THE NEW-ENGLAND PRIMER

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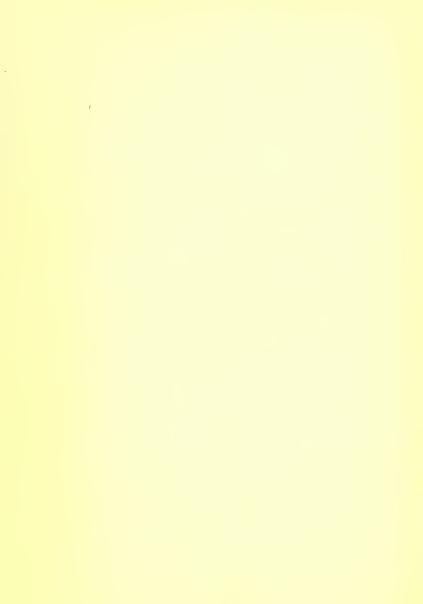
FROM THE LIBRARY OF JOHN F. ROSS





THE NEW-ENGLAND PRIMER







Give Ear my Ehildren to my words whom God bath dearly bought, Law up his Laws within your Hearts, and Print them in your Thoughts. I leave you here a little Book, for you to look upon, That you may fee your Fathers Face, when he is Dead and gone.

Burning of John Rogers

(From the "New English Tutor" [1702-1714?])

The

NEW-ENGLAND
PRIMER

A REPRINT OF THE EARLIEST KNOWN
EDITION, WITH MANY FACSIMILES
AND REPRODUCTIONS, AND
AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Edited by PAUL LEICESTER FORD

NEW YORK
Dodd, Mead and Company
M dece xe ix

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OF

NEW ENGLAND PRIMERS 级农政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政政



Portrait of George Washington
(From the "New England Primer." Boston: [1-89?])

INTRODUCTION

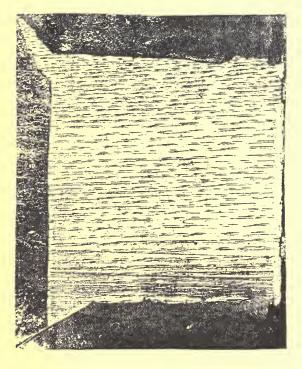
N the apocryphal poem of John Rogers "unto his children," The New Eng-which was included in every New land Primer England Primer, he said:

a mirror of Puritanism

"I leave you bere a little booke For you to looke wpon, That you may see your father's face When I am dead and gon."

No better description of the New England Primer itself could be penned. As one glances over what may truly be entitled "The Little Bible of New England," and reads its stern lessons, the Puritan mood is caught with absolute faithfulness. Here was no easy

toad to knowledge and to salvation; but with prose as bare of beauty as the whitewash of their churches, with poetry as rough and stern as their storm-torn coast, with pictures as crude and unfinished as their own glacialsmoothed boulders, between stiff oak covers, which symbolized the contents, the children were tutored, until, from being unregenerate, and as Jonathan Edwards said, "young vipers, and infinitely more hateful than vipers" to God, they attained that happy state when, as expressed by Judge Sewall's child, they were afraid they "should goe to hell," and were "stirred up dreadfully to seek God." No earthly or heavenly rewards were offered to its readers. The Separatists had studied their Bible too carefully not to



Inside Binding of the "New England Primer" (Boston: 1762)



know that a future life of bliss was far more an instinctive longing of mankind than an Old Testament promise. They were too imbued with the faith of Judaism not to preach a religion of stern justice, and the oldest Puritan literature and even laws read strangely Hebraic to nineteenth century eyes. The religion of Christ, a faith based on love and mercy, received less sympathy and less teaching, from their divines than probably from any other sect nominally Christian. from hell was what they promised; while, to make this boon the greater, the horrors and tortures were magnified and dwelt upon; and that the terror might be the greater, God was made sterner and more cruel than any living judge, that all might be brought

to realize how slight a chance even the least erring had of escaping eternal damnation.

Education the Strength of Paritanism

But in this very accentuation of the danger lay the strength of Puritanism. No mass or prayer, no priest or pastor, stood between man and his Creator, each soul being morally responsible for its own salvation; and this tenet forced every man to think, to read, to reason. As the Reformation became possible only when the Bible was cheapened by printed versions, so the moment each man could own and study the Book, Puritanism began. Unless, however, man could read, independence was impossible, for illiteracy compelled him to rely upon another for his knowledge of the Word; and thus, from its earliest inception, Puritanism, for its own sake, was compelled to foster education. Probably no better expression of this fact can be found than in an order of the "General Corte" of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, in 1647, that:

Let being one cheise piect of y^t ould deluder, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of y^e Scriptures, as in form^r times by keeping y^m in an unknown tongue, so in these latt^r times by pswading from y^e use of tongues, y^t so at least y^e true sence & meaning of y^e originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, y^t learning may not be buried in y^e grave of or fath^{rs} in y^e church & comonwealth, the Lord assisting of endeavors, —

It is therefore ord'ed, y' ev'y towneship in this iurisdiction, aft' ye Lord hath increased y'' to ye number of 50 household's, shall then forthwth appoint one wthin their

Resolve of the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay in 1647 towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write & reade."

Danger of Independency and Necessity for Conformity

Independency, no less than Papacy and Episcopacy, was able to foresce the danger of individualism in that it threatened to result in a man's not finding in the Bible the one belief by which alone the Puritans held he could Think for himself he must, be saved. but it was his duty to think what the Separatists thought, and so churches were gathered, and "teachers" - as they were first called - were chosen, who told their congregations what they were to think for themselves. Very quickly organized sects followed, which formulated creeds and catechisms, demanded belief in them, and

^{1 &}quot;Records of the Massachusetts Bay," 11., 203.

tortured, imprisoned and exiled the recalcitrant. Finding that other men, like themselves, could not be made by punishment to accept other than their own opinions, the children were taken in their earliest years, and drilled and taught to believe what they were to think out for themselves when the age of discretion was reached. And this was the function of the New England Primer. With it millions were taught to read, that they might read the Bible; and with it these millions were catechised unceasingly, that they might find in the Bible only what one of many priesthoods had decided that book contained.

¹ John Trumbull, the poet, records of himself that "before he was two years old, [he] could say by heart all the verses in the 'Primer.'"

Romish Abecedariums and Prymers

HIS method of securing uniformity by uniting alphabet and creed was as old as printed The Enschedé Abecedarium, which has even been claimed to be the first specimen of printing with type, and which certainly was printed in the fifteenth century, contained besides the alphabet, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Credo, and two prayers, being the elementary book of the Romish Church. So too, a larger book of Catholicism, for more advanced students, was the well-known "Book of Hours"; which, translated from the Latin text into English,2 was called "The Prymer of Salisbury use", and was printed as early as 1490. As

¹ De Vinne's "Invention of Printing," 290.

² "The Prymer of Salysbury use." Paris: 1490.



KECEC CECECECIES THE New-England PRIMER Enlarged. For the more easy attaining the true
Reading of ENGLISH To which is added, The Assembly of Divines Catechism. BOSTO N: Printed by E. Fleet, and Sold by the bookfellers, 1737. TO THE WALL BOOK OF THE PARTY

need hardly be said there are many later editions of both these works.

When the Reformation began to work among the people in England, among its signs was the appearance of unauthorized primers, and Henry the VIII. issued "proclamations" and "injunctions" against these, in an endeavor to keep his people true to Catholicism. Very soon, however, he experienced a change of heart not merely towards his wedded wife, but incidentally as well, towards his mother church, and in 1534, as one method of fighting the Pope, he allowed to be prepared and issued what is known as the "Reform Primer",1

Henry
VIIIth's
Prymers and
A B Cs

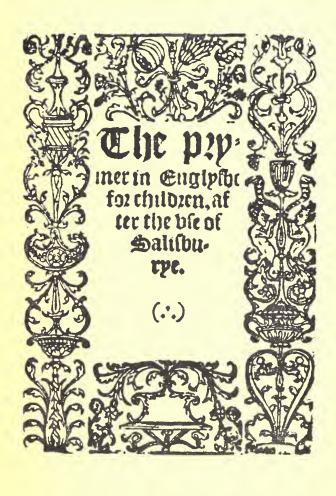
^{1 &}quot;A Prymer in Englyshe with certeyne prayers and goodly meditations, very necessary for all people that understonde not the Latyne tongue. Cum privilegio Regali." [London, 1534.]

designed to teach his people what they should believe. In this, however, his desire to have done with the Church of Rome, led him to act too hastily, for in less than a year, he varied his belief and licensed the issue to his people of a "Goodly Prymer in Englysshe" ¹ that they might know the only true and revised-to-date religion. Yet again new light came to the head of the English church, and in a third primer, known as the "Henry VIIIth Primer", ² the King marked out

² "The Primer set forth by th? King's Majesty, and his Clergy to be taught, learned, and read and none other be used throughout all his dominions. 1545.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum."

^{1 &}quot;A goodly Prymer in Englysshe, newly corrected and printed, with certeyne godly Meditations and Prayers added to the same, very necessarie and profitable for all them that ryghte assuredly understande not ye Latine and Greke tongues. Cum privilegio regali." [London, 1535.]





a new and only path to heaven for his subjects. All these primers contained portions intended for "beginners", such as "a fruitful and very Christian instruction for children", and since the Romish Church had a preliminary book to its Prymer, so Henry had his, called "The A B C",1 the earliest known copy of which contains the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, various Graces for before and after "dyner" and for "fysshe dayes", and the "ten comaundements". The distinction between the two was well indicated by a little poem at the end of the A B C² printed in black letter in 1636:

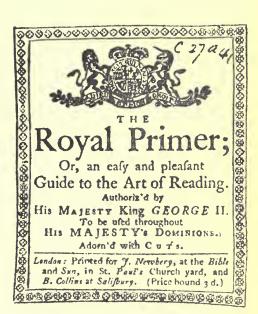
^{1 &}quot;The A B C bothe in Latyn and in Englysh."
[London, 1538.]
2 "The A B C. The Catechism: That is to say,

This little Catechisme learned by heart (for so it ought) The Primer next commanded is for Children to be taught.

Spread of dissent and diversity of Primers As was not surprising, many of the King's subjects became somewhat unsettled in their belief, and even developed a tendency to form one not ordained by his majesty. Furthermore these wayward people declined to use the primers printed "cum privilegio regali" but purchased heretical books put forth without authority, so that Henry in the preface of his later primers, took notice in evident disgust "of the diversitie of primer books that ar now abrod, whereof ar almost

An Instruction to be taught and learned of every Childe, before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop." [London? 1636.]





A GUIDE.

Child and Youth

In Two Parts.

The First, for CHILDREN:

Containing plain and pleasant Directions to read ENGLISH.

With Prayers, Graces, and Instructions fitted to the Capacity of Children.

The Second, for YOUTH:

Teaching to Write, Cast Account. and Read more perfectly.

With several other Varieties, both pleasant and profitable.

by T. H. M. A. Teacher of a private School

London: Printed by J. Roberts, for the Company of Stationers. 1725.



innumerable sortes, which mynister occasion of contentions and vain disputations, rather then to edify". To end this difficulty he commanded "one uniforme ordre of all such bookes throughout al our dominions, both to be taught unto children and also to be used for ordinary prayers of all our people not learned in the latyn tong", and for that purpose,

"set furth thys Primer or boke of prayers in Englysh to be frequented and used in Henry and throughout all places of oure said realmes and dominions, as well of the elder people, as also of the youth, for their common and ordinary prayers, willing, commaundvng and streightly charging that for the better bringing up of youth in the knowledge of theyr duty towardes God, their prince, and all others in their degre, every Scholemaster and bringer-up of yong begin-

VIIIth's injunction concerning Primers



ners in lernyng nexte after their A B C now bi us also set furthe, do teache this primer or boke of ordinary prayers unto them in Englyshe, and that the youth customably and ordinarily use the same until thei be of competant understanding and knowledge to perceive it in Latyn. At which time they may at their libertie either use this primer in Englishe, or that whiche is by oure authoritie likewyse made in the Latyn tong, in all poinctes correspondent unto this in Englysche." ¹

Multiplication of creeds and catechisms This injunction it is needless to say was little heeded. The English King could depose the vicegerent of Heaven, even though the latter was infallible, but he could not overcome the common people. Faiths and Creeds mul-

^{1 &}quot;The Prymer both in Englishe and Latin." [London, 1545.]

tiplied until the famous Council of Trent complained of the "infinite" number of the "little books" and complained that there had come to be "as many catechisms as there are provinces in Europe, nay, almost as many as the cities, are circulated, all of which abound with heresies, whereby the minds of the simple are deceived." Their majesties Henry, Edward, Mary, Elizabeth and James, though each having a different faith, successively forbade, seized and burned these unauthorized books; and whipped, imprisoned or burned preachers and printers, but it was all unavailing, and a little over a century and a half from the time that Henry changed the religion of his country, the people decided that it was easier to change their King than to conform in their religion. With the flight of James II. ended all attempts to prevent the people from having such primers and catechisms as they chose, leaving behind nothing but a restriction in the printing of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, which to this day are monopoly books in Great Britain.

* *

Authorized and unauthorized Primers and A B C HE authorized primers were not true school-books, being rather primary — hence "primer" — manuals of church service, and indeed the forerunners of the "Book of Common Prayer". Moreover they were handsomely printed, and thus were expensive. The authorized

A B C, which sold at a moderate price, contained but the most elementary matter. It must have very quickly occurred to booksellers that to combine the two into one work would be a good idea, but as they were both monopoly books most printers were debarred from doing it and to the privileged printers there was no object in producing them at a low price. It was left, therefore, to the publishers of Separatist persuasion, to take advantage of the larger sale that could be obtained, and very quickly they were issuing at low prices, books which contained the sum of both; and no doubt this cheapness and convenience played a prominent part in the spread of dissent. It was this union of the A B C and the Primer, which

led to children's books being called

by the latter title.

Union of the Primer and ABC

The earliest of this combination of school-book and catechism, so far discovered, is Bastingius' "Catechisme of Christiane Religion, taught in scholes", which had the A B C prefixed to it, and was printed in Edinburgh in 1591. In 1631 Bishop Bedell's catechism was printed in Dublin, in the same manner, A B C. The Catechism: That is to say, an instruction to be taught and learned of every Childe" was printed in 1636. Ten years later the "Catechism for young Children appointed by act of the Church of Scotland" was issued with the A B C, probably in Edinburgh. England more care had to be taken, for as late as 1666, one Benjamin Keach was tried for writing "The Child's Instructor, or a New and Easy Primer", which contained a catechism with leanings towards anabaptism; but though the author was sentenced to the pillory, the book was constantly republished. A little later, in 1670, George Foxe issued his "Primer and Catechism" "with several delightful Things" intended to make a Quaker of the student.

