THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN
EARLY AMERICAN ENGLISH

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Lucile Strong Pryer
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This is to certify that the

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THE SUBJUNCTIVE

IN

EARLY AMERICAN ENGLISH

by

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Preface

I am attempting in the following pages to study the
subjunctive in early colonial literature. The materials
for the study I have drawn from books, pamphlets, letters,
diaries, and histories published in New England or by res-
idents of New England in the period 1630-1730. I have
been somewhat restricted by the material which was found
to be available and accessible. Much of the material which
I wished to examine was found to be in the William L. Cle-
ments Library, Ann Arbor, and not available for my purposes.
I was fortunate in obtaining from the library of the Univer-
sity of Michigan several volumes of the Massachusetts Society
Collection, as indicated in Chapter I. I was obliged to use
a number of selections which were modernized in the spelling,
but since my interest lay not in the spelling but in the
verb forms, which were not likely to be different from the
original, it seemed permissible to use them. In no sense
can this be said to be a complete study of all published
works even in this small area and in this relatively short
period, as the entire number of published works in this
country between 1629 and 1700, according to Charles Evans,
American Bibliography, is nearly one thousand--958, to be
exact.

The materials examined range from intimate diaries to formal histories, from personal letters to sermons and instructions to young theological students. Naturally there is likewise diversity in the education, status, and background of the various authors, which include housewives, explorers, adventurers, soldiers, governors, lawyers, and divines; but there seems to be no appreciable differentiation in their use of the subjunctive.

The second part is devoted to a consideration of the subjunctive as treated by such grammarians as Sonnenschein, Jespersen, Curme, Brown, Krapp, Onions, Poutsma, and others.

The third part is a detailed presentation of the citations gathered from writings of the various authors. These citations, which number nearly five thousand (4986), have been classified first according to form and second according to use, and are considered by means of the outline presented in the table of contents.

Chapter 1

The Sources

Matthew Craddock, <u>Letter to Captain Endicott</u>. Matthew Craddock (or Cradock) wrote the letter to Captain John Endicott April 17, 1629. It was printed in the first volume of Hazard's <u>Collection of State Papers</u>. It was reprinted in the <u>Massachusetts Historical Society Collection</u>, second series, VII. Although Craddock was never a resident of New England, because of some unexplained change in plans, he was of great importance in the settlement of the new colony, sending over six ships, giving generously of his means to secure and equip colonists. His standing is revealed in the fact that he was named as governor in the charter granted in 1628 to the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."[1] I used the letter as found in the <u>Massachusetts Historical Society Collection</u>. Referred to as Cl.

William Bradford, <u>Of Plimoth Plantation</u>. Bradford began writing his history about 1630 and completed Book I, which includes the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, probably a year or two later. Book II was written be-

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1) <u>National Cyclopedia of American Biography</u>, V, 426.

tween 1646-1650. The history remained in manuscript form
for over two hundred years, but it was known to, and uti-
lized by, such early historians as Morton, Hubbard, Prince,
and Hutchinson.[2] Book 1 was finally published in 1841,
and the whole manuscript in 1856. It was reprinted in 1897
and 1901. Bradford was a native of Yorkshire, and "his
English is that of an educated man, though not a learned
one, deeply versed in the Geneva--not King James--version
of the Bible. It is not without conscious art, for he
freely employs alliteration and other conscious devices of
contemporary English literature."[3] I examined pages 1-107
of the edition published in Boston, 1901. Referred to as WB.

Thomas Shepard, Selections. Thomas Shepard wrote the
Sincere Convert in 1641, which went through twenty-one ed-
itions between 1641 and 1812. His Private Diary was pub-
lished in 1747. Shepard came to New England from England
in 1635. He was pastor of the church at Newtown (Cambridge)
and established his ministry so firmly that Cambridge was
chosen as the site for an institution of learning, later es-
tablished as Harvard College by John Harvard.[4] Among many

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2) S. E. Morison, "William Bradford," Dictionary of Am-
erican Biography, II, 559-563.
   3) Ibid., 563.
   4) E. H. Dewey, "Thomas Shepard," Dictionary of Ameri-
can Biography, XVII, 75.

notable contributions he made to early colonial secular and religious life, one of the most interesting is his plan for providing assistance for "Such students as may stand in need. Thus he founded the tradition of scholarships in America."[5] I have not been able to obtain either the Sincere Convert or his diary, but I used selections from both found in the Library of American Literature.[6] Referred to as TS.

Nathaniel Ward, The Simple Cobler of Agawam. Ward published The Simple Cobler of Agawam in England in 1645 under the pseudonym of Theodore de la Guard.[7] A fourth edition was published in 1647. It was reprinted in the Force Tracts, III, Boston, 1846, and by the Ipswich Historical Society, 1905. An edition was published in Boston, 1713. Nathaniel Ward, author, clergyman, son of a Puritan minister, came to Massachusetts in 1634. Under cover of an amusing satire he protested in The Simple Cobler against toleration; nevertheless it is a landmark in early American literature and in its pungent style and whimsical vigor is still read with interest. I examined the whole of the text in the 1905 edition, "with facsimiles of title

5) E. H. Dewey, "Thomas Shepard," Dictionary of American Biography, XVII, 75.
6) Library of American Literature, ed. E.C. Stedman,I,216.
7) E. H. Dewey, "Nathaniel Ward," Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 434.

page, preface and headlines, the text in antique type.[8)]
Referred to as W2.

Robert C. Winthrop, <u>Life and Letters of John Winthrop</u>.
Robert C. Winthrop was a descendant of John Winthrop. John
Winthrop's <u>Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in
the Settlement of Massachusetts</u> was published in Hartford
in 1790. It was later published in Boston in 1825 as <u>The
History of New England</u> and is included in <u>Original Narra-
tives of Early American History</u>, 1908. <u>Life and Letters of
John Winthrop</u> was published in Boston by Robert C. Winthrop,
1864. John Winthrop came to Salem in 1630, serving at var-
ious times as governor, in which position "his mind, more
than any other, arranged the social state of Massachusetts;
Massachusetts molded the society of New England."[9)] His
grave and measured style of writing lend dignity to the
journal which is frequently called his <u>History of New Eng-
land</u> and is a source book of the greatest importance.[10)]
I examined pages 1-43 of <u>Life and Letters of John Winthrop</u>.
Referred to as W1.

Anne Bradstreet, <u>The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in
America</u>.

8)Nathaniel Ward, <u>The Simple Cobler</u>, Ipswich Historical
Society, 1905, Title page.
9)Thomas Seccombe, "John Winthrop," <u>Dictionary of Nation-
al Biography</u>, LXII, 230.
10)J. T. Adams, "John Winthrop," <u>Dictionary of American
Biography</u>, XX, 411.

The poems of Anne Bradstreet were published in London in 1650. A second edition appeared in 1678, another in 1758. Anne Bradstreet was born in England but came to New England with her husband in 1630. The daughter and wife of two governors of Massachusetts, she was an exceptionally cultured woman who must have sadly missed her girlhood advantages in the crude surroundings of early New England. That her large family and pioneer experiences did not rob her of mental alertness is evidenced by the fairly large number of poems she was able to produce. "But Anne Bradstreet was not a poet; she was a winsome personality in an unlovely age."[11] For the purposes of this investigation I examined 117 pages of the Works of Anne Bradstreet, edited by John Harvard Ellis and published in New York in 1932. Referred to as B1.

Edward Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England. Johnson began writing Wonder-Working Providence about 1650, and published it in London in 1654. It was again published in Andover in 1867. It was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, second series, V. Edward Johnson was born in England in 1598, coming to Boston in 1630 and founding Woburn in 1640.

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11) Samuel M. Tucker, Cambridge History of American Literature, I, 154.

He was there proprietor, clerk, selectman, deputy to the General Court. He wrote the Wonder-Working Providence not so much as history as a justification to the enemies of Massachusetts of its divinely ordained success. For that reason it is not to be trusted for historical details, although it gives a clearer picture of the life of the times because of the many homely and somewhat irrelevant facts incorporated than do the accounts of the more intellectual historians like Bradford and Winthrop.[12] I examined pages 1-93 of the reprint in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, second series, V. Referred to as J2.

John Mason, Brief History of the Pequot War. Mason wrote the Brief History of the Pequot War in 1656 at the request of the General Court, but it was printed in Relation of the Troubles that Have Hapnd in New England (1677) by Increase Mather, who was apparently unaware that Mason was the author.[13] It was reprinted in 1736 under the title A Brief History of the Pequot War, and again in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, second series, VIII. John Mason was an influential colonial soldier and magistrate, coming from England to this country in 1633, where he helped

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12) S. E. Morison, "Edward Johnson," Dictionary of American Biography, X, 95.

13) G. P. Bauer, "John Mason," Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 367.

found Windsor on the Connecticut. In the ensuing Indian troubles he won his chief claim to distinction. I examined the entire history (thirty pages), as found in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, second series, VIII. Referred to as M3.

Ferdinando Gorges, A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America. Sir Ferdinando Gorges wrote the Briefe Narration in 1658. It was first published in London in 1658, and later appeared as Part II of America Painted to the Life, published in 1659. Another edition was published in Boston, 1837. It was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, third series, VI. Gorges probably lived from 1566 to 1647, was a naval and military commander, governor of Plymouth, and the father of English colonization.[14] America Painted to the Life is a series of pamphlets edited by his grandson. One of these, A Briefe Narration, is of value, and the basis of all the other accounts of Gorges' colonial work. The others, though professing to be partly written by the old knight, are in reality crude compilations of little worth.[15] I examined

14) Dictionary of National Biography, XXI, 241.
15) Ibid., 243.

fifty-one pages of the reprint in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, third series, VI. Referred to as G1.

Nathaniel Morton, New England's Memoriall. Morton wrote New England's Memoriall, (printed at Cambridge in 1669), at the request of the commissioners of the four New England colonies. In 1676 he prepared a longer account, which taken largely from Bradford's papers was printed in the Congregational Board's edition of the Memoriall, 1855. Nathaniel Morton was born in the Netherlands and came to Plymouth in 1623, where he was a member of the household of Governor Bradford, his uncle by marriage. He was his uncle's clerk and agent and later became one of the most influential men at Plymouth, a distinction he held for ever forty years. Well educated, he became custodian of Bradford's writings after Bradford's death, and was considered the best informed man at Plymouth on Pilgrim history.[16] I examined pages 1-106 of the edition published in 1855. Referred to as NM.

John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England. Josselyn wrote two volumes dealing with New England, one of which is entitled in full An Account of Two Voyages

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16) Roland Greene Usher, "Nathaniel Morton," Dictionary of American Biography, XIII, 261

to New England, Wherein you have the setting out of a Ship, with the charges; The Prices of all necessaries for furnishing a Planter and his Family at his first coming; A Description of the Country, Natives and Creatures, with their Merchantil and Physical Use, (1638-39, 1663-71). It was first published in London in 1617 and again in 1675. It was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, third series, III. It appears that Josselyn was a surgeon and physician, his writings revealing an educated scientific mind, though he was at times too credulous of reported facts.[17] I examined 138 pages of the edition found in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, third series, VI. Referred to as Jl.

Daniel Gookin, Historical Collection of the Indians in New England. Daniel Gookin was a sincere friend of the American Indian, and the Historical Collection is one of three books he wrote about them; the exact date of their writing and the original publication I have not discovered. None was published until long after his death. Born in England or Ireland in 1612 Gookin came to this country, where he founded Worcester and later was major general of the military forces of the colony. He was twice ruler of

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17) Fulmer Mood, "John Josselyn," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone, X, 219.

the "praying Indians" and defended them zealously during
King Phillip's War.[18] I used the edition of <u>Historical</u>
<u>Collection</u> reprinted in the <u>Massachusetts Historical So-</u>
<u>iety Collection</u>, first series, I. Referred to as G2.

