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T H E
HISTORY

John O F *Athens*

NEW-ENGLAND

Containing an

IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

O F T H E

Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs

Of the COUNTRY

To the **YEAR** of our **LORD**, 1700.

To which is added

The **PRESENT STATE** of *New-England*.

With a *New and Accurate* MAP of the Country.

A N D A N

A P P E N D I X

Containing their

Present Charter, *their* Ecclesiastical Discipline, and *their* Municipal-Laws.

I N T W O V O L U M E S .

By **DANIEL NEAL**.

V O L . I .

L O N D O N :

Printed for **J. CLARE**, at the Bible & Crown in the Poultry,
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TENDEN, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside.

M DCC XX,

HISTORY

THE HISTORY OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

ADAMS 253.5

BY WASHINGTON IRVING

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

NEW YORK

1841

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NEW YORK





TO HIS EXCELLENCY

SAMUEL SHUTE, Esq;

*His Majesty's Captain-General,
and Governour in Chief of the Provinces
of the Massachuset-Bay, and New-
Hampshire, and Vice-Admiral of the
same;*

And to the Honourable

WILLIAM DUMMER, Esq;

*Lieutenant-Governour of the Province of
the Massachuset-Bay; with the Council,
and General Assembly.*

May it please Your Excellency and Your Honours,



THE following History of *New-
England* cannot have so natu-
ral and equitable a Claim to
any Protection as to Yours,
to whom this Province, by
the Goodness of G O D, under His Ma-
jesty, owes the Peace, Religion, and Li-
berty it enjoys.

ii DEDICATION.

Whilst your Thoughts and Endeavours are employ'd how to make this Country flourishing and happy, I flatter myself you will not be displeas'd to look back to its Original, and observe by what Steps it has arriv'd to the Figure it now makes in *America*. A Reflection of this Nature will give Pleasure to all, who will be at the Trouble to make it; but I imagine must afford a particular Relief to You from the Care and Toils of Government, and at the same Time, prove the noblest Encouragement to continue Your Vigilance for the Good of Your Country.

Oppression and Persecution here, the greatest Vices Men can be guilty of, gave Birth to *New-England* at first; and Liberty among you, the most publick Blessing, has yielded Nourishment to it ever since; and will always keep it vigorous and healthy, though Oppression and Persecution, by an unhappy Return among us, should make no Accession to your Wealth and Numbers.

DEDICATION. iii

It is but a little while since several here had their Eyes towards You, and when they had Reason to apprehend, they should not be able to live much longer in their own Country, blest'd G O D they had a Sanctuary in yours: And though the Protestant Succession has deliver'd us from those Fears, yet it will be a Noble Design, and worthy of Men in Your Station, to preserve *New-England* a pleasant Habitation to its present Possessors, and a Blessed Retreat for Oppressed *Protestants* in all Parts of the World.

If *Europe* should encrease in Vice and Luxury, proportionably to what it has done of late; and You, who have now the Character of a Religious People, should advance proportionably in Piety and Vertue; as these Parts of the World will certainly decline in Wealth and Power, so You are the most likely to acquire them.

You now glory in an Universal Loyalty to the best of Kings, in a becoming Zeal for the Sacred Truths of the Reformation, and in an Universal Love, Charity, and Forbearance of each other in your differing Sentiments: As long as You can preserve this Boasting, *New-England* will be indeed the Glory of the Churches, and a Praise in the whole Earth. May You long maintain these Principles, which are not only essential to the Christian Religion, but the very Foundation of the Peace and Happiness of Society!

This Happy State of Things seems reserv'd to crown the Wise and Gentle Administration of *His Excellency the present Governour*, who is of a Family eminent for its Zeal for Civil Liberty; who has himself bravely used his Sword, as he does now his Power in Defence of it; and who is distinguish'd by a Brother, who has acquir'd more True Glory by his Successful Endeavours to preserve *Your Liberties*, and recover *Ours*, when they were
in

DEDICATION. V

in the most imminent Danger; than by the Adoption he has had from Two Gentlemen, on the Account of this Part of his Character.

May *Your Excellency* continue to fill the High Station the Divine Providence has advanced You to, with encreasing Glory and Renown, to the Honour of His Majesty, and the Joy of all Good People in *New-England*! And may the *Country* flourish in Riches, Trade, Religion, and all Social Vertues under your prudent Administration!

May You, *Gentlemen Representatives*, long enjoy so Valuable a Governour, and Patron of your Liberties! May all Parties and Divisions among you cease, and the only Emulation be, Who shall most promote the Publick Good! May you persevere in your Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty K. GEORGE, in an unbyass'd Love and Affection to your Country, and in an unwearied Application to publick Business! And may you live long, to taste the Pleasures that will arise from the Acknowledgments of a Thankful Peo-

vi *DEDICATION.*

ple, and be at last (but for the Good of your Country a great while hence) rewarded with a Crown of Glory, which shall never fade away! I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Excellency's

and Your Honours

most Obedient and

most Humble Servant,

DANIEL NEAL.

PRE-



THE
P R E F A C E.



THE *Beginnings of Kingdoms and Nations have seldom been transmitted down to Posterity with any Degree of Certainty, by reason of the slow Progress of their Affairs; a Century of Years in those early Ages of the World not furnishing Materials for a few Pages in History; but the English Plantations in America happening at a Time when Europe was fill'd with Inhabitants, have produced such extraordinary Events in the very first Age of their Settlement, as are worthy the Notice of Posterity.*

No Body wonders at the vast Increase of the Spanish Power in South America, who has heard of the rich Mines of Potosi, and of the prodigious Quantities of Silver brought from
thence

ii P R E F A C E.

thence into Spain every Year ; but New-England had no such Advantages, there were no Silver and Gold Mines, nor any Prospect of Riches or Pleasure ; the Motives which induced the Planters to settle there, were therefore of another Nature ; they were driven from Home for their religious Dissent from the Church of England, and finding themselves unable to fix their Principles in any Part of Europe, they resolved to plant them in America.

THE Wisdom of Divine Providence is very often seen in over-ruling the Designs of Men to contrary Purposes, when they make use of Violence and Oppression for the propagating their own Opinions, or the suppressing those of others ; thus the Persecution of the Church at Jerusalem occasioned the spreading the Christian Religion throughout the Regions of Judea and Samaria ; and the Severity of some of the Bishops against the Puritans in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth, K. James and K. Charles the First, instead of crushing them, did but send them into America, where their Principles are now the Established Religion of a flourishing Commonwealth: Had the Puritans been made easy at Home by a Toleration, or an Abatement of some of the Ceremonies of the Church, New-England had still been an uninhabited Wilderness ; but Archbishop Laud, by pressing Conformity with so
much

much Rigour, and depriving so many popular Preachers in all Parts of the Country for not complying with the Canons, sent more Families into New-England in the Twelve Years of his Administration, than would otherwise have gone over in an Age: Nay, so strong was the Tide of the People's Affections towards America at that Time, that it was found necessary to prohibit their leaving the Kingdom without Licence from the King and Council, which heighten'd the People's Discontents against the Archbishop, and hastned those Calamities, which in a few Years, like a swelling Flood overflow'd their Banks, and drown'd both Church and Commonwealth.

THE Reader now sees the Reason of my inserting in the second Chapter of this History, a short Account of the Sufferings of the Puritans here in England, without which he could form no just Idea of the Rise of the New English Settlements; I have collected it from the most unexceptionable Authorities, and writ it with Freedom and Impartiality, tho' I can't help declaring myself sometimes on the Side of Liberty, and an Enemy to Oppression in all its Forms and Colours; Accordingly, I have taken the Liberty to censure such a Conduct in all Parties of Christians, where-ever I have found it.

THE History it self contains a Variety of
Mate-

Materials for the Reader's Instruction and Entertainment; as, the Conjectures of learned Men concerning the first Peopling of America, the Customs and Manners of the Indians, their Wars with the English, and the Attempts that have been made by the Eliots and Mayhews for their Conversion, which have succeeded far beyond the Efforts of some others of greater Names, who have employed more Hands, and given them greater Encouragement. He'll be no less entertained with observing a little Commonwealth rising out of its first Principles, struggling with a Thousand Difficulties in its Infant-state, and at last triumphing over them all. I have mention'd with Freedom the Mistakes which the Government of New-England fell into, with relation to the Quakers and Anabaptists, as well as their late Severities towards those who suffered for suspected Witchcrafts and Sorceries; It being the Office of an Historian to set Affairs in a true light, and to record the Political Vertues and Vices of Men of a publick Character, the one for our Imitation, and the other as a Mark to avoid the Rock on which they split. I have inserted in their proper Places, the Deaths and Characters of the most Considerable Persons in Church and State; and annex'd to the whole, a Chapter relating to the Present State of the Country, in the drawing up of
which

P R E F A C E. V

which, I have had the Assistance of some learned and ingenious Persons in both Englands, whose Names would do Honour to this History, were I allowed to mention them.

'Tis not necessary to acquaint the Reader in this Place, with the several Authors from whom I have collected the following Narrative, because he will find most of them cited in the Margin as he goes along; but it may not be improper to inform him of the Credit and Reputation of those on whose Authority the principal Matters of Fact depend.

Mr. Edward Winslow, who went over with the first Colony in the Year 1620, and was at the Head of their Affairs for several Years, publish'd a short Account of the Country, and a Journal of the Proceedings of the Infant-Colony for the first three or four Years; he was a Gentleman of known Probity and Goodness, and his Work has been copied universally by all that have come after him.

Mr. Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth, publish'd in the Year 1669, New England's Memorial, 4to. He was one of the first Planters of New Plimouth, and confines his Narrative chiefly to that Colony; the Reverend Mr. Higginson of Salem, and Mr. Thacher of Boston have prefix'd a Testimonial to his
Work

Work, wherein they declare, That 'tis compos'd with Modesty of Spirit, and Truth of Matter. Mr. Morton had certainly all the Advantages an Historian could desire, for besides his being at the Head of Affairs himself, he tells us, he had the Benefit of Governour Bradford's M. S. Journal, from the Year 1620, to the Year 1646.

Mr. Wood and Mr. Josselyn have publish'd a sort of natural History of New-England, the former in the Year 1639, the latter about the Year 1671. Wood's Design was to give his Reader a Prospect of the Country; but Josselyn, besides a Description of the several Towns, as they stood in the Year 1671, has given us a Curious Description of the Birds, Beasts, Plants, and Insects of the Country, which he dedicates to the Royal Society: But this may be observed of them both, that when they speak of the Natives, they affect rather to make their Readers merry, than tell them the Truth; Mr. Josselyn's Account of the present Inhabitants is perfectly ludicrous, but the other Parts of his Book contain several Rare and Valuable Materials.

Dr. Increase Mather in the Year 1677, publish'd an Exact Relation of the Pequot War, and of the several Quarrels between the Indians and English to that Time.

The same Year, the Reverend Mr. Hubbard Minister of Ipswich in New-England, publish'd a Large Account of the War with Philip King of the Wompanoags, in 4to; to which is annex'd a Supplement, concerning the Pequot War, and a Postscript, relating to the War with the Eastern Indians; the Honourable Simon Bradstreet, Daniel Denison, and Joseph Dudley, Esqrs; being deputed by the Governour and Council of the Massachuset-Colony to peruse, and License it, declared, That the Author had faithfully and truly perform'd his Work, as far as the best Information could be obtained, and that he deserved publick Thanks for the same.

But the most famous Historian of New-England is the Reverend and Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, who with great Diligence and Industry has collected a Variety of useful Materials, for the Ecclesiastical and Civil History of his Country, and publish'd them to the World in Folio, under the Title of, Magnalia Christi Americana, or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England, from the Year 1620, to the Year 1698, with the Attestation of the Reverend Mr. Higginson, one of the Oldest Ministers of the Country, prefix'd to it. The Dr. is certainly a Gentleman of great Probity and Vertue, and having been at the Head of Affairs in his Country,

try,

try for a great many Years, is as capable of knowing the Truth of the Facts he relates as any Man living; Had the Dr. put his Materials a little closer together, and disposed them in another Method, his Work would have been more acceptable to this Part of the World, but as it is, his great Integrity and Diligence deserve the publick Thanks of his Country.

These are the Authors of Greatest Name, whom I have consulted on this Occasion, besides which, I have read over a great number of smaller Pamphlets, and made the best Use of them I could. The Chapter Of the Conversion of the Indians, was drawn up from the Memoirs and Letters of Mr. Eliot, Mayhew, and other Missionaries to the Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England, and where these were deficient, I have had the kind Assistance of the Society itself.

Where Facts have been differently related, or the Justice of the Government arraign'd, as in the Sufferings of the Anabaptists and Quakers, and in the late Affair of Witchcraft, I have consulted the Writers on both Sides, and by comparing them together, have set them in the best Light I could, leaving the Reader to make what Reflections on them he pleases.

In the Map of the Country prefix'd to this Work, which is perfectly new, and done from

the latest Surveys, I have divided the several Provinces, or Governments from each other, by double prick'd Lines, and the several Counties in each Province, by single prick'd Lines; and because the Scale would not admit the taking in of Canada River and Quebec, nor a distinct View of the Town and Harbour of Boston; I have therefore added a Plan of each; the one to shew the Situation of New France, with Regard to New England; the other to shew the several Islands, Rocks, and Sands in the Massachuset Bay; with the Soundings, and the Ship-Channel to the Town of Boston.

The Abridgment of the Laws and Ordinances of New England, publish'd in the Appendix (*) is disposed into an Alphabetical Method; but it must be observed, that some of the more Ancient Ones, relating to Fashions, Dress, &c. are obsolete; and others which require Ecclesiastical Qualifications for Civil Preferments, are repealed by the New Charter, and yet it was not proper to omit them, because they discover the Genius of the first Planters, as well as give Light to several Parts of the History.

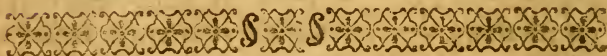
Upon the whole, I have got together the best Collection of Materials I could, and endeavoured

* Appendix Numb. IV.

X P R E F A C E.

to dispose them in the most proper Order; and as I have not wilfully committed any Mistakes, so when I am convinced of any such, I shall willingly retract them, having no Interests of my own to serve separate from Truth; I have sometimes spoken freely of Men's Actions, but never reproach'd any Man for his Principles, nor entail'd the Judgments of Almighty GOD on Families, as some of our late Historians have done; but after all, whether I have done any Service to the Publick, or been able to support the Gravity and Impartiality of an Historian in the following Performance, I now submit to the Judgment of the Reader.

London, Decem-
ber 14, 1719.



Besides a few literal Mistakes, and false Pointings, which will not mislead the Reader, I desire him to Correct the following

E R R A T A.

PAge 17. line 28. dele *New*. p. 27. l. 9. read fail. p. 28. l. 16. r. into. p. 65. l. 1. r. deserve. p. 89. l. 15. r. from whome. p. 91. l. 9. r. shot. p. 112. l. 28. r. musket. p. 141. l. 7. r. disgust. p. 150. l. 26. r. Answers. p. 178. l. ult. r. overstock'd. p. 179. l. 29. r. retraction. p. 186. l. 19. r. obliges. *Ib.* l. 27. *pralegendi*. p. 200. l. 22. for *Hanser* r. *John*. p. 309. l. 15. r. STEVENSON. p. 380. l. 25. r. had. p. 408. l. 37. r. 72. p. 466. l. 15. r. North. p. 536. l. 1. dele *He*. p. 545. l. 11. r. think of. p. 548. in margin r. 1695. p. 564. l. 7. r. S West and N. East. *Ib.* l. 10. r. West South West. p. 585. l. 16. r. Needle. p. 596. l. 19. r. 701.

N B. Two or Three Gentlemen mention'd in the List p. 264 l. 16 are lately dead.

 THE

C O N T E N T S

Of the FIRST VOLUME.

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po

B

America

A NEW MAP
OF NEW ENGLAND
According to the
Latest Observations
1720



Printed for I. Clark, R. Ford, and R. Cruttendon.

A Scale of Miles 60 to a Degree.

Longitude Westward from London.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
NEW-ENGLAND.

C H A P. I.

Of the first peopling of America. The Discovery of it by Columbus. A Relation of the several unsuccessful Attempts to make a Settlement on the Northern Continent. A Survey of New-England, with a Character of the Principal Nations who inhabited it before the English dispossessed them. A Description of the Natives, their Customs, Manners, Laws, Religion, Government, and Language.



HERE have been two different Opinions advanced by Learned Men concerning the first peopling of *America*. Some have thought that the Natives of that Country were *Aborigines*, and not descended from the Sons of *Noah*, as the rest of

Mankind are: The Reasons they offer for the Support of their Opinion are; the great Distance of

B

America

America, which is separated from *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* by such vast Seas, or inaccessible Tracts of Ice, as 'tis impossible to suppose any of our Inhabitants should pass over; the Disagreement that is between the *Americans* and the rest of Mankind in their Persons, Manners, Customs, and Language; and the many Species of Animals found amongst them which are common to no other Part of the World. But if it appear probable that the Inhabitants of *Europe* have pass'd from thence into *America*, this Opinion ought to be abandoned as contrary to the Account the Scriptures give of the Original of Mankind, and advanced only on the Account of some Difficulties in the other Scheme, which the Patrons of this, could not tell how to get over.

THEY who think *America* was peopled from *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Africa*, differ among themselves as to the Time, Place, and Manner, in which it was done; 'tis pretty certain, that the Inhabitants of those Parts are not the Posterity of *Jews*, *Christians*, or *Mahometans*, because there were none of the Footsteps of those Religions found among them, nor had they ever heard of the Names of *Moses*, *Christ*, or *Mahomet*, till they were acquainted with the *Europeans*. The Learned *Hornius*, who has taken a great deal of Pains in this Enquiry, concludes, that *America* received its Inhabitants at different Times from these three Nations; the *Phœnicians*, the *Scythians*, and the *Chinese*.

'Tis possible that the *Phœnicians* might pass very early into *America*, for when the *Canaanites* were expell'd their Country by the *Israelites* under the Command of *Joshua*, they fled to the most distant Parts of the World. *Procopius* says there were two Marble Pillars at *Tingri*, or *Tangiers*, with this Inscription in the *Phœnician* Language; "We fly from the Face of the Robber *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*." And being skilful in Shipping 'tis not unlikely, that they

they failed as far as the *Canaries*, agreeably to what *Hornius* suggests, that those Islands derived their Names, not à *Canibus*, for there were no Dogs in the Islands when they were first discovered; but à *Chananaïs*. “ *Diodorus Siculus* * says, that the *Phœnicians* did very anciently sail out beyond *Hercules’s* Pillars, along the *African* Coast, and meeting with Storms and Tempests, were carried to the remotest Parts of the Ocean, and at length came to a vast Island many Days Sail from *Lybia*, lying very far West. ” And in another Place he says, “ that the *Carthaginians* being oppress’d by the *Tyrrians* and *Mauritanians*, took Shipping, and passing by *Cades*, failed to this new Region in the *Atlantick* Ocean where they planted a Colony.

BESIDES, some of the *Indian* Words seem to be of a *Punick* or *Phœnician* Original, as *Ben-Ommian*, the Son of *Ommia*; *Aben-Amagos* the Son of *Mago*; the one an Eminent *Carthaginian* Family, the other an *Arabian* one; and ’tis very remarkable, that the Natives of *New-England* call the *Septentriones*, *Mosk* and *Pankunaw*, which in their Language signifies a Bear; now there being no Resemblance between the Figure of the Constellation and that Animal, they must have learn’d that Name from the *Phœnicians*, who called it so.

BUT after all, these Arguments are far from proving that the *Phœnicians* sailed into *America*; we may allow they went to the *Canary*, or *Fortunate Islands*, which was a very bold Adventure too, before the Use of the Needle was found out, for the ancient Sailors always kept within Sight of Land, unless they were driven out to Sea by a Storm; but to imagine from hence, that they corresponded with a Country almost a thousand Leagues Westward of

* *Lib. V. p 299. Ed. Han. 1604.*

the *Canaries*, is altogether groundless; besides the Reason which *Hornius* offers to account for their Posterity's Ignorance of *America*, if it be good for any Thing, may serve as well for the *Canaries*; his Words are these, "But tho' it be thus probable
 " that the *Phœnicians* were acquainted with *Ame-*
 " *rica*, yet they kept it as a very great Secret; the
 " *Carthaginians* forbid all manner of Navigation
 " that Way, under the severest Penalties; and by a
 " publick Edict excluded even their own People
 " from sailing into the *Atlantick* Ocean, which
 " may help us to the Reason why *America*, tho'
 " known to these ancient *Phœnicians*, should be lost
 " to the Memory of their Posterity."

'Tis with greater Probability, that he derives the Inhabitants of *America* from the *Scythians*, who inhabited all that Tract of Land, now known by the Name of *Tartary*, which lies to the West, North, and East of the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Seas, and were subdivided into the *Hunni*, the *Kithæ*, the *Sinæ*, and several other lesser Nations. The barbarous Inhabitants of this mighty Extent of Ground, after they had filled all the Northern *Asia*, might ramble into *America*; either by the East or the West, and that either by Land, the Continents there being supposed to join; or else over narrow Straits of the Sea. They who went Westward might go first to the Banks of the River *Oby*, from thence to the Shore of the Frozen Sea towards *Nova Zembla*; and from *Nova Zembla* and *Lapland* 'tis but about four Days Sail to *Groenland*, which according to *Hornius* is Part of the Continent of *America*; and to render this Voyage the more practicable he observes, that there are many Islands intersperst in the Way which may be reach'd in Canoes in the Summer Time, and may probably be approach'd in the Winter by the Ice.

FATHER *Averil* in his Travels into *Muscovy* has a remarkable Passage which seems to confirm this
 Conjecture

Conjecture; he tells us, that * *Mouchim Pouchim*, Waywode of *Smolensko* assured him, that at the Mouth of the River *Cawvina* lying beyond the *Oby*, which after it has increased its Waters from the River *Leka* falls into the Frozen Sea, there is a populous and spacious Island, the Inhabitants whereof were the first that discovered it; that there is an amphibious Animal in those Parts called *Behemoth*, as big and no less dangerous than a Crocodile; that it requires a great deal of Labour and Assiduity to hunt this Animal, and therefore they carry their Families along with them; and that it often happens, when they are advanced a great Way on the Ice, that they are surprized with a Thaw, and carry'd away by huge Pieces of Ice, nobody knows whither. The Waywode was of Opinion, that whole Families of these *Behemoth* Hunters had been waisted over, upon these floating Pieces of Ice to the most Northern Parts of *America*, which lie very near that Part of *Asia*, which jets out into the *Tartarian* Sea; and one Thing which confirm'd him in his Opinion was, that the Inhabitants of North *America*, especially those by the Sea Side, had the same Physiognomy with these Islanders.

THE Ancients called these Northern Islands by the Name of *Cronion*, and tho' one would think it impossible for Men to live in so cold a Climate, yet when the *Norwegians* first discovered them, they found them inhabited by a People exactly like the Descriptions we have of the ancient *Scythians*, *Tartars*, and *Laplanders*. *Martin Frobisher* found Men, about the Straits that bear his Name, of an Olive Complexion, with broad Faces, flat Noses, large Nostrils, and others say they had very thin or no Beards at all, which is an exact Description of the *Northern Americans*. They had no fixed Place of

* *Harris's Voy.* Vol. II. p. 206.

Abode, but changed their Camps, as the Season of the Year, Game, Water, or Woods invited them; they were mighty Hunters of Wild Beasts, and 'tis possible the Flight of these Beasts over the Ice might draw them into *America*; for the Animals in *Lapland* and *North America* are very much alike, especially their White Bears that feed upon Fish, and travel a great many Leagues on the Ice, as our Voyagers to those Parts of the World assure us.

BUT if some of the Northern Nations got into *America* by the West, 'tis probable that a far greater Number of People went thither by the East, where the Passage is shorter, and the Regions fuller of Inhabitants, but what the Names of those Nations are, is hard to determine; we find in *America* the Names of several *European* Nations both Ancient and Modern: In the old Geography we read of the *Apalæi* and *Massagetae*, from whence are descended (as *Hornius* conjectures) the *Apalataei* of *Florida*, and the *Massachsetæ* or *Massachusets* of *New-England*. In *Vincentinus's* *Speculum Historiarum*, Mention is made of the *Huyrones*, a Nation adjoining to the *Mogols*, from whom are descended the *Hurons*, an *Indian* Nation near *Canada*. The *Ungæ* were a famous Nation in *America*, whose Name may be derived from the *Ungæ* among the *Tartars*. The ancient *Turcæ* called by *Herodotus* *Jyræ* might be the Ancestors of the *Iroquois*; and about *Rio de la Plata* there is a People called expressly *Mogoles* or *Moguls*; from these, and other Examples of the like Nature, 'tis more than probable that several of the *Indian* Nations, are the Descendants of the ancient *Scythians*, *Hunns*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*.

BESIDES, if we compare the Manners and Customs of these Northern Nations, with those of the *Indian* Savages, we shall find such an Agreement between them, as will incline us to suspect them to be of one Original. *Tacitus* gives this Account

Account of the ancient *Fenni*, “ that they were a
 “ wild People, and miserably poor, whose Cloathing
 “ was the Skins of Beasts ; their Arms nothing
 “ but a Bow and Arrow, which for want of Iron
 “ they sharpen’d with Bones ; that they lived by
 “ Hunting, fed upon Human Flesh, but had no
 “ Horses among them.* ” *Ammianus Marcellinus*
 gives much the same Account of the ancient
 “ *Hunns*, adding that they have no Beards even in
 “ Old Age ; that they are a thick, strong, short
 “ People, and very deformed. ” Both which De-
 scriptions agree so exactly with several Nations in
 the North, and the *Brafilians* in the South of *Ame-*
rica, that one would think they were designed on
 Purpose for them. Among the *Scythians* there were
Anthropophagi or Man-Eaters, as there are among the
Indians of *America*. The *Scythians* used to kill those,
 whose Distempers were thought incurable, to put
 them out of their Pain ; and so do the wild Inhabi-
 tants of *Canada*. The *Tartars* used to eat their
 Captives in the same manner as the *Brafilians* do ;
 who call the Neighbourhood together, and having
 slain their Prisoners, boil or roast them, and give
 Pieces of their Flesh to all who are present, to ex-
 cite their Hatred and Revenge against their Ene-
 mies. The *Scythians* in *Cangigu* used to paint their
 Faces and Bodies, with the Images of Birds, Beasts,
 Dragons, &c. which the Inhabitants of *Virginia*,
Florida, and *New-England* did, when *America* was
 first discovered. ’Twere endless to mention all the
 particular Customs in which the *Americans* agree
 with the ancient *Scythians*, but these which I have
 already enumerated are sufficient to render their
 Original from these Nations very probable.

THE Animals which were found in *America* at
 its first Discovery seem to have gone over this Way :

* *De Mor. Ger. ad finem*

The Northern Parts of that Country abounded with Deer, Lyons, and Tygers, none of which are to be found in *Greenland* or *Nova Zembla*, but in the *Tartarian* Desarts there are vast Multitudes of them; besides a great Variety of Birds and Animals of a very strange Species, not to be met with in other Parts of the World; these might easily get into *America*, the Continents joining in those Parts, or being divided but by a very narrow Strait.

HORNIUS ventures to guess at the Time when these Northern Nations went into *America*; he supposes it was much later than the Voyages of the *Phœnicians*, because the Northern Parts of *America* were much thinner of Inhabitants than the Southern; but this Reason is of little Force, because it may be supposed that Persons who lived by Hunting, and had no fix'd Habitation, tho' they came in by the North, yet might travel forward to the warm Southerly Regions, before they made a Settlement. Indeed, nothing but Necessity, or the Fate of War could be supposed to make Men travel so high into the North, as to get over the Ice into *America*; and such a Necessity befel the Northern Nations about the Year of Christ 400, when their Affairs were in the utmost Confusion, and the Country was so over-stock'd with Inhabitants, that they rambled all possible Ways for Subsistence, and then (according to our Author) great Numbers of them got into *America*.

A THIRD Part of the World from whence *America* might receive its Inhabitants, is *Japan* and *China*. *China* contains all that Tract of Land which lies to the South of *Cathay*, in the vast Region of *Mangi*; the Inhabitants of these Parts, tho' descended Originally from the *Scythians* and *Indians*, got an early Acquaintance with the Use of Shipping, and other Arts and Sciences from the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who made frequent Expeditions into these Parts. *Gonsalo Mendoza* in his Annals, tells us, that
the

the *Chineze* being driven out of their Country by the *Tartars* about the Year 1268, fled into remote Islands with a thousand Ships provided by their King *Fucfur*; *Hornius* and others suppose they sail'd to *America*, and settled in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, for upon the Discovery of this Country by the *Spaniards*, *Montezuma* their King told *Cortez*, " that " they themselves were originally Strangers, and " came from the East in the Fleet of a great Fo- " reign Prince, so long ago that the Memory of " the Time was lost. " And forasmuch as their Chronicles were of no ancients a Date than three or four hundred Years, we may fairly conclude they came into the Country about that Time

BUT it must be allowed that the greatest Part of the Southern Continent of *America* was inhabited long before this, from the Number of People, stately Towns, noble Structures, great Roads and Causeys, as well as the well settled Form of Government, that the *Spaniards* found among them. *Bertius* says, that there were two famous Roads from *Quito* in *Peru*, to the City of *Cusco* of five hundred Miles in Length, one of which was carried thro' Mountains and Rocks, and the other thro' the plain Country; that at certain Distances on these Roads, there were large and pleasant Inns for Travellers, some of which were capable of entertaining Kings and their Retinue; that the Road thro' the plain Country was twenty five Foot broad, and defended with Walls, within which there were Streams with Trees planted on their Banks; which the People could never be at leisure to do within the first two hundred Years of their inhabiting the Country. However, these magnificent Structures prove their Descent from the *Chineze*; to which we may add, their Ceremonies of Burying the Dead; of Saluting their Princes; their Ensigns and Standards; their Way of Writing by Pictures or Characters of Things; all which are of an Eastern Original.

Original. Dr. *Harris*, and almost all the Authors who have writ about *America*, take Notice, that about *California*, the People spoke almost the same Language, and observed the same Laws and Customs with the *Mexicans*; and the Customs of the *Mexicans* as we have already observ'd, are deriv'd from the *Chineze*. Upon the whole, as 'tis highly probable that the *Northern* Parts of *America* received their Inhabitants from *Scythia* and *Tartary*, so I think it amounts almost to a Demonstration, that the *Southern* Parts were Peopled from *China* and *Japan*; and that either by Sea, the *Chineze* being early acquainted with the Use of Shipping, or by Land, it being yet uncertain whether *Japan* be an Island, or part of the Continent of *America*: But as to the time when they went thither, and the Motives that put them upon so long and dangerous an Expedition, 'tis impossible to pronounce with any degree of Certainty concerning them.

BUT when ever this Country was peopled, it was certainly unknown for many Ages; for though some of *our* Inhabitants got over thither, none of *theirs* came back to us, nor did the *Europeans* dream of such a new World, till *Christopher Columbus* between two and three Hundred Years ago happily discovered it. *Columbus* was a *Genoeze* by Birth, but settled with his Wife and Family in *Portugal*, he was a sober, temperate grave Man, of competent Learning, and very studious in the *Mathematicks*. He was a good Sailor, and took Pleasure in making Charts for Sea Service; but what the particular Motives were, which induced him to look out after this new World is not certainly known: Some think his Skill in *Geometry* and the Nature of the *Globe*, made him conclude the Possibility of finding Inhabitants on the other Side of it; others say, that *Vincent Martin*, a Pilot belonging to the King of *Portugal*, told him, that he being driven by Strefs of Weather 450 Leagues West of *Cape Vincent*, took up a Piece of Wood wrought

wrought by a Man's Hand, which he fancied must come from some Western Island; others told him that certain Pines had been cast ashore at *Fayal* and *Graciosa*, by strong W. and N. W. Winds; and others, that they had seen two Canoos, and the like Number of dead Men, driving before the Wind on the Coast of *Floras*, who by their much larger Faces and different Complexions seem to have been Inhabitants of some remote, and unknown Region.

BEING thus perswaded, that a new World lay some where or other ought of Sight, he made his Application to several Kings and Princes of *Europe*, to send him out upon Discoveries. He first offer'd his Service to the King of *Portugal*, and then to the King of *England*; but meeting with a Repulse at both these Courts, he apply'd himself at last to the King of *Spain*, who, by the Perswasion of *John Perez*, Father Confessor of his Queen, was prevail'd with to fit him out three small Vessels with about 120 Men, "upon
 " Condition, that if he made no Discoveries, he
 " should have no Reward; but if he did, that he
 " should be Vice-Roy by Land, and Admiral by
 " Sea, and have the Tenths of the Profits of all
 " the Countries discovered by him, and these Pri-
 " vileges to be Hereditary to his Family." *Columbus* set out from *Palos*, August 2. 1492. with the Title of Admiral, the 11th they arriv'd at the *Canaries*, and staid at *Gemera* till Sept. 6th, when they put to Sea again, and on the 11th of *October* following discovered the Island of *San Salvador*, call'd by the Inhabitants *Gavehani*, being about 950 Leagues W. of the *Canaries*: Here he landed with the Royal Standard, and took Possession of it in the Name of their Catholick Majesty's *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; the Natives filled with Wonder ran to the Shoar, taking the Ships and Boats for living Creatures, and so ignorant were they, that they put
 their

their Hands to the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords, not knowing they were sharp. On the 15th of *October* the Admiral weighed Anchor, and sail'd to another Island about seven Leagues distant, which he called *St. Maria de la Conception*; on the 17th he sailed to *Fernandina*, from thence to *Isabella*, and *Cuba*, and last of all to *Hispaniola*, where he built a Fort with the Wrecks of one of his Ships which stranded on the Coast, and left a Garrison of 38 Men in it to maintain the *Spanish* Pretensions to the Country: The Natives treated him with great Civility and Respect, and exchang'd the most valuable Effects of their Country for Glass Beads, and and other Trifles; but the Admiral having been now almost three Months in the Country, sailed back for *Spain*, *Jan. 4th*, 1493. and arrived there in *March*, with the joyful Tidings of a new World, richer in Gold and Silver, than all the Kingdoms of *Europe* put together.

THUS was the Communication open'd between *Europe* and *America*, in a lucky Juncture for the *Spaniards*, whose Treasury was so low at this Time, that the Queen was forc'd to pawn her very Jewels to raise Money for *Columbus's* Expedition, but in a few Years they brought home such vast Treasures of Gold and Silver from the *West Indies*, as made them the Richest Nation in the World, and advanced their Power to such a Degree, as not only put them at the Head of *Europe*; but gave them a Prospect of Establishing an universal Monarchy upon the Ruin of their Neighbours.

ALL *Europe* was struck with Astonishment at the good Fortune of the *Spaniards*; and the Courts of *England* and *Portugal*, repented heartily their slighting *Columbus's* Offers: They saw with infinite Regret, the immense Treasures which had slipt thro' their Fingers; and began now to fit out Ships for Expeditions into those Parts, in hopes of sharing some of the Treasures of the new discover'd World,
which

which tho' it did not succeed in the South, the *Spaniards* having been before them in those Parts, yet answered their Ends in some Measure, by opening the Way to their future Settlements on the Northern Continent of *America*.

THE *French*, who will never allow any Nation to be before them, pretend this Country was first discover'd by *John Verazzan* a Florentine, who took Possession of it in the Name of *Francis I.* in the Year 1524: That he called it *Mocosa*, and with *Canada*, to which he gave the Name of *New France*, added it to the *French Dominions*; but this is a Fiction exploded by all Authors but their own; *Sebastian Cabot*, was the first that discover'd the Northern Continent of *America*, and sail'd along the Coast, as high as 67 or 68 Degrees N. L. He was sent out by King *Henry VII.* in the Year 1497, the very same Year that *Americus Vespucius* discover'd the Southern Continent: He landed at several Places on the Coast, and brought home three of the Savages, whom he presented to the King. But Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was the first who formed the Project of a Settlement in these Parts; to this End he procured several Merchants and private Gentlemen, to advance large Sums of Money, and used his Interest with his Mistress, Queen *Elizabeth*, to obtain a Patent; the Patent bears date *March 25th 1584.* "and grants to Sir *Walter Raleigh* free Liberty to Possess, Plant, and Enjoy for himself, and such Persons as he should Nominate, themselves, and their Successors, all such Lands, Territories, &c. As they should discover, not then in the Possession of any Christian Nation." In *April*, the Gentlemen and Merchants, by Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Direction, fitted out two small Ships under the Command of Capt. *Philip Amidas*, and Capt. *Arthur Barlow*, two of Sir *Walter's* Servants, who knowing no better Course, sail'd away for the *Canaries*, from thence to the *Caribbee*

Caribbee Islands, and crossing the Gulph of *Mexico* made the Coast of *Florida*. Which by Computation of able Seamen is above a Thousand Leagues out of the Way. They anchor'd at the In-let by *Roenoke*, at present under the Government of *North Carolina*, and landed on certain Islands on the Coast between *Cape Fear* and the great Bay of *Chesapeac*: They afterwards went ashore on the Continent, in a Country call'd *Wingandacota*, over which there reign'd a King whose Name was *Wingina*; and traded with the *Indians* for *Furs*, *Sassafras*, *Cedar*, *Tobacco*, &c. which they purchas'd for Toys, and Things of little Value. They brought home with them likewise some Pearl, which was taken for an evident Sign of the great Riches of the Country and gave such an advantageous Account of the Climate and Soil, that Queen *Elizabeth* was herself pleas'd to honour it with the Name of *Virginia*; tho' others say that Sir *Walter Raleigh* gave it that Name in honour of his Virgin Mistress. Under this Name was comprehended all that Tract of Land which reaches from *Nrembegua* to *Florida*, and contains the Countries now known to the English by the Names of *New-England*, *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *Carolina*.

THE Success of this first Voyage encourag'd the Adventurers to attempt a second. Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself intended to command this Expedition, and carry with him a sufficient Number of Forces to compleat his Design of making a Settlement; but being at that Time jealous that his Absence might be prejudicial to his Interests at Court, which the Earl of *Leicester* sought all Occasions to lessen, he committed the Conduct of it to his Lieutenant Sir *Richard Greenville*; who on the 9th of *April* 1585. set Sail from *Plimouth* with seven Sail of Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himself, and several other Gentlemen were Members.

bers. Sir. *Richard*, for want of better Information, failed round by the *Caribbee Islands*, and arrived at *Wokokon* on the 26th of *May*, being the same Place where the *English* had been the Year before; in *August* following he began to plant at *Roenoke Island*, about 5 Leagues from the Continent, in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. He left 108 Men on the Island under the Command of Mr. *Ralph Lane* and Captain *Philip Amidas*, and returned himself to *England*; but after they had maintained themselves about a Twelve-month on the Island, and endured inexpressible Hardships for want of fresh Supplies from *England*, the poor Remains were glad to accept of a Passage home in Sir *Frances Drake's* Fleet, who was order'd by the Queen to visit the Plantation, and see in what Condition their Affairs were.

A FEW Days after the breaking up of the Settlement, Sir *Richard Greenville* arriv'd with a fresh Supply of Men and Provisions, he was amaz'd to find the Island deserted, not knowing any Thing of Sir *Frances Drake's* having been there, however he left behind him 50 Men, and 2 Years Provisions promising faithfully to bring them speedy and effectual Supplies, but before he returned, this little Company was murder'd by the Natives. Several other Attempts were made in the *Queen's* Time towards a Settlement in these Parts, but they all miscarried.

IN the Year 1602, Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold* fitted out a small Vessel at *Dartmouth*, with 32 Sailors, and Passengers for *Virginia*: He had been one of the Adventurers in a former Voyage thither, was an excellent Mariner, and conceived that there must be a shorter Cut to that Part of *America* than had hitherto been attempted, wherefore he steer'd a more direct Course, and did not stand so far to the Southward, as the former Adventurers had done, by which Means he fell in
with

with the Land, in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and a few Minutes Northward, among the Islands that now form the North Side of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New-England*; but not liking the Place, he steer'd to the Southward, all Night; and next Morning, when he thought himself clear of the Coast, found himself enclosed within a mighty Promontory or Head of Land. Here he staid some Time trading with the *Indians* on the Coast for *Furs, Skins, Sassafras, &c.* and fishing in the Bay, where he caught vast Quantities of Cod, from whence he gave it the Name of *Cape Cod*. *Cape Cod* is the most remarkable Point of *New-Englisk* Land: It makes a large and commodious Bay, capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships, the Entrance is about 4 Miles wide, and 'tis encompass'd all round, even to the very Sea with *Oaks, Pines, Juniper, Sassafras,* and other sweet Woods. Here was the greatest Plenty of Fowls that ever they saw, and had they had Tackling for the Whale Fishery, they might have made a rich Return from thence; for they saw those monstrous Fishes playing hard by them every Day.

At length the Captain went a Shoar upon a small uninhabited Island, which he called *Elizabeth Island*, about 4 Leagues from the Main in the Latitude of 41 Degrees 10 Minutes, and built a little Fort, from whence he traffick'd with the Natives along the Coast.

THE first Body of Savages he met with, after signs of Peace made on both Sides, came boldly aboard him: Their Commander was drest with Wastecoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockins, Hat, and all the Accoutrements of an *European*; but the rest of the Company had only Deer-Skins about their Shoulders, and Seal Skins tied about their Waste, their Hair was very long, and tied up with a Knot behind, and they were Painted all over,
tho'

tho' their natural swarthy Colour was easy enough to be discerned.

THE next Company that came to him were finer than the former, having all of them copper Pendants in their Ears; One had a Breast-Plate of the same Mettal a Foot long, and half a Foot broad; another had his Head stuck full of Feathers, that rendred him a frightful Figure; they were a sly theevish Sort of People, but the *Captain* knew well enough how to deal with them; he made a very successful Voyage, and upon his return home, gave such an advantageous Account of the Country, and of the civil Treatment he met with from the Natives, that the Merchants began once more to think of a Settlement in those Parts, and the Captain solicited the Matter so effectually with the Court of King *Jarnés* that several Gentlemen engaged in it, and the King incorporated 2 Companies in one Patent, bearing Date the 10th of *April* 1606. The first were allowed to settle themselves at any Place on the Coast of *Virginia* between the Degrees of 34 and 41. N. L. The other between the Degrees of 38 and 45. Each had Liberty to stretch themselves 100 Miles along the Coasts, and 100 Miles within Land, but not to Plant within 100 Miles of each other. In this last Patent was included *New England; New York, New Jersey, New Pensilvania*, as they are now divided into several Provinces, but the whole Country was then called *Virginia*, and was no otherwise distinguish'd for some Time after, than by the Names of *North* and *South Virginia*.

THE Proprietors of the Patent for *South Virginia*, began their Settlement, the very same Year with the Date of it. They fitted out two Ships under the Command of Captain *Newport*, with whom went the honourable Mr. *Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Capt. *Gosnoll*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Mr. *Wingfield*

field a Minister, and abundance of Handicraft Tradesmen ; they fell in with the Coast near Cape *Henry* the Southermost Point of the Bay *Cheseapeac*, and rais'd a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*, now *James River* ; here they left 100 Men with Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries for a Settlement, who made a Shift to maintain themselves on the Place, and the next Year built *James Town* about 50 Miles up the River : From these small Beginnings, the Plantation of *Virginia* has risen to that Figure it has since made in the *British* Commerce.

SIR *John Popham* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Governor of *Plymouth Fort*, and several other West-Country Gentlemen and Merchants, Proprietors of the Patent for *North-Virginia*, fitted out a Ship the same Year with 30 Men under the Command of *Henry Challons*, to make a Discovery of that Country, they set out in *August*, but being got as far as the *Spanish West-Indian* Islands they fell in with a Fleet of *Spanish* Ships who took them Prisoners, and after a great deal of ill Usage carried them into *Spain*, where they were treated after a very cruel and inhumane Manner this Misfortune damp'd the Courage of the first Adventurers, but the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* quickly after sent out another Ship at his own Charge under the Command of Capt. *Hanam*, who brought back such an encouraging Account of the Country, that the Proprietors who were fallen off resolved to make a second Adventure ; they fitted out two Ships with 100 Men, Ordnance, Stores, and all Necessaries for a Plantation, under the Command of Capt. *Popham* and Capt. *Gilbert* in the Year 1608, who began a Settlement upon the Banks of the River *Sagadahock* in *Novembegua*, but before the Return of the Ships, the Lord Chief Justice, who was the Life of the Enterprize, died ; the Planters however built a Fort which they call'd

call'd by the Name of *St. George*, but could not be perswaded to stay in the Country after Capt. *Popham* was dead, and Capt. *Gilbert* declared his Resolution to return to *England* to take Possession of an Estate, which fell to him by the Death of his Elder Brother; so they all broke up, and came away for *England*.

BUT the Trade turn'd to so good an Account, by reason of the *Fish*, *Furrs*, and other Commodities of the Country, that the Merchants were continually fitting out Ships to traffick with the Natives. In the Year 1614, * four Gentlemen, Capt. *Roydon*, Capt. *Langham*, Mr. *Bully*, and Mr. *Skelton*, fitted out two Ships at their own Charges for the *West-Indies*; Capt. *John Smith*, who had been President of the Colony of *South-Virginia*, was Commander of the one; and *Tho. Hunt* of the other; Capt. *Smith* falling in with the Land about the Island *Monahigan* traded with the Inhabitants of those Parts; and while his Men were fishing upon the Coasts, he travelled up into the Country, with only eight Men, and drew a Plan of it, which he presented to Prince *Charles*, who gave it the Name of *NEW-ENGLAND*, and was pleas'd at the Captain's Request to give *English* Names to the most remarkable Places in the Country; the *Masachusetts* River, he called *Charles River*; the Harbour of *Cape Cod*, *Milford-Haven*; and the *Cape* itself *Cape James*; *Accominticus*, he called *Boston*; *Aggarwom*, *Southampton*; and so to the Number of about 30 Places, a List of which the Reader may see in *Smith's Voyages*, Lib. VI. p. 205. The Captain made his Voyage out and home in about six Months, and got about 1500 Pounds for his Principals, by the Sale of his *Otter*, *Beaver-Skins*, *Salt-Fish*, *Train-Oil*, and other Commodities.

* *Capt. Smith's Voyages*, Book VI. p. 204.

BUT when Capt. *Smith* was gone; *Hunt*, the Commander of the other Vessel, which was bound for *Spain* in her Way home, enticed between 20 and 30 of the Natives aboard him, and contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Publick Faith, clapt them under Hatches, and sold them to the *Spaniards* at *Malaga* on his own Account; his Owners censured this Part of his Conduct severely, and upon his Arrival in *England* discharged him their Service; but the *Indians* resented this Piece of Treachery so highly, that they resolved to be revenged on the next *English* that came upon the Coast. Capt. *Hobson* was the unhappy Man who was dispatch'd the next Spring with Men, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries for a Settlement; upon the Ship's Arrival, many of the *Indians* came aboard, and were kindly entertain'd by the Captain; at their Departure they promised to return next Day with some Trade; they came accordingly with 20 Canoes, but refused to come aboard. *Epenow* an *Indian* that the Captain had brought with him as an Interpreter beckoned to them to come near, and immediately leapt into the Water and swam to them; upon which the *English* fired upon him, and the *Indians* from their Canoes let fly their Arrows at the Ship; and carried off their Countryman, notwithstanding all the Attempts of the *English* to recover him; several of the *Indians* were kill'd in the Skirmish, and the Master of the *English* Vessel, and some of his Company were wounded; which discouraged them so much, that they return'd to *England*, bringing back nothing with them, but the sad News of a War with the *Indians*.

* *Increase Mather's Troubles of New-England*, Boston 1677, p. 2.

IN the Year 1619, Mr. *Dormer* was sent to prosecute the Design of planting and settling a Trade in *New-England*, and to endeavour to make Peace with the *Indians*; he brought *Squanto* one of the *Indians* that *Hunt* had carried away from *Patuxet* along with him, but tho' *Squanto* did what he could to pacify his Countrymen, telling them that *Hunt* was a Villain, and that his Treachery had been condemn'd by the *English*, yet they could not forgive it, but watched their Opportunity, and gave *Dormer* 14 Wounds, so that he had much ado to escape with his Life: hereupon he sailed away for *Virginia*, but left *Squanto* behind him.

THE *Pattentees* having met with so many Disappointments, laid aside all farther Thoughts of sending Colonies into these Parts, and therefore made Grants of small Parcels of Land on the Northern Parts of *New-England* to private Adventurers, who settled small Factories in the Summer-Time to assist their Merchant-Men in trading with the *Indians*; but a Settlement was not so much as thought of, till Mr. *John Robinson*, and Mr. *William Brewster*, the former an Independent Minister, the latter a Ruling Elder in the same Church, both of them, with several of their Disciples and Followers, driven out of *England* for their Religion, in the Reign of King *James* the First, and living now at *Leyden*, bravely accomplish'd it; as the Reader will see in the next Chapter.

IN the mean time; it will be proper to give some Account of the Country, and observe the Civil and Religious Policy of the *Natives*, with their Customs and Manners before the *English* settled among 'em.

THE *Natives* apprehended *New-England* to be an Island, and went so far as to tell the very Name of that Inlet of the Sea that parts it from the Main Land of *Virginia*, this Inlet they call'd *Mobeggon*, and constantly affirm'd that the *English* and *Dutch*

pass'd that Way between the two Countries, and drove a great Trade; for the Confirmation of this Opinion of the Natives, 'tis alledged that they had no Knowledge of the neighbouring Country of *Virginia*, tho' it be not above 150 Leagues from them; that they never heard of *Powhatan* the great Prince of those Parts, nor of the *English* Plantation there, till they were inform'd of it by the *English* themselves, but later Discoveries have sufficiently confuted this Opinion.

NEW-ENGLAND was inhabited by 20 or 30 different *Nations*, the most considerable of which we shall meet with in the following History, tho' the Names of many of them are not so much as mention'd by the Modern Historians.

THE *Massachusetts* were the most populous of all the *Indian Nations*, and the most civiliz'd, which was owing chiefly to their dwelling upon the Coasts, and trading with the several *Nations* of *Europe*; but the Plague and Small-Pox had thinn'd 'em very much a little before the *English* took Possession of their Country; they inhabited those Parts which now make the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and have the Honour to give Name to the chief Colony of *New-England*.

THE *Neumkeaks* inhabited the adjacent Country, which now makes the County of *Essex*. Here the *Massachusetts* Colony made their first Settlement, and built the Town of *Salem*.

THE *Narrhagansets* were a very formidable People, and maintain'd themselves against the growing Power of the *English* longer than any of their Neighbours; they inhabited the Parts about *New-London* County.

THE *Pocassets* inhabited the Parts to the Southward of the *Massachusetts* along the Coast; it was within the Territories of this Nation, that the first Colony of *New-Plymouth* seated themselves, but the

the Country had been some time before in a manner depopulated by the Plague.

THE *Pequots* were a fierce and cruel People, they made a noble Stand against the United Force of *New-England* in the Year 1637, and would certainly have defended their Country against the Encroachments of the *English*, if the *Narrhagansets* their inveterate Enemies had not assisted the *English* to destroy them. They were seated on a navigable River 12 Miles Eastward of the Mouth of the great River *Connecticut*; and did whatever lay in their Power to prevent the *English* from settling on the Banks of it.

THE *Massasoets* or *Wompanoags* lived about Mount *Hope* in *New-Bristol* County; *Old Massasoiet* was a faithful Friend and Ally of the *English*; he bid them welcome into the Country upon their first landing, and did them all the kind Offices they desired; but his Successors *Alexander* and *Philip* were the most daring Enemies that ever they met with, the latter had Policy enough to engage all the *Indian* Nations in a War, which exhausted the best Blood and Treasure of the *English*, and if Providence had not strangely interpos'd, would probably have driven them out of the Country, above 50 Years after they had taken Possession of it.

THE *Moratiggon*s were seated to the Westward of the *Massasoets*.

THE *Patuxets* between the Counties of *New-London* and *New-Bristol*.

THE *Maquas* Westward of *Connecticut* River, near *New-Albany*; the seasonable Interposition of this powerful Nation retriev'd the *English* Affairs, when they were come to a Crisis in the War with *Philip* King of the *Wompanoags*. Dr. *Mather* gives a surprising Relation of their Courage and Valour, he says, that they were *Man-Eaters*, and being supply'd with *Fire-Arms* before their Neighbours, they had destroy'd above two Millions of Natives

inhabiting the Country between them, and the River *Mississipi*. These *Maquas* are commonly known by the Name of *Mohegins* or *Mohawks*, for the River now known by the Name of *Hudson's River*, was formerly call'd the *Mohegin* River.

THE *Manimoy*s inhabited *Barnstable* County; the *Nianticks*, *Mattachiefts*, *Namaskets*, possess'd the Inland Country between *Providence* and *Merrimack* River; the *Marchicans*, and *Sequems* were in *Hampshire* about 20 Miles from the Coast; the *Novasii* and *Horakasi* lay farther within Land, about *Connecticut* River.

THUS the Country was canton'd into a great many little Kingdoms and Governments; for every *Sachem* or *Sagamore*, who was Lord of a Territory about 8 or 10 Miles in Length, erected his Lands into a Kingdom, and gave a Name to his Nation.

THE *Indians* of *New-England* are of an Olive Complexion, and flat Nosed, their Hair is black, which they cut short before, but suffer to grow very long behind, and sometimes dress up in a very antick Fashion with Feathers; they have no Beards, but are generally tall, proper, stout Men; they go naked in the Summer, except about their Waste, which they cover with a Piece of Leather; but in Winter, they cloath themselves with Deer-Skins, which they throw about them like a Mantle. Some of them have Breeches, Stockins, and Shoes, all in one Piece made of the same Materials; in Winter when the Snow will bear, they put on Snow-Shoes, which are made like a large *Tennis Racket*, and lace them to their Feet with Deers Guts. They paint themselves all over; their Faces and Shoulders with a deep Red, and their Bodies with a Variety of ugly, mishapen Figures; and he is the bravest Fellow that has the most frightful Forms drawn upon him, and looks most terrible. The Ornaments of their Women, besides the Painting of their Bodies, are a sort of Ear-Rings of Copper

or

or Beads ; Bracelets about their Arms, and Chains about their Legs.

THE Men are of a slothful Temper, putting all the Slavery upon their Wives, who not only take Care of their Children, but manage all Domestick Affairs ; they plant, reap, house and thresh all their Corn ; they build their Houses, and attend their Husbands as their Lords ; the only Employment of the Men is Hunting and Fishing ; when Provision is low, they go out into the Wood 50 or 100 in a Company with their Bows and Arrows, and bring in a fresh Supply, or sail down the Rivers in their Canoes to catch Fish. In the Spring they catch *Lobsters, Clams, &c.* and afterwards *Bass, Cod, Rock, Blue-Fish, Salmon,* and *Lampus*. The *Lobsters* they take in large Bags at low Water, with a Staff 2 or 3 Yards long, made small and sharpen'd at one End, with Notches to take hold ; when they see the *Lobster* crawling in 2 Fathom Water, they stick him towards the Head, and bring him up ; Mr. *Jesselyn* says, he has known 30 *Lobsters* taken after this manner by an *Indian* Lad in an Hour and half. *Bass, Blue-Fish,* and *Sturgeon,* they strike with a sort of Dart made of Wood, and sharpen'd with a Fish-Bone, to the End of which they tye a String, with which they drag the Fish to Shoar. At all other Times, except when they are at War, they indulge themselves in Idleness and Sloth. One would wonder, that in so many Ages as must have run out since their first inhabiting the Country, no active Spirit should rise up to encourage Arts and Industry among them ; they live in a Country full of Copper and Iron Mines, and yet were never Owners of so much as a Knife till the *English* came among 'em ; their Name for an *Englishman* is a *Knife-Man* ; their Country is stock'd with the best Timber for

Shipping

Shipping in the World, yet they never made any Improvement of it, beyond their Canoes wrought out of the Trunks of Trees made hollow by Fire, or made of the Bark of the Birch-Tree, strengthen'd with little Circles of Wood like Hoops, and pitch'd with a Mixture of Turpentine and Rosin, which are so very light, that they can easily carry them over Land from one River to another. They are about 8 or 9 Paces long, and half so broad in the Middle, but growing narrower towards the End. They never saw a Ship or Sail, till some came thither from *Europe*. Nay, such is the Slothfulness of these barbarous Savages, that when they have burnt up all the Wood, in the Neighbourhood of the Place where they have pitch'd their Tents, rather than be at the Pains to fetch it in from a little farther Distance, they pluck up their Stakes and follow the Wood.

THE *Indian Houses*, or *Wigwams*, are very sorry Buildings; they are made of young and tender Trees bent down like an Arbour, cover'd on the Top with the Bark of Trees, and on the Sides with thick and well wrought † Mats made of Rushes; the Doors are but a Yard high, or thereabouts, one opens to the North, the other to the South, and according as the Wind sets they close up one Door with Bark, and hang a Deer-Skin or Mat before the other. The Chimneys are wide Holes in the Top of the Building, which they cover with Mats in cold Weather. All is warm and close in the Winter, for the Houses are matted both without and within; in the midst of them are four little Stakes knockt into the Ground, with Sticks laid a-cross, upon which they hang their Pots; their Beds are so many Mats spread round

* *Jesselyn's Voyages to New-England*, Ed. Lond. 1674. p. 126.

about the Fire-Place ; for as the Fire keeps them warm in the Day, so they keep that warm in the Night. They have no Towns or Villages, but considerable Bodies of 'em clan together in a Place till they have burnt up all the Wood thereabouts, and then they change their Quarters.

THEIR ordinary Food is plain and simple, for when Fishing and Hunting fails, they live upon nothing but *No-* *Their Food.*
kobick, that is a Spoonful of Parcht

Meal with a Spoonful of Water, in the Strength of which they'll travel a whole Day together ; they delight in the Flesh of *Deers*, *Bears*, *Rackoons*, but of all their Animals, the *Moss* is the greatest Rarity ; this Beast is as big as an Ox, has a Head and Neck like a red Deer, but his Hair is long like an Elk, and he has a short Mane that runs down his Back a considerable Way ; under the the Throat hangs down a great Bunch which is of a dark Colour, the Legs are very long, and so is the Tail, which reaches down almost to the Heels, and the Feet are as large every Way as an Ox's ; the Flesh is excellent good Meat, and the Natives dry it, and keep it all the Year round, for they were not acquainted with the Use of Salt till the *English* brought it among them ; the Skin makes a very substantial Buff, and serves for a Garment of extraordinary Warmth and Defence. But their Feasts are the Bane and Ruin of their Stomachs, at which they value themselves upon leaving nothing ; their Victuals are either boil'd or roast-ed, and they lap great Quantities of the Broth both of Flesh and Fish ; their Flesh is little more than half dress'd, but their Fish is always over boil'd.

THEIR Health is firm, notwithstanding they use no Caution to preserve it ; but on the Contrary use violent Exercise in Hunting, and in their
Warlike

Warlike Expeditions; they are unacquainted with a great many Diseases that afflict the *Europeans*, such as the *Palsy*, *Dropsy*, *Gout*, *Phthifick*, *Asthma*, *Gravel* and *Stone*, but the Diseases which prove most fatal to them are the *Plurisie* which all their Remedies can't conquer, and the *Small Pox*, which sweeps away vast Multitudes of them, for want of due Care and Attendance.*

INDEED their Skill in Physick is very indifferent, for excepting two or three *Method of Curing* *Nostrums* which they apply in certain Cases, they have but two Remedies for the Sick, the Hot-house, or the *Powaw*, or Priest; their Hot-house is a little Cave of about eight Foot over, which they heat very hot, and then go in it, and sweat and smoke for about an Hour, after which they come out, and plunge themselves in an adjacent River; if this does not cure them, they send for the *Powaw*, or Priest, who Howls, and Roars, and Performs several Magical Ceremonies, playing a Thousand Antick Tricks over the diseas'd Person, who all the while the Invocation lasts shews his Consent to it, by some few Words dropt every now and then, and sometimes by breaking out into a Strain of Musick along with the *Powaw*: If there be a Wound in the Case, after the Noises, Screechings, and Jabberings are over, he licks it, and at the same time gives the Patient ghostly Advice; if the *Powaw* finds his Case hopeful, he tells him that *Hobbamoko* sent his Distemper upon him, for some Offence or other, who if he calls upon him in his Distress will send him Relief: But if the Case be desperate, he then says that *Kichtan* is angry, and all Diseases inflicted by him are incurable.

* *La Hontan in Harris's Voyages.* p. 925.