One of the gravest difficulties to the early Separatists in both Old and New England, was the question of what catechism to teach their children. During the voyage of the Arbella the Puritans were catechised by their clergyman on Sunday, while no sooner were they landed than the

The early catechising of the New Englanders

Colony of Massachusetts Bay made a contract with sundry "intended ministers" for "catechising, as also in teaching, or causing to be taught the Companyes servants & their children, as also the salvages and their children", and in this same year (1629) they voted the sum of three shillings for "2 dussen and ten catechismes".2 It cannot certainly be known to what particular catechism these allusions refer, but it was probably the one composed by "that famous divine" William Perkins, preacher of St. Andrews Church in Cambridge, catechist for some time of Christ college, and one of the most distinguished Calvinists of the

2 Ibid, 1., 3-h.

^{1 &}quot;Records of Massachusetts Bay," 1., 37e.

period. First printed in 1590,1 this catechism ran through many editions in England, was republished with additions by John Robinson for the use of the pilgrims, and later was reprinted in New England.

Very quickly after the Puritan settling in America a tendency de- Neglect of the veloped towards the individualism Catechism in implied by all dissent and especially land by Congregationalism. As a result of this diversity of belief, Lechford states that catechising was generally abandoned in many of the New England churches, and to meet the woeful condition the "General Corte" in 1641 "desired that the elders would make a Catechisme for the

New Eng-

^{1 &}quot;The Foundations of Christian Religion, gathered into sixe Principles. Printed by Thomas Orwin for John Porter, 1590."

instruction of youth in the grounds of religion", 1 as well as consider "howe farr the magistrates are bound to interfere for the preservacon of that vniformity & peace of the churches".

Multiplication of Catechisms The request was only too readily responded to and in the period of 1641–1684 the reverend "teachers" Hugh Peters, Edward Norris, Ezekiel Rogers, John Davenport, John Cotton, John Eliot, Thomas Shepard, Richard Mather, John Fiske, John Norton, Seaborn Cotton, James Fitch, Samuel Danforth, James Noyes, and Samuel Stone, each prepared one or more catechisms. In fact it is probable that every New England minister formulated his own faith in this manner, and at first thought it would

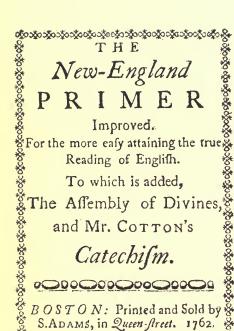
^{1 &}quot;Records of Massachusetts Bay," 1., 328.

seem to have been not a little trying to a congregation, on the death of a trusted shepherd who had properly inducted them in his own belief, to get accustomed to the doctrines of a new incumbent. This difficulty was for the most part avoided by the general knowledge of what each clergyman thought, so that only one in fairly close accord with the congregation was considered. When a mistake occurred, and the "Teacher" was found to run counter to his church, they hastened to get rid of him, which resulted in the innumerable church quarrels and the schism with which New England so abounded.

Long after Cotton Mather asserted with evident pride that "few Pastors of Mankind ever took such pains at Resulting quarrels and schisms until the adoption of the shorter Catechism

Catechising as have been taken by our New English Divines: Now, let any Man living read the most judicious and elaborate Catechisms published, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fisk, several by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Seaborn Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch; and say whether true Divinity were ever better handled."1 fact, however, this very multiplicity of catechisms tended only to increase the schism and the New English clergy spent their energies in preparing catechisms and quarrelling over them rather than in attempting the

¹ Mather's Magnalia, book 5, p. 3.



BOSTON: Printed and Sold by S.ADAMS, in Queen-street. 1762,

^{గ్ర}్యాన్నాన్నాయ్లా స్టార్లు స్టార్లు



"instruction of youth" and the "vniformity and peace of the churches". John Cotton, though responsible himself for so much of the disputation, was forced to acknowledge that "the excellent and necessary use of catechising young men, and novices, . . . we willingly acknowledge: But little benefit have wee seene reaped from set forms of questions, and answers by one Church, and imposed by necessity on another".1 Not till the great Westminster Assembly formulated its longer and shorter catechisms, did the New England Churches find a common faith, and even then, as the work of Presbyterians and not Congregationalists, they were accepted

¹ Cotton's "A Modest and Cleere Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse." London, 1642.

only by degrees, not because they were generally approved, but because they were the only escape from a tendency that threatened to break each congregation into fractions too small for existence as a church.

* *

The New England Primer UCH was the condition of school-books and catechisms, when the New England Primer was first published. Its authorship and date of issue have hitherto been mysteries which have resisted the research of all antiquarians, but it is at last possible to give the main facts concerning its origin.

In the reign of King Charles of "merrie" memory, one Benjamin

Harris began printing in London "at the Stationers Arms in Sweethings Benjamin Rents, near the Royal Exchange ", otherwise described as "the Stationers Arms under the Piazza in Cornhill". Here he issued, between the years 1676 and 1681 many tracts broadsides of so little moment that his name finds no mention in any biographical dictionary or history of printing. But aside from his calling, Harris deserves notice as a confirmed scribbler, resembling Mr. Wegg, in his tendency to drop into verse. this was added an ardent love for the protestant religion, and an equal hatred of the Pope and all that he implied.

So long as the printer limited his activity to the writing and printing of ballads and tracts against the Pope and

Harris,

Harris brought to trial

the Jesuits under such titles as "The Grand Imposter" and "The Mystery of Iniquity," all went well with him, but in 1679, in connection with the "Rye House Plot" he issued "An Appeal from the Country to the City, for the Preservation of His Majesties Person and the Protestant Religion". The King's government did not take the same view of the question that Mr. Harris had, and as a result he was brought to trial for the "printing and vending" of this tract. The courtly tendency towards Catholicism gave little chance for the printer, and the chief justice, after remarking that if he had his wish, the printer should be whipped, ordered him to find security for his good behavior for three years.1

^{1 &}quot;A short account of the tryal of B. Harris," London: 1679.

Unwarned by his experience, Harris in 1681 printed a "Protestant Petition", and was once more haled before the court and this time the judge fined him five hundred pounds and ordered him put in the pillory. This meant that he was to be stoned by the crowd which always gathered, but from that fate he was saved, for "his Wife (like a Kind Rib) stood by him to defend her Husband against the Mobb". 1 For this act, his enemies promptly turned their abuse upon the woman, and scurrilous ballads entitled "The Saint turned Courtezan" and the "Protestant Cuckold" endeavored to bring discredit upon her. The printer apparently could not pay the mulct, for he was "for above two years a

Sentenced to the pillory

¹ Dunton's "Letters from New England," 143.

Prisoner", and he seems to have ceased

printing from that time.

Removes to Boston in New England

Upon the death of Charles H. and the succession of Catholic James "Old England", wrote John Dunton from Boston, "is now so uneasie a Place for honest Men, that those that can will seek out for another Countrey: And this I suppose is the Case of Mr. Benjamin Harris and the two Mr. Hows, whom I hear are coming hither and to whom I wish a good Voyage. Mr. Ben Harris, you know, has been a noted Publick Man in England, and I think the Book of English Liberties . . . was done for him and Mr. How: No wonder then that in this Reign they meet with Enemies". 1



¹ Dunton's "Letters from New England," 144.

Come to Boston Harris did and late in 1686 he set up a book and "Coffee, Tee and Chucaletto" shop, 1 by the "Town-Pump near the Change". A year later his imprint reads "at the London Coffee House" and he was employing the printers of the town to print pamphlets and broadsides for him. Here too he was quickly involved with the authorities, for in 1690 he issued, without permission, the first newspaper printed in America, under the title of "Public Occurrences"; which was promptly suppressed by proclamation. In 1691 he formed a partnership with John Allen, and seems to have set up a press of his own. A year later he became "Printer to His Excellency the Governor and Council", and re-

Sets up a book-shop and coffee-bouse

^{1 &}quot;Boston Town Records," 204.

moved his business to a "Shop, over against the Old-Meeting House", making another remove in 1694 to a place which he called "The Sign of the Bible, over against the Blew-Anchor", having ended his relations with Allen.

Returns to England and resumes printing In the meantime the English people had stood firm to their religion and had rid themselves of their king, so that now Old England was once more safe to haters of popery. Better still, King William, whose advent Harris hailed in a poem beginning:

"God SAVE THE KING, that King that saw'd the land, When JAMES your Martyr's Son, your LAWS had shamm'd."

had freed the press from the worst features of governmental restraint.

^{1 &}quot;Monthly Observations," Boston: 1692.

Accordingly, Harris returned to London towards the end of 1695, and opened a new printing office at the "Maiden-Head-Court in Great East Cheap", and later Dunton writes that he "continu'd Ben Harris still; and is now both Bookseller and Printer, in Grace-church Street, as we find by his London Post; so that his conversation is general (but never Impertinent) and his Wit pliable to all Inventions. But yet his vanity (if he has any) gives no Alloy to his Wit, and is no more than might justly Spring from conscious Vertue; and I do him but Justice in this part of his Character, for in once travelling with him from Bury Fair, I found him to be the most Ingenious and Innocent Companion that I had ever met with ".1

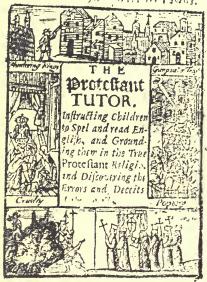
Dunton's "Life and Errors."

When Harris died cannot be discovered, but it was after 1716.

* *

Harris compiles and prints The Protestant Tutor Boston (according to Dunton)
"Mr. Harris I think also Printed
the Protestant Tutor, a Book not at
all relish'd by the Popish Party, because
it is the design of that little Book to
bring up Children in an Aversion to
Popery". It was first advertised in
Harris's newspaper Feb. 27, 1679,
and in it lay the germ of the New
England Primer. Here was the usual
portrait of the reigning sovereign as a
frontispiece, and portions of the text
were the "Roman Small Letters",
the Syllabarium, the Lord's Prayer, the

The Room in a de London he the Pacias.



Condonation of price frame in the 17, 1 apr 29

Letter from a Exercise to Cornial, 1679



Creed, the Ten Commandments, the John Rogers biography and verses, though not the famous picture of the martyr at the stake, the words of from two to seven syllables, the Proper Names, and a catechism, together with much other material for the benefit of youth and the injury of Papacy, the whole being dedicated "To the Right Honourable James, Earl of Doncaster and Dalkeith, Eldest Son of the Illustrious Protestant Prince James Duke of Mon-mouth" by "Your Lordships most Humble Servant, Benjamin Harris." The preface, addressed "To all Protestant Parents, School-Masters, and School Mistresses of Children" "informs" them "that this little book may in some measure discover to our children

what they must certainly expect if ever Popery prevail against us, and therefore nothing can be thought more necessary than to teach them to Spell and Read English, and to Create in them an Abhorrence of Romish Idolatry at the same time, which being inspired in their green and tender years, may leave an Impression in their Minds to the End of their Lives, which is the Real and Hearty Desire and Design of, Your Friend and Servant, Benj. Harris."

Success of The Protestant Tutor Apparently this appeal to parents and teachers bore fruit, for on Feb. 1, 1680, the printer announced a second impression, though the price was lowered from eight to six pence. At the time Harris was arrested some five hundred copies of the book, presumptively of this new edition, were seized

and taken from him. In 1685 it was reissued, probably in an abridged form, in Boston, and it was once again printed by Harris in London, in 1695, the advertisement of this edition describing it as "A Little Book of Martyrs with pictures for enlivening every History; which book formerly found such General Acceptance that many thousand of them were sold, and it is now reduced to so low a rate that parents may both delight and profit there [sic] Children at Three-pence or Four-pence charge and thereby contribute toward the Suport of him who is their Hearty Friend and Servant, Benjamin Harris." In an enlarged form the work was again issued in London in 1715, and its compiler printed a new edition in 1716.

The Protestant Tutor becomes The New England Primer

Ere this, in 1686, Harris had sought refuge in New England. On his setting up in Boston as a bookseller it was obviously to his interest to get out a new edition of the little book, for its chance of success among the poperyhating New Englanders was even greater than that it had already met with in Old England. The poverty of the people made prudent an abridgment of the "Tutor" and thus it was reduced to smaller bulk; to make it the more salable the school-book character was increased, while to give it an even better chance for success by an appeal to local pride, it was rechristened and came forth under the now famous title.

No copy of this first edition of the New England Primer is known and thus the exact date of its appearance



DECEMBER hath 31 Days

Last quart. 2 day 24 min. past 4 morn. New Moon 9 day 21 min. past 9 morn. First quart. 17 day 13 min. past 2 Astern. Full Moon 25 day 39 min. past 10 night. Last quart. 31 day 59 min. past 11 morn.

Of Stars which have appeared heretofore, and now

disappear.

Time out of mind there has feven Stars bin observed in the pleiades, and at Present there is to be seen but six, a yery probable sign that one of them is retired and become invisible. One of these of the Constellation of the Little Bear, which was formerly visible, doth not now appear. Another also in the Constellation of Andromeda hath also disappeared.

Licens'd according to Order.

kakkkkkkkkkkkkkkk

ADVERTISEMENT.

There is now in the Press, and will suddenly be extant, a Second Impression of The New-England Primer enlarged, to which is added, more Directions for Spelling: the Prayer of K Edward the 6th and Verses made by Mr. Rogers the Martyr, less as a Legacy to his Children.

Sold by Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffice-House in Boston.

cannot be given. Harris did not arrive in Boston till near the end of 1686, and the only publication he issued in that year was an almanac for 1687, which Sewall bought on December 6, 1686. Between that time and Jan. 5, 1688, Harris made a trip to England, and on Nov. 22, 1688 he again sailed for London. It was between 1687 and 1690, therefore, that the first edition of the Primer was issued. Its success seems to have been immediate, for in Henry Newman's almanac entitled "News from the Stars", "Printed by R. Peirce for Benjamin Harris at the London Coffee-House in Boston, 1691" (and consequently printed late in 1690) the last leaf advertised a "second Im-

Date of publication, and advertisement of the second impression

¹ Sewall's "Diary," 1., 200, 237.

pression of *The New England Primer*, Enlarged".

The Bradford fragment

A very essential piece of evidence in regard to the date of the book is connected with the earliest (supposed) fragment of the Primer known. This consists of four leaves, and was found bound up as waste in the binding of a copy of Daniel Leeds' "Temple of Wisdom" as printed by William Bradford at Philadelphia in 1688. From this it has been argued that "these leaves probably came from a Philadelphia reprint of a Boston edition of the Primer which must have been published at least as early as 1687". The evidence of this does not seem adequate. There is no proof that the volume was bound in the year that it was printed, nor can

it be decided for certain that the fragments are a reprint of the Primer, the chances being quite as favorable of their being part of an edition of the Protestant Tutor. All that can be said of these leaves is that they are the earliest known fragments of a book compiled by Benjamin Harris, and that they were printed by William Bradford either in Philadelphia or New York between 1687 and 1700. From other facts known of Bradford this was presumably a stealing of Harris's book and is therefore an early American case of literary theft.

The book proved so great a success in New England that when its compiler returned to Old England, he continued to publish it. In a work ¹

¹ Davenport's "Saints Anchor hold." London:

Harris issues the New England Primer and The New English Tutor in London printed by him in 1701 is advertised at the end, among other "Books Printed and Sold by B. Harris at the Golden Boar's-Head in Grace-church St.", "The New England Primer Enlarged; For the more easy attaining the true Reading of English. which is added Milk for Babes." He seems to have also published editions of it under a title which would make it more attractive to the English public, for in the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714) he issued what is presumably the same text as his New England Primer, under the title of "The New English Tutor". the other title proved the more popular, and under it numerous editions were printed in England and Scotland, even into the nineteenth century.