Mary Rowlandson, <u>The Soveraignty & Goodness of God,</u>
<u>Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed;</u>
<u>Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs.</u>
<u>Mary Rowlandson</u>. Mrs. Rowlandson wrote the record of her
captivity some time before 1682, the date of its first
publication in Cambridge. A London edition under a slight-
ly different title appeared within a few months; also two
second editions the same year in Cambridge and some thir-
ty reprints and editions since then. No copy of the first
edition is known. In 1930 the Narrative was republished as
a part of Lancaster's celebration of the three hundredth
anniversary of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay, with
the title <u>The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration</u>
<u>of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson</u>, edited by Frederick Lewis Weis.
This edition was copied from an edition photo graphically
reproduced from a rudely printed copy in the Prince Col-
lection of the Boston Public Library. Mary Rowlandson was
probably born in England, but her father was one of the

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18) J. T. Adams, "Daniel Gookin," <u>Dictionary of American</u>
<u>Biography</u>, VII, 417.

wealthiest of the original proprietors of Lancaster, Mass-
achusetts. She was married to the minister Joseph Rowland-
son, and was captured by the Indians when Lancaster was
burned in 1675-6. After eleven weeks of almost unbearable
cruelty and hardships she was ransomed and returned to her
family. She wrote her story as a "memorandum of God's deal-
ings with her and to declare the Works of the Lord."[19] It
was widely read both here and in England and even today ap-
peals to the reader because of its simplicity and sincerity,
in addition to its "pure, idiomatic and sinewy English."[20]
I examined the entire story of seventy-nine pages, of the
edition published in Boston, 1930. Referred to as Rl.

William Hubbard, A General History of New England.
William Hubbard wrote the history some time after 1682,
since in that year the General Court voted to give him
£50 "in order that a record of God's care over the people
of New England might be preserved for posterity."[21] It
was not published until 1815 in the Massachusetts Histor-
ical Society Collection, second series, volumes V, VI.
He borrowed much of his material from Morton's Memoriall
and Winthrop's Journal, and in turn his book was utilized
by Cotton Mather and Thomas Prince. This wholesale bor-

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19) Lewis Harke, "Mary Rowlandson," Dictionary of Amer-
ican Biography, XVI, 202.
20) M. C. Tyler, History of American Literature, II, 139.
21) J. T. Adams, "William Hubbard," Dictionary of Amer-
ican Biography, IX, 333.

rewing accounts for the many identical citations mentioned in my investigation. Hubbard came with his father from England to New England in 1635, where he graduated from Harvard with the first class in 1642. When thirty-five he was ordained a minister and was an influential leader in the struggle for freedom of thought and toleration, since he opposed the tax collection program of the Andros government and the witchcraft hysteria. I examined 111 pages of the edition published in Cambridge, 1815. Referred to as WH.

Increase Mather, An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences. Mather wrote the Essay, published in 1684, perhaps as an outgrowth of his interest in scientific matters, which was evidenced by his formation in Boston of a society for the discussion of scientific questions. It was later published in London in 1890. Increase Mather was born in Massachusetts and brought up in a strict Puritan household. He graduated from Harvard in 1656, later studying and living for some time in England. He returned to New England in 1661, becoming one of the most influential divines of the period. He wrote over one hundred thirty books and pamphlets, all in a style "strong in its simplicity and directness though usually without brilliance."[22]

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22) Kenneth B. Murdock, "Increase Mather," Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 393.

The Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences re-
sembles many other tales showing God's intervention in the
affairs of every-day life, but running through it is the
viewpoint of a man with a more scientific approach who
occasionally explodes current superstitions. I examined
118 pages of the edition published in London in 1890. Re-
ferred to as IM.

George Fox, A Journal or Historical Account of the
Life, Travel, Sufferings, of George Fox. Fox wrote the
story of his life as an outgrowth of his spiritual fer-
vor and as a testimony to the moving power of communica-
tion with God. It was first published in London in 1694.
Editions appeared again in 1709 and 1765. There have been
nine other editions, from 1800 to 1924.[23] George Fox
was born in Leicestershire about 1634, the son of a weaver.
He does not appear to have had much formal schooling, early
becoming an itinerant preacher. He spent two years in the
American colonies, where he was influential as the found-
er of the Society fo Friends.[24] In one sense he does not
belong in this investigation, since he was never a resi-
dent here, but he was deeply interested in the religious
life of this country, as evidenced by his labors of two

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23) The Journal of George Fox, Revised by Norman Penney,
Preface.
24) S. Austin Allibone, Critical Dictionary, 625.

years here, and is representative of religious leaders of the period. I used the edition published in 1924, and went through the first five chapters, pages 1-102. Referred to as GF.

Samuel Sewall, The Selling of Joseph and Diary. The Selling of Joseph is a pamphlet published in Boston in 1700. It was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, fifth series, VI. The pamphlet is of interest from the fact that it is the earliest work against slavery printed in Massachusetts. It presents the unusual spectacle of a rich Puritan merchant pleading for the rights and liberties of slaves.[25] I examined the text as it is reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection edition of 1897. Referred to as Sewall.

Diary. Samuel Sewall recorded the daily events of his life over a period of fifty-five years, 1624-1729, with a lapse of eight years. It was first published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1878. Sewall, though born at Bishopstoke, England, in 1652, came to New England with his parents when but nine years old. A graduate of Harvard, Sewall held various political and judicial offices almost until the close of his life. A clear picture of the New England world of that time emerges from the read-

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25) J. T. Adams, "Samuel Sewall," Dictionary of American Biography, XVI, 611.

ing of his diary, which reveals him as a rich merchant, conventional, a strict Puritan forever engrossed in thought of death, yet playful, affectionate, honorable, strong, and fearless. His strong sense of justice was revealed in his public acknowledgement of wrong-doing on the bench (in connection with the witchcraft trials),[26] and his pioneer championing of the Negro has been referred to in connection with the Selling of Joseph. I read one hundred pages of the edition of the Diary prepared by Mark Van Doren and published in 1927. Referred to as Sl.

Cotton Mather (1662-1727), Magnalia Christicana and Manuductio ad Ministerium. The Magnalia, an extensive history of seventeenth century New England, was first published in London in 1702 as a folio volume of 788 pages. The first American edition did not appear until 1855. Written by a man of considerable scholarly attainments, of intellectual honesty, with access to the most authentic documents, the Magnalia has been of invaluable aid to all historians of early New England history.[27] Mather's style is dull, his work shows evidence of hasty writing, but his language is unquestionably representative of the best of the period. He is certainly one of the most important as well as most

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26) J. T. Adams, "Samuel Sewall," Dictionary of American Biography, WVI, 611.
27) Cotton Mather, Magnalia, ed. Thomas Robbins, Preface, V.

prolific writers in the period under consideration, and ranked high as a clergyman, scholar, editor, historian. He published nearly four hundred books, sermons, etc. He was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1713. I examined the whole of Book 1, 104 pages, of the 1855 American edition, and it is to this edition that all references are made. Referred to as MC2.

Manuductio ad Ministerium, somewhat later than the Magnalia, was published in Boston in 1726. Of this edition there are three known variants, all with the same title-page, bearing the same imprint and the date 1726.[28] A facsimile reprint, edited for the Facsimile Text Society with a bibliographical note by Thomas J. Holmes and Kenneth B. Murdock was published in 1938. The Manuductio has been rated somewhat higher than the Magnalia, being "written heartily, with real enthusiasm for the subject and with greater directness and simplicity of style than the author has shown in any other work."[29] I examined pages 1-78 of the facsimile reprint of 1938. Referred to as MC1.

Sarah Kemble Knight, The Journal of Madam Knight. Sarah Kemble Knight recorded the events of a journey she made to New York in 1704, in her diary which remained in

28) Cotton Mather, Manuductio, ed. Thomas J. Holmes, Preface, 1.
29) M. C. Tyler, History of American Literature, II, 85.

manuscript form until 1825, when it was printed in New

York. It was reprinted in New York, 1935. Madame Knight

was a woman of unusual educational and legal abilities for

her time, possessing, as is apparent from her diary, humor,

keen perceptions, and toleration. Her undertaking, unac-

companied, the perilous trip to New York, and her activities

as administrator of considerable business, mark her as ex-

ceptional in more ways than one.[30] I examined the entire

Journal of seventy-one pages, as reprinted in New York,

1935. Referred to as Kl.

Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian

Nations. Cadwallader Colden, son of a Scotch minister,

came to this country in 1710, where he published in Phila-

delphia in 1727 a History of the Five Indian Nations. An

edition was prepared by Robert Waite and published in New

York in 1902. Colden became a very influential man in New

York, regarded as the best-informed man in the new world

on the affairs of the British-American colonies. In ad-

dition to theology he studied medicine, later practicing

the profession for some time in Pennsylvania. He had a

keen scientific interest and was an associate of Franklin

in his scientific investigations; altogether he was a man

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30) Sidney Gunn, "Sarah Kemble Knight," Dictionary of
American Biography, X, 468-9.

of rare attainments, too lightly regarded by posterity.[31]
I went through the whole of Part I, pages 1-106, of the
edition of 1902. Referred to as CC.

The Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay County.
This collection of charters and laws was published probably
about 1700. I examined a copy obtained from the Chicago
Public Library. Referred to as Charters.

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31) Alice M. Keys, "Cadwallader Colden," Dictionary of
American Biography, IV, 286,

Chapter II

The Subjunctive

The subject of mood or mode has received considerable attention from grammarians. In one of the briefest definitions Kruisenga defines mood as "forms of the verb that serve to indicate the mental attitude of the speaker towards the action, occurrence or state expressed by the verb."[1] Ramsey calls attention to the fact that among American writers the spelling mode is replacing the form mood, used especially in England, which replacement he attributes to the desire to distinguish between mode, coming from Latin modus, manner, and mood, or state of mind, with which it has no connection.[2] This statement might have been true in 1892, when it was made, but a check of leading texts shows that mood is used by Goold, Curme, Grattan, Helfenstein, Jespersen, Kennedy, Kittredge, Krapp, Kruisinga, Nesfield, Leonard, Onions, Poutsma, Sonnenschein, Tanner, while Baker, Cross, Fowler, and Harvey use the spelling mode. A. C. Smith, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, says that "Usage sanctions mood, but the better spelling would be mode. It is from the Latin modus, whereas mood

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1) E. A. Kruisenga, A Handbook of Presentday English, 92.
2) Samuel Ramsey, The English Language and Grammar, 440.

(temper) is Old English <u>mod</u>."[3] In the fifth edition of
Webster's <u>Collegiate Dictionary</u> under <u>mood</u> we find: "<u>Gram</u>.
Distinction of form in a verb to express the manner in which
the action or state it denotes is conceived, whether as fact,
or as a matter of supposal, wish, possibility, etc; a set
of forms expressive of one of these modal forces. English
has the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative moods;
verbal phrases with modal force (as with <u>would</u>, <u>should</u>, etc.)
are loosely called moods, as conditional, potential, etc."
Wyld's <u>Universal Dictionary of the English Language</u> gives
mood as "(gram.) Designation, by the change of form in the
conjugation of a verb, of how an act, event, etc., is con-
ceived, as a fact, as possible, desirable, etc.: indica-
tive, subjunctive moods, etc." Ramsey himself uses the
spelling <u>mood</u>, in defining the several moods as "different
ways in which the speaker regards the action of which he
speaks as related to himself."[4] He points out that this
is really not a definition, since it may likewise be true
of other distinctions, but at least it has the merit of be-
ing true as far as it goes. In fact he makes the statement
that it is possible to regard all variations of the verb-
forms which do not have to do with number, person, voice,

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3) A. C. Smith, <u>Anglo-Saxon Grammar</u>, 71.
4) Samuel Ramsey, <u>Op. cit.</u>, 441.

or tense, as in reality distinctions of <u>mood</u>.

