shorthand take up nearly all of the diary.

At the beginning of the manuscript, the author picks up the thread of his effusions from an earlier book, whose whereabouts or very survival is unknown. The first entry was made on the twentieth day of the 'ninth' month (Old Style), that is, November 1650. The period covered in the quoted passage is from the first day to the twenty-first, the date of a great fire in Charlestown, which was noted on the same day in an 'ancient interleaved almanac' mentioned by Budington.<sup>6</sup> Further corroboration of the event is given by Edward Johnson, in his

<sup>6</sup> *History of the First Church, Charlestown*, p. 208.

*Wonder-Working Providence* (London, 1654), where he declares upon the hardships suffered by the colonists:

Thy houses are consum'd with much good store,  
By fearful fires, which blustering winds blow o're.

Playing the role of commentator as well as poet, he glosses his own composition: 'Of the Lords hand against our Land affairs, as is heretofore expressed; and also in the suddain taking away many mens estates by fire, and chiefly by a most terrible fire which happened in Charles-Town, in the depth of Winter, 1650. by a violent wind blown from one house to another, to the consuming of the fairest houses in the Town.'<sup>7</sup> The importance of these testimonies to the fire is that they show beyond doubt that the shorthand manuscript was written in Charles-town.

In the transcription given here, words and letters in roman type represent passages in longhand in the manuscript, and are transcribed *literatim*. The rest of the transcription, here printed in italics, is interpreted from the author's shorthand. I have used modern spelling throughout, but have not ventured to add punctuation, since it does not appear in the original, and since it does not seem suitable to the spontaneous flow of word and phrase. Readers accustomed to literary works that reflect the verbal flow of the stream of consciousness should find the unpointed text as comprehensible as it can be.

A Continuation of my dayly obseruation of: *these days after some time of neglect of that duty thro' sloth & other unsightliness of spirit from ye first of ye 9<sup>th</sup> to ye 20<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>; in these days the Lord was pleased to dispense himself variously to me both in mercy & affection mercies many days dispensed in them life & health & peace & many enjoyments: affection in visiting me fondly with the small pup & my love's choice manner & also taking here away ye 19<sup>th</sup> day, yet my heart & spirit bath not been right with God nor have I been carried unto a sanctifying his name as I ought to do but much deadness &*

<sup>7</sup> In bk. 3, chap. 9 of *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 259.

vanity & folly of spirit bath & doth impugn I can't be serious to consider my heart & ways but those teach much slighthness & deadness & vanity much unprofitableness under the means the Lord is pleased to afford to me a spirit of vanity & regardlessness of him & of those things he calls for from too much loneliness of spirit & life's caring a heart every way & in every thing neglecting him tho' fountain of my good very formal & dead & vain in my way a spirit of contentedness with what I have received from the Lord without further laboring after further supply of mercy from him truly I know not how to express my great loneliness of soul every way a heart that can't be affected with the staff of God his mercies affect me not nor doth his staff affect me but dead & vain & untoward altogether in the carnality of my soul I am at a loss some times what the Lord sees do with me what his demeanor sees me to be I can't but outstand him each he sees shall go out against me & knows according him righteous & whole in all his fulness & I can't but confess myself nil in his sight the Lord pity me & heal me & the Lord come in graciously upon me & put me into that frame he would have me to be in & fit me for my change not knowing how soon it may be God trusting & in his staff & visitations biding alway one & another & those that might be understood Lord among us Left up prayre weighing the 19<sup>th</sup> day allsoe the Lord teach me & fit me & help me so be wise that I may welcome death & not be unwilling to look upon it tho' it sees present itself with never so great a containing the Lord help me from heaven & so dispose of me in every regard that I may attend him in the full dispensation of himself to my soul thro' the Lord Christ Jesus