It was in New England, however, that its great success was achieved. Success of the Primer to printer and people there Primer in soon meant only the New England Primer, all other varieties being specially designated to show that they were not of the popular kind. Copies of the little book were as much a matter of "stock" in the bookshops of the towns and general stores of the villages as the Bible itself. In the inventory of Michael Perry, a Boston bookseller, filed in 1700, is entered "28 Primmers" and "44 doz. Primmers", 1 and standard advertisements in newspapers and books announced that such and such a printer has for sale "Bibles, Testaments, Psalters,

New Eng-

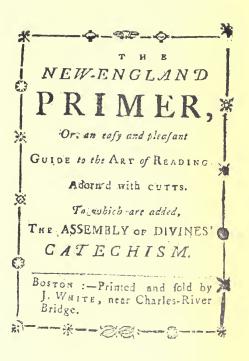
¹ Dunton's "Letters from New England," 316, 318.

Psalm-Books, Primers, Account Books and Books of Record". Indeed it was so taken for granted that copies were in stock, that many printers and booksellers did not think the fact worth advertising.

Changes of title

Occasionally printers in America tried to better the sale by re-naming it, as when Thomas Green issued it in New London with the title of "A Primer for the Colony of Connecticut" and Henry de Foreest printed it at New York as "The New York Primer". When the United States became a fact, it was several times printed under the titles of "The American Primer", or "The Columbian Primer". But the variations were not popular, the ventures did not succeed the better, and eventually the





"New England Primer" became the deservedly established title.

For one hundred years this Primer was the school-book of the dissenters of America, and for another hundred, it was frequently reprinted. In the unfavorable locality (in a sectarian sense) of Philadelphia, the accounts of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall show that between 1749 and 1766, or a period of seventeen years, that firm sold thirtyseven thousand one hundred copies. Livermore stated in 1849 that within the last dozen years "100,000 copies of modern editions . . . have been circulated". An over conservative claim for it is to estimate an annual average sale of twenty thousand copies during a period of one hundred and fifty years, or total sales of three million copies,

Magnitude of sales Rarity of the Primer, and the reasons Despite this enormous number, early editions of the New England Primer are among the rarest of school-books. Edward Coote, in his "English Schoole-Master" (London 1597) recommended to purchasers of his book, that:

"If, notwithstanding any former reasons, thou doubtist that thy little child will have spoyled this booke before it bee learned; thou maist fitly diuide it at the end of the second booke, or thou mayest reserve faire the written copies, vntill he can read."

When to the destruction of the child, is added the slight value set by adults on children's books of their own time, it is not strange that works intended for the instruction or amusement of the young should constitute one of the rarest of all classes of literature.



This destruction and heedlessness has made a study of the New England Primer an almost hopeless undertaking. Eagerly searched for by many collectors in the last fifty years, no copy of a seventeenth century edition of the work has been discovered, and this search has brought to light less than fifty editions and less than sixty copies of New England Primers printed in the eighteenth century. Although as already noted Franklin and Hall printed over thirty-seven thousand copies between 1749 and 1766 (and as Franklin printed an edition as early as 1735 and Hall as late as 1779 it is probable that they issued at least double that number), but a single copy with their imprints is known to exist. Thomas states that

Difficulty of studying and collecting

Fowle printed about 1757 one edition of 10,000 copies, but not a single primer with his imprint is extant. This is typical of the majority of the issues. Only twelve copies of editions printed before 1780 have been disposed of at auction in the last twenty years, and they have sold for an average of one hundred dollars each.

* *

Variations of

LTHOUGH each printer of the New England Primer changed title and text to suit his taste or business interests, certain unmistakable ear-marks, or what the naturalist would term "limit of organic variation", serve to mark beyond question every edition of the

Primer, however titled or altered. The printers of other school-books often inserted fragments of the more famous Primer in their ventures, but this deceived neither the public then nor the book lover now, the true Primer being too sharply differentiated from all others for there to be the possibility of confusion.

Every New England Primer, like many others, began with the letters The alphabet of the alphabet, followed by various repetitions making clear the distinctions between vowels, consonants, double letters, italic and capitals. After this came what was called "Easy Syllables for Children," or as

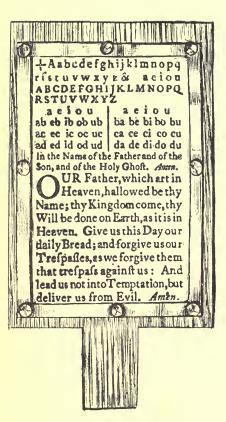
and syllaba-

it was frequently termed, the "syllabarium," beginning with such com-

followed by words of one syllable which lengthened by degrees to imposing vocables of six syllables. It is to be noted however, that occasionally when the printer was cramped for space, he limited the ambition of the student by dropping out these polysyllabic words, and gave only the shorter ones. This whole elementary section of the primer had been used in Coote's "The English Schoolmaster," as early as 1596, and may have been framed by him, but as the first part is practically what went to make the Horn-Book of the period, its antiquity may be far greater than Coote's book.

One apparently trivial distinction in the text as given in the New England Primer, yet which had a

7



Reproduction of Horn Book



deep motive, is the omission at the beginning of the alphabet of the # The omission which otherwise was so almost in- of the H variably placed there, as to give to the first line of the alphabet the name of "Christ's Cross-Row" or as it was more commonly termed "the Cris Cross Row." In Morton's "New English Canaan" he speaks of "a silenced Minister" who came over to New England and brought "a great Bundell of Horne books with him and careful hee was (good man) to blott out all the crosses of them for feare least the people of the land should become Idolaters." Of this Puritan dread of the cross, the New England Primer always took heed, and no edition is known, even in those prepared for Episcopalians,

to contain the oldest religious emblem

now worshipped.

Alphabet of lessons

Usually following the syllabarium, was what was called "An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth," being a series of moral and instructive sentences taken from the Bible, so worded and arranged as to begin each paragraph with a successive capital letter of the alphabet, the sole exception being in the case of X, for that letter proved beyond the ability of the compiler to find a sentence beginning properly, and he dodged the issue in the following manner

"eXhort one another daily".

The Lord's Prayer and the Creed In every "New England Primer" the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed was included, and while their position



Rhymed Alphabet Pages

(From the "New English Tutor." London: [1702-1714?])



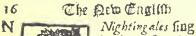
Asruns the Glass. Man's life doth pass

My Book and Heart Silall never part.

Sweet Jefus He Dy'd on a Tree.

K. William's Dead and left the Throne
To Ann our Queen of great Renown.
The Lyon bold
The Lamb does hold

Moon gives light In time of Night.



0

P

R

5

in time of Spring.

The Royal Oak

The Royal Oak
It was the Tree
That fav d his
Royal Majesty.

Peter Denies
His Lord and cryes

Queen Esther came in Roysl State, To fave the Jews from difmal Fate.

Rachel doth mourn for her first-born,

Samuel anoints whom God appoints.

Tutor Enlarged.

17

T u W X Y Z Time cuts down all both great and finall Uriah's beautious Wife, Made David seek his Life.
Whales in the Sea,

God's Voice obey.

Xernes the Great did dye,

And so must you and I

Youths forward Illps. Death soonest nips.

Zachew he did climb the Tree, his Lord to fee.

was varied, they commonly followed the "Alphabet of Lessons."

EXT in order of what went to make the Primer famous The Rhymed were the twenty-four little alphabetical rhymes, with pictures, commencing

Alphabet

"In Adam's Fall We sinned All".

— A description of the beginning of original sin which certainly did its best to balance our first forebears' very ungenerous version of the affair which to the Puritan was the greatest event in history.

This method of teaching the alphabet by short poems was of much

Earlier Rhymed Alphabets older date. As early as 1552 there was printed in England a little tract entitled "Alphabetum primum Becardi," which consisted of rhymes to each of the letters, and another work of this period of exactly the same character was entitled "Finch his Alphabet". So, too, a little later a broadside was issued, headed "All the Letters of the A. B. C. by every sondrye Letter wherof ther is a good Document set fourth and taught in Ryme. Translated out of Bas-Almaine into English, anno 1575". An even further development of this was contained in Wastell's "Microbiblion, or the Bibles Epitome" (London 1629) containing the sum of the whole, in verse so capitalized as to form successive alphabets.

An edition with a different title was printed as early as 1623.

Who was the author of the New England Primer alphabet verses is not known, no text of it before its printing in that work having been found. It could not have been written long before the first appearance of that book, for the rhyme:

Authorship of Rhymed Alphahet

"The Royal Oak
It was the Tree
That sav'd his
Royal Majesty,"

by its allusion to King Charles, clearly shows it to have been composed after 1660. All this points to the compiler of the Primer as its author, for in other poems he expresses the greatest admiration for the Merrie Monarch, and as already noted, he was continually scribbling verse quite of the character of the rhymed alphabet.

The Fables of Young Æsop But there is better proof of Harris's authorship than mere inference. A study of the twenty-four rhymes reveals the fact that certain ones of them seem not merely without moral, but without meaning.

The Cat doth play And after slay

leaves one very much in doubt as to what monition is intended to be conveyed, and equally vague is

The Lion bold
The Lamb doth hold

Still less valuable, however true, is the information that

Nightingales sing In time of Spring.

Finally, it would be cruel to even attempt to compute the bewilderment of the Primer's students due to the stanza





L OOR in the Morning, and you'll ke the Role buds to awake, And from their Beds most fragrantly, a pleasant Odour make.

And when the Gard'ner to it goes, it can't his Knife withfland; But strait descends this Damask Rose, to wither in his Hand.

Ah! gentle Youth, thus firive to crop from off this Bush a Flower; Turn back ; behold ! one ready flands thy Youth for to devour.

Fable VII. 20

7. The Nightungale.



WHen Winter's hoary Frosts reture, to other in the Spring, Up flrikes th'harmonious winged Quire, melodioully to Sing.

Hark, how the well tan'd Nightingale founds forth her quoving Note, And warbles out a pleasant Tale, with Malick in her throat &

All Life, the flutters in the Bush, her strenuous Notes to raife, And whilst her Life doth Last, she thus nd whilit her Life doth late, the Chanes forth her Maker's Praise.
The

32

Fable XIII.

13. The Lyon and Lamb.



A Lamb, by chance, had gone aftray, And wand'ring thro a Wood, A Lyon met in Malquerade, Who Fauning by him flood,

Good Lyon, (quoth the Lamb) I crave, My Liege will lend an Ear, And lave me from the tay hous Wolves, Whole Jaws I daily fear,

Ne'er heed; Pil see you sale from them: The I you strait did Rore; Till to his Den he came, when he The Lamb in pieces tore,

Fable XXXVII. 80

17. The Cat and Rats.



When Pufs with mewing made the Rats their Floles quite to forfake, She reacheth down a Violin and ftrait doth Mulick make:

At which they came from far and near dancing with numble Feet : But fome, more wifer than the reft, found Food and fell to Eat:

The Cas upon those Rate foon feize. who next unto her were; But all the rest escap'd with Cheese, and other wholesom Fare.

Four Pages from Harriss' Fables of Young Æsop (London: 1700)

Youths forward slips Death soonest nips.

All these enigmas are made clear however by an examination of a little volume entitled "The Fables of Young Æsop, With their Morals. With a Moral History of his Life and Death. Illustrated with Forty curious Cuts, applicable to each Fable." This booklet, "Written by B. H." or Benjamin Harris, contains a series of doggerel verses appended to the "curious cuts" and when Mr. Harris came to make his alphabet verses for the Primer, with a frugality of mind that would have charmed Mr. Gilpin, he took certain of the illustrations from

¹ The earliest known edition is the Fourth, "London, Printed and Sold by Benj. Harris, at the Golden Boar's Head, in Grace-Church street. MDCC."

this other book, and by rewriting his rhymes, utilized them anew in the Primer verses.

Changes in Rhymed Alphabet It is a curious fact that of all these twenty-four stanzas only the first one, relating to Adam, was not at some time varied or changed, and these variations give a curious illustration of some very important alterations of public opinion. Thus in the earliest text extant, at the letter J is given a picture of the crucifixion, with the stanza

"Sweet Jesus he Dy'd on a Tree."

And in an English school-book of other character than the Primer, this was unchanged. The Puritan, however, would not tolerate even this use of the cross, and so very quickly the picture was changed to one of Job, and the rhyme to

"Job feels the rod Yet blesses God."

Perhaps the most curious change is that connected with the letter K. From King Allusion has been made to Harris's admiration for King Charles, and there is good evidence that for this letter originally there was a picture of that monarch and the stanza read

to Demos

" King Charles the Good No Man of Blood." 1

Presently however the King was dead, and in a little time another king in the form of William III, for whom Harris also felt a strong admiration, was reigning over England. Thereupon the portrait and stanza were presumably changed by the insertion of one singing his praises. When William died

Stanza as printed in "A Guide for the Child".

however Harris did not displace his portrait, but calling into play his poetic fancy, he affixed to the old cut, the lines "K. William's Dead

"K. William's Dead and left the throne To Ann our Queen of great Renown" 1

This necessity of changing with each new reign seems to have proved a nuisance, and so someone presently hit upon the device of being always in date, by making the rhyme read

> "Our King the good No man of blood." 2

For many years this form was satisfactory, but finally the Americans began to question if after all the King was good. To meet this doubt,

^{1 &}quot;New English Tutor".

² "New England Primer," Boston: 1727.

printers easily changed the praise into admonition by printing

"Kings should be good Not men of blood." 1

Finally washing their hands of monarchy, rhyme too was abandoned, and the stanza became

> "The British King Lost States thirteen," 2

varied occasionally by another form which announced that

"Queens and Kings Are gaudy things." 3

Akin to this in both democratic sentiment and verse were revised lines The letter 2, for Q, to the effect that

"Kings and Queens Lie in the dust." 4

^{1 &}quot;New England Primer," Boston: 1791.

² Ibid. Philadelphia: 1797.

Ibid. Brattleboro: 1825.
 Ibid. New York: 1819.

From Royal Oak to Charter Oak In the same manner, the rhyme already quoted, about the royal oak, became unfit poetry for young republicans, and in attempts to vary it wide divergence crept in, resulting in the following forms:

- "The Royal Oak,
 our King did sawe
 From fatal Stroke
 of Rebel Slave." 1

 "If you seek in the forest
 The Oak you will see
 Among all the rest
 is the stateliest tree." 2
- "Of stardy Oak" The Charter Oak
 That Stately tree it was the tree
 The ships are made
 That sail the sea." 3 our Liberty." 4
- "The Owl at night "The Oak for shade Hoots out of sight." 5 "strength was made." 6

^{1 &}quot;A Guide for the Child," 1-25?

² "New England Primer." Albany: 1818.

 ³ Ibid. Walpole: 1806.
 4 Ibid. Hartford: 18—?

⁵ *Ibid.* New York: 1819.

⁶ Ibid. Brattleboro: 1825.

Another injection of patriotism was made in the letter W. Originally this

"Whales in the sea God's voice obey." The Primer crowns
Washington

In some editions of the Primers printed after the American Revolution this somewhat difficult rhyme was omitted, and in its place was one of the following

"Great Washington brave "By Washington
His country did save." 1 Great deeds were done."2

All the foregoing were haphazard changes by various printers, but a more sweeping alteration was made between 1740 and 1760. As originally written 3 many of the verses had a decidedly mundane quality, and so

The Rhymed Alphahet Evangelized

^{1 &}quot;New England Primer," Brattleboro: 1825.