A somewhat different definition of mood is that given by Goold Brown, who says that "Moods are different forms of the verb, each of which expresses the being, action or passion in some particular manner."[5] Still another brief definition of mood is that of Curme, who defines mood as "a grammatical form denoting the style or manner of predication."[6] Grattan simply rewords preceding definitions when he states that "moods of the finite verbs are forms which express certain mental attitudes toward the content of a sentence."[7] A very old book, old at least in comparison with some mentioned, is that of Thomas Harvey, published in 1869, who states that "Mode is the manner in which the action, being or state is expressed."[8] Almost identical with this is Baker's definition that "Mode or mood is the <u>manner</u> in which the verb is used,"[9] and Kittredge's that "Mood is that property of verbs which shows the manner in which the action or state is expressed."[10] Poutsma's definition limits the verb's meaning to the attitude of the speaker: "By mood we may understand a form of the finite

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5) Goold Brown, <u>The Grammar of English Grammars</u>, 337.
6) George Curme, <u>Syntax</u>, 390.
7) J. H. G. Grattan, <u>Our Living Language</u>, 237.
8) Thomas Harvey, <u>An Elementary Grammar of the English Language</u>, 97.
9) J. T. Baker, <u>Correct English Complete Grammar</u>, 169.
10) George L. Kittredge, <u>Advanced English Grammar</u>, 115.

verb by means of which the speaker expresses his mental attitude towards the fulfillment of the action or state expressed by the predicate."[11] Since all of these definitions go back to the question of the idea or thought in the mind of the speaker regarding the action or state expressed by the verb, it seems the statement made by Ramsey, that mood in this case has no connection with mood, a state of mind, is a distinction without a difference. One last definition, which seems to me the least meaningful, is that of Sonnenschein, one of the greatest of these scholars. He defines mood as " a group of tenses which have a similarity of meaning."[12]

Grammarians vary in their treatment of mood from those who attempt to distinguish among seven or eight moods to those who classify all forms under as few as three. Goold Brown defines five moods in his grammar--the infinitive, the indicative, the potential, the subjunctive, and the imperative.[13] E. A. Cross says that "So far as inflections are concerned there is very little left of mode in modern English. We have only the indicative and a scrap or two of the wreckage of the subjunctive. This does not mean that modern English is limited in its expressiveness. By

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11) H. Poutsma, Mood and Tense of the English Verb, 10.
12) E. A. Sonnenschein, A New English Grammar, 61.
13) Goold Brown, The Grammar of English Grammars, 337.

the use of modal auxiliaries (may, can, etc.) we express every shade of meaning possible to the Anglo-Saxons. These auxiliaries were once set up by grammarians in a system of verb phrases as potential mode, but since they are always combined with regular indicative forms, none of the modern grammarians recognize the potential as a separate mode."[14] Curme limits the number of moods to three, the indicative, subjunctive, and the imperative.[15] Jespersen says that although many grammarians include the infinitive and the participle with the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative, he does not see how they can be coordinated with these three. He also points out that the indicative is sometimes called the fact-mood, the subjunctive the thought-mood, and the imperative the will-mood. He does not agree with the statement made by Sweet that they express different relations between subject and predicate, since it is much more correct to say, as Brugmann, Oertel, and Noreen do, that "they express certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker towards the contents of the sentence, though in some cases the choice of a mood is determined not by the attitude of the actual speaker, but by the character of the clause itself and its relation to the main nexus on which it is dependent."[16]

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14) E. A. Cross, Fundamentals in English, 327.
15) George O. Curme, Syntax, 390.
16) Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar, 313.

This is a distinction which is not brought out by all grammarians, and by way of illustration Jespersen has a footnote in which he gives two French examples, "ma femme veut que je lui obeisse," or "ma femme ne croit pas qu'il vienne," in which it is clear that, though the subjunctive is used, it has no reference whatsoever to the frame of mind or the desire of the speaker, but rather to that of the speaker's "femme."

In considering the specific mood called subjunctive, some attention should undoubtedly be paid to the mood as it is defined and is used in the Latin language. Sonnenschein says that "the subjunctive mood has the same kind of meaning as the English subjunctive but is more widely used."[17] In another section of the text he states: "The uses of the subjunctive mood may be divided into three classes: A--Those in which it denotes what is to be done; B--Those in which it denotes what would happen under certain imagined conditions; C--Those in which it has been so much weakened that it differs little from the indicative in meaning. The first two uses have something in common, and it is possible that use B grew out of use A. Use C is clearly of later origin than the other two."[18]

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17) F. A. Sonnenschein, A Latin Grammar, 56.
18) Ibid., 147.

Elmer divides the subjunctive in Latin in independent
sentences into three general divisions: 1, volitive, 2,
optative, 3, would--should subjunctive (the so-called "po-
tential"). In addition to these independent uses the sub-
junctive is also used in dependent clauses of result, pur-
pose, characterizing, cum clauses, and in certain substan-
tive clauses. As to the forms of the subjunctive, it is
important to note that there are no future tense subjunctive
forms in Latin, the idea of futurity being expressed by the
present subjunctive, for example, in the case of desires.[19]

Hotz says that "the integrity of the English verb has
been so much affected by that corruption of English grammar
which began in the eleventh century and is accomplished in
Shakespeare, that the subjunctive mood is distinguishable
in modern English but in a few forms of the verb. The so-
called modal verbs shall, will, may, gradually lost their
presentive meaning, and to supply the want of a clearly
distinguished subjunctive mood, assumed a purely symbolic
function, in which they appear just where once the true
subjunctive lived its most vigorous and intimate life."[20]

We find as wide a variation in the treatment of the
subjunctive as in the definition and enumeration of moods.

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19) H. C. Elmer, Latin Grammar, 187.
20) Gerold Hotz, On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in
Anglo-Saxon, 1.

Brown defines the subjunctive as "that form of the verb
which represents the being, action, or passion as condition-
al, doubtful, and contingent: as, If thou go, see that
that thou offend not: See thou do it not. Rev. xlx,lo.
The subjunctive mood is so called because it is always sub-
joined to another verb. It usually denotes some doubtful
contingency, or some supposition contrary to fact."[21]

Very similar to the above is Fowler's definition, which
states that the "subjunctive mode is that form of the verb
which expresses conditional assertion; as, if he were here;
though he write. It is used for doubtful existence. Sub-
junctive, from subjungere, to subjoin, is so-called because
the tenses of the subjunctive mode are generally subjoined
to other verbs."[22] In this connection it is interesting
to note that Fowler makes an exception not made by Brown,
namely that it is "generally subjoined to other verbs,"
whereas Brown makes the unqualified assertion that it is
always subjoined to another verb.

Poutsma's definition of mood has been given, in which
he states that "mood is a form of the finite verb by means
of which the speaker expresses his mental attitude towards
the fulfillment of the action or state expressed by the
predicate." He goes on to say that "this attitude may be

21) Goold Brown, The Grammar of English Grammars, 338.
22) W.C. Fowler, The English Language in its Elements
    and Forms, 311.

one of uncertainty. It is symbolized by that form of the
finite verb which is commonly called the subjunctive."[23]
He makes a distinction between a simple verb form and a verb
group--stating that when the latter serves as a substitute
for a subjunctive mood it may be styled a periphrastic
subjunctive, in contradistinction to which the subjunctive
proper may be called the inflectional subjunctive. He also
differentiates between the subjunctive and conditional,
classifying in the latter "the fulfillment of the action,
or state, either as being contrary to some known fact, or
as being a more supposition with regard to the future or
present, made merely for the sake of argument."[24] He calls
the use of the subjunctive in main sentences optative, chief-
ly met with in invocations and imprecations, the subject of
the sentence being (a) the name of the Deity, (b) the name
of the person or thing on which a curse is invoked, the
sentence being mostly passive.

After pointing out that the subjunctive mood is not
so much used now as formerly, Sonnenschein says that "most
subjunctives cannot be distinguished from indicatives by
their form. Nevertheless the meaning of the subjunctive
is quite different from that of the indicative, and this

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23)H Poutsma, Mood and Tense of the English Verb, 27.
24) Ibid., 28.

enables us to recognize subjunctives. And some subjunc-
tives differ from indicatives in form as well as in meaning;
for example, the third person singular of the present sub-
junctive differs in form from the same person of the pre-
sent indicative.[25] He points out that the reason for the
decline of the subjunctive is the habit we have acquired of
using shall, may, should, would, might, with the infinitive
to form equivalents of past subjunctives; nevertheless he
states that the subjunctive itself is the only proper form
of expression in some sentences. In making clear the mean-
ing of the subjunctive he says "it is shown most clearly by
its present tense, which expresses that something is to be
done or shall be done."[26] Under this heading he makes
three divisions. The first is chiefly used in the third
person and in sentences where the thing that is to be done
by the person spoken of is at the same time desired by the
speaker; every soldier kill his prisoners; long live the
King. The second is also used in the first person plural,
expressing what is desired or requested of a number of per-
sons, including the speaker: make we our sword-arm doubly
strong, and lift on high our gaze. He states that in this
case make and lift are subjunctives by the meaning, not the
form. The order of words also shows that they are not in-

25) E. A. Sonnenschein, A New English Grammar, 62.
26) Ibid., 28.

dicative. The third use of the present subjunctive is very
common in several kinds of subordinate clauses—noun-clauses,
which express that the thing which is to be done is _desired_
or _purposed, in prospect_ or _supposed_. He points out that
in some of the examples he has given the present indicative
might have been used, but that in such a case "these pres-
ent indicatives would be used with a special meaning; they
would, in fact, be _equivalent to subjunctives_. It is a
mistake to say (as is often said) that the subjunctive mood
has practically disappeared from modern English; it is quite
common. But it is true to say that the equivalent expres-
sions are still commoner."[27] After enumerating the uses
of the past subjunctive, he has an "_Obs_. The past indica-
tive is sometimes used after _as if_, but it always has the
meaning of a past subjunctive."[28] (The scoring is mine.)

Kennedy says that "a verb is usually subjunctive in
mood when present or future meaning is given to a past-
tense form. Distinction in mood is no longer as clear-
cut as it was in an earlier day when conjugational endings
were more numerous."[29]

Kruisinga states that the subjunctive is used in two

27) E. A. Sonnenschein, _A New English Grammar_, 65.
28) _Ibid._, 74.
29) A. G. Kennedy, _Current English_, 529.

functions, namely as an optative, and as a potential. "The difference of tense (present and preterite) does not always serve to express differences of time, the preterite being used often in a way that is similar to the modal past tenses of the indicative.[30])

Onions defines the subjunctive as "a mood of will; in its simplest uses it expresses desire, and all its uses can be traced to this primary meaning, which may be denoted by shall or should. Thus the subjunctive is closely allied in meaning to the imperative."[31]) This is the only definition I found making this comparison.

After commenting on Sonnenschein's statement that the meaning of the subjunctive is distinct from that of the indicative, Jespersen complains that Sonnenschein never tells what exactly that meaning is. He himself says "Nor would it be possible to find one formula that should cover all the various uses of the subjunctive in any one Aryan language. The nearest approach is contained in the term thought-mood, or perhaps better, non-committal mood, as opposed to a downright statement; something is mentioned with a certain hesitation or doubt or uncertainty as to its reality, but even this vague definition is not always

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30) E. A. Kruisinga, Handbook of Presentday English, 95.
31) C. T. Onions, Advanced English Syntax, 114.

to the point, for sometimes the subjunctive is used for
what is downright imaginary or unreal (Ware ich doch
reich!) and sometimes for what is downright real (Je
suis heureux que tu sois venu). The truth seems to be
that the subjunctive was at first vaguely used in a var-
iety of cases which it is impossible logically or notion-
ally to deliminate as against the use of the indicative,
and that each language took its own course in sometimes
restricting and sometimes extending its sphere of employ-
ment, especially in dependent clauses. The vagueness of
the meaning of the subjunctive facilitates the transition
of a present subjunctive to a future indicative as in the
Latin forms in -am, and the extension of the second person
singular in the strong verbs from the subjunctive to the
indicative, e.G., O.E. waere. In many cases the levelling
of the two moods may have been brought about by formal
coalescence, but even apart from that there is in many lan-
guages a strong tendency to get rid of the subjunctive. In
Danish and in Russian there are only a few isolated surviv-
als; in English the subjunctive has since Old English times
been in retreat, though from the middle of the nineteenth
century there has been a literary revival of some of its u
uses. In Romanic the subjunctive is less used than in Lat-
in, as seen most clearly in French in conditional sentences
(s'il etait riche il payerait), the last form having sprung

from the Latin indicative (<u>pacare habēbat</u>). This extensive movement away from the subjunctive could hardly have taken place, had one mood been felt as decidedly the mood of fact and the other as the mood of thought, and we get nearer to the actual facts if we regard the indicative as the mood chosen when there is no special reason to the contrary, and the subjunctive as a mood required or allowable in certain cases."[32]