WHEN they have any dead People to dispose of out of the Way, they take instead of Shovels and Pickaxes, great Stakes made sharp at one End, and dig a Hole in the Ground, in which they lay a Parcel of Sticks a-cross, then wrapping up the Corps in Skins and Matts they lay it upon the Sticks, and all the dead Person's Treasure with him, they then raise a Mount of Earth over all; And while this is doing the Friends of the deceas'd express their Concern by hideous Screeks and Howlings. When the first *English* Colony were looking out a Place for a Settlement, they found several *Indian* Graves, one of which they open'd; the outside Covering was Boards, under which was a Matt; next to that were Bowls, Trays, Dishes, and then another Matt, under which was a Board about three quarters long finely Painted and Carv'd; to this succeeded another Matt, under which were two Bundles that promis'd something more Curious; the greater of these Bundles being open'd, discovered a large Quantity of a very fine and perfectly red Powder, of a strong, but no offensive Smell, and in this were the Bones and Skull of a Man, the latter of which had fine Yellow Hair upon it, and some of the Flesh unconsumed; together with these Relicks there was in the same Bundle a Knife, a Pack-Needle, and two or three old Iron Things, all which was pack'd up in a Sailor's Canvas Cassock, and a Pair of Cloth Breeches; in the less Bundle there was the same sort of Powder, and the Head and Bones of a Child, about the Legs and other Parts of which, were Strings and Chains of white Beads, and by it was laid a Bow of about three Quarters long, with some other odd Nicknacks.

THEIR Mournings for the Dead continue for several Days, Night and Morning, in which all the Friends of the Deceased bear a Part. In the Southern Parts of the Country, the Women black over their Faces with a Mixture of Coal and Oil: When the Body is laid in the Ground they make a wretched doleful Noise, something like that which is made by Cats when any Number of them get together. If a sick Person happens to recover, there is a mighty Joy; and because Sickness is always chargeable, when his Friends come to congratulate him upon his Recovery, they bring Gifts in their Hands to help repair his Loss.

THE laudable Custom of paying a Reverence to old Age is strictly observ'd, by all the *Indians* in these Parts. The younger Persons will even do all mean Offices to excuse the Elder, tho' they are Strangers, and have no manner of Acquaintance with them; but let a Man have never so many Years over his Head, yet he is not counted a *Man*, till he has signalized his Valour in some laudable Action worthy the Notice and Respect of all his Acquaintance.

THEIR Division of Time is by Sleeps, and Moons, and Winters, and by Lodging abroad; they have made some little Observation of the Stars, and as I observ'd before always call *Charles's Wain*, by the Name of *Paukunnawaw*, or the Bear, which is the Name by which the *Europeans* have distinguish'd it. They have no Records, or Memorials of the Exploits of their Ancestors, nor is it possible they should, because they were not acquainted with the Use of Letters, tho' *Dr. Mather* says, there is a Rock or two in the Country

try that has unaccountable Characters engrav'd upon it: But to supply this Defect, as well as they can, they dig deep Holes in the Ground, in the Place where any memorable Action has been perform'd, which they take care to preserve from being filled up; so that as a Man travels the Country, if he can but understand his Guide, he may learn the History of their Affairs.

I have not observ'd any Revolution of Time which they account Sacred; all Days are alike with them, which is a little Strange, since there are great Numbers of Priests, and among some of the Nations, Houses that look like Temples; but this Custom is generally taken Notice of, that in Times of very great Want and Scarcity they offer up extraordinary Devotions to their Gods, and when they have triumph'd over their Enemies, or gather'd in the Fruits of the Fields, they appoint a Festival, wherein Men, Women, and Children, meet together to sing and dance round about a rousing Fire in the Fields, for four or five Hours together.*

THE Natives of *New-England*, believe not only a Plurality of Gods *Religion:* who made and govern the several Nations of the World, but they make Deities of every Thing they imagine to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful to Mankind. There is with them, one God in the *Sun*, and another in the *Moon*, &c. They believe *Fire* to be a kind of God, inasmuch as a Spark of it produces such remarkable Effects, and because *Thunder* and *Lightning* are very terrible, they pay divine Honours to them. But tho' the *Indians* acknowledge a great Variety of Divine Powers, yet they conceive one Almighty Being who dwells in the *South West* Re-

* *Harris's Voyages*, Vol. II. p. 847.

gions of the Heavens, to be Superior to all the Rest, this Almighty Being they call *Kichtan*, or *Kawtantowit*, who at first according to their Tradition made a Man and Woman out of a Stone, but upon some Dislike destroy'd them again; and then made another Couple out of a Tree, from whom descended all the Nations of the Earth; but how they came to be scatter'd and dispers'd into Countries so remote from one another, they can't tell. They believe their Supreme God to be a *Good Being*, and pay a sort of Acknowledgment to him for Plenty, Victory, and other Benefits.

THE Rev. Mr. *Mahew*, gives this Account of the *Indians* of *Martha's Vineyard*; "That they worshipp'd many false Gods, both in Heaven, Earth and Sea; That they had their Men Gods, their Women Gods, their Children Gods, Gods for their Animals, and for the Fruits of the Earth; That they had a great Veneration for the *Devil*, and endeavour'd to pacify him by their Sacrifices; to him they address'd for the Cure of their Diseases, and for Counsel in all difficult Cases; having only an obscure Notion of a God greater than all, whom they called *Mannit*, but they knew not what he was, and therefore knew not how to worship him.

THE Immortality of the Soul, and a future State is universally believ'd among them; when Good Men die, they say their Souls go to *Kichtan*, where they meet their Friends, have splendid Entertainments, and enjoy all Manner of Pleasures; when wicked Men die, they go to *Kichtan Habitation* too, and Knock at the Door, but they have no Answer from him but *Quachet*, that is, *Walk away*, and so they wander about in restless Discontent and Horror for ever; when some of the

† Letter to the Corporation, for propagating the Gospel, Oct. 23. 1652. page 2.

English have talk'd with 'em of the Resurrection of the Body, All the Answer they could get from them was, that it was impossible, and that *they should never believe it.*

THEY acknowledge their Supream Deity *Kichtan* to be altogether invisible, and their *Priests* do not so much as pre- *Their Deities.* tend to have seen him at any time; but there is another *Power* which they call *Hobbamocko*, in *English* the *Devil*; who scruples not, as the *Priests* say, to appear to them in different Forms, sometimes in the Shape of a Man, sometimes of a Deer, and an Eagle, but most commonly in the Form of a Snake; to him they apply in all difficult Cases, for the curing of Diseases, and removing Publick Judgments, and the People stand in greater Awe of him than of *Kichtan* himself. The People are vastly ambitious, of the Honour of a Sight of this *Hobbamocko*, but he never appears but to the *Powaws* or *Priests*, and the *Paniefe*, or Counsellors of State, that is, to the Men of Intrigue and Design, whose Business it is to keep the People in Awe; and according to the Accounts our *English* give of the Matter, the very Notion of this *Evil Being* was put into the Peoples Heads with no other Design. But is it not strange, that People by the Power of Priestcraft, or any other Device should be diverted and drawn away from the Worship of a *Good Being*, who governs the World, and is the Author of all the Benefits of Life, to the Worship of an *Evil One*, meerly from a Principle of Dread and Terror, lest in his Anger he should send worse Mischiefs upon them than those which at present they lie under? as Slaves do Homage to their cruel Masters, not because they love them, but lest by such a Neglect, their Servitude should be made more intolerable. But to make this Doctrine go down the better with the People, the *Priests* have taken Care to represent their *Kichtan*

as an inexorable Being, that is, one whose Decrees are irreverfible, fo that if he fends an Affliction or Difcafe upon a Man 'tis incurable; all Medicine will be ineffectual, and all Applications to him, or any other Being insignificant. But *Hobbamocko* is represented as one who by Sacrifices and Prayer may be appeas'd. Thus thefe Impoftors give the People a far worfe Notion of God Almighty than of the Devil. Many of the *Indians* have declared that within their Memories the Good Being *Kicktan* was much more invoked than at prefent. But our *Englifh* Planters now tell us, from the Confessions of the *Indians* themfelves, that the Worfhip of him is almoft worn out among them. In fhort the *Genius* of the People leads them to worfhip any Thing that is above them in Power, and able to do them any Hurt. Thefe are their Deities, and they exprefs a Reverence for them accordingly hence *Fire, Water, Thunder* and *Lightning*; nay even the *Horfes*, and great *Guns* and *Musquets* of the *Englifh* were at firft worfhip'd by fome of them but the chief Object of their Worfhip, as I offer'd before, is *Hobbamocko*.

THE moft Zealous of all the *Indians* in the Religious Superftitions were the *Narragansets*: They have large fpacious *Sacrifices*: Houfes in the Nature of Temples which are frequented only by the *Powaws*, except at their Publick Solemnities, when vaft Crouds of People refort thither, and offer the beft of the Treafures in Sacrifice; as *Skins, Hatchets, Kettles* and the like, all thefe are thrown by the Priests into the midft of a great Fire, and burnt to Afhes: thofe that offer moft liberally towards thefe Sacrifices are esteem'd the wifeft and moft devout Men and fo reputable is it to be open-handed in the Caufe that the *Indians* about *Plymouth-Town* told the *Englifh*, they wifh'd for their Sakes that their Governours would appoint the like Sacrifices among them.

THEIR *Powaws* or Priests, are a subtle Generation of Men, Ambitious, Cruel, greedy of Riches, grasping at an absolute Power and Dominion over the People, from whom they require

*The Character of
their Powaws or
Priests.*

a profound Respect, and Reverence, as Persons who have a familiar Acquaintance with the Deity, and who by their Blessings and Cursings, can make Men happy or miserable in a future State. The People certainly believe that they can raise the Devil, and make him do whatever they bid him, except the superior Deity *Kichtan* interposes; Dr. C. Mather seems to be of the same Opinion, by the Examples he gives us of their supernatural Influence on humane Affairs. He tells us “ that they often kill’d Persons; caused Lameness and Impotency,* and shew’d their Art in performing several other things beyond humane, by a diabolical Skill; and this either by desiring the Spirit they convers’d with, to do the Mischief they intended, or by forming a Piece of Leather like an Arrow-Head, tying a Hair there-to; or using some Bone, as of Fish, &c. over which they performed certain Ceremonies and then dismiss’d ’em to accomplish their Desires: And such enchanted things (says he) have most certainly either enter’d the Bodies of those whom they intended to afflict, or the Devil has form’d the like within their Flesh without any outward Breach of the Skin, which we have good Reason to believe; the *Powaws* acknowledging it, and such things having been taken out of the Flesh of the afflicted, or by the seizing something of the Spirit (as the Devil made them think) of such they intended to torment or kill, while it wandred in their Sleep:

* B. VI. p. 52.

“ This they kept being in Form of a Fly closely
 “ imprison’d, and according as they dealt with
 “ this, so it far’d with the Body it belong’d to.”
 The *Doctor* goes on to give some Examples, of
 the Power of these *Powaws* to do Mischief to Per-
 sons, and cure them when they had done; “ An
 “ *Indian* of *Martha’s Vineyard* (says he) whose
 “ Name was *George*, having been tormented, and
 “ now wholly Impotent, his Friends advised him
 “ to the *Powaws*, for a Cure; they being met and
 “ dancing round about a great Fire, the Sick
 “ Person lying by, some of the Neighbours en-
 “ ter’d the House, being perswaded that a great
 “ *Powaw* now called to cure, had bewitch’d the
 “ Sick; they threaten him that unless he would
 “ cure the Sick Man, they would burn him in
 “ that Fire; after many excuses too long here to
 “ relate, they took him up, resolving at least to
 “ singe him a little; who no sooner felt the Heat
 “ of the Fire near him, but the Sick immediately
 “ recovered.

ANOTHER Relation which the *Doctor* had
 from Captain *Thomas Dagget* Esq; now deceas’d,
 and *Richard Sarson* Esq; Justices of the Peace, he
 gives as follows: “ The Justice being on an
 “ Island, where a bewitch’d Woman lay in great
 “ Extremity, and wholly Impotent, the *Powaws*
 “ there having without Success endeavour’d her
 “ Cure; the Relations sent to *Martha’s Vineyard*
 “ for more famous *Powaws*, and the Justices were
 “ admitted to be present on certain Conditions:
 “ The *Powaws* went to dancing, and using cer-
 “ tain Ceremonies usual in such Cases: One of
 “ the *Powaws* pray’d to his God, with such ar-
 “ dent Desires and Fervency, that Captain *Dag-*
 “ *get* told me, had it been to the true God, it had
 “ been a Prayer exceeding most he had ever heard;
 “ The Issue was, that they caught the *Spirit* in a
 “ Deer-Skin (as they said) which entered the
 “ Woman;

“ Woman ; this, they said, was the Spirit of an
 “ Englishman drowned in the adjacent Sound :
 “ Yet it was then suppos’d the *Powaw* was by,
 “ who bewitch’d her : The Issue was, she im-
 “ mediately recover’d : But the *Powaw* told her,
 “ unless she remov’d to *Martha’s Vineyard*, she
 “ would again be sick for being an English Spirit
 “ he could not long confine it.”* Mr. *Thomas*
Mayhew of *Martha’s Vineyard*, was likewise of
 the same Opinion ; “ the Mischief (says he) that
 “ the *Powaws* and Devils usually do to the com-
 “ mon Indians, is both by outward and bodily
 “ Hurt, and inward Pain, Torture, and Distraction
 “ of Mind ; both which I have seen my self. To
 “ accomplish the first, the Devil does abuse the
 “ real Body of a Serpent which comes directly to
 “ the Man either in the House or Field, looming
 “ or having a Shadow about him like a Man, and
 “ Shoots a Bone (as they say) into the *Indians*
 “ Body which sometimes kills him.”

I SHALL leave the Reader to pass what Judgment he pleases upon these Relations ; but in my Opinion they are so far from proving the Doctrine they are brought to support, that they carry in them the greatest Air of Juggle and Imposture in the World.

MANY of the devout *Indians* dedicate their Children to the Gods, and educate them to the Priesthood, by debarring them from Sleep, and making them observe a certain Diet, &c. but of those who are thus dedicated, there are but few (according to their own Confessions) who obtain this high Dignity of a familiar Converse with the World of Spirits ; nor are all the *Powaws* alike successful in their Addresses to their Deities ; nor do their Incantations and Ceremonies always suc-

* Letter to the Corporation for propagating the Gospel, 1652. p. 4.

ceed; however the People are kept in awe by them, and on all Occasions pay them a profound Respect, and Veneration.

THERE is one Perquisite of the Clergy, which I can't find the *Powaws* of *New-England* have any Concern in, and that is their *Marriages*. The *Indians* keep a great many Concubines which they choose according to Appetite and Fancy, and turn away again when they please for the same Reason, but they have one Wife, who is the supream Governess of the Family, and is kept during her Life, the Consent of the *Sachem* is always ask't in the Affairs of Matrimony, and 'tis he that joins their Hands together. No *Sachem* will take a Wife, that is not of a Birth equal to his. When a Woman leaves a single Life, She cuts off her Hair, and wears a Sort of a Veil upon her Head, till her Hair is grown again. The Time of War is a Time of general Release to all Women that are uncomfortably yok'd, for if a Woman has either a bad Husband, or one she can't love, she takes that Opportunity to run away to the Enemy, where she is sure to be made welcome, for the *Indians* never think they have Women enough, and fight to gain such Prizes, oftner than for Sovereignty.

IN the Case of Adultery the Husband puts away the guilty Wife, or sometimes rests satisfy'd with beating her severely, but what Remedy the Wife has against the guilty Husband, I can't inform the Reader.

* WHEN Children come to Years of Discretion, whether Males or Females, they change their Names, as our Women here in *England* do at their Marriage; and when they perform any remarkable Exploit, they quit their present Name

* *Harris's Voyag.* Vol. II. p. 156.

again, and assume another new one: It was a common Practice amongst the Polite Nations of Antiquity, to augment their Names, by a New Title, on the Account of some extraordinary Performance, but to quit an old Name entirely, and take up a new One in the Room of it, is a Custom peculiar to the Natives of *New-England*.

The *Indian* Government is strictly Monarchical, the *Sachem* or Prince having an absolute Power over the Lives of all his *Government*. Subjects: In all important Affairs, he summones a Council of his Nobles, and *Paniese*, or Counsellors, in which 'tis admirable to see the Majestick Deportment of the Prince, and the submissive Behaviour of his Servants, who after they have given their Opinions upon the Question, refer the Determination of it to the Prince, and never fail to applaud his Wisdom, and execute his Order without the least Hesitation.

THE *Paniese* or Counsellors to the *Sachem* are not only the wisest and most courageous Men that can be found, but *Their Ministers of State* generally of the largest Size too; the *Sachems* never make War, or undertake any weighty Business without their Advice; and when the Armies march, they are always the immediate Guard of the Prince's Person. To keep up so honourable an Order, as the *Paniese* are esteem'd to be amongst all the *Indians*,* they chuse out the likeliest and most promising Boys, and train them up with abundance of Care, and in the Observation of peculiar Rites and Customs; 'tis not a little Hardship these Boys go through while they are under this Discipline; they abstain from all curious Meats, and drink the Juices of bitter Herbs, in such Quantities, as to cause excessive Vomitings; they are beat over the Legs and Shins with Sticks,

* *Harris's Voyag.*, p. 858.

and made to run thro' prickly Bushes and Brambles, to render them hardy; and, as they say, more acceptable to *Hobbamocko*; for these *Paniese*, or Ministers of State, are in League with the Priests; and in order to keep the People in awe, are allow'd to give out, that *Hobbamocko* makes frequent Visits to them, tho' our *English* in all their Conversations with them, never had the good Fortune of coming to any of their Houses, when he was there: But this is certain, that the *Paniese* in all great and dangerous Attempts discover a Boldness and Courage beyond that of the other Warriors; the common People firmly believe them to be above the Reach of Swords and Darts, and that no ordinary Weapons at least will kill them.

THE Nobles are either such as * are descended from the Blood Royal, or such on whom the Prince has bestow'd Part of his Dominions with the Royalties; or such whose Descent has been from Ancestors, who had Time out of Mind, been esteem'd, such.

THE Yeomen are such as having no Title to Nobility, are yet esteem'd by the Prince, as those that have a Natural Right of living within his Dominions, and a Common Use of the Land, and are distinguish'd by two Names or Titles; the one signifying *Subjection*, the other a *Tiller of the Land*.

BESIDES these there are a sort of *Villains* or Slaves amongst them, and these are such who were originally Strangers or Forreigners, tho' they have lived in the Country for many Generations; they are in some Measure subject to the Yeomanry, and are not allowed the Honour of attending the Prince in

* *Mather, Book VI. p. 51*

Hunting, or such like Exercifes, unless call'd to it by particular Favour. But after all, no Subject has any Property in the Land he ufes, the whole Territory being the Prince's Inheritance, and if any Man has Occasion for a Quantity of Land, he goes to the *Sachem*, and obtains his Leave to make use of it.

THE Succession to the Crown is Hereditary, always descending* to the eldest Son, and in case of Failure of Male Issue to the Female, but the *Blood Royal* is in such Veneration among them, that if a Prince has Issue by divers Women *that* shall succeed as Heir, which is royally descended on both Sides, tho' younger than the other Children; the Issue which they have by a Venter of less Quality than a Princess, being accounted only Noble, not Royal. If the Father dies before the Son or Daughter is of Age to succeed him; the Minor is committed to the Tuition of some able Counsellor, who manages the Affairs of the Country till the other is fit to take that Burden himself. There are some petty *Sachems* that are little Tributary Princes, and depend on the greater for Protection, without whose Knowledge and Consent they dare not make War, nor enter into Alliances with any of their Neighbours.

THE Revenues of the Crown consist in the Tributes or Contributions of the People, who bring Baskets of Corn, and some of the first Fruits of every thing they are Masters of; as Flesh, Fish, Roots, Berries, Beans, and the Skins of Beasts, as *Moose*, *Bear*, *Deer*, *Beaver*, &c. to one of the *Paniese*, whom the *Sachem* appoints to receive them, and then acquainting the *Sachem* with it, he comes out himself, and

Succession to the Crown

Revenues:

* *Mather*, *ibid.*

expresses his Gratitude to his People by good Words, and some small Presents; with these Things the Prince's Table is plentifully furnish'd, so as to enable him to keep open House for Strangers and Travellers; all such when they pass thro' their Territories go thither of Course, where they are entertain'd according to their Quality, but the Custom is always as soon as they come to tell whether they are going, and how long they intend to stay. Besides this, the *Sachem* claims an absolute Sovereignty over the Seas; all that is stranded on the Shoar of his Sea-Coast is his, and all Whales, or Wrecks of Value floating on the Sea, and taken up within any Part of his Dominion.* In Time of War both People and Estate are wholly at the Disposal of the Prince, and therefore no Tribute is either demanded or expected at such Times.

THEY have a sort of Money among them, which they call *Wampam* †, and is a Parcel of little Beads made of the Shells which lie on the Sea-Coast, with Holes in them to string upon a Bracelet, whereof some are white, and of these six go for a Penny, some black or blue, and of these three go for a Penny; they have no Coin, nor are they acquainted with the Use of any sort of Mettal, but sharpen all their Instruments with Stone.

IN Matters of unjust or dishonest Dealing, they proportion the Punishment according to the Number of Times the Delinquent has offended. For the *first* Crime he is reproach'd with his Villany after a very disgraceful Manner; for the *second*, he is beaten with a Cudgel on the naked Back, and for the *third*, besides a sound beating, he has his Nose slit, that all Men may know and avoid

* *Mather*, Book VI. p. 51. † *Mather*, *ibid.*

him. Now in all these Cafes the *Sachem* is not only Examiner and Judge, but Executioner too; 'tis he that beats and whips the Malefactors, and when the Matter requires it, flits their Noses; Murder is always punish'd with Death without the least Favour, and the *Sachem* does this bloody Work himself: Indeed, if the Criminal be a great Way off, and can't conveniently be brought to him, the *Sachem* fends his own Knife, with which the Execution must be done, where it can't be done with his own Hand. But any Punishment that is not Capital, the *Indians* will not receive, but from the Hands of their *Sachems*; they won't be beat or whipt by an Officer, but their Prince may do it to all Extremities, and they'll never offer to run away: Nay, for a Man to cry or flinch during the Time of his Correction, is reckon'd a more infamous Thing than either the Offence it self, or the Punishment.

THE *Indian* Princes have a Sovereign Contempt of the limited Authority of the *English* Governours; one of them coming to make Mr. *Mayhew* the Governour of *Martha's* Vineyard, a Visit with his usual * Attendance, which were eighty Persons well arm'd; being admitted into the Room, sat down; and Mr. *Mayhew* coming in, according to their Custom took no Notice of the Prince's being there, (it being with them in Point of Honour incumbent on the Inferiour to salute the Superior) after some time past in Silence, the Prince said to Mr. *Mayhew*, *Sachem*, i. e. Noble or Worshipful, *are you well?* To which after a friendly Reply, and treating of several Things relating to the Island; he ask'd a Favour, which Mr. *Mayhew* promised, adding afterwards, if the Inhabitants con-

* *Mather*, Book III. p. 18.

sented; to which the *Indian* reply'd, *Why do you recall your Promise: What I promise or speak is always true, but you English Governours can't be true, for you can't make your Words nor Intentions true; but mine are always true, for I make them true.*

THO' the *Indians* of *New-England* are made up of above twenty different * Nations, yet they seem Originally to have been of one Language, but for want of Commerce and Correspondence among themselves, have form'd different Dialects, so as not to be capable of understanding each other, but a Man that is Master of any one of the Languages, may in a very little time, be able to converse in them all, for there is a great Affinity between many of their Words; as for Example, *Nuppaw, Dup paw, Ruppaw*, signifies the Sun; *Attik, Abtooque*, a Deer; *Wennit, Werrit* Good; *Pum, Pumme, Pim*, Oil or Fat; in several Dialects. There is a Letter or two in our Alphabet, which the *Indians* have not in theirs, they can't pronounce the Letters *L* and *R*, except in the North, where the *Indians* who have a peculiar Dialect to themselves pronounce an *R*, where an *N* is pronounc'd by the other Nations: But if their Alphabet be short, I am sure some of the Words compos'd out of it are long enough; one would think it impossible to commit them to Memory; for Instance,

Nummatchekodrantamooonganunnonasb

Signifies in English, Our Lusts.

Noowomantammooonkanunnonasb. Our Loves.

Kummogkodonattoottunmooctiteaonganunnonasb.

Our Question.

* Mather, Book III. p. 193:

There will certainly be no Occasion for more Examples to convince any reasonable Person of the Barbarity of this Language, or of the *Herculean* Labour of making one's self Master of it, especially when we add, that it has little Affinity to, or Derivation from any of the *European* Languages that we are acquainted with.

UPON the whole, these Barbarous *Indians* are a lively Image of humane Nature, without the Improvement of Art and Industry, for tho' they have inhabited the Country for several Ages, they are but where they were at first; a Bow and an Arrow headed with the Bone of a Fish, are all their Weapons; the Skin of a Beast is their Clothing, and the Flesh of it their Food; they have no Learning nor Letters; 'tis only Necessity that puts 'em upon Hunting, Fishing, or making Bows and Arrows; their Diversion consists in extravagant Dancings, Hoopings, and Howlings; Nature had given them a tollerable Complexion, but they have spoilt it by daubing themselves with certain Oils and Juices, which has made them Tawny. Their Women are strong and masculine, and support the Pains of Childbearing without the least Groan; they are swift of Foot and capable of enduring a great deal of Fatigue and Hardship: All their Ambition is to be Valiant, 'tis that chiefly which gives a Man Reputation among them, for there is hardly any other Mark of Distinction among the common People, but the Men of Courage or *Poltroons*; our Voyagers own them to be quick enough of Apprehension, but at the same time, crafty, timorous, fickle, revengeful and thievish; so ignorant were they of the Nature of Commerce, when the *Europeans* first traded with them, that they parted with things of the greatest Value

Value for *Bagatelles* and Trifles; but now they are grown wiser, and will drive as good a Bargain as their Neighbours; many of them have left off their Savage way of living, and no doubt but others will follow their Example when they have convers'd a little longer with the trading Nations of *Europe*.





CHAP. II.

A short Account of the Sufferings of the Puritans, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. of the Original of the Brownists. Their Principles. Their Sufferings. Their removing themselves into Holland; where Mr. Robinson laid the Foundation of the Independent Church Discipline, as it was afterwards practised in New-England.



THE first Settlements in *New-England* were a Consequence of the Disputes which attended the Reformation of Religion in *England*; we must therefore look back to the History of those Times, in order to trace them down from their Original, and discover the various Steps by which they were at last accomplished.

THE Persecution which Queen *Mary* raised against the *Protestants*, forced great Numbers of them to leave their Native Country and retire with their Families into those Parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland*, where the Reformation had obtained; and the Magistrates would allow them Places for the free Exercise of their Religion: Here they had an Opportunity of observing the Discipline of the first Reformers, which some of them admired, and others as much undervalued and despised, the Congregation at *Frankfort*, copied after the Church of *Geneva*,

Geneva, and submitted to a Discipline differing very little from theirs; but those of *Basil* and *Strasburgh*, adher'd to the Service Book of King *Edward*; and the Reasons they offer'd in Vindication of their Practice were, because it had once been the establish'd Religion of their Country: Many of them had subscribed to the Use of it, when they accepted of Livings in the Church: And besides, their Brethren in *England*, were now sealing the Truth of it with their Blood: The Congregations of *Frankfort* and *Geneva*, argued for themselves on the other Hand, That the Service Book of King *Edward*, was drawn up in Compliance with the Necessity of the Times: That it retain'd too many of the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*: That the Authors of it themselves designed a further Reformation in the Church of *England*, as soon as the Times would bear it; for the Truth of which they appealed to the Book it self, in which there is a Prayer to that Purpose; That they were now in a Foreign Country, and uncertain whether ever they should return home again, and therefore thought themselves at Liberty to agree upon such a Discipline as was most agreeable to the Word of God, and the Practice of the Churches amongst which they lived: But these Reasons were so far from satisfying the other Party, that after several Conferences for an Accommodation, they parted in Anger, and carried their Resentments so high, that they could hardly ever live in Charity with each other afterwards.

UPON Q. *Elizabeth's* Accession to the Crown, the *Exiles* came home with Resolutions to attempt the Reformation of the Church of *England* according to their several Models, but the *Queen* quickly let them see what they were to truit to, for being a Woman that affected a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony in Religion, and having been
educated

educated all along with Prince *Edward*, She was prejudic'd in favour of *his* Service Book, and resolv'd to reduce the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as near as possible to that Standard. Some few Alterations, indeed, were made in the Book, but chiefly in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*, and several Passages which gave *them* Offence were struck out, by the Advice of *Dr. Parker, Grindal,* and *Cox*, who were appointed to revise it; after which it pass'd into a Law and became the establish'd Religion of the Church of *England*. The Puritans struggled hard for the laying aside the *Popish* Vestments, or at least, for making the use of them in Divine Service indifferent, but they could obtain nothing; the Queen was inflexible, and would be obeyed.

THE first set of Protestant Bishops after the Queen's Accession to the Crown, being made up chiefly of such as had been Confessors for Religion, were Men of moderate Principles, and shew'd a great Regard to tender Consciences; * They complied indeed with the Ceremonies, but were very far from approving them; *Dr. Horn*, Bishop of *Winchester* in a Letter to *Bullinger*, writes, ' That the Bishops had no Hand in making that Act of Parliament which established the Vestments, and that they were in doubt, whether they should desert their Ministry or obey the Law. *Grindal* calls God to witness, that it did not lie at their Door, that the Habits were not quite taken away;' and in several of their Letters to the Foreign Divines, they inveigh not only against the Habits, but against *Musick* in Churches, † the *Cross* in Baptism, and the Abuses of the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, which they promise to declaim against, till they were sent back to *Hell*, from whence they came; several Attempts were made in Convocation

* *Strypes Life of A. B. Parker.* p. 154. † *Bp. Burnet Hist. Reform*
Part 3, p. 314.

for the Redress of these Grievances, but the Convocation and Parliament too, had given away the Power out of their Hands, by a Clause in a late Act, whereby the Queen was authorized to *Ordain and Publish such farther Rites and Ceremonies, as should be most for the Reverence of Christ's holy Mysteries and Sacraments.* And when Application was made to her, she declared roundly against all Innovations.

BUT tho' the Preferments of the Church were thus shut against All that would not comply with the Queens Injunctions in every thing, yet some of those that refus'd to wear the Habits were conniv'd at for the present, and suffered to preach in the Churches, as *Coverdale, Sampson, Fox, Lever, Humphrys,* and Others. No Subscriptions were requir'd of the Clergy, except to the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation of the Year 1562; nor was any great Strefs laid upon an exact Uniformity in the Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Service till some time after. But in the Month of *January* 1564-5. the Queen writ a Letter to *A.B. Parker,* requiring him to take effectual Measures to bring the Clergy throughout the whole Kingdom to an exact Uniformity in Matters of Religion, laying the blame of the Disorders in the Church on his, and his Brethren's Remissness in not doing their Duty. Upon this, the Bishops met together, and agreed on certain Orders relating to the Clergy, which were publish'd the 24th of *March* following, One of them was this; 'That all beneficed Persons should subscribe to the use of the Surplice and Common Prayer-Book in all Divine Administrations.' Upon refusal of which they were immediately to be sequestred, and if they did not comply within 3 Months, to be *ipso facto,* deprived. Many of the Puritanical Ministers were first Sequestred by this Injunction, and at last deprived, as *Dr. Turner* Dean of *Wells,* *Dr Sampson* Dean of *Christ Church,* and about thirty seven of the

London Clergy, amongst whom were some of the most popular Preachers, whose Churches were shut up, for want of Conformists to supply them. But several others, either thro' the Connivance of some of the Bishops, or the Protection of some Great Persons at Court, made a shift still to keep their Livings in the Church.

THE Severity of the Queen and the Bishops, in pressing these Injunctions at this time, gave rise to that Separation*, which still 1566. divides the Church of *England*; for when the People could no longer hear their Ministers in the Churches without the *Habits*, some of them resolved to gather a Congregation of their own in private; and for this End, hired the *Plumbers-Hall*, under pretence of a Wedding, but in reality for the Exercise of religious Worship. About one hundred of them met there, and used the *Geneva* Service, but they were disturbed by the Sheriffs, and fourteen or fifteen of them taken, and sent to the Compter, seven or eight of these were brought the next Day before the *Lord-Mayor*, Bishop *Grindal*, Dean *Goodman*, Mr. *Wattes*, and other Commissioners †. The Bishop charged them with Lying, because they hired the Hall under pretence of a Wedding; and with condemning the whole State of the Church as it was reformed in King *Edward's* time, for which many Good Men had laid down their Lives. The Prisoners answered for themselves with a little too much Freedom and Boldness; and were therefore all but one remanded to Prison, and kept there above a Year.

THE Parliament having at the latter End of the last Year taken into Consideration the State of Religion, order'd a Bill to be 1573. brought in for the Alteration of some of the 39 Articles in favour of the Puritans; but

* *Pierce's Vind. of Dissenters*, p. 63. † *Strype's Life of Grindal*, p. 136.

when some of the Members of both Houses confer'd with the ABp. about it, he signify'd his Dislike, and immediately laid the Matter before the *Queen*, who according to her arbitrary Manner, sent and forbad their meddling with those Matters. Immediately upon this the Bps. revived their Severities against the *Puritans*; several eminent Ministers were sent for before the Council, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and examin'd upon these Articles: "Whether the Book of Service was good and godly, *every Tittle* ground-
 " ed upon holy Scripture? Whether the 39th Ar-
 " ticles were agreable to the Word of God or
 " not? Whether we must of necessity follow the
 " primitive Church in such things as are used and
 " establish'd or not? And whether all Ministers
 " should be equal?" And for not giving satisfactory Answers, many were cast into Prison, and threatned with Banishment; the *Queen* and Council likewise publish'd two severe Proclamations against all that were of the same Principles; but these Methods were so far from healing the Wounds of the Church, that they widen'd them, for the People would not desert their silenced Ministers, but followed them into the Fields, and Woods, and private Houses, where they could meet, without the Notice and Observance of their Superiours.

AFTER the Death of AB. *Parker*, the *Puritans* enjoy'd a little Rest, for Dr. *Grindall* who succeed- ed him in the Archiepiscopal See, was a Man of moderate Principles and would not go the *Queen's* length in every thing; but he soon fell under her Displeasure, and her Resentments ran so high against him, that he was confined to his House, and sequestred for Six Months, and tho' he made his submission, yet the *Queen* never respected him afterwards, nor had he any great Share in the Government of the Church as long as he liv'd.

UPON *Grindall's* Death, *Dr. Whitgift* Bp. of *Worcester* was translated to the See of *Canterbury*; he was a Man of a severe Temper, a stiff Maintainer of the Ecclesiastical Policy of the Church, an implacable Adversary of the Puritans, and one who had not only drawn his Pen against them, but given sufficient Proofs of his Inclination to destroy them with the spiritual Sword, when it should be put into his Hand. The *Queen* upon his Advancement, ordered him to restore the Discipline of the Church, and Uniformity in the Service of God, which through the Connivance of the *Prelates*, the Obstinacy of the *Puritans*, and the Power of some of the *Nobles*, had been very much neglected: The ABp. immediately in the very first Year of his Consecration, with the Advice of his Brethren in Convocation, publish'd three new Articles which all the Clergy were oblig'd to subscribe.*

First, "THAT her Majesty under God hath and ought to have the Sovereignty and Rule over all Persons, born within her Realms, Dominions, and Countries, of what Estate, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, soever they be; and that no other foreign Power, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, or Preeminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within her Majesty's said Realms, Dominions, or Countries."

Secondly, "THAT the Book of Common-Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, and that the same may be lawfully used, and that he himself will use the Form in the said Book prescribed in publick

* *Strypes Life of Whitgift, p. 115.*

“ Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments,
 “ and no other.

Thirdly, “ THAT he alloweth the Book of the
 “ Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the ABps.
 “ and Bps. of both Provinces, and the Clergy in
 “ Convocation holden at *London*, in the Year of
 “ our Lord God 1562, and set forth by her Ma-
 “ jesty’s Authority. And that he believeth all the
 “ Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the
 “ Word of God.”

The first of these Articles, the *Puritans* of those Times were willing to subscribe, but they absolutely refused subscription to the second and third, unless they might have Liberty to explain upon them; but the Bp. would admit of no Qualifications, and so great Numbers of them were suspended and deprived; Sixty Four in *Norfolk*, Sixty in *Suffolk*, Twenty One in *Lincolnshire*, Thirty Eight in *Essex*, several in *Kent* and other Countys,* tho’ Mr. *Stripe*† in the Life of AB. *Whitgift*, asserts the whole Number of Recusants within the Province of *Canterbury* to be but Forty Nine. Great Endeavours were used to move the Queen, and the Bps. in favour of these Men. Many Petitions came up from several Counties; the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and Secretary *Walsingham*, interceded for them, and at last the Privy Council themselves entreated the Bps. to consider the Poor suspended Ministers, if not out of Compassion to them and their Families, yet for the sake of the People of the Realm, who were deprived of their Pastors, being learned, tho’ in some Points ceremonial, they seemed doubtful only in Conscience, not in Wilful-

* Dr. Calamy’s *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*, pt. 2d. p. III. taken from a Manuscript in the Drs. Possession. The Author of the *History of Conformity*, printed 1689 mentions the same Manuscript, and gives the same Numbers.

† B. III. p. 156.

ness. But the *ABp.* instead of being softened by these Intercessions, resolved to go thro' with the Work he had begun, and rid the Church of all that would not comply with his Terms, and to accomplish this, he went to the *Queen*, and prevailed with her to issue out a Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs to himself, the *Bp. of London*, and some others of the same severe Principles with himself, whereby they should have Power to frame Articles, and Interrogatories, and examine *ex mero Officio* all suspected Persons. Accordingly they drew up 24 Articles, which, as the Lord Treasurer writes in a Letter to the *ABp.* dated *July 1st 1684*, "were so curiously penn'd, so full of Branches and Circumstances, as he thought the Inquisition of *Spain** used not so many Questions to comprehend and to trap their Preys; that this Juridical and Canonical sifting of poor Ministers, was not to edify and reform; And that in Charity he thought they ought not to answer to all these nice Points, except they were very notorious Offenders in *Papistry* or *Heresy*," and he adds, "that he had willed these Ministers not to answer those Articles except their Consciences might suffer them." The *ABp.* endeavour'd to justify his Proceedings to the *Treasurer*, but he was so far from being able to give him Satisfaction, that in a short Letter which the *Treasurer* writ back to him, he tells him that he would not call his Proceedings rigorous and captious, but they were scarcely Charitable, and that he had cause to pity the poor Men that fell into his Hands. The Lords of the Privy Council found no better Quarter with the *ABp.* for when they writ to him in favour of the deprived Ministers of *Essex*, he answered, that what † "he had done was

* *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 157. † *Ibid.* p. 157.

“ for the Peace of the Church, that the Accusati-
 “ on of severity was the least thing he feared,
 “ and that if he could but answer to himself the
 “ contrary Fault he should think himself well paid.
 “ The same severity (says he) wherewith I kept
 “ *Trinity Colledge*, and my late Diocess of *Wigorn*
 “ in good Order, for these Divisions do I now
 “ also use.

WHEN neither the *Treasurer* nor the *Lords of the Privy Council* could obtain any thing of the *Bishop*; the Puritans laid their Grievances before the House of Commons, who passed a Bill, touching the Matter of admitting Men into the Ministry, and for the Reformation of several Abuses in the Ecclesiastical Courts, but the A. B. fell upon his Knees before the Queen, and begged her to support the sinking Church, * and suffer no Alterations to be made in her Constitution, lest it should be said *that She had maintained an Error*; whereupon the *Queen* reprimanded the House for encroaching upon her Supremacy, and ordered them to meddle no further in those Matters. There were some few Struggles in favour of the *Puritans* the next Parliament, which came to nothing, and so they were given up to the Mercy of the *Bishops*, who never fail'd to prosecute with the utmost Rigour all such as fell into their Hands. The several Examinations of *Puritanical* Ministers that I have met with, are full of coarse and abusive Language, not fit for the Mouths of *Bishops*; as if it had not been enough to suspend and deprive them, without insulting and trampling upon them at the same Time: How could these Gentlemen complain of the Cruelties of the *Papists* in *Queen Mary's* Reign, when they were now acting the

* Fuller's *Ch. History*, B. 9. page 174.

same Tragedy over again, upon Persons of the same Faith with themselves?

BUT after all, the Zeal of the A. B. and his *Brethren*, had not all the Success they expected from it, for their severe Proceedings against the *Puritans*, instead of reconciling them to the Church, drove them further and further from it; The Order of *Bishops* began to be hated; and the People's Compassion to the suffering Ministers, was very much raised; as thinking it hard, that Men of Learning and Probity, and of the same Faith with themselves should be turned out of their Livings to beg their Bread, for the sake of a few Ceremonies, which their Adversaries themselves acknowledg'd to be indifferent. It had been easy for the *Bishops* at this Time to have put an End to the Divisions of the Church, by yielding a little to their weak Brethren, or following the Example of the first Council of *Jerusalem*, which was to lay on the People no greater Burthen than the Observation of necessary Things; but these good Men were wiser than their Predecessors, for it seem'd good to them to trouble the People for things that were not necessary, nay so far did they proceed, that in the 35th of *Queen Elizabeth* they obtained an Act of Parliament whereby the Penalties of Non-conformity to the Church, were not the wholesome Severities of Fines and Imprisonments, but abjuring the Land, and in case of Refusal, Death. * And yet notwithstanding all this, the Number of *Puritans* encreas'd prodigiously under the A. B. Hands, they had their private Assemblies in all Parts of the Country, they set up their *Classes* and Provincial Assemblies; and had a very great Interest both at Court and in Parliament, but the A. B. might thank himself for

* *Strype's Life of Arch Bishop Whitgift*, page 417.

it, for if he had not by wracking and torturing Men's Consciences without Form of Law, been continually forcing honest and peaceable Men out of the Church, the Body of *Dissenters* would never have been so formidable as it was.

'T IS certain the *Puritans* of those times were very unwilling to separate from the Church of *England*, and leave their Preferments in it, for they allowed her to be a true Church, and only petition'd for indulgence in a few Ceremonies which did not affect her Constitution: But when they saw the *Bishops* push things to an Extremity, and prosecute them with their Indignation, both *in the Church and out of it*, it begot a great deal of ill Blood, and alienated the Affections of some of them to such a Degree, as to deny the Church of *England* as then constituted to be a true Church, and the Lawfulness of joyning in any Part of her Worship.

THESE were the People who were afterwards known by the Name of *BROWNISTS*, * from one *Robert Brown*, a fiery hot headed young Clergyman, who put himself at their Head, and writ in Defence of the Separation. He was descended of an Ancient and Honourable Family in *Rutlandshire*, his Grandfather *Francis*, had a Charter granted him by King *Henry* the 8th, and confirm'd by Act of Parliament, giving him leave to put on his Cap in the Presence of the King or his Heirs, or any Lord Spiritual or Temporal in the Land, and not to put it off but for his own Ease or Pleasure. His Father was a Gentleman of a considerable Estate at *Tolethorp* in *Rutlandshire* and nearly related to the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*; his Son *Robert* being design'd for some Preferment in the Church, was Educated in *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and used to preach

* Fuller's *Church Hist.* B. IX. p. 167.

sometimes at *Bennet Church*, where the Vehemence of his Delivery got him Esteem among the Common People. * *Bayly* says, that he was first a School-Master in *Southwark*, and afterwards a Preacher at *Islington*, which is not very likely considering the Reputation of his Family. But the first Place where he publish'd his Notions and inveighed openly against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church was in the City of *Norwich*, for which he was committed to the Custody of the Sheriff of the County by Bishop *Phreke*, in the Year 1580, but at the request of the Lord Treasurer, he was brought to *London*, and having acknowledged his Fault before the A. B. of *Canterbury* was discharged. In the Year 1582. He publish'd a Book call'd, the *Life and Manners of true Christians*, for which A. B. *Whitgift* sent for him into Custody to make answer to such Things as he should lay to his Charge contain'd in the Book; *Brown* confest himself to be the Author, but denying that he was acquainted with the publication of it, and making a sort of Submission; at the Motion of his constant Friend, the Treasurer, he was dismiss'd again and sent home to his Father. He continued with his Father till the beginning of the Year 1586, when the Old Gentleman grew weary of him, and with the leave of the Treasurer turn'd him out of his House; all Methods for the changing his Principles, or making him conformable having been ineffectual; after this he travel'd up and down the Country in company with his Assistant *Richard Harrison*, inveighing against *Bishops, Ecclesiastical Courts, Ceremonies, ordaining of Ministers, &c.* for which as he afterwards boasted, he had been committed to 32 Prisons, in some of which he could not see his Hand at noon Day.

* *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, page 13.

The *Queen* and the *A. B.* were resolv'd to suppress the growing Faction, and since gentle Methods would not win them, to try the Rigour of the Law; *Brown* and his Congregation were watch'd so narrowly, that many of them were imprison'd, and some put to Death. At last they resolv'd to leave the Kingdom, and remove with their Families to *Middleburgh* in the Province of *Zealand*, where (according to *Fuller*;) *Brown* had travell'd some Years before; they obtain'd leave of the *States* to worship God in their own Way, and Mr. *Brown* form'd a Church out of his little Company according to his own Model. But such is the misery of all human Affairs! When this handful of People were deliver'd from the Oppressions of the Bishops, they crumbled into so many Parties among themselves, that Mr. *Brown* their Pastor soon grew weary of his Office, and being void of all true Courage and Constancy, he return'd to *England* in the Year 1589, renounced his Principles of Separation, and was preferr'd to the Rectory of *A Church* in *Northamptonshire*; *Fuller* is of Opinion, that he never formally recanted his Errors either by Word or Writing, but only promis'd in general to comply with the Orders of the *Church of England*; however by the Connivance of the *Arch Bishop* and the Favour of his great Friend at Court, he enjoy'd his Parsonage as long as he liv'd, which was till the Year 1630, tho' he hardly ever preach'd a Sermon in his Pulpit all the while.* *Fuller*, adds, that to his own personal Knowledge, he was a Man of a proud and imperious Nature; offended if what he said in common Discourse was not presently receiv'd as an Oracle, that he lived a dissolute Life, far from the *Sabbatarian* strictness which his followers pretended to, that he had a Wife with whom he had not liv'd for many Years; and a Church in which he never preach'd; that tho'

* *Book 9. page 168.*

he was against the lawfulness of paying Tithes, yet he had the Conscience to take them; upon the whole *Mr. Brown* appears to have been a Man of good Parts, but proud, conceited, extremely passionate, and uncharitable, which brought him at last into a *Goal*; for quarrelling with the Constable of his Parish about the Payment of a Rate, he struck the Officer in his Passion, for which he was summon'd before *Sir Rowland St. John*, a Neighbouring Justice of Peace, and committed to *Northampton Prison*; the decrepit Old Man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a Feather Bed in a Cart, where he fell Sick and died about the 81st Year of his Age.

THE Revolt of *Mr Brown* was attended with the Dissolution of his Church at *Middleburgh*, but the Seeds that he had sown in *England* were so far from being destroy'd, that his Notions spread not only among the common People, but several considerable Persons both for Learning and Probity openly espoused them; *Sir Walter Raleigh*, in a Speech which he made in the House of Commons in the Year 1592, when a Bill was brought into the House * for banishing such as should be present at a Conventicle, tells us that in his Opinion there were near twenty Thousand of them then in *England*.

THESE *Brownists* did not differ from the Church of *England* in any Articles of her Faith, but their great Crime was the Separation, which they carried to such a length, as to deny the Church of *England* to be a true Church, and her Ministers to be regularly Ordain'd; the Discipline of the Church they look'd upon as *Popish* and *Anti-Christian*, and all her Ordinances and Sacraments invalid; hence they forbid their People to join with the

* *Strype's Life of Arch-Bishop Whitgift*, page 417.

Church of England in Prayer, Hearing, or any Part of publick Worship; nay, they not only renounc'd Communion with the *Church of England*, but with all other Protestant Churches, except such as should be of the same Model with their own. The Form of Government which they set up amongst themselves was Democratical; when a Church was to be gathered, such as desired to be Members of it made a Confession of their Faith before one another, and sign'd a Covenant by which they oblig'd themselves to walk together in the Order of the Gospel. The whole Power of admitting and excluding Members, with the deciding of all Controversies, was in the *Brotherhood*. Their Church Officers were chosen out from among themselves for preaching the Word, and taking care of the Poor; and separated to their several Offices, by fasting and Prayer, and the Imposition of the Hands of some of the Brethren; but they did not allow the *Priesthood* to be a distinct Order, or to give a Man an indelible Character; but as the Vote of the Brotherhood made him a Minister, and gave him Authority to preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments among them, so the same Power could discharge him from his Office, and reduce him to the State of a private Man again. And as they maintained the Bounds of a Church to be no greater, than what could meet together in one Place, and join in one Communion, so the Power of their Officers was prescrib'd within the same Limits; the Minister or Pastor of one Church could not administer the Lord's Supper to another, nor baptize the Children of any, but those of his own Society. Any Lay-Brother was allow'd the Liberty of Prophecyng, or of giving a Word of Exhortation to the People, and 'twas usual, after Sermon, for some of them to ask Questions, and reason upon the Doctrines that had been preach'd. In a Word, every Church according to the Model

of the *Brownists*, is a Body corporate, having full Power within it self to admit and exclude *Members*, to choose and ordain *Officers*, and when the Good of the Society requires it to depose them again, without being accountable to a *Classis*, *Synod*, *Convocation*, or any Jurisdiction besides themselves.

UPON these People the Laws were executed with the utmost Rigour, * their Books were prohibited by the Queen's Authority, and two Persons were hang'd at *St. Edmunds Bury* for venturing to disperse them, *Elias Thacker*, June the 4th, and *John Copping* June the 6th, 1583. But notwithstanding all the Discouragements they met with, they kept up their private Assemblies, tho' many Families were ruin'd by it; Nay, so zealous were they that in Conjunction with some other Puritans, they purchased a *Printing Press*, and by that means dispers'd among the People, several Satyrical Pamphlets against the *Bishops*; This I confess would have been rude and unmannerly, if the severe Treatment they met with from the Queen and *Bishops* had not in some measure made it necessary; for when Men are born down with the Weight of Authority, and not allow'd to debate their Cause before the World, 'tis hard if they may not so much as complain; Oppression will make a wise man mad. But however, some of the Authors of these *Pamphlets* paid very dear for their Offence, as we shall see presently.

IN the Year 1592, † Fifty six of the *Brownists* were taken on a Lord's Day, as they were worshipping God in the very Place where the Protestant Congregation used to meet in Queen *Mary's* time; they were carried before a Magistrate and sent two by two into the several Prisons in and about *London*. Some of them by long Imprison-

* Fuller B. IX. p. 169. † Barrow's *Supl. to the Parliament*.

ment were almost starved, others after two Years Imprisonment were banished, and three or four hanged. *Barrow* who was himself a *Brownist* and suffered Death for it, says in his Supplication to the Parliament, “ the Fifty six taken in *London* “ were committed unbailably, by the Bishop “ of *London* close Prisoners in *Bridewell*, the “ *Limbo*, or *Dungeon* in *Newgate*, the *Fleet*, the “ *Compters*, the *Clink*, the *Gatehouse*, the *White Ly-* “ *on*. These bloody Men, says he, will allow “ them neither Meat, Drink, Fire, Lodging, nor “ suffer any whose Hearts the Lord would stir up “ for their Relief to have any Access to them, “ purposing belike to imprison them to Death as “ they have done 17 or 18 others in the same noi- “ some Goals within these 6 Years. Some of “ this Company, says he, had not one Penny a- “ bout them when they were sent into close Pri- “ son, nor any thing, being abroad, (which is the “ case of most of them, if not of all) to procure “ themselves, and their poor Families any main- “ tenance, save only by their handy Labours “ and Trades. Whereby it is come to pass that “ these Enemies of God do not only starve and “ undo a Number of Men in the Prisons, but e- “ ven a lamentable Company of poor Orphans and “ Servants abroad; their unbridled Slaunders, their “ Lawless privy Searches, their violent breaking “ open, and rising our Houses, their lamentable “ and barbarous usage of Women, and Young “ Children, in these hostile Assaults, their uncon- “ troul’d Thievery, robbing, and taking away “ of whatsoever they think meet from us in this “ Case, their unappeased and merciless Pursuit of “ us, from our Houses, Trades, Wives, Children, “ especially from the holy Society of the Saints, “ and the Church of God, we are enforced to “ omit lest we should be over tedious — We “ crave for all of us but the Liberty either to “ dye openly, or to live openly in the Land of our “ Nativity

“ if we desire Death, it becometh the Majesty of
 “ Justice not to see us closely murder’d, yea
 “ starved to Death with Hunger and Cold, and
 “ stifled in loathsome Dungeons; if we be guilt-
 “ less, we crave but the Benefit of our Innocence,
 “ (*viz.*) that we may have Peace to serve our
 “ God, and our Prince in the Place of the Sepul-
 “ chres of our Fathers. ” But the Parliament
 took no Notice of the Complaints of these Suffer-
 ers, but left them to the Mercy of the *Bishops*, by
 whose Influence, as I observ’d before, three or four
 of them were put to Death.

MR. *Udall* a Minister was try’d and condemn’d
 in the Beginning of the Year 1591, for writing
 and dispersing a Libel * against the *Queen* and the
*Church which he called a Demonstration of the Disci-
 pline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word, for the
 Government of the Church in all times and Places un-
 til the World’s End.* He absolutely denied himself
 to be the Author of it, but was cast by his Jury,
 and tho’ at the Instances of some great Men, and
 in hopes of a speedy Pardon, he signed a Recan-
 tation; yet he lay in Prison for above a Year, and
 there died about the End of the Year 1592. He
 was a learned Man, (*says Fuller*) blameless for his
 Life, powerful in his Praying, and no less profita-
 ble than painful in his Preaching.

MR. *John Penry* Minister was seized in the
 Month of *May* 1593, † in the Parish of *Stepney*, the
 Vicar of the said Parish being the Informer; his
 Papers were seized and examined for Materials to
 convict him, among which they found a Petition
 which, as was said, he design’d to present to the
Queen, wherein were contained seditious Words a-
 gainst her Majesty, and severe Reflections on the

* Fuller, *Book 9. p. 221.*

† *Strype’s Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 419.*

Tyranny of the *Bishops*: He was convicted upon the Statute of 23 *Eliz. Cap. II.* and hurried away to Execution the same Month, being brought out of the *Kings-Bench* in *Southwark* in an Afternoon to *St. Thomas Waterings*, where he was hanged. This *Mr. Penry*, by the Confession of his very Adversaries, was a Learned and Religious young Man, and the first since the Reformation of Religion under *Queen Elizabeth*, that preach'd the Gospel to the *Welshmen*, and would in all Probability have been an Apostle among them, if he had not been put to Death for his Disaffection to the Church, when he was no more than thirty Years old; he left behind him a Widow and four Children. Hard was the Fate of this young Man! for if we may believe his last Protestation, which he left behind him in Writing, he says, * “ That he never took himself for a Rebuker, much less a Reformer; but that in the Discharge of his Conscience, all the World was to bear with him, if he prefer'd the Testimony which he was bound to yield to the Truth of Jesus Christ, before the Favour of any Creature. Enemy to any good Order or Policy either in Church or Commonwealth, *he said*, he never was. That whatsoever he wrote in Religion, he did it simply for no other End, than for the bringing of God's Truth to Light, and he appealed to God that he never did any thing in this Cause for Contention, Vain-Glory, or to draw Disciples after him, or to be accounted singular. ” But besides, the Facts for which he was condemn'd would not have been accounted Criminal in another Man, for he declares farther in his Protestation at his Death, that the Petition to the *Queen*, for which he was to die, was writ when he was in *Scotland*, and partly as a Student in Divi-

* *Sturpe's Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 410.

nity, that it was confused, unfinished, unpublished, and kept secret to himself; he pleaded, that what he had writ was the Sum of certain Objections made by others against her Majesty and her Government, which he had gathered up in the Place where he was, only with an Intention more narrowly to scan and examine the Truth of them: And in his last Letter which he wrote to the Lord Treasurer *Burghly* dated *May* the 22^d, but a few Days before his Death, he has these affecting Words. * “ The Cause is most lamentable, *says* “ *he*, that the private Observations of any Student “ in a Foreign Land, and wishing well to his Prince “ and Country should bring his Life with Blood to “ a violent End, especially seeing they are most “ private, and so imperfect, as they have no Cohe- “ rence at all in them, and in the most Places carry “ no true *Englilh.* ” But his Enemies were resolved to have his Blood, and I heartily wish it be not laid to their Charge.

ABOUT a Month before the Death of *Penry*, *Henry Barrow* a Gentleman, and *John Greenwood* a Minister were executed at Tyburn on the like Account, they had lain in Prison ever since the Year 1590,* when Mr. *Cartwright*, and divers other Puritans were taken into Custody, and brought before the Ecclesiastical Court and Star-chamber; but the *Bps* politickly got these Men to be prosecuted in the Temporal Courts, and by Statutes of Parliament that they might take off the Odium of their Death from themselves, but *Barrow* who saw through the Design, makes no scruple to lay his own and *Greenwood's* Death at the *ABP's* Door. The Prisoners had drawn up a Supplication to the Queen representing the cruel Hardships they endured in Prison, and praying her Highness to ex-

† *Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 413. † *Ibid.* p. 415.

tend her Royal Compassion to them, and to their Wives and Children, who were ready to perish; but the *Archbishop* would not suffer the Supplication to be presented, but did every thing that lay in his Power to hinder the Knowledge of their Sufferings from coming to the Queen's Ear; whereupon, in a Letter * which *Barrow* writ to one *Mr. Fisher*, he complains bitterly of him in these Words: "The *Archbishop*, says he, having sent so
 " many Men to divers Prisons, to stop the Clamours of the People against him, has posted
 " these Things to the Civil Magistrate: He has
 " destin'd me and my Brother *Greenwood* to Death
 " against the Holy Feast, the rest to close Prison,
 " their poor Wives and Children to be cast out
 " of the City, and their few Goods to be confiscated. Is not this a Christian Bishop? Are
 " these the Virtues of him that taketh upon him
 " the Care and Government of all the Churches
 " of the Land, thus to tear and devour God's
 " poor Sheep, to rend off the Flesh, and to break
 " their Bones, and chop them in pieces as Flesh
 " to the Cauldron?" *Mr. Strype*, the Writer of *Archbishop Whitgift's* Life, calls these *passionate* and *angry Expressions*: But if the Case of these Men was as I have represented it, and as he himself does not deny, I think the Language is as soft as the Cause will bear. They were put to death in *April 1593.* and made a very godly and pious End, praying earnestly for the *Queen* and the *State*; which when the *Queen* understood by *Dr. Reynolds*, as great an Enemy as she was to their Principles, she repented that she had given way to their Death.

BESIDES these, there was one *William Dennis* executed at *Thetford* in *Norfolk* on the same Ac-

* *Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 416.

count, and a great many poor Families utterly ruined by severe Fines and Imprisonments.

IT must be confess'd, that the *Brownists* were more expos'd to Sufferings than the rest of the *Puritans*; because they held it unlawful to go to Church, or joyn in any part of the publick Worship: They apprehended the Hierarchy, in all the Branches of it to be Anti-Christian; and therefore when a Pardon was offer'd *Barrow* and *Greenwood*, upon Condition of their being conformable and going to Church, they chose to dye rather than accept it upon those Terms. But the continual Prosecutions the *Brownists* underwent in the *Eccllesiastical Commission-Court* and the *Star-Chamber*, made them resolve at last to quit their Native Country, and retire to some Place, where they might enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, without the Hazard of their Lives. Pursuant to this Resolution several Families settled at *Amsterdam*, about the End of the Century, formed themselves into a Church, and chose Mr. *Johnson* for their Pastor, and after him Mr. *Ainsworth*, Author of that excellent Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, which shews him to have been one of the most learned Men of his Age. This Church, tho' at first it had like to have been torn in pieces by intestine Divisions, yet afterwards flourish'd under a Succession of Pastors and Teachers for above an Hundred Years.

THE *Puritans* in the mean time were very still and quiet at Home, waiting for the Succession of King *James* to the Crown, from whom they had great Expectations of a Reformation in the Church, he having been bred a *Presbyterian*, and publickly declared the Kirk of *Scotland* to be the purest Church in the World. Accordingly on his Accession they presented him with a Petition for redress of their Grievances, signed by almost a Thousand Hands, and the King condescended so far to them as to appoint a Conference at *Hampton-Court*: But alas!

they soon found that he had changed his Religion, if ever he had any, with his Country; that the *Bishops* had got him entirely into their Interests; and consequently that no Alterations of any Moment were to be expected from him. But these Convulsions in the Church, from a Party that the * Archbishop thought he had crush'd, struck him with such Surprize and Astonishment, that he laid it to Heart, and dy'd with meer Grief and Concern of Mind about eleven Months after the Queen, and in the 70th Year of his Age; desiring to give an Account of his Bishoprick to God rather than to Man. He was a Good Man, but of most arbitrary and tyrannical Principles in the Church, far from being such an Heroe as the late Writer of his Life has made him, unless a good Intention will sanctify the most cruel and unjust Proceedings: He had a moderate Share of Learning, according to the Times he liv'd in, and by falling on his Knees before the Queen for her Assistance upon every Occasion, he kept his Ground against all his Adversaries.