² Ibid. New York: 1794.

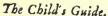
³ Ibid. Boston: 1727.

some New England writer or printer undertook within that period, to evangelize ¹ those lines which had an earthly tendency. What was accomplished, is shown in parallel column:

- "The Cat doth play,
 And after slay."
- "The Dog will bite,
 A Thief at Night."
- "An Eagle's flight,
 Is out of Sight."
- "An idle Fool,
 Is whipt at School."
- "Our King the good No man of blood."
- "The Lion bold, The Lamb doth bold."
- "The moon gives Light, In time of night."

- "Christ crucify'd For sinners dy'd."
- "The Deluge drown'd
 The Earth around."
- "Elijah bid By ravens fed."
- "The judgement made Felix afraid."
- "Proud Korah's troop
 Was swallowed up."
 - "Lot fled to Zoar, Saw fiery Shower, On Sodom pour."
- "Moses was be Who Israel's Host Led thro' the Sea."

^{1 &}quot;New England Primer," Boston: 1762.





In Adam's Fall We finned all.

This Book attend, Thy Life to mend.

The Cat does play, And after slay.

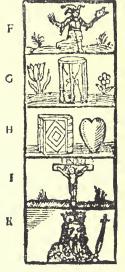
The Dog doth bite A Thick at Night.

An Eagle's flight Is our of fight.

Rhymed Alphabet Pages

(From the "Guide for the Child." London: 1725)

The Child's Guide.



The Idle Fool
Is whiprat School.

As runs the Glass. Man's Life doth pass.

My Book and Heart Shall never part

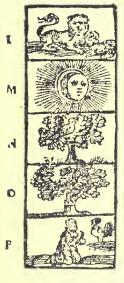
For threand I

King Charles the Good, No Man of Blood.

A 6 The



The Child's Guide.



The Lyon bold,
The Lamb doth
hold.

The Moon gives Light In time of Night.

Nightingales sing In time of Spring.

The Royal Oak
our King did fave
From fatal Stroke
of Rebel Slave.

Peter denies HisLord, and cries,

Queen

The Child's Guide.



Queen Effler came in Royal State. To lave the Jews from difmat Fate.

Rachel doth mourn For her first-born.

Samuel anounts
Whom God Ppoints,

Time cuts bown all Borli great & small.

Wrigh's beauteous
Wrige
Made David Feek
his Life.

- " Nightingales sing, In time of Spring.
- " The Royal Oak, it was the Tree, That saw'd bis Royal Majesty."
- "Rachel doth mourn For ber first born."
- " Samuel anoints Whom God appoints."
- " Time cuts down all, Both great and small."
- "Uriab's beauteous Wife, "Vashti for Pride Made David seek bis life." Was set aside."

- " Noab did view The old world & new."
- "Young Obadias, David, Josias, All were Pious."
- "Young Pious Ruth Left all for Trutb."
- "Young Sam'l dear The Lord did fear."
- "Young Timothy Learnt Sin to fly."

Much later, in the present century, when children's books began to cater to what a child would like, a reactionary spirit reversed this evangelization and stanzas of worldly tendency were actually inserted in place of them in some editions. These substitution verses were:

The Rhymed Alphabet modernized



- H. "Wrote by the hand Great works do stand."
- K. "Tis Youth's delight
 To fly their kite."
- R. "The Rose in bloom Sheds sweet perfume."
- U. "Urns hold, we see Coffee and Tea." 1

The Puritan however did not approve these changes, and they were rarely used. Nor were the evangelized rhymes ever adopted in Great Britain.

Other and less noticeable changes were made, of which the following are the most important that have been found:

Minorchanges in the Rhymed Alphabet

"The Eagle's flight
Is out of sight."

"The Egyptian bost was in the red sca lost."2

^{1 &}quot;New England Primer," New York: 1819.

² Ibid. Wilmington: 1812.

- 66 Thy life to mend This book attend." 1
- "Heaven to find The Bible mind." 2
- " Queen Esther came in royal State, To save the Fews from dismal Fate." 1
- " Queen Esther sues And saves the Jews."2
- "Youth's forward slips, Death soonest nips." 1
- "Youth onward slips Death soonest nips."
- "While youth do chear "No Youth we see
 - Death may be near." 2 From death is free." 3
- "Xerxes the great did dye "Xerxes did die, And so must you and I." 1 And so must I." 2

There were some few other variations of wording, but of such slight difference as not to need notice.

^{1 &}quot;New English Tutor."

^{2 &}quot;New England Primer," 1762.

^{3 &}quot;New England Primer." Brattleboro, 1825.

Apocryphal John Rogers' Exhortation unto his children

VEN more famous than the rhymed alphabet, is the poem of John Rogers, with the picture of the martyr burning at the stake, and "his Wife, with Nine small Children, and one at her Breast "looking on. Much sadness this poem and print must have cost the Puritan, and even now, it is capable of producing a sigh, no longer because one feels so keenly for the man, who regardless of wife and children, insisted on being burnt, and really forced the court against its will to make a martyr of him, but because a study of the facts shows that the use of this poem and story was nothing but a piece of sectarian garbling and falsehood, and that all the pity spent upon it by millions of readers was no more deserved than



Rhymed Alphabet Pages
(From the "New England Primer." Boston: 1762)



As runs the Glass, Our Life doth pass.

My Book and Heart Must never part.

Job feels the Rod, Yet bleffes GOD.

Proud Kerah's Troop Was fivallow'd up.

Let fled to Zear, Saw fiery Shower On Sedem pour.

Moses was he Who Israel's Host Led thro' the Sea.



Noah did view Theoldworld&new.

Young Obadias, David, Josias, All were pious.

Peter deny'd His Lord and cry'd.

Queen Esther sues, And saves the Jews.

Young pious Ruth, Left all for Truth.

Young Samuel dear, The Lord did fear.



Young Timothy Learnt Sin to fly.

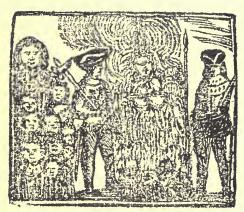
Vashti for Pride, Was set aside.

Whates in the Sea, GOD's Voice obey.

Xerxes did die, And so must I,

Whileyouth do chear Death may be near.

Zaccheus he Did climb the Tree, Our Lord to see.



R. JOHN ROGERS, Minister of the Gospel in London, was the first Martyr in Queen Mary's Reign. and was burnt at Smithsteld, February 14th 1554, His Wife with nine small Children, and one at her Breast. following him to the Stake; with which forrowful Sight he was not in the least daunted, but with woundersul Patience died courageously for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Burning of John Rogers

(From the "New England Primer." Boston: 1762)



that lavished upon the unfortunate heroes and heroines of fiction.

The history of the poem so far as can be learned is as follows. In the sixteenth century there lived a man of whom Foxe, in his "Book of Martyrs," wrote:

"Robert Smith gave himself to service in the house of sir Thomas Smith, knight, be- Foxe's account ing then provost of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pounds a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which many times rather for his mind's sake, than for any gain, he did practice and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preaching of Mr. Turner, of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at

of Robert Smith

the coming of Queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors; and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner."

At this point Foxe inserts an account of the trial where Smith

Trial and Prison Life "vailantly stood in defence of his master's cause: and as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors; so was he no less comfortable also in the prison among his companions: which also is to be observed no less in his other fellow-prisoners, who being together in the outward room in Newgate, had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they to their great comfort used in that room together; amongst whom Smith was the chief; whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners,

whom he ceased not to dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he

converted to his religion.

"The said Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, being thus replenished as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner their bishop, on the 12th of July; and suffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of August; who as he had been before a comfortable instrument of God to all them that were in prison with him: so now also being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people, there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dving in the quarrel, should rise again to And, said he, I doubt not but God will show you some token thereof. length he being well nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking

Burning at the Stake

him dead, suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life."

Robert Smith as a writer

To a skill in painting, Mr. Smith added one in letters, and Foxe states that "while in prison he wrote several letters to his friends, some in verse, and others in prose". These poetical letters were nearly all in the same metre, part of one to a friend reading:

Poetical Letter to a Friend "And now because I know the goal
That thou dost most desire
I send thee here a paper full,
As fined in the fire
In hope thou will accept it well
Although it be but small
Because I have no other good
To make amends withal,"

¹ Foxe's "Book of Martyrs."



The complaynt

of Ueritie, made by John Bradford.

An exholtation of Mathewe Rogers, but o his children. The complayme of Raufe Allerton and others, being pilo ners in Lolers tower, twiytten with their bloud, how god was their comforte.

The saieng of maisser Houser, that he wrote the night before he suffered, wppon a wall with a cole, in the newe In, at Gloceter, and his sairing at his deathe.

ANNO DOMINI. 1559.



To his brother he also wrote, bespeaking his care for his wife and

> " Also my daughter dear Whom I bequeath to thee To be brought up in fear And learn the A B C

That she may grow in grace And ruled by the rod To learn and lead her life

Within the fear of God."

Far surpassing these poems in popularity, however, was the "Exhortation Writing and vnto his children" which he penned Publishing of at this same time. Written in the tion unto his year in which he was burned (1555), it seems to have been printed first in 1559 when the Stationers Company directed that "Owyn Rogers hath lycense to prynte the Instruction for Chyldren". 1 It was accordingly issued

Poetical Letter to his brother

his Exhortachildren

¹ Arber's "Stationers' Register," 1.,96.

in that year, in a little tract of Puritan writings, on the title of which it was termed "An exhortacion of Mathewe Rogers, vnto his children", in the body of the work it was retitled "The instruction of a Father to his Children, which he wrote a few days before his burnynge", and at the end it was signed "Finis quod Mathewe Rogers." It apparently proved a work of some popularity for in 1577 the Stationers Company "Licensed vnto" John Arnold the issuing of another edition of the tract.

Substitution of Rogers' Name

Why the name of Mathewe Rogers was substituted for that of the true writer can not be discovered, unless, Rogers being the earliest, and therefore the best known of the "reformed" Martyrs, the printer reasoned that his

name would cause a greater sale. The change of his true cognomen John to Mathew, is more easily explained, for under the pen name of Thomas Mathew, Rogers had helped Tyndale in translating the scriptures, and thus he was often called Mathew Rogers.

But this foisting of the poem of Smith on to Rogers by no means ended New England the garbling. In the New England Primer ac-Primer, a short sketch of Rogers was

inserted, as follows:

"Mr. John Rogers, Minister of the Gospel in London, was the First Martyr in Queen Mary's Reign, and was burnt in Smithfield, February the 14th, 1554. His Wife with nine small Children, and one at her Breast, follow'd him to the Stake, with which sorrowful Sight, he was not in the least daunted, but with wonderful Patience,

count of John Rogers

Dyed couragiously for the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

True account of John Royers

This is more remarkable for misstatement than for fact. Rogers was a priest sworn to čelibacy, who becoming converted, broke his vow and took unto himself a wife. When, on the accession of Mary, he refused to put the woman away, he was condemned to death, and was burned at the stake on February 4th, 1555, ("old style" February the 14, 1554) being, as Foxe said "the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire". 1 Furthermore, his wife and children did not see him burned, for Foxe merely stated that: "His wife and children, being

¹ Foxe's "Book of Martyrs."

eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking at her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him, but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of the gospel of Christ".

Worth noting in this connection is one question over which there has been much controversy, being the exact number of children thus left fatherless. The Primer, as will be seen, gave him "nine small children and one at the breast" but printers read this differently, sometimes giving nine, and sometimes ten, in the picture. At his trial, Rogers said distinctly that he had ten children, while Foxe 1 speaks

The number
of John
Rogers'
children

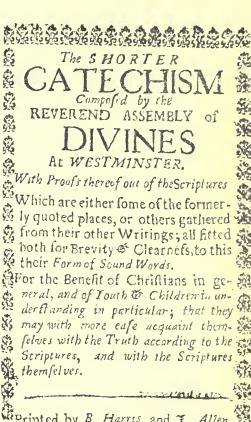
¹ Foxe's "Book of Martyrs."

of his "children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking". The explanation of this discrepancy is probably due to the fact that Rogers was held in prison for over a year, and debarred during that period from all news of his wife, in which time it is obvious the eleventh child was born, since at the time of his burning it was still unweaned.

* *

The Catechisms of the New England Primer F greater importance than the Roger verses but of far less popularity was the Catechism, which usually followed close upon the poem. In all eighteenth century Primers examined this consisted of either the Westminster Assembly's





Printed by B. Harris, and J. Allen, and are to be Sold at the London-Costee House. 1691 "Shorter Catechism" or John Cotton's "Spiritual Milk for Babes" and in a number of editions both were included. Several nineteenth century editions of the New England Primer contained besides the Assembly's Catechism, the Episcopal as well, but no early edition found contains what was so alien to all the rest of the work.

The Shorter Catechism — "that Golden Composure," as Cotton History of the Mather termed it - was framed by Shorter Catethe great Westminster Assembly, which was called together by the Round-Head Parliament and was composed of one hundred and twenty-one clergymen or presbyters, thirty of the laity, chiefly of the nobility, and five special commissioners from Scotland, and Baxter claimed "that the Chris-

chism

tian world, since the days of the Apostles, never had a Synod of more excellent divines". This assembly met first on July 10, 1643, and dissolved itself on March 3, 1649, having held in the six years no less than eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions.

Length and consequent loathing

Compared to Herbert's catechism entitled "The Careful Father and Pious Child" (London, 1648) which contained over twelve hundred questions and answers, the assembly's catechism might well be termed "shorter". As a fact however this title was given merely to distinguish it from the larger catechism put forth by this Assembly, and its one hundred and seven questions, the answers to which ranged in length from eight to one hundred

words, made it a nightmare to child-Nor did the elders fail to realize its terrors. Livermore found in a New England court record, a penalty imposed on an apple stealing youngster, that he was to choose whether he would be imprisoned for a stated time, or before the Saturday night ensuing learn and repeat to the magistrate the whole of the catechism. Rev. Heman Humphreys, though a Congregational clergyman and the president of Amherst College, acknowledged that his recollection "accords with the experience of thousands, who like myself, once loathed the Assembly's Catechism", and when it is considered that children of four and five years of age were expected to repeat, with

^{1 &}quot;New England Primer," Worcester: [1850?]

absolute verbal correctness, the terrible "justification", answers defining "sanctification", and "glorification", or stand disgraced in the eyes of the whole congregation, the word seems by no means too strong. Another clergyman acknowledged that "when the Venerable Assembly composed this form of Instruction, it seems that few of themselves tho't it design'd or fitted for Babes, some answers being so long and so full of great sense that tho' they might recite the Words, that can be of little Benefit, till they also apprehend the meaning".1

A daily task for Children None the less the children were drilled in this catechism unsparingly. In church and at school it was almost

¹ Noble's "Beginners' Catechism." London:

a daily task. As if this were not sufficient Cotton Mather even advised mothers to catechise their children "every day," adding "you may be continually dropping something of the Catechism upon them: Some Honey out of the Rock!" and he told parents that:

"The Souls of your Children made a Cry in your Ears, O Parents; a cry enough Mr. Cotton to break an Heart of Adamant. They are Born Children of Wrath; and when they grow up, you have no way to Save them from the dreadful Wrath of God, if you do not Catechise them in the Way of Salvation. They cry to you; O our dear Parents; Acquaint us with the Great God, and His Glorious Christ, that so Good may come unto us! Let us not go from your Tender Knees, down to the Place of Dragons. Oh! Not Parents, but Ostriches: Not Parents, but Prodigies! What, but more cruel than

Mather: his views on Catechising

the Sea-Monsters are the Parents, who will not be moved by such Thoughts as these, to Draw out the Breasts of the Catechism, unto their Young Ones! One would think, Parents, Your own Bowels, if you have not Monstrously lost them, would Suggest enough to persuade you unto the Pleasant Labours of the Catechism."