As to the present use of the subjunctive, Krapp has the following to say: "The most important contemporary change is that which is affecting the subjunctive mood. Practically, the only construction in modern English in which the subjunctive is in living, natural use is in the condition contrary to fact, <u>if I were you, I shouldn't do it</u>. Elsewhere, although it may still be employed with some subtle distinctions of thought, there is always a trace of consciousness in its use; it has more or less literary or archaic flavor."[33]

There are considerable differences, as I have indicated in the interpretation of the subjunctive mood by various grammarians. Jespersen thinks it silly to call verb-phrases (made up of the so-called "modal" auxiliaries and their infinitives) forms of the subjunctive. He says that the only

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32) Otto Jespersen, <u>The Philosophy of Grammar</u>, 217-8.
33) George P. Krapp, <u>Modern English</u>, 289-290.

reason grammarians have ever done so is that they were car-
rying over into English a phraseology acquired from the study
of Latin and German. To him the only subjunctives are those
few forms of the verb be--third person singular, present
and past, and third person singular present of other verbs--
which are actually different in form from the indicative.
So far as I have been able to determine, he would classify
phrases with could, might, would, should, as simply indic-
ative forms. Though he nowhere in Modern English Grammar,
Essentials of English Grammar or the Philosophy of Grammar
makes such a statement, I fail to see how such an interpreta-
tion can be avoided. In Essentials of English Grammar he
makes the statement that the indicative is used in all or-
dinary statements and questions. From simple matter-of-
fact sentences it has been extended to many sentences in
which formerly the subjunctive was used, so that now it is
the normal mood of English verbs. He then states that the
subjunctive is used in main sentences to express a (realiz-
able) wish, and in dependent clauses it used to be used to
express diffidence, uncertainty, hesitation, etc., but now
it may be considered a literary trick to remove the style
from everyday association. All that he has to say of verb
phrases in this discussion is that the imaginative use of
preterites, and especially could, might, ought, would,

should, was originally proper to the preterite subjunctive.
Since these verb phrases are not classified as subjunctives,
and certainly are not imperatives, by the process of elim-
ination he must consider them indicatives.

It would seem that the possible interpretation of all
of these definitions indicates that there are two schools
of thought regarding the subjunctive. There are those who
would limit the term subjunctive to those forms which are
actually different from the indicative, and those who are
concerned primarily with the meaning inherent in the use
of a form. The greatest exponent of the first theory is
Jespersen, while from the evidence of statements made in
their writings it would appear that the second theory is
held by Sonnenschein, Brown, Fowler, Kennedy, Nesfield,
Onions, and Poutsma.

Chapter III

The Materials

The list of source material is arranged chronologically in order of writing or publication. A key to references is given at the right.

Matthew Craddock, <u>Letter to Captain Endicott</u>   C1

William Bradford, <u>History of Plimoth Planta-</u>

    <u>tion</u>   WB

Thomas Shepard, <u>Selections</u>   TS

Nathaniel Ward, <u>The Simple Cobler of Agawamm</u>   W2

Robert Winthrop, <u>Life and Letters of John</u>

    <u>Winthrop</u>   W1

Anne Bradstreet, <u>Poems</u>   B1

Edward Johnson, <u>Wonder-working Providence</u>   J2

John Mason, <u>Brief History of the Pequot</u>

    <u>War</u>   M3

Ferdinando Gorges, <u>America Painted to the</u>

    <u>Life</u>   G1

Nathaniel Morton, <u>New England's Memoriall</u>   NM

John Josselyn, <u>Account of Two Voyages</u>   J1

Daniel Gookin, <u>Historical Collection</u>   G2

Mary Rowlandson, <u>Story of Captivity</u>   R1

William Hubbard, <u>History of New England</u>   WH

Increase Mather, <u>Illustrious Providences</u>   IM

George Fox, <u>Journal</u>   GF

Samuel Sewall, <u>The Selling of Joseph</u>   Sewall

Cotton Mather, <u>Magnalia Christicana</u>   MC2

Sarah Kemble Knight, <u>Journal</u>   K1

Cotton Mather, <u>Manuductio ad Ministerium</u>   MC1

Cadwallader Colden, <u>History of Five Nations</u>   CC

Samuel Sewall, <u>Diary</u>   S1

<u>Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay</u>

    <u>Colony</u>   Charters

I. The Subjunctive in Independent Statements

A. Expressing Wish and Imprecation.[1]

1. The formal subjunctive appears naturally very extensively in wishes. I have about eighty-five citations from nineteen of the authors. There are none from Colden, Hubbard, Knight, and Shepard, but that may be due to the character of their writings. This is by far the commonest use of the subjunctive in independent statements.

"The Lord see into ye equitie of my cause, and give us quiet minds" (WB 68)

"Graunt thee remember what thou'st done" (B1 28)

"But blessed forever be the name of the Lord" (GF 26)

"The Lord make all mankind sensible thereof" (G2 208)

"The Lord continue and increase them" (J2 44)

"God take them away, or ease us from them" (MC2 26)

"God be merciful to us, and receive us to himself" (IM 5)

"God have you all in his keeping" (NM 56)

"blessed be the Lord for it" (R1 76)

"The Lord humble me kindly and let his breaking my Image in my Son be a means to it" (S1 29)

"If they have carried away--farre them well" (W2 36)

"Lord be merciful to us" (NM 34)

"The Lord make us a blessing indeed" (R1 76)

"And woe be to them that so undervalue" (W2 20)

"All which he bringe to pass who is able" (W2 75)

"and the Lord prosper your endeavour" (C1 119)

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1) Some grammarians include sentences expressing concession as one of the uses of the subjunctive in independent clauses. "Concessions are expressed by the Subjunctive:
        Be it so.
        Happen what might." (Onions, Advanced English Syntax, 48.) If the Be it so expresses concession, it is really a dependent clause with the main clause implied. If it is supposed to mean Let it be so it does not express concession but a wish. Therefore I have considered concessive statements in dependent clauses, where I believe they belong.

The formal subjunctive is otherwise current in legal language: "Now know all men by these presents" (G2 75). The Charters and General Laws have such legal expressions as "be it enacted" (Charters 60, 79).

There may be a question as to whether some of the forms are imperative, as, for example, "Lord, help the young people of Boston" (MC1 104), "Lord, help us to number our days" (MC1 104). The comma is the only thing that distinguishes these instances from those above from S1, NM, R.

It is interesting to note the form of the pronoun in the citation from W2 36, formed apparently on the analogy of "fare thee well."

Perhaps the following citations should not be classified under wish or imprecation. They are, however, formal subjunctives in independent clauses. Some of them are what has been termed expressions of "modest desire."

"Therefore it were a most desirable thing" (G2 167)
"it were to be desired that those Gentlemen would consider" (J2 12)
"It were much to be desired that all people would take notice" (J2 30)
"and it were to be desired that the churches would gather" (J2 32)
"That were to insnare both him and herself" (W2 67)
"Farre better were it for men to make an end" (W2 34)
"It were the best piece of charity" (MC2 102)
"Truly 'twere to have been wished" (MC2 66)
"and it were to be wished her elder Sister would follow" (J2 8)

There are about five hundred and fifty citations of phrasal subjunctives in independent statements. The phrasal subjunctives formed with would + the infinitive and would + the past participle number over three hundred. In about fifty citations would seems to retain its original idea of willingness or desire.

"Some againe fell in utter dislike with Virginia,and would doe nothing if they went thither" (WB 55)
"Some would keep ye boate for fear they might be amongst Indians" (WB 106)
"The French would not stay one day" (CC 77)
"and I would pay them for it"(GF 53)
"and would rather lose her life than seek help" (G2 155)
"he would not let me go aboard no more" (J1 230)
"they would destroy both him and his" (M3 145)
"the ministers would gladly serve that man" (MC2 98)
"The mariners would not put to new sails"(IM 3)
"Mr. Shrimpton would not take any blame to himself" (S1 34)
"I begged them to let me see the Englishman,but they would not" (R1 62)
"The fleshe waxed wanton,& would no longer weare the yoake" (W1 99)

Some grammarians would not agree with my classification of all of the citations above;for example,Sonnenschein classifies would meaning desire or willingness as an indicative. "The past tense would is used as a past indicative to denote willingenss. It is used as a past subjunctive when it refers to present or future time,"[2] For the purposes of comparison I have nevertheless listed would as subjunctive when it retains its original meaning of desire or willingness.

2)E. A. Sonnenschein,A New English Grammar,75-76.

The use of _would_ which Sonnenschein classifies as a subjunctive referring to present or future time occurs in about seventy citations.

"there would be no great certainty" (WB 39)
"some would be desirous to know the manners" (CC 53)
"to relieve five men--would be great injustice" (G2 165)
"that would hardly make one year last" (WH 75)
"Humanity would complain of me" (M3 147)
"But neither of these would pass" (MC1 28)
"The Lord hereby would make us to acknowledge" (R1 5)
"the sons and daughters would become like Jacob" (S1 18)
"my heart would ever be readye"(W1 93)
"I would now set on the best peece of Soule-leather I have,did I not fear I should break my All" (W2 32)

In addition to expressing desire or referring to present or future time,_would_ is occasionally used to indicate habitual or customary action. I have over fifty such instances.

"for an hour together a daemon would beat" (IM 111)
"she would lift up her hands and eyes" (W1 88)
"she would fall a-weeping" (R1 17)
"They would pick up old bones and scald them" (R1 68)
"one of the professors would pray"(GF 13)
"he would commonly be cutting of their hair and the truth together" (J2 20)
"he would shower down the water" (MC2 78)
"He let his pursuers come near and then would dart from them" (CC 9)

In addition to the _would_ + infinitive forms given above,there are fifty examples of _would have_ + the past participle.

"how willingly I would have borne my part" (WB 79)
"they would have sent me up to the Parliament" (GF 39)
"she willingly would have expressed her grief" (J1 231)
"would they have covered it with some shifts" (J2 50)

There are not nearly so many citations of should and
should have as there are of would and would have. I have
less than fifty examples of should + the infinitive and
should have + the past participle.

"I should overcharge my weak head" (WB 89)
"it should make us adore the soverainty of God" (B1 68)
"those chief men should keep a correspondence" (CC 87)
"Those that go for discovery should keep instructed"
    (G2 159)
"The planters are or should be restless pains takers"
    (J1 349)
"good men should be incited to endeavour" (IM 94)
"Christians should carry it to all the world" (S1 19)
"The bill should have been paid" (G2 215)

The expression "it should seem" occurs a number of
times. Curme says:"We often use the regular form of the
principal proposition of a theoretical conditional sentence
as a form to express an opinion modestly: It would (some-
times,in accordance with older usage,should)seem so." 3)

"We have reckoned,it should seeme,without our host"(WB 70)
"For shiping,it should seem,is set" (WB 60)

Citations with might + the infinitive and might have
+ the past particle number about fifty.

"it might be sundry of ye things feared " (WB 35)
"Out of great numbers I might pick my choice" (B1 110)
"they might buy the spirit with the letter" (GF 78)
"possibly men and women might pass over it" (G2 145)
"every year's experience might add something" (WH 14)
"it might with equal-some solemnity be shown" (MC1 36)
"Many instances hereof might be produced" (NM 9)
"Now might we hear mothers and children crying" (R1 5)
"one might have been suddenly as it were surprised"
    (MC2 83)
"the history might have been mentioned" (IM 41)   22)
"neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to anyone" (GF

3) George O. Curme,Syntax,367.

In his _American English Grammar_ Fries states that
in the letters examined in his investigation made at the
request of the National Council of Teachers of English
"Comparatively few instances of _might_ appeared in the
Standard English letters (eleven in all),but only one in-
stance in the Vulgar English materials. _Should_ seems to be
used very infrequently in the Vulgar English materials --
much less frequently than in the Standard English letters
and _would_ proportionately more frequently. In the Vulgar
English letters _should_ appears in only 4.5 per cent of the
instances as against 95. per cent of _would_.In the Standard
English materials _should_ is used in 26.6 per cent as against
73.4 per cent of _would_." [4] This proportion is strikingly
in agreement with the proportions of _would_,_should_,and _might_
in my citations.