THE Reign of K. *James I.* was one continued Scene of Luxury and Ease: He committed the Affairs of the State to the Management of his *Ministers*, and those of the Church to the *Bishops*, whilst he indulg'd himself in all the Diversions and Pleasures that a luxuriant Fancy could invent: He never was a Man of Business; but at last he fell into such a stupid Indolence, that he seem'd before his Death to have lost the very Remains of Honour and Virtue. The Persecution of the *Puritans* went on furiously in this Reign: The King's Fancy was wonderfully pleas'd with the Applauses and Flatteries of the *Bishops*, and in return he gave them free Liberty to vex and oppress their Brethren.

* *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 578.

IN the Convocation in the Year 1603, several severe Canons were made against the *Puritans*. " In the Year 1604. says Mr. *Calderwood*, three hundred Ministers were either silenc'd, or depriv'd of their Benefices, or excommunicated, or cast into Prison, or forced to leave their own Country *; which yet they could not do without the Hazard of all that was dear to them in the World, as appears by the following Relation. Some of the *Separatists* in *Yorkshire* being very much oppress'd by the Bishops about the Year 1607, hired a *Dutch Man* then lying at *Hull* to carry them over to *Holland*, who promis'd to take them in between *Grimstly* and *Hull*; but they coming to the Place a little too soon, the Officers of the adjoining Town, with a Body of Soldiers, came out to seize them: The Men made assist to get aboard in a Boat, but the Women were in a Bark that lay aground in a Creek at low Water. The *Dutch Man* perceiving the Disturbance that was ashore weigh'd Anchor immediately for *Zealand*, without staying for the Bark; the Women thus bereav'd of their Husbands, were dragg'd from one Justice to another; and at last, for want of Evidence of any Crime against them, dismiss'd. The Men were surpriz'd with a terrible Storm at Sea, which lasted 14 Days, in 7 of which they saw neither Sun, Moon, or Stars: But at last they got safe to their Friends at *Amsterdam*, and their Relations, some Time after, followed them.

ARCHBISHOP *Bancroft*, who succeeded *Whitgift*, trod in the Steps of his Predecessor, urging Subscription with the utmost Rigour; 'till finding so many desert their Stations in the Church, he was forced to wink at them, and suffer them to keep their Places without subscribing over again.

* *Altare Damasc. in Prof.*

One may judge of the Spirit of the Governours of the Church in those Times, by the Prosecution of *Mr. Thomas Lad* * Merchant in *Yarmouth*, “ who was brought before the Chancellour of *Norwich* for a supposed Conventicle, because that he on the Sabbath-Day after the Sermons ended, sojourning in the House of *Mr. Jackler* in *Yarmouth*, who was late Preacher of *Yarmouth*, joyn’d with him in repeating the Substance and Heads of the Sermons that Day made in the Church, at which *Thomas Lad* was usually present; and was forc’d upon his Oath to answer certain Articles touching that Meeting, which he could not see until he was sworn. And having answer’d upon his Oath twice before the Chancellour there, he was brought to *Lambeth* before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to make a farther Answer upon a new Oath touching the suppos’d Conventicle; which he refus’d to do without Sight of his former Answers, (because he was charged with Perjury,) and was therefore imprison’d by the Commissioners a long time, and could not be bailed.” So that it was a mortal Sin in the Opinion of these Men, for a Man that had been at Church twice on the Lord’s-Day, to repeat the Heads of the Sermons to his Family in the Evening; a Crime that deserved Fines, Imprisonment, and the Forfeiture of all that was dear to a Man in the World.

THERE had been a Congregation of *Brownists* in these Parts ever since † the Year 1602, which had chosen *Mr. John Robinson* for their Pastor; they met together in private Houses for seven or eight

* *Pierce’s Vindication of the Dissenters, Part I. p. 174.*

† *Mather’s Ecclesiastical History of New-England, Book I. p. 5.*

Years, but were frequently disturb'd by the Bishop's Officers, and several of their Members ruined in the Ecclesiastical Courts; whereupon they resolv'd to leave the Kingdom, which Mr. *Robinson*, and several other Families did this very Year, and settled at *Leyden*, where, with the Leave of the Magistrates, they hired a Meeting-House, and worshipp'd God publickly in their own Way.

THIS Mr. *John Robinson* was the Father of the *Independents*, being the first that beat out a middle Way between *Brownism* and *Presbytery*; when he came first to *Holland*, he was a rigid *Brownist*, but after he had seen more of the World, and convers'd with Learned Men, he began to have a more charitable Opinion of those that differ'd from him; and tho' he always maintain'd the Lawfulness and Necessity of separating from those Reformed Churches amongst which he † lived, yet he was far from denying them to be true Churches; nay he allow'd the Lawfulness of Communicating with them in the Word and Prayer, tho' not in the Sacraments and Discipline; and would give Liberty to any Members of the *Dutch Church* to receive the Sacrament with him occasionally; he maintain'd to the last, that every particular Church or Society of Christians had a compleat Power within itself, to choose its own *Officers*, to administer all Gospel-Ordinances, and to exercise all Acts of Authority and Discipline over its Members; and that consequently it was *Independent* upon all Classes, Synods, Convocations, and Councils; he allow'd the Expediency of *Synods* and *Councils* for the reconciling of Differences among Churches, and giving them friendly Advice, but not for the exercising any Act of Authority or Jurisdiction, or the imposing any Articles or Canons upon them without the free Consent of the

† *Robinson's Apology for the Brownists*, p. 7, 11, 35.

Churches themselves; and these are some of the Principles by which the *Independents* are distinguished at this Day.

BUT when Mr. *Robinson* and his Church had been some Years at *Leyden* they began to be weary of their new Settlement, not from any Disturbance from the Civil Magistrate, nor from any Quarrels or Divisions among themselves, but from an Apprehension that their Church must in Time be dissolved, and their Religion lost in a strange Land, for many of their substantial Members began to die off; and few or none came over from *England* to fill up their Places; they had no Hopes of propagating their Principles among a People whose Language they did not understand, but on the contrary were like to be swallowed up by them, their Children beginning to marry and incorporate with the *Dutch*. There was not the least Prospect of a Reformation of Religion at home, or a Toleration for such as dissented from the Establishment. These Considerations made them unanimously resolve (after many Days of Prayer for Council and Direction from Heaven) to transport themselves and their Families into some Part of *America*, under the Protection of the King of *England*, provided they could obtain a *Patent* for the Lands they should possess, and sufficient Security from the Crown for the free and undisturbed Exercise of their Religion.



C H A P. III.

The Rise of the first English Colony. Their Voyage to New-England. Their Settlement at Plimouth, and the Hardships they suffer'd. Treaty of Alliance with Massasoiet, and other Indian Princes. The ill Success of Mr. Weston's Settlement in the Massachusetts's Bay; and of Capt. Gorge's. The seditious Practices of Lyford and Oldham. The Death and Character of the Rev. Mr. John Robinson. Of Capt. Wollaston's Attempt to begin a Settlement in the Massachusetts, and the Misery to which his Men were reduced. Of the Opening a Trade with the Dutch on Hudson's River. A general Account of the Religion of the Planters.



THE Merchants of *London* and *Bristol* had carried on an advantageous Trade with the *Indians* on the Northern Coast of *America*, for a considerable Time, before they had any Prospect of perfecting a Settlement in those Parts; but having at last received an encouraging Account of the Climate and Soil, from one of their Captains who had ventured pretty high up into the Country, they solicited King *James* for a Charter. The King yielded to their Request, and in one Patent

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Patent bearing Date *April* the 10th, 1606, incorporated two Companies, for the sending out two Colonies.

THE first went by the Name of the *London-Adventurers*, who had Liberty to seat themselves, and such as should join with them, at any Place on the Coast of *Virginia*, between the Degrees of 34 and 41, N. L. And they began their Settlement the very same Year at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*.

THE second Company went by the Name of the *Plimouth-Adventurers*, because the Persons to whom the Grant was made were *West Country Merchants*, and Members of that Corporation. They had Liberty to settle in any Part of the Country, between the Degrees of 38 and 45, N. L. and to extend their Jurisdiction a hundred Miles along the Coast, and a hundred Miles up into the Country; but tho' the Company made several Attempts, they were not able to perfect a Settlement, till the Year 1620, when Mr. *Robinson*, and his Congregation at *Leyden*, who had fled their native Country on the Account of their Religion, happily accomplish'd it.

Mr. *Robinson* and his Friends went to *Holland* in the Year 1610, and with the Leave of the * Magistrates settled in *Leyden*, where they hired a Meeting-House, form'd themselves into a Church after the Model of the *Brownists*, and worshipp'd God publickly in their own Way; but after *ten* Years Experience finding their Affairs go backward; and that their Posterity were like to be lost among the *Dutch*, they resolv'd to remove into some Part of *America* under his Majesty's Protection, where they might live

* *Morton's Memor. of New Eng. Ed. Camb. N. E. p. 29.*

by themselves, and have a Prospect of encouraging their Friends and Countrymen to settle with them. It was agreed, that Part of the Church should go before their Brethren, to prepare for the Rest, and if the Majority chose to go with the first Company, the *Pastor* to go with them; but if not, he was to stay behind. *Agents* were sent over into *England*, who after they had obtained a Patent from the King for the free Exercise of their Religion in any Part of *America* where they should settle, treated first with the *Virginia* Company for a large Tract of Land, in the North Part of that Country; but upon better Consideration they abandoned their Purchase, and entred into Articles with such *Merchant-Adventurers*, as were willing to encourage their settling in the South West Parts of *New-England*, on the Banks of *Hudson's River*; the Articles bore pretty hard on the Planters, but they were the best their present Circumstances could procure.

SEVERAL of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation sold their Estates, and made a common Bank, with which, and the Money they received of the Adventurers, they purchased the *Speedwel* a small Ship of 60 Tuns, and hired the *Mayflower* of 180 Tuns. The Agents sail'd back to *Holland* in the *Speedwel* to take in as many of their Congregation as were willing to embark with them; while the *Mayflower* was fitting out in the River of *Thames*, and freighting with all Necessaries for the Plantation. The *Speedwel* was designed to continue in the Country, and serve the Planters for Fishing and other necessary Uses; but the *Mayflower*, when she had performed her Voyage, was to return. All Things being got ready, Mr. *Robinson* kept a solemn Day of Fasting and Prayer with his Congregation, to implore a Blessing upon their hazardous

hazardous Undertaking, and preached an excellent Sermon from *Ezra* viii. 21. *I proclaimed a Fast there, at the River Ahava, that we might afflict our Souls before God, to seek of him a right Way for us, and for our little Ones, and for all our Substance.* He concluded his Discourse with the following Exhortation; which, because it breaths such a noble Spirit of Christian Liberty, as was hardly then known in the World, and may serve to give the Reader a just Idea of this great and good Man, I shall transcribe for his Perusal.

“ BRETHREN, (says he) we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your Face on Earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his blessed Angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

“ IF God reveal any thing to you by any other Instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any Truth by my Ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more Truth yet to break forth out of his holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the Condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a Period in Religion, and will go at present no further than the Instruments of their Reformation. The *Lutherans* can't be drawn to go beyond what *Luther* saw, whatever Part of his Will our good God has reveal'd to *Calvin*, they will rather dye than embrace it. And the *Calvinists* you see stick fast where they were left by that great Man of God, who yet saw not all things.

“ THIS is a Misery much to be lamented; for tho' they were burning and shining Lights

“ in their Times, yet they penetrated not into Annō
 “ the whole Counsel of God; but were they 1620
 “ now living would be as willing to embrace
 “ further Light, as that which they first receiv’d.
 “ I beseech you remember it, ’tis an Article of
 “ your Church Covenant, *That you be ready to*
 “ *receive whatever Truth shall be made known to you*
 “ *from the written Word of God.* Remember
 “ that, and every other Article of your sacred
 “ Covenant: But I must herewithal exhort you
 “ to take heed what you receive as Truth.
 “ Examine it, consider it, and compare it with
 “ other Scriptures of Truth before you receive
 “ it; for ’tis not possible the Christian World
 “ should come so lately out of such thick Anti-
 “ christian Darkness, and that Perfection of
 “ Knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I MUST also advise you to abandon, avoid,
 “ and shake of the Name of *BROWNIST*;
 “ ’Tis a meer Nickname; and a Brand for the
 “ making Religion, and the Professors of it, odi-
 “ ous to the Christian World.”

HAVING said this, with some other things
 relating to their private Conduct, he committed
 them to the Grace of God.

MR *John Brewster*, Assistant to Mr. *Robinson*,
 and a ruling Elder in his Church, a wise and
 prudent Man of about 60 Years of Age, put
 himself at the Head of the Colony. On the 1st
 of *July* they went from *Leyden* to *Delfthaven*,
 whither Mr. *Robinson* and the Antients of his
 Congregation accompanied them. They con-
 tinued together all Night, and next Morning,
 after mutual Embraces, Mr. *Robinson* kneeled
 down with them on the Sea-shore, and with a
 fervent Prayer committed them to the Blessing
 and Protection of Heaven. They quickly joyn’d
 their other Ship at *Southampton*, and prepared
 with all Expedition for their intended Voyage.

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ON the 5th of *August* both Ships sail'd in Company for *New-England*; but before they got to the *Lands-End*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Master of the *Speedwel*, complained his Ship was so leaky that he durst not venture out to Sea in her: Upon which they put into *Dartmouth* to have her caulked. They then put to Sea a second time; but when they had sail'd about 100 Leagues Mr. *Reynolds* alarm'd his Passengers again, telling them he should certainly founder at Sea if he held on the Voyage: So both Ships put back again into *Plymouth*, and the *Speedwel* was dismiss'd as unfit for the Voyage; tho' in Truth this was owing chiefly to the Cowardice and Treachery of the Master, who did not care to perform the Voyage, being afraid their Provisions would fall short before his Year was expired, for the Ship was sound enough, and made several successful Voyages afterwards.

THE whole Company, being about 120, were now stow'd in one Ship, which sail'd out of *Plymouth* on the 6th of *September*: A sad Time of Year to enter on such an Expedition! And after a long and dangerous Voyage they fell in with the Land at *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November* following. Here they refresh'd themselves about half a Day, and then tack'd about to the Southward for *Hudson's Bay*; but Mr. *Jones* the Master had, it seems, been brib'd by the *Hollanders* to carry them more to the North, the *Dutch* intending themselves to take Possession of those Parts, as they did some time after: Instead therefore of putting out to Sea, he intangled them among dangerous Shoals and Breakers, where meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the Cape; upon which they put into the Harbour, and resolv'd, considering the Season of the Year, to attempt a Settlement there, and not proceed forward to the Bay.

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There was one unexpected Advantage of their settling here, which was, That the Country had been in a manner depopulated by a Plague the last Year, which had carried off Nine Parts in Ten of the Inhabitants, whereas the Natives were so numerous about the *Bay*, that in all Probability they would have massacred the Planters as soon as they came ashore : But then there was an Inconvenience attending it, which was, That *Cape Cod* not being within the Limits of their Patent, the Powers they had receiv'd from the Crown of *England* would become void. But Necessity has no Law, and therefore before they went ashore they entred into a solemn Combination to submit to such Laws as should by the Majority be approved of ; in witness whereof they sign'd the following Instrument.

IN the Name of God, Amen, We whose
 “ Names are underwritten, the Loyal
 Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King
James, by the Grace of God, of *Great
 Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, De-
 fender of the Faith, &c. having undertaken
 for the Glory of God, and Advancement of
 the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our
 King and Country, a Voyage to plant the
 first Colony in the Northern Parts of *Virginia*,
 do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually,
 in the Presence of God and one another, co-
 venant and combine ourselves together into a
 civil Body politick, for our better ordering and
 Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends afore-
 said; and by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute,
 and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordi-
 nances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers,
 from time to time, as shall be thought most
 meet and convenient for the general Good of
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“ the Colony, unto which we promise all due
“ Submission and Obedience.

“ IN Witness whereof we have hereunto
“ subscribed our Names at *Cape Cod*, No-
“ vember the 11th, in the Reign of our
“ Sovereign Lord King *James*, of *England*,
“ *France*, and *Ireland*, the 18th, and of
“ *Scotland* the 54th, Annoq; Dom. 1620.

<i>John Carver,</i>	<i>Digery Priest,</i>
<i>William Bradford,</i>	<i>Thomas Williams,</i>
<i>Edward Winslow,</i>	<i>Gilbert Winslow,</i>
<i>William Brewster,</i>	<i>Edmond Margeson,</i>
<i>Isaac Allerton,</i>	<i>Peter Browne,</i>
<i>Miles Standish,</i>	<i>Richard Bitteridge,</i>
<i>John Alden,</i>	<i>George Soule,</i>
<i>John Turner,</i>	<i>Edward Tilly,</i>
<i>Francis Eaton,</i>	<i>John Tilly,</i>
<i>James Chilton,</i>	<i>Francis Cook,</i>
<i>John Craxton,</i>	<i>Thomas Rogers,</i>
<i>John Billington,</i>	<i>Thomas Tinker,</i>
<i>Joses Fletcher,</i>	<i>John Ridgdale,</i>
<i>John Goodman,</i>	<i>Edward Fuller,</i>
<i>Samuel Fuller,</i>	<i>Richard Clarke,</i>
<i>Christopher Martin,</i>	<i>Richard Gardiner,</i>
<i>William Mullins,</i>	<i>John Allerton,</i>
<i>William White,</i>	<i>Thomas English,</i>
<i>Richard Warren,</i>	<i>Edward Doten,</i>
<i>John Howland,</i>	<i>Edward Liester.</i>
<i>Stephen Hopkins,</i>	

SAD was the Condition of these poor Men, who had the Winter before them, and no Accommodations for their Entertainment! most of them were reduced to a weak and sickly Condition, by their Voyage, and now they were come to Port had no Friends to welcome them, no Houses to receive them, nor Physicians to take care of them: The Country was full of Woods and Thickets, and began to look with a Winter Complexion beside:

besides they were under Apprehensions from the *Indians*, who were on no good Terms with the *Europeans* at this Time; but there was no looking back; the Master of the Ship press'd them to look out for a Settlement, and threatned to set them and their Goods ashore, and return home, if they did not use Expedition in it. He told them plainly, that he was resolv'd to secure Provisions for himself and his Men home, let them shift as they would.

So they immediately chose Mr. *John Carver*, their Governour for one Year, and set Sixteen Men ashore with Fire Arms to view the Country, and look out a convenient Place for a Settlement. Having marched about a Mile upon the Coast they discover'd Five *Indians*, whom they follow'd for several Miles, but could not come to the Speech of them; next Morning they ventured higher up into the Country, and came to a large Spot of clear Ground, where Corn had been planted: They discovered several Graves, the Remains of a House, a great Kettle, and some Heaps of Sand in which they found several Baskets of Corn in the Ear, some of which they brought away with them; but not finding any Place fit to make a Settlement, they return'd next day to their Ship. In their way home they saw a young Tree bent down almost to the Ground with some Acorns under it. One of the Company going a little too near, it gave a sudden Jerk, and caught him up by the Leg, where he must have hung, if his Friends had not come to his Relief: This was an *Indian Deer-Trap*.

AFTER this the Master of the Ship with Thirty Men went out in the Boat; and coasted along the Shore for two or three Leagues, but could find no Harbour fit to receive any thing bigger than a Boat: Having discover'd two

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Houses cover'd with Matts, they went ashore, and made up to them, but the People ran awy: They found about ten Bushels of Corn, some Beans, and a Bottle of Oil, which they brought away in their Boat, and made use of for Seed the next Spring. Some of the Company were for settling at this Creek, because it was a good Harbour for Boats, tho' not for Ships; There was Ground ready cleared to their Hands, and the Place was healthy and defensible: It was near *Cape Cod*, an excellent Place for Fishery: And lastly, because the Winter was so far advanced, that they could not go a Coasting without the utmost Hazard, both of Men and Boat. Others again were for making farther Trial, till they could find a Harbour for Ships, and urged that they might sail 20 Leagues to the Northward, where they had heard of an excellent Harbour for Ships, and good Fishing; but the Company could not be prevail'd with to try this last Experiment.

HOWEVER they resolved to send out the Boat once more to go round the whole Bay of *Cape Cod*, and see if there was a Harbour for Ships. The chief of the Planters went on this Discovery, as Mr. *John Carver*, Governour, Mr. *William Bradford*, Mr. *Edward Winslow*, Capt. *Miles Standish*, Mr. *John Howland*, Mr. *Richard Warren*, Mr. *Stephen Hopkins*, Mr. *Edward Tilly*, Mr. *John Tilly*, Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Coppin*, *John Allerton*, *Thomas English*, *Edward Doten*, with the Master-Gunner of the Ship and three of the Sailors: They set sail on the 6th of *December*, the Weather being so cold that the Sprae of the Sea froze upon their Cloaths. They got down that Night into the Bottom of the Bay, where they discovered ten *Indians* about a dead *Grampus*. They landed about a League off them, and lay ashore all Night without any Disturbance. Next Morning

Morning they divided their Company, coasting along, some on Shore, and some in the Boat; but saw no People, nor any Place fit for a Settlement that Day. The whole Company lay ashore next Night by the side of a *Creek*, where they made a *Barricado* of Boughs and Logs for their Lodging. Next Morning about Break of Day they were briskly attack'd by a Company of *Indians*, who let fly a Shower of Arrows among them, attended with a terrible Shout, after this Manner; *Woach woach ha, ha hoch woach*. Upon this they immediately ran to their Arms, which were no more than four Muskets, a few Swords and Battle-Axes, the other Muskets being in the Boat. The Musketeers were placed in two Lines, the former of which was order'd to fire, while those in the Rear were making ready. The *Indians* stood several Fires; one in particular, having shelter'd himself behind a Tree within half a Musket-shot of the *Barricado*, let fly three Arrows, and stood three Discharges of a Musket before he ran away: The rest of the *Indians* wheel'd about upon them that ran out of the *Barricado* towards the *Boat*, but not being able to do any Execution upon them, they retir'd. The *English* gather'd up eighteen of their Arrows, whereof some were headed with Brass, others with Harts-Horn, and others with Eagles-Claws.

AFTER this they all went into the Boat, resolving to be govern'd by their Pilot, who assur'd them that he knew of a good Harbour for Ships, which they might reach before Night: But in the Afternoon the Weather grew tempestuous, and the Sea ran so high, that they were in danger of being cast away, for they had lost their Mast and Rudder, and had nothing to trust to but their Oars; but having the Benefit of the Flood they struck into Shore, where the

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Pilot and Mate were for running in the Boat among a Cove of Breakers right before the Wind, but a stout Sailor that was at the Helm bid them, *If they were Men, about with her, else they were all cast away*; which they did, tho' it rain'd hard, and was very dark. In a little time they got under a Lee-shore, where they lay in safety all Night, and next Morning found themselves on a small Island, which they call'd *Clark's Island*, because Mr. *Clark* the Mate was the first Man that stept ashore. Here they rested that Day, and the next being Lord's-Day, rendring Thanks to Almighty God for their late Preservation. On Monday they founded the Harbour, which was call'd by the *Indians Patuxet*, and found it fit for Shipping: Next Day they march'd up into the Country, and discover'd divers Corn Fields, and little running Brooks, so they resolv'd to pitch here, and returning to the Ship, they reported their Resolution to the rest of the Company.

ON the 15th of *December*, the whole Company weigh'd Anchor, and arrived next Day at the Harbour, which was a large Bay with two small Islands in it; but the Coast was so shallow that the Ship was obliged to ride at Anchor above a Mile from the Shore; and though their Boat was very serviceable to them on this Occasion, yet they were forc'd to wade a great Way in the Water to land their Goods. On the 19th they quitted the Ship, and on the 25th they began to erect a Store-house for their Goods, and some small Cottages to preserve them from the Weather; on the 28th they measur'd out the Ground, and divided their whole Company into Nineteen Families, allotting to every Person half a Pole in Breadth, and three in Length, for Lodging and Gardens; and to prevent all Disputes about the Situation of each Family, they decided it by Lot: They

They agreed likewise upon some Laws, both for their Civil and Military Government, and called the Place of their Settlement by the Name of *NEW PLIMOUTH*. Anno
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BUT no sooner were the Planters got ashore but a sad Mortality began to rage among them, occasion'd partly by the Fatigues of their late Voyage, and partly by the Severity of the Weather, and Want of Necessaries, which in two or three Months time carried off above half the Company; so that out of above a hundred Planters, there remained not above Fifty, and of them not above Six or seven at a time, who were capable of helping the Rest. Inexpressible were the Hardships they underwent the first Winter!

* If the *Indians* had been appriz'd of their Circumstances, they might have cut them off without any Trouble; but they appear'd only at a Distance, till the 16th of *March*, when one *Samoset*, who had learn'd a little broken *English* from the Fishermen who traded to the Eastern Parts of the Country, came boldly to them, Soldier-like, with his Bow and Arrows in his Hand, and bid them Welcome: He was one of the *Sagamores* belonging to the Northern Parts about *Monbegin*, a Country about 5 or 6 Days Journey by Land from their Town, and was a Person of a free, easy Carriage, but quite naked except his Waste, which was cover'd with a Piece of Leather, being a tall straight Man, with long black Hair, but no Beard. The Planters entertain'd him in the best Manner they could, and having conferr'd with him concerning the State of the Country, the Number and the Strength of the Inhabitants, their Situation and Distance from the Place where they

* *Incr. Mather's Treatise of New-England, p. 7.*

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were, they dismiss'd him in the most friendly and obliging Manner. Some time after he came again with several other Natives, some of which were cloathed with Deer-Skins, and others had a sort of large Hose that reach'd up to their Groins, and Pieces of Leather about their Wastes, but the Chief of them was distinguish'd by a wild Cat's-skin on his Arm. They were tall, proper Men, of a brown Complexion, like the *English* Gypsies; their Hair was cut short before, but hung down very long behind, and was stuck with Feathers after several antick Fashions. They eat and drank very freely with the *English*, and in return entertain'd them with some *Indian* Dances. They acquainted the Planters with the Design of their great *Sachem Massasoiet* to make them a Visit, and went home very well satisfy'd. On the 22d of *March* *Massasoiet* himself, with his Brother *Quadequina*, and about 60 of his Friends and Attendants, came to *Plimouth* without any Arms; Capt. *Standish* met him at the Head of a File of Musketeers, and conducted him into a House where a Seat of State was prepared for him, which was three or four Cushions piled upon a green Rug. *Massasoiet* was a large, tall Man, middle-aged, of a grave Countenance, and sparing of Speech: His Dress was little different from that of his Men, (the same with that before-mention'd) only he had a Chain of Fish-Bones about his Neck, in which Ornament all the Majesty of his Garb consisted: His Face was painted with a murry Red, and both that and his Head were lick'd over with Oil, so that it may easily be imagin'd he made a very shining Figure: He had a long Knife hanging by a String at his Bosom, and behind on his Back a little Pouch of Tobacco: This was Furniture he never went without; but the Chain was only for high Days and select Company:

pany: His Men had also their Bags of Tobacco at their Backs, and their Faces painted with a Variety of Colours. The *Governour* came into the Room attended with a Guard; a Drum and Trumpet marching before him; *Massasoiet* having kifs'd the *Governour*, they sat down together, and presently an Entertainment was brought in, consisting chiefly of Strong-Waters, a thing the *Savages* love very well; and the *Sachem* took such a large Draught of it at once, as made him sweat all the Time he staid.

AMONG the Attendants of *Massasoiet* was *Squanto*, or *Tisquantum*, who had been kidnapp'd away by *Hunt** the Interloper, and sold to the *Spaniards*, from whence he made his Escape into *England*, and was Servant to one Mr. *Slaney*, who us'd him so well, that he lov'd the *English* ever after, and had no other Reason but the the Love of Liberty to return into his own Country. This *Squanto* was a hearty Friend of the Colony, and brought his Countrymen to have a good Opinion of them, by assuring them that *Hunt*, who had carried off him and so many of his Countrymen, was a declar'd Villain. He serv'd now as an Interpreter between the Great *Sachem Massasoiet*, and the *Governour* of the Colony, who, after mutual Civilities, and some Presents made, entred into an Alliance: The Conditions of which were as follows;

First, That neither *Massasoiet*, nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of the Colony.

Secondly, That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the Offender that they might punish him.

* *New-England Memorial*, p. 24;

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Thirdly, That if any thing was taken away from any of *theirs*, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to *his*.

Fourthly, That if any did unjustly war against *him*, they would aid him; and if any did war against *them*, he should aid them.

Fifthly, That he should send to his neighbour Confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise compriz'd in these Conditions of Peace.

Sixthly, That when his Men came to them on any Occasion, they should leave their Arms (*viz.* Bows and Arrows) behind them.

Seventhly, That, so doing, their Sovereign Lord King *James* would esteem him as his Friend and Ally.

THE *Sachem* was not only content with these Conditions, but was willing to become a Subject of the King, his Heirs and Successors, and gave away all the Lands adjacent to the Planters and their Heirs for ever. After this he return'd home, but *Squanto* continu'd with the Colony as their Interpreter, and was very serviceable to them in directing them in the Manner of planting their Corn, and of catching Fish; as also in piloting them up and down the Coast, and he never left them till he dy'd.

THE *May-Flower* rid at Anchor in the Bay all the Winter, tho' the Captain would have been gone much sooner if his Men had not been so sick; but the Spring coming on they recover'd, and he weigh'd Anchor about the latter End of *March*,

IN the Month of *April* the Governour Mr. *John Carver* fell sick and dyed: He was a Gentleman

tleman of a considerable Estate, which he spent in this Project, and of such a charitable Disposition that he did not shun the meanest Offices of Love and Service to the Sick ; but not being us'd to such Fatigues and Hardships, he fell into a Distemper, which carried him off in a few Days. The Colony buried him with as much Solemnity as they were capable, discharging several Volleys of Shots over his Grave.

MR. *William Bradford* was chosen his Successor, who in the Beginning of *July* sent Mr. *Winslow* and Mr. *Hopkins* on an Embassy to *Massasoiet* with *Squanto* for their Guide and Interpreter : Their Commission was to view the Country, to observe his military Strength, and to confirm the Peace of *Plimouth*. The *Indians* all along by the Way treated 'em with a great deal of Courtesy, and plain honest Freedom ; they supplied them with Provisions, carried their Baggage, and waded thro' the Rivers with them on their Backs. But the Country was very much depopulated ; there were fine Corn Fields and Pasture Grounds, without either Cattle or Inhabitants, the Plague having lately swept them away. About a *River*, where formerly Abundance of People had dwelt, there were but two *Savages* remaining, and those both old Men, unfit for the Hazards of War, or the Defence of their Country ; yet as soon as they saw the *English* coming, they ran to the opposite Bank of the River, and stood upon their Guard with Bow and Arrows in their Hands, and with a resolute Boldness demanded Who and what they were, intending if they were Enemies, to have dyed rather than suffer them to pass the River ; but hearing they were Friends, they entertained them with the best Food they had. Upon their Arrival at *Pokanoket* the ordinary Residence of the Great *Sachem*, they made him a Present of a red Cotton Coat
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trim'd with Lace, which was very acceptable : The *Sachem* in Return treated them with the utmost Civilities. Mr. *Winslow* was lodged on the royal Bed, which was nothing but a few Planks rais'd about a Foot high from the Ground. *Massasoiet* and his Queen lay at one End of it, under a thin Mat, and the Embassadors with two or three of the *Grandees* at the other ; but the Court was so ill furnished with Provisions that the Embassadors were almost starv'd : However having confirm'd the Peace, they return'd home, and reported that *Massasoiet's* Country was very much wasted and depopulated with the Plague ; but that the *Norrhagansets*, who lived on the other Side of the Bay, were numerous and very formidable.

ANOTHER *Indian* came to live among the *English* about this time, whose Name was *Hobbamock*, a lusty Youth, and of good Repute among his Countrymen : *Squanto* and he being sent among the *Indians* about an Affair of Consequence, were seiz'd at *Namasket* by *Coubatant* the petty *Sachem* of the Place, only because they were Friends of the *English*. *Coubatant* was going to stab *Hobbamock*, but being a strong Man he clear'd himself of him, and run away to *Plimouth* ; but *Squanto* was secured. The Governor hereupon dispatch'd away Capt. *Miles Standish* with 14 Men to release *Squanto*, and if they had kill'd him, to make Reprisals. *Coubatant* hearing of the Force that was coming against him absconded, and set *Squanto* at Liberty ; with whom the Captain return'd, having only wounded three Men as they were pressing out of *Coubatant's* House, which he had invested before he knew that *Coubatant* had absconded.

THIS little Expedition struck such Terror into the neighbouring *Indians*, that their *Sachems* came in, and subscribed the following Instrument.

Sep-

September the 13th, 1621.

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“ **K**NOW all Men by these Presents, That
 “ we whose Names are underwritten
 “ do acknowledge ourselves to be the Loyal
 “ Subjects of King *James*, King of *Great Britain*,
 “ *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.
 “ In witness whereof, and as a Testimonial of
 “ the same, we have subscribed our Names or
 “ Marks as followeth :

<i>Obquamehud,</i>	<i>Nattawahunt,</i>	<i>Quadaquina,</i>
<i>Cawnacome,</i>	<i>Caunbatant,</i>	<i>Huttamoiden,</i>
<i>Obbatinua,</i>	<i>Chikkatabak,</i>	<i>Apadnow.</i>

COUBATANT made use of the Mediation of *Massasoiet* to make his Peace with the *English*, but would not trust himself among them for a long time after. All the neighbouring Princes courted their Friendship, except *Canonicus* Prince of the *Narrhagansets*, who sent a Messenger to the Plantation with a Bundle of Arrows tied together with a Snake's-Skin; which *Squanto* told them was a Declaration of War. The Governor having receiv'd the Arrows, sent the Messenger back with this resolute Answer, *That if they lov'd War, they might begin as soon as they would; he did not fear them, nor should they find him unprovided.* He likewise sent a Messenger of his own to *Canonicus* with some Powder and Ball tied up in the same Snake's-Skin, which check'd the Insolence of the Barbarians for the present; for they were so terrified with the Powder, that they would not receive it into their Houses. However this put the *English* on palisading their little Town, and making Gates in convenient Places, which were lock'd every Night; and upon keeping a constant Watch, to prevent

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prevent a Surprise, the Soldiers were divided into four Companies, and every one knew his Post, in case of an Alarm.

ON the 18th of *September*, the Planters sent out Capt. *Standish* and 10 Men in their Boat to the *Massachuset-Bay*, with *Squanto* for their Interpreter. But they had no sooner turn'd the Point of the Harbour, but they were called back by the Discharge of a Cannon from the *Colony*, who had been alarm'd by an *Indian* coming to them with his face cover'd over with Blood, and telling them, that *Massasoiet* had join'd with the *Narrhagansets* to assault them in the Captain's Absence, and that he had receiv'd all those Wounds for dissuading them from it. The *Colony* were in the utmost Consternation at this Report, but *Hobbamock* perswaded them to be easy; and dispatch'd away his Wife to the Court of *Massasoiet* for Intelligence, who brought back word, that all was well, and that *Massasoiet* was concern'd that the *English* should mistrust him. It appeared afterwards, that this was one of *Squanto's* Sham-Plots, which had like to have cost him his Life; for the *Sachem* sent a couple of *Tawnies* with his own Knife, to bring him dead or alive, who had certainly executed their Commission, if the *English* had not protected him, and interceded with the angry Prince for his Pardon. This Fright being over, the Captain and his Men pursued their Voyage to the *Massachuset-Bay*. They view'd the Bay, and were civilly entertain'd by the Natives, with whom they traffick'd; they were so charm'd with the Situation of that Part of the Country, that they wish'd heartily they had settled there; but it was too late; for they had now fitted up their Cottages against Winter, and were busy in getting in their Harvest, which must have been lost, if they had attempted to remove. In the
same

same Month arriv'd the *Fortune*, a small Vessel from *England*, with thirty five Passengers for the Plantation, but no Provisions, which occasioned a Famine among them soon after; for the Harvest prov'd very indifferent this Year, the Seed which the Planters brought from *England* being either damag'd, or not ripening, because it was sown in the Spring; nor did the *Indian* Corn yield any considerable Produce, for want of Skill in the planting it.

ABOUT the latter End of *May* came in a small Ship, belonging to Mr. *Thomas Weston*, Merchant, with seven Passengers, but no Provisions, and after that, two more, with sixty Passengers, who were entertain'd at *Plimouth* all the Summer, and then removed to the *Massachusetts-Bay*: They were a disorderly Company of Men, and soon forced to break up, as we shall observe in its proper Place. By the Return of one of these Vessels, which went forward to *Virginia*, the Governour received the melancholy News of a dreadful Massacre of the *English* in those Parts, which was executed on *March* 22, 1622, wherein three hundred and thirty four Persons were cut in Pieces; Capt. *Hudston*, in his Letter to his Friends at *Plimouth*, says, that four hundred Persons would not make good their Loss; and then adds these Words, *I entreat you remember the old Rule, Happy is he whom other Mens Harms do make to beware.* Upon this, they built a Timber-Fort, with a flat Roof and Battlements; mounted several Pieces of Cannon upon it, and kept Guard in it Night and Day: It was a considerable Work for the few Hands that were employ'd about it, but the Terror of the *Virginia* Massacre, with the Fear of an Insurrection of the *Narrhagansets*, made them work Night and Day 'till it was finished.

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THE Weather prov'd very unseasonable the former Part of this Summer; for from the middle of *May* to the middle of *July*, they had no Rain but a constant Sun, which occasioned a very great Drought, and threatned the Loss of the whole Harvest; but the refreshing Showers which fell towards the latter End of *July* and *August* recovered the Corn, so as to afford them a pretty tolerable Crop: But tho' the Crop exceeded their Expectation, they all foresaw it could not last the Year round, tho' they should husband it never so well; nor could they get a Supply of Corn from the Neighbouring *Indians*, because they had nothing to give in Exchange for it. But towards the End of the Year there came in by Accident a small trading Vessel with a good Quantity of *English* Beads, Knives, Scissars &c. on board: The Colony bought them all up with their *Coat Beaver*, at any Rate, and by this Means were enabled again to trade with the *Indians* for Corn, and other Necessaries.

CAPT. *Standish* was sent away immediately with the Shallop to traffick with the *Indians* for Corn, and return'd in a few Days richly laden to the Joy of the whole Colony. In this Expedition there happen'd an odd Adventure, which may give the Reader an Idea of the brutish Nature of these poor Savages: While the Captain went ashoar at *Nosset* to barter with the Natives of those Parts, one of them stole some of his Toys out of the Shallop; the Captain hereupon went to the *Sachem*, and demanded the stolen Goods on Pain of military Execution, which terrified him to such a Degree, that he came with his Attendants next Morning, and saluted the Captain in the most humble Manner, by putting out his Tongue that one might see the Root of it, and licking the Captain's Hands, all

all his Men doing the like. He then made him a Leg after an awkward Fashion, as *Squanto* had instructed him, and restored the *Toys*, telling the Captain that he had *much beaten* the Rogue that had stolen them.

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ABOUT the End of this Year *Squanto* died at *Mannamoik* near *Cape Cod*, being on a trading Voyage with the *English*, who were buying Corn in those Parts. He was an arch Knave, who by going between the *English* and *Indians* got a great many rich Presents, and by his dexterous Management became a Person of great Significancy to both Parties, 'till the Discovery of his sham Plot against *Massasoiet*, after which he durst never trust himself among his own Countrymen. He perswaded the *Savages* that the *English* had the Plague buried in their Store-House, which they could let out, and send among their Enemies when they pleased; and that it was owing to his Interest that all the *Indians* were not destroy'd. The Planters had certainly a very great Loss of him, for he lov'd them, and was very serviceable to them as their Interpreter. He left several Legacies among his *English* Acquaintance, and desired the Governour to pray, *That he might go to the English Man's God in Heaven.*

MR. *Weston's* Men who settled in the *Massachusetts Bay* last Summer, at a Place call'd by the *Indians Welagusquaset*, now known by the Name of *Weymouth*, having liv'd in a riotous and disorderly Manner, began now to be in want of Provisions. The Governour of *Plimouth* gave them all the Assistance he could, but they liv'd too fast for Men that were to begin the World with a little; When they had barter'd away all their Goods for *Indian* Corn, they sold their Cloaths and Bedding; Some of them became Servants to the *Indians*, and would cut their Wood, and draw their Water for a Cup full of

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Corn;

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Corn; the major Part turn'd Robbers; but all was too little to supply their Wants: Some died with Hunger; One as he was gathering Shell-Fish stuck fast in the Mud, and being so weak as not to be able to get out, perish'd in the Place; The rest left their Dwellings, and liv'd up and down in the Woods upon Ground Nuts and Clams, whereby they became the Scorn of the *Indians*, who insulted them in a most barbarous Manner; for when they were dressing their Victuals, the *Indians* would come, and as soon as it was ready eat it up. If any of them had a sorry Blanket to wrap himself in, the *Indians* would take it, and make him lye all Night in the Cold. Miserable was the Condition that they were reduced to! For as their Necessities forced 'em to steal from the *Indians*, the *Indians* made no Conscience of plundering them, and had entred into Conspiracy to cut 'em all to pieces, which had certainly been executed in a few Days, if it had not been strangely discover'd by the following Accident.

THE Governour of *Plimouth* having receiv'd Advice that *Massasoiet* their Friend and Ally was sick, sent Mr. *Winslow* and Mr. *Hopkins* to visit him, with *Hobamock* for their Guide and Interpreter. As they were upon their Journey they had News that *Massasoiet* was dead, upon which *Hobamock* burst out into Tears, crying out, *Neen womasu, neen womasu, Sagamus; My Sachem, my Sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee.* He would then turn to Mr. *Winslow*, and run out into a long Harangue in Praise of his Master; and bid him depend upon it, that he should never find any other *Indian* Prince so just, honest, and good as he: But when they came to *Pokanoket* they were agreeably surpriz'd with the News of *Massasoiet's* being yet alive, tho' in a Condition in which his Life was not long to be expected:

expected: His Sight was gone, but his other Ann^o
1623 Senses were pretty entire. When Mr. *Winslow* came to his Bedside, and *H. bamock* told him there was his good Friend *Winslow*, he put out his Hand, and faintly repeated these Words, *Keen Winslow?* that is, *Art thou Winslow?* for they can't pronounce the Letter L, but use N in the room of it. To which Mr. *Winslow* replying *Abhe, Yes*; he return'd, *Mattaneen Wonkanet namen, Winsnow*; that is, *O Winslow, I shall never see thee again!* And in Truth, the Noise and Bustle that was about him was enough to have kill'd a Man without any other Distemper; for being mightily belov'd among the *Indians* on the Account of his Virtues, there was a vast Concourse of People about his House and Chamber, making use of their Charms and Incantations for his Recovery. Six or eight Women were constantly employ'd in chafing his Arms and Legs to keep the natural Heat in them, and these made as great a Noise as the Inchanters. *Masfasoiet* submitted to all these Ceremonies and Customs of his Country, concluding himself a dead Man. But Mr. *Winslow* comforted him in the best manner he could: He look'd into his Mouth, and scrap'd his Tongue, which was very much furr'd, and gave him some Cordials; which had such an Effect, that in a few Days he was out of Danger.

'Tis not to be express'd how kindly the Prince took this Visit; and to make them the best Return he could, he discover'd the whole Plot of the *Massachuset Indians*, how many *Sichems* they had drawn in, and what Applications they had made to him: He advis'd them at the same time not to lose any time, but seize the Heads of the Conspirators immediately, or else *Weston's* Men would all be cut off; and so, with infinite Thanks, and fresh Assurances of Love and Friend-

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ship to the *English*, he sent them home. Upon their Arrival at *Plimouth* they related *Massasoiet's* News to the Governour, who immediately dispatch'd away Capt. *Standish* with eight Men for the Security of the *English* in those Parts, of which *Hobamock* was one. The Captain found the Remains of *Weston's* Men reduced to the last Extremities, the *Indians* being Masters of their little Fort, and treating them as so many Slaves and Vassals; the Reason why they had not massacred them being only this, because they were not in a Capacity to prevent the Revenge that was to be expected from *Plimouth*. Capt. *Standish* endeavour'd to conceal the Design of his coming into those Parts: But the guilty Wretches suspected their Plot was discover'd; however they resolv'd to put the best Face on their Affairs, and try if they could fright the Captain away. *Wituwamet* and *Pecksnot* were two Champions in whom they placed a great deal of Confidence; *Pecksnot* talking one Day with *Hobameck* said, *We know that Capt. Standish is come to kill us all: Tell him that we know it, but fear him not, neither will we run away from him: Let him begin as soon as he will, he shall not come upon us unawares.* Another time he rally'd the Captain upon the Smallness of his Stature; *You (says he) tho' a great Captain, are but a little Man; and tho' I am no Sachem, yet am a Man of great Strength and Courage.* *Wituwamet* likewise would come among the *English*, and play his rude Pranks; Once he was bragging of the Goodness of the Knife he had in his Hand, on the Handle of which was carv'd a Woman's Face: *But (says he) I have a better than this at home, with a Man's Face carv'd on the Handle, and these two Knives I intend shall be marry'd together. That Knife at home (continu'd he) has done many an Execution on the English and French, and as for this*

this

this, Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen matta cuts, by and by it shall see, and by and by it shall eat *Anno*
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and devour, though without speaking a Word. But the Captain kept himself on his Guard, resolving not to break with them till he found a favourable Opportunity, tho' they often provoked him by whetting their Knives before his Face, and using several threatning Gestures and Actions. At length the Captain observing these two Hectors with two more of their Companions in a Room by themselves, went in to them with just the same Number of his own Men, and ordering the Door to be shut, fell himself upon *Pecksnot*, and after a long Struggle got him down and cut his Throat with his own long Knife. The *Englishman* that fought with *Wituwamet* killed him too, and so did the third; but the fourth Man, who was *Wituwamet's* Brother, was taken alive, and afterwards hanged. 'Tis incredible how many Wounds these two valiant *Savages* receiv'd before they dyed; how they strugled, and catch'd at the Weapons to the last Breath, and dyed without any unmanly Noises or Signs of Fear.

No sooner was the Fall of these two Champions known; but a Body of *Indians* let fly a Shower of Arrows among the *English*; the Captain at the Head of his Men challeng'd their *Sachem* to single Combat, but receiv'd no Answer; so he order'd his Men to fire upon them, which frighten'd them away into the Woods. Some Time after, the *Sachem* pleading Ignorance of what his Men had done, begg'd Pardon, and sued for Peace, which was granted him; but a Year or two after the Plague destroy'd him, and almost all his People, which opened the Way for the *Massachusetts* Settlement in the Year 1629. Capt. *Standish* offer'd to conduct Mr. *Weston's* Men to *Plimouth*, where they might remain 'till they could agree how to dispose of themselves;

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they thank'd him for his Kindness, but begg'd him to supply them with a little Corn, and they would sail away with their Vessel to the Eastward to meet Mr. *Weston*, and if they miss'd him to make the best of their Way to *England*; the *Captain* freely gave them all the Corn he could spare; so they ship'd off their Effects, and went aboard; and when the *Captain* had seen them out of the Bay under Sail, he return'd home with the Head of *Wituwamet*, which was set upon the Fort.

THUS ended *Weston's* Settlement, which was set up in Opposition to *Plimouth*: Mr. *Weston* was originally one of the *Plimouth*-Adventurers, but had now broken off from them, and set up for himself. He obtained a Patent for Part of the *Massachuset* Bay under Pretence of propagating the Discipline of the Church of *England* in *America*; but his Men were so scandalously vile and wicked, that they became a Nuisance to the very Savages, who would infallibly have cut 'em all to pieces, if the Colony of *Plimouth* had not shew'd them more Charity, than in all Probability they would have shown the Colony, if it had been in the like Circumstances.

SOON after the breaking up of this Settlement, Mr. *Weston* himself with some Fishermen arriv'd in the Bay, where he heard of the deplorable Fate of his Plantation; and the poor Man himself met with one not much better: For having lost his Boat in a Storm between *Merrimack* and *Pascataqua*, he fell into the Hands of the *Savages* who pillaged him of all that he had saved from the Sea, and strip'd him to his very Shirt. At *Pascataqua* he borrowed something to cover his Nakedness, and in this Condition came to *Plimouth*, and was saved from starving by that very Colony, which he had a thousand Ways endeavour'd to destroy.

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BUT to return to *Plimouth*, All Provisions had hitherto been in common among the *Planters*, but Things being now a little more settled, the Governour divided to every Family a Portion of Land and Corn, for their proper Use; which after some time had a very good Effect: For when the People knew that the Produce of their Labour would be their own, it kindled an Emulation among them; so that the Fields were clear'd, and a much greater Quantity of Corn planted next Year than would otherwise have been. But alas! while the Seed was in the Ground, the People were forc'd to live in a manner without Bread; nor had they a Store of any other Sort of Provision, but depended entirely on their Labour and Industry: Their Boat and Net were constantly employ'd in catching of *Basse*; when that fail'd, all Hands were employ'd in digging Ground Nuts and Shell-fish out of the Sands. Sometimes they shot a few Fowl, but they had no Cattel, nor any kind of Roots to supply the Want of Bread: Besides they were in a very ragged Condition for Want of Cloaths, those they brought over with them from *England* being quite worn out; so that if Hunger and Nakedness in a savage Country are Characters of Misery, it must be allowed that the *New-England* Planters were remarkably distinguished by 'em.

BUT at length about *Midsummer* two Ships arrived from the Adventurers in *England*, with Supplies for the Plantation, the *Anne*, *William Pierce* Master, and the *James*, Mr. *Bridges* Master; this last was a small Vessel of 44 Tuns, built for the Service of the Planters in the Coasting Trade; and brought over several Passengers, who spent their Lives and Estates in promoting the Interests of the Colony.

ABOUT the middle of *September* another Attempt was made to begin a Settlement in the

Anno *Massachuset-Bay*, at the Place where *Weston's*
 1623 *Men* had broke up, by *Capt. Gorges*, and several
 Families that came over with him; the Captain
 had a Commission from the Council of *New-England* to be General Governour of the Coun-
 try: *Capt. Francis West*, *Christopher Levett*, Esq;
 the Governour of *Plimouth* for the Time being,
 and such others as he should approve, being ap-
 pointed his Council; with full *Power to himself*
and any Three of them, whereof himself always to
be One, to do and execute what to them should seem
good in all Causes, Capital, Criminal and Civil. With
 him came over *Mr. Morrel*, a Minister, with an
 Ecclesiastical Commission of, Superintendent of
 the Churches, but he made no Use of it; nor
 was the Captain's Commission very long-liv'd:
 All the Weight of it fell on the Head of poor
Weston, for the Captain meeting him at *Plimouth*,
 summon'd him to appear before the Council, to
 answer such Things as he should lay to his
 Charge; which were the riotous Behaviour of his
 Men at the *Massachuset-Bay*, by which the Peace
 of the Country was disturb'd, and the Plantation
 ruin'd; and his abusing his Father *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, who had procured him a License
 from the King, to transport some Pieces of great
 Cannon for a Fort in *New-England*, which he
 had sold in foreign Countries for his private Use,
 for which *Sir Ferdinando*, and the Council of
New-England had been severely reprimanded.
Weston answered to the first, that he thought he
 had sufficiently smarted for that already; the
 second he excused upon his Knees as well as
 he could; and the Captain, at the Intercession
 of the Governour of *Plimouth*, took his Bond for
 his Appearance, when called for; but the poor
 Man going for *England*, some Time after died
 at *Bristol*, which put an End to all his Troubles:
 The Captain also imagining himself a greater
 Man

Man than he really was, and not finding Things answer his Expectations in this new World, left his Colony after a few Months, and return'd to *England*, and his Bishop followed him soon after; upon which the Plantation broke up, and went some to *England*, and the rest to *Virginia*.

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THE Colony had been all this while without a *Patent* for their Lands; they had employ'd one Mr. *William Peirce* to solicit this Affair with the Grand Council of *Plimouth*, and the Court of *England*; but he, like a Knave, procured the *Patent* to be taken out in his own Name, reserving to himself and his Heirs a vast Tract of Land, intending the Planters should hold it as Tenants under him; He design'd to go over himself with his *Patent*, and took on Board above an hundred Passengers; but after he had put to Sea twice, he return'd into Port with his Ship almost torn to Pieces in a Storm, which so discourag'd him, that he assign'd back his *Patent* to the Company, and resolv'd to concern himself no further in the Affair.

THE Planters being advis'd of *Peirce's* Treachery, sent over Mr. *Edward Winslow* last Year to obtain a *Patent*, which at last he effected and brought over the Beginning of *March*; it was taken out in the Name of the Governour *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Associates and Assigns, by which Mr. *Bradford* was made Lord of the Country; but when the Number of Freemen encreas'd, the General Court desir'd him to surrender it into their Hands, which he generously did. Thus the Colony became a Kind of Republick by *Patent* from K. *James I.* whereby they were enabled to chuse a Governour, Council, and General Court, who should have full Power of making and executing all Laws which should be judg'd necessary for the publick Good, the Sovereignty being still re-

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reserved to the Crown of *England*, as the Reader will observe in the *Charter*, which I have given a Place in the *Appendix*.* By this Time the Number of Inhabitants was so much encreas'd, that instead of one Assistant which the *Governour* had before, it was found necessary to enlarge the Number to five, reserving only to the *Governour* a casting Vote: In the Year 1633, the *Council* was encreased to seven, and so continued 'till their *Charter* was taken from them.

Mr. *Winslow* brought over a considerable Supply for the Plantation, and among the rest, three Heifers and a Bull, which were the first Neat Cattle that came into *New-England*; in the same Ship came over a certain Preacher, whose Name was *Lyford*, a crafty Knave, who, under the Cloak of Religion, and a profound Humility, insinuated himself so far into the *Governour's* Affection, that he made him his Confident, and consulted him upon the most important Affairs of State; 'till at length observing him to sow Discontents among the People, he treated him with a little more Coldness. *Lyford's* Design was to ruin the Reputation of the Colony with the Merchants-Adventurers in *England*, that so they might be afraid to trade with them any longer. The *Governour* did not so much as suspect his Design, 'till the Return of the Ship for *England*, which brought him over, when he and one Mr. *Oldham* were observed to send away a large Packet of Letters, and drop some words which gave Suspicion of their carrying on a private Correspondence to the Prejudice of the Plantation; the *Governour* hereupon, under Pretence of going a League or two out to Sea in Company with the Ship, went aboard, and opening

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his and *Oldham's* Pacquet, took Copies of the most remarkable Letters, and sent them forward to *England*, bringing back the Originals in his Pocket. *Lyford* and *Oldham* were all this while working up the People's Discontent, both as to the Government of the Church and Commonwealth; and when they thought their Party strong enough, they set up a separate Meeting on the Lord's Day; the Governour hereupon calling a general Court, charged them with seditious Practices tending to the Ruin of the Colony, which they stiffly denied; but their own Letters being produced against them in Court *Lyford* was struck dumb, and *Oldham*, like a mad Man, called out to the People in a Rage; *My Masters, where are your Hearts? Now shew your Courage; you have often complained to me, now is the Time, if you will do any Thing I will stand by you.* But no Body answered him: The Court observing his insolent Behaviour, sentenc'd him to depart the Plantation immediately, and *Lyford* within six Months, and neither of them to return without Leave from the Governour: *Oldham* however, had the Impudence to return again the next Year, and interest himself in the Election of a Governour, but he was arrested, and made to run the Gauntlet between two Ranks of Musketeers, who gave him every one a Blow on his Breech with the Butt-end of their Muskets as he pass'd thro' them, and was then sent away. *Lyford* at six Months End giving no Hopes of Amendment, left the Colony, and went to *Virginia*, where in a little Time he died.

BUT while the little Commonwealth was struggling with these Incendiaries within her own Bowels, the whole Settlement had like to have been destroy'd by a dreadful Fire, which broke out on the fifth of *November*, just against the *Store-House*, where all their Provisions were lodg'd.

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1624 lodg'd. The Occasion was this; several Sailors belonging to a Ship in the Harbour, making merry in a little House, laid so much Wood on the Fire as took Hold of the Thatching, and set all into a Flame: The whole *Colony* were immediately alarm'd, and ran to the *Store-House*, which one Part of the Company was order'd to defend, while the other was employed in putting out the Fire. Such was the Confusion and Cry upon this Occasion, that they knew not what they did; the common People suspected a Conspiracy, nor was it altogether without Reason; for when the Fire was got under at the Place where it began, a Smoke was seen to rise out of a *Shed* that join'd to the *Store-House*, which was made up of the Boughs of Trees; and upon Examination, a lighted Fire-brand of about an Ell long was found in it, which all that saw, concluded, must be laid there with a Design; but however, no more Damage was done than the Loss of three Houses, with all the Goods that were in them, which was indeed the Ruin of those Families, and occasion'd their Return to *England*.

THE *Colony* at this Time (says Mr. *Smith*) consisted of 180 Persons, who followed their several Trades both by Sea and Land, but lived together, as yet, like one Family upon the common Stock; for tho' every Man had his Division of Land, yet the Produce of it was put into the publick *Store-House*, and divided out to each Family according to their Number. The Town consisted of 32 Dwelling-Houses, and was paled in about half a Mile in Compass; in the midst of the Inclosure upon a rising Ground was the Fort, upon the Top of which was a Watch-Tower, from whence the Centinel might see a great many Leagues out to Sea. They had made a Salt-Work, and this Year freighted a Ship of 180 Tuns with Fish cured with their own Salt: But notwith-

stand-

standing all this, the Adventurers who were about seventy in Number, and had expended about seven Thousand Pounds upon the Settlement, began to be dispirited; *Lyford's* Letters had made ill Impressions upon them, which, together with the small Returns the Planters were capable of making, broke the Society in Pieces, and made the major Part of them resolve to have nothing more to do with the Settlement, as not being willing to throw away good Money after bad. This must infallibly have ruined the Plantation, if God by his Providence had not given them such a plentiful Harvest this Summer, as was not only sufficient for themselves, but enabled them to begin a Trade with the *Indians*.

THE Colony were Masters but of two small Shallops, one of which they cover'd with a Deck to keep the Corn dry, and sent her a trading Voyage, as far as *Kenebeck*, 50 Leagues to the Eastward; they had neither Pilot, nor Sailors that understood the working of a Ship, but yet they made a prosperous Voyage, and a very good Return; Capt. *Standish* in the mean Time was sent to *England*, with 800 Weight of *Beaver*, and a great Quantity of *Fish* and *Furs* for the Adventurers, in two Ships, which came on a Trading Voyage to the Plantations on their own Account; but when they were got almost within Sight of *Plimouth*, one of the Ships was taken by a *Turkish* Man of War, and carried to *Sally*, which put an End to all their Hopes of encouraging the Adventurers to trade with them, tho' the Captain did every Thing that lay in his Power to perswade them to it; but they were out of Humour, having received ill Impressions from the Enemies of the Plantation, who had represented them, as Monsters in Religion, and covetous, designing Men in the Way
of

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W of Trade, which made 'em put off the Captain with fair Promises, which they never intended to perform. The Planters were certainly under their Lash, on Account of the Articles they signed with them at their first setting out, which made the Captain endeavour to bring them to a Composition, but the *Plague* being then in *London*, he could do but little towards it: Mr. *Allerton* went over about a Twelvemonth after on the same Errand, and brought the Matter to a tolerable Issue, which was this, That, whereas by a former Agreement, the Adventurers had sold all their Right to the Planters for 1800 Pounds, which they were to pay by 200 Pounds a Year, they now agreed to abate part of the Money, upon Condition that the Planters discharg'd the Remainder at once, which was accordingly done.

THE *Colony* had all this while lived in Hopes of being join'd by their Pastor, and the rest of their Brethren from *Leyden*, but the unwelcome News which Captain *Standish* brought over of the Death of Mr. *Robinson* put an End to all further Expectations from thence. Mr. *John Robinson* was a Man of a great deal of Learning and good Sense, in his younger Days, he had espoused most of the rigid Principles of the *Brownists*, and writ in their Defence, but when he came abroad into the World, and had Opportunities of conversing with learned Men of different Sentiments from himself, he laid aside his Uncharitableness, and allowed the Members of the *Dutch Churches* the Liberty of Occasional Communion with his; he writ several learned Treatises, to justify his separating from the Church of *England*, which were universally esteem'd, and reprinted after his Death; his Adversaries call'd him a *Semi-Separatist*, because he allow'd of Communion with other Reform'd Churches, in the
Word

Word and Prayer, but not in the Sacraments and Discipline. 'Tis certain he abandon'd the most indefensible Parts of *Brownism*, and endeavour'd to beat out a middle Way between that and Presbytery, on which Account he may justly be stiled the Father of the *Independents*. He was a Man of great Probity, and good Nature, an admirable disputant as appear'd by his publick Disputations in the Universities of *Leyden* when the *Arminian* Controversie had like to have torn the Church and State of *Holland* in Pieces; he was universally beloved and esteem'd by all the *Dutch* Ministers and Professors with whom he liv'd in a perfect Harmony; they lamented his Death which happen'd this Year, when he was but 50 Years of Age, as a publick Loss; and tho' he never had been of their Communion, they did him the Honour to attend his Body to the Grave. The Death of Mr. *Robinson* broke up the Remains of the Church of *Leyden*; most of them retiring to *Amsterdam*, few or none having the Courage to follow their Brethren into *New-England*.