Yet even Mather acknowledged that the Shorter Catechism had difficulties for very young children, by preparing a briefer and simpler one, that instead of taxing children of the "Youngest and Lowest Capacities," with the catechism of the Assembly, "This little Watering Pot may be quickly so used upon the little Olive Plants about our tables, that, not a drop of the heavenly dew contained in it shall escape them"."

^{1 &}quot; Man of God Furnished:" 1 -08.

Nor was the catechism used only for the catechising of the younger Sermonizing generation, for it was frequently made on the Catethe subject of sermons to the elder portions of the congregation, Mather relating that Rev. John Fiske "chose the Assembly's Catechism for his public expositions, wherewith he twice went over it, in his discourses before his afternoon sermons." The largest book printed in New England before the nineteenth century, was Samuel Willard's "Complete Body of Divinity in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism"—a mammoth folio of over nine hundred pages, of such popularity that before publication more than five hundred subscribers were obtained, many of whom bespoke

chism

more than one copy, and some as many as sixteen.

It has been questioned whether the Assembly's Catechism appeared in the very earliest editions of the New England Primer, but from the fact that Harris printed a separate edition of the catechism in the same year that the second impression of the Primer was issued, the evidence seems far more in favor of its inclusion than against it.

Early editions of the Primer and the Catechism

* *

Cotton's Spiritual Milk for Babes QUALLY popular at first in America was John Cotton's "Spiritual Milk for American Babes," Mather being authority for the statement that in 1697 "the children of New England are to this

MILK

FOR

BABES.

DRAWN

Out of the Breasts of both TESTAMENTS.

Chiefly, for the spiritual nourishment of Boston Babes in either England: But may be of like use for any Children.

By John Cotton, B.D. and Teacher to the Church of Boston in New-England.

LONDON,

Printed by 7. Coe, for Henry Overton, and are to be fold at his Shop, in Popes-bead Alley. 1646.



day most usually fed with this excellent catechism "1 and he called it "peculiarly, The Catechism of New England."

Of the author Mather wrote:

"Were I master of the pen, wherewith Palladius embalmed his Chrysostom, the Some Account Greek patriark, or Posidonius eternized his of Mr. Cotton Austin, the Latin oracle, among the ancients; or, were I owner of the quill wherewith among the moderns, Beza celebrated his immortal Calvin, or Fabius immortalized his venerable Beza: the merits of John Cotton would oblige me to employ it, in the preserving his famous memory ".2"

It is sufficient to say that he was born in 1585, went through Cambridge University and became successively fellow of Trinity College, Dean of

¹ Mather's "Magnalia." 2 Ibid.

Emmanuel College, and minister at Boston in Lincolnshire. Becoming while there a non-conformist, he was "silenced" for a while, but eventually was allowed once more to preach, and in his twenty years pastorate at Boston "he thrice went over the body of divinity in a catechistical way, and besides his 'Lord's day' sermons" gave "his ordinary lecture every week, on the week days, namely on Wednesdays and Thursdays, early in the morning, and on Saturdays, at three in the afternoon", with such results to Boston that "religion was embraced, and practiced among the body of the people; yea the mayor, with most part of the magistrates, were now called *Puritans*, and the Satanical party was become insignificant".

Finally the High Commission Court, popularly known as the Star Chamber, Flies to Amerbegan proceedings against him, and ica and bechanging name and garb, Cotton took ship for New England with two other clergymen, the three lightening the tedium of the passage by daily sermons "all the while they were aboard, yea they had three sermons, or expositions, for the most part every day: of Mr. Cotton in the morning, Mr. Hooker in the afternoon, Mr. Stone after supper in the evening". Upon arriving at Boston he was promptly made "teacher" of the first church there, and very quickly came to wield power in that theocratic settlement akin to that now exercised by a political boss. He was invited to return to England when the Puritans gained

Leader.

the upper hand, to take part in the "Westminster Assembly" but declined. Nothing perhaps better typifies the man than when on "being asked why in his latter days he indulged in nocturnal studies more than formerly, he pleasantly replied, Because I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep".1

Prepares Milk for Babes Cotton presumably prepared the Milk for Babes in 1641, at the time the "General Corte" asked the elders to prepare a catechism, as already recorded, and probably it was printed at Cambridge by Daye, between 1641 and 1645. No copy of this edition is known however, and the first edition of which a copy is now extant is one printed in London in 1646. It

¹ Mather's "Magnalia."

was again printed there in 1648 and 1668, and in 1656 an edition was issued at Cambridge in New England. After 1690 its inclusion in many editions of the New England Primer somewhat checked the printing of separate issues, but an edition in the Indian tongue was printed at Boston in 1691, and this was reprinted in 1720. In 1702 Mather abridged and combined it with the Assembly's catechism and one of his own and issued it under the title of "Maschil, or The Faithful Instructor", and other editions of this form of the work were issued with the title of "The Man of God Furnished" (Boston 1708) and "The Way of Truth laid out" (Boston 1721). In these, Mather asserted that Milk for Babes "will be

valued and studied and improved until New England cease to be New England."

England. While

Milk for Babes compared with the Shorter Catechism While by no means as popular as Mr. Cotton's metaphorical title would lead one to expect, it must be confessed that it is a decided improvement on the Shorter Catechism, if not in soundness of doctrine, at least in length. In place of one hundred and seven questions, there were but sixtyfour and instead of replies ranging in length from eight to one hundred words, one answer was a single word, and the longest only contained eightyfour.

\HE last piece of any importance which can be consi- Dialogue bean integrant of the New England Primer, is what was the Devil called "A Dialogue between Christ, Youth and the Devil", a poem relating to a tempted youth, who despite the warning of his Redeemer succumbs to the wiles of the horny footed tempter, and makes an effective exit at the end of the dialogue without the assistance of any stage directions, but with, it is presumable, the glare of subterranean regions, in place of the more professional calcium light.

This dialogue form was a favorite medium of the seventeenth century. Popularity of In 1671 Thomas Sherman issued a Dialogue form tract called "Youth's Tragedy, drawn up by way of Dialogue between Youth,

tween Christ, Youth and

the Devil, Wisdom, Time, Death, the Soul, and the Nuncius", which was many times reprinted. So too, an anonymous poem entitled "An Excellent Example to all young Men, being a Dialogue betwixt Youth and Conscience and Satan" was issued in London in 1684. Still a third, called "The Youth's Looking Glass, being a divine Dialogue between a young Man, Satan, and our Saviour Jesus Christ", was printed without a date.

Authorship of Dialogue None of these were the same as the Dialogue used in the Primer, and as no printing of it can be found pre-dating its appearance in that publication, it seems probable that it was composed by the man whom Dunton described as "the neat and poetical Ben Harris". It is proper to note that unlike the

portions already described it was not always included in the New England Primer, but as it is contained in the Bradford fragment, and in Harris' "New English Tutor", as well as in nine editions of the Primer printed in the eighteenth century, it has seemed best to treat it as one of the true pieces that went to mark the little book.

Of the Primer, but many smaller Minor Variapieces, in which far greater variprimer ation was shown, were used by the printers to fill in between the more important portions, and to pad out at the end so as to complete the last signature. Few of these minor pieces



can be positively identified, but as they go to make a history of the book, and as their chronology is of some value in settling the approximate decade of imperfect copies of the Primer, they deserve some attention.

Prayer of EdwardVIth In the second edition of the Primer, as the advertisement states, the Prayer of Edward VI, taken from Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" was given, and this prayer appears in the "New English Tutor", but no Primer extant contains it.

Text of Earliest Éditions The New English Tutor, The Protestant Tutors of 1715, and 1716, and the New England Primer of 1727 contain the ten commandments, the "Names and Orders of the Books of the Old and New Testament" and "Numeral Letters and Figures, which

may serve for the ready finding of any Chapter and Verse in the Bible". None of these were included in the later eighteenth century editions.

In the edition of 1737 a longish "Verses for Children" beginning "Though I am but a little one" appeared for the first time, and was included in many subsequent editions. This edition also gave a part of the "Duty of Children towards their Parents" which had been given in the "New English Tutor". The only other edition with this was one printed in London in 1781. Most remarkable of all in this edition was its printing of the lines:

"Now I lay me down to sleep
I pray the Lord my soul to keep
If I should die before I wake
I pray the Lord my soul to take."

Text of edition of 1737

The author of these famous lines is unknown, and this is their first appearance in print, so far as can be discovered. They were included in almost every subsequent edition of the Primer.

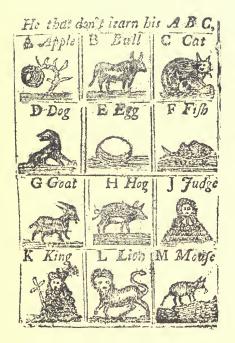
Text of the Evangelized Editions

With the evangelization of the Primer between 1740 and 1760, besides the change in the rhymed alphabet other material alterations were introduced. In the earliest edition extant so revised the chief variations are the introduction of Watts' Divine Song for Children, his Cradle Hymn, and his Morning and Evening Prayers, Rev. Nathaniel Clap's "Advice to his Children," "Agurs Prayer," (which had appeared in the "New English Tutor") and "Some Proper Names of Men and Women," All

these additions proved fairly popular, though the parts by Watts were the most so, and they formed the text of most editions of the Primer issued between 1762 and 1790. A minor addition was the insertion of a short set of questions, beginning "Who was the first Man", and all to be answered from the Bible. This was lengthened or shortened at the will of each printer, and in the Salem edition of 1784 the printer so far departed from sacred text, as to ask "Who saved America" and "Who betrayed America," the answers being "George Washington" and "Benedict Arnold."

About 1790 a very marked change was made by printers taking some mundane rhymes from an English publication entitled the "Royal Primer",

Text of the Popularized Primers describing various animals, with pictures of them. From this source were also taken a "Description of a Good Boy", a "Description of a Bad Boy," and poems on "The Good and "The Naughty Girl". Girl " Their insertion marked the beginning of the end, for no longer salvation was promised to the good, and unending fire to the bad, but "pert Miss Prat-apace" was to have none of the "Orange, Apples, Cakes, or Nuts" promised to "pretty Miss Prudence," and the naughty urchin was only threatened with beggary while the good boy was promised "credit and reputation". Worst of all was the insertion of a short poem which should have made the true Puritan turn in his grave, for instead of teaching that let-



Cuts of Animals

(From the "New England Primer." Newburyport [N. D.])

For ever will a blockhead be:



ters were to be learned, that the Bible might be read, and that the figures were to be acquired for the purpose of finding chapter and verse in that work, it said:

"He who ne'er learns his A. B. C.
Forever will a blockhead be.
But he who learns his letters fair
Shall have a coach to take the air."

The change, nevertheless proved popular, alas, and quite a number of editions between 1790 and 1800 contain more or less of these worldly additions.

Of these successive variations in the American primer, British editions took no heed, and they constitute a class by themselves. Although Harris' issue of the Primer in Old England contained Cotton's "Milk for Babes," later English editions did not include

Unwaryingness of English Editions it. But aside from the standard contents of the Primer, there were added "The History of the Creation," a poetical "Advice to Children," a "Collection of the best English Proverbs," and a number of shorter pieces.

* *

The "Adornment" with Cuts O account of the Primer would be complete without some notice of the illustrations, which alone of all its contents bid for popular favor from the children.

In the Protestant Tutor as printed by Harris in 1679, is a frontispiece typemetal cut of Charles I. and from the fact that the New English Tutor and the 1727 edition of the Primer both lack the preliminary leaf of the first



Portrait of Charles II
(From the "Protestant Tutor." London: 1679)





King GEORGE the Third, Crown'd September 22d 1764,

(From the "New England Primer," Boston: 1762)



King GEORGETTE AND Crowned September 27, 181.

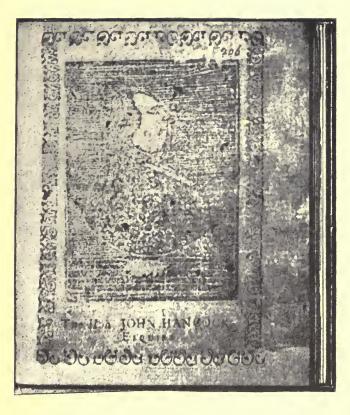
From the "New England Primer." Providence: 1775)

signature it is a safe assumption that these two books each began with a portrait of the Royal personage reigning at the time of their issue. The Protestant Tutor of 1716 has a cut of George I. The Primer of 1737 gives a very fairly executed portrait of George II. In 1762, though news of the death of this monarch had reached Boston, yet in an edition of the book printed there in that year, there either was too little time, or the printer was too economical, to prepare a new cut, so an additional stroke of the burin changed a II. into a III., and thus a portrait of George III. was improvised, which in its striking likeness to his father clearly shows the wonderful influence of heredity.

The Primer of 1770 was more his-

The English King.

His American Successors torically correct, giving a genuine though very crude portrait of George III. Again however, the printer was called upon, by the American Revolution, to change his frontispiece, and in 1776 the portrait of the Royal George was merely relabelled, and came forth as the republican "John Hancock", the likeness between these two being, it is needless to say, very extraordinary considering that they were representatives of such opposite parties. In the Boston edition of 1777 a correct portrait of Hancock was achieved, and in an edition printed in Hartford in the same year a portrait of Samuel Adams, another hero of the hour, was given. At the end of the revolution, the standard portrait became that of Washington, and the



(From the "American Primer." Boston; 1776)



THE Hon. Samuel Adams Esquire.

(From the "New England Primer." Hartford: 1777)

only exception to the use of his features, when any portrait was given in subsequent editions, is one of Isaac Watts printed in a Worcester edition issued about 1850.

The changes in the rhymed alphabet cuts have already been described. One important fact however, is the use of some of the little pictures in a work written by Harris entitled "The Holy Bible In Verse." Harris advertised this book as early as 1701, and in an edition printed in 1717 all of the cuts are clearly taken from his edition of the New England Primer.

The print of John Rogers at the stake has also been mentioned. There is a picture of the scene in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," but this departs from the standard of the Primer cuts,

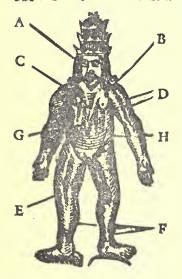
The Rhymed Alphabet Cuts

The Prints of John Rogers

by not having wife and children present. The earliest cut found to include them is contained in the "New English Tutor," and the identical block used in that work is also used in Harris' edition of the "Protestant Tutor" of 1715. Probably the most curious of all is that contained in the Albany edition of 1818, in which the guards are costumed in the local militia uniform of the day, with great plumes in their shakos, but scarcely less odd is that in the Lansingburg, 1810 edition, in which the executioner is given a continental cocked hat.