21<sup>th</sup> day the Lord was gracious to me this day in many particulars for which I have needs to praise his name but my heart was busy & unsightly to him in many regards much deadness & vanity & sloth & carnality & slighthness & what not a spirit no way sightly to him as at other times past this day too among other good dispensations he was pleased to send a sad visitation among vs in this towne to ye burning of 11 or 12 houses it began at mr cuttings new house & tooke mr Russells & soe on to good hudlock Iunior: ould fosdicks nick lawans Iames brouns house & store house Iames allisons bro arringtons bro nicolses: some to ye consuming all they had others a great pt a visitation to be taken notis of & ye Lord to ask his mind & will & helpe pore creaturs to owne his stroaks & to fooule vnder ye same, much mercy was moued & seuerall distingwishing puidences y<sup>t</sup> I desird not to forgitt: & the Lord teach my soul & help me to look into my heart & to examine what is amiss & the Lord leave me not to slight & to neglect such a dispensation but

*to be wise to know his hand soon I believe it is a notice to me & fit I will not hear my house may be the next thro' some wise judgement the Lord help me & help his servants hymn it consequence that I may attend the Lord & help well here in observing him rich and well*

The only other passage of any extent that breaks away from the tone of obsessive spiritual autoflagellation is this one, for the seventh day of the third month (o.s.), that is, May 7, 1651:

*7<sup>th</sup> day this day was the day of election of gouerner in which was a good sermon preached by mr Allin of whom fit matter for me & others to consider of tho' the Lord makes my heart dead & mind out of frame & me every way indisposed the Lord help me to be aware of what evil & sin is in me & the Lord help me to dote upon him for help & strength against my wandering & erring: after this the gouernor was chosen & the rest of the magistrates among the rest myself but for these reasons following I did not accept of y<sup>e</sup> imployment, first in y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> cort hath to deale many tims in matters of religion & many tims in tender things w<sup>ch</sup> a man had neede to haue good vnderstanding & knowlige y<sup>t</sup> he may doe w<sup>t</sup> he doth in fayth, I being weake & ignorant conseue my selfe not fitt 2ly y<sup>e</sup> wayt of y<sup>e</sup> worke in regard of siuill administration & y<sup>e</sup> weaknes of my abillitys my Ienus not liing y<sup>t</sup> way 3dly my caule to england y<sup>e</sup> latter end of y<sup>e</sup> yeare if god spare my life, 4thly my many ocations in y<sup>e</sup> meane time y<sup>t</sup> take vp much of my time by w<sup>ch</sup> I feare being in a snare betwene my owne ocations & y<sup>e</sup> publike I desire to bless the Lord I do not what I do out of disesteem or disrespect to the work or out of a spirit of sloth & unwillingness to be serviceable in my place but for this & other reasons I desire to forbear at present: among other my great engagements which may mean my disparagement & the country also standing in such a reason*

The results of this election are given in the *Records of the Governor & Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*: 'John Endecotte, Esq, Gouernor, Thomas Dudley, Esq, Dept Gouerno<sup>r</sup>; Asistants: Richard Bellingham, Esq, Increase Nowell, Gent, Symon Bradstreete, Gent, Samuel Symonds, Gent, William Hibbens, Gent, Thomas Flynt, Gent, Capt Robt Bridges, Gent, Frauncis Willoby, Gent, Thomas Wiggan, Gent, Edward Gibbons, Esq, Major Generall.'<sup>8</sup> But the

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston: William White, 1854), vol. 3, p. 220, and vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 36.

name of the author of the shorthand manuscript is presumably not to be found among these, since he declined the post on the same day as the election, and was, one imagines, replaced by another.

Other outward things mentioned in the diary are few. There are, for example, some proper names: 'Capt yeokim & Company,' December 13 and 14, 1650; 'maior sodyniche & bro all in from the clarlathen,' April 18, 1651; 'this day bro larkin died,' November 15, 1651; and occasional other notes on local events or the weather. On July 10, 1651, the diarist notes without further comment: '*this day the 2 wiches were hanged.*'<sup>9</sup>