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THERE was another Attempt made this Year to begin a Settlement in the *Massachusetts*, * by Capt. *Wollaston*, and three or four more Gentlemen of Substance, who brought with them a great many Servants, Provisions, and other Necessaries for a Plantation. They pitched at a Place which they called *Mount Wollaston*, now known by the Name of *Braintry*; the Captain continued some time with his Colony, but finding the Difficulties of raising a Plantation greater than he imagin'd, he sail'd with Part of his Servants to *Virginia*, and writ back to Mr. *Rafdale*, his Deputy to bring another Part along with him,

* New Eng. *Memor.* p. 68.

Anno telling him that the Men would turn to a better
1626 Account there, than in *New-England*; *Rasdale*
 appointed *Filcher* his Lieutenant; but when
Rasdale was gone, Mr. *Morton*, who had a small
 share in the Plantation, took the Advantage of
 the Lieutenant's being out of the Way, to make
 the Company merry with Drink, and then address
 himself to them in the following Manner, "Gen-
 tlemen, you see many of your Companions car-
 ried away to *Virginia*, and if you stay till
 "*Rasdale's* return, you will also be carried away,
 "and sold for Slaves with the rest, therefore I
 "would advise you to thrust out this Lieutenant
 "*Filcher*, and I having a Part in the Plantation
 "will receive you as my Partners, and Consociates,
 "so you may be free from Servitude, and we will
 "converse, plant, trade, and live together as
 "Equals". Upon this they turn'd Lieutenant
Filcher out into the wide World, to seek his
 Bread where he could find it; and *Morton* became
 their sovereign Lord, leading them into all sorts of
 Debauchery and Wickedness; They set up a
May-Pole and danced about it, and drunk strong
 Liquors to such an Excess that they consum'd
 10*l.* worth in a Morning; to support this Pro-
 digality, they ingratiated themselves with the
Indians, and taught them the use of *Fire Arms*,
 how to charge and discharge a Musk, what
 Proportion of Powder to put in, and what Shot;
Morton then exercis'd 'em, and sent 'em out a
 Birding for him, so that in a little Time, they
 became better *Marks-Men* than the *English*, and
 being swift of Foot were capable of doing much
 more Execution: The *Indians* were so charm'd
 with this new Invention, that they threw away
 their Bows and Arrows, and gave any Price for
 Fire Arms, that *Morton* and his Companions de-
 manded. When *Plimouth Colony* heard of this, they
 sent Messengers to expostulate with him about
 it,

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it, putting him in mind of the King's Proclamation, which forbids their trading with the *Indians* in any sort of Warlike Stores, and of the Inconveniencies that might attend instructing them in the Art of War; but he insolently reply'd, that the King was dead and his Displeasure with him, and threatned, that if they came to molest him again, they should look to themselves. Upon this they resolv'd to reduce him by Force, and sent Captain *Standish* with a Party of Men to bring him dead or alive; *Morton* stood upon his Defence, barricadoed his House, arm'd his Companions, and having heated them with Liquor, defied the Captain, and bid him fall on at his Peril. The Captain however ventur'd up to the Door, and *Morton* coming out to make a Shot at him, he put by his Piece, and took him Prisoner, upon which the rest surrender'd at Discretion. Mr. *Morton* was convey'd to *Plimouth*, and after some time sent to *England* with Letters to the Council of *New England*, giving an Account of his Conduct; but little or no notice was taken of it. He return'd several Times after this into the Country, and at last ended his miserable Life at *Pascataqua*. Thus the Remains of *Wollaston's Colony* broke up, after they had maintained themselves in the Bay of *Massachusetts* about 2 Years.

WE have already observ'd in the Year 1623. that the Colony of *Plimouth* had made some small Distribution of Land among the Planters, which was no more than an Acre a Man besides their *Home-steads* or Garden Plots, the reason of which was, that they might keep together for their greater safety and Defence against the common Enemy; but now their Numbers being increas'd, they ventur'd to spread themselves further into the Country, and the Government allotted to every one in each Family 20 Acres of Land, to be laid

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 W out five in length by the Water side, and four in Breadth.

THE *Dutch* had now perfected a Settlement on *Hudson's River*, and sent Letters about this Time to the Colony of *Plymouth*, to begin a Correspondence, and invite them to a Trade; some time after, they sent their Secretary Mr. *Isaac de Rosier*, with Letters and Goods; The Governour receiv'd him with all imaginable Civilities, and both Parties were pleas'd with the Exchange of their Merchandize; for the Secretary brought with him *Beaver*, and such like Commodities which they had bought of the Natives, and exchange'd 'em for Corn and Fish, which the Colony were at this Time very well provided with. This *Wampameag* as the *Indians* call it, was of vast Advantage to the Natives, for the *Europeans* were so fond of it, that they purchas'd it at any Rate the sale of this made them grow Rich and Powerful, and furnish'd them with all warlike Materials, as Guns, Powder, and Shot, whereby they became capable of making some kind of a stand against the Encroachments of the *English* upon their Religion and Country.

'TIS time now that we take some notice of the Religion of the Planters, for it may seem strange that Men that left their Native Country and afterwards ventur'd out into an uninhabited World, for the sake of a Church Discipline, which they apprehended more agreeable to the Word of God, than that which was practis'd in their own Country, should live so many Years without setting it up among themselves, Mr. *Brewster* indeed, who had been ruling Elder of the Church at *Leyden*, preach'd, and perform'd all other Offices of a Minister among them, except administering the Sacraments; besides this, they had Meetings on the Week Days, wherein some of the Elder Brethren pray'd, and expounded some Portion

Portion of Scripture to the Rest, but they did not enter into a Church Relation, because they liv'd in hope of their Reverend Pastor Mr. *Robinson*, and the rest of their Friends at *Leyden*, coming over to them; but when they heard of his Death, and the Dissolution of his Church, they began to look out for a Pastor; and one Mr. *Ralph Smith* coming over to *New England* about this time, was chosen and separated to that Office by fasting and Prayer, and the Imposition of the Hands of the Elders of the Church in the beginning of the Year 1629. I have already given the Reader an Account of Mr. *Robinson's* Sentiments in Religion, to which these Planters entirely agreed, I'll now add the Relation that the Worshipful *Edward Winslow*, Esq; some time Governour of the Colony has given of them.* “ He says, that they are of the same Faith with the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, except in the Article of Church Government, wherein they have endeavour'd a farther Reformation; He gives Instances of their admitting to Communion among them, the Communicants of the *French, Dutch, and Scotch* Churches, meerly by virtue of their being so, and says, We ever placed a large Difference between those that grounded their Practice on the Word of God, tho' differing from us in the Exposition and Understanding of it, and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Anti-christian Opposition to it, and Persecution of it. ----- 'Tis true we profess, and desire to practise a Separation from the World and the Works of it, and are willing to discern an Appearance of the Grace of God in all we admit to Church Fellowship, but

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* Mather *Book I.* p. 13.

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 “ do not renounce all other Churches; nay,
 “ if any joining to us formerly at *Leyden*, or
 “ here in *New England*, have with the Con-
 “ fession of their Faith, held forth an entire
 “ Separation from the Church of *England*, I have
 “ divers times heard either *Mr. Robinson* our
 “ Pastor, or *Mr. Brewster* our Elder, stop them
 “ forthwith; shewing them that we requir’d no
 “ such thing at their Hands, but only to hold
 “ forth Faith in Christ Jesus, Holiness in the
 “ Fear of God, and Submission to every Ordinance
 “ and Appointment of God.

’T is certain however, they were too much
 attached to some of the *Brownistical* Principles
 which *Mr. Robinson*, if he had liv’d, would have
 wean’d them from, and particularly to the *Preach-
 ings of the Gifted Brethren*; which they carried to
 such a Length, as not only to discourage, but to
 drive away a Regular and Learned Ministry
 which after some Years they were blest’d with
 for want of due Countenance, and Support; bu
 these and several other little Fancies, they ar
 now entirely free from, and are of one Heart
 and Soul with the rest of the Churches of *New
 England*.



C H A P. IV.

The State of Religion in England under the Administration of Arch-bishop Laud. The Rise of the Colony of the Massachuset Bay. Their Settlement at Salem. The Manner of their incorporating into a Church. The Hardships they suffer'd. The Foundation of the Town of Boston. The story of Sir Christopher Gardiner. Capt. Stone and Capt. Norton murder'd by the Indians. Of Mr. Roger Williams and his Opinions. The Beginning of Connecticut Settlement. The Council of England prohibit the Puritans transporting themselves into America without License from the King. The Beginning of Newhaven Settlement.

KING Charles the first being advanced to the Throne upon the Demise of his Father, committed the Government of the Church to Men of arbitrary Principles, who were more inclinable to an Union with the Church of *Rome*, than to promote an Agreement amongst Protestants. They were passionately fond of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and press'd the Observance of them with greater Rigour, than the Practice of Morality, or a good Life. Old A. B. Abbot was a Man of Temper and Moderation, but he fell into Disgrace with the Court, and at last by Letters Pa-

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tents,

Anno tents, bearing Date *Octob. 9th*, 1627. was sus-
1628 pended *ab Officio*, and a Commission was signed
 to the Bishops of *London, Durham, Rochester, Ox-*
ford, Bath and Wells, “to do, execute and per-
 “form all Acts, Matters and Things any way
 “touching or concerning the Power, Jurisdicti-
 “on, or Authority of the *Arch Bishop of Canter-*
 “*bury* in Causes or Matters Ecclesiastical.” The
 Bishop of *London* was *Dr. William Laud*, a great
 Patron of Learning, but one of the worst Poli-
 ticians that ever sat in Council; he push’d the
 King upon those violent Measures that rendred
 his Government unpopular, and by his intempe-
 rate Zeal in the Church ruined many good Peo-
 ple, and drove Thousands of the Kings best
 Subjects out of the Kingdom; his Design was to
 make the Religion of the Church of *England* as
 gay and splendid as that of *Rome*, and the Power
 of the Bishops, as absolute as that of the Pope
 and his Cardinals; the Ecclesiastical Commission
 Court, was a Protestant Court of Inquisition,
 wherein Men were fined, imprisoned, and ban-
 ished contrary to the Laws of the Land, according
 to the sovereign Will and Pleasure of the Bishops.*

SEVERAL Innovations were brought into
 the Church about this Time; the Communi-
 on Table which before stood in the Body of the
 Church, was order’d to be made in Form of an
 Altar, to be placed at the East End, and un-
 lighted Candles to be set upon it; the People
 were commanded to bow or do Reverence at first
 coming into the Church, or upon a nearer Ap-
 proach to the Holy Table; all Lectures on the
 Week Days, and Afternoon Sermons on the
 Lord’s Day, were suppressed, and in their Room,

* *Compleat Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 85.*

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Games and Sports were allowed, by the Royal Proclamation, with this very odd Exception, "that all known Recusants either Men or Women, that abstain from coming to Church or Divine Service, shall be debar'd the Benefit, and Liberty here granted." This Proclamation was ordered to be read in every Parish Church throughout *England* by the Minister of the Place, on Pain of Suspension or Deprivation. The laudable Design of buying up Improvements, and employing the Profits of them for the Maintenance of Lecturers and Preachers both in Town and Country was declared illegal; the Corporation engaged in this Design was dissolved, and the Fund and Stock adjudg'd to the King; this Corporation consisted of four Divines, namely, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibs, Mr. Offspring, and Mr. Davenport; four Lawyers, one of which was the Kings Serjeant at Law, and four Citizens, whereof one was the Lord Major of *London* himself; but the Bishop fearing it would promote the Growth of *Puritanism*, not only blew up the Design it self, but would have prosecuted the Managers of it in the Star Chamber if the Clamours of the People had not deterr'd him.*

THE Press was restrain'd, so that Nobody durst venture to debate the Authority of the Bishops, or dispute their Proceedings without running the Hazard of all that was dear to him in the World. *Alexander Leighton*, D. D. a bold *Scotch* Man ventur'd to publish a Book called *Zions Plea*, wherein according to the Custom of that Nation, he spoke too freely of the Queen and the Bishops, calling the Queen a *Daughter of Heth*, and the Bishops *Persecutors of God's People*.† For which he was sentenced in the

* Fuller, B. xi. p. 136. † Ludlow's Letter to Dr. Hollingsworth p. 22.

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Star-Chamber, after Degradation, to have his Nose slit, and his Ears cut off, to be branded in the Face, whip'd at a Post, to stand in the Pillory, to pay ten thousand Pounds Fine, and suffer perpetual Imprisonment; all which was executed in the most rigorous Manner: the Dr. lay in close Prison ten or eleven Years, till he was released by the Parliament in the Year 1640, and was then found to be in such deplorable Circumstances that he could neither walk, see, nor hear. Three parts in four of the Clergy of the Church of *England* in those times were *Calvinists*, but the favourite Bishops were *Arminians*, and prevailed with the King to publish a Proclamation, forbidding the Clergy to preach upon the five controverted Points of Divinity; so that if a *Calvinist* with never so much Modesty declared his Sentiments upon the Doctrines of Election, Predestination, &c. it was called a Contempt of his Majesty's Authority, whereas the *Arminians* were allowed to use the sharpest Invectives against their Adversaries, without the least Controul. It were endless to mention all the Encroachments that were made upon the Rights and Liberties of the People by the Court and the Bishops, in the twelve Years that run out between Dr. *Laud's* Advancement to the See of *London*, and his Confinement to the Tower.

BUT by this Specimen the Reader may see, how hard it must be for the *Puritans* of those times, who were all *Calvinists*, strict observers of the Lord's-Day, and Enemies to Popery, and all kinds of Licentiousness, to get their Bread in the Church with a good Conscience; neither Learning, nor Piety, nor Diligence and Success in the Work of the Ministry, nor any other Qualification could save a Man from Ruin, that scrupled Conformity to the Bishops Injunctions. The Articles exhibited against Dr. *Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*,
in

in the Year 1641, tell us, “ That during the ^{Ann}
 “ time of his being Bishop of *Norwich*, which ¹⁶²⁹
 “ was about two Years and a halt, there were
 “ for not reading the second Service at the Com-
 “ munion Table set Altarwise, for not reading
 “ the Book of Sports; for using conceived Prayer
 “ before and after Sermon, and for not observing
 “ some other illegal Innovations introduced by
 “ him and his Officers, above fifty godly,
 “ painful, preaching Ministers excommunica-
 “ ted, suspended, deprived, or otherwise cen-
 “ sured, in his Diocess to the undoing of
 “ many of them, their Wives and Children.”
 And not only the Clergy, but the Laity, it seems,
 felt the weight of the Bishops Displeasure, “ For
 “ (say the same Articles) by the same rigorous
 “ Proceedings, three Thousand of his Majesty’s
 “ Subjects, many of which used Trades, Spin-
 “ ning, Weaving, Knitting and making of Cloth,
 “ some of them setting hundreds of Poor on
 “ Work, have been forced to remove themselves,
 “ and their Families beyond Sea, to the great
 “ Detriment of the Trade of the Kingdom.” All
 the Bishops of the Court Party were equally
 severe against the Puritans; and it was the
 King’s Unhappiness to be governed by them:
 He put the Reins into their Hands, and they
 drove so furiously that the whole Nation groan’d
 under their Tyranny. The *Puritan* Clergy were
 neither suffer’d to live in the Kingdom, nor to go
 out of it, and many true Members of the Church
 that could not come up to the new Measures were
 severely punished in the spiritual Courts; till at
 last the very Name of a Bishop grew odious to
 the People, and when they could get rid of their
 Tyranny no other way, they were forced to
 draw their Swords in Defence of their Liberties,
 whereby the Kingdom was involved in all the
 Miseries of a Civil War.

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THIS being the melancholy State of Affairs, the Reverend Mr. *White*, Minister of *Dorchester*, encourag'd by the Success of the *Plimouth* Colony, projected a new Settlement in the *Massacuset Bay* as an *Asylum* for the silenced Ministers; he had prevailed with Mr. *Roger Conant* and some others to go over and make a Beginning as early as the Year 1625, but they could hardly maintain themselves, and were about to return, when they received Letters from Mr. *White* that if they would but wait a little longer, he would procure them a Patent, and send them over Friends, Goods, Provisions, and all things necessary for a Settlement. Accordingly the Council establish'd at *Plimouth* in the County of *Devon*, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of *New-England* in *America* did by their Deed indented under their Common Seal, bearing date the 19th

“ of *March* 1627, give, grant, bargain, sell, in-
 “ feoff, alien and confirm to Sir *Henry Roswell*,
 “ Sir *John Young*, Knights *Thomas Southcot*, *John*
 “ *Humphries*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whetcombe*,
 “ their Heirs and Assigns, and their Associates
 “ for ever, all that Part of *New-England* aforesaid,
 “ which lies and extends between a great River
 “ there, commonly called *Monomack*, alias *Meri-*
 “ *mack*, and a certain other River called *Charles*
 “ *River*, being in a Bottom of a certain Bay
 “ there commonly called *Massachusets*, alias *Mat-*
 “ *tachusets*, alias *Massatusetts* Bay, and also all and
 “ singular those Lands and Hereditaments what-
 “ soever, lying within the Space of three English
 “ Miles on the South Part of the said *Charles*
 “ *River*, or of any and every Part thereof, and
 “ also all and singular the Lands, and Heredi-
 “ taments whatsoever, lying, and being within
 “ the Space of three English Miles to the South-
 “ ward of the Southermost Part of the said Bay
 “ called *Massachusets*, and also all those Lands and

Heredi-

“ Hereditaments whatsoever, which lye within
 “ the Space of three English Miles to the North-
 “ ward of the said River called *Monomack* alias
 “ *Merimack*, or to the Northward of any and e-
 “ very Part thereof, and all Lands and Heredita-
 “ ments whatsoever lying within the Limits a-
 “ foresaid, *North* and *South*, in Latitude and in
 “ Breadth, and in Length, and Longitude, of
 “ and within all the Breadth afore said, through-
 “ out the main Lands there, from the Atlantick
 “ and Western Sea and Ocean on the East Part,
 “ to the South Sea on the West Part, and all the
 “ Lands and Grounds, Place and Places, Soil,
 “ Woods, and Wood-Grounds, Havens, Ports,
 “ Rivers, Waters, Fishings and Hereditaments
 “ whatsoever lying within the said Bounds and
 “ Limits, and every Part and Parcel thereof, and
 “ also all Islands lying in *America* afore said in the
 “ said Seas, or either of them on the Western or
 “ Eastern Coasts or Parts of the said Tracts of
 “ Land; and also all Mines and Minerals, as
 “ well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other
 “ Mines and Minerals whatsoever in the said
 “ Lands and Premises, or any part thereof, and
 “ all Jurisdiccions, Rights, Royalties, Liberties,
 “ Freedoms, Immunities, Privileges, Franchises,
 “ Preheminencies and Commodities whatsoever,
 “ which they the said Council establish’d at *Pli-*
 “ *mouth*, had or might use, exercise or enjoy, in
 “ or within the said Lands or Premises, &c. to
 “ be holden of his Majesty King *Charles* the
 “ First, his Heirs and Successors, as of his Man-
 “ nor of *East Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*,
 “ in free and common Soccage, and not *in Ca-*
 “ *pite*, nor by Knight’s Service, yielding and
 “ paying therefore to his said Majesty, his Heirs
 “ and Successors, the fifth Part of the Oar of
 “ Gold and Silver, which should from time to
 “ time, and at all times hereafter happen to be
 “ found,

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 “ found, gotten, had, and obtained in any of  
 “ the said Lands, within the said Limits, or in,  
 “ or within any Part thereof, for and in Satis-  
 “ faction of all Manner of Duties, Demands,  
 “ and Services whatsoever to be done, made,  
 “ or paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Suc-  
 “ cessors.”

BUT the Gentlemen mention'd in the Charter not being willing to embark alone in so great an Affair, engag'd several other Persons of Quality and Substance about the City of *London* to join with them; as *Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Adderly, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowel, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Tho. Goff, Tho. Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Tho. Hutchings, William Vassal, William Pinchon, and George Foxcraft*; and petition'd the King that their Names might be inserted in the Patent, as Original Proprietors, which was accordingly done in a new Draught of the former Patent, bearing Date the 4th of *March 1628*. By this Charter, the above-mention'd Gentlemen, and all that should hereafter join with them, were made a Body-Corporate and Politique, by the Name of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusetts-Bay in New-England*; they were empower'd Yearly to elect their own Governour, Deputy-Governour, and Magistrates, as also to make such Laws as they should think for the Good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*; free Liberty of Conscience was likewise granted to all that should settle in those Parts, to worship God in their own way.

As soon as the Company had received their Charter, they chose *Mr. Cradock* their Governour, and *Mr. Endicott* his Deputy; *Mr. Endicott* was sent over immediately with some Recruits to *Mr. Conant* and his Companions; to inform them



them of the State of Affairs, and of the Preparations that were making for sending over a larger Colony the next Year. Mr. *Endicott* found them reduced to very low Circumstances, and tho' the Supply he brought put some new Life into the Planters, yet was it of very little Service to them in their Settlement, because all the Passengers that came over with him fell sick of the Scurvy and other infectious Distempers, and many of them died; insomuch that he was obliged to send for Mr. *Fuller*, Physician to the Colony of *Plymouth*, who by the Blessing of God saved the Lives of many of them. Mr. *Fuller* staid with the little Colony all Winter, and when he return'd to *Plymouth* in the Spring, Mr. *Endicott* sent a most obliging Letter to Governour *Bradford*, dated from *Neumkeak*, May 11. 1629, wherein after Acknowledgments of his great Civility in sending Mr. *Fuller* to them in their Distress, he declares his Satisfaction in their Form of Church-Discipline, as explain'd by Mr. *Fuller*, and gives it as his Opinion, that it is grounded upon the Scriptures.

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THE Adventurers at *London* in the mean time made their Application to the Rev. Mr. *Higginson* a silenced Non-conformist Minister of *Leicestershire*, and the Rev. Mr. *Skelton* of *Lincolnshire* to be Chaplains to the grand Colony that was going over, and desired them to engage as many of their Friends as were fit for such an Undertaking to join with them; the Fleet consisted of six Sail of Ships, namely the *George Bonaventure* of 20 Guns; the *Talbot* of 19; the *Lyon's Whelp* of 8; the *Mayflower* of 14; the *Four Sisters* of 14; and the *Pilgrim* of 4 Guns. About 350 Passengers, Men, Women, and Children embarked aboard these Transports for the Plantation, with 115 Head of neat Cattle, such as Horses, Mares, Cows, &c. 41 Goats, some Conies, and all other Necessaries for

*Anno* for a Settlement; besides 6 Pieces of Cannon for a  
 1629 Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Drums, Colours,  
 and a large Quantity of Ammunition and Provi-  
 sion: The whole Fleet sailed from the Isle of  
*Wight*, May 1. 1629, and arrived at the Place  
 which Mr. *Conant* and the *Dorchester* Agents had  
 mark'd out for them, on the 24th of *June* follow-  
 ing; it was called by the Natives *Neumkeak*, but  
 the new Planters called it *Salem*, which in the  
*Hebrew* Language signifies *Peace*; from this small  
 Beginning is the *Massachuset* Province grown to  
 the Figure it now makes in the *American* World.

RELIGION being the chief Motive of their  
 coming over into these Parts, they resolved to  
 settle that in the first Place; accordingly with the  
 Approbation of the Worshipful *John Endicott*, Esq;  
 their Deputy-Governour, they consulted with  
 their Brethren at *Plymouth*; who informed them  
 of the Church-Order and Discipline which they  
 had set up, and of the Warrant they had for it,  
 in the Word of God; the new Planters after some  
 few Conferences, agreed with them, and appoint-  
 ed the 6th Day of *August* for the Erecting such a  
 Church among themselves; the Church at *Ply-  
 mouth* sent Messengers to be Witnesses of their  
 Proceedings, which were after this Manner. The  
 Day was spent in Fasting and Prayer; and 30  
 Persons who had desired to be of the Communion,  
 did then solemnly and severally, before the whole  
 Assembly, profess their Consent unto a Confession  
 of Faith, which Mr. *Higginson* had drawn up, and  
 given them Copies of some Days before for their  
 Perusal; after which they signed the following  
 Covenant, drawn up by the same Hand.

“ WE covenant with our Lord, and one with  
 “ another; we do bind\* ourselves in the Presence

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\* Mather, *Book I.* p. 18.

“ of God, to walk together in all his Ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his Blessed Word of Truth, and do explicitly in the Name and Fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth through the Power and Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ WE avouch the Lord to be our *God*, and ourselves to be his *People*, in the Truth and Simplicity of our Spirits.

“ WE give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Word of his Grace for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us in Matters of Worship, and Conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for Life and Glory, and to reject all contrary Ways, Canons, and Constitutions of Men in Worship.

“ WE promise to walk with our Brethren, with all Watchfulness and Tenderness, avoiding Jealousies, and Suspicions, Backbitings, Censurings, Provokings, secret Risings of Spirit against them; but in all Offences to follow the Rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us.

“ IN publick or private, we will willingly do nothing to the Offence of the Church, but will be willing to take Advice for ourselves, and ours, as Occasion shall be presented.

“ WE will not in the Congregation be forward, either to shew our own Gifts and Parts in speaking, or scrupling; or there discover the Weaknesses, or Failings of our Brethren, but attend an orderly Call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured; and his Gospel and the Profession of it slighted by our Distempers and Weaknesses in publick.

“ WE bind ourselves to study the Advancement of the Gospel in all Truth and Peace, both in Regard of those that are within or  
“ without,



Anno 1629 “ without, no Way slighting our Sister Churches  
 “ but using their Counsel as Need shall be, not  
 “ laying a Stumbling-Block before any, no not  
 “ the *Indians*, whose Good we desire to promote,  
 “ and so to converse, as we may avoid the very  
 “ Appearance of Evil.

“ WE do hereby promise to carry ourselves  
 “ in all lawful Obedience to those that are  
 “ over us in Church or Commonwealth, know-  
 “ ing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord,  
 “ that they should have Encouragement in their  
 “ Places by our not grieving their Spirits, thro’  
 “ our Irregularities.

“ WE resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord  
 “ in our particular Callings, shunning Idleness,  
 “ as the Bane of any State, nor will we deal  
 “ hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we  
 “ are the Lords Stewards.

“ PROMISING also to our best Ability, to teach  
 “ our Children, and Servants, the Knowldge of  
 “ God, and of his Will, that they may serve  
 “ him also; And all this not by any Strength  
 “ of our own, but by the Lord Christ, whose  
 “ Blood we desire may sprinkle this our Cove-  
 “ nant made in his Name”.

AFTER this they chose out from among them-  
 selves the Reverend Mr. *Skelton* for their Pastor,  
 Mr. *Higginson* their Teacher, and Mr. *Houghton*  
 their ruling Elder, who were separated to their  
 several Offices, by the Imposition of the Hands  
 of some of the Brethren appointed by the Church  
 to that Work. The Church being thus form’d,  
 several others were admitted into it; some  
 by expressing their Consent to Mr. *Higginson’s*  
 Confession of Faith and Covenant; others by  
 writing an Account of their Faith and Hope,  
 and others by making a verbal Declaration of it  
 before the Church, but none were admitted  
 without sufficient Testimonies of their sober  
 Lives

Lives and Conversations. The only Term of *Anno*  
 their Communion was ; *giving Satisfaction to* 1629  
*the Church concerning their Faith and Manners.* But  
 how this was to be done was left entirely to the  
 Direction of the *Elders.* They agreed with the  
 Church at *Plimouth,* *That the Children of the faith-*  
*ful are Church-Members with their Parents, and that*  
*their Baptism is a Seal of their being so:* Only  
 before their Admission to the Lord's Supper, they  
 were to be examined by the Officers of the  
 Church, and if they were tolerably acquainted  
 with the Principles of Religion, were free from  
 scandal, and willing publickly to own the Cove-  
 nant ; they were received. Accordingly Mr.  
*Jigginson's* eldest Son of about 15 or 16 Years  
 of Age, having been privately examined by the  
 Pastor Mr. *Skelton,* was presented to the Church,  
 and admitted into it.

SOME of the Passengers who came over with  
 these first Planters observing, that the Ministers  
 did not use the Book of *Common Prayer,* that they  
 administered Baptism and the Lord's Supper with-  
 out the Ceremonies ; that they refused to admit  
 disorderly Persons ; and resolved to use Discipline  
 against all scandalous Members of the Church,  
 set up a separate Assembly according to the  
 Usage of the Church of *England ;* of these Mr.  
*Samuel Browne,* and his Brother were the chief,  
 the one a *Lawyer,* and the other a *Merchant,* both  
 of them Men of Estates and Figure, and of the  
 Number of the first Patentees. The Governour  
 perceiving the Disturbance that was like to arise  
 on this Occasion, sent for the two Brothers, who  
 accused the *Ministers, as departing from the Order*  
*of the Church of England,* adding, *that they were*  
*Separatists, and would shortly be Anabaptists, but*  
*for themselves, they would hold to the Orders of the*  
*Church of England.* The Ministers replied, *That*  
*they were neither Separatists, nor Anabaptists, that*

Anno 1630 they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the Ordinances of God there, but only from the Corruptions and Disorders of that Church; that they came away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their Nonconformity in their native Land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their Liberty, they neither could, nor would use them; because they judged the Imposition of these Things to be sinful Corruptions of the Word of God. The Governour, the Council and the People generally approved of the Minister's Answer; but the two Brothers not being satisfied, and endeavouring to raise a Mutiny among the People, were sent back to *England* by the Return of the same Ships that brought them over.

THE first Winter after the Arrival of this Colony proved a very fatal one, for it carried off almost 100 of their Company, among whom was Mr. *Houghton* the ruling Elder of the Church and Mr. *Higginson* himself, who, not being capable of undergoing the Fatigues of a new Settlement, fell into a Hectic Fever, of which he lingered 'till Midsummer, and then died.

MR. *Francis Higginson*, M. A. was born in the Year 1587, and educated in *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge*, \* where he proceeded Master of Art and was afterwards chosen Minister of one of the five Parishes in *Leicester*: For some Years he was an exact Conformist to all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, but upon Acquaintance with Mr. *Hildersham* and Mr. *Hooke* he alter'd his Sentiments, and was deprived of his Living for Nonconformity, but by the countenance of Dr. *Williams* Bishop of the Diocese, he continued to preach a Lecture in the Town, 'till

\* *Mather* B. 3. p. 70.



Bishop *Laud* and his Party carried all before them. He was then informed against in the *High-Commission-Court*, and expected every Hour to be sent for up to appear before them, when he received an Invitation from the *Massachusetts-Company* to withdraw from the Storm, and settle in *New-England*; he lived there about 14 Months, and died of a *Hætic Fever* in the Month of *August*, 1630, in the 43d. Year of his Age. He was a good Scholar, of a sweet and affable Behaviour, and having a charming Voice, was one of the most acceptable, and popular Preachers in the Country. He left behind him two Sons, *Francis* and *John*, the last of which succeeded his Father in the Church of *Salem* in the Year 1659, and was alive there in the Year 1697, a most valuable and useful Minister of Christ, between 80 and 90 Years of Age. He has prefix'd an Attestation to *Dr. Cotton Mather's Church-History of New-England*, wherein there are these remarkable Words. "As for myself, having been by the Mercy of God now above 68 Years in *New-England*, and served the Lord and his People 60 Years in the Ministry of the Gospel, I may now say in my Old Age, I have seen all that the Lord has done for his People in *New-England*, and have known the beginning and progress of these Churches to this Day; and having read over much of this History, I cannot but in the Love and Fear of God bear Witness to the Truth of it, viz. that this present Church-History of *New-England* compiled by *Mr. Cotton Mather*, for the Substance, End and Scope of it is, as far as I have been acquainted therewithal, according to Truth." \*

\* Attestation to C. Mather's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 3.

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BUT the Governour and Company of the *Massachuset Bay* in *London* thinking it for the Advantage of the New Colony, that the Governour himself should reside among them, and Mr. *Cradock* not being willing to undertake the Voyage, they chose *John Winthrop*, Esq; Governour in his room, and Mr. *Thomas Dudley* his Deputy, with several other worthy Persons for their Council, who embark'd themselves and their Families for *New-England* with a Fleet of 10 Sail of Ships, whereof the Admiral was call'd the *Arabella*, in Honour of the Lady *Arabella Johnson*, who with her Husband *Isaac Johnson*, Esq; was on board of her: With these embark'd Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *John Venn*, Esqs; with several other Gentlemen and Ministers, and above 200 Passengers, whom the Heat of Persecution forced out of their Native Country. A few Days after their Embarkation a Paper was publish'd call'd, *The humble Request of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governour and Company lately gone for New-England, to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of Suspensions and Misconstructions of their Intentions.* Wherein they entreat their Reverend Fathers and Brethren of the Church of *England* to recommend them to the Mercies of God in their constant Prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own Bowels; " For you are not ignorant (*say they*) that the Spirit of God stirred up the " *Apostle Paul* to make a continual Mention of " the Church of *Philippi*, which was a Colony " from *Rome*: Let the same Spirit, we beseech " you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's " Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing. " And what Goodness you shall extend to us in " this, or any other christian Kindness, we your  
" Brethren

“ Brethren in Christ shall labour to repay in  
 “ what Duty we are, or shall be able to perform,  
 “ promising, so far as God shall enable us, to  
 “ give him no Rest on your Behalvs; wishing  
 “ our Heads and Hearts may be Fountains of  
 “ Tears for your everlasting Welfare, when we  
 “ shall be in our poor Cottages in the Wilder-  
 “ nefs, overshadow’d with the Spirit of Suppli-  
 “ cation, thro’ the manifold Necessities and Tri-  
 “ bulations, which may not altogether unexpect-  
 “ tedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us.”

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THE Fleet arriv’d at *Salem* in the Month of *July*, in a very sickly Condition; the Lady *Arabella Johnson* died soon after she came ashore, and her Husband follow’d her within a Month. The Planters divided themselves into two Bodies; one settled at a Place which they called *Charles-Town*, on the North Side of the River which goes by that Name, and incorporated themselves into a Church after the Manner of that of *Salem*, choosing the Reverend Mr. *Wilson* for their Pastor, who tho’ an ordained Minister of the Church of *England*, submitted to a Reordination by the Impolition of such Hands, as the Church invited to pray for a Blessing on his Labours; the other Body settled at a Place which they called *Dorchester*, about the bottom of the *Massachusetts Bay*, and chose the Reverend Mr. *John Wareham* their Minister; but afterwards upon a better Acquaintance with the Country, both these Ministers, and their Friends, changed their Situation for others, that were more commodious for Trade and Commerce.

GREAT were the Hardships that these new Planters were expos’d to, on their first Arrival in the Country! the Fatigues of the Voyage brought the Scurvy and other Distempers upon them, and when they came ashore, being forced to



ANNO  
1630 lie up and down in Booths and Tents expos'd to Wind and Weather, they died in great Numbers. In the first three Months, they buried above an hundred of their Company. Besides, in the Depth of Winter their Provisions fail'd, and tho' the Colony of *Plimouth* gave them all the Assistance they could, and the Governour divided out the publick Stores with the utmost Frugality, yet they were reduced to the last Extremity; when upon the 5th of *February* a Ship arrived from *England* with a Supply of fresh Provisions. Another thing that gave them no little Concern, was the *Fear* of the *Indians*, who threaten'd to drive them out of the Country; but the Small-Pox made such miserable Havock among them, that tho' the *English* gave them the best Assistance they could, yet nine Parts in ten died of it, and the Rest flying from the Infection, left the Country in a manner desolate. One Instance of the Civility and Justice of the Planters to them was this, that notwithstanding the Patent which they had for the Country from the Crown of *England*, they fairly purchased of the Natives, \* the several Tracts of Land which they afterwards possessed.

TOWARDS the latter End of the Year a Part of the Colony of *Charles Town* removed to a *Peninsula*, which lies in the very Bottom of the *Massachusetts Bay*, and is the most commodiously situated for Trade and Commerce of any Place in the Country. Here they built the Town of *BOSTON*, now the Metropolis of the whole Province, after they had given Satisfaction to the Reverend Mr. *Blackston*, an Episcopal Minister, who happening to sleep first in an Hovel on this Point of Land, claim'd a Pro-

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\* C. Mather, *B. I.* p. 22.

priety in the whole Peninsula; this Man, says *Dr. Mather*, was of a particular Humour, and would never join himself to any of the *New-England Churches*, giving this Reason for it, that *as he came from England, because he did not like the Lord Bishops, so he could not join with them, because he would not be under the Lord Brethren.* Here they erected a *Church* under the Pastoral Care of the Reverend *Mr. Wilson* who supported his Character among them with universal Esteem and Approbation for almost forty Years.

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THE next Summer several Ships and Passengers came over from *England*, amongst whom was the famous *Mr. John Eliot*, who spent his first Year at *Boston*, and then settled with his Friends at *Roxbury*. He was the Apostle of the *Indians*, being one of the first that preached the Gospel among them, and lived to see the Success of his Labours in the Conversion of many Thousands of them to Christianity.

THE following Spring the Governour and his Pastor, *Mr. Wilson*, travelled on Foot forty Miles thro' the Woods as far as *Plimouth*, to settle a Correspondence between the two Colonies, for in those early Days, they had not their *Agents* and *Attendants*, as at present, the Governour of *Plimouth* received them with great Honour and Respect, and a lasting friendship was establish'd between them. About the same time came over one *Sir Christopher Gardiner*, a Knight of *Jerusalem*, and of the Family of the famous Bishop of that Name in *Q. Mary's* Reign. \* He was a Citizen of the World, pretending he had travelled over the greatest Part of it, and came now to *New-England* to spend the rest of his Days in retirement, he brought over with him a Servant

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or two, and a pretty young Woman, whom he called his Cousin; he went for a *Puritan*, but was in reality a *Roman Catholick*, and having been guilty of some Misdemeanours soon after his Arrival, he fled from Justice and took Sanctuary among the *Indians* of *Plimouth Colony*: The Governour of the *Massachusetts*, publish'd a Proclamation, promising a Reward to those that should Apprehend him; the *Indians* hereupon came to the Governour of *Plimouth*, and ask'd if they might kill him; he told them no, but if they could take him alive, they should have the Reward: Some time after they found him by the River side, and would have laid hold on him, but he got into a Canoe, and putting off from the Shore presented his Piece at them; but the Stream driving the Canoe against a Rock plung'd him over Head and Ears in the Water; the *Knight* however made a shift to get ashore and defend himself with his *Sword*, till the *Indians* had so bruised and beat him with their long Poles, that he could hold it in his Hand no longer; he then yielded, and was brought to *Plimouth*, and put into a Surgeons Hands for the Cure of his Wounds. The Servant who made his Bed found a little Pocket Book under his Pillow, in which was a *Memorandum*, what Date he was reconciled to the *Church of Rome*, and in what University, he took his *Scapula* and his Degrees. From *Plimouth* he was sent to the Governour of the *Massachusetts*, who inflict'd no other Punishment upon him than the sending him back to *England*; but when he came thither, he rail'd bitterly against the Plantation, complaining of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Proceedings of the Governour against himself, and others of his Majesty's faithful Subjects; and join'd with Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Capt. *Mason*, &c. in a Petition to the King against them: The Cause was

heard



heard before the Privy Council; but the Petitioners not being able to make good their Allegations, and many of the principal Adventurers appearing in favour of the Plantation, the Council reprimanded the Petitioners, and published the following Order, for the Encouragement of the Adventurers.

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*At the Court at Whitehall, January 19. 1632.*

*Sigillum Crescent,*

*Lord Privy Seal,*

*Earl of Dorset,*

*Lord Viscount Falkland,*

*Lord Bishop of London.*

*Lord Cottingham.*

*Mr. Trevers,*

*Mr. Vice Chamberlain,*

*Mr. Secretary Cook,*

*Mr. Secretary Windebank.*

“ WHEREAS his Majesty hath lately been  
 “ informed of great Distraction and much Dis-  
 “ order, in the Plantations in the Parts of *A-*  
 “ *merica* call’d *New-England*, which if they be  
 “ true, and suffer’d to run on, would tend to the  
 “ Dishonour of the Kingdom and utter Ruin of  
 “ that Plantation, for Prevention whereof, and  
 “ for the orderly settling Government, ac-  
 “ cording to the Intention of those Patents,  
 “ which have been granted by his Majesty, and  
 “ from his late Royal Father King *James*: It  
 “ hath pleased his Majesty that the Lords and  
 “ Others of his most honoured Privy Council  
 “ should take the same into Consideration: Their  
 “ Lordships in the first Place thought fit to make  
 “ a Committee of this Board to take Examina-  
 “ tion of the Matters informed; which Com-  
 “ mittee having called divers of the principal  
 “ *Adventurers* in that Plantation, and heard those  
 “ that are *Complainants* against them, most of the  
 “ Things informed being denied, and resting to  
 “ be proved by Parties, that must be called from  
 “ that

Anno 1633 “ that Place, which required a long Expence of  
 “ Time; and their Lordship’s finding, They  
 “ were upon dispatch of Men, Victuals, and  
 “ Merchandife for that Place, all which would  
 “ be at a stand, if the Adventurers, should have  
 “ Discouragement, or take Suspicion that the  
 “ State here had no good Opinion of that Plan-  
 “ tation; their Lordships not laying the Faults  
 “ or Fancies (if any be) of some particular  
 “ Men upon the General Government, or prin-  
 “ cipal Adventures, which in due time is further  
 “ to be enquired into, have thought fit in the  
 “ mean time to declare, that the Appearances  
 “ were so fair, and Hopes so great, that the  
 “ Country would prove both beneficial to this  
 “ Kingdom, and profitable to the Particulars,  
 “ as that the Adventurers had cause to go on  
 “ cheerfully with their Undertakings, and rest  
 “ assured, if things were carried, as was pre-  
 “ tended, when the *Patents* were granted, and  
 “ accordingly as by the *Patents* it is appointed,  
 “ his Majesty would not only maintain the Li-  
 “ berties and Privileges heretofore granted, but  
 “ supply any thing farther that might tend to the  
 “ good Government, Prosperity, and Comfort of  
 “ his People there, of that Place, &c.

*William Tromball.*

IN the Fleet mentioned in this Order, there came over three famous Nonconformist Ministers, the Reverend Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, and Mr. *Samuel Stone*, Mr. *Cotton’s* Wife was brought to Bed of a Son, while they were out at Sea, whom he called *Sea-born*, in Memory of the Place of his Nativity; He was afterwards a famous Minister in *New-England*. Mr. *Cotton* upon his Arrival was immediately chosen Assistant to Mr. *Wilson* at *Boston*, and continued with him till his Death. Mr. *Hocker* was chosen

chosen Pastor of a Church at *New Town* about three Miles from *Boston*, since known by the Name of *Cambridge*, where some of his Friends had begun a Settlement the last Year; and Mr. *Stone* was his Assistant; the Fame of these Men's Settling in *New-England* invited over vast Numbers of *Puritans*, who could not be easy under Archbishop *Laud's* severe Administration; inso-much, that for several Years, hardly a Vessel came into these Parts but was crowded with Passengers for *New-England*.

THE Summer proving very hot produced a sort of malignant Fever in the Colony of *Plimouth*, of which many fell sick, and above twenty died, among whom was the Excellent Mr. *Samuel Fuller*, the only Physician, and Surgeon of the Place; he was a good Man, and very successful in his Profession, which made his Loss so much the greater. The *Indians* suffered extremely by the *Fever*, for want of Medicines, and other Conveniences.

BUT the next Summer the small Pox prov'd more fatal to them, a Disease which the *Indians* dread more than the Plague itself, and not without Reason; for they are usually very full of *them*, and for want of Beds, Linnen, and other Necessaries, they fall into a most lamentable and loathsome Condition; for having nothing but hard Matts to lye upon, when the Pustles break they stick to the Matt, and every time they turn themselves, some of their Skin fleas of, till at length they are all of a gore Blood, and then being sore, they catch cold, and dye like rotten Sheep.

THE *Indians* on the Borders murdered several of the *Englsh* this Summer; \* Captain *Stone*

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\* *New-England Memor.* p. 92.



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w and Captain *Norton*, sailing in a small Barque from *New-England* to *Virginia*, went in at *Connecticut* River where the *Indians* surpriz'd, and murdered them in the Night. *Stone* was killed as he lay asleep in the Cabbin, but *Norton* made a long and noble Defence in the Cook Room, till the Powder which he had set before him in an open Vessel, blew up and put out his Eyes, he was then killed with the rest of the Crew which were six Men, and the Goods were sold to the *Pequots*. The *Pequots* had the Assurance to vindicate this piece of Barbarity, alleging that the *Indians* did it in their own Defence, the *Captain* having seized two of their Men, and obliged them to pilot him up the River against their Wills; That, in order to rescue their Men, they ordered nine of their Company to watch the Barque, who observing, the *Captain* to go ashore with two of his Men, surprized them in the Night, and killed them in their sleep; then going to the Barque, by an unknown Accident it blew up, and was Burnt. But there is little Credit to be given to this Relation, for 'tis not likely that the *Captains*, and their Crew would lye ashore all Night in an Enemies Country, nor that the *Barque* should blow up, without being attacked; the *Pequots* however kept the *Goods*, but paid dear for them at last.

ON the second of *August*, the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Skelton*, first Pastor of the Church at *Salem* died; He had been persecuted out of *Lincolnshire* for Nonconformity, to the Church of *England*; which enclined him to engage with the *Massachuset* Planters; he came over accordingly with Mr. *Higginson*, in the Year 1630, and served the Church of *Salem* with Faithfulness, and Integrity till he died. Mr. *Roger Williams* was chosen to succeed him, a rigid *Brownist*, precise, unchari-

uncharitable,\* and of such turbulent, and boisterous Passions, as had like to have put the whole Country into a Flame; he came over to *New-England* in the Year 1630, and had been join'd immediately with Mr. *Skelton*, if the Civil Magistrate had not interposed, whereupon he retir'd in disgust to *Plimouth*, and assisted Mr. *Smith*, Pastor of that Church for two Years, but not being easy in that Place, he desired his Dismission, and returned to *Salem*; he preached to the People all the time of Mr. *Skelton's* Sickness, and insinuated himself so far into their Affections, by his vehement Manner of Delivery, that they chose him Pastor after the others Death: Being settled in the Church he began to vent his singular Notions, as, that *it was not lawful for an unregenerate Man to pray, nor for good Men to join in family Prayer with those, they judged unregenerate. That it was not lawful to take an Oath to the civil Magistrate, and therefore when the Oath of Allegiance was tendred him, he refused it, and advised his Church to do so too. That, the Patent which they had for their Lands from King Charles was invalid, and an Instrument of Injustice, which they ought to renounce, being injurious to the Natives; the King of England having no Power to dispose of their Lands to his own Subjects. That the Magistrates had nothing to do with Matters of the first Table, but only the second, that therefore there should be a general, and unlimited Toleration for all Religions, and to punish Men for Matters of Conscience was Persecution.* But tho' Mr. *Williams* was so large and generous in the Principles of Toleration, yet he was so precise in his own Conduct, as to deny all Communion with those that were not exactly of his own Standard; he forbid the Members of

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\* Mather Book 7. page 7.

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his Church at *Salem*, to communicate occasionally with the Church at *Boston*, and because they would not agree to it, he withdrew from them, and set up a separate Meeting in his own House, to which many of his zealous Admirers resorted. The Ministers of the other Churches took a great deal of Pains, to convince him of his Errors, but to no Purpose; whereupon the *Magistrates* interpos'd, and banished him the *Massachuset Colony*, as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth. I'll give the Reader but one Example of the seditious Tendency of Mr. *Williams's* Principles. and the Influence they had on the publick Peace: \* One of his Admirers in the Heat of his Zeal against Superstition, by his own Authority cut the Red Cross out of the King's Colours, for which he was reprimanded by the Government, turn'd out of his Place, and disabled from bearing any Office in the State for one Year; but tho' the Action of tearing the Colours in that publick Manner was universally disapprov'd, as riotous and seditious, yet the People began to be divided in their Opinions concerning the Lawfulness of the Cross in the Banner, nay, the Controversy got into the Press, several learned Treaties being writ on both sides; but the worst of all was, that the Trained Bands were divided, some refusing to follow the Colours which had a Cross, lest they should do Honour to an Idol; others complying with it, lest they should seem to cast off their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*. But to make all sides easy it was agreed at last that the Cross should be kept in the Banners of Castles and Ships, where it was necessary; but in the Banners of the *trained Bands* it was generally omitted, till it was very lately

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\* Mather, *Book 7. page 11.*



introduced. Sentence of Banishment being read Anno against Mr. *Williams*, the whole Town of *Salem* 1634 was in an uproar; for such was the Popularity of the Man, and such the Compassion of the People, occasion'd by his Followers raising a Cry of Persecution against him, that he would have carried off the greatest part of the Inhabitants of the Town, if the Ministers of *Boston* had not interposed, by sending an Admonition to the Church of *Salem*, with a Confutation in writing of Mr. *Williams's* Errors, shewing their Tendency to disturb the publick Peace both in Church and State; by this means the greatest Part of the People were satisfied, or content at least to abandon their dear Mr. *Williams*, to whose Opinions and Doctrines they were but too much devoted.

BUT after all a considerable Number of his Friends resolved to hazard their Lives and Fortunes with him; with these he travelled towards the South, and settled at a Place without the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, which they called *Providence*; here they incorporated into a Church, but proceeding from one Whimzy to another, they soon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy till at last Religion it self grew into Contempt, and the publick Worship of God was generally neglected.

MR. *Williams* lived in these Parts above forty Years afterwards, and acquitted himself so well in many Things, that he regained the good Opinion of his Countrymen, and held a Correspondence with many worthy Persons in the Colony from whence he had been banished; he was recommended to the Favour of the *Massachusetts* Government by some of the *English Nobility*, but they could not be prevailed with to take off the Sentence against him; he writ very handsomely against the Principles and Practices of the *Quakers*, and was very diligent in Converting the

*Anno* the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood, of whose  
 1634 Manners, Customs and Languages, he published  
 an Account; he was very serviceable, in obtain-  
 ing a *Charter* for the Government of *Rhode-Island*,  
 which was in the Neighbourhood of his Town  
 of *Providence*, and was sometimes chosen their  
 Governour: In a Word, if he had never dabled  
 in Divinity, he would have been esteemed a great  
 and useful Man.

A Fleet of no less than 20 Sail of Merchant-  
 Men arrived at *New-England* this Summer with  
 Goods and Passengers for the Plantation, amongst  
 whom was Mr. *Henry Vane*, afterwards Sir *Henry*  
*Vane*, Jun. a warm, hot-headed young Gentle-  
 man, whose Zeal for pure Religion made him  
 desirous to come into these parts, his Father  
 was against his making the Voyage; but the  
 King being informed of his Son's Inclinations,  
 obliged him to consent to it for three Years:  
 His Design was to have begun a Settlement  
 upon the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, but  
 the people upon his Arrival complimenting him,  
 with the Government of the *Massachusetts* for the  
 next Year, he resolved to stay among them; he  
 was no sooner advanced to the Government, but  
 he appeared to be a person of no conduct, and  
 no Ways equal to the post he was preferred to;  
 being a strong Enthusiast, he openly espoused  
 the *Antinomian* Doctrines, and gave such Encou-  
 ragement to the Preachers and Spreaders of  
 them; as rais'd their Vanity, and gave them  
 such an Interest among the People, as the very  
 next Year had like to have prov'd fatal both to  
 the Church and Commonwealth; but the sober  
 Party observing his conduct, concerted such  
 Measures among themselves, as put an End to  
 his Government the next Election.

“ MR. *Vane's* Election (says a new *English*  
 “ Manuscript) will remain a Blemish to their  
 “ Judg-

“ Judgments \* who did elect him, while *New-England* remains a Nation; for coming from *England* a young unexperienc’d Gentleman, by the Industry of some who thought to make a Tool of him, he was elected Governour, and before he was scarce warm in his Seat fell in with the Sectaries, and sacrificed the Peace of the State to them, thereby leaving us a *Caveat*, that all good Men are not fit for Government.”

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Some Time after he return’d privately to *England*, and was chosen a Member of the Long Parliament, and being an active Statesman in those Times, and an Enemy to all Sorts of Monarchy, he was excepted out of the King’s Pardon, and executed as a Traitor, *June 14, 1662*, about the 50th Year of his Age. *Dr. Kennet* Bishop of *Peterborough* says, *He submitted to the Block in a very discomposed Manner* †, but if this were true, the Treatment he met with on the Scaffold was enough to have discomposed a Man of better Principles than his, for as soon as he began to speak, the Drums and Trumpets were order’d to drown his Voice with their Noise, and the Sheriff offer’d to snatch his Papers out of his Hands, but he tore them in Pieces, and according to the Report of some that were present at his Execution, and those none of his Friends neither, he dyed like a *Roman*, with the utmost Bravery and Resolution.

IN the same Fleet with *Mr. Vane* came over the Reverend *Mr. Avery*, who upon his Arrival was invited to *Marble-Head*; but there being no Church form’d in the place, he declined the Invitation, and went to *Newbury*, but the Magistrates urging the common Good, he at last consented; and embarked with *Mr. Thacher*, and

\* *Mather Book 3. p. 77.*

† *Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. p. 298.*



*Anno* about 23 more in a Pinnace for *Marble-Head*; *1635* upon the 14th of *August* as he was on his Voyage, there arose as great a Storm as ever was known in those parts of the World, which drove the Pinnace upon a Rock, and tore it in such a manner that it was, in an Instant half full of Water, and in a very few minutes shatter'd all to pieces; all the company got upon the Rock, but were successively wash'd off and drowned, except Mr. *Thacher* and his Wife; Mr. *Avery* and Mr. *Thacher* held one another by the Hand, resolving to dye together; Mr. *Avery* was wash'd off by the next Wave and drowned, Mr. *Thacher* soon after followed him, but by another Wave was thrown ashore very much bruised; and found his Wife a Sharer in the like Deliverance; the Island was from hence called *Thacher's Woe*, and the Rock, *Avery's Fall*.

At the same Time came over the Reverend Mr. *Richard Mather*, Grand-father of Dr. *Cotton Mather*, at present the worthy Pastor of the North Church in *Boston*; he succeeded Mr. *Warham* at *Dorchester* in the Year 1636, and continued there a Blessing to all the *New-England* Churches, for above 34 Years.

THE *Indians* on the Borders still continued their Excursions against the *English*, they surpris'd a Bark about this Time sailing from the *Massachuset-Bay*, to the Southward, which by Strefs of Weather was drove ashore at *Long Island*, and plunder'd it, killed several of the Sailors, and then retired into the Woods.

*1636* A Project having been formed the last Year for making a Settlement on the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, as well to give a check to the Insolence of the *Pequot Indians*, as to enlarge the *English* Frontiers; Agents were sent to view the Country, who made such an advantagious Report of the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and

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Largeness of the River, as made many of the Planters belonging to the Towns of *New Town*, *Dorchester*, *Water Town*, and *Roxbury*, who began to be straightned for Room, entertain Thoughts of transplanting themselves thither. Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Minister of *New Town*, put himself at the Head of these new Adventurers, who were about 100 in Number; they set out in the Month of *June*, and travelling on Foot, with their Children and Baggage about 9 or 10 Miles a Day, they arrived at the Banks of the River *Connecticut* in somewhat less than a Fortnight; they pitch'd on the further side of the River, and began a Town which they called *Hertford*; after these, another Detachment went from *Dorchester*, and built a little Town which they called *Windsor*; a third Party went from *Water-Town*, and built *Weathersfield*; and a fourth from *Roxbury*, and built *Springfield*. They had agreed to be supplied with Provisions for the first Year from the *Bay*, but the Weather coming in very hard on a sudden, the Vessel which was freighted with their Provisions was frozen up at the Mouth of the River 60 Miles below the Plantation, by which means they were expos'd to inconceivable Hardships. Many of them travell'd back to the Bay in the Depth of Winter, and others who attempted it, were frozen to Death by the Way; but the greatest part of them had Courage enough to maintain their Ground in Defiance of those two great Enemies of Mankind, Hunger and Cold, The next Spring they carried on their Plantations with such Success, that they were not only in a capacity of subsisting themselves, but of making Head against their Enemies. They had a Sort of Commission from the Government of the *Massachuset-Bay*, for the Administration of Justice 'till they could come to a more orderly Settlement; but finding themselves

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*Anno*  
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without the Limits of *their* Jurisdiction, they enter'd into a Voluntary Association, chusing Magistrates, and making Laws for themselves, after the Example of the Colony from whence they issued. Thus they continued until the Restoration of K. *Charles II.* when by the Industry and Application of Mr. *John Winthrop, jun.* they obtained as ample a Charter, as was ever enjoyed by any People.

SOME few Years after the Beginning of this Settlement *George Fenwick, Esq;* was sent to *New-England*, on Account of several Persons of Quality, who had bought of the Lord *Say* and *Brook* some Lands on the Banks of the River which ran thro' *Connecticut-Colony.* The Lord *Say* and *Brook's* Title to that Territory came by a Grant from *Robert Earl of Warwick*, to whom K. *Charles* about the Year 1630, made a Grant of all that Part of *New-England*, which lyes and extends itself from a River called *Narrhaganset*, for the Space of 40 Leagues upon a strait Line near the Sea-Shore towards the South-West, and by South or West, as the Coast lyes towards *Virginia*, accounting 3 *English* Miles to the League; and also all and singular the Lands, and Hereditaments lying and being within the Lands aforesaid, North and South, in Latitude and Breadth; and in Length and Longitude of, and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout the main Lands there, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea, and all Lands, &c. which Grant the Earl of *Warwick* made over to *William Viscount Say and Seal, Robert Lord Brooks, Robert Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Esq;* Sir *Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, Esq;* *John Pym, Esq;* *John Hampden, Esq;* *John Humphry, Esq;* and *Herbert Pelham, Esq;* as appears by a Copy of the Patent bearing Date, *Anno* 1631. Which I mention the rather, because it



confirms what has been reported by several Hi-  
storians, that Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pel-*  
*ham*, and other great Men in the Long Parlia-  
ment, were about to remove to *New-England*  
before the Alterations which happened at home  
kept them here. \*

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MR. *Fenwick* seated himself at the Mouth of the  
River, and built the Town called *Say-Brook*.  
*John Winthrop*, Esq; assisted him in his Under-  
taking, and had thoughts of settling there him-  
self; to which End he obtained a Grant of  
some of the Land, but neither he, nor Mr. *Fen-*  
*wick* finding the Encouragement they expected,  
by consent of their *Principals*, they sold all their  
Right and Title to their Land to the Colony of  
*Connecticut*, who were the more willing to pur-  
chase it, because they had no manner of legal  
Title, as yet, to any of the Lands they possess'd  
without the Line of the *Massachusetts* Charter.

THE *Pequot* Indians gave the new Planters all  
the Disturbance they could, which obliged them  
to keep together in a Body for their Defence;  
the *Indians* however picked up several Straglers,  
as they were going about their Business, and  
put them to the most cruel and barbarous Death,  
bidding them in their Torments call upon their  
God to deliver them. Mr. *John Oldham*, an In-  
habitant of the *Massachusetts*, going into those  
parts with a small trading Vessel slenderly man-  
ned, they pick'd a Quarrel with him on some  
slender Pretence, seized his Vessel, and cut off  
his Head with a Hatchet, at a Place which the  
*Indians* call *Manisses*, but the *English*, *Block-Island*;  
*Oldham* was a brave Man, and would have de-  
fended himself, if his Men would have stood by  
him, but being overpowered with Numbers, he  
was forced to submit to the Death they in-

\* Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. Vo. 1. in Pref. p. 12.

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slicted upon him; but it was not long before the *Massachusetts* revenged his Murder upon the whole *Pequot* Nation, as the Reader will see in the next Chapter.

THE State of Religion in *England* was still growing worse and worse; for the Arch-Bishop prosecuted the *Puritans* with the utmost Rigour, oppressing them in all Quarters of the Land, and encouraging the Scum of the People to turn Informers against them; if a sober conscientious Minister ventured to reprove one of his Parishioners for Drunkenness; or refused him the Sacrament, he was certainly sent for up into the Ecclesiastical Court, and deprived of his Living, himself imprisoned, and his Family ruined. Men were not suffered to complain, nor publish their Hardships to the World; to express ones Fears of the Growth of Popery, to censure the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, nay, to pity the Sufferers was an unpardonable Crime. The Sufferings of *Dr. Bastwick*, *Burton* and *Prynne* this very Year are a proof of this; they were tried in the *Star-Chamber*, for publishing Libellous Books against the Hierarchy of the Church, and because the Defendant's Council would not sign the Answer which they had drawn up, the Court would not receive them, but order'd each Person to be proceeded against *pro Confesso*: The Sentence of the Court was 500 *l.* upon each Delinquent to the King, standing in the Pillory with the Loss of Ears, and the very Remainder of Ears, after which they were committed close Prisoners to several remote Islands, no Access of Friends being allowed them.