Phrasal subjunctive forms with _could_ number about one
hundred and fifty.

> "but ye people were rune away & _could_ not be seen"(WB 100)
> "Alas,thy ships and oars _could do_ no good" (B1 117)
> "a more proper Opportunity _could_ - be" (CC 157)
> "I _could speak_ much of these things" (GF 20)
> "This people were a potent nation and _could raise_ about
>   3000 men" (G2 148)
> "More rarities of this nature I _could make known_" (J1 36)
> "they _could_ not _endure_ that Yoke" (M3 148)
> "I _could wish_ you would make it a Rule" (IM 22)
> "I _could tell_ the Lord as Hezekiah did" (R1 45)
> "

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4) Charles Carpenter Fries,_American English Grammar_,181.

There is a question as to the mood of the larger part
of my _could_ citations.

"yet being a strong man,he _could_ not _be stayed_" (G1 60)
"sometimes the company _could_ scarce _tell_" (WH 82)
"neither Indian nor English _could_ he _meet_" (J1 229)
"seeking to quench it,but _could_ not" (J2 45)
"none of those wretched Fortune-tellers _could forsee_"
  (MC1 99)
"but the people ran away and _could_ not _be seen_" (NM 29)
"I _could_ hardly bear to think of the weary steps" (R1 32)
"she knew Jesus Christ and _could speak_ to him" (TS 220)
"we _could_ not _prevail_ with him by any means" (M3 143)

I have estimated that about four-fifths of the _could_
citations express ability in the past. Perhaps the explana-
tion is that at this period _could_ had not developed its pres-
ent modal tinge of expressing possibility. Curme says:
"_Might_,like _should_,has lost its indicative function. _May_
and _might_,like _shall_ and _should_,are both felt as subjunc-
tives,both referring to the present or future,differing from
each other only in the degree of probability which they ex-
press. _Can_ is developing in the direction of _may_." [5] I do
not wish to imply that there is any marked connection between
the findings of this investigation and those of Fries; but of
the examples of _could_ in the Standard English letters of his
investigation half are subjunctive,a proportion quite diff-
erent from the one-fifth I have noted. In his discussion of
the use of _could_ Fries presents the following interpretation:

5) George O. Curme, _Syntax_,410.

can,could,OE meaning as full word,knowledge;know how

Later developments of meaning,general ability,possibility,
permission,sanction. [6] It would seem possible to deduce
from this table and from the preponderance of citations in
which could expresses ability that in the seventeenth cen-
tury the principal use of could was the second above,gen-
eral ability.The modern increase in the use of the subjunc-
tive is referred to by Curme: "The common people instead of
neglecting the subjunctive,as is so often claimed,are crea-
ting new and clearer subjunctive forms in accordance with
their natural tendency toward concrete expression." [7]

B. Expressing Quasi-imperatives with let.

Some grammarians classify sentences with let under the
imperative; others under a so-called optative. I have about
one hundred and fifty citations with let.

    "let it be remembered" (MCl 31)
.   "Let all people know" (J2 57)
    "Let it please your Majesty" (G2 142)
    "Let the reader make a pause" (NM 22)
    "let his holy name be praised" (NM 80)
    "Let not God impute sin" (Sl 91)
    "lett not thy grace faile me" (Wl 95)
    "Let the redeemed of the Lord say so" (Rl 71)

Only four can be classed as true imperatives.

"But Captain Stoddard was reached and said,'Let the
youth speak" (GF 14)

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6) Charles Carpenter Fries,American English Grammar,175.
7) George O. Curme,Syntax,414.

"Lampett said ,'Let him speak'" (GF 67)
"let me alone,let me go,sath that Angell" (Bl 72)
"I pray let me drive in half a dozen plaine honest
  Country Hobnails" (W2 82)

Tabulated on the basis of the form of the pronoun used,we find: let with us,23 times;let with me,21 times; let with those or them,17 times; let with him,10 times; let with it,9 times; let with indefinites (all,any person,no man,every man,none,such), 19 times. It will be noted that the pronoun after let is in the accusative case. In this connection Sonnenschein says: "The verb let in the sense of allow or cause takes an accusative and an object-infinitive. But a sentence containing the imperative of let with an accusative and an infinitive is often equivalent in meaning to a sentence containing a subjunctive of desire with its subject in the nominative case;for example,let us sing equals sing we." [8]

Of the one hundred and fifty citations of let,sixteen are in the negative.

"let me not be counted a Zoitus for saying" (MC1 39)
"let us not be wanting" (C1 119)
"Let them not make any excuse" (CC 50)
"let them not wonder" (J2 10)
"O let it not be said of you" (MC2 100)
"let not the Circaean Cup intoxicate you" (MC1 42)
"Let not God impute Sin" (S1 91)

An instance of the same sentance occurring in the writings of different authors is the following:

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8) E. A. Sonnenschein,New English Grammar,85.

"let your wisdom and godliness appear" (NM 18)
"let your wisdome and godlines appeare" (WB 81)

C. Expressing conclusion with had (would have)

In this section there are about fifty citations, with all the authors represented except Craddock, Josselyn, Gorges, Mason, and Winthrop.

"and if he had not nominated, he had not been free"
(WB 51)
"otherwise all had been dashed and undone" (WB 74)
"els I think we had been half way at Virginia" (WB 86)
"is it likely they had had this, if ye first viage had not been made" (WB 100)
"The Indians had destroyed them, if Corlear had not contrived their escape" (CC 16)
"the French had not gained so great Advantage, if they had not carefully observed" (CC 113)
"their rebellion against the English had been long since cured or prevented" (Gl 22)
"If they had not met the vessel, they had all perished"
(IM 13)
"The providence of God was seen--which otherwise had not been" (WH 55)
"Had Captain Standish so done, he had been carried to a wrong port, from which he had certainly made a bad return" (WH 95)
"Had they been carried unto Hudson's River in all probability this feeble number had been massacred" (MC2 51)

In regard to the use of had meaning would have, Onions states: "The uses of the Subjunctive are as follows: 3. In the principal clause of conditional sentences implying a negative (55). Should, would, could, might, must (204) and in poetry were (would be), had (would have) are now the only verbs which occur.

I would not tell, if I knew.
If thou hadst been here, my brother had not died."[9]

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9) C.T. Onions, An Advanced English Syntax, 117.

As I understand this definition, I should say that the implication is that <u>had</u> meaning <u>would have</u> is used chiefly in the principal clause of conditional sentences implying a negative. This does not seem to be borne out by the examples I have collected; of the thirty-three citations there was the following distribution in if-clauses and in main clauses: six were negative in both main and if-clause, thirteen were positive in both, fourteen were negative in if-clause, positive in main clause. This gives a total of twenty-seven positive in the main clause, out of thirty-three examples, which does not seem to be in line with Onions' statement.

A number of sentences are noteworthy in that they contain both <u>had</u> and <u>would have</u>:

> "If he that once muzzled the lions had not miraculously restrained them, these <u>had</u> all <u>been devoured</u>! and so He kept their enemies from such attempts, as <u>would</u> otherwise <u>have</u> soon <u>annihilated</u> this poor handful of men" (MC2 54)
> "Resolving to keep such a mean in the division of their lands as should not hinder the growth of the plantation--which example and practice it <u>had been</u> well for New England it had been longer followed; for then, probably, though they <u>had had</u> fewer plantations, those which they had <u>would have</u> more easily <u>been defended</u> against assaults" (WH 199)
> "but the chair danced up and down, and <u>had like</u> to have cast both man and boy into the fire; and the child was afterwards flung about in such a manner, as that they feared that his brains <u>would have been beaten out</u>" (IM 106)
> "Now we were in a more wretched condition than if we had been swallowed up by the sea, for then we <u>had been delíverd</u> out of the extremities we were now in for want

of meat and drink; and thus had we wherewithal to
subsist as much as <u>would keep</u> us from starving" (IM 47)
"for had they gone to Hudson's River, it <u>had proved</u>
dangerous--whereby they <u>would have been</u> in great per-
il" (WH 22)
"they <u>had</u> assuredly <u>saved</u> themselves much labor, which
I dare presume they <u>would have spent</u> worthily" (J2 2)

II. The Subjunctive in Dependent Statements

A. In Noun Clauses

1. After verbs of <u>saying</u>, <u>thinking</u>, <u>per-</u>

<u>ceiving</u>, <u>knowing</u>, <u>showing</u>.

The formal subjunctive appears frequently in noun

clauses after verbs of <u>saying</u>, <u>thinking</u>, <u>perceiving</u>, <u>know-</u>

<u>ing</u>, <u>showing</u>. There are the following formal subjunctives

in this section of the classification.

"I pray God <u>direct</u> us, and <u>give</u> us that spirit" (WB 52)
"And David's men said see, we <u>be</u> afraid here" (WB 49)
"I beseech you, brethren, that the house of God which
    you are <u>be</u> not shaken" (WB 81)
"ye pilott said, ye Lord <u>be</u> mercifull to them" (WB 105)
"That admitt this <u>bee</u> the true God and that <u>bee</u> his
    word" (B1 8)
"to see that major part of watch <u>be</u> sufficient able men"
    (Charters 83)
"He sometimes wished that I <u>were</u> a little while with
    Judge" (GF 69)
"for God knows they <u>be</u> the cause of much blindness"
    (MC2 26)
"my Desire is that my Brother <u>have given</u> him" (S1 88)
"it were well for a King if hee had no will at all, but
    were all reason" (W2 66)
"I know the governor of Canada <u>dare</u> not <u>enter</u> " (CC 85)
"to see that none <u>meddle</u>" (J2 35)
"the capital <u>be</u> equally divided" (WH 49)
"that he <u>be accounted</u>" (WH 49)
"that every person <u>be rated</u>" (WH 48)

Phrasal subjunctives in this section number about four hundred. The following table will give an idea of the distribution of the auxiliary forms.

	could	would	should	might	total
say	13	32	14	4	62
think	4	16	18	12	49
perceive	1	1	--	--	2
know	--	5	--	2	7
show	1	--	3	1	5
answer	2	5	--	1	8
assure	--	3	1	3	7
believe	3	3	1	--	7
conceive	1	3	2	5	11
find	4	4	--	--	8
see	5	7	3	--	15
tell	13	29	24	4	72
hope	--	14	4	5	23
miscellaneous	17	39	38	11	107
	64	160	110	48	383

The miscellaneous verbs are accuse, acknowledge, acquaint, add, allow, apologize, certify, conclude, consider, confess, consent, convince, cry, declare, deny, doubt, endure, expect, forsee, imagine, imply, inform, judge, mean, object, observe, offer, own, predict, pretend, presume, prevail, prophecy, remember, reply, report, scruple, signify, solicit, speak, suggest, suppose, suspect, threaten, understand, warn.