About the author of the journal, the book itself gives certain indisputable evidence. Clearly he was living in Charlestown between November 20, 1650, and December 28, 1651, the date of the last entry. He was married, and the father of other children besides a daughter who was born on December 24, 1651, and baptized on December 28. And he was a man of sufficient age and standing to be elected a magistrate on May 7, 1651, but because of his reservations on religious matters, his doubt of his administrative ability, his 'call to England' late in 1651 (perhaps in January or February 1651/2), and possible conflicts of interest, he declined the post.<sup>10</sup>

Francis Willoughby, whom Budington suggests as the author, was born in England, the son of Col. William Willoughby. When Francis Willoughby arrived in Charlestown, in 1638, he was accompanied by a wife and one child. From 1640 on, he was almost constantly in public service: selectman 1640-47; representative 1649-50; assistant 1650 and 1651.

<sup>9</sup> See Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, pp. 116-17. Margaret Jones of Charlestown was hanged in Boston on June 15, 1648, one of the earliest executions for witchcraft in New England. Samuel G. Drake, in *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* (Boston: W. Elliot Woodward, 1869) notes the cases of Mr. and Mrs. Parsons who were tried in Boston in May 1651 (pp. 64-72). See also George Lincoln Burr, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases 1648-1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 408.

<sup>10</sup> The daughter and the other children are mentioned in the entries for December 24 and 28, 1651.

He returned to England, apparently sometime around the time of his father's death, on March 30, 1651, when his presence would have been required in settling the estate. Parliament appointed him, on September 28, 1652, to the post formerly held by his father: commissioner of the navy for Portsmouth. He was a member for Portsmouth of the parliament that met from January 27, 1658/9, to April 22, 1659. After the Restoration he remained for a while in England, where he was called upon in 1662 by the General Court of Massachusetts to help the commissioners who were going on a mission to congratulate the king. But by May of that year, he had returned to New England, where he again held the office of assistant, becoming deputy governor in 1665—a post he continued to hold until his death in 1670.

In the course of a varied and undoubtedly stressful career, he was a successful merchant, landholder, and builder, who acquired a large estate. Contemporary records refer to him as a man of judgment and an early defender of American liberty. In an important debate in 1666 over a question of compliance with a royal mandate, he argued that 'our liberties are of concernment, and to be regarded as to the preservation; for if the king may send for me now, and another to-morrow, we are a miserable people.'<sup>11</sup>

Since Budington could not, by his own admission, read the shorthand text, his attribution must have been based upon the longhand passages in the book, specifically the one in which the author refers to his election on May 7, 1651, and his call to England. Willoughby, we know, lived in Charlestown and had

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, p. 143. Full biographical details on Francis Willoughby and his family may be found in the work by the Salisburys cited in n. 5, pp. 507-604. See also 'The Willoughby Family of New-England,' *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* 30(1876):67-78; *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1629-1818*, comp. Thomas Bellows Wyman (Boston: David Clapp and Son, 1879), 2:1036-37. There are several references to Willoughby in *Harvard College Records*, in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts: Collections* 15 and 16 (Boston: published by the Society, 1925).

been elected a magistrate on May 22, 1650; during that term he was appointed to the Lex Mercatoria Committee, which was to recommend maritime laws for the colony. He was again elected a magistrate on May 7, 1651. Since his name appears on the published list, it is to be presumed that he accepted the post, instead of declining it, as did the author of the diary. The point could be settled decisively if there were evidence that Willoughby actually carried out the duties of the court in 1651 (as he did in 1650), but unluckily there is no continuous record of the doings of the court between 1643 and 1673, and the few

## KEY TO THE SHORTHAND ALPHABET

a	↗	b		l	∪	w	)
e	.	c	∩	m	∖	x	⋈
i	. )	d	∩	n	—	y	γ
o	.	f	7	p	∩		
u/v	√	g	γ	r	∩	ch	γ
		h	9	s	∩	th	o
		k	∩	t	/	wh	p
&	—			heart	♡		
for	ε			heaven			
in	9			world	◎		
upon	2						
-tion	∩						

by Francis Sypher





documents that remain are silent on the point.<sup>12</sup> However, the reasons given by the author for declining to serve as magistrate seem out of keeping with Willoughby's background, since he was an experienced administrator who had served on the court the previous year.