THE Ecclesiastical Authority being screwed up to such a Height, and the *Point* of it directed chiefly against the *Puritans*, 'tis no Wonder that vast Numbers, both Ministers and People, transported themselves to *New-England*,

'till

'till the Government at length took Umbrage at it, and published a *Proclamation* bearing Date *April* the 30th, \* “ To restrain the disorderly  
 “ Transporting of his Majesty’s Subjects to the  
 “ Plantations in *America* without a Licence  
 “ from his Majesty’s Commissioners, *because of the*  
 “ *many idle and refractory Humours, whose only or*  
 “ *principal End was to live without the Reach of*  
 “ *Authority*”. And the next Day an Order was  
 made in Council, “ That the Lord Treasurer  
 “ of *England* should take speedy and effectual  
 “ Course for the Stay of 8 Ships now in the  
 “ River of *Thames* prepared to go for *New-*  
 “ *England*, and should likewise give Order for  
 “ the putting on Land all the Passengers and  
 “ Provisions therein intended for the Voyage.”

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In these Ships were † Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir  
*William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Mr. *John*  
*Hampden*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, who with several  
 other Gentlemen were removing to *New-En-*  
*gland*; and because several of the Clergy under  
 Ecclesiastical Censures were willing to accept  
 of the same Protection and Refuge, therefore an-  
 other Order of Council was directed to the  
 Lord Admiral, “ To stop all Ministers uncon-  
 “ formable to the Discipline and Ceremonies of  
 “ the Church, who frequently transport them-  
 “ selves to the *Summer Islands*, and other his  
 “ Majesty’s Plantations abroad; and that no  
 “ Clergyman should be suffered to go over with-  
 “ out Approbation, of the Lords Arch-Bishop  
 “ of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London*.” So that  
 here was a double persecution of the *Puritans*;  
 they were not suffer’d to live at home, nor yet  
 to seek Peace and Refuge abroad; when *Lewis*

\* *Compleat Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. p. 83.

† *Mather Book L* p. 23.



*Ann*o the *Fourteenth* King of *France* repeal'd the Edict of *Nants*, he allow'd his Protestant Subjects a Time to go into Banishment, and shelter themselves among those that would receive them; but the Archbishop's Zeal carried him farther, for he would neither let those poor People, that were so unhappy as to differ from him in a few Rites and Ceremonies of human Institution, live in the Kingdom, nor out of it.

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BUT notwithstanding the watchful Eye of the Government, so many Passengers transported themselves and Families to *New-England* this Summer, as over-stock'd the *Bay*, and produced a fourth Grand Settlement on the South West Parts of *Connecticut* River. The Leaders of this Colony were *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; and the Reverend Mr. *John Davenport*, who came over with a very great Retinue of Acquaintance and Followers. The *Massachusetts* would fain have persuaded them to settle in the *Bay*; but they being inform'd of a large Bay to the South West of *Connecticut* River, commodious for Trade, and capable to entertain those that were to follow them, purchas'd of the Natives all the Land that lies between that River and *Hudson's* River, which divides the Southern Parts of *New-England* from *New-York*, and remov'd thither towards the latter End of the Summer. They seated themselves in the Bay, and spread along the Coast, where they built first the Town of *Newhaven*, which gives Name to the Colony; and then the Towns of *Guilford*, *Milford*, *Stamford* and *Brainford*. After some time they cross'd the Bay, and made several Settlements in *Long-Island*, erecting Churches in all Places where they came, after the *Independent* Form, of which Mr. *Davenport* was a very Great Patron: But the *Newhaven* Colony lay under the same Disadvantage with *Connecticut* as to a Charter; they were without  
the

the *Massachuset* Jurisdiction, and were therefore under no Government, nor had any other Title to their Lands, but what they had from the Natives. They entred therefore into a Voluntary Combination, and formed themselves into a Body politick, after the manner of those of *Connecticut*. Thus they continued 'till the Year 1664, when K. *Charles II.* united the Two Colonies; and by a Charter settled their Liberties on a solid Foundation.

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WHILE the South West parts of *New-England* were thus filling with Inhabitants, the North East Parts of the Country were not neglected. There were ample Regions on this side, beyond the *Line* of the *Massachuset*-Patent, where new Settlements were attempted by some that were made uneasy under the *Massachuset* Government, in the Time of their *Antinomian* Quarrels, and by others that had no other View but enriching themselves by the Fishing Trade at Sea, and the Beaver Trade ashore; thus were the Provinces of *East Hampshire* and *Main* peopled, and continued a separate Government, 'till being wearied out with Quarrels and Divisions among themselves, they petition'd the General Court of the *Massachuset-Bay* to be taken under their Protection, and were accordingly received.

THUS we have given the Reader an Account of the Rise of the four Settlements that were made in *New-England* within the compass of 17 Years; there was another small one made some Time after in *Rhode-Island* upon the Borders of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, by the *Antinomians* that were banished from the *Massachuset-Bay*, who obtained a *Charter* for themselves upon the Restoration of K. *Charles II.* and are still a distinct Government from the *Massachusetts*, but as the Limits of their Country are very narrow, they have no Influence upon the publick Affairs of the Province.

SOME

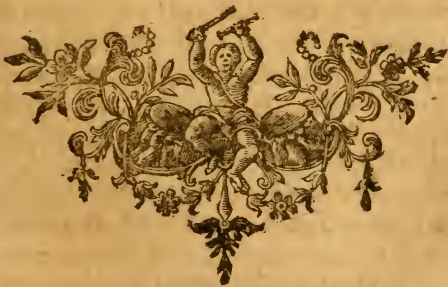
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 SOME of the good People of *New-England* have condemned these Settlements, as contrary to the Law of Nature ; no foreign Prince having a Right to dispose of a Country already inhabited to his own Subjects, nor to give a Commission to drive the Natives out of their Possessions, without a previous Forfeiture : \* But in Answer to this, the *New-England* Gentlemen have declared, that their Entrance upon the Land was not with Violence and Intrusion, but free and fair, with the consent and allowance of the People ; the chief *Sagamores* of all that part of the Country entertaining them heartily, and professing, they were all very welcome ; that none of the *English* were suffer'd to take an Acre of Land from the Natives, without giving them Satisfaction for it. Dr. *Mather* adds, That the *English* did not claim one Foot of Ground in the Country 'till they had fairly purchased it of the Natives ; nay, so cautious were they, of doing them any Injustice, that after some Time, they made a Law, that none should purchase or receive any Lands of the *Indians*, without Allowance of the Court ; and some Lands which lay convenient for the *Indians*, they made a Law, should never be purchased out of their Hands. It was further Enacted, That if any *Indian* should be civilized, and desire to live among the *English*, he should have an Alotment of Land, as they themselves had ; and if a competent Number of them should agree to live together, they should be incorporated, and the General Court should grant them Lands for a Plantation, as they do the *English*, tho' they had already bought their Claims of them. It was further Enacted, That if any of the *English* Cattle should do any

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\* *New-England First-Fruits*, 1643. p. 8.



Damage to the Corn of the *Indians*, the Owners of <sup>Anno</sup> them should be obliged to make good the Da- <sup>1637</sup>mage, and that they should give the *Indians* all friendly Assistance in sowing their Fields; after all this, the Doctor thinks it very strange for Secretary *Randolph* to affirm, “That the barbarous *Savages* were never civilly treated, but that the Government of *New-England* were continually encroaching on their Lands, ’till at last they would turn them out of all.” And if the Doctor’s Allegations are true, *That the Lands were purchased with a Valuable Consideration from these Natives, who had a Right to dispose of them, according to the Customs of the Country.* Such an Objection must be very unreasonable; but if not, the *New-England* Free-holders must satisfy themselves with this, that they have as fair a Title to their Estates, as any of the *Europeans*, that have made Settlements upon the Continent of *America*, since the first Discovery of it by the *Spaniard*.





## C H A P. V.

*The Pequot War. Disturbances occasioned by the Antinomians. The first Synod of New-England, with an Account of the Nature and Use of Synods, according to the Principles of the Independents. The Story of Mrs. Hutchinson. Of Rhode-Island, and its Inhabitants. The Foundation of Harvard-College, and of the Publick Library. The Method of Education, and of taking Degrees. Of the New-English Version of the Psalms. A Stop put to the further Increase of the Colonies from England, by the Eclipse of the Episcopal Power. A Computation of the Number of Planters, that settled in New-England before the Year 1641; with an Estimate of the Charges of the several Settlements. A List of the Silenced Ministers who left their Native Country, and settled in New-England. The Union of the Four Grand Settlements of New-England. The Death and Character of Mr. Brewster. The Commotions at Hingham.*

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**T**HE *English* had acted hitherto only on the defensive against the *Indians*, who watched all Opportunities to distress them in their Settlements; the *Pequets*, a politick and fierce Nation, on the Banks of a fair River, about

about 12 Miles East of *Connecticut-River* had been accessory to the Murder of Capt. *Stone* and his Ship's Crew, as we have observed before, in the Year 1634, but being at War with the *Dutch* and *Narrhagansets* at that Time, they were unwilling to come to an open Rupture with the *English*, but sent Messengers with Presents to the Governour of the *Massachusetts* to desire his Friendship: Mr. *Winthrop* however, dismiss'd them without any positive Answer, but the *Pequots* pressing the Governour by a second Embassy, he at last concluded a Peace with them upon these Conditions. "That they should deliver up those Men who had been guilty of *Stone's* Death; that if the *English* should have a Mind to plant at *Connecticut*, they should yield up their Right to them, and that there should be a free Trade between the two Nations." To this they agreed; and desired the *English* to mediate a Peace between them and the *Narrhagansets*, and for the facilitating of it, to give them Part of the Present of *Wampam* and *Beaver*, that they had brought with them, for they stood so much upon their Honour, that they would not have it known, that they bribed their Enemies to make Peace: But tho' the *Pequots* yielded to the Demands of the *English* with Relation to Capt. *Stone*, yet they still justify'd the Action, saying, *That he was killed in a just Quarrel, because he surpris'd two of the Indians, and forced them to pilot his Vessel up the River against their Wills.* They added, *That all that had any Share in the Action were since dead, except two, whom they would deliver up.* But when a Bark was sent to receive the Criminals, and open a Trade, they amused them with fair Words, but never performed a Tittle of their Contract, which broke off all further Correspondence.



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SOON after this they murder'd Mr. *Oldban* and before the *English* had perfected their Settlements on *Connecticut-River*, they fell openly upon them, killed 9 Men at *Weathersfield*, and took young Women Prisoners, who had been torture to Death, if the *Sachem's* Wife had not taken Fancy to them, and begged them of her Husband: Upon this, the Captains *Endicott*, *Undehill*, and *Turner* were sent by the Governour and Council of *Boston* with 120 Men to demand the Murderers, but they refused to surrender them; the *English* therefore pursued them into the Woods, kill'd one of their Men, and having destroyed their Corn and Hutts returned home. In the Spring of this Year the *Pequots* assaulted *Say-Brook-Fort* at the Mouth of the River *Connecticut*, but without Success, it being well fortified, and garrison'd with 20 Men; however they killed several of the People, as they were at Work in the Fields; this made the Planters stand upon their Guard in all Places, and sent to their Friends and Confederates in the *Massachusetts-Bay* for Assistance; Mr. *Vane* the Governour of that Jurisdiction writ to the Governour and Council of *New-Plimouth* to join with them which they promised, but were so dilatory in their Proceedings, that the War was in a manner over before their Forces began to march.

THE *Pequots*, seeing the Storm that was coming upon them, \* were not wanting in their Preparations to make the best Defence they could. They urged the *Narrhagansets* to make Peace and join with them against the Common Enemy "telling them that the *English* were overspreading their Country, and if they were suffered to grow and encrease, would deprive them of

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\* *New-England Memorial*, p. 100.

“ it in a little Time; That if the *Narrhagansets* Ann<sup>o</sup> 1637  
 “ assisted the *English* in destroying the *Pequots*,  
 “ they did but make way for their own Ruin,  
 “ for when one Nation was destroyed, the *Eng-*  
 “ *lish* would soon take Occasion to enslave the  
 “ other. But if the *Narrhagansets* would take  
 “ their Advice and join with them, they need  
 “ not fear the strength of the *English*, for they  
 “ would not come to a pitch'd Battle with them,  
 “ but Fire their Houses, kill their Cattle, and  
 “ lye in Ambush for them as they went abroad  
 “ upon their Occasions, in which Case it was  
 “ easy to foresee that the *English* could not long  
 “ subsist, but must either be starved with Hunger,  
 “ or forced to quit the Country.” But the de-  
 sire of Revenge upon an old Enemy, who had  
 offer'd them a thousand Injuries, made the *Narr-*  
*hagansets* renounce all Proposals of Accommoda-  
 tion with the *Pequots*, and assist the *English* in  
 their Prosecution of the War.

IN the beginning of *May* the Colony of *Con-*  
*necticut* sent out 90 Men under the Command of  
 Capt. *John Mason*, afterwards Deputy Govern-  
 our of the Colony, attended by *Uncas* an *Indian*  
*Sachem* lately revolted from the *Pequots*; the Gar-  
 rison of *Saybrook* joined them with nineteen Men  
 under Capt. *Underhill*, and the *Massachuset* Colony  
 raised 160 Men under the Command of *Israel*  
*Stoughton* Esq; 40 of which they dispatched a-  
 way immediately under Captain *Patrick*; but  
 before their Arrival the Colony of *Connecticut* had  
 ship'd of their Forces, and landed them at the  
*Narrhaganset* Port; Captain *Mason* marched his  
 Men immediately to the chief *Sachems* Residence,  
 and acquainted him with the Reasons of their  
 coming into his Country with an armed Force,  
 desiring only a free Passage thro' his Country; the  
*Sachem* yielded to their Request, but told them  
 their Army was too weak for the Enemy. Next  
 Morning

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Morning they marched to *Niantick* 20 Miles up the Country and were joined by 500 of the Natives, who drawing into a Ring, made solemn Protestations one by one, how gallantly they would behave themselves, and how many of the Enemy they would kill; but no sooner were they come to the Frontiers of the *Pequot* Country, but the greatest Part of them struck with a Pannick Fear, return'd home; only *Uncas* and his Followers declared, they would live and die with the *English* however, 'tis observable; that even *Uncas* and his Men, who had always hitherto marched in the Van, now fell into the Reer; such a Dread of the *Pequots* had they upon their Spirits.

THE *Pequots* were retired into two strong Forts, one of which was situate on the Banks of the River *Mistick*; the other about 8 Miles further, was the Head-Quarters of *Sassacus* their *Sachem*, at whose Name the *Narrhagansets* trembled, saying, *He was all one a God, no Body could kill him.* The Council of War determined to attack the first Fort they should come at, which the *Indians* took Care should not be that where *Sassacus* was. They made their Approaches to it in the Night, and sent an *Indian* to observe the Posture of the Enemy, who found them all in a profound Sleep; the Army came up to the Fort about Break of Day, Capt. *Mason* with his Company posted himself on the East, and *Underhill* on the West; but the *Narrhagansets*, like Cowards, retired to such a Distance, as to be only Spectators of the Action; when the Army came within a Rod of the Fort, a Dog barked, and awaken'd the Centinel, who immediately ran away, and cried out, *Wannux, Wannux*, i. e. *English, English*; the Soldiers entered the Fort at a Passage, which was only block'd up with Bushes about Breast-high; Capt. *Mason* was the first Man that leap'd into it.



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it, and made good his Ground 'till his Men could pull the Bushes away; upon this followed a sharp Engagement, in which several of the *English* were wounded, and many of the *Indians* killed; but the Houses in the Fort being made of nothing but combustible Matts, joined close to one another, the *English* set them on Fire, and retired, posting themselves at all the Avenues, to hinder the Enemies making their Escape: The Fire by the Advantage of the Wind carried all before it; many were burnt to Death, which the *Narrhagansets*, from a distant rising Ground where they had posted themselves, beheld with infinite Pleasure and Satisfaction, dancing and hooping all the while, and insulting over the dying Enemy: Some of the *Pequots* were shot as they were climbing over the Pallisadoes, and they who had the Courage to sally out at the Gates in order to break thro' the Enemy, were either cut off by the *English*, or the *Narrhagansets*; so that of 4 or 500 *Indians* that were in the Fort, not above 7 or 8 made their Escape. This memorable Action happened on the 20th of *May*, and cost the *English* but 2 Men killed, and about 20 wounded. *Wequash*, the Guide that the *English* made Use of, was struck with such Admiration at this Victory, that he embraced the Christian Religion, and after some Time became a Preacher of it to his Countrymen, but they insulted him, and at last poisoned him for it: The Reverend Mr. *Shepherd* of Cambridge gives this Account of him; \* “ *Wequash*, (says he) the famous Indian at the River's Mouth is dead, who loved Christ, and preached him up and down, and then suffer'd Martyrdom for him. When he died he gave his Soul to Christ, and

\* New-England's First-Fruits, 1643, p. 7.

Anno 1637 " his only Child to the English, in this Hope, that  
 " the Child should know more of Christ than its poor  
 " Father did."

BUT tho' the *English* had been so successful in destroying one of the Forts, they were far from thinking themselves out of Danger, for they were a great Way from home; in want of all Necessaries, and afraid of the mighty *Sassacus's* falling upon their tired Forces, from the other Fort; nor were their Fears groundless, for as they were marching to the *Pequot* River, where they had ordered their Pinnaces to meet them; *Sassacus* fell upon their Rear with 300 Men, which obliged them to march in close Order, and retreat fighting for almost 6 Miles together; but the *Indians* took Care to keep pretty much out of the Reach of their Bullets, and when they saw them past a narrow Passage, where they hoped to have gained an Advantage over them, they retired, and the Army return'd home in Safety.

ABOUT 14 Days after, the *Massachuset* Forces to the Number of 120 Men, arrived in the *Pequot-River*, \* under the Command of Capt. *Stoughton*, which put new Life into the *Connecticut* Colony, and made them resolve to pursue their Victory, tho' the *Narrhagansets* were gone home, as being glad to see the *Pequots* humbled, but not willing to have them destroyed; they therefore sent Capt. *Mason* with 40 Men, and some Volunteer-Gentlemen to join the *Massachuset-Forces* in the *Pequot* Harbour. Upon their Arrival it was concluded, to scour the Woods, and drive the Enemy out of the Country; for *Sassacus's* Men had already mutinied, and had it not been for the Entreaties of his Counsellors had certainly

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\* *New-England Mem.* p. 103. *Incr. Math. ib.* p. 36.

killed him; however, they abandoned their Fort, dispers'd themselves into small Parties, and resolved every one to shift for himself: Many of them fled toward the *Dutch* Plantation, upon which the Army was order'd to march that Way; they coasted along the River, and scouring the Woods killed several of the *Pequots*, and took some Prisoners; they beheaded two *Sachems*, and gave a third his Life, upon Condition that he would find out *Sassacus*, and give them Advice where he was lodged; but *Sassacus* suspecting him to be a Spy, after he was gone fled to the *Mihawks*, and his Followers dispersed themselves in several small parties up and down the Country, which the *English* pursued 'till they broke to pieces.

ON the 13th of *July* they met with a Body of 80 Men, and 200 Women and Children, in a small *Indian* Town close by a hideous *Swamp*, which they all slipt into before the *English* could come at them; the Army was then separated into several small parties, the better to look out the Enemy, but upon the discharging of a Musket they presently joined, and surrounded the *Swamp*, which was about a Mile in compass; but Lieut. *Davenport* with 12 Men coming in, after the Orders were given, instead of joining the Army, marched directly into the *Swamp* among the *Indians*, where he and all his Men had like to have been lost, for the *Swamp* being boggy, and full of Shrubs, they stuck fast in the Mud, and were forc'd to receive the Shot of the Enemy, without being capable of doing any Thing in their own Defence; Lieut. *Davenport* was dangerously wounded about his Arm-pit, another of his Men was shot in the Head; and they must all have perish'd, if Sergeant *Riggs* and Sergeant *Jefferies* with some Men



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had not come into their Relief, and drawn them out. THE *Indians* after this desired a Parley, which being granted, the *Sachem* of the Place, with some old Men and their Wives and Children, came out, and having conferr'd with the *English* about 2 Hours, return'd to their Company with the last Resolutions of the *English*, which were a Promise of their Lives, provided they laid down their Arms, and deliver'd up all such among them, as had kill'd any of the *English*. Mr. *Stanton* the Interpreter was sent the same Night to receive their Answer, which was this, *That they would stand by one another, and sell their Lives as dear as they could; and that Mr. Stanton might see they were in Earnest, they sent such a Flight of Arrows after him, that if he had not run as fast as he could to get out of their Reach he had certainly been killed: The English then cut off a Part of the Swamp with their Swords, and having cooped up the Indians within such a narrow Compass, that they could discern them thro' the Thickets, they stood to their Arms all Night, surrounding the Swamp at about 12 Foot Distance from one another; the Indians on the other Hand, let fly their Arrows so thick among the English, that they pierced the Cloths of several, but none received any considerable Hurt. Towards Morning it grew very dark, which gave most of the Men an Opportunity to make their Escape, but the Women and Children about Break of Day surrender'd at Discretion. In searching the Swamp 9 Men were found dead upon the Ground, and several others buried in the Bog; of those that slipp'd by the *English* some were killed in the Pursuit, and others were afterwards found in the Woods dead of their Wounds, so that 'tis computed that not above 20 or 30 got away. The Prisoners which were about 180, were divided, some to those of*

*Connecticut*, and the rest to the *Massachusetts*; the male Children were sent away to *Bermudas*, and the Women and Girls dispersed up and down in several Towns. Among the Prisoners that fell to the Share of the *Massachusetts*, were the Wife and Children of *Mononetto* an *Indian* Prince; she was a Woman of a very modest Countenance and Behaviour; it was by her Intercession, that the *English* Maid's taken at *Weathersfield*, had their Lives given them; and one of her first Requests to the *English* was, *That they would not abuse her Body, nor take her Children from her*: The Governour therefore took Charge of her, and made her Captivity as easy as he could.

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THIS Expedition against the *Pequots* struck such Terror into the rest of the *Indians*, that they came from all Parts, and begg'd the Protection of the *English*: Two of the *Sachems* of *Long-Island* came to Mr. *Stoughton*, and desired to be under his Protection, and two of the *Nepannet Sachems* submitted to Mr. *Winthrop*; 700 *Pequots* perished, and were taken Prisoners this Summer, among whom were 13 *Sachems*; the rest fled into distant Parts, or submitted themselves to the Mercy of the Conquerors, who divided them between the *Narrhagansets* and the *Mohegins*, whose *Sachem Uncas* had proved a very faithful Ally. *Sassacus* the mighty *Sachem* of the *Pequots* fled to the *Maqua's*, who at the Request of the *Narrhagansets* cut off his Head; his Country became a Province of the *English*, and was governed by such a Person, as the *English* from Time to Time appointed to that Office.

WHILE the Army was thus employed in the Field, the Commonwealth \* was almost torn in pieces by intestine Divisions occasion'd by the

\* C. Mather, Book 7. page 14.

*Anno* spreading of *Familistical* and *Antinomian* Errors among the People; that the Reader may have a full View of the Controversy, I'll trace it down from its Original: The Members of the Church of *Boston* used to meet once a Week to repeat the Sermons which they had heard on the Lord's Day; and to debate upon the Doctrines contained in them, whereby they were sometimes entangled in Points of Divinity too high for them; these Meetings being peculiar to the Men, at least none else being allowed to debate in them; some of the *zealous Women* thought it might be useful for them to have such Meetings among themselves: Accordingly Mrs. *Hutchinson*, a *Lincolnsire* Gentlewoman, of a bold and masculine Spirit, and a great Admirer of Mr. *Cotton*, set up one at her House, grounding her Practice on these Words of the Apostle, *that the elder Women are to teach the younger*: The Novelty of the Thing, and the Fame of the Woman quickly gained her a numerous Audience; she had no less than 60 or 80 Women at her House every Week to hear her pray, and repeat Mr. *Cotton's* Sermons, which she explain'd, and afterwards made some Reflections of her own upon them. From these Meetings arose all the Errors that soon after overspread the Country; Mrs. *Hutchinson* taught her Disciples, "That Believers in Christ are personally united with the Spirit of God; that Commands to work out our Salvation with Fear and Trembling belong to none but such as are under the Covenant of Works; that Sanctification is not a sufficient Evidence of a good State; she likewise set up immediate Revelations about future Events, to be believed as equally infallible with the Scriptures;" and a great many other Chimera's and Fancies, which under a Pretence of exalting the free Grace of God, destroyed the practical Part of Religion, and open'd a Door to all Sorts of Licentiousness.



'Tis incredible to think, how easily these Notions obtained among the People, the good Women insinuated them into their Husbands, skreening them under the venerable Name of *Mr. Cotton*, by which Artifice many unthinking People were deceived; *Mrs. Hutchinson* and her Admirers were indefatigable in spreading them, they insinuated themselves into all Families, and under a Shew of Humility and Self-denial craftily undermined the Reputation of the best Ministers in the Country, calling them *Legalists*, *Men that were not acquainted with the Spirit of the Gospel*, nay, *that were unacquainted with Christ himself*. The whole Country was distinguished by this *Criterion*, such as were for a *Covenant of Works*, and such as were for a *Covenant of Grace*; these Divisions crept not only into Families, but into Churches, and into the Legislature itself; the Colony of *Plimouth* was infected to such a Degree, that they starved away all their Old Ministers, and set up Mechanics in their Room. There was such an Interest made against the next Election of Magistrates for the *Massachuset* Colony, to get in *Gospel-Magistrates*, as they called them, that they were forced to adjourn the Court to *New-Town*, for Fear of a Riot. The Faction tried all Methods to keep in their old Governour *Vane*, they presented a Petition to the Court on the very Day of Election, with a Design to hinder their proceeding to a new Choice, whereby the Time of Election being past, they would of Course have kept in their Governour *Vane* another Year; but when they could not obtain this, and the sober Party made a Shift to carry the Election for *Mr. Winthrop*, \* yet such was the Influence of the Faction among the inferior Officers, that the Sergeants, whose Place it was to

\* Mather, B. 2. p. 11.

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attend the new *Governour*, laid down their Halberts and would not act: The *Governour* however, like a wise Man, took no further Notice of their Behaviour at present, than to order his own Servants to take up the Halberts, and march before him, but when he was settled in his Government, he made them feel the Weight of his Displeasure; nay, the marching of the Army against the *Pequots* was retarded by these Men upon this very Account, because the Officers and Soldiers were too much under a *Covenant of Works*: In a Word, both Church and State were in the utmost Confusion, the Affections of the People were strangely alienated from one another; they were always quarrelling, and upon every Occasion ready to come to Blows.

THE Reverend Mr. *Cotton* was at this Time in high Reputation and Esteem for his Learning and Orthodoxy all over the Country, which made both Parties claim him for their own; the *Antinomians* affirm'd, that the Doctrines they taught were regularly deduced from his Sermons, the Orthodox replied, that Mr. *Cotton* denied and disavowed their Principles: Things came to such an Extremity at last, that Mr. *Cotton* was desired to declare himself freely upon these Heads in the Pulpit, which he accordingly did, and condemned most of the new Positions as false and erroneous. But the *Adversaries* were advanced too far, to retreat with Honour, and therefore instead of being satisfied, they persecuted Mr. *Cotton* with the bitterest Reproaches, calling him a *timorous Man*, that durst not abide by his own Principles; a *Deceiver*, that taught one Thing in publick, and another in private; and one, that had lost all his Insight into the Gospel. One of the Party more witty than the rest, sent him a Present of a *Pound of Candles*, bidding his Servant tell him, *that it was because he wanted Light*. And  
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it must be confessed, that Mr. Cotton had too good an Opinion of Mrs. *Hutchinson* for a long Time, never imagining that she would have gone such Lengths; for in his Company she was always modest in her Discourse, proposing her Doubts to him, and seeming highly satisfied with his Answers; but now his Eyes began to be open'd, and he confessed with Tears, that *the Enemy had been sowing Tares whilst he had been asleep.* The ill Trêatment that he met with from the Party, made him resolve to leave *Boston*, and retire to *New-Haven*, which he had certainly done, if the *Civil Magistrate* had not interposed, and took some effectual Measures for the restoring of Peace.

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A Fast had been appointed for this Purpose as long ago as *December* last, when Mr. Cotton preached a very healing Sermon from *Isa. 58. 4.* but Mr. *Wheelwright* the other Preacher, instead of following Mr. Cotton's Example, filled his Sermon with bitter Invectives against the Magistrates and Ministers of the Country, telling the People, \* "That they walked in such a Way of Salvation, as was no better than a Covenant of Works: He compared them to *Jews, Herods, Philistines,* and exhorted such as were under a Covenant of Grace to combat them as their greatest Enemies." The Magistrates hereupon sent for the Preacher † next Court-day, and having heard what he could say in Defence of his Sermon, they condemned it as *seditionous, and tending to disturb the publick Peace;* they endeavoured to convince Mr. *Wheelwright* of his Offence, but could make no Impressions upon him;

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\* T. Welde's *Account of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians in New-England*, 4to. 1692. † In Pref.



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THE *Antinomian* Party were so alarm'd at this Attack upon their Preacher, that they met together the very same Night, and drew up a Petition, or Remonstrance against the Proceedings of the Court, wherein they declare it as their Opinion, \*  
 " That Mr. *Wheelwright* had not been guilty of any  
 " seditious Fact; that his *Doctrine* was not seditious, being no other than the Expressions of  
 " Scripture; that it had produced no seditious  
 " Effects, for his Followers had not drawn their  
 " Swords, nor endeavoured to rescue their innocent Brother; they desired the Court therefore to  
 " consider the Danger of meddling with the Prophets of God, and to remember, that even  
 " the Apostle *Paul* himself had been called a  
 " pestilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition, and a  
 " Ring-leader of a Sect." This Petition was delivered into Court within a Day or two after the Censure of Mr. *Wheelwright's* Sermon, sign'd with above 60 Hands, whereof some were Members of the Court; but it was rejected by the Majority, and the chief of the Petitioners were severely punished for it the next Sessions.

THINGS growing still worse and worse, it was thought adviseable to call a *Synod* of all the Churches in the Country, to give their Judgments upon the controverted Points: This being the first *Synod* of *New-England*, the Reader will not be displeas'd to understand the Nature and Use of *Synods*, according to the Principles of the *Independents*. A *Synod*, according to them, is not necessary to the Being of a Church, but is only to be called on special

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\* *Ibid.* p. 24.

Occasions, for giving Advice and Counsel in *Anno*  
 Cafes of Difficulty. It consists of the Ministers *1637*  
 and Lay-Messengers of the several Churches  
 chosen from among themselves, whose Busi-  
 ness is to debate and determine the several Mat-  
 ters that are brought before them, and then to  
 present them to their several Churches for their  
 Approbation, without which they are of no  
 Force; no *Synod* is allowed a Power to pass  
 Church-Censures upon Persons, or put forth any  
 Act of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Discipline;  
 but only to declare their Sentiments, and give  
 their Advice. In a Word, an *Independent Synod*  
 is nothing else but a Council to the several  
 Churches, called together upon proper Occasi-  
 ons, not to make Laws and Decrees which shall  
 bind Men upon Pain of Excommunication or  
 Deprivation, but to advise them how to act  
 under their present Difficulties; and if a Church  
 or private Person refuses to hearken to their  
 Advice, the last Remedy is, to declare they  
 will no longer hold Communion with them:  
 Magistrates have Power to call a *Synod* when  
 the publick Welfare of the Country requires it;  
 and may send to the Churches, to commission  
 their Elders and Messengers to meet together,  
 and assist them with their Advice; but if the  
 Magistrate neglects, or is of a different Reii-  
 gion, any particular Church may send to the  
 rest, and desire their Advice in the same Way.

\* *SUCH* a Synod as this was now appointed  
 to meet at *Newtown*, *August* the 30th, in which  
 were present not only the Ministers and Messen-  
 gers of the several Churches, but the Magi-  
 strates for keeping the Peace, who were allowed  
 not only to hear but to speak, if they had a

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\* *Ibid.* in Pref.

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Mind; a Place was likewise appointed for the Favourers of the new Opinions, and the Doors were set open for as many of the People as pleased to come in and hear the Debates: The first Day was spent in choosing the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, and Mr. *Peter Bulkley* Moderators, and reading over a List of 82 erroneous Opinions which had been maintain'd in several Parts of the Country, some of which were the the most monstrous and absurd that ever were heard; the following Days were taken up in debating upon the several Points, in which they observed this Method; in the Morning a Committee was employ'd in forming Arguments against the Errors to be confuted that Day, which in the Afternoon were produced in the Synod; next Day the Defendants gave in their Reply, and produced their Arguments for the Support of their side of the Question; the third Day, the Opponents made the last Reply. But the *Antinomian* Party were insufferably rude; they broke in frequently upon the Order of Disputation, and were so clamorous that the Magistrates were obliged sometimes to silence them.

A r length all the new Opinions in general were condemned as contrary to the Word of God, † by the universal Suffrage of the *Synod*, and the Condemnation was signed by all the Members but Mr. *Cotton*, who, tho' he express'd his dislike of the major Part of them, refused to condemn them in the Lump; he differed from the Synod in the Article of *Justification*, being of Opinion, that *Union to Christ was before Faith in him*, and in three or four other Articles relating to the same Head. The Synod endeavour'd to convince him of his mistakes, but in vain; as for the rest

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\* *C. Mather* B. 7. p. 17.



of the new Opinions, " He declared that he  
 " disliked them, *as being some of them Heretical,*  
 " *some of them Blasphemous, some of them Erroneous,*  
 " *and All of them incongruous,*" and promis'd to  
 join heartily with his Brethren in bearing his Tes-  
 timony against them; then the Reverend Mr.  
*Davenport* put an End to the Synod after it had  
 continued three Weeks, by preaching a Sermon  
 on *Phil. iii. 16.* *Nevertheless whereto we have al-*  
*ready attained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us*  
*mind the same Things.* After Sermon, he read  
 openly the Determinations of the Synod with  
 relation to the new Opinions, which were drawn  
 up not in the Form of *Anathema's*, but the Opi-  
 nion was recited and this short Reflection sub-  
 joined, *This we apprehend contrary to such and such*  
*a Text of Scripture.* He then exhorted the Mini-  
 sters and Messengers to perswade their several  
 Churches to conform themselves to the Sentim-  
 ents of the Synod, and so dismiss'd them.

ONE would have thought, this unanimous  
 Voice of the Synod, which was published for  
 general Satisfaction, should have quieted the  
 Minds of the People, but the Heads of the Fac-  
 tion were not to be vanquished with Scripture  
 and Reason; for Mr. *Wheelwright* continued still  
 his Preaching, and Mrs. *Hutchinson*, her Assem-  
 bly; and their Followers were so influenced by  
 their Doctrines, that when Mr. *Wilson* went up  
 into the Pulpit, half the Congregation would go  
 out; the Court therefore at their next Sessions  
 which was on the second of *October*, resolved to  
 have recourse to the last Remedy, which was the  
 Sword of the Magistrate. They met at *New-*  
*Town*; for the Town of *Boston*, was so infected  
 with the new Opinions that they were afraid of  
 a Riot; one of the *Boston* Deputies having sign-  
 ed the late Remonstrance in favour of Mr. *Wheel-*  
*wright*, and two of the others having spoke in

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Vindication of it, were expell'd the Court, and an Order sent to *Boston* to choose new Representatives, which the angry People could hardly be perswaded to comply with.

BUT the Court resolving to go through with their Work, \* summoned Mr. *Wheelwright* to give in his peremptory Answer, whether he would acknowledge his Offence in preaching his late seditious Sermon, or abide the Sentence of the Court ; his Answer was, " That he had been " guilty of no Sedition, nor Contempt ; that he " had delivered nothing but the Truth of Christ, " and for the Application of his Doctrine, that " it was made by others, and not by himself. " The Court then desired him, out of a Regard to the publick Peace, to leave the Colony of his own Accord ; which he refusing, they sentenced him to be disfranchis'd, to be banish'd the Jurisdiction, and to be taken into Custody immediately, unless he would give Security to depart before the End of *March*. Mr. *Wheelwright* appealed from the Sentence of the Court to the King of *England*, but was told, an Appeal did not lie in his Case : He refused however, to give in Bail, and was therefore taken into Custody of the Marshal ; but the next Day he was more submissive, and relinquish'd his Appeal, declaring himself willing to submit to a simple Banishment ; so the Court gave him Leave to go home, upon Promise, that if he departed not the Jurisdiction within 14 Days, he should surrender himself Prisoner at the House of Mr. *Stanton*, one of the Magistrates, and abide there 'till the Court should dispose of him. Mr. *Wheelwright* continued in Banishment about 7 Years, but then being grown wiser, he renounced his Errors, begged Pardon

of God and his Country, was restored to his People, and lived 30 or 40 Years afterwards an useful Minister of Christ in the Town of *Hamp-  
ton.*

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THE Court proceeded next to the Examination of the several *Petitioners* in Favour of Mr. *Wheelwright*, and the first who was sent for was Mr. *John Coggeshal*, \* a Deacon of the Church of *Boston*, and one of their late Deputies in Court; the Court charged him with *Contempt*, for saying, " If they expelled Mr. *Aspin* for signing the Remonstrance, they had better make but one Work of all; for tho' his own Hand was not to the Remonstrance, yet his Heart was in it." Mr. *Coggeshal* pleaded his Privilege, as a Member of the Court; but was answered, That the Court knew no Liberty any of its Members had to reproach and affront their Proceedings in so publick a Manner; however, tho' he would not acknowledge his Offence, he behaved himself with more Modesty and Respect than formerly, and was therefore only disfranchised.

MR. *Aspin*, another of the late *Boston* Deputies was called next, who had not only signed the Remonstrance, but was himself the *Author* of it, and had carried it about Town to get hands to it. He justified the Action, and by his haughty Carriage provok'd the Court not only to disfranchise him, but to banish him the *Colony*. They gave him till the last of *March*, upon his giving Security for his quiet Departure by that time, which he immediately gave, and so was dismissed.

AFTER these, *William Baulston* and *Edward Hutchinson*, two of the Serjeants of *Boston* appeared. Both their Hands were to the Remon-



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france, and the Court took a great deal of Pains to make them acknowledge their Offence ; but they continued obstinate, and uttered a great many affronting Speeches against those Magistrates who were not of their Opinion ; so they were *both* turned out of their Places, disfranchised, and fined, *William Baulston* 20 Pound, and *Edward Hutchinson* 40 ; but *Hutchinson* acknowledging his Fault next Day, was released of his Fine, and only disfranchised.

ANOTHER Day four or five more of the leading Petitioners were sent for, and not acknowledging their Fault were disfranchised, Capt. *John Underhill*, had his Commission taken from him, and *Marshal* the Ferry-man, lost his Place. Many others whose Names were to the Remonstrance were sent for, but it appearing that most of them were drawn in by the subtilty of a few leading Men, and all of them acknowledging their Offence, and desiring their Names might be blotted out, the Court pardoned them, upon promise of their good Behaviour for the time to come.

BUT Mrs. *Hutchinson* having been at the Head of all these Disturbances, \* tho' she had no hand in the Remonstrance, the Court could not pass her by, especially considering that she still continued her Weekly Meetings. Upon her Appearance, she was charged with being the Author of the late Disturbances ; with countenancing and encouraging Seditious Persons ; with reproaching all the Ministers in the Country, and with maintaining weekly and publick Meetings in her House, wherein she had taught those erroneous Doctrines, which had given occasion to the late Tumults and Disorders both in Church and Commonwealth. Mrs. *Hutchinson* justified her whole

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\* *Ibid.* p. 25.

Conduct, and instead of asking Pardon for her Offences, and promising to live peaceably for the future, made a long Harangue, full of bitter Reflections on the Court comparing her Case to the Prophet *Daniel's*, when the Presidents and Princes could find nothing against him, because he was faithful, they sought matter against him concerning the Law of his God to cast him into the Lion's Den. She then denounced Destruction upon them and their Posterity, if they medled with her; *Take heed* (says she) *how you proceed against me, for I know that for this you go about to do to me, God will ruin you, and your Posterity, and this whole State* She was going on with her Predictions, when the Court commanded her to be silent, and seeing no hopes of her being reclaimed, ordered her to depart the Jurisdiction within six Months.

No sooner was Mrs. *Hutchinson* condemned by the Court, but the Church of *Boston*, of which she was a Member, charged her with Heresy, in maintaining twenty six of the Errors condemned by the Synod; she seem'd at first to deny the Charge, but a Cloud of Witnesses being produced to support it, she subscribed a Recantation, with this Protest, that *she never had been really of any Opinion contrary to the Declaration she had now made*; But the Witnesses proving the contrary to her Face, her Recantation was rejected, and she was excommunicated as a Notorious Lyar, with the full consent of the whole Church.\* There were about 8 or 9 more excommunicated out of the Churches of *Roxbury* and *Boston* after the same manner, not so much for their Erroneous Opinions (says my Author) as for their Miscarriages.

Mrs. *Hutchinson*, being thus turned out into the wide World, went first with her Disciples to

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\* *Ibid.* in Pref.

*Ann*o 1637 *Rhode Island*, but not liking to stay there, she removed with her Family into one of the *Dutch Plantations* called *Hebgate*, where, within a little while, the *Indians* murdered her and her whole Family, to the number of sixteen Persons. Several strange Things are reported concerning this *Mrs. Hutchinson*, and her Companion *Mrs. Dyer*, as that the former was deliver'd of a great many monstrous Births at once; and the Latter was brought to Bed of such an ill shapen thing as frightened and astonish'd all the Spectators; which I forbear to relate, as being uncertain in themselves, and of no weight, as to the Merits of the Cause.

WE may easily imagine that the Magistrates of the *Massachuset Colony* would not have parted with so many useful Hands in the infancy of their State, if the publick Safety had not required it; but these Men were for turning the Government up side-down, and excluding the present set of *Magistrates*, not because they were unqualified for their Offices, or unfaithful in the Discharge of them, but because they were Men of a *legal Spirit*, and too much enclined to a *Covenant of Works*.

THE Heads of the Party being obliged to remove, consulted with themselves where to settle; and having heard of an *Island* beyond *Cape Cod*, near the *Narrhaganset Bay*, they purchased it of the Natives, and settled themselves and their Families in it, with as many others as were willing to attend them, in the Year 1639. The Island was called by the Natives *Aquetnet*, but by the *English*, *Rhode Island*. It lies in the *Narrhaganset Bay*, being 14 or 15 Miles long and about 4 or 5 broad. 'Tis a fruitful Soil, and the Garden of *New England* for Pleasure and Delight: the agreeableness of the Place invited over so many Planters, as overset the Island in a few Years



Years and obliged some of them to swarm over to the Main Land, where they purchased a Tract of Land, now covered with the Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*, for all which they obtained a Charter of King *Charles* the Second with ample Privileges. \* *Dr. Mather* represents them as a Generation of *Libertines*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, and *Quakers*, whose Posterity for want of Schools of Learning and a publick Ministry, are become so barbarous, as not to be capable of speaking either good *English* or good Sense; They have an extream Aversion to a regular Ministry, and would never till of late allow any such to preach among them, tho' the *Massachuset* Ministers offer'd to do it without putting them to any Experience, but at present there is a Meeting house or two in the Island, which gives hopes of a further Reformation.

*MR. Lenthal*, Minister of *Weymouth*, had like to have undergone the same fate with his *Antinomian* Brethren, for he had not only declared openly for their *Doctrines*, but began to oppose the *New-England Discipline*; affirming that all that were baptiz'd had a Right to the Communion, without any further Trial; many of the People fell in with him, and would have erected a separate Church upon that foot, but he was immediately sent for up to *Boston*, where he confessed his Errors, sign'd a Retraction in open Court, and read it openly (by Order of the Government) in his Church at *Weymouth*; which was all the Punishment inflicted on him.

BUT of all the *Enthusiasts* that infested *New-England* at this Time, none was more impudent than *Mr. Samuel Gorton*, who was carrying on the same Design in the Colony of *Plimouth*, as *Wheel-*

\* *Mather Book 7. page 21.*

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w

wright, and *Hutchinson* had been doing in the *Massachusetts*; the Court at last order'd him to be apprehended upon the Complaint of one Mr. *Ralph Smith* whom he had cheated; *Gorton* being an obnoxious Man was not only fined for his Offence, but ordered to depart the Colony within 14 Days, and to find Sureties, for his good Behaviour in the mean Time; from *Plimouth* he went to his Associates in *Rhode-Island* where he behaved himself with such Insolence towards the infant Government, that they sentenced him to be whip'd and banished the Island; the *Knight Errant* then went to Mr. *Williams* at Providence, and entred upon the Lands of some *Indians* in his Neighbourhood whereby he had liked to have drawn upon the *English* a new War, but Mr. *Williams* sending to the *Massachusetts* for Help, they brought him and his Companions to *Boston*, under a Guard of two or three Files of Musqueteers, and after a fair hearing, they condemned him, and about six of his Disciples to the Work-house for six Months, and after that to depart the Country.

THE Government of *Plimouth* did a very exemplary Piece of Justice about the same time upon three of their Subjects, who had murdered a *Narrhaganset Indian*, in the Woods near *Providence*, the Fact was this; *Arthur Peach*, who had been a Soldier in the *Pequot* War, being returned home and not willing to settle himself to Work, resolved to run away from his Master to the *Dutch* Plantation; he enticed three of his Acquaintance to go with him, who as they were Travelling thro' the Woods, met a *Narrhaganset Indian*, and having taken a Pipe of *Tobacco* with him, *Peach* with the Consent of his Companions, without any Provocation from the *Indian* run him thro' and left him for dead, but he made a shift to crawl home and tell his Story before he expir'd; the *Indians* pursu'd and overtook three of the  
Murderers

Murderers, and brought them to the *English* at *Aquetnet Island*, who deliver'd them up to the Governour of *Plimouth* as belonging to his Jurisdiction: When they were brought upon their Trial, the Evidence that came in against them was very full, and they themselves did in Substance confess the Fact; so they were all three condemn'd and executed: Some of the People thought it very hard that three *English* Men should dye for one *Indian*, but besides the Justice of the Thing it self, the Necessity of their Affairs requir'd it at this time, for the *Narrhagansets* threaten'd them with a general Insurrection, which by this Means was prevented.

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6138.  
W

UPON the Second of *June* there was a very great Earthquake, which came on gradually; at first there was no more than a rumbling Noise, like remote Thunder, but as the Noise came nearer, which was from North to South, the Earth shook with such Violence that the People could not stand in the Streets, most of the Moveables in their Houses were thrown down, and 'tis thought that if it had continued a little longer, the Houses themselves must have been demolished. About half an hour after there was another Noise and Shaking, which revived the Peoples Fears, but it was neither so loud nor violent as the former.

THIS Year a College for the Education of Youth in all the liberal Arts and Sciences was erected at *New-Town*, about 6 or 8 Miles from *Boston*, \* which upon this Occasion changed its Name for that of *Cambridge*; the General Court held at *Boston*, September 8th 1630, had advanced about 400 Pounds towards such a Design, but that not being sufficient, and the low Circum-

1639

\* *C. Mather Book 4. p. 126.*



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1639

stances of their Affairs at that time not allowing them to advance a greater Sum, the Project slept, till the Death of the Rev. Mr. *John Harvard* lately come from *England*, who, by his last Will and Testament bequeath'd the Sum of *seven Hundred seventy nine Pounds seventeen Shilling and two Pence* towards the carrying on the Work. Upon his Decease, a Committee was chosen to manage the Undertaking which now met with Encouragement from the other Colonies; and several private Gentlemen finding that there was a Probability of carrying it through, contributed large Sums of Money towards it. The College being built, was in Honour of their great Benefactor, called by the Name of *HARVARD COLLEGE*. It was no better than a *Schola Illustris* for the first ten Years, but was then incorporated by a Charter bearing Date *May 31, 1650.* from the Government of the *Massachusetts* Colony; the Honourable *Thomas Dudley* Esq; being then Governour.

It consists at present of a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer; the Governour of the Province, the Deputy Governour, and all the Magistrates of the Colony, with the Ministers of the six neighbouring Towns, for the Time being being appointed as *Overseers*; the President's Salary was at first paid out of the publick Treasury, but the Profits of *Charles Town Ferry* being settled upon the College, and several Gentlemen both in Old and *New-England* contributing very largely towards the Revenues of it, it was quickly able to subsist of it self.

SOME time after, another College was built near the former for the Education of the *Indians*, at the Charge of the Honourable Corporation for propagating the Gospel in *New-England*, and was called the *Indian College*; but 'tis now converted into a Printing-House, by the Direction of

of the said *Corporation*; it being found impracticable to persuade the *Indian Youth* to a Love of Learning. There is still due Provision made for the Accommodation of such *Indians*, as shall be admitted into the College, but there never were above four or five of them educated there; and but one, namely, *Caleb Cheeschaumuck*, who took his Degrees in the Year 1665. For *Eleazar* the *Indian Youth* mention'd in *Dr. Mather's Church History* B. 3. p. 153, who should have taken his Degrees in the Year 1679, died that Year before the Commencement came; and he was the last that was Educated in the College.\*

HARVARD College being built, a Foundation was laid for a *Publick Library*, which was a Work of absolute Necessity; Books being so scarce in the Country that it was impossible for the Students to purchase them; the first Furniture of this Library was the Books of *Dr. William Ames*, the famous Professor of Divinity at *Franequer*, whose Widow and Children, after the Dr's. Death transported themselves, and their Effects, into these Parts; several Gentlemen likewise in *England*, made very valuable Presents to it, some of Books, and others of Mathematical Instruments; as *Sir Kenelm Digby*, *Sir John Maynard*, the most Reverend Archbishop *Usher*, the Rev. Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *Joseph Hill*, and others; but the most considerable Accession to this Library came by the Death of the Rev. Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, an Independent Minister in *London*, a learned Man, as appears by his Books of *the Court of the Gentiles*, who by his last Will and Testament, bequeath'd his large and valuable Collection of Books to the Library of *Harvard College* in *New-England*; since which time it has only received

\* M. S. Letter from Mr. Thomas Brattle.

*Anno* some small Additions, from private Hands,  
*1639* and yet before the End of the Century, it was  
 encreased to between three and four Thousand  
 Volumes. So that tho' the *Cambridge* Library in  
*New-England*, must not pretend to rival the  
*Vatican* or *Bodleian*, or the Libraries of most of  
 the Universities of *Europe*, yet it contains a Col-  
 lection of the most valuable Authors, that have  
 writ in the learned Languages, and is undoubt-  
 edly the best furnished of any in those Parts of  
 the World.

THE first President of *Harvard Colledge* was  
 Mr. *Nathaniel Eaton*, a learned Man; but cruel  
 in his Nature, and lewd in his Morals; he hired  
 two Men to hold one of his Pupils, 'till he had  
 beat him almost to Death with a Cudgel, for  
 which the General Court fined him 100 Marks,  
 and expell'd him the University; he was after-  
 wards excommunicated for Immorality, upon  
 which he left the Plantation, went first to *Virginia*,  
 and from thence to *England*, where he lived pri-  
 vately till the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and  
 then conforming to the Church of *England*; he  
 was preferr'd to the Parsonage of *Biddiford* in  
*Devonshire*, and became a violent Persecutor of  
 the Dissenters, 'till at last by his wicked and  
 extravagant Courses, he brought himself to Mife-  
 ry, and died in Goal for Debt.

HIS Successors to the end of the Century  
 were,

|                                    |      |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Mr. <i>Henry Dunstar</i> , elected | 1640 |
| Mr. <i>Charles Chauncey</i>        | 1654 |
| Dr. <i>Leonard Hoar</i> ,          | 1671 |
| Mr. <i>Urian Oakes</i>             | 1675 |
| Mr. <i>John Rogers</i> ,           | 1682 |
| Dr. <i>Increase Mather</i> ,       | 1684 |

THE President's Province, besides the general  
 Government of the whole Colledge is to exa-  
 mine



mine into the Qualifications of all who desire to be admitted into the Colledge to inspect their Manners; to pray, and expound a Chapter Morning and Evening, which one of the Students reads out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* in the Morning, and out of *English* into *Greek* from the *New-Testament* in the Evening; to confer all Degrees, and to preach sometimes on the Lord's Days.

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THE *Fellows* that reside in the College are Tutors to the several Classes of Students, and lead them through the liberal Arts and Sciences in 4 Years, in which Time they have their weekly Declamations, and publick Disputations, the *President*, or one of the *Fellows* being always Moderator; the *Students* are divided into 4 Classes, the *Junior Class* are called *fresh Men* the first Year, and are a kind of Servitors to the whole College out of studying Hours, to go of Errands, &c. from which none are exempted, unless they are admitted *Fellow-Commoners*, of which Number (as I am informed) was Sir *Harcourt Masters*, one of the present Aldermen of the City of *London*: The second Year they wear the Title of *Sophimores*: The third of *Junior Sophisters*, and the fourth of *Senior Sophisters*, when they are admitted to the Degree of *Batchelor of Arts*. Those who reside in the College after they commence *Batchelors*, are distinguished for the next 3 Years by the Title of *Sir* added to their Surnames 'till they go out *Masters of Art*, as, *Sir Chauncey*, *Sir Rogers*, *Sir Oakes*.

WHEN a *Student* is admitted into the College, he is required to subscribe the College-Laws, and to keep a Copy of them in his Chamber; when he stands for his Degree, he is to attend in the Hall on certain Hours every *Monday* and *Tuesday* during the 3 Weeks of *Visitatiō*, that all that have a Mind may examine into his Skill in those

*Anno* those Languages and Sciences, that he pretends  
*1639* to be Master of, this is called the *Sitting of Sol-*  
*stices*, and is in the Month of *June*; upon the  
 Day of Commencement, which was formerly the  
 2d of *August*, but now the first *Wednesday* in *July*,  
 a publick Act is held in the *College-Hall*, to which  
 most of the neighbouring Magistrates, Ministers,  
 and Gentlemen are invited; the *President* opens it  
 with a short Oration; then one of the Candi-  
 dates pronounces an Oration, either in *Latin*,  
*Greek*, or *Hebrew*, wherein all Persons of Rank  
 or Quality present, are address'd with proper  
 Compliments, and Reflections are made on the  
 most remarkable Occurrences of the last Year;  
 but the chief Exercises are Disputations on  
 Theses, or Questions in *Logic*, *Ethics*, *natural*  
*Philosophy*, and most of the liberal Arts, which  
 the *Defendant* publishes before-hand in a Sheet  
 of Paper, and oblig'd himself to answer all Ob-  
 jections brought against them; when this is over,  
 the President gives him his *Degree*, with the Ce-  
 remony of putting a Book into his Hands, and  
 pronouncing these Words over him; for a *Bat-*  
*chelor*; *Admitto te ad primum gradum in Artibus,*  
*scilicet ad respondendum Quaestioni pro more Aca-*  
*demiarum in Anglia, tibiq; trado hunc librum una*  
*cum potestate publice praeligendi in aliqua Artium*  
*quam profiteris quotiescunq; ad hoc munus evocatus*  
*fuero.* For a *Master of Arts*, which is not usu-  
 ally conferr'd upon any, but those who are of 7  
 Years standing in the College; *Admitto te ad se-*  
*cundum gradum in Artibus, pro more Academicarum*  
*in Anglia, Tradeq; tibi hunc librum una cum potestate*  
*profitendi; ubicunq; ad hoc munus publice evocatur*  
*fuero.* After which, the Assembly is dismiss'd  
 with a *Valedictory Oration* pronounced by one of  
 the *Graduates*.

THE University of *New-England* never con-  
 ferr'd any Degree above *Master of Arts* upon any  
 of

of its Members as long as the Old Charter was in Force, but by the New one granted them by *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, they have obtained a Power of creating *Doctors in Divinity*; tho' they have not thought fit to make Use of it, except in the Case of their late President, *Mr. Increase Mather*.

SEVERAL useful Persons both in the Church and in the State have been educated in this College; *Sir George Downing*, employ'd first by the *Parliament*, and afterwards by *K. Charles the Second*, as his Envoy Extraordinary in *Holland*, was the second Person that was enter'd a Student in the College; *Sir Henry Mildmay* sent his Son *William Mildmay, Esq;* the Elder Brother of *Henry Mildmay, Esq;* of *Shawford* in *Hampshire*, to study here. *William Stoughton, Esq;* *Joseph Dudley, Esq;* and many other Gentlemen of principal Note in this History, owe their Education to this Seminary.

OF the Clergy, there were several that made a considerable Figure in *England*, under the *Parliament*, and among the *Dissenters* in the Reigns of *K. Charles II.* and *K. James II.* as *Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge* of *Newbury*, *Mr. Samuel* and *Nathaniel Mather*, *Mr. Isaac Chauncey*, besides the whole Body of the present Clergy of *New-England*, among whom there are some of as good Learning and Sense as in any Parts of *Europe*.

BUT to make the College as compleat as possible, when the Building was finished, and Apartments for the Students fitted up, they set up a *Printing-Press*, which was absolutely necessary for the dispersing *small* practical Treatises up and down the Country; for it can't be imagin'd, that they could carry off an Edition of any very considerable Work while the *Colony* was so small, and there were so few Men of Letters in it. One of the first *Books* printed was, *A new Version of*  
Da-



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1640  
David's Psalms; the Ministers, it seems, were not satisfied with *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, not so much on the Account of their *Poetry*, as because they had perverted the Text in a great many Places; they resolved therefore on a *New Version*, and committed the Care of it to some of the chief Divines in the Country, among whom were the Reverend Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, Mr. *Mather* of *Dorchester*, and Mr. *Welds*; who having compared their several *Performances* together, printed the whole at *Cambridge* in the Year 1640: When the *Book* was published, it did not satisfy the Expectations of judicious Men, for being compos'd by Persons of a different *Genius* and *Capacity*, it was far from being of a Piece; and was therefore after some Time committed to *One Hand*, to be corrected, and made a little more uniform; Mr. *Henry Dunstar* President of the College, was the Man chosen to this Work, who with the Assistance of Mr. *Richard Lyon*, Tutor to Sir *Henry Mildmay's* Son, then boarding in his House, reduced it to the Form in which it appears at present; but after all, if we compare the *New-England Version of the Psalms* with those that have since been published to the World, it must be acknowledged to be but a mean Performance; it keeps pretty close indeed to the *English Prose*, but has very little Beauty or Elegance in it, the Lines being frequently eke't out, with a great many insignificant Particles for the Sake of the Rhime; and 'tis but a weak Apology, that the *Translators* offer for themselves, when they say, *That we must consider, that God's Altar needs not our Polishings*: As if it were more eligible to sing the Praises of God in barbarous Verse, than in more exact and elegant Compo-sures, so that how commendable soever this Performance might be in the Time when it first appeared,

peared, I think, with the Leave of the learned Men of that Country, it wants now to be revised and corrected by the more beautiful *Versions* of *Dr. Patrick, Tate* and *Brady*: And I heartily wish, that some judicious Person among them would attempt it.

Ann<sup>o</sup>  
1640

ABOUT this Time the Inhabitants of *Lyn* being straitned for Room, went over into *Long-Island*, and having agreed with the Lord *Starling's* Agent, and with the *Indian* Proprietors, they began a Settlement at the *West* End of it, but the *Dutch* giving them a great deal of Disturbance, they deserted their Plantation in those Parts, and settled to the Number of an Hundred Families, at the *East* End of the Island, where they built the Town of *Southampton*, and by the Advice of the Government of the *Massachuset-Bay* erected themselves into a Civil Government.