"Colonel Slaughter said he could admit of no proposals"
   (CC 155)
"He said he would goe" (WB 46)
"Then he said I should not speak contradicting" (GF 72)
"The French were conceited before that they thought
   they could not escape" (CC 18)
"I had thought they would as soon have gone to Rome"
   (WB 66)
"Methinks I might perswade myself" (MC2 36)

"He seem'd little to heed it, and said I _might be_ there"
   (Sl 82)[10]

"I never had thought that this _should have come_ to the
   Press" (M3 128)

"I perceived there _would be_ too much for one time" (IM 34)

"when he perceived he _could_ not _bring_ about his end"
   (WH 60)

"He knew it _would trouble_ them and _hinder_ ye bussines"
   (WB 74)

"not knowing what _might follow_" (Rl 56)

"And the Lord showed me that such--_should come_" (GF 17)

"showing how they _could_ not _consent_" (Sl 44)

"the Lord showed me that I _might_ not _eat_ and _drink_"
   (GF 2)

"It was answered him, they _could_ not _hinder_ it" (NM 68)

"But he gave her this answer that he _would cleave_ to
   God" (G2 199)

"He assured them that he _would act_ with such vigour"
   (CC 83)

"Beleeving not a Limbertong'd sister among them _could
   outdo_ Madam Hostes" (Kl 3)

"I conceived it _could_ not _be esteemed_ a monopoly" (Gl 67)

"I found that I _could give_ its extreams a polarity"
   (IM 76)

"They found it _would_ not _be_" (WB 38)

"Seeing no persuasions of her good spouses _could pre-
   vail_" (Rl 2)

"seeing less provisions of clothing _would serve_" (WB 36)

"when she see no perswasions _would cause_ me to stay"
   (Kl 66)

"he told them the English kept the plague under ground
   and _could send_ it amongst them when they pleased"
   (WH 71)

"I told the President I _could do_ nothing" (Sl 38)

"I told her no, I _would_ not _be_ accessory" (Kl 3)

"and told him I _should speak_ according to the Scriptures"
   (GF 72)

"We are told--that they _might set_ their hope in God"
   (MC2 96)

"and they allowed it _might be_ an Injury" (CC XXI)

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10) There are two interesting substitutions for _say:_
"they now _gave forth_ that we _would eat_ out one another"
(GF 94)
"for when we had gone a little way, on a sudden my mistress
gives out, she _would go_ no further, but turns back again"
(Rl 36)

"was I sent forth to declare that all <u>might come</u> to
    Christ" (GF 72)
"We replyed, that we thought it was too early for them
    to fight, but they <u>might take</u> their opportunity" (M3 150)
"And because they foresaw that this wilderness <u>might be</u>
    <u>looked</u> upon as a place of liberty, and therefore <u>might</u>
    <u>in time be troubled</u>"(NM 99)
"Yonnondio acquainted us some time ago that he <u>would</u>
    <u>speak</u>" (CC 61)
"he threatened that he <u>would raise</u> the Devil" (GF 38)
"did often solicit that one--<u>would endeavour</u> to join"
    (G2 18)
"for they presumed they <u>should</u> not <u>be troubled</u>" (WB 38)
"My opinion is that the Brethren <u>should send</u> Messengers"
    (CC 87)
"came running into our house crying out they <u>should</u> all
    <u>dye</u>" (J1 300)
"Sathan suggests to me, that I <u>should sinne</u>" (W2 100)
"supposing the English <u>might be</u> a bar in their way" (WH 70)
"and yet confessed to his Friends, that he <u>could</u> never
    <u>get</u> the time" (MC2 33)
"they imagined that the sea-calf <u>could</u> not be <u>struck</u>"
    (IM 93)
"I judged I <u>could</u> in justice <u>doe</u> no less than endeavour"
    (S1 97)
"I thought I <u>could</u> as well <u>have died</u> as went back" (R1 37)

There are two identical expressions used by Rowland-
son and Fox which do not exactly come under this classifi-
cation. They are perhaps used after <u>said</u> or <u>promised</u>, im-
plied:

"Then he bid me come again, and he <u>would tell</u> me many
    things" (GF 5)
"there came an Indian and bid me come to his wigwam and
    he <u>would give</u> me some pork and ground nuts" (R1 59)

2. After verbs and other expressions of <u>rejoicing</u>,
    <u>grieving</u>, <u>wondering</u>, <u>complaining</u>.

In noun clauses after verbs of <u>rejoicing</u>, <u>grieving</u>,
<u>wondering</u>, <u>complaining</u> there is but one formal subjunctive:

"Only 'tis pity, that instead of one poor feeble Ameri-
can there <u>be</u> not more than thirty men" (MC2 33)

I have about thirty phrasal subjunctive citations in

noun clauses following verbs and expressions of <u>rejoicing</u>,

etc. The distribution of auxiliaries after verbs of <u>re-</u>

<u>joicing</u>, etc., is as follows: three <u>could</u>, three <u>would</u>,

twenty-one <u>should</u>, no <u>might</u>.

"I was grieved that any who made professions of religion
<u>should do</u> so" (GF 2)

"Mr. White being grieved that so good a work <u>should be</u>
suffered to fall to the ground" (WH 108)

"and I am ashamed and grieved that you <u>should be</u> thus
<u>abused</u>" (GF 73)

"sory we are that ther <u>should be</u> occasion of writing"
(WB 75)

"bewaylinge that she <u>could</u> not then <u>be assured</u>" (W2 87)

"and therefore pittie these ships <u>should come</u> back empty"
(CC 118)

"it is pity but that they <u>should be observed</u>" (IM 96)

"'Tis pity there <u>should be</u> more caution used" (S1 17)

"but it is pitty it <u>should be</u> lost" (W2 26)

"it is pity men of gifts <u>should live</u> upon men's gifts"
(W2 41)

"A thousand pitties it is such gallant Spirits <u>should</u>
<u>spend</u> their lives" (W2 72)

"and they were much troubled that I <u>should be</u> in prison"
(GF 36)

"But my relations were much troubled that I <u>would</u> not <u>go</u>
with them to hear the priest" (GF 6)

"So takeing leave of my company, tho' with no little Re-
luctance that I <u>could</u> not <u>proceed</u> with them on my Jorny"
(K1 23)

"Unkas is not well pleased, that the English <u>should pass</u>"
(G2 191)

"knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord, that
they <u>should have</u> encouragement" (MC2 71)

"and hence was glad she <u>could read</u> my notes" (TS 220)

"Nor is itt less to be wondered att, that any of the
posterity of Adam <u>should ly</u> hid so long" (WH 26)

"not without marveling that your selfe <u>should trouble</u>
us" (WB 62)

"Yet it seems strange we <u>should be</u> put to him" (WB 59)

"It was something strange to the people that I <u>would</u>

not go" (GF 51)

Perhaps the verbs boast and object and the adjectives
just and loath belong here as much as under any of the other
categories of noun clauses.

"that sometimes boasted of their strength--and what
     they would do and bring to pass" (NM 59)
"When my heart objected, can you be content that Christ
     should lose his Honor, and his Ordinance be blemished?"
     (TS 217)
"and just it is that such as undersell them should not
     reinherit them in haste" (W2 49)
"as being loath his kingdom should goe downe, the trueth
     prevaile, and ye churches of God reverte to their an-
     cient puritie, and recover their primitive order" (WB 3)

3. After impersonal expressions it is right, it is

wrong, it is necessary, etc.

In noun clauses after impersonal expressions there are

two formal subjunctives:

"Is it not enough that great persons be lulled asleep"
     (MC2 31)
"Whereas it is thought fit that a Patent of Incorporation
     be granted" (G1 64)

I have about twenty-five phrasal subjunctive citations.

The distribution of auxiliaries after impersonal expressions

is as follows: three could, no would, sixteen should, four

might.

"it is possible it might be executed not on him that most
     deserved, but on him that could best be spared" (WH 77)
"For it is not possible that any good things should
     come" (W1 80)
"Indeed Europeans will hardly think it possible that
     Men could make such a march" (CC 139)
"it is not impossible but a considerable number of them

might withdraw themselves; and might pass farther"
(G2 146)

"declaring that he thought it impossible for one not
familiarly acquainted with the Dutch should so imi-
tate" (IM 97)

"and unto whom it is reasonable we should give" (MC2 37)

"it seems unreasonable that any people should pray"
(J2 11)

"it's rational, that it should operate (J1 246)

"I saw how fit it was that the will of Christ should be
done" (TS 17)

"That vast country--it was thought meet should be divid-
ed" (WH 35)

"As it was necessary that there should be a Moses" (J2 34)

"It was now evident thatthe Indians could no longer be
amused with words, and that--the French would carry"
(CC 157)

"It appears that great care should be had" (IM 68)

"it seemed they could not find ye bay" (WB 47)

4. After the verb to fear and equivalent expres-

sions.

After the verb to fear and equivalent expressions there

are no formal subjunctives. The phrasal subjunctives num-

ber about twenty-five. The distribution of auxiliaries

after the verb to fear, etc., is as follows: one could,

seventeen would, three should, three might.

"for his wife expressed her fears that God would bring"
(NM 79)

"which put them in some fear that ye shipe could not be
able" (WB 91)

"Bid me not feare--we should be over" (K1 12)

"made them fear that country would be too hot" (MC2 48)

"for fear it would prove but Old Darknesse" (J2 2)

"In somuch that for fear it should prevaile" (WB 27)

"it was feared they might all have perished" "WH 58)

"looking that every hour would be the last" (R1 13)

"which he feared they would find to their cost" (WB 74)

"feared much that this priest would do me--mischief"
(GF 47)

"but some feared he would not goe" (S1 93)
"They were afraid that the Mohawks might have" (CC 113)
"The elders were afraid--the wantonness--would not bear"
  (WH 66)
"for they apprehended that she would retain enough"
  (NM 20)
"and fearing lest they might discover us" (M3 136)
"fearing they would lose all their corn" (WH 74)
"The tailor came-fearing I would complain of him" (GF 55)

5. After verbs and expressions implying an act

of the will.

In noun clauses after verbs and expressions implying

an act of the will there are four formal subjunctives:

"it is ordered that whosoever the court shall appoint do
  take care that all such Indians be delivered" (CC 28)
"we renew the Request that six Indians be delivered"
  (G2 177)
"and ordered that Mr. Mather be acquainted" (S1 31)
"Our Ax is always in our hands, but take care that you
  be timely ready" (CC 147)

Of the phrasal forms there are about one hundred. The

distribution of auxiliaries is as follows: five could,

forty-five would, twenty-two should, twenty-three might.

"King James ordered--that he should persuade" (CC 92)
"it was ordered that the Patent should be looked into"
  (G1 68)
"Yes, God forbid but we should have hope" (GF 33)
"I wish the town could be made too hot for these" (MC2 99)
"and wish'd this success might not hinder her" (S1 52)
"I wish no man else would" (W2 65)
"I most humbly beseech you--that you would please to arme
  your mind" (W2 54)
"And so praing that I might receive" (G1 68)
"and prayed me that I would not be troubled" (R1 18)
"my prayers--that he would so guide and guard you" (NM 19)
"I most earnestly implore--that you would not deferre"
  (W2 63)
"It was hard to persuade myself that ever I should be

satisfied with bread again" (R1 78)
"and begged of God that he would find" (IM 44)
"God's promise that he would--drive them out" (WH 60)
"Mr. Hale pleaded he might not lay his hand" (S1 54)
"it was resolved that every one should plant corn"
     (WH 79)
"my resolution being such I might make some use" (G1 59)
"It was agreed that the Mohawks should join" (CC 158)
"it was agreed that part of the church should go before"
     (NM 13)
"My Design was that the Genius of the Indians might ap-
     pear " (CC LIII)
"he importuned me that I would put forth power" (G2 194)
"I was willing that the beauties might become visible"
     (MC1 41)
"the justices gave leave that I should have liberty"
     (GF 34)
"The Pequots were then bound by Covenant, that none should
     inhabit their Native Country" (M3 148)
"to sue to his majestie that he would be pleased" (WB 37)
"with an oath that they would kill me" (GF 96)
"he advised them that they should not hearken" (CC 134)
"I gave my word I would be his intercessor" (G1 79)
"desired that all that coast might be made free" (WH 85)
"she desired that the bell might ringe for hir" (W1 82)
"it was his great desire that he would incline" (G2 171)
"He had rather the earth should swallow him up" (W2 8)
"threatenings were given that they would take" (GF 82)

6. In dependent questions and exclamations.

In dependent questions and exclamations the formal

subjunctive was fairly common. I have twenty-one citations

(by far the largest number in any of the noun clauses cited).