Like the author of the journal, Willoughby went to England in or around 1651, presumably to settle his father's estate after his death on March 30, 1651. It is possible that news of his father's critical illness or death could have reached him by May 7 to 'call' him back. But we know too that Willoughby was not alone in being called to England then. Thomas Allen, for example, who was teacher of the church in Charlestown, also left for England in 1651.<sup>13</sup>

Again, like the author of the journal, Willoughby was married (three times) and had children (by each marriage). But, although there are records of a daughter born to him on July 29, 1647, and a son born about 1652, there is no record of a daughter born on December 24, 1651.

The case for attributing the journal to Francis Willoughby is, at best, unproven. At the same time, it must be admitted that although the case against his authorship is perhaps more persuasive than the case for it, neither is entirely conclusive. My own opinion, however, is that he did not write the journal. Furthermore, I think that if he had written it, the fact would probably have been known and made note of at an early date. As it is, the suggestion that Willoughby was the author was not made until nearly two hundred years after the journal was

<sup>12</sup> *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay 1630-1692*, printed under the supervision of John Noble, 3 vols. (Boston: published by the County of Suffolk, 1901-28). See also Shurtleff, *Records*, vol. 3, pp. 182, 193; vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 1, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Allen would perhaps be a candidate for authorship if it were not that the author mentions the good sermon preached by Mr. Allen, with 'fit matter for me and others to consider of.' He was born in 1608, graduated at Caius College, Cambridge, and became teacher of the church in Charlestown in 1639. He died in England in 1673 (Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, pp. 130-33).

written, and so has no authority other than what can be derived from such evidence as we have reviewed.

Another candidate for authorship of the shorthand manuscript is named on the cover of the book—Thomas Shepard, Jr. But this supposition is certainly wrong. Thomas Shepard, Jr., was born in London in 1635. He would have been only sixteen years old in 1651, and so could not have been elected a magistrate or have been the father of a family of several children, as the author of the book was. Thomas Shepard, Jr., graduated from Harvard College in 1653, and was ordained as teacher of the church in Charlestown on April 13, 1659. Budington says that the key to the shorthand writing is in his hand, so perhaps the manuscript was among books at the church, and came into his possession and remained among his papers, thus giving rise to the attribution of the shorthand passages to him.<sup>14</sup>

If the author is neither Francis Willoughby nor Thomas Shepard, Jr., it seems likely, to judge from the profoundly religious character of the 'observations,' and from the provenance and other contents of the book, that he was someone closely associated with the church in Charlestown, whose departure may have been related to Mr. Allen's return to England in 1651. The other officers, besides Thomas Allen and Thomas Shepard, Jr., were: Zechariah Symmes (d. 1671), who was pastor for thirty-nine years, serving jointly with Thomas Allen, then alone for eight years, and finally with Thomas Shepard, Jr.; John Green (d. 1658), who was ruling elder; and two deacons, Richard Mousall (d. 1657) and Robert Hale (d. 1659). But there is at present no evidence for identifying any of these with the author of the shorthand manuscript.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Information on Thomas Shepard, Jr., is given by Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, p. 161. Thomas Shepard, Sr., pastor of the First Church in Cambridge, might also be a candidate for authorship, but he died in 1649, and therefore cannot be considered.

<sup>15</sup> Biographical information in Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, pp. 78–82; on Symmes, see, *ibid.*, pp. 72–74, 130, 174–76.

The dates of birth and baptism of the author's daughter in 1651 would provide an easy clue, if the event had been recorded in the record book of the church. But unfortunately there are no baptismal records whatever for 1651, or indeed for any of the period between 1642 and 1658.<sup>16</sup> It remains for further inquiry to establish the identity of the author of these passionate meditations.

<sup>16</sup> *Records of the First Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts 1632-1789* (Boston: printed under the care of James Frothingham Hunnewell, and for him by David Clapp and Son, 1880), p. 51.

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