*LONG-ISLAND* is a noble Spot of Ground, of about an hundred and sixty Miles in Length, and twelve in Breadth; off the *East* Coast lye several Desert-Islands, and at the *West* End lies *Staten-Island* 10 Miles long, and 5 or 6 broad; when the *Dutch* were in Possession of *Long-Island*, they made Earthen Ware there as good or better than that at *Delft*, but when it fell into the Hands of the *English*, with the rest of *New-York*, that Trade was lost; and the *English* Inhabitants deal chiefly in *Furrs*, *Skins*, *Tobacco*, and all sorts of *Grain*. There is a Plain towards the middle of the Island 16 Miles long and 4 broad, which yields very fine *Grass*; the Government of this Island is annexed to *New-York*; 'tis divided into 3 Counties, *Queen's*, *Suffolk*, and *Richmond* Counties; there are two Churches in *Queen's* County, one at *Jamaica*, a Town of about 40 Houses, whose Minister has 50*l.* a Year and 15*l.* for Books; and another at

*Hemp-*

Anno 1641  
 Hempstead, whose Minister has the same Income from *England* raised by the Society for propagating the Gospel, and each of them have 60*l.* a Year from *New-York*; In *Suffolk* County there is no Church of *England*, the Inhabitants being chiefly *Independents* and *Quakers*, but *Richmond* Town and County has an Allowance of 40*l.* a Year for a Minister. \*

THE *Indians* were now very quiet, and the great † *Sachem Woosamequen*, alias *Massasoiet*, and *Mooanam* his Son, came to *New Plimouth*, September 25, in their own proper Persons, and desired, that the ancient League and Confederacy made with the Government of *New Plimouth* might be confirm'd, and the said *Woosamequen* and *Mooanam* his Son did for themselves and their Successors promise to observe the following Articles, namely, "That they would not need-  
 " lessly raise any Quarrels, or do any Wrong to  
 " other Nations, so as to provoke them to War;  
 " and that they would not give, sell, or convey  
 " any of their Lands, Territories, or Possessions  
 " whatsoever to any Person, or Persons, with-  
 " out the Privy and Consent of the Governour  
 " of *Plimouth*, other than to such as the said  
 " Governour shall send or appoint." These Conditions, together with an Acknowledgment of their Subjection to the King of *England*, the said *Woosamequen* and *Mooanam* his Son for themselves, and their Successors, did then faithfully promise to observe, and keep. And the whole Court, in the Name of the Government, and for each Town respectively, did then likewise ratifie and confirm the aforesaid ancient League and Confederacy, promising to the said

\* Atlas Geograph. V. 5. p. 735.

† New-England Memorial, p. 100.



*Woosamequen* and his Son, and their Successors, Ann  
1641  
That they shall, and will from Time to Time, defend  
the said *Woosamequen* and *Mooanam* his Son,  
and their Successors, when Need and Occasion shall re-  
quire, against all such as shall unjustly rise up against  
them, to wrong or oppress them unjustly.

THE Civil War which broke out in *England* this Year between the King and Parliament put a full stop to the further increase of the Colonies of *New-England*, for the *Star Chamber* and the *Ecclesiastical Commission Court* being put down, and the *Episcopal Power* eclips'd, the *Puritans* were made easy at home, and thought no more of transporting themselves into foreign Parts. But certainly never was Country more obliged to a Man, than *New-England* was to *Archbishop Laud*, who by his Cruel and Arbitrary Proceedings drove Thousands of Families out of the Kingdom, and thereby stock'd the Plantations with Inhabitants, in the Compass of a very few Years, which otherwise could not have been done in an Age. This was the Sense of some of the greatest Men in Parliament; *Sir Benjamin Rudyard* in one of his Speeches in the Year 1641 has this Passage. "A great Multitude of the Kings  
" Subjects striving to hold Communion with us, but  
" seeing how far we were gone, and fearing how  
" much further we would go, were forced to fly the  
" Land, very many into savage Wilderesses, because  
" the Land would not bear them: Do not they that  
" cause these Things cast a Reproach upon the Govern-  
" ment?" *Mr. Fiennes*, in a Speech made in the lower House, upon the same Occasion, says, that  
" A certain number of Ceremonies in the Judgment  
" of some Men unlawful, and to be rejected of all  
" Churches; In the Judgment of all other Churches,  
" and in the Judgment of our own Church but indif-  
" ferent, yet what Difference, yet what Distraction  
" have these indifferent Ceremonies raised among us;  
" What

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“ *What has deprived us of so many thousands of Christians, who desired, and in all other Respects deserved to hold Communion with us I say, what has deprived us of them, and scattered them into I know not what places and corners of the World, but these indifferent Ceremonies?*” My *Ld. Digby*, a Gentleman who afterwards suffered deeply in the Royal Cause, complains in one of his Speeches in Parliament, “ *That Men of the best Conscience were then ready to fly into the Wilderness for Religion.*” Mr. *Pym* in his Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords, when he carried up the Commons Impeachment of the *Archbishop*, has these Expressions, “ *You have the King’s loyal Subjects banished out of the Kingdom, not as Eli-melech, to seek for Bread in foreign Countries, by reason of the great Scarcity that was in Israel, but travelling abroad for the Bread of Life, because they could not have it at home, by reason of the spiritual Famine of God’s Word, caused by this Man and his Partakers: And by this means you have the Industry of many thousands of his Majesty’s Subjects carried out of the Land.*” And at last, the whole House of Commons agreed to insert this Article in their Remonstrance to the King, “ *The Bishops and their Courts did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great Numbers, to avoid their Miseries, departed out of the Kingdom, some into New-England, and other parts of America.*” This was really the Case, and tho’ it must be allowed, that when the *Puritans* were in Power they carried their Resentments too far, yet *Archbishop Laud* and the rest of the Court-Bishops can never be cleared from being the principal Authors of the Civil War, which involv’d both Church and State in Confusion, and drew such a Train of Calamities after it, as wasted the best Blood and Treasure in the Kingdom, and at last, brought the un-

happy

happy King himself to the Block. But the Scene of Affairs being now changed, in Favour of the *Puritans*, and the Plantations left to shift for themselves, I will set before the Reader in one View, a general Computation of the Numbers of People, both Ministers and others, who were driven out of their native Country, chiefly on the Account of Religion during the Administration of Archbishop *Laud*; with an Estimate of the Charges of the several Settlements.

Annus  
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THE Number of *Planters* that arrived at *New-England* before the Year 1640. \* are computed at about 4000, who dispers'd themselves up and down the Country, and laid the Foundations of the several Towns and Villages in it. † Their Passage with their Moveables cost at least 95000 *l*.

THE Transportation of their Cattle great and small, 12000 *l*, besides the Price of the Cattle themselves.

THE Provisions which they carried over for Subsistence 'till they could have a Harvest in the Country, 45000 *l*.

THE Materials for their first Cottages, &c. 18000 *l*.

THE Arms, Ammunition, and great Artillery which they brought over with them, 22000 *l*.

IN all, 192000 *l*.

BESIDES the large Sums of Money which the Adventurers laid out in Wares to merchandise with the *Indians*, and the Value of Effects that particular Persons and Families carried over with

\* C. Mather, *Book* 1. page 17, 23.

† Mr. Joffelyn's Computation is very extravagant, who says, the Number of Men, Women, and Children transported to *New-England*, were according to the nearest Computation 21200; and yet the Number of Transports but 298. *Voyage to New-England*, p. 258.



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them, which was very considerable; about 200 Transports were employ'd, at several Times, in this Undertaking, of which one only was lost. Upon the whole, we may venture to say, that the 4 grand Settlements of *New-England*, besides the Loss of so many Inhabitants, cost the Kingdom of *England* no less than 4 or 500,000 *l* a vast Sum of Money at that Time of Day; but if the Persecution of the *Puritans* had continued 10 or 12 Years longer, I am apt to think, that a fourth Part of the Riches of the Kingdom would have been carried out of it.

SOME of the first Planters were Gentlemen of considerable Fortunes, who spent their Estates in the Country; and were at the Charge of bringing over several poor Families, who were not able of themselves to bear the Expence: Such were *William Bradford*, Esq; *Edward Winslow*, Esq; *John Winthrop*, Esq; *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; and a great many others, who at several Times were Governours of the respective Provinces to which they belong'd.

BUT the chief Leaders of the People into *New-England* were the *Puritan Ministers*, who being silenced at home, went thither for the Liberty of their Consciences, and drew vast Numbers of their Friends and Favourers after them. I'll set before the Reader, a List of their Names in the following TABLE.

A LIST

A LIST of the NAMES of such *Puritan Ministers*, who were in Orders in the Church of *England*, but being disturbed by the Ecclesiastical Courts, for the Cause of *Nonconformity*, transported themselves to *New-England*, for the free Exercise of their Ministry, before the Year 1641; together with the Names of the Places where they settled.

THO. Allen, at Charles-Town,  
 John Allen, at Dedham,  
 — Avery, at Marblehead,  
 Adam Blackman, at Stratford,  
 Richard Blinman, at Gloucester,  
 — Brucy, at Brainford,  
 Edmund Brown, at Sudbury,  
 Peter Bulkeley, at Concord,  
 Jonathan Burr, at Dorchester,  
 Charles Chauncey, at Scituate,  
 Thomas Cobbett, at Lynne,  
 John Cotton, at Boston,  
 Tim. Dalton, at Hampton,  
 John Davenport, at Newhaven,  
 Richard Denton, at Stamford,  
 Henry Dunstar, at Cambridge,  
 Samuel Eaton, at Newhaven,  
 John Eliot, at Roxbury,  
 John Fisk, at Chelmsford,  
 Henry Flint, at Braintree,  
 — Fordham, at Southampton,  
 — Green, at Reading,  
 John Harvard, at Charles-Town,  
 Francis Higginson, at Salem,  
 William Hook, at Newhaven,  
 Thomas Hooker, at Hartford,

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Peter Hobart, at Hingham,  
 Ephr. Huet, at Windsor,  
 — Hull, at Isle of Shoales,  
 — James, at Charles-Town,  
 — Jones, at Fairfield,  
 — Knight, at Topsfield,  
 — Knowles, at Water-Town,  
 — Leverick, at Sandwich,  
 John Lethrop, at Barnstable,  
 Richard Mather, at Dorchester,  
 — Maud, at Dover,  
 — Maverick, at Dorchester,  
 John Mayo, at Boston,  
 John Millar, at Yarmouth,  
 — Moxen, at Springfield,  
 Samuel Newman, at Rehoboth,  
 — - Norris, at Salem,  
 John Norton, at Boston,  
 James Noyse, at Newbury,  
 The Rev. Mr. Thomas Parker, at Newbury,  
 Ralph Partridge, at Duxbury,  
 — Peck, at Hingham,  
 Hugh Peters, at Salem,  
 Thomas Peters, at Say-Brook,  
 George Philips, at Water-Town,  
 — Philips, at Dedham,  
 Abraham Pierston, at Southampton,  
 Peter Prudden, at Milford,  
 — Reyner, at Plimouth,  
 Ezek. Rogers, at Rowly,  
 Nathaniel Rogers, at Ipswich,  
 — - Saxton, at Scituate,  
 Thomas Shepherd, at Cambridge,  
 Zach. Symmes, at Charles-Town,  
 — Skelton, at Salem,  
 Ralph Smith, at Plimouth,  
 — - Smith, at Weathersfield,  
 Samuel Stone, at Hartford,  
 Nicholas Street, at Newhaven,  
 William



*William Thompson*, at *Braintree*, Anno  
 ——— *Waltham*, at *Marblehead*, 1641  
*Nathaniel Ward*, at *Ipswich*,  
*John Warham*, at *Windsor*,  
 ——— *Weld*, at *Roxbury*,  
 ——— *Wheelwright*, at *Salisbury*,  
*Henry Whitfield*, at *Guilford*,  
*Samuel Whiting*, at *Lyn*,  
*John Wilson*, at *Boston*,  
 ——— *Witherel*, at *Scituate*,  
*William Worcester*, at *Salisbury*,  
 ——— *Young*, at *Southold*,

The Rev. Mr.

In all 77.

BESIDES these, there were about 20 that had no Settlements in the Country, or were turn'd out of 'em again, some for their Immoralities, and others, because they would not comply with the receiv'd Opinions of the Country, among these were several *Episcopalians*, and *Anabaptists*, as Mr. *Miles* of *Swansey*, and good old *Huiserd Knowles* of *Dover*, who returning to *England*, suffer'd deeply in the Cause of *Nonconformity* under *K. Charles II.* being universally esteem'd, and belov'd by all his Brethren.

I will not say, that all the *Ministers* mention'd in the *Table* were Men of the first Rate for Learning, but I can assure the Reader, they had a better Share of it than most of their neighbouring Clergy at that Time; they were Men of great Sobriety and Virtue, plain, serious, affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and took a great deal of Pains to promote a *Reformation of Manners* in their several Parishes; I know the World has called them *weak Brethren*, as we all do those who differ from us; But, who were guilty of the greatest Weaknesses, let all unprejudiced Persons judge? Their Adversaries, who

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suspended, deprived, and in Effect forc'd them out of the Kingdom, for a few Rites and Ceremonies, which, by their own Confession were indifferent, and not essential to Christianity; or they, who after their best Enquiries, thought in their Consciences, that a Compliance with them would be sinful.

WITH these came over several young Students in Divinity, whose Education for the Ministry not being finished in *England*, was perfected in this Country; some of whom afterwards made a considerable Figure in both *Englands*; as,

Mr. *Samuel Arnold*, of *Marshfield*,  
 Mr. *John Bishop*, of *Stamford*,  
 Mr. *Edward Bulkly*, of *Concord*,  
 Mr. ——— *Carter*, of *W. burne*,  
 Mr. *Francis Dean*, of *Andover*,  
 Mr. *James Fitch*, of *Norwich*,  
 Mr. ——— *Hunford*, of *Norwalk*,  
 Mr. *John Higginson*, of *Salem*,  
 Mr. ——— *Hough*, of *Reading*,  
 Mr. ——— *James*, of *Easthampton*,  
 Mr. *Roger Newton*, of *Milford*,  
 Mr. *John Sherman*, of *Water-Town*.  
 Mr. *Thomas Thacher*, of *Boston*,  
 Mr. ——— *Woodbridge*, of *Newbury*.

SOME of the Gentlemen abovemention'd return'd to *England* in the Time of the Civil War, and serv'd the Parliament, as, *Edward Winslow*, Esq; who was one of the Commissioners of the Navy; *Edward Hopkins*, Esq; who was one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; *George Downing*, afterwards Sir *George Downing*, and some few others. About 10 or 12 of the Ministers also return'd, among whom was Mr. *William Hook*, of *Newhaven*, who was made Master of  
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the *Savoy*; Mr. *Robert Peck*, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, <sup>Anno</sup>  
 Mr. *Blinman*, Mr. *John Knowles*, Mr. *Sam. Eaton*, <sup>1642</sup>  
 Mr. *Saxton*, Mr. *Giles Firmin*, Mr. *Thomas Allen*,  
 Mr. *Henry Whitfield*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and the  
 famous Mr. *Hugh Peters*, who made a great Fi-  
 gure under the Protectorship of *Oliver Cromwell*,  
 but meddling too much in State-Affairs, was  
 excepted out of the General Pardon, and exe-  
 cuted with the King's Judges in the Year 1660.  
 So that the *New-England* Colonies, instead of  
 having any Accession from *England*, manifestly  
 decreased for the next 20 Years, 'till the Perse-  
 cution of the Dissenters in the Reign of King  
*Charles II.* turn'd the Tide again.

THE Diligence and Industry of the first Plan-  
 ters in bringing their Affairs to such a Consist-  
 ency in so short a Time is very remarkable, for  
 they had already planted fifty Towns and Vil-  
 lages, built thirty or forty Churches, and more  
 Ministers Houses; a Castle, a College, Prisons,  
 Forts, Cart-ways, Causeways, and all this at  
 their own Charge, without any publick Assis-  
 tance; the Planters had built themselves comfor-  
 table Houses, they had Gardens, Orchards,  
 Grounds fenced in, Corn-Fields, &c. and Laws  
 for the Government of the whole Plantation.

THE Continent of *New-England* being now  
 pretty well stock'd with Inhabitants, it was Time  
 to think of taking Possession of the Islands upon  
 the Coast. The Worshipful Mr. *Thomas May-  
 hew* therefore having obtain'd a Grant of *Martha's  
 Vineyard*, *Nantucket*, and *Elizabeth Isles*, settled  
 his Son in the former of these with a small Num-  
 ber of Planters this Summer; who being a young  
 Man of good Learning and Piety, after some  
 Time became their Minister, and was very ser-  
 viceable in the Conversion of the *Indians*, as the  
 Reader will see in its proper Place. After Mr.  
*Mayhew's* untimely Death, his Father visited the  
 Island,



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Island, and tho' he was no *Minister*, he persuaded the *Indians* of the *Gayhead* to suffer themselves to be instructed in the *Christian Religion*. Upon the *Father's Death*, his *Grandson* who was bred a *Minister*, succeeded him in this good *Work*, whose *Labours* have been so wonderfully blest'd, that *Dr. Mather* says the *Number of Adult Indians* who have embraced the *Christian Religion* upon the *Islands of Martha's Vineyard*,\* and *Nantuket*, are no less than three *Thousand*.

ABOUT the latter *End* of the last *Year*, one *Mr. Bennet* a *Gentlemen* from *Virginia* arrived at *Boston*, with *Letters* from some of the *People* to the *Ministers of New-England*, bewailing their want of a *Gospel Ministry*, and entreating a supply of *Ministers* from hence. After due *Consultation*, it was agreed that the *Churches of Water-Town, Braintree, and Rowly* having each two *Ministers*, should send one upon the intended *Service*, but *Mr. Miller* of *Rowly* being an infirm *Man*, was excused, and *Mr. James* of *Newhaven* went in his room, with *Mr. Hanser Knowles* of *Water Town*, and *Mr. Thompson* of *Braintree*: They began their *Voyage*, *October 7, 1642.* with *Letters recommendatory* from the *Governour* of the *Massachusetts* to the *Governour and Council* of *Virginia*, but thro' *Stress of Weather*, and contrary *Winds* they were eleven *Weeks* in their *Passage*; upon their *Arrival* they began to preach in several *Parts* of the *Country*, and the *People* flock'd to hear them, but the *Governour* was so far from giving them *Encouragement*, that he pass'd an *Order*, *That all such as would not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, should depart the Country by such a Day.* Whereby the *Ministers* were obliged to return home; but be-

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\* *Mather, B. 6. p. 54.*

fore the Time fix'd for their Departure, the *Indians* having entred into a Confederacy against the *English* rose up in Arms, and massacred above three Hundred of the poor Inhabitants, but Mr. *Knowles* and his Brethren got safe to *New-England*. Anno  
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THE same bloody Design was carrying on by the *Indians* of *New-England* at this time, but their own private Quarrels and Divisions hinder'd their putting it in Execution, for the *Narrhagansets* having had Time to reflect upon their late Conduct towards the *Pequots*, \* whose Nation was destroyed, and their whole Territories seized by the *English*, and not being satisfy'd with the Division of Plunder that fell to their share, they began to express their dislike of the *English*, and to concert proper Measures with their Neighbours to shake off the Yoke, and put it out of their Power to prescribe to them for the future; but such was the Unhappiness of this miserable People, that they always suffer'd their private Revenge to take Place of the publick Good. *Miantonimo* King of the *Narrhagansets* upon a private Disgust against *Uncas* King of the *Mohawks*, hired a Villian privately to murder him, but the *Assassin* failing in his Attempt, *Miantonimo* cut off his Head and declared open War against *Uncas*, by invading his Territories with a powerful Army. *Uncas*, took the Field with all the Forces he could muster, which were not half so many as *Miantonimo's*, and had the good Fortune to take him Prisoner in Battle, and cut off his Head. The *Narrhagansets* enraged at the Death of their Prince, resolv'd to push on the War 'till they had destroy'd *Uncas* and his Nation. *Uncas* hereupon fled to the *English*, who pro-

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\* Dr. Increase Mather, *New-England Troubles*, p. 56.

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mis'd to support him effectually against his Enemies; † when the *Narrhagansets* heard this, they were struck with such a Pannick Fear of undergoing the same Fate with the *Pequots*, that they immediately laid down their Arms, sent Messengers, to *Boston*, and beg'd a Peace; which was granted them upon Condition of their defraying the Charges of the War, and delivering up the Son's of their new *Sachem*, as Hostages for the Performance of it: They promis'd all, but when they return'd home, took no further Care of the Matter, 'till Capt. *Atherton*, with a small Party of *English* made an inroad into their Country, and entring the *Wigwam* or Palace of the old *Nyantick* *Sachem* *Ninigret*, took him by the Hair of the Head, and clapping a Pistol to his Breast, told him he was a dead Man, if he did not immediately deliver up the Hostages, and give Orders for the Payment of the Money. *Ninigret* had his Servants, and Guard about him, but the boldness of the Action, surpriz'd them to such a Degree, that not one of them durst lift up a Hand in their Master's Defence, which oblig'd the *Sachem* to comply with the Captain's Demands.

BUT tho' the Measures of the *Indians* were thus broken by their Divisions at present, it was to be fear'd that they would grow wiser in Time, and sometime or other fall upon some of the Colonies with their united Strength; the *Massachusetts* therefore to provide against such an Accident, sent Messengers to the three Colonies of *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, and *Newhaven*, to inform them of the Plottings, and Menaces of the *Narrhagansets*, and to argue from thence the Necessity of their entring into a Confederate Union with one ano-

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\* *Ibid.* p. 59.



ther after the Manner of the Provinces of *Holland*, for their mutual Security; the Motion was no sooner made, but each Province immediately embrac'd it, and an Instrument was drawn up in the following Words.

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**A R T I C L E S** of Confederation betwixt the Plantations under the Government of the Massachusets; the Plantations under the Government of Plimouth, the Plantations under the Government of Connecticut, and the Government of Newhaven, with the Plantations in Combination therewith.\*

Art. I. " **I**T is fully agreed and concluded by  
" and between the Parties or Juris-  
" dictions above named, and they do jointly and  
" severally by these Presents agree and conclude  
" that they all be, and henceforth be called by  
" the name of the *United Colonies of New-Eng-*  
" *land.*

Art. II. " **T**H E said United Colonies for  
" themselves and their Posterity, do jointly and  
" severally, hereby enter into a firm and perpe-  
" tual League of Friendship and Amity for Of-  
" fence and Defence, mutual Advice and Suc-  
" cour, upon all just Occasions, both for prefer-  
" ving and propagating the Truth and Libertie  
" of the Gospel, and for their own mutual  
" Safety and Welfare.

Art. III. " **I**T is further agreed that the Plan-  
" tations which at present are, or hereafter shall  
" be settled within the Limits of the *Massachu-*  
" *sets*, shall be for ever under the Government

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\* *Newhaven's settling in New-England. London 1656, p. 2.*

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“ of the *Massachusetts*; and shall have peculiar  
“ Jurisdiction among themselves as an entire  
“ Body. And that *Plimouth, Connecticut,* and  
“ *Newhaven,* shall each of them in all Respects  
“ have the like peculiar Jurisdiction and Go-  
“ vernment within their Limits, and in Refe-  
“ rence to the Plantations, which already are  
“ settled, or shall hereafter be erected, and shall  
“ settle within any of their Limits respectively,  
“ provided that no other Jurisdiction shall here-  
“ after be taken in, as a distinct Head or Mem-  
“ ber of this Confederation; nor shall any other  
“ either Plantation or Jurisdiction, in present be-  
“ ing, and not already in Combination, or under  
“ the Jurisdiction of any of these Confederates be  
“ received by any of them; nor shall any two of  
“ these Confederates join in one Jurisdiction  
“ without Consent of the Rest, which Consent  
“ to be interpreted as in the sixth ensuing Ar-  
“ ticle is express'd.

IV. “ It is also by these *Confederates* agreed,  
“ that the Charge of all just Wars, whether of-  
“ fensive or defensive, on what Part or Member  
“ of this Confederation soever they fall, shall both  
“ in Men, Provisions, and all other Disburse-  
“ ments be born by all the Parts of this Confe-  
“ deration, in different Proportions according to  
“ their different Abilities in manner following,  
“ namely, that the Commissioners for each Juris-  
“ diction from time to time, as there shall be Oc-  
“ casion, bring a true Account and Number of all  
“ the Males in each Plantation, or any ways  
“ belonging to, or under their several Jurisdic-  
“ tions of what Quality or Condition soever they  
“ be, from sixteen Years old to sixty being Inha-  
“ bitants there. And that according to the dif-  
“ ferent Number, which from time to time shall  
“ be found in each Jurisdiction upon a true and  
“ just Account; the service of Men and all  
“ Charges

“ Charges of the War be born by the Poll: Anno  
 “ Each Jurisdiction or Plantation, being left to 1643  
 “ their own just Course and Custom of rating  
 “ themselves and People, according to their dif-  
 “ ferent Estates, with due Respects to their  
 “ Qualities and Exemptions amongst themselves,  
 “ tho’ the *Confederation* take no Notice of any  
 “ such Privilege. And that according to the  
 “ different Charge of each Jurisdiction, and Plan-  
 “ tation, the whole Advantage of the War, (if it  
 “ please God so to bless their Endeavours)  
 “ whether it be in Lands, Goods, or Persons,  
 “ shall be proportionably divided among the  
 “ said Confederates.

V. “ I T is further agreed, that if any of  
 “ these *Jurisdictions*, or any *Plantations* under, or  
 “ in Combination with them, be invaded by  
 “ any Enemy whomsoever, upon Notice and Re-  
 “ quest of any three Magistrates of that Jurif-  
 “ diction so invaded; the rest of the Confede-  
 “ rates without any further Meeting or expostu-  
 “ lation, shall forthwith send Aid to the Confe-  
 “ derate in Danger, but in different Proportion,  
 “ namely, the *Massachusetts* one hundred Men  
 “ sufficiently Armed, and provided for such a  
 “ Service and Journey; and *each of the rest*, for-  
 “ ty five Men so armed and provided, or any  
 “ less Number, if less be required, according to  
 “ this Proportion. But if such a Confederate  
 “ may be supplied by their next Confederate, not  
 “ exceeding the Number hereby agreed, they  
 “ may crave Help there, and seek no further  
 “ for the Present; The Charge to be born as in  
 “ this Article is express’d; and at their Return  
 “ to be victualled and provided with Powder and  
 “ Shot (if there be need) for their Journey by  
 “ that Jurisdiction, which employed or sent for  
 “ them. But none of the Jurisdictions to ex-  
 “ ceed these Numbers, ’till by a Meeting of the  
 “ Com-



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“ Commissioners for this *Codfederation*, a greater  
 “ Aid appears necessary. And this Proportion  
 “ to continue, ’till upon Knowledge of the Num-  
 “ bers in each Jurisdiction, which shall be brought  
 “ to the next Meeting, some other Proportion be  
 “ ordered. But in any such Case of sending  
 “ Men for present Aid, whether before or after  
 “ such Order or Alteration, it is agreed that at  
 “ the meeting of the Commissioners for this Con-  
 “ federacion, the Cause of such War or Invasion  
 “ be duly considered, and if it appear that the  
 “ fault lay in the Party so invaded, that then  
 “ that Jurisdiction or Plantation make just Satis-  
 “ faction both to the Invaders whom they have  
 “ injured, and bear all the Charges of the War  
 “ themselves without requiring any Allowance  
 “ from the rest of the Confederates towards the  
 “ same.

“ AND further, if any Jurisdiction see any  
 “ Danger of an Invasion approaching, and there  
 “ be time for a Meeting; that in such Case three  
 “ *Magistrates* of that Jurisdiction may summons  
 “ a Meeting, at such convenient Place as them-  
 “ selves shall think meet, to consider and pro-  
 “ vide against the threatned Danger. Provided  
 “ when they are met, they may remove to what  
 “ Place they please; only while any of these four  
 “ Confederates have but three *Magistrates* in  
 “ their Jurisdiction, a request or Summons from  
 “ any two of them shall be accounted of equal  
 “ Force with the three mention’d in both the  
 “ Clauses of this Article, till there be an Increase  
 “ of *Magistrates* there.

VI. “ It is also agreed that for the manage-  
 “ ing and concluding of all Affairs proper to, and  
 “ concerning the whole *Confederacion*, two Com-  
 “ missioners shall be chosen by and out of the  
 “ four Jurisdictions, namely, two for the *Massa-*  
 “ *chusets*, two for *Plimouth*, two for *Connecticut*,  
 “ and

“ and two for *Newhaven*, being all in Church-<sup>Ann</sup>  
 “ fellowship with us, which shall bring full <sup>1643</sup>  
 “ Power from their several general Courts re-  
 “ spectively, to hear, examine, weigh and de-  
 “ termine all Affairs of War or Peace, Lea-  
 “ gues, Aids, Charges, and Numbers of Men  
 “ for War, Division of Spoils, or whatsoever is  
 “ gotten by Conquest, receiving of more Con-  
 “ federates or Plantations into Combination  
 “ with any of these Confederates, and all things  
 “ of like nature which are the proper Concomi-  
 “ tants, or Consequences of such a Confederati-  
 “ on, for Amity, Offence and Defence, not in-  
 “ termedling with the Government of any of the  
 “ Jurisdictions, which by the third Article is  
 “ preserved entirely to themselves. But if these  
 “ eight Commissioners when they meet, shall not  
 “ all agree, yet it is concluded that any six of  
 “ the eight agreeing, shall have Power to settle  
 “ and determine the Business in Question; but  
 “ if six do not agree, that then, such Proposi-  
 “ tions with their Reasons, so far as they have  
 “ been debated, be sent and referr’d to the four  
 “ General Courts (*viz.*) the *Massachusetts*, *Pli-*  
 “ *mou*th, *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*; and if at  
 “ all the said general Courts, the Business so  
 “ referr’d be concluded, then to be prosecuted  
 “ by the Confederates, and all their Members.  
 “ It is further agreed, that these eight Commis-  
 “ sioners shall meet once every Year, besides  
 “ extraordinary Meetings according to the fifth  
 “ Article, to consider, treat, and conclude of  
 “ all Affairs belonging to this Confederation,  
 “ which Meeting shall ever be the first Thurs-  
 “ day in *September*. And that the next Meeting  
 “ after the Date of these Presents, which shall  
 “ be accounted the second Meeting, shall be at  
 “ *Boston* in the *Massachusetts*; the third at *Hart-*  
 “ *ford*; the fourth at *Newhaven*, the fifth at  
 “ *Plimouth*,

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“ *Plimouth*, the sixth and seventh at *Boston*, and  
 “ then *Hartford*, *Newhaven* and *Plimouth*, and so  
 “ in Course successively. If in the mean Time  
 “ some middle Place be not found out, and a-  
 “ greed on, which may be commodious for all  
 “ the Jurisdictions.

“ VII. It is further agreed, That at each  
 “ Meeting of these 8 Commissioners, whether  
 “ ordinary or extraordinary, they all, or any six  
 “ of them, agreeing as before, may chuse their  
 “ President out of themselves, whose Office and  
 “ Work shall be to take Care, and direct for  
 “ Order, and a comely carrying on of all Pro-  
 “ ceedings in the present Meeting ; but he shall  
 “ be invested with no such Power or Respect,  
 “ as by which he shall hinder the Propounding,  
 “ or Progress of any Business, or any Way cast  
 “ the Scales, otherwise than in the precedent  
 “ Article is agreed.

“ VIII. It is also agreed, That the Commis-  
 “ sioners for this *Confederation*, hereafter at  
 “ their Meetings, whether ordinary or extraor-  
 “ dinary, as they may have Commission or Op-  
 “ portunity, do endeavour to frame and establish  
 “ Agreements, and Orders, in general Cases of  
 “ a Civil Nature, wherein all the Plantations  
 “ interested for preserving Peace among them-  
 “ selves, and preventing (as much as may be )  
 “ all Occasions of War, or Differences with  
 “ others, as about the free and speedy Passage  
 “ of Justice in each Jurisdiction to all the Con-  
 “ federates equally, as to their own receiving  
 “ those that remove from one Plantation to  
 “ another without due Certificates; how all the  
 “ Jurisdictions may carry it towards the *Indi-*  
 “ *ans*, that they neither grow insolent, nor be  
 “ injured without due Satisfaction, lest War  
 “ break in upon the Confederates through such  
 “ Miscarriages. It is also agreed, That if any

“ Ser-



“ Servant run away from his Master into any  
 “ of these confederated Jurisdictions; that in Anno  
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 “ such Case upon the Certificate of one Magi-  
 “ strate in the Jurisdiction, out of which the  
 “ said Servants fled, or upon other due Proof,  
 “ the said Servant shall be delivered either to  
 “ his Master, or any other that pursues and  
 “ brings such Certificate or Proof. And that  
 “ upon the Escape of any Prisoner whatsoever,  
 “ or Fugitive for any criminal Cause, whether  
 “ breaking Prison, or getting from the Officer,  
 “ or otherwise escaping, upon the Certificate of  
 “ two Magistrates out of which the Escape is  
 “ made, that he was a Prisoner, or such an Of-  
 “ fender at the Escape, the Magistrates, or some  
 “ of them of that Jurisdiction, where for the  
 “ present the said Prisoner or Fugitive abideth,  
 “ shall forthwith grant such a Warrant as the  
 “ Case will bear, for the apprehending of any  
 “ such Person, and the Delivery of him into the  
 “ Hands of the Officer who pursueth him. And  
 “ if Help be required for the safe returning of  
 “ any such Offender, it shall be granted to him  
 “ that craveth the same, he paying the Charges  
 “ thereof.

“ IX. AND for that the just Wars may be of  
 “ dangerous Consequence, especially to the small-  
 “ er Plantations in these united Colonies; it is  
 “ agreed, That neither the *Massachusetts, Pli-*  
 “ *mouth, Connecticut,* nor *Newhaven,* nor any of  
 “ the Members of any of them shall at any  
 “ Time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage  
 “ themselves, or this Confederation, or any Part  
 “ thereof in any War whatsoever (sudden Exi-  
 “ gencies with the necessary Consequences there-  
 “ of excepted, which are also to be moderated  
 “ as much as the Case will permit) without  
 “ the Consent and Agreement of the fore-  
 “ named eight Commissioners, or at least six of  
 “ them;

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“ them, as in the sixth Article is provided. And  
 “ that no Charge be required of any of the  
 “ Confederates, in Case of a defensive War, ’till  
 “ the said Commissioners have met, and ap-  
 “ proved the Justice of the War, and have a-  
 “ greed on the Sum of Money to be levied,  
 “ which Sum is then to be paid by the several  
 “ Confederates in Proportion, according to the  
 “ fourth Article.

“ X. THAT on extraordinary Occasions,  
 “ when Meetings are summon’d by three Ma-  
 “ gistrates of any Jurisdiction, or two as in the  
 “ fifth Article, if any of the Commissioners come  
 “ not, due Warning being given, or sent, it is  
 “ agreed, That four of the Commissioners shall  
 “ have Power to direct War, which cannot be  
 “ delayed, and to send for due Proportions of  
 “ Men out of each Jurisdiction, as well as six  
 “ might do, if all met, but not less than six shall  
 “ determine the Justice of the War, or allow the  
 “ Demands or Bills of Charges, or cause any  
 “ Levies to be made for the same.

“ XI. IT is further agreed, That if any of  
 “ the Confederates shall hereafter break any of  
 “ these present Articles, or be any other Ways  
 “ injurious to any one of the other Jurisdictions,  
 “ the Breach of Agreement or Injury shall be  
 “ duly considered, and ordered by the Commis-  
 “ sioners for the other Jurisdictions, that both  
 “ Peace and this present Confederation may  
 “ be entirely preserved without Violation.

“ LASTLY, This perpetual Confederation,  
 “ and the several Articles and Agreements  
 “ thereof being read, and seriously considered,  
 “ both by the general Court of the *Massa-*  
 “ *chusets*, and the Commissioners for *Plimouth*,  
 “ *Connecticut*, and *Newhaven*; were presently and  
 “ fully allowed and confirmed by three of the  
 “ forenamed Confederates, namely, the *Massa-*  
 “ *chus-*

“ *chufets, Connecticut, and Newhaven.* In Testi-  
 “ mony whereof the General Court of the *Maf-* Anno  
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 “ *fachufets* by their Secretary, and the Commif-  
 “ sioners for *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*, subscribed  
 “ them the 19th Day of the third Month, com-  
 “ monly called *May*, Anno Domini, 1643.

“ ONLY the Commissioners from *Plimouth*  
 “ having brought no Commission to conclude,  
 “ desired Respite to advise with their General  
 “ Court, which was granted, and at the second  
 “ Meeting of the Commissioners for the Confe-  
 “ deration held at *Boston* in *September* following,  
 “ the Commissioners for the Jurisdiction of *Pli-*  
 “ *mouth* delivered in an Order of their General  
 “ Court, dated *August 29*, 1643. by which it ap-  
 “ peared, that these Articles of Confederation  
 “ were read, approved, and confirmed by the  
 “ said Court, and all their Townships, and their  
 “ Commissioners authorized to ratifie them by  
 “ their Subscriptions, which they accordingly  
 “ did the 7th Day of *September*, 1643.”

FROM this Time we are to look upon the 4  
 Colonies of *New-England*, as *one Body*, with Re-  
 gard to all the publick Transactions with their  
 Neighbours, tho' the private Affairs of each  
 Province were still managed by Magistrates and  
 Courts of their own.

WHILE this great Affair of the Union of the  
 4 grand Settlements of *New-England* was trans-  
 acting, dyed Mr. *William Brewster*, Teacher of  
 the Church of *New-Plimouth*. a wise and prudent  
 Man, and deservedly called *the Father of New-*  
*England*; he had a learned Education in one of  
 the *English* Universities, and from thence entred  
 himself into the Service of Mr. *Davison*, Secre-  
 tary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he  
 went over into *Holland*, and was entrusted with  
 Affairs of great Importance, as particularly with  
 the keeping the Keys of the *Cautionary Towns*;



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he afterwards lived in good Esteem in his own Country, 'till the Severity of the Times forced him to return to *Holland*, where he became first a Member, and afterwards a Ruling Elder of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation at *Leyden*; here he continued 'till the Year 1620, and then at the Age of 60, had the Courage and Resolution to put himself at the Head of that Part of the Church which began the first Settlement in *New-England*; he lived there almost 23 Years, and bore his Part of the Fatigues and Hardships of the Infant-Colony with the utmost Bravery; he was not an Ordained Minister, but being a Man of Learning and Piety, he preached to the Colony for above 7 Years, 'till they could provide themselves with a Pastor; the Magistrates and People paid him the greatest Respect; and after a long Life filled with Sufferings on the Account of Religion, he dyed in the midst of his Friends in Peace, *April* the 18th, 1643, in the 84th Year of his Age, and was buried with as great Honour and Solemnity, as the present Circumstances of the Colony would admit.

1644 THE Town of *Plimouth* growing too streight for the Inhabitants, and the Land thereabouts proving barren, and hardly worth manuring, some of the principal Gentlemen agreed to look out another Settlement, and having viewed a Tract of Land near the Promontory of *Cape Cod*, called by the *Indians*, *Namsset*, where the Soil was rich, and the Situation pleasant, they purchased it of the Natives, and some of the best Families in Town removed thither with their Effects, and built the Town of *East-Ham*.

THE Peace of the Country had like to have been broken at the same Time by the following Accident; an *Indian* murdered an *English* Man in the Woods near *Connecticut*; the *English* demanded the Murderer, but the *Segamore* refused

to deliver him up, whereupon both Sides prepared for War; the furious *Indians* in the Heat of their Rage committed some Acts of Hostility against the *English*, but when they saw the Storm that was coming upon them, they surrender'd the Murderer, and so the Peace was continued.

BUT tho' the publick Peace with the *Indians* 1645 was preserved, the Commonwealth was in Disorder from intestine Commotions within itself; for the Inhabitants of \* *Hingham* in the County of *Suffolk*, quarrelling about the Election of their chief Military Officer, Mr. *Winthrop* Deputy-Governour of the Province, proceeded against the Rioters in an arbitrary Manner, obliging them to give Bond to appear at the Quarter-Court, and upon their Refusal, he committed them to Prison; the Accusation laid against them was certain Words spoken, concerning the Liberty and Power of the *General Court* and their own Liberties granted them by the said Court: The Majority of the Town were inflamed at the Imprisonment of their Friends, and signed a Petition to the *General Court* for a free Hearing, and Liberty of Speech to plead their common Liberties; in this Petition they complain of the following Grievances.

FIRST; That they had not a settled Form of Government according to the Laws of *England*.

———— That they had not a sure and comfortable Enjoyment of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, according to their natural Rights, as free-born Subjects of the *English* Nation. —————

From whence proceeded Fears of illegal Commitments, unjust Imprisonments, Taxes, Rates, Customs, Levies, of ungrounded and undoing Af-

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\* Child's *New-England Jonas cast up at London*, 1647, p. 3.

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 fessments, unjustifiable Presses, undue Fines, &c. In a Word, of an Uncertainty of all Things they enjoy'd. ——— They therefore pray, that there may be a more settled Rule of Justice in Cases of Judicature, from which if Men swerve, there may be some Power settled to call them to Account.

SECONDLY, That whereas there are many Thousands in these Plantations of the *English* Nation free-born, quiet, peaceable Men, righteous in their Dealings, and forward to advance the publick Good, &c. who are debarr'd from all Civil Employments, not being permitted to bear the least Office, nor to have a Vote in chusing Magistrates, Captains, or other Civil or Military Officers. ——— They therefore desire that Civil Liberty and Freedom be granted to all truly *English*, without imposing any Oaths or Covenants on them, which seem not to concur with the Oath of Allegiance formerly enforced on all; or at least, to detract from the Laws of their native Country; they being willing to take such Oaths and Covenants, as express their Desire to promote the Glory of God, and the Good of the Plantation; their Duty to the State of *England*, and Love of their Nation. But they entreat, that their Bodies may not be impress'd, nor their Goods forcibly taken away, lest they not knowing the Justice of the War, may be ignorantly and unwillingly forced upon their own Destruction. ———

THIRDLY, Whereas there are divers good People eminent for Knowledge, and no Way scandalous in their Lives and Conversations, Members of the Churches of *England*, not dissenting from the late and best Reformation of *England* and *Scotland*, who yet are prohibited the Lord's Supper, because they will not subscribe the

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the Church's Covenant, for which they see no Light in the Word of God; but notwithstanding are compell'd under a severe Fine every Lord's Day to appear at the Congregation, and Notice is taken of such who stay not 'till Baptism be administred to other Men's Children, tho' denied to their own, and in some Places forced to contribute to the Maintenance of those Ministers who will not receive them into their Flock, tho' they desire it. ----- They therefore pray for Liberty to the Members of the Churches of *England*, not scandalous in their Lives and Conversations, to be received into the Churches; or else to grant Liberty to settle themselves in a Churchway, according to the Reformation of *England* and *Scotland*. ----- Or else, they shall be necessitated to lay their Case before the Parliament of *England*.

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Sign'd by *Robert Child, Tho. Fowle,  
Samuel Miverick, Thomas Burton,  
David Yale, John Smith, John  
Daud.*

SIX of these seven Petitioners were cited before the Court, and charged with great Offences contained in this Petition; they appealed to the Parliament of *England*, and tendred sufficient Security to abide by their Sentence; but the Court thought themselves empowered to determine the Affair themselves, which they accordingly did, by sentencing the Offenders to be imprisoned and fined.

Dr. *Mather* says, \* the Court had so much Regard to the Petitioners, as to order Mr. *Win-*

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\* *C. Mather* B. 2. p. 13.

*Anno* *1645* *Winthrop*, the Deputy-Governour, to make his Defence in open Court before a vast Assembly of People, who first-pleaded his Commission, and shewed them how unreasonable it was to call a Governour to Account during the time of his Administration; but this not giving Satisfaction, he came down from the Bench, and like a Criminal at the Bar, pleaded his Cause, and gave such Reasons for the justifying his Conduct, as rais'd the Indignation of the Deputies against the *Petitioners*, and made them not only acquit him, but lay a severe Fine on the Heads of his Prosecutors.

HE adds, further, that after the Trial was over Mr. *Winthrop* resumed his Place of *Deputy Governour* upon the Bench, and spoke to the following Effect.

GENTLEMEN,

I Will not look back to the past Proceedings of this Court, nor to the Persons therein concern'd; I am satisfy'd that I was publickly accused, and that I am now publickly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on this Occasion that may rectify the Opinions of the People, from whom these Distempers in the State have arisen. The Questions that have troubled the Country of late have been about the Authority of the Magistrate and the Liberty of the People: Magistracy is certainly an Appointment of God, and I entreat you to consider that you choose them from among yourselves: And that they are Men subject to like Passions with yourselves: We take an Oath to Govern you according to God's Laws, and our own to the best of our skill; if we commit Errors not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us; nor would  
 " I have

“ I have you mistake your own Liberty ; there is a Anno  
 “ Liberty of doing what we list, without regard to 1645  
 “ Law or Justice; this Liberty is indeed inconsistent w  
 “ with Authority ; but civil moral, federal Li-  
 “ berty which consists in every one’s enjoying his  
 “ Property, and having the Benefit of the Laws  
 “ of his Country, this is what you ought to  
 “ contend for, with the hazard of your Lives ;  
 “ but this is very consistent with a due Subjec-  
 “ tion to the civil Magistrate, and the paying  
 “ him that Respect that his Character in the  
 “ Common-wealth requires.”

THE Court and People were entirely satisfied with this Part of Mr. *Winthrop’s* Conduct, and so overcome with his Condescension, that to make him amends they chose him Governour of the Province every Year after as long as he lived.

\* But the Petitioners resolved to lay the Case before the Parliament of *England*, and accordingly Dr. *Child* and Mr. *Fowle* took Passage in the first Shipping that went for *England* after their Release, and carried Authentick Copies of the whole Affair with them ; the Government was alarmed at this Resolution of the Petitioners and jealous of the Consequence, insomuch that Mr. *Cotton* in one of his Sermons took Occasion to say, *That if any shall carry any Writings, or Complaints against the People of God in that Country to England, it would be as Jonas in the Ship.* These Words made such an Impression upon some of the Passengers, that when they were in a Storm at Sea ; a Woman came up from between Decks about midnight, and begg’d Mr. *Vassel* that if there was any *Jonas* in the Ship, as Mr. *Cotton* had directed,

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\* *New-England’s Jonas*, p. 18.



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it might be thrown over Board; he ask'd her why she came to him; she reply'd, because he had some Writings against the good People of *New-England*; but not being able to make any Impression upon him, she went to Mr. *Fowle* in the like distracted manner, who told her, They had nothing but a Petition to the Parliament that they might enjoy the Liberties of *Englishmen*, and a Copy of the Petition they had presented to the Court at *Boston*, and if she and others thought them to be the Occasion of the Storm, they might do what they would with them. So the Woman carried the Petitions to her Friends between Decks, who threw them over Board; but Mr. *Fowle* took care to preserve the Originals, which he published afterwards to the World, under the Title of *New-England's Jonas cast up at London*; but the Parliament of *England* were too busie at this time to take Cognizance of the Affair.

OLD *England* was indeed in a dreadful Storm; for the King and Parliament, having battled it with Petitions and Remonstrances against one another for some time, at last drew their Swords; whereupon the Parliament deprived the Bishops of their Votes, and at length abolish'd the Episcopal Government it self; each Party raised an Army, and Garrison'd the chief Towns in their Possession; the whole Kingdom took Part on one side or the other, 'till every Corner of the Land was filled with Blood and Confusion. The foreign Protestants wished well to the Parliament, for they were so incensed at the severe Proceedings of Archbishop *Laud* and some other Prelates, that they could not but be pleased at their Downfall. The Archbishop had laid the *Dutch* and *French* Churches in *London* under severe  
Restraints

Restraints as to the Exercise of their Discipline,\* and Dr. *Wren*, Bishop of *Norwich*, had proceeded against those of *Canterbury*, *Norwich*, and other Parts of his Diocess with such warmth, that many of them left the Kingdom, and carried their Mystery into foreign Parts to the lessening of the Manufactures of the Kingdom. And whereas the *English* Ambassadors in Protestant Countries used to frequent their Churches; † Instructions had been given to the Lord *Scudamore* at *Paris*, not to go to *Charenton*, whereupon he fitted up the Chappel in his own House, and furnish'd it with Candles upon the Communion Table, to the great Offence of the Protestants of that Country, who had never seen any such Thing before; and declared publickly, that the *Church of England*, did not look upon the *Hugonots* as a Part of her Communion. These Proceedings of the Bishops begot ill Blood amongst Protestants; and made the foreign Churches unconcern'd at their Downfall; and tho' our Historians have varnish'd these Things over, and given them the best turn they would bear, yet certainly they carried the Face of a Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, whatever the Authors of these Counsels might intend by them. All the foreign Plantations sided with the *Parliament*, except *Virginia*; the several Colonies of *New-England* we may be sure did so; for the Bishops had been their implacable Enemies, and driven them out of the Land; and one part of the Quarrel between the King and Parliament was the very same for which they left the Country: For them therefore to wish well to the Par-

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\* *Compleat Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. p. 72.

† *Ibid.* p. 120.

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*1645* liament, was no more, than to wish well to themselves; but tho' the *New-England* Colonies were on the Parliament side, they were not capable of giving them the least Assistance, but like Spectators at a distance enjoying all the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, they only look'd on and beheld the Calamities in which their Native Country was involv'd.








## C H A P. VI.

*Of the Conversion of the Indians. Several Conferences of the Reverend Mr. Eliot with them. A Body of Indians agree to enter into civil Society, and make Laws by Mr. Eliot's Direction for their Government. The Confession of Faith of Ponampam an Indian Convert. Two Exhortations or Sermons of Indian Preachers on a Fast-Day. Of the Conversion of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, under the Conduct of Mr. Mayhew. Hiaccoomes's boldness and Constancy in the Christian Faith; the Reverend Mr. Mayhew's Death and Character. Mr. Increase Mather's Letter to Professor Leusden at Utrecht giving an Account of the Number of the Indian Churches their Manner of Worship, and Form of Church Discipline. The Continuation of their History. Of the Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England.*

 **W**HEN the *English* first took Possession of *New-England*, the Natives were a wild and savage People, without any form of civil Government, and very little Appearance of Religion; their *Princes* were absolute Masters of the Lives and Fortunes of their Subjects; and their *Priests* were a sort of Conjurers, who pretended

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w pretended to converse with familiar Spirits, but did not encourage the People's Devotion, nor instruct them in any of the social Virtues; they had neither Temples, nor Altars, nor any stated times of religious Worship. When a Person was sick, the *Priest* was sent for to make use of his Enchantments for his Recovery; and when any publick Calamity befell the Country, the Priests and People offer'd some sort of Sacrifices to appease the Deity; but at other times, they never troubled their Heads about the Matter. One thing further deserves to be taken Notice of, which is, that the chief Object of their Devotions was the *Devil*; they seldom worship'd the Supreme Being *Kichtan*, because they apprehended him to be a *good Being*, who would not hurt any of his Creatures; but they stood in great Awe of *Hobamocko*, the Author of all Evil, and upon every Mischief that befell them, loaded his Altars with their Burnt-Offerings.

IT moved the Compassion of the first Planters of *New-England*, who left their native Country on the Account of Religion, to see so many poor Souls wandring in the Paths of Ignorance and Error, who were Men as well as themselves, and wanted only Instruction to bring them to the Knowledge of God in Christ; besides the *King of England*, in the Charter which he granted to the Colony had declared that "to win and incite the Natives of that Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the only true God, and Saviour of Mankind, was in his Royal Intention, and the Adventurers free Possession, the principal End of the Plantation".

THE Rev. Mr. *Eliot*, therefore, Minister of *Roxbury*, resolv'd to attempt this great Work, and for this purpose hired an *Indian* who could speak *English* to teach him the Language: The *Indian* Language, as the Reader hath already observ'd in the first Chapter,

Chapter, must be very difficult to learn, by reason of the excessive length of the Words, which have not the the least Affinity with any of the *European* Languages; the Prounciation is harsh, and the way of conversing in it, very unpleasant by reason of the slow Communication of Ideas; but Mr. *Eliot's* Zeal surmounted all these Difficulties, so that by conversing with his *Indian* Servant a few Months, he was able to speak the Language intelligibly, and after some time by his own indefatigable Pains and Industry, he became so compleat a Master of it, as to be capable of reducing it to a Method, which he has since published to the World under the Title of the *Indian Grammar*.

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HAVING thus fitted himself for his Work, he resolved to break the Ice; and accordingly on the 28th of *October* 1646. He went with three more in Company, \* to the Neighbouring *Indians* having given them Notice before-hand of his desire to instruct them in the Christian Faith; *Waubon*, a wise and grave Man, tho' no *Sachem*, with five or six *Indians* met them at some distance from their *Wigwams*, and bidding them welcome conducted them into a large Apartment, where a great Number of the Natives were gathered together, to hear this new Doctrine which the *English* were to teach them; after a short Prayer Mr. *Eliot* rehearsed and explained the ten Commandments; informing them at the same time of the dreadful Curse of God that would fall upon all those that brake them: He then told them, who *Jesus Christ* was, where he was now gone, and how he would one Day come again to judge the World in flaming Fire; he informed them likewise of the Blessed State

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\* *Day-breaking of the Gospel in New-England, London, 1647. p. 1.*  
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of all those who by Faith believe in Christ, and know him savingly; he spake also of the Creation and fall of Man; of the infinite greatness of God, the Maker of all Things; of the Joys of Heaven and the Torments of Hell; perswading them to Repentance, and a good Life. Having spent about an Hour in discoursing upon these Arguments; he desired to know whether they would ask him any Questions about his Sermon; upon which one stood up and asked, *How he might come to know Jesus Christ?* Another enquired, *Whether Englishmen were ever so Ignorant of Jesus Christ as themselves?* A Third, *Whether Jesus Christ could understand Prayers in the Indian Language?* Another propos'd this Question; *How there could be an Image of God, since it was forbidden in the second Commandment?* Another, *Whether if the Father be naught, and the Child good, God will be offended with that Child, because in the second Commandment it is said, he visits the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children?* The last Question that was asked at this Meeting was, *How all the World became full of People, if they were all once drowned in the Flood?* Mr. Eliot and his Friends gave plain and familiar Answers to all these Questions, and after a Conference of about three Hours returned Home.

UPON the 11th of November,\* they gave the Indians another Meeting by Appointment; and found a larger Company met together than before; Mr. Eliot began first with the Children, and taught them these three Questions and Answers. Q. 1. *Who made you and all the World?* A. God. Q. 2. *Who do you expect should save you from Sin and Hell?* A. Jesus Christ. Q. 3. *How many Commandments hath God given you to keep?*

\* *Ibid.* p. 7.

A. Ten. He afterwards preached about an *Anno*  
 Hour to the whole Company concerning the *1646*  
 Nature of God, and the Necessity of Faith in  
 Jesus Christ for the procuring his Favour; he in-  
 formed them likewise what Jesus Christ had done  
 and suffered for the Salvation of Sinners, and what  
 dreadful Judgments they must expect, if they  
 neglected the Salvation that was now offer'd them.  
 The whole Company appeared very serious; and  
 after Sermon, Liberty being given them to ask  
 any Questions for their further Information; an  
 old Man presently stood up and with Tears in his  
 Eyes, asked, *Whether it was not too late for such*  
*an old Man as he, who was near Death to repent and*  
*seek after God?* Another asked, *How the English*  
*came to differ so much from the Indians in their*  
*Knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had*  
*all at first but one Father?* Another enquired,  
*How it came to pass that Sea-Water was Salt and*  
*River Water fresh?* Another, *That if the Water*  
*was higher than the Earth, how it comes to pass that*  
*it does not overflow all the Earth?* Mr. Eliot and  
 his friends spent several Hours in answering these  
 and some other Questions, and in the Evening  
 return'd home; the *Indians* telling them *that they*  
*did much thank God for their coming; and for what*  
*they had heard, they were wonderful Things to*  
*them.*

UPON the 26th of the same Month, they  
 met the *Indians* a third time,\* but the Company  
 was not so numerous as before, because the  
*Powaws* or *Priests* had diswaded some from co-  
 ming to hear the *English* Ministers, and threatned  
 others with Death; but those that were present  
 appeared very serious, and seemed to be touched  
 with Mr. Eliot's Sermon. Two or three Days after

\* *Ibid.* p. 18.

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this Meeting, *Wampas*, a wise and sage *Indian*, with two of his Companions, came to the *English*, and desired to be admitted into some of their Families; he brought his Son and two or three other *Indian* Children with him, begging they might be educated in the *Christian Faith*, which the *English* granted; and at the next Meeting all that were present offered their Children to be catechized, and instructed by the *English*, who upon this Motion resolved to set up a School among them.

BUT before this could be accomplished, it was necessary to take them off from their wild way of living, and bring them into a sort of civil Society; the general Court therefore gave the *Indians* in that Neighbourhood some Land to build a Town upon, which they thankfully accepted, and called it by the Name of *Noonatomen*, that is *Rejoycing*. And as many as were willing to be civilized, met together and agreed on the following Laws.

*First*, \* That if any Man be idle a Week, or at most a fortnight he shall pay five Shillings.

*Secondly*, IF any unmarried Man shall lie with a Young Woman unmarried, he shall pay twenty Shillings.

*Thirdly*, IF any Man shall beat his Wife, his Hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the Place of Justice to be severely punished.

*Fourthly*, EVERY young Man, if not another's Servant, and if unmarried shall be compell'd to set up a *Wigwam*, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other *Wigwams*.

*Fifthly*, IF any Woman shall not have her

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\* *Ibid.* p. 22.



Hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as Men's Hair, she shall pay five Shillings. Anno  
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*Sixthly*, IF any Woman shall go with naked Breasts, she shall pay two Shillings.

*Seventhly*, ALL Men that wear long Locks shall pay five Shillings.

*Eighthly*, IF any shall kill their Lice between their Teeth, they shall pay five Shillings.

BUT the general Court being willing to encourage the *Indians* further, made the following Order concerning them, dated *May 26, 1647.*

“ \*UPON Information that the *Indians* dwelling among us, are by the Ministry of the Word brought to some Civility, and are desirous to have a Court of ordinary Judicature set up among them: It is therefore order'd by Authority of this Court, that one or more of the Magistrates, shall once every Quarter keep a Court at such Place where the *Indians* ordinarily assemble to hear the Word of God, to hear and determine all Causes both civil and criminal not being capital, concerning the *Indians* only; and that the *Indian Sachems* shall have Liberty to take Orders in the Nature of Summons, or Attachments to bring any of their People to the said Courts, and to keep a Court of themselves every Month, if they see Occasion, to determine small Causes of a civil Nature, and such smaller criminal Causes, as the said Magistrates shall refer to them; and the said *Sachems* shall appoint Officers to serve Warrants and to execute the Orders and Judgments of either of the said Courts, which Officers shall from time to time be allowed by the said Magistrates in the quarter Courts, or by the Governour: And that all Fines to be imposed

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\* Shephard's *clear Sun-shine of the Gospel upon the Indians*, London 1648. p. 15.

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“ upon any *Indian* in any of the said Courts,  
 “ shall go and be bestowed towards the building  
 “ of some Meeting-houses for Education of their  
 “ poorer Children in Learning, or other publick  
 “ Use, by the Advice of the said Magistrates,  
 “ and of Mr. *Eliot*, or of such other Elder as  
 “ shall ordinarily instruct them in the true Reli-  
 “ gion. And it is the Desire of this Court that  
 “ these *Magistrates* and Mr. *Eliot*, or such other  
 “ *Elders* as shall attend the keeping of the said  
 “ Courts, will carefully endeavour to make the  
 “ *Indians* understand, our most useful Laws, and  
 “ the Principles of Reason, Justice, and Equity,  
 “ whereon they are grounded, and it is desired  
 “ that some Care may be taken of the *Indians*  
 “ on the Lord’s Day.”

THE Ground on which their Town was to be built, being mark’d out, Mr. *Eliot* advised them to fence it in with Ditches, \* and a Stone Wall, promising to give them, *Shovels, Spades, Mattocks, and Crows of Iron* for this Purpose; he likewise gave Money to those that work’d hardest, by which means their Town was soon enclosed and the *Wigwams* or Houses of the meanest were equal to those of the *Sachems* in other Places, being built not with Mats, but with the Barks of Trees; and divided into several Apartments; whereas before they used to eat and sleep, and do all the Offices of Nature together.

THE Women began to learn to spin, and find something to sell at Market all the Year round; in the Winter they sold *Brooms, Staves, Baskets, Turkeys*; in the Spring *Cranberries, Fish, Strawberries*; in the Summer *Hurtleberries, Grapes, Fish*, besides several of them work’d with the *English* in Hay time and Harvest; but they were nei-

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\* *Ibid.* p. 28. 32.

ther so industrious nor capable of hard Labour, as those who have been bred to it.

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WHILE these Things were doing at *Noonatomen*, the *Indians* about *Concord* express'd their Desires of being civilized, and of receiving the Christian Faith, they begg'd Mr. *Eliot* to come and preach to them, and address'd the Government for a spot of Ground either by the Side of the *Bear Swamp*, or on the East side of Mr. *Flint's* Pond to build them a Town; about the latter End of *February* several of their *Sachems* and Principal Men met at *Concord*, and agreed upon the following Laws for their civil and religious Government.

THAT \* there shall be no more *Powawing* among them, upon Penalty of twenty Shillings for every Offence.

THAT whosoever shall be Drunk shall forfeit twenty Shillings.

THAT if any be convicted of Stealing, he shall restore fourfold.

THAT whosoever shall prophane the Sabbath shall pay twenty Shillings.

THAT whosoever shall commit Fornication, shall pay twenty Shillings if a Man, and ten Shillings if a Woman.

WILFUL Murder, Adultery, and Lying with a Beast to be punished with Death.