They are all introduced by whether (whither):

"it matters not whether the load be more or less" (B1 58)
"whether the beast were impounded or not" (Charters 63)
"whether it be their duty" (Charters 84)
"we know not whether it be practised by the Christians"
     (CC 57)
"whether it be for thyself or such as live" (G1 92)
"I asked him whether he were willing to have" (G2 194)
"there is a Bug, but whether it be a Native" (J1 289)

"he knows not whether there be not all done" (MC2 27)
"whither since he have or no I know not" (IM 84)
"Whether this experiment were lawful" (IM 99)
"Whether his faith were of the operation" (Sl 14)
"whether the foundation be firmly laid" (Sewall 17)
"I question much whether they were not better speake
plainer English" (W2 57)
"it matters not a farthing whether he be a Presbyterian"
(W2 43)
"whether it were so, I cannot tell" (Rl 59)
"Whether they might be there suffered" (MC2 80)
"question whether it be a woman's work" (Bl 83)
"whether this be because Dog's Flesh is most agreeable
to Indian Palates, or whether it be as an emblem"
(CC 23)
"whether these things be done" (CC 38)
"whether this be true or no" (Jl ?40)
"look whether the resounding be on the east" (Jl ?49)
"whether it be of a third sort" (Jl 291)
"Whether persons smitten be dead" (IM 68)

There are about ninety phrasal subjunctive forms in

dependent questions. The distribution of auxiliaries is

as follows: fourteen could, thirty should, eleven might,
thirty-one would.
"we cannot conceive why any should carry servants" (WB 61)
"I asked them what I should do there" (GF 99)
"I wondered why these things should come to me" (GF 3)
"I was at a stand whether I should or no" (GF 40)
"asked if I would not go into the church" (GF 85)
"to see what they would do with me" (GF 72)
"were contriving how they might put me to death" (GF 88)
"saw no cause wherefore we should not enjoy" (Gl 65)
"I asked him whether he would take upon him" (G2 194)
"considering how necessary government would be" (WH 53)
"gravely demanded what I would give him" (Kl 3)
"enquired of Onkos, what he thought the Indians would
do" (M3 137)
"I know not why the Spaniard should go unrivalled"
(MC2 43)
"I asked him how he could sleep so" (Rl 31)
"Whether they might be there suffered freely" (MC2 80)
"they then began to think what should become of them"
(NM 50)
"they began to think how they might raise corn" (NM 60)
"He knew no whether he should stand or fall" (Rl 65)

"asked me what I would give him to tell me" (Rl 65)
"I asked him why then he could not tell it" (Sl 8)
"And I began to think how should it be otherwise" (TS 219)
"A question arose, whether the skin should be cut"(IM 82)
"Samuel Russel wondered how I could live" (IM 36)
"she asked who should watch with hir" (Wl 87)
"to conceive how those women should have grace" (W2 26)

There is an interesting inconsistency in the following:

"Whether he hath failed of some helps from others which
   he expected, and so be not well able to goe through
   with things, or whether he hath feared lest you should--
   or whether he have thought by withoulding----we know
   not" (WB 59-60)

There are a number of noun clauses which do not clear-

ly fall in any of the preceding categories.

"the Government is divided into four Counties, which to
   shew, they would their posterity should mind whence
   they came" (J2 53-4)
"first, that the houses improved should remain" (WH 50)
"Lastly, that so doing their sovereign Lord King James
   would esteem him as his friend and ally" (NM 40)
"and that for these reasons following--that their pos-
   terity would in few generations become Dutch" (NM 12)
"which made him sensible that a tree could keep off"
   (WH 56)
"wicked slanders--that I would give a fellow money"
   (GF 58)
"I made a new Covenant that I would reforme" (Wl 65)
"They had laid their plot that the troopers should take
   every one's name and then command them" (GF 102)
"a dark jealousy that I might be somebody" (GF 61)
"the end of my coming--was that they might come" (GF 63-4)
"assurance that in time I should want no undertakers"
   (Gl 57)
"But that which made them all stand amazed in the end
   was that he should go again to justify" (NM 77)
"I took it very ill that you should ever offer" (CC 85)
"a vision of me that a man in breeches should come"
   (GF 70)
"impression was left that some place might be found"
   (WH 41)
"Dispute was in this, that Coll Dungan would force"
   (CC 91)

B. In Adjective Clauses

The subjunctive appears in adjective clauses in about two hundred and fifty citations. It is not surprising that there are but few formal subjunctives.

"and therefore, whatever come of it" (IM 22)
"whatever were the honey in the mouth" (WH 100)
"with egge to be in it, whatever it be" (W2 26)
"whosoever he be shall commit" (Charters 60)
"whosoever be pardoned" (W2 70)
"in what pangs soever it be" (WB 13)
"by what other name it be or shall be called" (G1 75)

The greatest number of the phrasal subjunctive citations are introduced by that, eighty-three in number. Again the largest number contain would or would have.

"There was one that would fall into a syncope" (IM 72)
"he had a brother that would not eat horse" (R1 57)
"he that would keep a pure heart" (B1 66)
"he that would not drink should pay all" (GF 2)
"all those that would willingly serve the Lord" (NM 54)
"we that should be partners of humilitie" (WB 70)
"any of the praying Indians that should come" (CC 118)
"the first person that should open the door" (J2 30)
"the ill consequences that might happen" (CC 24)
"we have with the best speed that we could" (WB 41)
"all the success that could be expected" (CC 117)
"Happy were they that could bring in their heads" (M3 148)

The handbooks point out that who refers to persons and that to things. However, of the eighty-three citations introduced by that, forty or nearly half refer to persons, whereas I have only thirty citations of relative clauses introduced by who.

"Indian enemies, who they were afraid might be laying"
(CC 123)
"who could not but know that our nation" (G1 58)

"who sometimes would ruffle against religion" (G2 191)
"who soon might possess themselves" (WH 45)
"who could hardly continue so long sober" (J2 31)
"it is pity they who have given so many general pardons
should want one now" (W2 68)

I have ninety adjective clauses introduced by which,

the larger number employing the phrasal would form.

"a great iron scrue, which would raise ye beame" (WB 92)
"some mutton wch shee would broil" (K1 31)
"those things which they suppose would be amulets" (IM 93)
"those which should escape or overcome" (WB 33)
"license, for which they should pay a sum" (NM 63)
"which should not pass without our acknowledgements"
     (R1 75)
"welcomes wch we could not avoid" (K1 13)
"English which yet they could well understand" (NM 39)
"Wonders which I might recount" (B1 107)
"my design, which I earnestly desired might have been"
     (G2 225)
"in which they might promise themselves a freedom"
     (WH 44)

There are about fifteen relative clauses introduced

by what.

"he considered of what advantage it might be of" (CC 104)
"they bore what saile they could to gett in" (WB 105)
"giving them what encouragement they could" (GF 88)
"the Latin Tongue is what you should labour" (MC1 28)
"to procure what provisions he could" (WH 73)
"who had mortgaged what Estate hee could not sell"
     (K1 49)
"procured what corn they could" (NM 55)

It is difficult at times to be certain of the proper

classification of clauses introduced by what. I have about

thirty citations of clauses introduced by what which are

neither adjective clauses nor dependent questions. The

only classification I have been able to put them under is

suggested by Onions when he says "A dependent question may

be defined as a question clause in a complex sentence, or a noun clause introduced by an interrogative word."[11)   It is under this last part of his statement that it seems logical to classify citations like the following:

"endeavoured to perform what they could" (CC 7)
"they fawningly said what might I have been" (GF 101)
"so I have done what I could" (G1 48)
"did what they could for their defence" (G2 167)
"and what they could procure by fishing" (WH 69)
"gather what we should wish to write" (MC2 103)
"bid me speak what I thought he would give" (R1 56)
"thanked God for what we might expect" (S1 39)
"Break not with steely blows, what oyle should melt"
   (W2 69)

In addition to the preceding citations, there are a few introduced by such as, whereby, whereof, as.

"the names of such as be nominated" (Charters 82)
"such as be overtaken with drink" (Ibid., 83)
"and such as would adventure with him" (WH 13)
"powere granted whereby they might form" (Ibid., 61)
"to secure a patent as might be able to maintain a
   minister" (J2 40)

There are over thirty citations of adjective clauses not introduced by any word.

"he wanted not for the best means the country could af-
   ford" (G1 173)
"the best encouragement they could" (WH 93)
"they make all the sail they could" (J2 35)
"the first opportunity I could get" (R1 16)
"to attain those ends I should attain" (TS 218)

There is but one citation in which the omitted relative is in the nominative case.

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11) C. F. Onions, An Advanced English Syntax, 76

"not only to prevent the disturbance <u>might follow</u>--
and who--<u>might bring</u> in again" (J2 41)

C. In Adverb Clauses

1. Expressing Time

There are about thirty formal subjunctives expressing
time.

"to see the Devil when they <u>be</u> alone" (TS 232)
"be diligent or els when death <u>come</u> God send" (W2 86)
"till satisfaction <u>be made</u>" (Charters 48)
"Iron till it <u>be</u> thoroughly heat" (Bl 54)
"till it <u>be found</u> that the dead are there" (WH 104)
"till it <u>be</u> of a deep colour" (J2 336)
"till shoals of Cod-fish <u>be seen</u> swimming" (MC2 44)
"till God please I <u>have</u> better acquaintance" (Sl 119)
"till your rest <u>be</u> thoroughly established" (W2 77)
"els they <u>were</u> all cast away" (WH 56)
"until he <u>have</u> served out the time" (Charters 42)
"until they <u>be brought</u>" (Ibid., 82)
"Until this <u>point be gained</u>" (MC2 7)
"until the Glorious God <u>give</u> you a new heart" (Ibid. 15)
"until they <u>be reduced</u> to more civility" (WH 29)
"until the circumstances <u>be recorded</u>" (Sl 19)
"untill he <u>take</u> us and <u>wipe</u> away all tears" (TS 211)
"until it <u>be brought</u> unto the fire" (TS 287)
"before it <u>be settled</u>" (WB 81)
"before they <u>bee</u> fit soile" (Bl 65)
"before the case <u>be committed</u> to the jury" (Charters 46)
"before his case <u>be entered</u>" (Ibid. 49)
"before the party <u>be delivered</u> from prison" (Ibid. 49)
"before it <u>were</u> too late" (WH 78)
"before the fruit trees <u>bee blossomed</u> out" (WH 21)
"before the seven years <u>be expired</u>" (Ibid. 48)
"before it <u>be</u> thorow ripe" (J2 260)
"before it <u>be</u> well settled" (NM 18)

The phrasal subjunctives number about eighty. The
following table indicates the distribution of introductory
words and of auxiliaries in this section.

	when	while	till	until	before	ere	total
formal	2	--	14	8	10	--	34
would	11	1	1	--	--	--	13
should	10	--	6	4	1	--	21
could	18	--	2	5	19	2	46
might	1	1	--	--	--	--	2
	42	2	23	17	30	2	116

when Truth would enter in with grace and peace (W2 72)
*when as ye old serpente could not prevail" (B1 13)
"till the Ambassador should meet him" (CC 92)
*until he could make provision to remove them" (NM 76)
*while others would not hear of going" (MC2 26)
*before they could come at it" (CC 161)
"before they could descend" (G1 67)
*ere they could come to speech" (NM 43)
"e'er his wife could be released* (IM 78)

2. Expressing Place

There are no formal subjunctives in this section. Of phrasal forms there are about twenty. The introductory word is where, and the distribution of auxiliaries is as follows: two would, two should, three could, twelve might.

"where they would all attend in readiness" (WB 16)
"where and when you should" (W2 55)
"where they could find groundnuts" (NM 58)
"where he might be kept securely" (CC 138)
*where any person might have opportunity" (G2 212)

3. Expressing Reason

There are no formal subjunctives in this section. There are about fifty phrasal forms, with because, since, as, for that, and for the introductory words. Distribution of auxiliaries and introductory words follows; introductory words are chiefly because and for.

	because	since	as	for that	for	total
would	7	--	--	--	12	19
should	5	--	--	1	4	10
could	4	--	2	1	8	17
might	2	1	1	--	2	6
	18	1	3	2	26	52

"because this trouble would increase" (WB 51)
"because there should any difference be conceived" (WB 75)
"since we might see it was not God's will" (Wl 83)
"for that they must now conclude they should see" (WH 96)
"as they could not do anything" (GF 99)
"for mischief would come of it" (IM 33)
"for it might so exasperate the Indians" (NM 57)

4. Expressing Purpose

There are nine formal subjunctives expressing purpose.

"but yt be not tedious" (WB 21)
"to keep order that none do his fellow wrong" (J2 35)
"least I be thought to neglect you" (WB 46)
"lest he meet with Jehu's rewards" (Bl 64)
"lest you be found fighters against God" (GF 90)
"lest there be any cleft or chink" (Jl 255)
"lest he take advantage--and leave" (NM 16)
"lest you be affected with them" (Ibid. 17)
"lest they be left of God to run such a course" (Ibid. 105)

The phrasal subjunctives number about one hundred and twenty. The introductory words are that (used in ninety-four citations) and lest (used in twenty-six citations). The distribution of the auxiliaries is as follows: one would, thirty-six should, eighty-three might.