The Pope, or Man of Sin In the "New English Tutor" a print is given of "The Pope or Man of Sin" which was originally beyond question a cut used to illustrate the signs of the zodiac in an almanac, for

62 The New English The POPE, or Man of Sin:



(From the "New English Tutor." London: [1702-1714?])



Queen, 1737
(From the "New England Primer." Boston: 1737)

it is exactly like them with the exception of the addition of a tiara to the otherwise naked figure. To utilize the zodiacal lines and letters radiating from the body, Harris added a key or explanation which replaced Aries, Taurus, Cancer, Scorpion, etc., with Heresy, Disorder, Malice, Murder and Treachery, etc., and which called on the "Child" to "behold that Man of Sin, the Pope, worthy thy utmost Hatred." This print was reproduced in the Primer of 1737, but no key was added, so that the "Child" must have been not a little puzzled to know what the rays and letters meant.

There was a worse lapse, however, in this edition of 1737, for the last leaf prints an engraving which certainly was nothing less than the block

The Devil's Picture Card of the queen in playing cards, for contemporary packs have just such queens. To find such a print in the godly New England Primer is perhaps the most curious fact yet known, and can only be accounted for by the probability that its purchasers were so ignorant of the appearance of the "Devil's picture cards" that they did not recognize its prototype.

Biblical and Worldly Illustrations The "New English Tutor" contained pictures of Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell, but these do not seem to have been repeated in the Primer. Kindred illustrations however, of "Adam and Eve", the "Nativity and the Passion", "Christ's Death", and "The Assension" were given in the Salem edition of 1784, and some of these prints were used



DI Death

Viw, my dear Child what is before thine Eye.

And knew for certain thou art born to dye

How foon thou know it not, it may come before:

Thou shalt enjoy one Minutes Pleasure more;

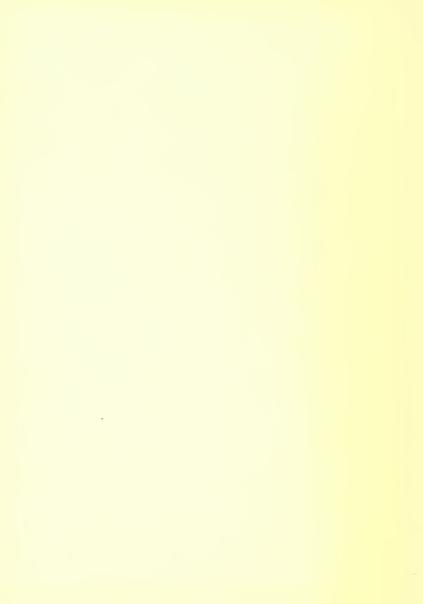
When thou wilt leave this World and all behind

To be with Worms, in some Church, yard confind,

And as from all thy friends grim death shall take the

So God will find thee when the trumbuller in the

(From the "New English Tutor." London: 1702-1714?])



in other issues printed in the decade 1790-1800. This Salem edition contained pictures of "a little boy and girl bestowing charity" and "a good Boy and Girl at their Books." More important still was its inclusion of certain prints of animals taken from the "Royal Primer," which, with the already described poems, was the first true bid for popularity the Primer had ever made. Some other worldly prints were included, among them two designed to teach the alphabet, no longer by Bible extracts, but by pictures of playthings, animals, etc.

This secularizing was an attack by its friends from which the book never Extinction of quite recovered, for the printers having once found how much more saleable such primers were, and parents having

the Primer



(From the "New England Primer." Newburyport [N. D.])



(From the "New England Primer." Newburyport [N. D.])

found how much more readily their children learned, both united in encouraging more popular school-books, and very quickly illustrated primers, which aimed to please rather than to torture, were multiplied. The New England Primer made a brave fight, but it was a hopeless battle. printer after printer abandoned the printing of editions of the little work, in favor of some more popular compilation. It was driven from the cities, then from the villages, and finally from the farm houses. Editions were constantly printed, but steadily it lost its place as a book of instruction. In the schools it was replaced by other and better books, and though an edition was printed as recently as 1886, it is to be questioned if an American child

of to-day is being taught by the famous little manual.

* *

T is impossible to measure the work the Primer accomplished. If the Puritan exodus is viewed with the eyes of the Hon. William Stoughton, who asserted that "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into this wilderness," there was little left for the Primer to do. This however is a public speaker's view, and therefore probably approximated more to what would please his audience, than to the truth. Certainly the court records of early New England reveal a condition akin to all frontier settlements in lawlessness and immorality, and in pro-

The Work of the Primer

portion to population show a greater percentage of most crimes than would be found even in our large cities of to-day, bearing out the statement of the Rev. John White, -a leading Puritan — that a large part of the first settlers of New England were "a multitude of rude ungovernable persons, the very scum of the land." It is related that a newly installed New England pastor said to a spinster parishioner "I hope, madam, you believe in total depravity," and received the prompt response: "Oh, parson, what a fine doctrine it would be, if folks only lived up to it." There was far more living up to total depravity in early New England than most people suspect, and when one reads the charges brought against them by

their own ministers, it is not difficult to realize why the New England clergy dwelt so much on the terrors of hell; one even becomes sympathetic with the Presbyterian clergyman who said with disgust that "the Universalists believe that all men will be saved, but we hope for better things." Whatever the first years of New England may have been, however, the church and the school were at work, and what they did needs no other monument than the history of the last two hundred years. The New England Primer is dead, but it died on a victorious battle field, and its epitaph may well be that written of Noah Webster's Spelling Book:

"It taught millions to read, and not one to sin."



New-Lugium, PRIMER

Enlarged.

For the more easy attaining the true Reading of ENGLISH

To which is added,

The Assembly of Divines

CATECHISM

BOSTON: Printed by SKneeland, & T.Green, Sold by the Booksellets. 1727

TO BE WELL OF THE PROPERTY OF

L we will not acpart from it.

Chap. 23.17; 18. Let not thy heart envy sinners, but he thou in the fear of the Lord all the day long.

For surely there is an end, and thy expellation shall not be eut off.

Eph. 1. 1. Children obey your Parents in the Lord, for this is right.

Of Serving GOD.

1. God will have no time to fave us, if we find no day to serve Him.

2. Shall we have fix days in

feven, and God not one?

the Godofihy Father, & ferve Himwith aperfest beart, & with a willing mind, for the Lord searcheth all hearts.



The Great English Letters,

ABCDEFENJ

BLUDEFENJ

BTUDEFENJ

STUDEN

The Small English Letters,

abcdefghiklmno
pqv2fstubry3f.

Great Letters.

ABCDEFGHIKLMNO PQRSTUVWXYZ.

Easie Syllables for Children. ah eb ib ob ub ic ac ec OC uc ed id ad od ud ef af of uf ag eg ig og ug ek ok uk al el ol ul

am	em	im	om	um
an	eh	in	on	un
ap	ер	ip	op	пБ
ar	er	ir	10	ur
as	es	is	os	us
at	et	it	ot	ut
ax	ex	ix	OX	uж
ba	be	bi	bo	bu
ca	ce	ci	co	cu
da	de	di	do	ďu
fa	fe	fi	fo	fu
ga	ge	gi	go	gu
ha	he	йi	ho	hu
ka	ke	ki	ko	ku
la	le	1i	lo	lu
ma	me	mi	mo	mu
na	ne	ni	no	กน
pa	pe	pi	po	pu
ra	re	ri	ro	ru
fa	ſe	fi	fo	fu

ti te to tu ta

Words of one Syllable.

child face Are he fine hest clay air fair add hed cry few all hold cup fight had ear ape kid give God grace kind hat great heart had hath grant kill glass good kick goofe grass kifs hair he health grew knee head peace nine heal long peep no how man pence hide maid nose pitch mole of knit play moon old known pure more once knew

Words of two Syllables.

Ab-fent Abfent
Bold-ly Boldly
Con-frant Confrant
De-pend Depend
En-close Enclose
Fa-ther Father

Glo-ry Glory Hus-band Husband

Words of three Syllables.

A-bu-ling
Be-witch-ing
Con-founded
Confounded

Drun-ken-nefs
E-raf-mus
Fa-cul-ty
God-li-nefs
Drunkennefs
Erafmus
Faculty
God-linefs

Ho-li-ness Holiness
Im-pu-dent Impudent
Ka-len-der Kalender.

Words of four Syllables.

Ac-com pa-ny
Be-ne-vo-lence
Ce-re-mo-ny
Dif-con-tent-ed
E-ver-laft-ing
Fi-de-li-ty
Glo-ri-fy-ing
Hu-mi-li ty
In-fir-mi-ty
Words of five

Ad mi-ra-ti-on Be-ne-fi-ci al Con-fo-la ti-on De cla ra ti-on Ex hor-ta-ti-on For-ni-ca-ti on Ge-ne-ra ti-on Ha-bi ta-ti-on

In-vi-ta ti on

Accompany
Benevolence
Ceremony
Discontented
Everlasting
Fidelity
Glorifying
Humility
Infirmity.
Syllables.

Infirmity.
Syllables.
Admiration
Beneficial
Confolation
Declaration
Exhortation
Fornication
Generation
Habitation
Invitation



In Adam's Fall We Sinned all.

Thy Life to Mend This Book Attend.

The Cat doth play And after flay.

A Dog will hite A Thief at night.

An Eagles flight Is out of fight.

The Idle Fool
Is whipe at School.



As runs the Glass Mans life doth pals.

My Book and Heart Shall never part.

Job scels the Rod Yet blesses GOD.

Our KING the good
No man of blood.

The Lion bold
The Lamb doth hold.

The Moon gives light In time of night.



Nightingales sing In Time of Spring.

The Royal Oak
it was the Tree
That fav'd His
Royal Majestie.

Peter denies
His Lord and cries.

Queen Efther comes in Royal State To Save the JEWS from difmal Fate

Rachol doth mour. For her first born.

Samuel anoints
Whom God appoint:



Time cuts down all Both great and imall.

Uriah'sbeauteousWise Made David leek his Lise.

Whales in the Sea God's Voice obty.

Xerxes the great did die,
And so mult you & I.

Youth forward flips Death foonest nips

Zacheus he
Did climb the Tree
His Lord to fee,

香港港港港港港港

Now the Child being entred in his Letters and Spelling, let him learn these and such like Sentences by Heart, whereby he will be both instructed in his Duty, and encouraged in his Learning.

The Dutiful Child's Promises,

I Will fear GOD, and honour the KING.
I will honour my Father & Mother.

I will Obey my Superiours.

I will Submit to my Elders,

I will Love my Friends.
I will hate no Man.

I will forgive my Enemies, and pray to God for them.

will as much as in me lies keen all God's
Holy Commandments:

I will learn my Gatechism.
I will keep the Lord's Day Holy.
I will Reverence God's Sanctuary,
For our GOD is a confuming Fire.

An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth.

A Wise Son makes a glad Father, but a foolish Son is the heaviness of his Mother.

Etter is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure and trouble therewith.

Come unro CHRIST all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and He will give you reit.

O not the abominable thing which I hate, faith the Lord.

Except a Man be born again, he cannot fee the Kingdom of God.

Coliffens is bound up in the heart of a Child, but the rod of Correction shall drive it far from him.

Rieve not the Holy Spirit.

liness becomes God's House for is good for me to draw near unto God. Eep thy Heart with all Diligence, for out of it are the issues of Life. Jars Mall have their part in the lake which burns with fire and brimftone. Any are the Afflictions of the Righteous, but the Lord delivers enem out of them all. TOW is the accepted time, now is the day of faivation. Ut of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. Ray to thy Father which is in fecret, and thy Father which fees in fecrot, shall reward thee openly. Uit you like Men, be strong, stand last in the Faith. Emember thy Creator in the days of thy Youth. Alvation belongeth to the Lord.

B

Truft

Rust in God at all times ye people pour out your hearts before him.

Pon the wicked God shall rain an horrible Tempest.

W O to the wicked, it shall be ill with him, for the reward of his

hands shall be given him.

Hort one another daily while is is called to day, left any of you be hardened through the deceitlulness of Sin.

Voung Men ye have overcome the

wicked one.

Eal hath confumed me, because thy enemies have forgotten the words of God.

Choice Sentences.

1. Praying will make thee leave fin ning, or finning will make thee leave

praying.

2. Our Weakness and Inabilities break

nor the bond of our Duties.

3. What we are alraid to speak before Men, we should be alraid to think before Cod.

The LORD's Prayer.

UR Father which art in Heaven, Hal-low-ed he thy Name. Thy King-dom come. Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our dai-ly Bread. And for-give us our Debts as we for-give our Debtors. And lead us not into Temp-tation, but de-liver us from evil, for thine is the Kingdom, the Pow-er and the Glory, for ever, A-MEN.

The CREED.

Be-lieve in GOD the Fa-ther Almighty, Ma-ker of Heaven and Earth. And in Je-fus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was con-ceived by the Holly Ghoft, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffer-ed un-der Pontious Pi-late, was crucified, Dead and Bu-ried, He de-scended into Hell. The third Day he a-rose a-gain from the Dead; and al-seen-ded into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty From thence he shall come to judgies.

the quick and the dead. I be-lieve in the Ho-ly Ghoft, the Ho-ly Ca-tho-lick Church, the Com-mu-ni-on of Saints, the For-give-ness of Sins, the Re-fur-rec-ti-on of the Bo-dy, and the Life E-ver-lass-ing A-MEN.

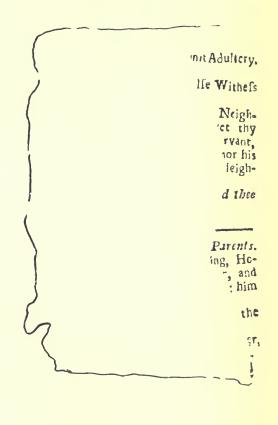
The Ten Commandments. Exod. XX.

OD Spake all these Words saying, am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage.

I. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

II. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, or any likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth; thou shalt not bow down thy felf to them, nor serve them, for I the Lord thy God am a jeaus God, visiting the iniquity of the Fancersupon the Children, unto the third

and fourth me, and the of them th mandment III. Th the Lo will no Name IV it ho. all the Sabbai fhalt no nor thy 1 nor thy 3 the Stra in fix Eart reff ble



and fourth Generation of them that hate me and fhewing Mercy unto thousands of them that love Me and keep my Commandments.

III. Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

IV. Remember the Sabbath Day and keep it holy, fix Days shalt thou labor and do all thy Work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, nor thy Man Servant, nor thy Maid Servant, nor thy Cattle, nor the Stranger that is within thy Gates, for in fix Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh Day, wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath Day and hallowed it.

V. Honor thy Father and thy Mother, that thy Days may be long upon the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI. Thou shalt not Kill.

VII. Thou fhalt not commit Adultery. VIII. Thou fhalt not Steal.

IX. Thou fhalt not bear false Witness

against thy Neighbor.

X. Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbor's House, thou shalt not covet thy Neighbor's Wife, nor his Man Servant, nor his Maid Servant, nor his Ox, nor his As, nor anything that is thy Neighbor's.

These Words which I command thee this Day shall be in thy Heart.

DUTY OF CHILDREN TOWARDS THEIR PARENTS.

God hath commanded faying, Honour thy Father and Mother, and whoso curfeth Father or Mother, let him die the Death. Mat. 15. 4.