NONE to beat their Wives, on penalty of twenty Shillings.

THEY resolved to lay aside their old Ceremonies of howling, greasing their Bodies, adorning their Hair; and to follow the *English* Fashions.

THEY agreed to pray in their *Wigwams*, and to say *Grace* before and after Meat.

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\* *Clear Sun-shine*, p. 4.



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THESE and some other Orders of the same Nature, were published and approved by the whole Company, and Capt. *Willard* of *Concord* was desired to be their Recorder, and see them put in Execution.

BUT to return to the *Indians* at *Noonatomen*; the Rev. Mr. *Wilson, Allen, Dunstar, Shepard*, with several other *English* went thither on the third of *March*, and after Sermon desired that if any of the *Indian Women* had any Difficulties with Regard to the Christian Religion, they would propose them, either by acquainting their Husbands, or the Interpreter, privately with them; accordingly one ask'd, *Whether she pray'd, when she only join'd with her Husband in his Prayer to God Almighty*; another ask'd, *Whether her Husband's Prayer signify'd any thing, if he continued to be angry with his Wife, and beat her*: At this, and some other Meetings, the *English* gave away Cloaths to the *Indian Men, Women, and Children*; so that on a Lecture Day the greatest part of them appeared handsomely dress'd after the *English Manner*.

BUT Mr. *Eliot's* Labours were not confined to one or two Places, he travelled into all Parts of the *Massachuset* and *Plimouth* Colonies even as far as *Cape Cod*, offering to preach the Gospel to as many of the *Sachems* and their Subjects as would hear him; he was in Journeyings often, and (as the Apostle *Paul* says of himself) *in Perils of Water, in Perils by the Heathen, in Perils in the City, and in Perils in the Wilderness*. In a Letter that he writ to the Honourable Mr. *Winslow*,\* He tells him, that he had not been dry Day nor Night from Tuesday to Saturday, but travell'd from Place to Place in that Condition, "only at

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\* *Mr. Eliot's Letters published by Whitfield, 1651. p. 21.*

‘ Night (says he) I pull off my Boots, and wring  
 “ my Stockings, and so put them on again, I  
 “ have considered the Exhortation of the Apostle  
 “ *Paul* to his Son *Timothy*, *That we must endure*  
 “ *Hardship, as good Soldiers of Jesus Christ.*” He  
 went usually once a fortnight on his Missionary  
 Work, tho’ herein he frequently carried his  
 Life in his Hand; for such was the Malice  
 of several of the *Indian* Princes and Priests a-  
 gainst him, that they often plotted his Destruc-  
 tion, and would certainly have put him to the  
 most tormenting Death, if they had not been  
 awed by the Power and Strength of the *English*  
 Colonies; Nor is this to be wondred at, for if  
 it be very difficult to civilize barbarous Nations,  
 ’tis much more so to make them Christians; All  
 Men have naturally a Veneration for the Reli-  
 gion of their Ancestors, and the Prejudices of  
 Education are insuperable without the extraordi-  
 nary Grace of God. Besides the *Indian* Princes  
 and Priests look’d upon Mr. *Eliot* as a Man that  
 design’d to overturn their civil as well as religious  
 Policy; the *Prince* was jealous of his Prerogative,  
 and the *Priest* of his Gain, and so both join’d to-  
 gether to hinder the Progress of the new Doc-  
 trines. The *Monhegin* Indians were so jealous of  
 the General Court’s obliging them to pray to  
 God, that *Uncas* their *Sachem* went to the Court  
 at *Hartford* to protest against it.\* *Cutshamoquin*,  
 another *Sachem* came to the *Indian* Lecture, and  
 openly protested against their building a Town,  
 telling the *English*, that all the *Sachems* in the  
 Country were against it; he was so honest as to  
 tell Mr. *Eliot* the Reason of it; for (says he) the  
*Indians* that pray to God do not pay me Tribute  
 as formerly they did; which was in part true

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\* *Whitfield's Discovery of the present State of the Indians in New-England, 1651, page 38.*

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for whereas before the *Sachem* was absolute Master of his Subjects; their Lives and Fortunes being at his Disposal; they gave him now no more than they thought reasonable; but to wipe of the Reproach that *Cutshamoquin* had laid upon them, those few praying *Indians* who were present, told Mr. *Eliot*, what they had done for their *Sachem* the two last Years, leaving him to judge whether their Prince had any reason to complain; at one time they gave him 26 Bushels of Corn; at another time 6 Bushels more; on two hunting Days they killed him 15 Deers; they broke up for him two Acres of Land; they made him a great House or Wigwam; they made 20 Rod of Fence for him, with a Ditch and 2 Rails about it; they paid a Debt for him of three Pound ten Shillings; one of them gave him a Skin of a *Beaver* of two Pounds, besides many Days Work in Planting Corn all together; yea they said they would willingly do more if he would govern them justly by the Word of God. But the *Sachem* swelling with Indignation, at this unmannerly Discourse of his Vassals, turn'd his Back upon the Company and went away in the greatest Rage imaginable; tho' upon better Consideration himself turned Christian not long after.

INNUMERABLE were the Affronts that Mr. *Eliot* met with in his Missionary Work, sometimes the *Sachems* would thrust him out from among them, telling him he was impertinent to trouble himself with them or their Religion, and that if he came again, it should be at his Peril; but his usual Reply was, "that he was about the Work of the great God, and therefore did not fear them, nor all the *Sachems* in the Country; that he was resolved to go on with his Work, and bid them touch him at their Peril." When he offered to preach the Gospel to *Philip King*



King of the *Wompanoags*, *Philip* look'd upon him with Scorn, and taking hold of one of his Buttons, told him, *He cared no more for his Gospel than for that Button.* Anno  
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BUT 'tis no wonder that they treated Mr. *Eliot* after this rude Manner, when they banished from their Society all those of their own People that favoured Christianity, and when they could do it with Safety, put them to Death; nothing but the formidable Power of the *English* hindred them from Massacring all the new Converts, which obliged some well disposed Persons to conceal their Sentiments in Religion, and others to fly to the *English* for Protection.

THE *Powaws* likewise made Use of all their Inchantments to keep the People in Awe; they asked them, what they would do when they were sick; for when the *Indians* are sick the *Powaws* are their Physicians for Soul and Body, they administer Physick, and at the same Time address their Deities for a Blessing; they howl and dance, and use a great many Charms for the sick Man's Recovery; and the People believe that by their familiar Converse with the World of Spirits they can kill or cure, except in some particular Cases, wherein the *Deity* is inexorable; they believe they can bewitch their Enemies, and, if they please, by an invisible Power put them to Death: Even the new Converts were of this Mind, only they affirm'd the *Christians* God to be a Being of superior Power to the God of the *Powaws*: When some of the *Powaws* threatned *Jacomes* a Christian Convert with his Life, telling him, that he knew they could destroy him with Witchcraft, and that they would do it, unless he return'd to his old Religion; he replyed, in the Face of a great Assembly of *Indians*, " That tho' the God they worshipped had great Power, yet he was " subservient to him whom he had now chosen " to

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“ to serve.” Another Time when the *Powaws* were bragging in the midst of a great Assembly of *Indians*, that they could kill all the praying *Indians*, if they pleased; *Jacomes* told them, “ That if they brought all the *Powaws* in the Country together, he would venture himself in the midst of all their Charms and Witchcrafts, and by the Help of his God tread upon them all.” But tho’ some of the Converts had Courage enough to defy the Power of the *Indian* Priests, yet others were afraid to appear openly against them, and Mr. *Eliot* says, that he observed a remarkable Difference in their Countenances, when the *Powaws* were present, and when they were out of the Way.

BUT notwithstanding all these Discouragements, the Christian Religion \* began to obtain in several Parts of the Country, both in the *Massachusetts* and *Plimouth* Patent; the new Converts were distinguish’d by the Name of the *Praying Indians*, who as soon as they had renounc’d their Old Religion, abandon’d their wild and barbarous Way of Living. A considerable Body of them combined together in the Year 1651, and built a Town by the Side of *Charles-River*, which they call’d *Natick*: It consists of three long Streets, two on this Side the River, and one on that, with House-Lots to every Family; there is one large House built after the *English* Manner, the lower Room is a large Hall, which serves for a Meeting-House on the Lord’s Day, and a School-House on the Week-Days; there is a large Canopy of Matts rais’d upon Poles for Mr. *Eliot* and his Company; and other Sort of Canopies for themselves and other Hearers to sit under, the Men and

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\* *Manifestation of the further Progress of the Gospel in New-England, 1652. p. 17.*

Women being placed apart; the upper Room Anno 1646 is a Kind of Wardrobe, where the *Indians* hang up their *Skins*, and other Things of Value; in a Corner of this Room Mr. *Eliot* has an Apartment partition'd off, with a Bed and Bedstead in it: There is likewise a handsome large Fort, of a round Figure, palifado'd with Trees, and a Foot-Bridge over the River, in Form of an Arch, the Foundation of which is secured with Stone, with several little Houses after the *English* Fashion.

As soon as they had fix'd their Settlement, \* they applied to Mr. *Eliot* for a Form of Civil Government, who advis'd them to that which *Jether* propos'd to *Moses* for the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, *Exod.* xviii. 21. Accordingly, on the sixth of *August*, about 100 of them met together, and chose one Ruler of 100, two Rulers of 50, and ten Rulers of 10; every private Man chose who should be his Ruler of 10, the Rulers standing in Order, and every Man going to the Man he chose; after this they entred into the following Covenant. " We are the Sons of  
 " *Adam*, we and our Fathers have a long Time  
 " been lost in our Sins, but now the Mercy  
 " of the Lord begins to find us out again;  
 " therefore, the Grace of Christ helping us, we  
 " do give ourselves and our Children to God  
 " to be his People; he shall rule us in all our  
 " Affairs, not only in our Religion, and Affairs  
 " of the Church, but also in all our Works and  
 " Affairs in this World; God shall rule over us,  
 " the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-  
 " giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us;  
 " the Wisdom which God has taught us in his  
 " Book, that shall guide us, and direct us in

\* *Ibid* page 9, 19.



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“ the Way. O Jehovah, teach us Wisdom to  
 “ find out thy Wisdom in thy Scriptures; let  
 “ the Grace of Christ help us, because Christ is  
 “ the Wisdom of God; send thy Spirit into our  
 “ Hearts and let it teach us; Lord take us to  
 “ be thy People, and let us take thee to be our  
 “ God.”

THE New-Converts continued several Years under the Character of *Catecumens*, all which Time they were visited by Mr. *Eliot*, or some other *Divine* of the Country every Week, who catechiz'd their Children, preach'd upon some Article of the Christian Faith, and answered such Questions as the *Indians* propos'd to them; at length, upon their repeated Desires to be formed into a Church, a Day was appointed, which they call'd *Natootomakteackesuk*, or the Day of asking Questions, when the Ministers, and several of the Members of the adjacent Churches assisted with the best Interpreters that could be had, met at *Natick*, to judge of their Fitness for Christian Communion: This great Assembly was on the 13th of *October*, 1652, when about 14 or 15 *Indians* made distinct and open Confessions of their Faith in Christ, and of the Efficacy of the Word towards their Conversions; Mr. *Eliot* writ them down as they spoke them, and afterwards published them to the World under the Title of *Tears of Repentance*, or, a Narrative of the farther Progress of the Gospel among the *Indians* in *New-England*. He tells the World in his Book, (p. 26.) “ That he had not knowingly, or wil-  
 “ lingly, made their Confessions better than they  
 “ made themselves, but he is verily per-  
 “ swaded on good Grounds, that he has rather  
 “ rendred them weaker than they deliver'd them,  
 “ partly by missing some Words of Weight in  
 “ some Sentences, partly by abbreviating some  
 “ Passages, and partly, by Reason of the disse-  
 “ rent

“rent Idioms of *their* Language and ours.” *Ann*  
 However, I will present the Reader with a *1645*  
 Copy of one of their *Confessions*, by which he may  
 form a Judgment of the rest.

*The CONFESSION of PONAMPAM,*  
*on the Fast-Day, before the Great Assembly.*

“**B**EFORE \* I prayed to God, I committed  
 “all Manner of Sins, and when I heard  
 “the Catechism that God made me, I did not  
 “believe it, because I knew I sprang from my  
 “Father and Mother; and therefore I despised  
 “the Word, and therefore again I did act all  
 “Sins, and I did love them. Then God was  
 “merciful to me to let me hear that Word,  
 “that *all shall pray from the rising to the setting*  
 “*Sun*; and then I considered whether I should  
 “pray, but I found not in my Heart that all  
 “should pray; but then I consider’d of pray-  
 “ing, and what would become of me if I  
 “did not pray, and what would become of me  
 “if I did pray; but I thought if I did pray, the  
 “*Sachems* would be angry; because they did not  
 “say, pray to God; and therefore I did not yet  
 “pray, but considering of that Word, that all  
 “shall pray, I was troubled, and I found in my  
 “Heart, that I would pray to God, and yet I  
 “feared that others would laugh at me,  
 “and therefore I did not yet pray. After-  
 “wards God was yet merciful to me, and I  
 “heard that God made the World and the first  
 “Man, and I thought it was true, and therefore  
 “I would pray to God, because he hath made  
 “all; and yet when I did pray I thought I  
 “did not pray aright, because I prayed for the  
 “Sake of Man, and I thought this was a great

\* *Tears of Repentance*, London, 1653. p. 23.

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“ Sin; but then I wondred at God’s free Mer-  
 “ cy to me, for I saw God made me, and gives  
 “ me all Mercies, and then I was troubled, and  
 “ saw that many were my Sins, and that I do  
 “ not yet believe; then I prayed; yet my Heart  
 “ finned, for I prayed only with my Mouth; and  
 “ then I repented of my Sins, and then a little  
 “ I considered, and remembred God’s Love to  
 “ us; but I was a Sinner, and many were my  
 “ Sins, and a little I repented of them, and yet  
 “ again I finned, and quickly was my *Heart* full  
 “ of Sin; and then again was my *Heart* angry  
 “ with myself, and often I lost all this again, and  
 “ fell into Sin. Then I heard that Word that  
 “ God sent *Moses* into *Egypt*, and promised, *I*  
 “ *will be thee*: That Promise I consider’d; but I  
 “ thought that in vain I did seek, and I was  
 “ asham’d that I did so: And I pray’d, O God  
 “ teach me truly to pray, not only before Man,  
 “ but before God; and pardon all my Sins.  
 “ Again, I heard that Word that Christ taught  
 “ thro’ every Town and Village, *Repent, and be-*  
 “ *lieve, and be saved*; and a little I believ’d this  
 “ Word, and I lov’d it, and then I saw all my  
 “ Sins, and pray’d for Pardon. Again, I heard that  
 “ Word, *He that casteth off God, him will God cast*  
 “ *off*; and I found in my Heart that I had done  
 “ this, and I fear’d because of this my Sin, lest  
 “ God should cast me off, and that I should for  
 “ ever perish in Hell, because God hath cast me  
 “ off, I having cast off God. Then I was trou-  
 “ bled about *Hell*, and what shall I do if I be  
 “ be damn’d. Then I heard that Word, *If ye*  
 “ *repent and believe, God pardons all Sins*: Then I  
 “ thought, Oh that I had this! I desir’d to repent  
 “ and believe; and I begg’d of God, Oh give  
 “ me Repentance and Faith! freely do it for  
 “ me! and I saw God was merciful to do it.  
 “ But I did not attend the Lord only sometimes,  
 “ and



“ and I now confefs that I am afhamed of my  
 “ Sins, my Heart is broken and melteth in me, Anna  
 “ I am angry at myfelf ; I defire Pardon in 1646  
 “ Chrifl ; I betruft my Soul with Chrifl, that he  
 “ may do it for me.”

IT must be remembered that thefe *Indians* could neither write nor read, that they pronounced thefe Confessions before a large Affembly of *Englijh*, and were often interrupted by the Writers ; which is a fufficient Apology for their want of Method and Expression. The Minifters communicated thefe Confessions to their feveral Churches, who approved of them ; but yet were not very forward to encourage their Approach to the Table of the Lord, till further Trial. However at laft they were incorporated into a Church after the Manner of *New-England*, giving themfelves firft to the Lord, and then to one another in an holy Covenant, promifing to walk together in all the Ordinances and Inftitutions of the Gofpel ; and Mr. *Eliot*, being commiffioned by his Church at *Roxbury*, firft baptized, and then adminiftered the Lord’s Supper to them. Thus was the firft *Indian Church* formed about the Year of our LORD, 1660.

BUT Mr. *Eliot*’s Care of the new *Converts* was not confin’d to his own Personal Inftitution ; he therefore took *Monequeffun*, an ingenious *Indian*, into his Houfe, and having taught him to read and write, made him Schoolmafter at *Natick* : He likewife translated into the *Indian Language Primers, Catechifms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter’s Call to the Unconverted*, feveral of Mr. *Shepard*’s *Composures*, and at length the *Bible itfelf*, which was printed the firft Time at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1664, and a little after Mr. *Eliot*’s Death a fecond time with the Corrections of Mr. *Cotton*, Minifter of *Plimouth*. Some of the  
*Indians,*

*Anno* *Indians*, who had a Genius for Learning, were  
 1646 admitted into the College, and had a liberal  
 Education bestowed upon them, whereby their  
 Congregations were quickly furnish'd with Mi-  
 nisters of their own. In the mean time, Mr.  
*Eliot* visited them as often as he could on the  
 Week Days, and encouraged the most judicious  
 among them to give a Word of Exhortation to  
 their Brethren on the Lord's Day. I have seen  
 an Abstract of six of their Exhortations on a  
 Day of Fasting and Prayer, for excessive Rains,  
 November the 15th, 1658. I'll gratify the Read-  
 er's Curiosity with one or two of them.\*

*The EXHORTATION of WABAN,*  
*an Indian, from Matth. ix. 12, 13.*

*When Jesus heard that, he said, They that be whole  
 need not a Physician, but they that are sick.*

*But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have  
 Mercy and not Sacrifice ; for I came not to call  
 the Righteous but Sinners to Repentance.*

“ I AM a poor weak Man, and know but  
 “ little, and therefore I shall say but  
 “ little.

“ THESE Words are a Similitude, that as  
 “ some be sick and some well ; and we see in  
 “ Experience that when we be sick we need a  
 “ Physician, and go to him, and make use of his  
 “ Physick ; but they that be well do not so, they  
 “ need it not, and care not for it : So it is with  
 “ Soul-Sickness ; and we are all sick of that Sick-  
 “ ness in our Souls, but we know it not. We  
 “ have many at this time sick in Body, for which

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\* *Eliot's Letter to the Corporat. Lond. 1659. p. 8.*

“ Cause we do fast and pray this Day, and cry *Anno*  
 “ to God; but more are sick in their Souls. We *1646*  
 “ have a great many Diseases and Sickneses in  
 “ our Souls, as *Idleness*, Neglect of the *Sabbath*,  
 “ *Passion*, &c. Therefore what should we do this  
 “ Day, but go to Christ the Physician, for  
 “ Christ is the Physician of Souls: He nealed  
 “ Men’s Bodies, but he can heal *Souls* also: He  
 “ is a great Physician, therefore let all Sinners  
 “ go to him; therefore this Day know what  
 “ need we have of Christ, and let us go to Christ  
 “ to heal us of our Sins, and he can heal us both  
 “ Soul and Body. Again, What is that Lesson  
 “ which Christ would have us learn, *that he came*  
 “ *not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance?*  
 “ What! doth not God love them that be righ-  
 “ teous? Doth he not call them to him? Doth  
 “ not God love Righteousness? Is not God  
 “ righteous? *Ans.* The Righteous here are  
 “ not meant those that are truly righteous, but  
 “ those that are Hypocrites, that seem righteous  
 “ and are not; that think themselves righteous,  
 “ but are not so indeed: Such God calleth not,  
 “ neither doth he care for them. But such as  
 “ see their Sins, and are sick of Sin, them Christ  
 “ calleth to Repentance, and to believe in Christ:  
 “ Therefore let us see our Need of Christ to heal  
 “ all our Diseases of Soul and Body.

*The EXHORTATION of NISHOKOU \**,  
*from Genesis viii. 20, 21.*

*And Noah built an Altar to Jehovah, and he took of  
 every clean Beast, and of every clean Fowl, and  
 offered burnt Offerings on the Altar.*

\* *Ibid.* p. 10.



Anno 1646 *And the Lord smelt a sweet Savour, and the Lord said in his Heart, I will not again curse the Ground,*  
—&c.

“ **A** LITTLE I shall say according to that little  
“ I know.

“ **I** N that *Noah* sacrificed, he shewed him-  
“ self thankful; in that *Noah* worshipped he  
“ shewed himself Godly. In that he offered  
“ clean Beasts, he shewed that God is an holy  
“ God, and that all that come to God must be  
“ pure and clean. Know that we must by Re-  
“ pentance purge ourselves, which is the Work  
“ we are to do this Day. *Noah* sacrificed and so  
“ worshipped. This was the manner of old  
“ Time. But what Sacrifices have we now to  
“ offer? I shall answer by that in *Psalm. iv. 5.*  
“ *Offer to God the Sacrifice of Righteousness, and put*  
“ *your Trust in the Lord.* These are the true spi-  
“ ritual Sacrifices which God requires at our  
“ Hands, the Sacrifices of Righteousness; that  
“ is, we must look to our Hearts and Ways that  
“ they be Righteous, and then we shall be ac-  
“ ceptable to God when we worship him; but if  
“ we be *unrighteous, unholy, ungodly*, we shall not  
“ be accepted, our Sacrifices will be stark  
“ naught.

“ **A** GAIN, We are to *put our Trust in the Lord.*  
“ Who else is there for us to trust in? We must  
“ believe in the Word of God; if we doubt of  
“ God, or doubt of his Word, our Sacrifices are  
“ little worth, but if we trust steadfastly in God,  
“ our Sacrifices will be good.

“ **O** NCE more, What Sacrifices must we  
“ offer? My Answer is, we must offer such as  
“ *Abraham* offered; and what a Sacrifice was  
“ that, we are told *Gen. xxii. 12.* *Now I*  
“ *know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not*  
“ *withheld thy Son thy only Son from me.* It seems  
“ he

“ he had but one dearly beloved Son, and he offered that Son to God, and so God said, *I know thou fearest me*, behold a Sacrifice in Deed and Truth! Such an one must we offer, only God requires not us to offer our Sons, but our Sins, our dearest Sins. God calls us this Day to part with all our Sins, tho’ never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him; if we will not part with *All*, the Sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such Sins as we love best, and it will be a good Sacrifice.

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GOD smelt a sweet Savour in *Noah’s* Sacrifice, and so will God receive our Sacrifices, when we worship him aright: But how did God manifest his Acceptance of *Noah’s* Offering, it was by promising to drown the World no more, but give us fruitful Seasons. God has chastized us of late, as if he would utterly drown us, and he has drowned, and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of our Hay, and threatens to kill our Cattel. ’Tis for this that we fast and pray this Day; let us then offer a clean and pure Sacrifice as *Noah* did, so God will smell a Savour of rest, and he will withhold the Rain, and bless us with such fruitful Seasons as we are desiring of him.”

THE other Exhortations are of a piece with these, and their Prayers were no less Pious and Devout.

’TIS no wonder after all this, that Mr. *Eliot* was in high esteem among the new Converts; that they consulted him as their *Oracle* in all difficult Cases; that they loved him as their very Lives, and would run all Hazards to serve him; he really deserved well of them, for no Man ever took such true Pains in the *Missionary* Work as himself; his Name therefore will be mention-

*Anno* ed with Honour as long as there is a *Christian*  
*1646* *Indian* in the World.

WHILE Mr. *Eliot* was employed in converting the *Indians* within the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*; Mr. *Leverich* was promoting the same good Work in *Plimouth* Patent, and Mr. *Mayhew* in *Martha's Vineyard*, *Nantuket* and *Elizabeth Isles*. The Worshipful Mr. *Mayhew, Sen.* having obtained a Grant of these Islands, placed his Son Mr. *Tho. Mayhew*, a Young Man of considerable Learning and Piety, with a few other *English* in *Martha's Vineyard* in the Year 1642. After some time he accepted of the Peoples Invitation to be their Minister; but not being easy that his Labours were confined to that small handful of *English* on the Island, he learn'd the *Indian* Language, that he might be in a Capacity of instructing the Natives in the Christian Faith: \* The first Convert that he made to Christianity was one *Hiaccomes*, a Young Man of about 30 Years of Age: The *English* had visited him several Times at his *Wigwam*, and invited him to come and see their way of living, but he was afraid of his Countrymen, who look'd upon the *English* as Enemies to their *Gods* and *Nation*; however, at length his Curiosity brought him to the Plantation on a Lord's-Day; when Mr. *Mayhew* taking notice of him invited him to his House, and entertained him in an obliging and friendly Manner, discoursing with him concerning the Excellency of the *Christian Religion* above the *Indian*, which made such an Impression upon him, that in a little time he renounced the *Gods* of his Country, came constantly to the Meeting every Lord's-Day, and to Mr. *Mayhew's*

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\* *Mayhew's Letter to the Corporation*, 1651. p. 3, 4.



House in the Evening to be further instructed in the Christian Faith.

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THE Revolt of *Hiaccomes* alarm'd the whole Island, and brought upon him the Contempt and Hatred of all his Acquaintance ; once as he was going into one of their *Wigwams*, all the *Indians* set up a great Laughter at him; and *Pakoponeffo* the Sachem, spoke to him after this Manner ; “ I wonder that you who are a young Man, having a Wife and two Children should love the *English* and their Ways, and forsake the *Powaws* ; what would you do if you should be sick ? Whither would you go for help ? I say, if I was in your Case, there should nothing draw me from our *Gods* and *Powaws*.” *Hiaccomes* made him no Reply, but continued to visit Mr. *Mayhew* ; who taught him to read ; and endeavoured to fortify him against the Reproaches of his Countrymen. In the Year 1645, there was a general Sickness all over the Island ; but *Hiaccomes* and his Family happening to escape the Distemper, the Neighbouring *Indians* began to think how it should come to pass that he who had exposed himself to such Reproaches and Troubles should receive more Blessings than themselves, upon this they began to conceive a good Opinion of the Christian Religion, and having consulted among themselves, they sent a Messenger to *Hiaccomes*, praying him to hasten to *Myoxeo*, because the *Indians* in those Parts were desirous to be acquainted with his way of worshipping God ; *Hiaccomes* went with the Messenger and found *Towanquatick* the Sachem, *Myoxeo* his prime Minister, and a great Company of *Indians* assembled together. *Towanquatick* prayed *Hiaccomes* to tell him what he knew concerning the *Englishmens* God. After which *Myoxeo* asked him how many Gods the *English* worshipped ; *Hiaccomes* replied, One ; *Myoxeo* told him he had

<sup>Anno</sup>  
<sup>1646</sup> thirty seven Gods, and shall I throw them all away (says he) for One? *Hiaccomes* told him he had done so, for above these two Years and yet was preserved; *Myoxeo* told him it was true, and I (says he) will throw away my old Gods, and put my self under the Protection of yours. *Hiaccomes* acquainted the Company further with the Sin of *Adam*, and reckoned up to them several Sins of their own; he told them likewise of the Sufferings of Christ the Son of God to make Satisfaction for Sin, and left them in a very thoughtful and serious Disposition.

SOME time after *Towanquatick* the Sachem sent for Mr. *Maybew*, and spoke thus to him, “ A long  
“ time ago we had wise Men, who in a grave  
“ Manner taught the People Knowledge, but  
“ they are dead, and their Wisdom is buried  
“ with them, and now Men live a giddy Life in  
“ Ignorance ’till they are white-headed, and  
“ tho’ ripe in Years, yet then they go without  
“ Wisdom to their Graves.” He therefore desired in his own and his Peoples Name that Mr. *Maybew* would set up a Meeting and make known the Word of God to them in their own Tongue, which Mr. *Maybew* agreed to do once a fortnight. This Meeting was the Joy of some of the *Indians*, and the Derision of others, who scoffed at those that went to it, but *Hiaccomes*, *Towanquatick*, and others were not ashamed. Some time after the *Indians* set up a Meeting among them selves, to discourse about the New and Old Religion; and a great Number being present, they began to debate the Power of the *Powaws* or *Priests* to kill Men, many Stories being told of the great Hurt they had done to their Enemies; then the Question was asked, Who is there that does not fear the *Powaws*? One of the Company stood up and said, there is not any Man that is not afraid of the *Powaws*; the Eyes  
of

of the Company being then fixed upon *Hiaccomes*, he stood up and defied them all, saying, he was very sure that they could not kill him, because he trusted in God who was above them all; *Hiaccomes* went on, and told them of their Sins, exhorting them to repent, and turn to the living God, which had such an Effect, that twenty two *Indians* renounced their Idolatry at that Meeting and desired to be instructed in the Christian Faith.

THE *Powaws* were enraged at these Proceedings, and threatned the *Praying Indians* with Death; but *Hiaccomes* and his Friends challenged them to do their worst, telling them that they would abide their Power in the Face of the whole Island: However, they did not think fit to put it to a publick Tryal at that time; but “ Dr. Mather tells us of a *Sachen* who,\* upon his Conversion to Christianity, declared, that having often employed his God, who appeared to him in the Form of a *Snake* to kill, wound, and lame such whom he intended mischief to; he employed the said *Snake* to kill, and that failing, to wound *Hiaccomes*, but to no Purpose; and having seriously considered the Assertion of the said *Hiaccomes*, that none of the *Powaws* could hurt him, since his God whom he served was the *great God*, to whom *theirs* was subservient; he resolved to worship the true God, from which time during seven Years, the *Snake* gave him great Disturbance; but that he never after his praying to God in Christ employed that said *Snake* in any thing, and about that time it ceased to appear to him.”

MR. *Mayhew's* Method of instructing the *Indians* was the same with Mr. *Eliot's*; he Cate-

\* Mather, Book 6. page 59.



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chised their Children, preached, prayed, and sung Psalms in the publick Meeting, and then answered their Questions: He conferr'd every Saturday with *Hiaccomes*, and furnish'd him with Materials to preach to the *Indians* on the Lord's-Day, which *Hiaccomes* perform'd with great Serioufness and Affection. Mr. *Mayhew* pursued his Design of converting the *Indians* with unwearied Application for the Space of twelve or fourteen Years, laying hold of all Opportunities to invite and perswade them to the Faith of Jesus Christ, till at length intending a short Voyage to *England*, in the Year 1657, he set sail with Capt. *Garret* in the Month of *November*, but neither the Ship nor any of the Passengers were ever heard of anymore.

MR. *Whitfield* Minister of *Guilford*\*, *New England*, gives this Mr. *Mayhew* a very great Character, "I was an Eye-witness (says he) of the great Pains he took, and seeing but a slender Appearance of outward Accommodations, I enquired of him concerning his Maintenance; but he was modest and would make no Complaints. However, I understood from others that things were very short with him, that many times he was forced to labour with his own Hands, having a Wife and three small Children to provide for, and not half so much coming in yearly in a settled Way, as a Day Labourer gets in the Country; yet he was chearful among these streights, and none ever heard him complain; the Truth is, he would not leave the Work in which his Heart was engaged; for upon my Knowledge (says Mr. *Whitfield*,) if he would, he might have had a more competent, and comfortable Maintenance." His Talent lay in a sweet and affable way of Conver-

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\* *Whitfield's Collection of Letters in Tresf. p. 2.*

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sation, by which he wrought himself into the Affections of the *Indians*, and by that means had the easier Access to their Minds. His Labours were attended with great Success, for in the Year 1650, \* he tells us, that the *Indians* flock'd to him by whole Families, desiring *that they and their Houses might serve the Lord*; that there were 8 *Powaws* and 280 adult *Indians* that had embraced the Christian Faith, whereof 50 in one Day †; so that Mr. *Mayhew's* Death was a publick Loss, and the *Indian* Converts were so affected with it, that they could hardly hear his Name mention'd for a long time after without Tears.

MR. *Mayhew's* Father, †† tho' no Minister, assisted his Son with his Advice and Counsel in the Missionary Work; and observing that one great Obstacle of the Conversion of the *Indians* was the *Prince's* Jealousy of an Eclipse of his Power, and that the *Princes* in these Islands tho' absolute over their own Subjects, yet did Homage to a certain Potent Prince on the Continent, paying him an Annual Tribute for his Assistance in their Wars; he took a proper Occasion to let them know, that by Order of his Master the *King of England*, he was to govern the *English* that should settle in those Islands; that his Master was in Power far above any of the *Indian* Monarchs, but that as he was Powerful, so he was a great Lover of Justice; and therefore would not in the least invade their Jurisdiction, but on the contrary assist them as need required.

WHEN the Christian Religion had made some Progress in the Island, he persuaded the *Sachem* to admit of the Counsel of Judicious Christians, and in Cases of more than ordinary Consequence

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\* *Mayhew's Letter*, p. 31.

† *Letter to Corporation*, 1652. p. 3.

†† *Mather*, *Lock* 6. p. 57.

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of a Jury for Trial; he offered himself to assist the Prince on such Occasions, but never to intermeddle without his Consent: Thus within a fews Years a civil Government was settled among them, Records were kept of all Acts passed in their Courts, by such who having learn'd to write were appointed to that Office; the *Princes* with their *Nobles* submitted themselves to the *King of England*, reserving to themselves, as subordinate Princes, the Right of Governing their People according to the Laws of God and the King.

THERE were several other Ministers who deserve an honourable Mention, for their great Pains in the Missionary Work, as Mr. *Eliot's* Son, who had made himself Master of the *Indian Language*, and would have been a famous Evangelist, if he had not dyed in the very beginning of his Usefulness. The Rev. Mr. *Richard Bourne*, who bestowed his Labours upon the *Indians of Mashippaug* in the County of *Plimouth* about 50 Miles from *Boston*, the Rev. Mr. *Fitch* and Mr. *Pierston*, who have been very successful among the *Connecticut Indians*, tho' they had to do with a Prince who declared the utmost Aversion to them and their Religion, and Mr. *John Cotton*, Pastor of a Church at *Plimouth*, and Son of the Rev. Mr. *Cotton* of *Boston*, who was an indefatigable Preacher, and attended Mr. *Eliot* in several of his Visits to the *Indians*.

IN the Year 1666, Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* attended by the Honourable Governor, and several Magistrates and Ministers of *Plimouth Colony* settled an *Indian Church* at *Mashippaug*, under the Pastoral Care of Mr. *Bourne*, who was then ordained to that Office: From hence they went to *Martha's-Vineyard*, and Collected a Church out of the Converts of the late Rev. Mr. *Mayhew*; *Hiaccomes* was chosen their Pastor, *John Tuckinosh* Teacher; *Joshua Mumneebeggs*, and *John*



*John Nanaso*, ruling Elders, who were ordained to their several Offices. Soon after another Church was gathered at *Nantuket*, *John Gibs* an *Indian* being ordain'd their Pastor; besides which there were several other Assemblies of Praying *Indians* which were served by the English Ministers, and continued under the Character of *Catecumens*.

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BUT that the Reader may form a true Idea of the State of Christianity among the *Indians* at that time, and of the Progress of the Gospel among them for the next 20 Years, together with their Manner of Worship; I have transcrib'd the following Letter of *Dr. Increase Mather*, Minister in *Boston*, and Rector of the College of *Cambridge* in *New-England*, to *Dr. John Leusden*, Hebrew-Professor in the University of *Utrecht*.\*

*Worthy and much Honoured S I R,*

“ YOUR Letters were very grateful to me,  
“ by which I understand that You and  
“ others in your famous University of *Utrecht* de-  
“ sire to be inform'd concerning the converted  
“ *Indians* in *America*. Take therefore a true Ac-  
“ count of them in a few Words.”

“ It is above 40 Years since that truly Godly  
“ Man *Mr. John Eliot*, Pastor of the Church at  
“ *Roxbury*, about a Mile from *Boston* in *New-*  
“ *England* being warmed with an holy Zeal of  
“ converting the *Americans*, set himself to learn  
“ the *Indian* Tongue, that he might more easily  
“ and successfully open to them the Mysteries of  
“ the Gospel; upon Account of which he has been,  
“ (and not undeservedly) called the *Apostle of the*  
“ *American Indians*. This Reverend Person not  
“ without very great Labour translated the

\* Cotton Mather, *Book 3*, p. 194.

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 “ whole Bible into the *Indian* Tongue. He  
 “ translated also several *English* Treatises of  
 “ practical Divinity, and Chatechisms into their  
 “ Language. Above Twenty Six Years ago he  
 “ gathered a Church of Converted *Indians* in a  
 “ Town called *Natick*; these *Indians* confessed  
 “ their Sins with Tears, and professed their  
 “ Faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their  
 “ Children were baptized, and they were solemn-  
 “ ly join’d together in a Church Covenant: The  
 “ said Mr. *Eliot* was the first that Administred  
 “ the Lord’s Supper to them. The Pastor of the  
 “ Church now is an *Indian*, his Name is *Daniel*.  
 “ Besides this Church at *Natick*, among our In-  
 “ habitants in the *Massacusetts Colony*, there are  
 “ Four *Indian* Assemblies, where the Name of  
 “ the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly  
 “ called upon; these Assemblies have some *Ame-*  
 “ *rican* Preachers; Mr. *Eliot* formerly used to  
 “ preach to them once every fortnight, but now  
 “ he is weakned with Labours, and old Age, being  
 “ in the 84th Year of his Age, and preacheth  
 “ not to the *Indians* oftner than once in two  
 “ Months.”

“ THERE is another Church consisting only  
 “ of converted *Indians* about fifty Miles from  
 “ hence in an *Indian* Town called *Mashippaug*;  
 “ the first Pastor of that Church was an *English-*  
 “ *man*, who being skilful in the *American* Lan-  
 “ guage, preached the Gospel to them in their  
 “ own Tongue. This *English* Pastor is dead,  
 “ and instead of him that Church has an *Indian*  
 “ Preacher.”

“ THERE are besides that, five Assemblies of  
 “ *Indians*, professing the Name of Christ not far  
 “ distant from *Mashippaug*, which have *Indian*  
 “ Preachers: *John Cotton* Pastor of the Church  
 “ at *Plimouth*, Son of my venerable Father in Law  
 “ *John Cotton*, formerly the famous Teacher of the  
 “ Church

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“ Church at *Boston*, has made very great Progress  
 “ in learning the *Indian Tongue*, and is very  
 “ skilfull in it: He preaches in their own Lan-  
 “ guage to the last five mentioned Congregations  
 “ every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of  
 “ *Saconet* in *Plimouth* Colony, there is a great Con-  
 “ gregation of those who for Distinction sake are  
 “ called *Praying Indians*, because they pray to  
 “ God in Christ: Not far from a Promontory cal-  
 “ led *Cape-Cod* there are 6 Assemblies of *Heathens*,  
 “ who are to be reckoned as *Catecumens*,” amongst  
 “ whom there are 6 *Indian* Preachers. *Samuel*  
 “ *Treat*, Pastor of a Church at *Eastham*, preacheth  
 “ to those Congregations in their own Language.  
 “ There are likewise among the Islanders of *Nan-*  
 “ *tuket* a Church with a Pastor, who was lately  
 “ a *Heathen*, and several Meetings of *Catecumens*,  
 “ who are instructed by the converted *Indians*.  
 “ There is also another Island about seven Leagues  
 “ long called *Martha’s Vineyard*, where are two  
 “ *American* Churches planted, which are more fa-  
 “ mous than the rest; over One of which there  
 “ presides an ancient *Indian* as Pastor, called *Hi-*  
 “ *accomes*. *John Hiaccomes* Son of the *Indian* Pa-  
 “ stor also preacheth the Gospel to his Countrymen.  
 “ In another Church in that place *John Tockinosh*  
 “ a converted *Indian* teacheth. In these Churches  
 “ ruling Elders of the *Indians* are joyned to the  
 “ Pastors; the Pastors were chosen by the People,  
 “ and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. *Eliot*  
 “ and Mr. *Cotton* laid their Hands upon them, so  
 “ that they were solemnly ordained. All the  
 “ Congregations of the converted *Indians*, (both  
 “ the *Catecumens* and those in Church Order) e-  
 “ very Lord’s-Day meet together: The Pastor or  
 “ Preacher always begins with Prayer, and *without*  
 “ a form, because from the heart; when the Ruler of  
 “ the Assembly has ended Prayer, the whole Con-  
 “ gregation of *Indians* praise God with Singing;  
 “ some



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 “ some of them are excellent Singers. After the  
 “ Psalm he that preaches reads a Place of Scrip-  
 “ ture (one or more Verses, as he will) and ex-  
 “ pounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them  
 “ by Scripture and Reasons, and infers Uses  
 “ from them after the maner of the *English*, of  
 “ whom they have been taught; then another  
 “ Prayer to God in the Name of Christ concludes  
 “ the whole Service. Thus do they meet together  
 “ twice every Lord’s-Day. They observe no Ho-  
 “ ly Days, but the Lord’s Day, except upon some  
 “ extraordinary Occasion; and then they solemnly  
 “ set apart whole Days either in giving Thanks,  
 “ or Fasting and Praying with great Fervour of  
 “ Mind.

“ BEFORE the *English* came into these Coasts,  
 “ these Barbarous Nations were altogether igno-  
 “ rant of the true God; hence it is, that in  
 “ their Prayers and Sermons they use *English*  
 “ Words and Terms; he that calls upon the most  
 “ holy Name of God, says *Jehovah*, or *God*, or  
 “ *Lord*, and also they have learned and borrowed  
 “ many other Theological Phrases from us.

“ IN short there are 6 Churches of baptized  
 “ *Indians* in *New-England*, and 18 Assemblies of  
 “ *Catecumens* professing the Name of Christ: Of  
 “ the *Indians* there are 24 who are Preachers of  
 “ the Word of God, and besides these there are 4  
 “ *English* Ministers who preach the Gospel in the  
 “ *Indian* Tongue. I am now my self weary with  
 “ writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I  
 “ should also be tedious to you; yet one Thing  
 “ I must add, which I had almost forgot, that  
 “ there are many of the *Indians* Children, who  
 “ have learned by Heart the Chatechism either  
 “ of that famous Divine *William Perkins*, or that  
 “ put forth by the Assembly of Divines at *West-*  
 “ *minster*, and in their own Mother Tongue can  
 “ answer to all the Questions in it.

“ But

“ BUT I must end ; I salute the famous Pro-  
 fessors in your University, to whom I desire you  
 to communicate this Letter, as written to  
 them also. Farewel, worthy Sir, the Lord pre-  
 serve your Health for the Benefit of your  
 Country, his Church, and of Learning,

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*Boston in New-Eng.*  
 July 12, 1687.

Yours ever,  
*Increase Mather.*

DR. Cotton Mather,\* the Son of *Increase Mather*, has brought down the History of the *Indians* a little lower, he tells us that in the Year 1695, there were three thousand adult *Indian* Converts in the Islands of *Martha's-Vineyard* and *Nantuket*; that in *Nantuket*, there were five constant Assemblies, or Meetings, some of which had Preachers of their own, and the rest were under the Direction of Mr. *John Gardner*, who writes in a Letter dated *May 17, 1694.* that there were three Churches among them, two of them Congregational and one Baptist; and five constant Assemblies or Meetings, but that the whole Number of praying *Indians* under his Inspection did not amount to above five hundred. Within the Liberties of *Eastham*, there were five hundred and five adult Christian Catecumens, who had four distinct Assemblies in four Villages belonging to the Township, and were served by four Teachers of their own, who used to repair once a Week to Mr. *Treat* the *English* Minister, to be further instructed in the Christian Doctrine. They had four Schools for the instructing their Youth in reading and writing ; and six Justices of Peace for the Management of their civil Affairs ; their De-

\* *Book. 6. page 53.*

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portment, Converse, and Garb was manly and laudable, and they had great Desires of being baptiz'd.

IN the Villages of *Mashippau*, *Sanctuit*, and *Cotuit* bordering on the Town of *Sandwich*, there were two hundred and fourteen Catecumens, who all met in one Assembly, and were sometimes instructed by *Simon Papmonit* a Native, and at other times by *Mr. Rowland Cotton* Minister of *Sandwich*; Besides these there were several smaller Assemblies in other Parts of the Country which the neighbouring Ministers visited and instructed; *Mr. Thomas Tupper* had a Congregation of 180 *Indians*, and *Mr. John Cotton* of *Plimouth* preached to 500 more; *Mr. Thacker* of *Milton* preached to some *Indians* at *Punkenagg*. *Mr. Bondet*, a French Minister, to the *Nipmug Indians*; *Mr. Rawson* of *Mendham* to the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood, and *Mr. Daniel Gookin* to the Remains of the *Indian Church* at *Natick*, which was the first *Indian Church* in *America*. In the whole there were more than 30 Congregations of *Indians* in the Province of the *Massachusetts* alone, and many more than three thousand Converts, who worshipped the true God through the Mediator *Jesus Christ* in those Assemblies, and the Numbers were very considerable in other Parts of the Country.

I have now before me the Reverend *Mr. Experience Mayhew's* Journal of his Visitation of the *Pequot* and *Mohegin Indians*, in the Year 1713, and 1714, by which it appears that the Remains of those Nations are under strong Prejudices against the Christian Religion; *Mr. Mayhew* obtained a Meeting of *Indians*, and preached them a very excellent Sermon by an Interpreter, but with little Effect: They thanked *Mr. Mayhew* for his good Will to them, but told him, they must take time to consider of the Things proposed. In his return home he pass'd thro' the  
*Narhaganset*



*Narrhaganset* Country, and sent for *Ninnicraft* the *Sachem* of those Parts; Mr. *Mayhew* desired leave to preach the Gospel to his People; but *Ninnicraft* bid him go and make the *English* good first; he objected further, that some of the *English* kept Saturday, others Sunday, and others no Day at all for the Worship of God; so that if his People should have a mind to turn Christians, they could not tell what Religion to be off. He added further, that Mr. *Mayhew* might try his Skill first with the *Pequots*, and *Mohegins*, and if they submitted to the Christian Religion, it may be, he and his People might follow, but they would not be first. He then chid Mr. *Mayhew* for hindring him from his Business, and in an angry Humour went away.

NEXT Year Mr. *Mayhew*, at the Request of the Honourable Commissioners of the Society for propagating the Gospel on the Borders made them another Visit, and obtained a Meeting of the *Mohegs*, at which tho' the *Sachem* himself was not present, yet there was his Uncle and 4 or 5 of his Council: After Sermon Mr. *Mayhew* desired to hear their Objections against the Christian Religion, if they had any; upon which one of them stood up and said; That they did believe the Being of a God and did worship him, but as several Nations had their distinct Ways of Worship, so they had theirs, and they thought their Way good, and therefore there was no Reason to alter it.

ANOTHER said that the Difficulties of the Christian Religion were such as the *Indians* could not endure, their Fathers had made some Trial in Mr. *Fitche's* time, and had found Religion too hard for them, and therefore quitted it; and they thought themselves no better able to bear the Hardships of it, than their Fathers.

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OTHERS of them said, That some *Indians* that had profess'd the Christian Religion had soon after forsaken the *English* and join'd with their Enemies, which certainly they would not have done, if the Christian Religion had been so excellent a thing as was pretended.

OTHERS said, They could not see that Men were ever the better for being Christians, for the *English* that were Christians would cheat the *Indians* of their Land, and wrong them other Ways; and that their Knowledge of Books did but make them the more cunning to cheat others, and so did more hurt than good.

As to their having their Children taught to read, which Mr. *Mayew* offer'd, they said, They could not conclude upon it then, many of the Men that had Families of Children not being there to answer for themselves.

AND as to their hearing Ministers preach, some of them said, That they had heard Mr. *Maybew*, and were not sensible it had done them any hurt, and therefore it was likely they should not refuse to hear again, if any came to speak to them. Mr. *Maybew* spent about two Hours in answering their Objections; with which some of them seem'd very well satisfy'd.

NEXT Week about 50 *Indians* gave him a Meeting at the Meeting-House in *Stoniton* with one of their *Powaws* along with them. The old Man did every thing he could to hinder the *Indians* from embracing the Christian Faith. He told Mr. *Maybew*, That if the *Indians* present should make him any Promises, they could not keep them; for as soon as he was gone they would be drunk, and be as bad as ever. The *English* (said he) pretend to teach us *Indians* to be Christians; but if they will teach any, let them first teach their own Servants: As for my self, said he, I believe that there is a *God*, and I  
pray

ray to him in my Way, which is sufficient; if I should change my Religion in my old Age, all the young People would grin at me, and hate me. Anno  
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BUT tho' Mr. *Mayhew* could not work upon the *Old Priest*, yet all the People, except *Skuttaub* the Sachim, declared themselves willing to have a School for their Children, and promised to hear such Preachers as should be sent to instruct them.

BUT to return to the Converts: The few *Indian* Preachers that remain among them are Men of good Capacities, and would make as good a Figure in the Pulpit as the *English*, if they would apply themselves to Learning; but Time has convinced the *New-England* Government, that the Education of *Indian* Youth for the Ministry is impracticable, because of their Slothfulness, and love of strong Liquors; for which Reason the *Indian College* has long since been demolished, Accommodations being reserved in *Stoughton-Hall*, for such *Indian* Youth as desire to be admitted into the *College*, but there never has been above four or five educated there, and but one that took his Degrees; so that the Fatigue of preaching the Gospel to the *Indians* lies for the most Part on the *English* Ministers.

THE same Vices of Idleness and hard Drinking reign too much among the common People; For, says Dr. *Mather*, if they had a Disposition to follow an honest Employment, they might thrive as well as the *English*; whereas now they are poor, mean, ragged, contemptible, and instead of being able to support a Ministry amongst themselves, are forced entirely to rely on the *English*. They observe pretty well, indeed, one part of the Fourth Commandment, *To keep holy the Sabbath-Day*; but neglect the other, *Six Days shalt thou labour*. And as for Strong-Liquors, they are so fond of them, as to sell their Lands and every thing else to purchase them; which made the



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Government of *New-England* pass two Laws in their Favour; *One* to prohibit the Selling their *Strong-Liquors*, the *other* to forbid the Purchasing of their Lands without the Allowance of the General Court.

THE Reader has now had before him a fair Account of the Progress of the Gospel among the *Indians* in *New-England*, which in my Judgment is very extraordinary, considering the few Hands that were employ'd in the Work, and the immense Charge that was necessary to bring to Perfection. It had been impossible indeed to have carried it on thus far, if the Parliament of *England* had not pass'd an Act in the Year 1649, for encouraging the propagating the Gospel among the *Indians* in *New-England*; and for the Advancement of this Work erected a Corporation consisting of a President, a Treasurer, and 14 Assistants, call'd by the Name of the *President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England* empowering them to receive such Sums of Money as from time to time should be collected or rais'd by the liberal Contribution of such whose Heavenly God should incline to so glorious a Work. It was enacted further, That the Commissioners for the united Colonies of *New England* for the Time being, by themselves, or such as they should appoint, should have Power and Authority to dispose of the said Moneys, brought in and paid to the Treasurer for the Time being, or any other Moneys, Goods or Commodities, acquir'd and deliver'd by the Care of the said Corporation at any Time; whose Receipt or Receipts of such Person or Persons so authoriz'd by them, should be a sufficient Discharge to the said Corporation and Treasurer.

BY the Authority of this Act of Parliament a Collection was made in all the Parishes in *England*, which produced such a Sum of Money as enabled

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enabled the *Society* to purchase an Estate in Land of between Five and Six hundred Pounds a Year. The first President of this Corporation was Judge *Steele*, and the first Treasurer Mr. *Henry Ashurst*; but upon the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second their Charter became void, and Colonel *Beddingfield*, a Roman Catholick Officer in the King's Army, of whom a considerable Part of the Land was purchas'd, seiz'd it for his own Use, pretending he had sold it under the Value, in hopes of recovering it upon the King's Return. The Society met to consider what was proper to be done in this Case, and agreed in the first Place to solicit the King for a new Charter, which they obtain'd, by the Interest of the Reverend Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Ashurst* with the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, at that Time. The Charter bears Date *February* the 7th, in the Fourteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign, and declares, constitutes and ordains, that there be for ever hereafter within the Kingdom of *England*, *A Society or Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New-England, and the Parts adjacent in America*; and accordingly appoints the following Noblemen, Gentlemen and Citizens, to be the first Members and Persons whereof the said Company should subsist, (*viz.*)

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| <p><i>Edward</i>, Earl of <i>Clarendon</i>, Lord Chancellor of <i>England</i>,</p> <p><i>Thomas</i>, Earl of <i>Southampton</i>, Lord High-Treasurer,</p> <p><i>John</i>, Lord <i>Roberts</i>, Lord Privy Seal,</p> <p><i>George</i>, Duke of <i>Albemarle</i>,</p> <p><i>James</i>, Duke of <i>Ormond</i>,</p> | <p><i>Edward</i>, Earl of <i>Manchester</i>, Lord Chamberlain of the Household,</p> <p><i>Arthur</i>, Earl of <i>Anglesey</i>,</p> <p><i>William</i>, Viscount <i>Say and Seal</i>,</p> <p><i>Francis Warner</i>, Alderman of <i>London</i>,</p> <p><i>Erasmus Smith</i>, Esq;</p> <p><i>Henry Ashurst</i>,</p> |
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| <p><i>Anno</i><br/><i>1646</i></p> <p><i>Richard Hutchinson,</i><br/><i>Joshua Woolnough,</i><br/><i>George Clarke,</i><br/><i>Thomas Speed,</i><br/><i>Harman Sheaf,</i><br/><i>James Hayes,</i><br/><i>Lawrence Brinsley,</i><br/><i>John Arrod,</i><br/><i>John Docket,</i><br/><i>Robert Boyle, Esq;</i><br/><i>Sir William Thomson,</i><br/><i>Sir William Bateman,</i><br/><i>Sir Anthony Bateman,</i><br/><i>Sir Theophilus Biddolph,</i><br/><i>Sir Lawrence Bromfield,</i><br/><i>Tempest Milner,</i></p> | <p><i>William Love,</i> } Alderm.<br/><i>William Peak,</i> } of Lond.<br/><i>Thomas Foley, Esq;</i><br/><i>Thomas Cox,</i><br/><i>John Micklethwait,</i> } M.D.<br/><i>Edmund Trench,</i><br/><i>Charles Doyley,</i><br/><i>Tho Staynes,</i><br/><i>John Furin,</i><br/><i>William Antrobus,</i><br/><i>John Bathurst,</i><br/><i>Thomas Gillibrand,</i><br/><i>John Benbowe,</i><br/><i>Barnabas Mears,</i><br/><i>Edward Boscowen, and</i><br/><i>Martin Noel.</i></p> |
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THE Members of this Society are not to exceed Forty five; these and their Successors to be hereafter chosen by the Society, are constituted for ever One Body corporate in Deed and Name and are to have Continuance for ever, with several Powers and Privileges as usual in such Cases. A Power is likewise given them to appoint Commissioners residing in *New-England* to transact all Affairs relating to the said Work in those Parts. And by the said Letters Patents *Robert Boyle, Esq* was appointed the first Governor of the said Company.

THE Corporation being thus established by Law, resolved to attempt the Recovery of their Lands; *Beddingfield* being favoured by the Attorney General, and some other great Men put them to a great deal of Charge and Trouble by prolonging the Suit; but at last it was determined in the Court of Chancery, in Favour of the Corporation, the Chancellour declaring it as his Opinion, that *Beddingfield* had not so much as the Shadow of a Title to the Land.



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Land, having sold it for a valuable Consideration, and that if there was a Forfeiture in the Case, it was into the Hands of the King, who had signify'd his Royal Pleasure, that it should be restored to the Corporation, and applied to those good Purposes for which it was originally designed. Mr. *Baxter* has committed a considerable Mistake in the Account he has given the World of *Beddingfield's* Estate; for, whereas he computes \* it at 7 or 800 *l. per Annum*, I am assur'd from the best Hands, that it was no more than 322 *l. per Ann.* and that the whole Revenue of the Corporation never exceeded between 5 and 600 *l. per Ann.* Their Powers are limited to *New England* and the adjacent Borders; here they maintain at present about twelve or sixteen Missionaries, part *English*, and part *Indian*, to preach the Gospel to the Nations, whose Salaries are from 10 to 30 *l. per Ann.* *New England* Money: They erect Schools in proper Places, and furnish the Children with Catechisms, Primers, Pfalters, Books of Devotion in the *Indian* Language, and with Pens, Ink, Paper, and sometimes with Cloaths. Some of the Missionaries are able to preach in the *Indian* Language, but the rest do it by an Interpreter.

FOR the better carrying on of this good Work, the Society have chosen Commissioners residing in *New England* to meet from time to time to make Report of the State of the *Indian* Affairs, and to distribute their Charity to the best Advantage: The Names of the present Commissioners in *New England* are:

|                                                             |                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Samuel Shute</i> , Esq; Governor of <i>New England</i> , |                                |
| <i>Increase Mather</i> , D. D.                              | <i>John Higginson</i> , Esq;   |
| <i>John Foster</i> , Esq;                                   | <i>Edward Bromfield</i> , Esq; |

\* *Baxter's Life*, Fol. p. 290.

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| <p><i>Ann<sup>o</sup> 1646</i><br/> <i>Eliakin Hutchinson, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Penn Townsend, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Simeon Stoddard, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Samuel Sewal, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Cotton Mather, D. D.</i><br/> <i>The Rev. Mr. Nehemiah</i><br/> <i>Walter,</i></p> | <p><i>Mr. Daniel Oliver,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Thomas Fitch,</i><br/> <i>Jonathan Belcher, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Adam Winthrop, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Thomas Hutchinson, Esq;</i><br/> <i>William Dummer, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Deputy Governour.</i></p> |
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Upon the Decease of *Robert Boyle, Esq;* *Robert Thompson, Esq;* was elected Governour in his Room; and after his Decease, *Sir William Ashurst* Knight and Alderman of the City of *London*, who is the present Governour, and with him are join'd the following worthy Gentlemen and Citizens, who make up the present Society for propagating the Gospel in *New England*, and the Parts adjacent.

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| <p><i>Joseph Thompson, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Treasurer,</i><br/> <i>Sir Thomas Abney,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Robert Ashurst,</i><br/> <i>Mr. John Gunston, De-</i><br/> <i>puty-Treasurer,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Edward Richier,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Samuel Read, Sen.</i><br/> <i>Earl of Stamford,</i><br/> <i>Sir John Scott,</i><br/> <i>Sir Daniel Wray,</i><br/> <i>Daniel Dolings, Esq;</i><br/> <i>William Thompson, Esq;</i><br/> <i>John Lane, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Sir Justus Beck, Bar<sup>t</sup>.</i><br/> <i>Mr. John Bridges,</i><br/> <i>Mr. John Morton,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Robert Atwood,</i><br/> <i>Robert Clarke, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Mr. James Hulbert,</i></p> | <p><i>Richard Chiswell, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Mr. Thomas Gering,</i><br/> <i>Sir Peter King, Lord Chief</i><br/> <i>Justice of the Com-</i><br/> <i>mon Pleas.</i><br/> <i>Mr. Thomas Knight,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Arthur Martin,</i><br/> <i>Richard Minshall, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Philip Papillon, Esq;</i><br/> <i>Mr. Henry Palmer,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Thomas Styles,</i><br/> <i>Mr. James Townsend,</i><br/> <i>Mr. John Jackson,</i><br/> <i>Sir Henry Ashurst, Bar<sup>t</sup>.</i><br/> <i>Mr. Joseph Thompson, Jun.</i><br/> <i>Mr. Samuel Read, Jun.</i><br/> <i>Mr. Jeremiah Murden,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Samuel Sheafe,</i><br/> <i>Mr. Thomas Carpenter,</i><br/> <i>Mr. John Mitchel.</i></p> |
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*N. B.* The Order of Names in this Catalogue is according to the Order of their Election into the Society.

BUT

BUT the Expence of converting the *Indians* <sup>Anno</sup> has not lain entirely on the Society for propaga- <sup>1646</sup> ting the Gospel in those Parts, for the Churches of *Boston* have their annual Collections for this Purpose; I have an Account before me of the Sums collected for propagating the Gospel on the Borders, in the Year 1718. The *Old Church*, so called, because 'tis the Mother Church of the Town, collected 160 *l.* *New England Money*: The *North Church* 90 *l.* the *South Church* 116 *l.* and the *New Church* 117 *l.* They have likewise a Fund of 800 or 1000 *l.* the Produce of which serves to promote the same good Design.

THE Government and Clergy of *New England* can never be too much commended for their Endeavours to civilize so many barbarous Nations, and bring them over to the Profession of Christianity; nor will the Gentlemen of the Society for propagating the Gospel in *New England* be displeas'd to observe in this Narrative the Success of their generous Encouragement of this good Design; I confess for my own part, that I am so far from wondering that no more Good has been done, that I am surprized to find so much, considering the Difficulties which attend such an Undertaking, and the few Hands that have been employ'd in it.