"we desire to bow our knees--that the Lord would be pleased" (W2 24)
"that we should make ourselves the Tools" (CC 76)
"speak to the justices, that they should not oppress" (Gf 16)
"that this might be a warninge" (Wl 71)
"that they might be the better scanned" (J2 8)
"that we might finish in order to my return" (Kl 67)

"that we <u>might</u> not <u>think</u> strange" (Sl 13)
"that I <u>might comb</u> his head and <u>look</u> over him, for was
  almost overcome with lice" (Rl 44)
"that it <u>might</u> no longer <u>be</u> a roost" (NM 93)
"that the rest <u>might eat</u> him and <u>have</u> their lives pre-
  served" (IM 12)
"that they <u>might be</u> turned and <u>believe</u> in it" (GF 63)
"that what <u>they did should be</u> the boundary" (MC2 26)
"that we <u>should begin</u> a breach with them" (G2 165)

5. Expressing Result

There is one formal subjunctive expressing result.

"we must order Matters so that the French <u>be kept</u> in
  continual Fear and Alarm" (CC 147)

The phrasal subjunctive citations occur in about one
hundred citations. The introductory words are <u>that</u> (used
in forty-one citations), <u>such that</u> (four), <u>so as that</u> (ten),
<u>so that</u> (forty-seven). Distribution of auxiliaries is as
follows: fifteen <u>would</u>, seventy-one <u>could</u>, two <u>should</u>,
twelve <u>might</u>.

"in such a condition that one <u>might have killed</u>" (GF 33)
"so as they <u>should</u> neither <u>be able</u> to fight nor flie"
  (WB 98)
"that so mean a Prince <u>should scape</u> scot free" (J2 47)
"so dispirited that his Indians <u>could</u> not <u>persuade</u>"
  (CC 82)
"so heavy that I <u>could scarce speak</u>" (Rl 49)
"so feebled with hunger that he <u>could</u> not <u>get</u> his feet
  out of the mud" (WH 77)

6. Expressing Condition

There are nearly two hundred formal subjunctives in
conditional clauses. The introductory words are <u>if</u>, <u>unless</u>,
<u>provided that</u>, <u>except</u>.

"if it be required of us" (WB 44)
"if your allies be your slaves" (CC 69)
"if any observation be made" (WH 27)
"if ever it be their hard fortune" (Kl 44)
"if it were possible" (Bl 10)
"if it were true starlight" (GF 100)
"if he were not killed outright" (Jl 228)
"if I were going for England" (Sl 64)
"if he doe, things will go well" (WB 47)
"if any difference happen" (CC 46)
"if the defendant do not then appear" (Charters 50)
"if the vision fail" (Gl 208)
"if the sun or moon look pale" (Jl 249)
"if the patient live" (J2 28)
"if anything occur" (MC2 15)
"if there come to the number of fifty" (NM 42)
"if he smite him with an instrument" (Sl 32)
"if God bring me" (Wl 70)
"if once within seven years peace prove" (W2 7)
"unless it be in case of anatomy" (Charters 81)
"unless it be for the desire" (G2 42)
"unless it be polygamy" (WH 28)
"unless I were inhuman" (NM 58)
"unless he restrain it" (Jl 272)
"unless any be put out" (J2 11)
"provided that the defect be proved" (Charters 65)
"provided that satisfaction be given" (CC 66)
"except some impediments do cause" (WH 49)
"except it be magistrates" (Jl 338)
"except he write bare matters" (MC2 29)
"except my husband come for me" (Rl 64)
"except it were upon unavoidable occasion" (J2 53)

There are about seventy phrasal subjunctive citations.

The distribution of auxiliaries in if-clauses is shown thus:

If-clause	Main clause	
would	would	16
would	should	2
would	might	4
should	should	4
should	would	19
should	could	1
should	might	2
might	would	3

If-clause		Main clause	
could		would	4
could		should	1
could		might	1

The predominant pattern is seen to be the sentence which has <u>should</u> in the if-clause and <u>would</u> in the main clause, or <u>would</u> in both.

"I have thought if the Lord <u>would</u> but <u>lift</u> up the light, it <u>would bee</u> but light to <u>me</u>" (Bl 8)

"if he <u>would spare</u> their lives we <u>should have</u> as many" (M3 150)

"if they <u>would appoint</u> a meeting, I <u>might meet</u>" (GF 64)

"if the Indians <u>should come</u>, I <u>should choose</u>" (R1 9)

"if they <u>should</u> there <u>live</u>, and <u>doe well</u>, the jealous Spaniard <u>would</u> never <u>suffer</u> them long" (WB 37)

"if I <u>should not speak</u> loud, ye <u>could not hear</u> me" (W2 85)

"if any <u>should happen</u>, they <u>might think</u>" (CC 9)

"if a better way of living <u>could be had</u>, it <u>would draw</u> many" (WB 30)

"if Justice <u>could be overthrown</u>—it <u>should</u> not <u>grieve</u> me to lose" (G2 66)

"if we <u>could say</u>—what joy <u>might be occasioned</u>" (MC2 89)

"if they <u>might</u> but <u>enjoy</u> their lives, they <u>would become</u> the English Vassals" (M3 148)

"unless he <u>should declare</u> himself so to be" (J2 2)

"in case they <u>should do</u> any harm" (CC 27)

"provided he <u>might drink</u> a little of the sweet" (WH 104)

"except they <u>could distinguish</u>" (GF 7)

"except they <u>would desert</u> the place" (M3 149)

In addition to conditional clauses introduced by <u>if</u>, <u>unless</u>, etc., there are about forty citations of conditional clauses in which there is no introductory word; the condition is expressed by inversion. In every case they express a condition contrary-to-fact.

"<u>were</u> I not by strong necessitie" (WB 79)

"<u>were</u> earthly comforts permanent, who <u>would look</u> for heavenly" (Bl 69)

"<u>were</u> it not that the remoteness" (J2 14)

"were there but one Town more--it would joyne" (J2 57)
"That famous Castle there, were I but nigh" (K1 16)
"Were not the cold climate of New England supplied--
    the barrenness would never have brought" (MC2 89)
"were itt not for the distance of a market" (WH 18)
"were my head one of the heads--I would give that head
    to the Kingdome" (W2 69)
"might I wish an hypocrite--I should wish him" (W2 43)
"who should have tasted of the same cup, had his place
    of residence and his person been as well known as my
    selfe" (WB 50)
"Had you permitted us to go on, the French would not
    have been able" (CC 145)
"had he taken her alive, neither Bartholomew--could
    have produced another sight" (J1 275)
"had not the Lord been pleased, the work would have been
    carried on" (J2 26)
"But her Granam's new Rung sow, had it appeared, would
    affected me as much" (K1 7)
"had not my heart been trebly oak'd--I would have worn
    the silk-worms motto" (MC2 34)
"could I have been in Heaven--it would have been a Hell
    to me" (B1 8)
"Could he de-truth them all, he would defie" (W2 71)
"Should I put the question to the vote, questionless
    the major part--would carry it" (J1 244)
"should I hear a Mouse roar like a Beare, a Cat lowgh
    like an Oxe--it would scare me" (W2 84)

7. Expressing Concession

Formal subjunctives expressing concession number fifty.

They are introduced by though, although; a number express

concession by inversion instead of an introductory word.

"although the ship cabbin be all convenient" (B1 62)
"although I were interested in all these" (G1 156)
"although it be a digression" (G2 156)
"although it bee certaine" (WH 27)
"although the order be founded" (WH 63)
"although the Gold or Silver be of less value" (J1 242)
"although he were far stricken in years" (J2 53)
"although it be too true indeed" (M3 135)
"although this remnant were blessed" (MC2 60)
"although it be an hour or two" (TS 223)
"although it were in hell" (W1 84)

"though his person be wellcome" (WB 47)
"though it discover some infirmities" (WB 86)
"though my verse be not so finely spun" (Bl 87)
"though the Conduct of Affairs be not to be blamed" (CC 113)
"though this were a direction" (Gl 52)
"though the lot be cast into the lap" (WH 81)
"though a man have light" (W2 11)
"And be the mountains ne'er so high and steep" (Bl 116)
"be it presented to view or not, in whose hands soever
    it be" (Charters 70)
"& I am resolved, come life, come deathe, come healthe,
    come sicknesse; come good report or evill reporte;
    come ioye, come sorrowe; come wealthe, come povertie;
    come what may, I will never yield me a prisoner to
    these enemies" (Wl 96)
"be they never so just" (W2 41)
"to their commendation be it spoken" (NM 37)
"be it good or evil" (Jl 333)
"be they never so dirty" (W2 41)
"be their nature never so good" (W2 68)
"but be he what they will" (Bl 105)
"albeit faith be not wrought" (Charters 61)

Phrasal subjunctives number about thirty; five would,

thirteen should, eight could, three might.

"though many times they would eat" (Rl 68)
"though I could heartily have wished" (M3 126)
"though the Indians should not be gathered" (G2 208)
"though he might propound good ends" (Wb 75)
"although they would have made their abode" (J2 7)
"although she should meet with many afflictions" (Wl 84)
"although he might be trained up" (M3 135)

8. Expressing Comparison

There are three formal subjunctives expressing com-

parison.

"so long's the world doe last" (W2 83)
"to let God have his will as hee please" (W2 54)
"as if the terrestrial globe were" (IM 76)

Phrasal subjunctives number about one hundred. Dis-

tribution of introductory words and auxiliaries is shown by
the following table.

	as-as	so-as	as	such-as	than	total
would	6	1	6	8	7	28
should	1	6	4	6	4	21
could	31	2	4	7	6	50
might	3	2	4	2	1	12
	41	11	18	23	18	101

"with as great solemnity as the conditions of that in-
    fant plantation would bear" (WH 66)
"you have as much as I should care for" (MC1 37)
"as much as two men could do" (NM 33)
"winds were so fierce as they could not bear" (WB 92)
"as long as might be" (IM 19)
"not being down so close as should be" (S1 71)
"so far as he could call" (IM 44)
"so far forth as it might not be" (G1 80)
"not so good as the Lord would have them" (TS 218)
"as he would they should do" (GF 18)
"as a man should seek for a needle" (J1 253)
"to shift as he could" (G1 63)
"as one might see by their sneering" (K1 22)
"such afflictions as would crush" (B1 57)
"such a foundation as should promise" (G1 88)
"such time as they might be examined" (G2 164)
"more--than would have maintained" (WH 103)
"no more than a child should be afraid" (IM 94)
"harder than I could follow" (K1 13)
"but not more than might be ordinary" (IM 85)

In addition to the citations introduced with the
words mentioned above, there are the following few cita-
tions with other introductory words.

"and as a people receives, so should they give" (J2 25)
"as if they would have torn our hearts out" (R1 9)
"as thoughe it could not longer hold out" (W1 95)

There are twenty-seven citations containing the ex-
pression as it were. Though it is usually a parenthetical
expression, it perhaps belongs in this section.

"A late observation, as it were by the way, worthy to
     be noted" (WB 9)
"who by that means might easily (as it were) beseige
     us on all sides" (G2 91)
"and the very sould, as it were, of that place" (G2 186)
"and their bones were flexible, as it were gristles"
     (J1 253)
"to turn Wilderness in an instant, as 'twere" (J2 14)
"so fast, as it were, treading" (WH 23)
"and as it were, dragged back to duty" (K1 37)
"God of Heaven served as it were a summons" (MC2 69)
"somewhat come as it were with a pincers" (IM 112)
"maintained, as it were, a school of atheism" (NM 91)
"was as it were a deep dungeon" (R1 26)
"and as it were slept" (S1 28)
"by the way as it were" (W1 66)

It will be seen that the only authors who are not repre-
sented are Bradstreet, Colden, Craddock, Fox, Mason, Shep-
ard, and Ward. They appear not to have felt the necessity
for qualifying their statements with the expression
as it were.

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