Children obey your Parents in the

Lord, for this is right.

2. Honour thy Father and Mother, (which is the first Commandment with Promise).

3. That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayst live long on the Earth.

Children, obey your Parents in all Things, for that is well pleafing unto the Lord. Col. 3, 20.

The Eye that mocketh his Father, and despiseth the Instruction of his Mother, let the Ravens of the Valley pluck it out, and the young Eagles eat it.

Father, I have finned against Heaven, and before thee. Luke 15, 10.

19. I am no more worthy to be called thy Son.

No man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it. Ephes. 5, 19.

I pray thee let my Father and Mother come and abide with you, till I know what God will do for me. I Sam. 22, 3.

My Son, help thy Father in his Age, and grieve him not as long as he liveth.

12. And if his Understanding fail, have patience with him, and despise him not when thou art in thy full Strength.

Whoso curfeth his Father or his Mother, his Lamp shall be put out in obscure Darkness. Prov. 20, 20.

VERSES.

I in the Burying Place may fee
Graves fhorter there than I;
From Death's Arrest no Age is free,
Young Children too may die;
My God, may such an awful Sight,
Awakening be to me!
Oh! that by early Grace I might
For Death prepared be.

AGAIN.

First in the Morning when thou dost

To God for his Grace thy Petition make, Some Heavenly Petition use daily to fay, That the God of Heaven may bless thee alway.

[Restoration of lacking text]

Good Children must, Fear God all Day, Love Christ alway, Parents obey, In Secret Pray, No false thing say, Mind little Play, By no Sinstray, Make no delay, In doing Good.

Awake, arife, behold show hast Thy Life a Leaf, thy Breath a Blaff; At Night lye down prepar'd to have Thy sleep, thy death, thy bed, thy grave.

Learn these four Lines by Heart-

Have Communion with few. Be Intimate with ONE. Deal justly with all. Speak Evil of none.

The Names and Order of the Books ftheOld and New-Testament.

| Enesis Levitieus | Exodus Numbers

Levitien

Deuteronomy Toshua Judges Ruth 1. Samuel II. Samuel I. Kings II. Kings I. Chronicles II. Chronieles Ezra Nehemiah Esther Tob Pfalms Proverbs **Ecclefiaftes** Solomons Song

Isaiah Teremiah Lamentations Ezekiel Daniel Hofea Toel Amos Obadiah Tonah Micah Nahum Ha bakkuk Zephaniah Haggai Zechariah Malachi.

Matthew

Atthew
Mark
Luke
John
The Acts
Romans
I. Corinthians
II. Corinthians
Galatians
Ephefians
Philippians
Coloffians
I. Theffalonians
H. Theffalonians

I Timothy.
II. Timothy.
Titus
Philemon
Hebrews
James
I. Peter
II. Peter
I. John
III. John
Jude
Revelations

The numeral Letters and Figures, which serve for the ready finding of any Chapter, Psalm, and Verse in the Bible.

i.	I	one
ii	2	two
iii	2	thre

•		Cours
iv	5	four
v.	5	five
Vi		fix
Vii	7	Seven
Viii	8	eight
ix	9	nine
X	10	ten
xi	II	eleven
Xii	12	twelve
ziii	x3	thirteen
vig	14	fourteen
\$V	x 5	fifteen
XVi	16	fixteen
XVII	17	feventeen.
Kriik	18	eighteen
XiX	19	nineteen
XX	20	twenty
XXi	2.1	twenty one
zxii	22	twenty two
zsiii	23	twenty three
Vixx	24	twenty four
VXX	25	twenty five
XXVi	26	twenty fix
ilvxx	27	twenty seven
ZXYIII	28	twenty eight

xxix	29	twenty nine
XXX	30	thirty
ixxx	Št.	thirry one
KYSIL	32	thirty two
xxxiii	33	thirty three
Vixxx	34	thirty faut
XXXV	35	thirty five
ivxxx	36	thirty six
xxxvii	37	thirty feven
XXXVIII	38	thirty eight
XXXXX	39	thirty nine
XI.	40	forty
Xli	41	forty one
xlii	42	forty two
xl ii	43	forty three
vilx	44	forty fout
XIV	45	forty five
Klyi	46	forty fix
xlyii	47	forty seven
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4	, ,	111/

liv	54	fifty four
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Ivii		Gly Leven
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lix	-	fifty eight
1×	59	fifty nine
-	60	fixty
lxi	6r	fixty one
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Ixiii	63	fixty three
ViX[64	fixty four
VX	65	fixty five
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lxviii	68	fixty eight
IxiX	69	fixty nine
IXX	70	feventy
jxxi	71	feventy one
lxxii	72	seventy two
lxxiii	73	feventy three
Vix X	74	feventy four
1xxv	75	leventy five
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IXXVIII	78	sevemy eight
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lxxix	79	seventy nine
Ixxx	86	eighty
lxxxi	84	eighty one
lxxxii	8 z	eighty two
ixxxiii	83	eighty three
kxxiv	84	eighty four
IXXXV	85	eighty five
lxxxvi	86	eighty fix
lxxxvii	87	eighty feven
ixxxviii	88	eighty eight
Ixxxix	89	eighty nine
KC	90	ninery
xci	91	ninety one
xcii	92	ninety two
Xciii	93	ninety three
XciV	54	ninety four
XCV	95	ninety five
xcvi	96	ninety fix
xcvii	97	ninety seven
xcviii	93	ninery eight
xcix	99	ninety nine
č	100	an hundred

Mr.



R. John Rogers, Minister of the Gospel in London, was the first Martyr in Q. Mary's Reign, and was hurnt at Smithfield, February the fourteenth, 1554. His Wife, with nine small Children, and one at

at her Breast, following him to the Stake, with which forrowful fight he was not in the least daunted, but with wonderful Parience died couragiously for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Some few Days before his Death, he writ the following Exhortation to his Children.

Give ear my Children to my words, whom God hath dearly bought, Lay up his Laws within your heart, and print them in your thought, I leave you here a little Book, for you to look upon:
That you may fee your Fathers face, when he is dead and gone.
Who for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden Years to Prifon and to Pain.
Where I among my Iron Bands, inclosed in the dark,

Not many days before my Death. I did compose this Work, And for Example to your Youth, to whom I wish all good ; I send you here God's persect Truth; and feel it with my Blood To you my Heirs of earthly Things; which I do leave behind. That you may read and understand. and keep it in your mind. That as you have been Heirs of thet which once shall wear away, You also may possess that part, which never shall decay. Keep always GOD before your every with all your whole intent : Commit no Sin in any wife, keep his Commandement. Abhor that arrant Whore of Rome. and all her Blafphemies; And drink not of her cursed Cup, obey not her decrees. Give honour to your Mother dear, remember well her pain;

And recompense her in her Age with the like love again. Be always ready for her help, and let her not decay; Remember well your Father all that should have been your flay, Give of your Portion to the Poor, as Riches do arise: And from the needy naked Soul turn not away your eyes. For he that doth not hear the cry of those that frand in need, Shall cry himfelf and not be heard. when he does hope to fpeed, If GOD hath given you increase and bleffed well your store, Remember you are put in truft, and should relieve the poor. Beware of feul and fithy Lufts, let fuch things have no place, Keep clean your Vessels in the Lord, that he may you embrace. Ye are the Temples of the Lord, for you are dearly bought.

And they that do defile the fame shall furely come to nought. Be never Proud by any means, build not thy house too high, But always have before your eyes. that you are born to die. Defraud not him that hired is, your labour to fustain: And pay him ftill without delay, his wages for bis pain. And as you would another Man against you should proceed, Do you the same to them again. if they do stand in need. Impart your Fortion to the Poor, in Money and in Meat, And fend the feeble fainting Soul of that which you do eat. Ask Counsel always of the wife, give ear unto the end. And ne'r refuse the sweet rebuke of him that is thy Friend. Be always thankful to the Lord,

with Prayer and with Praise,

Begging of him to blefs your work. and to direct your ways. Seek first I fay the living GOD. and always him adore; And then be fure that he will bicks your basket and your flore. And I beseech Almighty GOD. replenish you with Grace, That I may meet you in the Heav'ns, and fee you face to face. And tho' the Fire my Body burns, contrary to my kind; That I cannot enjoy your love, according to my mind. Yet I do bope that when the Heav'ns. shall vanish like a scrowl. I shall see you in persect shape, in Body and in Soul. And that I may enjoy your love. and you enjoy the Land I do befreech the living LORD to hold you in his hand. Though here my Body be adjudg'd in flaming Fire to fry,

My Soul I trust will fraight ascend, to live with GOD on high, What though this Carcafe fmart a while, what though this Life decay, My Soul I trust will be with GOD, and live with him for aye. I know I am a Sinner born. from the Original; And that I do deserve to die. by my Fore-Fathers fall. But by our Saviour's precious Blood, which on the Cross was spile. Who freely offer'd up his Life, to fave our Souls from Guilt, I hope Redemption I shall have, and all that in him trull ; When I shall see him face to face, and live among the Jult. Why then should I fear Deaths grim look, fince Christ for me did die? For King and Calar, Rich and Poor, the force of Death, muit trie. When I am chained to the Stake, and Faggots girt me round,

Then pray the Lord my Soul in Heav'n may be with Glory crown'd. Come welcome Death, the end of fears, I am prepar'd to die; Those earthly Flames will fend my Soul, up to the Lord on high. Farewel my Children to the World, where you must yet remain, The Lord of Host be your desence till we do meet again. Farewel my true and loving Wife, my Children and my Friends, I hope in Heaven to fee you all, when all things have their ends If you go on to ferve the Lord, as you have now begun. You shall walk fasely all your days, until your life be done. GOD grant you fo to end your days, as he shall think it belt, That I may meet you in the Heav'ns, where I do hope to reft.

The

* THE THE THE PARTY OF THE PART

The SHORTER

CATECHISM

Agreed upon by the Reverend

Assembly of Divines at Westminster

Quest W Hat is the chief End of Man?

Answ. Man's chief End is to Glorify God, and to Enjoy Him for ever.

Q. What Rule hash God given to direct us how we may glorify and

enjoy Him?

A. The Word of God which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old

Old and New Testament, is the only Rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him.

Q. What do the Scriptures prin-

cipally teach ?

A. The Scriptures principally teach, what Man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requireth of Man.

Q. What is God?

A. God is a Spirit, Infinite, Eternal, and Unchangeable, in His Being, Wisdom, Power, Holiness, Justice, Goodness and Truth.

Q. Are there more Gods than One?

A. There is but ONE only, the living and true God.

Q. How many Persons are there

in the God-head?

A. There are Three Persons in

the God-Head, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, & these Three are One GOD the same in Substance, equal in Power & Colory.

Q. What are the Decrees of God?

A. The Decrees of God are his eternal Purpose, according to the Counsel of his own Will, whereby for his own Glory, he hash fore-ordained what sever comes to pass

Q. How doth God execute his

Decrees ?

A. God executeth his Decrees in the Works of Creation & Pro-

Q. What is the Work of Creation?

A. The Work of Creation is God's Making all things of Nothing, by the Word of his Power, in

in the space of six days, at all vary good.

Q. How did God create Mon ?

A. God created Man Male and Female, after his own Image, in Knowledge, Righteoufness, and Heliness, with Dominion over the Creatures

QWhatore Gods Werks of Providence?

A. God's Works of Providence are his most holy, wife & powerful preserving & govering all his Creatures and all their Actions.

Q What special Altes Providence did God exercise towards Man in the Estate wheatin he was created?

A. WhenGod had created Man, He entred into a Covenant of Life with him, upon condition of perfect Obedience, forbidding him to Eat

of the Tree of knowledge of good and evil upon pain of Death.

Q. Did our first Parents continue in the estate wherein they were created?

A. Our firstParents being left to the freedom of their ownWill, fell from the estate wherein they were created, by sinning against God.

Q What is Sin!

A. Sin is any want of Conformity unto, or Transgression of the Law of God.

Q. What was the Sin whereby our first Parents fell from the estate

wherein they were created?

A. The Sin whereby our first Parents fell from the estate wherein they were created, was their eating the forbidden fruit.

Q. Did

Q. Did all Mankind fall in A-

dam's first transgression?

A. The Covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself but for his Posterity, all Mankind descending from him by ordinary Generation, sinned in him, & fell with him in his first transgression.

Q. Into what estate did the Fall

bring Mankind?

A. The Fall brought Mankind into an estate of Sin and Misery.

Q. Wherein consists the sinfulness of that estate whereinto Man sell?

A. The finfulness of that estate whereintoMan fell, confists in the Guilt of Adam's first Sin, the want of OriginalRighteoufness, and the Corruption of his whole Nature, which is commonly called Original

Sin, together wirhall actual Transgressions which proceed from it.

Q. What is the Mifery of that

estate whereinto Man fell?

A. AllMankind by theirfall, loft Communion with God, are under his Wrath & Curse, and so made liable to all Miseries in this Life, to Death it self, and to the pains of Hell for ever.

Q. Did God leave all Mankind to perish in the estate of Sin & Misery?

A. God having out of his meer good pleasure from all Eternity, Elected some to evetlasting Life, did enterinto a Covenant of Grace, to deliver them out of the state of Sin & Misery, and to being them into a state of Salvation by a Redeemer.

Q. Who

QWho is the Redcemer of Gods El.

A. The only Redeemer of God a Elect, is the Lord Jesus Chtist, who being the eternal Son of God, became Man, and so was, and continues to be God and Man in two distinct Natures, and one Person for ever.

Q. How did Christ being the Son

of God become Man?

A. Christ the Son of God became Man, by taking to himself a true Body and a reasonable Soul, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, and born of her, and yet without Sin.

Q. What Offices doth Christ exe-

cute as our Redeemer?

A. Christ

A. Christ as our Redeemer executes the Office of a Prophet, of a Priest, and of a King, both in his estate of Humiliation & Exaltation.

Q. How doth Christ execute the

Office of a Prophet?

A.Christ executeth the Office of a Prophet, in revealing to us by his Word and Spirit, the Will of God for our Salvation.

Q. How doth Christ execute the

Office of a Priest-

A Christ executeth the Office of a Priest, in his once offering up himselfaSacrifice tofatisfy Divine Justice, & reconcile us to God, & in making continual Intercession for us

Q How doth Christ execute the

Office of a King?

A. Christ executeth the Office of

a King, in subduing us to himself in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all his and our Enemies.

Q. Wherein did Christ's Humili-

ction consist?

A. Christ's Humiliation confisted in His being born, and that in a low condition, made under the law undergoing the miseries of this life the wrath of God, and the cursed Death of the Cross, in being buried and continuing under the power of Death for a time.

QWherein consists Christs Exaltation A. Christ's Exaltation consisteth in his rising again from the Dead on the third day, in ascending up into Heaven, & sitting at the Right

D Hand

Hand of God the Father, and in coming to judge the World at the last Day.

Q. How are we madePartakers of the Redemption purchased by Christ?

A. We are madePartakers of the Redemption purchased by Christ, by the effectual Application of it to us by his Holy Spirit.

Q. How doth the Spirit apply to us
the Redemption purehosed by Christ?

A. The Spirit applieth to us the Redemption purchased by Christ, by working Faith in us, & thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual Calling.

O. What is effectual Calling?

A. Effectual Calling is the Work of God's Spirit, whereby convincing us of our Sin & Mifery, en-

lightning our Minds in the Knowledge of Christ, & renewing our Wills, he doth perswade & enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the Gospel, OWhat Benefits do they that are effec-

tually called partake of in this Life?

A. They that are Effectually called, do in this Life partake of Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, & the several Benefits which in this Life do either accompany or flow from them.

Q What is Justification? A. Justification is an act of God's freeGrace, wherein he pardoneth all our Sins, and accepteth us as righteous in his fight, only for the righteousness of Christ impured to us, and received by Faith alone,

Q. What is Adoption?

A. Adoption is an Act of God's Free Grace, whereby we are received into the Number, and have Right to all the Priviledges of the Sons of God

Q. What is Sandification ?

A. Sanctification is the Work of God's free Grace, whereby we are renewed in the whole Man, after the Image of God, & are enabled more & more to die unto Sin, & live unto Righteousness.

Q. What are the Benefits which in this lifedoaccompanyor flow from Fuf-tification, Adoption & Santification?

A. The Benefits which in this Life do accompany or flow from Justification, Adoption or Sanctification, are assurance of God's love,

peace of Conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, increase of Grace, & perseverance therein to the end.

Q. What benefits do Believers receive from Christ at their Death?

A. The Souls of Believers are at their Death made perfect in Holine's, & do immediately pass into Glory, & their Bodies being still united to Christ, do rest in their Graves till the Resurrestion.

Q. What benefits do Believers receive from Christ at the Refurrection?

d. At the Resurrestion Believers being raised up to Glory, shall be openly acknowledged & acquitted in the Day of Judgment, & made perfectly blessed in full enjoying of God, to all Eternity.

Q Whet is the Duty which God

requires of Man?

A. The Duty which God requires of Man, is Obedience to his revealed will.

Q. What did God at first reveal to Man for the Rule of his Obedience?

A. The Rule which God as fift revealed to Man for his Obedience was the Moral Law.

Q. Where is the Moral Law

Summarily comprehended?

A. The Moral Law is fummarily comprehended in the Ten Commandments.

Q. What is the Sum of the Ten

Commandments?

A. The Sum of the Ten Commandments is, To love the Lord our God with all our Heart, with all our Souls, and with all our

Strength, and with all our Mind, and our Neighbour as ourselves.

Q. What is the Preface to the

Ten Commandments?

A. The Preface to the Ten Commandments is in the few ords, I am the Lord thy God, which have brought the eout of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bandage.

Q. What doth the Preface to the

Ten Commandments teach is?

A. The Preface to the Ten Commandments teacheth us, that because God is the Lord, & our God and Redeemer, therefore we are bound to keep all his Commandments.

Q. Which is the first Commandment? A. The first Commandment is, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me. Q What is required in the first

A. The fifst Commandment requireth us to know and acknowledge God to be the only trueGod and our God, and to worship and glorify him accordingly.

Q. What is forbidden in the first

Commandment?

A. The first Commandment forbiddeth the denying, or not wore shipping and glorifying the true God, as God and our God, & the giving that Worship and Glory to any other which is due to him alone

O What are the specially taught by these Words (Before Mc) in the sirst

Commandment?

A. ThefeWords (Before me) in the first Commandment, teach us,

ThatGod who feeth all things, taketh notice of, and is much difpleased with the Sin of having

any other god.

OWbich is the second Commandment? A. The second Commandment is. Thou shalt not make unto thee any Gravenimage or any likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in theWater under the Earth: Thou shall not bow down thy felf to them, nor ferve them, for I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God, visiting the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me,& shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, aud keep my Commandments.

Q. What is required in the second

Commandment ?

A. The fecond Commandment requires the receiving, observing, & keeping pure & entire all such religious Worship & Ordinances, as God hath appointed in his Word Q. What is forbidden in the second Commandment?

A. The fecond Commandment forbiddeth the worshipping of God by Images, or any other way, nor appointed in his Word.

Q. What are the Reasons annexed to the second Commandment?

A. The Reasons annexed to the second Commandment, are God's Sovereignty over us, his Propriety in us, and the Zeal he hath to his own Worship.

Q Which is the third Commandment?

A. The third Commandment is, Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

Q. What is required in the third

Commandment?

A. The third Commandment requireth the holy & reverend use of God's Name, Tirles, Attributes, Ordinances, Word and Works.

Q. What is forbidden in the ibird

Commandment?

A. The third Commandment forbiddeth all prophaning or abusing of any thing whereby God maketh himself known.

Q What is the Reason annexed

to the third Commandment?

A. The Reason annexed to the

Third Commandment is, That however the Breakers of this Commandment may escape Punishment from Men yet the Lord our God will not fuffer them to escape his righteous Judgment.

Q Which is the fourth Commandment? A. The fourth Commandment is. Remember the Sabbath-Day tokeep it Holy fix Days Shalt thou labour & do all thy Work, but the feventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any work; thou nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, thy Manservant, nor thy Maid Servant, nor thy Cattle, nor the Stranger that is within thy Gates; for in six Days the Lord made Heaven & Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, & rested the sevenibDay, wherefore the Lord ble fed the Sabbath Day, and hallowed it.

Q. What is required in the fourth

Commandment ?

A. The fourth Commandment requireth the keeping holy to God fuch fet times as he hath appointed in his Word, expresly one whole Day in feven to be an holy Sabbath to Himfelf.

Q Which day of the seven hathGod appointed to be the weekly Sabbath?

A. From the beginning of the World to the Refurection of Christ God appointed the seventh Day of the Week to be the weekly Sabbath, and the first Day of the Week ever since, to continue to the end of the World, which is the Christian Sabbath.

Q. How is the Subbath to be fantlified?

A. The Sabbath is to be fantified by an holy resting all that Day, even from such worldly Employments Recreations, as are lawful on other Days, & spending the whole time in publick & private exercises of God s Worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the Works of Necessity & Mercy.

Q What is forbidden in the fourth

Commandment?

A. The fourth Commandment forbiddeth the Omission or cateless Performance of the Duties required, & the prophaning the Day by idleness, or doing that which is in it self finful, or by unnecessary Thoughts, Words or Works, about worldly Employments or Recreations. Q. What are the Reasons annexed to the fourth Commandment?

A. The Reasons annexed to the fourth Commandment, are God's allowing us fix Days of the Week for our own Employments, His challenging a special Propriety in the seventh, his own Example, and his blessing the Sabbath Day.

Q.Which is the fifth Comman Iment?

A. The fifth Commandment is,

Honour thy Father & thy Mother, that
thy Days may be long upon the land

which the Lord thy God giveth that.

Q. What is required in the fifth
Commandment?

A. The fifth Commandment require the the preferving the Honour & performing the Duties helonging to every one in their feveral

Places and Relations, as Superiours, Inferiours, or Equals.

Q What is forbidden in the fifth

Commandment?

A. The fifth Commandment forbiddeth the neglecting ordering any thing against the Honour and Duty which belongeth to every one in their several Places & Relations.

Q. What is the Reason annexed

to the fifth Commandment?

A. The Reason annexed to the fifth Commandment, is a promise of long Lise & Prosperity, (as far as it shall serve for God's Glory and their own good) to all such as keep this Commandment.

Q. Which is the fixth Commandment?

A. The fixth Commandment is,

Thou Shalt not Kill.

Q. What is required in the sixth

Commandment?

A. The fixth Commandment requireth all lawful Endeavours to preserve our ownLife, and the Life of others.

Q. What is forbidden in the sixth

Commandment?

A. The fixth Commandment forbiddeth the taking away of our own Life, or the Life of our Neighbour unjustly, and what foever fendeth thereunto.

QW bichisthe seventh Commandment

A. The feventh Commandment is, Thou shalt not commit Adultery.

O. What is required in the fe-

E

A

A. The feventh Commandment requires the preservation of our own, and our Neighbour's Chastity, in Heart, Speech & Behaviour.

Q. What is forbidden in the se-

venth Commandment ?

A. The feventh Commandment forbiddeth all unchast Thoughts, Words and Actions.

QWhich is the eighth Commandment?

A. The eighth Commandment is, Thou shalt not Steal.

Q What is required in the eighth

Commandment?

A. The eighth Commandment requires the lawful procuring turthering the Wealth & outward Estate of our selves and others.

Q.What is forbidden in the eighth

Commandment?

A. The eighth Commandment forbiddeth whatfoever doth, or may unjustly hinder our own, or our Neighbours Wealth or outward Estate.

Q.Which is the ninth Commandment

A. The ninth Commandment is, Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour.

Q. What is required in the ninth

Commandment?

A. The ninth Commandment requireth the maintaining and promoting of Truth between Man and Man, and of our own, & our Neighbours good Name, especially in Witness bearing.

Q What is forbidden in the

ninth Commandment?

A.The ninthCommandment for-

biddeth whatsoever is prejudiclaltoTruth, or injurious to our own or our Neighbours good Name.

OWhich is the Tenth Commandments.

A. The Tenth Commandment is, Thou shalt net covet thy Neighbour's House, thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's Wife, nor his Man servant, nor his Maid servant, nor his Ox, nor his Ass, nor any thing that is thy Neighbours.

Q. What is required in the tenth

Commandment ?

A. The tenth Commandment requires h full Contentment with our own Condition, with a right & charitable frame of Spirit towards our Neighbour, & all that is his.

Q What is forbidden in the

tenth Commandment?

A. The Tenth Commandment forbiddeth all Discontentment with our own estate, envying or grieving at the good of our Neighbour, and all inordinate motions & affections to any thing that is his.

Q Is any Manable perfectly to keep the Commandments of God?

A. No meer man fince the Fall is able in this Life perfectly to keep the Commandments of God, but daily doth break them in Thought, Word and Deed.

Q Are all Transgressions of the.

Law equally heinous ?

A. SomeSins in themselves, & by reason of several Aggravations are more heinous in the fight of God than others.

Q What doth every sin deferve?

A. Every Sin deserveth God's Wrath and Curfe, both in this Lise, and that which is to come.

Q. What doth God require of us, that we may escape his Wrath and

Curse, due unto us for Sin?

A, To escape the Wrath & Curse of God due to us for Sin, God requireth of us Faith in Jesus Christ, Repentance unto Life, with the diligent use of alloutward Means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of Redemption,

Q. What is Faith in Jesus Christ?

A. Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving Grace, whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for Salvation, as He is offered to us in the Gospel

Q.What is Repentance unto Life?

A. Repentance unto Life, is a faving Grace, whereby a Sinner out of a true sense of his Sin, and apprehension of the Mercy of God in Christ, doth with grief & hatted of his Sin, turn from it unto God, with full purpose of, & endeavour after new Ohedience.

Q. What are the outward & ordinary means whereby Christ communiontelb to us the benefits of Redemption?

A. The outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicate the four the benefits of Redemption are his Ordinances, especially the Word, Sacraments & Prayer; all which are made effectual to the Elect for Salvation.

Q. How is the word made effectual to Salvation?

A. The Spirit of God maketh the Reading, but especially the Preaching of the Wordan effectual Means of Convincing & Converting Sinners, and of building them up in Holiness & Comfort, through Faith unto Salvation.

Q. How is the Word to be Read and Heard that it may become effectual

to Salvation ?

That the Word may become effectual to Salvation, we must actend thereunto with diligence, Preparation & Prayer, receive it with Faith & Love, lay it up in our Hearts, & practice it in our Lives.

Q. How doin the Sacraments become effectual means of Salvation?

A. The Sacraments become effectual Means of Salvation, not

from any vertue in them, or inhim that doth administer them, but only by the blessing of Christ, and the working of the Spirit in them that by Faith receive them.

Q What is a Sacrament?

A. A Sacrament is an holy Ordinance instituted by Christ, wherein by sensible Signs, Christ and the benefits of the New Covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to Believers.

Q. Which are the Sacraments of

the New Testament ?

A. The Sacraments of the New Testament, are Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

Q. What is Baptism?

A.Baptism is a Sacrament, wherein by washing with Water in the

Name of the Father, & of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, doth fignity and seal our ingrasting into Christ, & partaking of the benefits of the Covenant of Grace, and our Engagement to be the Lord's.

Q. To whom is Baptism to be ad-

ministred?

A Baptism is not to be administred to any that are out of the visible Church, till they profess their Faith in Christ, and Obedience to Him, but the Infants of such as are Members of the visible Church are to be Baptised.

Q. Wher is the Lord's Supper?

A. The Lord's Supper is a Sacrament, wherein by giving and receiving Bread & Wine according to Christ Appointment, His

Death is shewed forth, and the worthy Receivers are not after a corporal and carnal Manner, but by Faith made Partakers of His Body & Blood, with all his henefits, to their Spiritual Nourishment and growth in Grace.

O What is required in the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper?

A. It is required of them that would worthily partake of the Lotd's Supper, that they examine themselves of their Knowledge to discern the Lord's Body, of their Faith to seed upon Him, of their Repentance, Love, & new Obedience, lest coming unworthily, they eat and drink judgment to themselves.

Q. What is Prayer ?.

A Prayer is an offering up of our Defires to God, for Things agreeable to His Will, in the Name of Christ, with Confession of our Sins, and thankful Acknowledgment of his Mercies.

Q. What Rule hathGod given for

our Direction in Prayer?

A The whole Word of God is of use to direct us in Prayer, but the special Rule of Direction is that form of Prayer which Christ taught His Disciples, commonly called, The Lord's Prayer.

Q. What doth the Preface of the

Lord's Prayer teach us?

A. The Preface of the Lord's Prayer, which is, Our Father which art in Heaven, teacheth us todraw near to God with all holy Reve-

rence, and Confidence, as Chi to a Father, able & ready to us, and that we should pray v and for others.

A. In the first Petition, which

Hallowed be thy Name, we pri that God would enable us and thers, to glorify Him in all t whereby he makeshimfelf kno and that He would dispose things to His own Glory. OW bat do we pray for in the 2nd Petr.

A. In the fecond Petition, which is, Thy Kingdom come, we pray that Satan's Kingdom may be destroyed, the Kingdom of Grace may be advanced, our felves & others bro't

into it, & kept in it, & that the Kingdom of Glory may be hastned. What do we pray for in the Petition?

In the third Petition, which ay Will be done on Earth as it is eaven, we pray, that God by Grace, would make us able & ling, to know, obey & fubmit his Will in all things, as the els do in Heaven.

at do we pray for inthe4th Petition a the fourth Petition, which ve us this Day our daily Bread, pray, that of Gods free Gift we may receive a competent Portion of the good things of this Life, and enjoy his bleffing with them.

A.In the fifth Petition, which is, And forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors, we pray, that God, for Christ's sake, would freely pardon all our sins, which we are rather encouraged to ask, because by his grace we are enabled from the

heart to forgive others.

Q. What dowe pray for in the 4th petition? A. In the fixth petition, which is, And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, we pray, that God would either keep us from being tempted to fin, or support and deliver us when we are tempted.

Q. What doth the conclusion of the

Lord's prayer teach us?

A. The conclusion of the Lord's prayer, which is, For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever, Amen, teacheth us to make our encouragement in prayer from God only, and in our prayers to

praife him, afcribing kingdom, power and glory to him, and in teftimony of our defires, and assurance to be heard, we say, Amen.

[Restoration of lacking text] 78



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