THE *Missionaries* of the Church of *Rome* may possibly have gained more *Profelytes*, but then it ought to be consider'd that they have employ'd more Hands, and have made use of such Methods for the Conversion of the *Indians*, as the *New-England* Ministers could not approve of. In *Maryland* a great Crew of *Indians* submitted to be baptiz'd by the *Missionaries* for the sake of some new Shirts, which were promis'd them on that Condition; but the poor Creatures not knowing how to wash them when foul, came after a few Weeks and demanded new Ones, or-  
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else they would renounce their Baptism. The barbarous and cruel Methods of making Converts, which the *Spaniards* practis'd on the Southern Continent of *America*, are known to all the World, whereby in the Space of Fifty Years they murder'd as many Millions of *Indians*; and gave them such a Disgust against the Christian Religion, as made them declare they had rather go to Hell with their Ancestors, than to the same Heaven with the *Spaniards*.

BUT after all, what sort of Converts theirs are, the Reader may judge from the following *Questions* and *Answers* extracted out of a *Catechism* of one of the *Jesuits*, employ'd by the *French* as a *Missionary* among the Western *Indians*; 'tis written in the *Iroquoise* Language, and is said to contain the Principles of Religion which the Heathens are to be instructed in: There is one Chapter about Heaven, and another about Hell; the Chapter about Heaven contains these *Questions* and *Answers*.

*Q. How is the Soil made in Heaven?*

*A.* 'Tis a very fair Soil, they want neither for Meats nor Cloths, 'tis but wishing and we have them.

*Q. Are they employ'd in Heaven?*

*A.* No. They do nothing, the Fields yield Corn, Beans, Pumpkins, and the like, without any Tillage.

*Q. What sort of Trees are there?*

*A.* Always green, full and flourishing.

*Q. Have they in Heaven, the same Sun, the same Wind, the same Thunder that we have here?*

*A.* No. The Sun ever shines, 'tis always fair Weather.

*Q. But how are their Fruits?*

*A.* In this one Quality they exceed ours, that they are never wasted: You have no sooner pluckt one, but you see another presently hanging in its Room. The

The Chapter about Hell has these Questions among others. Anno  
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*Q. What sort of Soil is that of Hell?*

*A.* A very wretched Soil; 'tis a fiery Pit in the Center of the Earth.

*Q. Have they any Light in Hell?*

*A.* No. 'Tis always dark, there is always Smoke there, their Eyes are always in Pain with it, they can see nothing but the Devils.

*Q. What shaped Things are the Devils?*

*A.* Very ill shaped things; they go about with Vizards on, and they terrify Men.

*Q. What do they eat in Hell?*

*A.* They are always hungry, but the Damned feed upon hot Ashes and Serpents there.

*Q. What Water have they to drink?*

*A.* Horrid Water, nothing but melted Lead.

*Q. Don't they die in Hell?*

*A.* No. Yet they eat one another every Day, but anon God restores and renews the Man that was eaten, as a cropt Plant in a little Time shoots out again.

The Catechism is almost all of a piece with this; to which if we add the Idolatrous Worship which the Missionaries of the Church of *Rome* oblige their Profelytes to perform, their denying them the Scriptures, and making them pay a blind Obedience to the Priests on Pain of Damnation, we may conclude that the poor People are very little the better for their Conversion, if they were not altogether in as happy Circumstances before.



## C H A P. VII.

*The Death and Character of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker. The second Synod of New England. Of their Platform of Church Discipline. The Separation of the Anabaptists, and their Sufferings. The Death and Character of the Reverend Mr. John Cotton, and of Thomas Dudley, and Edward Winslow, Esqrs. A large Account of the Sufferings of the Quakers. Of the several Laws that were made against them, and Of the Persons who suffered, by the Execution of those Laws. An Apology for the Government of New England with Relation to their Severities against the Quakers.*

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 HE Colony of *Newhaven* met with a considerable Loss at Sea this Year; they had built a new Ship at *Rhode-Island* of about 150 Tuns, and freighted it for *England* with the most valuable Effects of the Country: Five or Six of the Principal Persons in the Colony with others of a lower Rank took their Passage in her: They set sail in the Month of *January*, but were never heard of afterwards;

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the Ship with all the Passengers and lading being lost at Sea. The People were so disheartned, by this Accident, that they would have broke up the Plantation, if they could have agreed upon a Place where they could have settled more to their Minds.

THERE were great Commotions among the *Indians* about this Time, which must have proceeded to an open Rupture, if the *English* had not kept a watchful Eye over them: *Sequassan*, an *Indian* Prince near *Newhaven*, had laid a Plot to assassinate the chief Magistrates of the neighbouring Colony, but it was discovered and prevented: The *Narrhagansets* and *Mohegins* committed such Insults upon the *English* at the same time, as obliged the Government to demand Satisfaction of their *Segamores*, which they chose to give, rather than run the Hazard of a War.

THE next Year the *Narrhagansets* hired the *Maqua's* to assist them in prosecuting their old Pique against *Uncas* which would have drawn the *English* Power upon them; but when they saw the *English* were alarm'd at their Proceedings, they desisted. The Year after there was a general Uproar among the *Indians*, on the Account of some Murders which they had committed upon certain Persons belonging to *Newhaven* and *Long-Island*; the *English* immediately demanded the Murderers, whom at first they refused to deliver up, but when they saw that Satisfaction must be given, or a War declared, they yielded to pacific Measures, and so the Storm blew over. Thus the publick Peace was preserved till the *English* had perfected their Settlements so far, as to put it out of the Power of all the *Indian* Nations to destroy them. The Missionaries who were appointed to convert the *Indians* to the Christian Faith contributed not a little to this Work, by dividing their Strength, and getting acquainted

*Anna*  
1647 acquainted with all their Affairs; so that the Savages could never form any Design against the *English*, but it was presently discover'd.

THE excessive Heats this Summer produc'd a malignant Fever, which carried off a great many People, and among the rest the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Pastor of the Church of *Hertford* in the Colony of *Connecticut*: He was born at *Marfield* in *Leicestershire* 1586, and was educated in *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. Upon his leaving the University, he preach'd occasionally for some time in *London*, till at length in the Year 1626, he was chosen Lecturer and Assistant to Mr. *Mitchel* at *Chelmsford*. Here he preached with great Success for several Years, and was so well belov'd by the neighbouring Clergy, that when the Bishop of *London* silenced him for Nonconformity, Forty seven of them signed a Petition in his Favour, testifying, *That Mr. Hooker was orthodox in Doctrine, honest and sober in his Life and Conversation, of a peaceable Disposition, and no ways turbulent or factious*: But it was of no Service, for Dr. *Laud* would never spare a Puritan, when he could lay his Hands upon him. Mr. *Hooker* therefore laid down his Ministry, and set up a Grammar School at *Little Baddo*, a Village in the Neighbourhood of *Chelmsford*. But the Bishop's Resentments followed him thither, inso-much that the next Visitation, he was cited to appear before the *High Commission Court*, and because he was then sick, they obliged him to find Sureties to be bound in a Bond of 50 *l.* for his Appearance; but as soon as he was well, with the Consent of his Sureties he absconded and went to *Holland*, and they paid the 50 *l.* into Court. Mr. *Hooker* lived in *Holland* 2 or 3 Years, preaching sometimes at *Delft*, and sometimes at *Rotterdam*; till hearing that many of his Friends  
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and Neighbours in *Essex*, weary'd out with the Oppressions of the Spiritual Courts, were transplanting themselves and their Families into *America*, he came over privately into *England*, and embark'd with them in the Year 1633. Upon his Arrival in *New England* he settled first at *Newtown*, where some of his Acquaintance had made a Settlement the Year before, and became their Pastor; but the Place growing too strait for them, they removed by the Encouragement of Mr. *Hooker*, in the Year 1635, to the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, and built the Town of *Hertford*, where he spent the Remainder of his Days. Mr. *Hooker* was a Son of Thunder in the Pulpit, and having a loud Voice, expressed himself with a great deal of Warmth and Vehemence; his Ministry was adapted chiefly to the awakening of Sinners, and was remarkably blessed that Way. His natural Constitution inclined him to Passion, but he was a very great Master of it. Upon the whole, in the Opinion of those that knew him best, he was a truly great and good Man, and deserves to be called, the Father of the Colony of *Connecticut*. He published several practical Treatises, besides a Survey of Church Discipline, in his Life time, and his Friends published several of his Sermons after his Death, which were well received in those Times. He was seized with an Epidemical Sickness about Midsummer, which thro' the Heat of the Weather had proved mortal to many, and was at last so to him; he bore it with invincible Resolution and Patience, and when Nature was spent, he closed his own Eyes, and laying his Hand on his Forehead, gave a little Groan, and expired, *July* the 7th, 1647, in the Sixty second Year of his Age.



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THE *New-England* Churches had not yet agreed upon any uniform Scheme of *Discipline*: There had been a Bill preferr'd to the General Court in the Year 1646, for the calling a *Synod* for this Purpose; but the Deputies of the several Congregations not being willing to yield such a Power into the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, lest they should make use of it some time or other to impose upon the Churches an Uniformity of Practice in things which Christ had left indifferent, it was dropt for a time: But the Magistrates insisting that it was certainly part of their Province to encourage Truth and Peace among the People, and allowing at the same time that the Determinations of the *Synod* were only to be propos'd to the Churches by way of Counsel and Advice, and not as an Injunction, they compromis'd the Difference after this manner, That the Order directed to the several Churches for sending their Deputies should be drawn up in Form of a Motion, and not of a Command. But the *Boston* Deputies were not yet satisfy'd, and therefore when the Order of the Court was read to the Church on the Lord's-Day, they could not carry a Vote to send any Delegates to it, so jealous were the People of their Christian Liberty, which they apprehended in danger of being invaded from this Clause in the Order of the Court, *That what should be presented to them by the Synod, they would give such Allowance to, as should be meet.* But Mr. *Norton* of *Ipswich* preaching the next *Thursday's* Lecture, so influenc'd the Auditory, that the next Lord's-Day they agreed to send their Minister and three of their Messengers.

THE *Synod* met at *Cambridge* the latter End of the Year 1646, but was adjourn'd from time to time 'till the 30th of *September* 1648, when they sat to do Business. One of the first things that fell under Consideration was the *Confession of Faith*

*Faith* lately publish'd by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, which was read over Article by Article, and agreed to, *nemine Contradicente*, in the following Vote; (*viz.*) " The *Synod* having perus'd and consider'd, with much Gladness of Heart and Thankfulness to God, the *Confession of Faith*, publish'd by the late Reverend Assembly in *England*, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox and judicious, in all Matters of Faith, and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto in the Substance thereof: And we do therefore think it meet that this *Confession of Faith* should be commended to the Churches of Christ among us, and to the Honoured Court, as worthy of their due Consideration and Acceptance.

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BUT the Design of the *Synod* being chiefly to agree upon a Model of Church Discipline, they took care in one of their former Sessions to appoint three Persons, namely, the Rev. Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, to draw up each of them separately a Model of Church Government out of the Holy Scriptures, and present them to the *Synod*; that the *Synod*, by comparing them carefully together, might form such an one out of them, as should be agreeable to the Minds of all the Churches. From these three Performances the Platform of Church Discipline which the Reader will find in the *Appendix* \* was compos'd, and after many Debates, agreed unto by the Majority of the *Synod*, and presented to the General Court, and to the Churches, for their Consideration and Acceptance, in the Month of *October*, 1648. 'Tis not to be imagin'd that every individual Member of this Assembly should agree to all the Articles of the *Platform*; 'tis sufficient to say, they all acquiesc'd in it, and that when it was presented to the Churches they all receiv'd

\* Appendix, Numb. II.

*Anno* it. But since that time several Disputes having  
*1648* arose, the present Set of Ministers differ from the  
*W* *Synod* in the following Articles of the *Platform*.

THE *Platform* \*, Chap. IX. §. 6, and §. 7. confines the Office of a *Pastor* to that particular Church to which he is related, and does not expressly allow him to administer the Sacraments, or act as an *Officer* in any Church but his own, nor did any of the *New-England* Ministers venture upon this Practice for above 50 Years after; but most of the present Ministers are of another Mind, for in an Assembly of the neighbouring Ministers at *Cambridge* they declar'd it as their Judgments, That the *Pastor* of a neighbouring Church might, at the Request of a destitute Church, occasionally administer the Sacrament to them; and they cite the Opinions of two of the most learn'd Men among the *Independants* in their Favour, namely, Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin. Dr. Owen says, " That if he did not think himself bound to preach as an *Authoriz'd Minister* in all Places and upon all Occasions when he was call'd thereunto, he thinks he should never preach more in this World." And Dr. Goodwin says, " An Elder, one set apart for that Office, in any Church, is truly a Minister, occasionally to exercise Ministerial Acts as he is call'd thereunto. Every true Minister, actually so to his own Church, is Medium Applicabile, a Means or an Instrument, that may apply any Ministerial Act out of his own Church, in any other Church, if he be call'd thereunto."

THE *Platform*, Chap. IX. §. 2, §. 3, and §. 4. affirms, That in every Church where there are no Elders, Imposition of Hands for the Ordination of Elders (*i. e.* Ministers) may be perform'd

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\* Mather's B. v. p. 39.



by some of the Brethren, orderly chosen by the Church; tho' it allows it to be done by the Elders of other Churches, if desir'd. But the Practice of ordaining Ministers by the Imposition of the Hands of the *Brethren*, is now entirely difus'd, and the Ceremony is always perform'd by the neighbouring Ministers.

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THE *Platform*, Chap. XII. §. 5. affirms, That a personal and publick Confession, and declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is lawful, expedient and useful.---- And it is certain that all the *New-England* Churches did once strictly adhere to this Article in their Admission of Church Members; but of late they are come to a greater Latitude, and do not insist upon its being done by the Person himself, but the Minister examines the Candidate in private, and minutes down his Answers to the Questions he puts to him, which he communicates to the Church for their Satisfaction at a proper Season.

THE *Platform*, Chap. VII. maintains the Office of a *Ruling Elder* in the Church to be distinct from the Pastoral Office, and yet most of the *New-England* Churches are at present without them; some not thinking it a distinct Office, and others not having Persons among them duly qualify'd for the Discharge of it.

THESE are the most considerable Alterations that have been introduced into the Churches of *New-England* in above Seventy Years; for the *Platform* is still the Rule of their Discipline, except in the Articles abovemention'd.

IN the Beginning of this Year dy'd *John Winthrop*, Esq; Son of *Adam Winthrop*. of *Groton* in *Suffolk*; he was born *June 12, 1587.* educated in the Law, and served his Country as Justice of Peace before he was 20 Years old. When the

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1649

*Anno* Design of settling a Colony in the *Massachusetts*  
*1649* Bay was formed, he put himself at the Head of it, and converted his Estate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year into proper Materials for the Service of the Plantation. He came over with them in the Quality of *Governour* in the Year 1630, and spent the Remainder of his Days and all his Estate in their Service. He was a Man of great Piety and Moderation; patient with regard to personal Injuries, but very exact in the Distribution of publick Justice. Many were the Hardships that he suffer'd in common with the rest of the People in the Infancy of the Plantation, but he bore them with invincible Constancy and Resolution. His Generosity was such, that he parted with all his Provisions for the Supply of the Poor; but some Years before his Death his careless Steward run him Twenty Five Hundred Pounds in Debt before he told him of it, for the Payment of which he was forc'd to sell most of what he had left in the Country; and yet the peevish and froward People could hardly give him a good Word, but were ready on every Occasion to censure him as the Author of all the Calamities that besel them. 'Tis no Wonder that his Constitution should be broke by such Fatigue and Hardship. Mr. *Winthrop* declin'd for above Seven Years before his Death; but in the Beginning of this Year he was taken with a slow Fever, which in a Month's time carried him off, on the 26th of *March* 1649, in the 62d Year of his Age. The Character Mr. *Cotton* gave of him in a Sermon that he preach'd on a Fast-Day that the Church kept for his Recovery was this:

“ HE was a *Governour* that has been a Friend  
 “ to counsel us: He administred Help for our  
 “ Bodies by Physick, and for our Estates by Law.  
 “ A *Governour* who has been like a Brother, not  
 “ usurping

“ usurping Authority over the Church; often Anno  
 “ speaking his Advice, and often contradicted by 1649  
 “ young Men, and some of low Degree; yet not  
 “ replying, but offering Satisfaction also, when  
 “ any supposed Offences have arisen; a Gover-  
 “ nour who has been to us like a Parent distri-  
 “ buting his Goods to Brethren and Neighbours  
 “ at his first coming, and gently bearing our In-  
 “ firmities without taking Notice of them.”  
 He was succeeded in the Government by *Thomas Dudley, Esq;*

THE same Year the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Sheppard*, Pastor of the Church at *Cambridge*, departed this Life: He was born *November* the 5th 1605, and educated in *Emanuel College Cambridge*, where he proceeded Master of Arts. Upon his leaving the University, he became Lecturer of *Earls Coln*, but after three Years was silenced by Bishop *Laud* for Nonconformity, and forced to leave that Country. He then retired into *Yorkshire*, but the Bishop of that Diocese *Dr. Neal* would not allow him the Liberty of Preaching, without such a Subscription as his Conscience would not suffer him to make. He then apply'd himself to *Dr. Morton*, Bishop of *Durham*, who was afraid likewise to shew him any Countenance; which made him resolve to remove to *New-England*. He took Shipping at *Harwich* in the latter End of the Year 1634; but when they had been out at Sea but a few Hours, the Wind chopt about, and drove back the Ship into *Yarmouth Road*, where it had like to have been lost in a Storm within Sight of Land. It was a prophane Saying of an eminent Officer, who, seeing the Distress they were in from the Shore, was heard to say, *As for that poor Collier in the Road I pity him much; but as for the Puritans in the other Vessel bound for New-England, I am not concerned, for their Faith will save them.* How-



*Anno* ever at last the Ship got safe into the Harbour ;  
*1649* but Mr. *Sheppard* was so sick of the Sea, that he  
 deferr'd his Voyage to *New-England* 'till next  
 Summer, when he took Shipping again from  
*London*, and arrived at *Boston* October 23, 1635.  
 About the Time that Mr. *Sheppard* came to  
*Boston*, Mr. *Hooker* and his Congregation removed  
 from *Cambridge* to the Banks of *Connecticut* River,  
 which made room for Mr. *Sheppard* and his  
 Friends in that Place, where he continued 'till  
 his Death. He was a Person of great Piety and  
 Industry, spending almost all his Time among  
 his Books ; and an admirable Preacher, which  
 was one Reason, among others, why the Uni-  
 versity was erected in this Place: Besides his  
 constant Preaching, he published several valuable  
 Treatises, among which the most noted are  
 his *Sincere Convert*, and *Evangelical Call* ; but his  
 excessive Labours shortned his Life, for as he  
 was coming home from an Assembly of Ministers  
 at *Rowly*, he was taken with a *Quinzy*, attended  
 with a *Symptomatical Fever*, which in a few Days  
 put an End to his Life on the 25th of *August*,  
 and in the 44th Year of his Age.

*Anno* THE Separation of the *Anabaptists* from the  
*1651* Established Churches of the Country began last  
 Year at *Rehoboth* in *Plimouth* Patent after this  
 Manner \* : Mr. *Obadiab Holmes*, and seven or  
 eight more, withdrew from Mr. *Newman's* Com-  
 munion, and set up a separate Meeting, not  
 thinking it lawful to approach the Table of the  
 Lord with Persons whom they judg'd unbaptiz'd.  
 Mr. *Newman* admonish'd *Holmes* of his Offence ;  
 but finding him obstinate, and not willing to  
 give an Account of his Conduct to the Church,  
 he excommunicated him. He was likewise ac-

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\* *Clarke's Narrative of the New-England Persecution*, London  
 1652, p. 18, 24.

cused of Uncleanness, and of baptizing Mrs. *Bowdish* naked; but the Evidence, it seems, was not sufficient to convict him of it. No sooner was Mr. *Holmes* excommunicated, but he and two more of his Company were summoned to appear at the Court at *Plimcuth*, where four *Petitions* were lodged against them, desiring the Magistrates to take some speedy Course to suppress the growing Schism: *One* was from their own Plantation sign'd with 35 Hands, *Another* from the Church at *Taunton*, a *Third* from all the Ministers in the Colony except two, and a *Fourth* from the Court of the *Massachusetts* at *Boston* under the Secretary's Hand: Whereupon the Court charged them to desist from their Separation, and neither to ordain Officers, nor to baptize, nor to break Bread together, nor to meet on the first Days of the Week; but *Holmes* and his Friends would make no Promise, but insisted upon the Conviction of their own Consciences, and that it was better to obey God than Man.

SOME Time after Mr. *Clarke* of *Rhode Island* travelling into the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, with Mr. *Holmes* and Mr. *Crandall*, they were all three apprehended, upon the 20th of *July* this Year, at the House of *William Witters* of *Lin*, as they were worshipping God in their own Way on a Lord's-Day Morning. The Constable took them into Custody, and in the Afternoon carried them to the publick Meeting. Mr. *Clarke* pull'd off his Hat when he went in, but as soon as he was seated in a Pew he put it on again, and fell to reading of a Book while the Minister was praying: The Officers took off his Hat, but he declared he could not joyn with them in their Service. Next Morning Mr. *Clarke* and his two Friends were brought before the Magistrate of the Town, who sent them in Custody to *Boston* with the following *Mittimus*.

Anno  
1651

“ **B**Y Virtue hereof you are required to take  
 “ into your Custody from the Constable  
 “ of *Lin*, or his Deputy, the Bodies of *John*  
 “ *Clarke*, *Obadiab Holmes* and *John Crandall*, and  
 “ them to keep until the next County Court to  
 “ be held at *Boston*, that they may then and there  
 “ answer to such Complaints as may be alleged  
 “ against them, for being taken by the Constable  
 “ at a private Meeting at *Lin* on the Lord’s-  
 “ Day exercising among themselves, to whom  
 “ divers of the Town repaired and joyned with  
 “ them, and that in the Time of publick Exer-  
 “ cise of the Worship of God; as also for offen-  
 “ sively disturbing the Peace of the Congrega-  
 “ tion at their coming into the publick Meeting  
 “ in the Time of Prayer in the Afternoon, and  
 “ for saying and manifesting that the Church of  
 “ *Lin* was not constituted according to the Or-  
 “ der of our Lord, and for such other Things  
 “ as shall be alleged against them concerning  
 “ their seducing and drawing aside of others  
 “ after their erroneous Judgment and Practices,  
 “ and for Suspicion of having their Hands in  
 “ rebaptizing of one or more among us, as also  
 “ for neglecting or refusing to give in sufficient  
 “ Security for their Appearance at the said  
 “ Court. Hereof fail not at your Peril. ” \*

22d of the 5th  
 Month, 1651.

*Robert Bridges.*

*To the Keeper of the Prison at Boston.*

ABOUT a Fortnight after, the Court fined  
*John Clarke* Twenty Pounds, or to be well whipt;  
*John Crandall* Five Pounds, or to be whipt; and

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\* *Clarke’s Narrative of the New-England Persecution*, London  
 1652, p. 4, 5.



*Obadiab Holmes* Thirty Pounds, for their several *Anno*  
 Offences. The Reasons of their Sentence, be- *1651*  
 sides those mentioned in the *Mittimus*, are these:  
 “ Because the said *John Clarke* did the next Day  
 “ after his Contempt of the publick Worshipp on  
 “ the Lord’s-Day meet again at the House of  
 “ *Witters*, and in Contempt of Authority, being  
 “ then in the Custody of the Law, did there  
 “ administer the Sacrament of the Lord’s-Sup-  
 “ per to *one* excommunicated Person, to *another*  
 “ under Admonition, and to *a third* that was  
 “ an Inhabitant of *Lin.* and not in Fellowship  
 “ with any Church; and yet upon Answer in  
 “ open Court did affirm that he never rebaptized  
 “ any, tho’ he confessed that he did baptize such  
 “ as were baptized before; and thereby did ne-  
 “ cessarily deny the Baptism that was before to  
 “ be Baptism, the Churches no Churches; and  
 “ also all other Ordinances and Ministers, as if  
 “ all were a Nullity; and also did in the Court  
 “ deny the Lawfulness of baptizing of Infants:  
 “ All this tends to the Dishonour of God, the  
 “ Despising the Ordinances of God among  
 “ us, the Peace of the Churches, and seducing  
 “ the Subjects of the Commonwealth from the  
 “ Truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and per-  
 “ verting the strait Ways of the Lord: Where-  
 “ fore the Court fines you Twenty Pounds, to  
 “ be paid, or sufficient Sureties that the said  
 “ Sum shall be paid, by the first Day of the  
 “ next Court of Assistants, or else to be well  
 “ whipt; and that you shall remain in Prison  
 “ ’till it be paid, or Securities given in for it.”

*Encrease Nowell.*

WHEN Mr. *Clarke* was upon his Trial, the  
 Court offered him a Conference with any of  
 their Ministers, in order to remove his Scruples  
 about

*Anno*  
1651  
about the Lawfulness of Infant Baptism, which he looking upon as a Challenge to a publick Disputation sent them the following Letter\*.

To the Honour'd Court assembled at *Boston*.

**W**HEREAS it hath pleas'd this Honour'd Court, yesterday to condemn the Faith and Order which I hold and practice, and after you had pass'd your Sentence upon me for it, were pleas'd to express, I could not maintain the same against your Ministers, and thereupon publickly profer'd me a Dispute with them, be pleas'd by these few Lines to understand, I readily accept it, and therefore do desire you to appoint the Time when, and Person with whom, in that publick Place where I was condemned, I might with Freedom, and without Molestation of the Civil Power, dispute that Point publickly.

John Clarke.

THE Noise of this Disputation quickly spread all over the Country; for Mr. Clarke writ Letters to several of his Friends, acquainting them with it, and desiring their Assistance; but the Court resented his Behaviour, and would not comply with his Request, till he had first agreed to some Preliminaries: They denied that they had challenged him at all to a publick Disputation, or ever intended it, and therefore that he misrepresented the Governour's Speech; but then they add in the close of their Letter directed to him in Prison, and sign'd by five of the chief Magistrates, these Words: " Nevertheless, if you  
" are forward to dispute, and that you will move  
" it yourself to the Court, or the Magistrates  
" about *Boston*, we shall take Order to appoint

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\* Clarke's Narrative, &c. p. 7.

“ One, who shall be ready to answer your Motion, you keeping close to the Questions to be propounded by your self; and a Moderator also shall be appointed to attend upon that Service, and whereas you desire you might be free in your Dispute, keeping close to the Points to be disputed on, without incurring Damage by the civil Justice, observing what hath been before written, it is granted; the Day may be agreed, if you yield the Premises †.”

*Annus*  
1651  
w

THESE were certainly very fair Concessions, and as much as could be expected from the Legislature of a Country to a private Man, but Mr. *Clarke* not being willing (as he said) to be thought forward to dispute, declined the Invitation, and upon this Punctilio it was drop'd.

THE *Prisoners* agreed not to pay their Fines, but to abide the corporal Punishment the Court had sentenced them to, but some of Mr. *Clarke's* Friends paid his Fine, without his Consent, and *Crandall* was releas'd upon his Promise to appear at the next Court; but *Holmes* received thirty Lashes at the Whipping-post: Several of his Friends were Spectators of his Punishment, among the rest *John Spur* and *John Hazell*, who as they were attending the Prisoner back to Prison, took him by the Hand in the Market-place, and in the Face of all the People, praised God for his Courage and Constancy; for which they were summon'd before the General Court the next Day, and fined each of them 40s. or to be whipt: The Prisoners refus'd to pay the Money, but some of their Friends doing it for them, they were dismissed, and so they return'd to *Rhode Island*.

† *Clarke's Narrative*, &c. p. 12.



*Anno*  
*1646*  
THUS the Government of *New England* for the Sake of Uniformity in divine Worship, broke in upon the natural Rights of Mankind, punishing Men, not for disturbing the State, but for their differing Sentiments in Religion, as appears farther from the following Law, which was enacted on this Occasion.

“ IT is ordered by this Court and Authority thereof, that if any Person or Persons within this Jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of Infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the Approbation or Use thereof, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the Administration of that Ordinance, or shall deny the Ordinance of Magistracy, or their lawful Right or Authority to make War, or punish the outward Breaches of the first Table, and shall appear to the Court wilfully, and obstinately to continue therein after due Means of Conviction every such Person or Persons shall be sentenced to Banishment.†”

But neither this, nor some other penal Laws made against Sectaries, could prevent the Growth of Anabaptism, as the Reader will see hereafter.

DR. *Mather* \* says, that this Separation of the *Anabaptists*, was a manifest Violation of the Laws of the Commonwealth concerning the orderly gathering of Churches, which provide “ That no Company of Men shall join in any pretended Way of Church Fellowship, unless they shall acquaint the Magistrates and Elders of the neighbouring Churches, and have their Approbation therein.” Which (by the Way) condemns all the Dissenting Congregations that have been gathered in *England* since the Act of Uniformity in the Year 1662. The Dr. complains further of the *Anabaptists* admitting into their Society such as the estab-

lish'd

† *Clarke's Narrative*, &c. p. 35. \* *B. vii. p. 27.*

blish'd Churches of the Country had excommunicated for Immoralities; and of their preferring them to be Administrators of the Sacrament among them: He blames their Uncharitableness in declaring *Infant Baptism* to be no *Baptism*; in unchurching all other Societies of visible Christians except those of their own Persuasion; and of their choosing *Shoemakers, Taylors,* and the most illiterate Persons, for their Pastors and Teachers; nay he draws the Rise of the Separation from hence, "That some Men having privately exercis'd their Gifts in Meetings with Applause, began to think themselves wronged that their Light was put under a Bushel, and finding no Remedy in other Churches, they threw on a Cloak of *Anabaptism*, and so gain'd the Thing they aimed at in Disguise." He confesses indeed that the *New England Churches* gave some Provocation on their Side, by their Ministers passing severe Censures on those of that Persuasion that went out of the Church when Infants were brought into the Congregation to be baptiz'd, which exasperated them to such a Degree, that they withdrew wholly from the Communion of the Church, and set up for themselves. But let the Reader judge, Who had most Reason to complain? The *New England Churches*, who would neither suffer the Baptists to live quietly in their Communion, nor separate peaceably from it? Or, These unhappy Persons, who were treated so unkindly for following the Light of their Consciences?

TOWARDS the latter End of this Year died <sup>1632</sup> famous Mr. *John Cotton*, B. D. one of the Ministers of the Church at *Boston*: He was born at *Derby*, December the 4th, 1585, and at the Age of Thirteen Years admitted into *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, where he studied for some Years, but

*Anno* but was afterwards removed to *Emanuel-College*,  
 1632 where he proceeded *Master of Arts*, *Batchelor of*  
*Divinity*, and *Fellow of the College*. Upon his  
 leaving the *Univerfity* he was chosen *Minifter of*  
*Boston* in *Lincolnshire*; but had not been there  
 above three Years before he began to entertain  
 Scruples about Conformity to some of the *Cere-*  
*monies of the Church*, and at laft refolved not  
 to comply with them; however being a peace-  
 able Man, and beloved by all his *Parifhioners*, he  
 made aſhift to keep his Place for almoſt *Twenty*  
*Years*, 'till the *Government of the Church* was  
 put into the *Hands of Biſhop Laud*. He was  
 then informed againſt by a debauched *Fellow of*  
 the *Town*, who to be revenged of the *Magi-*  
*ſtrates*, for puniſhing him according to his *De-*  
*ſerts*, ſwore in the *High Commiſſion Court at*  
*London*, That neither the *Minifter nor Magi-*  
*ſtrates of the Town of Boston* kneeled at the *Sa-*  
*crament*, nor obſerved ſome other *Ceremonies of*  
 the *Church*. Upon this *Letters Miſſive* were  
 ſent down to bring *Mr. Cotton* before the *Com-*  
*miſſioners*, but he was ſo wiſe as not to deliver  
 himſelf up into their *Hands*, but left the *Town*,  
 and travelled to *London* in *Diſguiſe*. Great *In-*  
*terceſſions* were made for him to the *Archbiſhop*  
 by the *Earl of Dorſet* and others, but in vain.  
 The *Earl* ſent him Word, “ That if he had been  
 “ guilty of *Drunkenneſs* or *Uncleanneſs*, he  
 “ might have had *Favour*; but the *Sin of Puri-*  
 “ *tanifm* was unpardonable.” Upon this he re-  
 ſolved to leave his *Native Country* and ſettle in  
*New-England*. He took *Shipping* the *Beginning*  
 of *July*, 1633. and arrived at *Boston* the 3d of  
*September* following: When he had been a *Month*  
 out at *Sea*, his *Wife* fell in *Labour*, and was de-  
 livered of a *Son*, who, from the *Place of his*  
*Nativity*, was called *Seaborn Cotton*. Soon after  
 his coming aſhore he was made *Fellow-Labourer*  
 with



with Mr. *Wilson* in the Church at *Boston*; which was a great Advantage to the Town, for it was owing in part to his Wisdom and Influence that it flourished so fast in Trade and Shipping as to outstrip its Neighbours, and in a few Years become the *Capital* of the whole Province. When the Episcopal Power began to fall in *England*, about the Year 1642, some of the Members of both Houses of Parliament writ to him, and pressed his Return to his Native Country; but being now in Safety, he was not willing to venture out again into a Storm: He therefore continued at *Boston* to his Death. He was a Man of great Reputation in both *Englands*: While he was Minister of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, he was highly esteemed by Archbishop *Williams*, Doctor *Preston*, the Earls of *Dorchester* and *Lindsey*, and several other Noblemen, for his incomparable Parts. When the Archbishop just mentioned was in Favour at \* Court, he procured Mr. *Cotton* a Toleration under the Broad-Seal for the free Exercise of his Ministry, notwithstanding his dissenting in Ceremonies, so long as done without Disturbance to the Church; but when he fell into Disgrace Mr. *Cotton's* Patent could not skreen him. His Reputation was no less considerable all over *New-England*, where he was esteemed the Oracle of the Country. He was certainly a Man of very great Learning, and so well acquainted with the *Hebrew Language*, that he could discourse in it. He published several *Controversial* and *Practical* Writings, the chief of which was his *Discourse of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, which was a masterly Piece for the Time in which it was writ; but his chief Talents were for the Pulpit, where he behaved

Anno  
1652  
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\* Fuller Book xi. p. 228.

Adno  
1652

himself with such Gravity and Decency, as struck his Audience with Admiration and Awe: He made use of no *Latin* Sentences in his Sermons, no obsolete School Parasels, as was the Fashion of those Times, but spoke to the Capacity of the Meanest of his Hearers. He was a Person of great Modesty and Good Nature, and tho' he was often affronted by angry Men, he never expressed any Resentments. Once a conceited, ignorant Mechanick followed him home after Sermon, and told him with a Frown, That his Ministry was become dark or flat: To which he reply'd, *Both Brother, it may be both; let me have your Prayers that it may be otherwise.* Another time he was assaulted in the Street by an impudent Fellow, who call'd him an old Fool: Mr. Cotton reply'd, *I confess I am so; the Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise to Salvation.* His Life was full of Acts of Piety and Charity; and if his Constitution had not been very firm, he could not have gone thro' so many Labours and Toils as the Circumstances of his Affairs requir'd: But at last he found himself decaying, his Voice fail'd, he became *Asthmatical*, and a Complication of Distempers threatned his Death; so he set his House in Order, and having taken a solemn Leave of the Magistrates and Ministers of the Colony, who came to visit him in his Sickness, he dy'd on the 23d of *December*, in the 68th Year of his Age, and was interr'd with great Honour and Solemnity.

Ann<sup>o</sup>  
1652

NEXT Year dy'd the Honourable *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; some Time Governor of the Colony of the *Massachusetts*: He was born at *Northampton*, 1574. and was design'd for the Law, but being a brisk, active young Gentleman, Queen *Elizabeth* gave him a Captain's Commission, and sent him at the Head of a Company of Foot into the Service of *Henry* the IVth of *France*

France, in the Low-Countries: But a Peace being made soon after between the French and Spaniard, Capt. Dudley returned to Northampton, and by Conversation with Mr. Dod, Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Cleaver, and Mr. Winston, became a Non-conformist. After this he entred into the Service of the Earl of Lincoln, and was his Steward about 9 or 10 Years; but being a Puritan, and not willing to conform to the Ceremonies of the Church, he left the Earl's Service, and went over to New-England with the first Colony in the Year 1630, in Quality of Deputy-Governor. Having been a military Man, he was chosen Major-General of the Colony, and was very instrumental in keeping the Peace at a Time when the Government was disturbed by Persons of Antinomian and Familistical Principles. He was several times chosen Governor of the Colony; and after a long and useful Life, died in Peace at his House in Roxbury, July the 31st, in the 77th Year of his Age, being succeeded in his Government by Mr. John Endicott.

MR. Henry Dunstar resigned his Place of President of Harvard College about this time. The Overseers were uneasy because he had declared himself an Anabaptist, fearing lest he should instill those Principles into the Youth that were under his Care; but the President no sooner understood their Minds, but he freely resigned his Charge, and retired to Scituate, where he spent the Rest of his Days in Peace. He was an excellent Scholar, and a modest, humble, charitable Man, as appears by his last Will and Testament, wherein he ordered his Body to be buried at Cambridge, and bequeathed Legacies to those very Persons who had been the Authors of his Removal out of his Place. He died in the Year 1659, and was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Charles Chauncy, who governed the College with universal Applause.



*Anno*  
*1654*  
for a great many Years, tho' soon after his Advancement there was a great Disturbance among some of the Scholars, who, thinking themselves put under a Hardship, by being obliged to lose part of a Year of their Time upon which depended their Degrees, left the College to the Number of Seventeen, without waiting for any Degree at all.

*Anno*  
*1655*  
THIS Year the Honourable *Edward Winslow*, Esq; some Time Governor of *Plimouth* Colony, died: He was the Son of *Edward Winslow*, of *Draughtwich* in the County of *Worcester*, Esq; Travelling into the *Low-Countries*, he joyned himself to *Mr. Robinson's* Church at *Leyden*, and came over to *New-England* with the first Detachment, in the Year 1620. He was many Years Governor of *Plimouth* Colony, and made several Voyages to *England* as their Agent. In the Year 1646 the *Massachuset* Colony chose him their Agent, and sent him to the Court of *England* upon very important Affairs, which he dispatched with great Fidelity and Success, but never returned to *New-England* any more; for the Parliament finding him an able Statesman employed him in several important Trusts, and at last sent him at the Head of an Expedition to *Hispaniola*, which not succeeding according to his Desires, he died of Grief between *Domingo* and *Jamaica*, *May* the 8th, 1655, and had his Body honourably committed to the Sea.

*Anno*  
*1656*  
ABOUT a Twelvemonth after died old valiant *Capt. Standish*, as brave a Soldier as ever set Foot on *New-English* Ground. He was born in *Lancashire*, and was Heir apparent to a good Estate, but being fraudulently deprived of it, he went for a Soldier into the *Low-Countries*, and after some Time falling into Acquaintance with several of *Mr. Robinson's* Church at *Leyden*, joyned with them in the Design of making a Settlement in *New-England*.

He

He came over with the first Colony, and had a deep Share in all the Hardships and Difficulties they suffered. He was sent out upon several daring Enterprizes against the *Indians*, and others, and did Wonders with an Handful of Men. At last, when he was no longer capable of serving his Country in the Field, he retired to *Duxbury*, and there died of the Stone in an advanced Age.

THE Government of *New-England*, had no sooner crushed the *Anabaptists*, but the *Quakers* rose up and disturbed the Peace of the Country. The Magistrates proceeded against them, as against the *Anabaptists*, by Fines, Imprisonment, Whipping, &c. but these not proving effectual, they ventured at last to put three or four of them to Death. This Affair having made a great Noise in the World, I'll endeavour to relate it with the greatest Impartiality; and when the Reader has considered the whole Account, with the Reasons of the Magistrates for their Proceedings, as they lie together in this Chapter, let him judge of it as he pleases.

THE first Appearance of the People call'd *Quakers* in the World, was in the North of *England*, about the Year 1644, but they were not distinguish'd by any particular Name till the Year 1650. At their first setting out they were a wild, enthusiastick Sort of People, having no consistent Scheme of Religion, but what arose from the strong Impulses of their own Minds: Hence they cried down a Regular Ministry, and rail'd against all such as Hirelings, Priests of *Baal*, and Deceivers of the People, they disturbed them in their publick Administrations, and frequently went about Streets in an indecent manner, denouncing Judgments and Calamities on the Nation; nay, so violent were their Impressions at last, that some of them imagined them-

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 selves called of God, to leave their Families and Employments, and travel into foreign Countries, to convert the *Pope*, the *Turk*, and all the Nations of the World. With this View some of them came over to *New England*, and settled among the *Antinomians* in *Rhode Island*, from whence they spread themselves over *Plimouth Colony*, and were “unhappily successful (says *Dr. Mather*) “in seducing the People, not only to attend to the mystical Dispensation of the Light within, as having the whole of Religion contained in it, but also to oppose the good Order, both civil and sacred, erected in the Colony.\*”

THE first *Quakers* that came into the *Massachusetts Colony* were *Mary Fisher* and *Ann Austin*, who arrived † at *Boston* from *Barbadoes* in the Beginning of *July*, 1656, and about a Month after eight more arrived from *Rhode Island*, namely, *Christopher Holder*, *Thomas Thirstone*, *William Brend*, *John Copeland*, *Mary Prince*, *Sarah Gibbons*, *Mary Weatherhead*, and *Dorothy Waugh*. Upon the Arrival of the two first, Notice was immediately sent to the Governour, who ordered them to be secured, and about one hundred Books and Pamphlets, which they brought with them, to be burned. The Women were brought ashore, put into close Prison, and examined by proper Persons for Tokens of Witchcraft. The Governour called his Council together upon this extraordinary Occasion, who came to the following Resolutions.

*First*, “THAT all such corrupt Books as shall be found upon Search to be brought in, and spread by *Mary Fisher* and *Ann Austin* shall be forthwith burn'd and destroy'd by the common Executioner.

\* B. vii. p. 22.

† Bishop's *New-England judg'd*, p. 3.

*Secondly*,



*Secondly*, “ That the said *Mary* and *Anne* be kept in close Prison, and none admitted Communication with them without Leave from the Governour, Deputy Governour, or any two Magistrates, to prevent the Spreading of their corrupt Opinions, till such time as they be delivered by Authority on board some Vessel to be transported out of the Country. Anno  
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*Thirdly*, “ That *Simon Kempthorne* do speedily transport, or cause to be transported the said Persons to *Barbadoes* from whence they came, he defraying all the Charges of their Imprisonment, and for Performance thereof to give Security to the Secretary, in a Bond of One hundred Pounds, and upon Refusal to be committed to Prison till he do it.”

ACCORDINGLY these two Women after about a Month or five Weeks Confinement, were sent out of the Country, by the Return of the same Ship that brought them; the other eight were imprisoned after the same Manner, and at length sent out of the Country; but the same Spirit that brought them first to *New England*, soon moved them to return, and propagate their Opinions, in Defiance of all the Laws that were made against them.

THE Design of the Magistrates in coming to these Resolutions against the *Quakers*, was to keep them out of the Country, imagining, that none of their own People had as yet received any of their Opinions, tho' in this they were mistaken, as will appear presently: However with this View the following severe Laws were enacted by a general Court held at *Boston*, *October 14*, 1656.

“ That if any Master or Commander of any Ship, Bark, &c. shall henceforth bring into any Harbour, &c. within this Jurisdiction, any Quaker or Quakers, — he shall pay or cause

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“ to be paid the Sum of One hundred Pounds to  
 “ the Treasurer of the Country.—That what  
 “ Quaker soever shall arrive in this Country from  
 “ foreign Parts, or Parts adjacent, shall be forth-  
 “ with committed to the House of Correction,  
 “ and at their Entrance to be severely whipt,  
 “ and by the Master thereof to be constantly kept  
 “ at work, and none suffer’d to speak, or converse  
 “ with them. — If any Person shall knowingly  
 “ import any Quakers Books, or Writings con-  
 “ cerning their Devilish Opinions, he shall pay  
 “ for every such Book, or Writing five Pounds;  
 “ and whosoever shall disperse, or conceal any  
 “ such Book or Writing, and it be found with  
 “ him or her, shall forfeit and pay five Pounds.  
 “ —And that if any Persons within this Colony  
 “ shall take upon them to defend the heretical  
 “ Opinions of the said Quakers, or any of their  
 “ Books, &c. they shall be fined for the first Time  
 “ Forty Shillings; if they shall persist in the  
 “ same, and shall again defend them, the second  
 “ Time, Four Pounds---- if they shall again so  
 “ defend, they shall be committed to the House  
 “ of Correction ’till there be convenient Passage  
 “ to send them out of the Land, being sentenced  
 “ by the Court of Assistants to Banishment.” \*

THESE Laws being proclaimed by Beat of Drum in the Streets of *Boston, Nicholas Upshal*, an ancient Man of about 60 Years of Age, came out of his House, and in a publick Manner told the Officers; That the Prosecution of those Laws would be the Forerunner of Judgment on the Country; and therefore desired them to take heed what they did, lest they should be found fighting against God. This was looked upon as an Attack upon the Legislature, which might

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\* *J. Whiting's Answer to Cotton Mather, p. 14.*

be attended with fatal Consequences ; for if People might arraign the Laws of their Country in such an open Manner, the Authority of the Government would quickly be destroyed. *Upshal* was therefore summoned to appear before the General Court next Morning, and not acknowledging his Offence, was fined Twenty Pounds, and ordered to depart the Jurisdiction within the Space of a Month ; and that if he returned, he should be kept close Prisoner 'till he acknowledged his Fault.

BUT the first that suffered by the forementioned Laws was *Mary Clarke*, Wife of *John Clarke*, of *London*, Taylor, who left her Husband and six Children to bring a Message from the Lord to *New-England*. She arrived in the Month of *August* ; and having delivered her Message, was sent to the House of Correction, where she received Twenty Stripes, and was then turned out of the Jurisdiction. The next were *Christopher Holder* and *John Copeland*, who being returned to *New-England* since their late Banishment, and attempting to speak to the People in the Meeting-House at *Salem* after Sermon, were sent to the House of Correction, where they received Thirty Stripes a-piece, and after Nine Weeks Imprisonment were once more sent out of the Country. 'Tis uncertain how long these *Quakers* had been at *Salem*, but it began now to appear that several of the Inhabitants of that Place had embraced their Principles, by their absenting from the publick Worship, and setting up private Meetings of their own on the First Day of the Week ; nor is this to be wondred at, since that Town had shown so strong an Inclination to Enthusiastical Doctrines but a few Years before : However these private Meetings of *Friends* were quickly broke up ; the Persons that were present at them were fined Five Shillings a

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 Head for absenting from publick Worship, and their Teachers were sent to the House of Correction at *Boston*; but there was hardly a Man banished the Jurisdiction by Virtue of these Laws, but returned again in a few Months, animated with new Zeal for the propagating his Opinions.

THE Government being alarmed at these Proceedings of the *Quakers*, proceeded to farther Severities against them, and at their next General Court in *October* passed a Law \*, which enacted, “ That whosoever should bring any “ *Quaker* into their Jurisdiction should forfeit “ One Hundred Pounds to the Country, and “ be committed to Prison, there to remain ’till “ the Penalty should be satisfied.---- And whoso- “ ever should entertain or conceal any *Quaker* or “ *Quakers*, knowing them so to be, every such “ Person should forfeit to the Country Forty “ Shillings for every Hour’s Entertaining or Con- “ cealment, and be committed to Prison ’till the “ Forfeiture should be fully paid and satisfied. “ And further, That all and every of those Peo- “ ple that should arise among themselves, should “ be dealt withal, and suffer the like Punishments, “ as the Laws provide against those that come “ in, which was, That for the first Offence (or “ coming in) after they had once suffered what “ the Law requireth, if a Male, one of his Ears “ should be cut off, and he kept at Work in the “ House of Correction ’till he could be sent “ away on his own Charges; and for the second “ Offence his other Ear should be cut off, and “ he kept in the House of Correction as afore- “ said: If a Woman, then to be severely whipt, “ and kept as aforesaid as the Male for the first

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\* *New-England judged*, p. 63.

“ Offence ; and for the second she shall be alike  
 “ used as aforesaid : And for every *Quaker*, he  
 “ or she that shall a third Time offend, they  
 “ shall have their Tongues bored through with  
 “ an hot Iron, and be kept at the House of Cor-  
 “ rection to Work ’till they be sent away at their  
 “ own Charge. ”

I DO not find above three *Quakers* that lost their Ears by this Law, namely, *Holder*, *Copeland* and *Rouse*, who having been sent out of the Jurisdiction once and again, were apprehended, the two former at *Dedham*, and the other at *Boston*. They were immediately carried before the Governor, and acknowledging themselves to be the Persons that were formerly banished, were sentenced to have each of them their Right Ear cut off by the Hangman, which was accordingly executed within the Prison of *Boston*, Sept. 16, 1658.

IN the midst of these Troubles died *William Bradford*, Esq; Second Governor of *Plimouth* Colony : He was born in an obscure Village called *Ansterfield* in *Yorkshire*, in the Year 1588. The Conversation and Ministry of Mr. *Clifton*, under whom he was educated, made him a *Nonconformist* ; but the Severity of the Bishops not allowing him the Liberty of his Conscience at Home, he transported himself with some of his Acquaintance into *Holland*, and settled with the *Brownist* Church at *Amsterdam*, where he lived ten Years : But when the Expedition for *New-England* was set on Foot he left *Amsterdam*, and embarked with that Part of Mr. *Robinson’s* Congregation at *Leyden*, which made the first Settlement in those Parts. Upon the Death of Mr. *Carver* he was unanimously chosen Governor of the Infant Colony in the Year 1621. and continued in that Post with very little Intermission ’till his Death. He was a Gentleman of a very noble and generous

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rous Spirit, laying aside all private Views, when they stood in Competition with the publick Good of the Country, as appears by this Example: When the Crown of *England* gave the Colony of *Plimouth* a Patent for their Lands, the Patent was drawn in the Name of *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Associates and Assigns, which gave him the Propriety of the whole Country; but when the Number of Freemen was considerably increased, and several new Towns erected, the General Court desired Mr. *Bradford* to surrender up the Patent into their Hands, which he generously did, and confirmed it with his Hand and Seal, reserving no more for himself than what was his Proportion with others by Agreement. This endeared him so much to the People, that they chose him in a manner Governor for Life. He was a Person of excellent Temper, as appeared by his admirable Management of the peevish and froward Humours of the People, under the inexpressible Hardships they suffered the first three or four Years of their Settlement; but he bore a part in them all himself, and animated the People by his own Example. The Year before he died he found himself decaying, his Constitution being broken by the Fatigues he had undergone in the Service of the Colony; and after a lingering Indisposition of several Months, he died *May 9, 1657.* universally lamented by all the Colonies of *New-England*, in the 69th Year of his Age, and was interred with the greatest Honour and Solemnity that was possible for the Colony to express.

HE was succeeded by Mr. *Thomas Prince*, a Man of no Learning, but of good natural Parts; who finding the Want of a liberal Education in himself, became the greatest Patron of Learning that that Colony ever enjoy'd, and was so well beloved,

that



that he was constantly chosen Governor as long as he lived.

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IN the same Year died *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; Governor of *Newhaven* Colony; he was born at *Stony-Stratford* in *Oxfordshire*, his Father being Minister of the Town: He was bred an East Country Merchant, and travelling into those Parts was employed by the King as his Agent at the Court of *Denmark*; after three Years he returned home, and continued several Years in *London*, a Merchant of great Business and Reputation. When the *Puritannical Ministers* were driven out of the Land by the Rigour of Archbishop *Laud's* Impositions, and among the rest his old Acquaintance Mr. *Davenport*, he took up a Resolution to accompany him to *New-England*, where they arrived in the Year 1637. and choosing to be a distinct Colony by themselves, settled in the South-West Part of the Country, at a Place which they called *Newhaven*, and spread themselves along the Coast, where in a few Years they built several pretty Villages. As Mr. *Davenport* was Minister, so Mr. *Eaton* was chosen annually their Governor as long as he lived. He met with more Troubles than most of the Governors of the other Colonies, but bore them with invincible Patience and Constancy. He had once such a large *Fistula* in his Breast, that the Surgeon told him he had not Courage enough himself to lay it open, being afraid he would dye under his Hands; but Mr. *Eaton* bid him, with an undaunted Resolution, perform the Operation, and not be afraid, *For God calls you to do, says he, and me to suffer*; and after some time he was perfectly cured. He was a Person of strict Virtue and Piety, facetious and pleasant in Conversation, but always grave upon proper Occasions: He was very charitable to the Poor, and easie of Access by the meanest Persons, but

always

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w always maintained the Dignity of his Character as a Magistrate. He was exercised with great Troubles in his Family, several of his Children died of malignant Distempers, his Wife was troubled with a melancholy Indisposition, and at last the Divisions and Quarrels that arose in the Church of *Hertford* broke his Heart. He seemed to be in perfect Health the Day before he died, and had been taking a Solitary Walk in the Fields, for the Benefit of private Meditation; when he came home in the Evening, he went into his Wife's Chamber, and bid her good Night. She look'd up in his Face and said, *Methinks you look sad.* He replied, *The Troubles of the Church of Hertford make me so.* After this he went to his Apartment, and about Midnight being heard to fetch a deep Groan, one of the Watchers that sat up with his Wife run in, and ask'd him how he did, he replied, *Very ill,* and without speaking a Word more died. Mr. *Francis Newman*, who had been Secretary of the Colony for several Years, was chosen unanimously his Successor.

○ WITHIN a few Months of Governour *Eaton* tho' at a very great Distance of Place, dyed his Son in Law *Edward Hopkins*, Esq; sometime Governour of *Connecticut Colony*: He was born about *Shrewsbury* in the Year 1600, educated a *Turkey Merchant*, and was a considerable Trader to those Parts for several Years in *London*, till the Violence of the Times forced him to remove to *New England*, where he settled at *Hertford*, and was made Governour of the Colony. After some time his elder Brother dying, who was Warden of the *Fleet*, he was obliged to return to *England* to look after his Affairs, where he was quickly taken Notice of by those who had then the Government in their Hands: They made him first Warden of the *Fleet* in his Brother's Room;  
then

then Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy-Office, and at last got him chosen a Member of Parliament. These unexpected Preferments determined him to send over for his Family, and spend the Rest of his Days in his native Country. He was a consumptive Man, troubled with a Cough and Spitting of Blood for above 30 Years, but a Person of great Piety, Virtue and Liberality to the Poor: He was extremely beloved in both *Englands*, but his Constitution being quite wasted, he died this Year in the 58th Year of his Age.

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THE next Year carry'd off two ancient Ministers, who had been forced to leave their Native Country on the Account of Religion.

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ONE was the Reverend Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, who had been a Minister in the Church of *England*, but by the Severity of the Bishops was hunted (as he used to express it) like a Partridge upon the Mountains, till at last he resolved to get out of their Reach, and take his Flight into *New-England*. He settled at *Duxbury* in the Colony of *Plimouth*, and was in such high Esteem all over the Country that the Synod of *Cambridge* in the Year 1648, chose him one of the three to draw up their Model of Church Government: He was a Person of great Humility and Self-denial, and contented himself with very mean Circumstances in the World, insomuch that when most of the Ministers of *Plimouth* Colony left their *Places*, on Account of the People's withdrawing their Maintenance, this good Man continued with his poor People till he died: He was an able and faithful Preacher of the Gospel, and was rarely, if ever interrupted in his Work by bodily Sickness, till he died, in a good old Age, having served Christ in the Work of the Ministry between forty and fifty Years.



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THE other was the Reverend Mr. *Peter Bulkly*, born at *Woodhill* in *Bedfordshire*, 1582. He was educated at *St. John's* in *Cambridge*, and was Fellow of the College. He had a Gentleman's Estate left him by his Father, whom he succeeded in his Ministry at the Place where he was born, and continued in his Post without any Disturbance for Twenty one Years; but at last Information being given to Archbishop *Laud* of his *Nonconformity* to some of the Ceremonies of the Church, he was immediately silenced; whereupon he turned his Estate into Money, and came over to *New-England* in the Year 1635. and bringing over a good Number of *Planters* with him, they settled by themselves at a Place which they called *Concord*. Here he buried a great Estate, whilst almost all his Servants got Estates under him. It was his Custom, when a Servant had lived with him a certain Number of Years, to dismiss him his Service, and put him into a Farm for himself, and so take another in his Room. He was an excellent Scholar, a thundering Preacher, of an holy and exemplary Conversation, and one who had great Authority and Influence in the Place where he lived. He printed a Treatise of the *New Covenant*, which was very much esteemed in those Times, and at last died of Age and Infirmities, *March* the 9th, 1658-9. in the 77th Year of his Age.

BUT to return to the *Quakers*; neither the passing the forementioned Laws, nor the severe Execution of them, had the least Influence on the *Quakers*, who gloried in their Sufferings, as for the Cause of God, and the Testimony of *Jesus*. They travel'd the Country, disturb'd the Churches, and continued their private Meetings as much as ever. On the 13th of *April* two Women spake aloud in the Meeting-house at *Boston*; and a few Weeks after *T. Harris* of *Barbadoes* disturb-  
ed

ed the publick Worship again, for which he was apprehended, sent to the House of Correction, and put to hard Labour; but *Harris*, like the rest of his Brethren, would not strike a Stroke in Prison; he would suffer any thing, but do nothing; nay, so stubborn were he and his Friends, that they would neither pay the Fines that were laid upon them, nor be at the Charge of transporting themselves out of the Country, tho' they were offered their Liberty upon that Condition, nor so much as pay the Goaler his Fees. In short, they were as perverse and obstinate in Prison as out of it, insomuch that the Goaler was forced at last to lay the Case before the Magistrates, who thereupon ordered him, "To whip them twice a Week if they would not Work, and the first time to add five Stripes to the former ten, and each time after to add three more, and the two Constables of the Town to be present at the Execution." But *Harris* and his Friends were not to be tamed by these Methods, they resolved to dye rather than submit, and one of them was almost whipt to Death upon this Order; but when *Harris* had suffered a second Whipping some of his Friends paid his Charges, and so he was dismissed. And this became afterwards the usual Practice of the *Quakers*, not to pay their own Fees, but to suffer others to do it for them \*. But when the Prisoners had no Friends to assist them, the Court was forced to rid their Hands of them as well as they could, as appears from the Case of *Daniel* and *Provided Southick*, who being fined Ten Pounds for not coming to Meeting, and refusing to work or pay the Money, were ordered to be sold to the Plantations. The Order of the Court ran thus:

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\* *New-England judged*, p. 107.

“ WHERE-

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“ **W**HEREAS *Daniel and Provided Southick,*  
 “ Son and Daughter of *Lawrence*  
 “ *Southick,* have been fined by the Courts of  
 “ *Salem and Ipswich,* pretending they have no  
 “ Estates, resolving not to work; and others  
 “ have been fined for siding with the *Quakers,*  
 “ and absenting themselves from publick Or-  
 “ dinances; in Answer to what shall be done  
 “ for the Satisfaction of the Fines, the Court  
 “ upon Perusal of a Law which was made up-  
 “ on the Account of Debts, resolves that the  
 “ Treasurers of the several Counties are and  
 “ shall be fully empowered to sell the said Per-  
 “ sons to any of the *English Plantations at Vir-*  
 “ *ginia or Barbadoes,* to answer the said Fines,  
 “ &c.” *Edward Rawson, Secr.*

I AM apt to think this Order was made rather to terrify the Quakers, than with a Design to be put in Execution; for when *Southick* and his Wife had been thoroughly frighten'd, they were sent home without any further Punishment; nor is there a single Instance to be given of any one that was sold for the Payment of his Fees.

SEVERAL private Meetings of the Quakers were discovered about this Time in *Salem, Boston,* and other Places; about the latter End of *June* Twenty were taken at the House of *Nicholas Phelps* in the Woods about five Miles from *Salem,* among whom were two Foreigners *William Brend* and *William Leddra,* who were sent to the House of Correction at *Boston;* and having received ten Lashes, were told they might have their Liberty, paying their Fees, and hiring the Marshal to convey them out of the Country, but they refused to depart, and were therefore whipt more severely, till some of their Friends laid



laid down the Money, and so they were discharged.

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It now appeared that the Inhabitants of *Salem* enclined very much to the Opinion of the *Quakers*, for more Families in that little Village deserted the publick Worship than in *Boston* itself, and this they did in Defiance of a very severe Law which Enacted, \* “ That every Person or Persons called *Quakers* arising from among themselves, and professing any of their pernicious Ways by speaking, writing, meeting together on the Lord’s Day, or any other Time, should pay to the Country 10 *Shillings*, and every one speaking in such a Meeting 5 *Pounds*, and in case any such Persons had been scourged, or whipt the first Time according to the former Laws, that then they should be kept at Work in the House of Correction, ’till they put in Security by two sufficient Men that they shall not any more vent their hateful Errors, nor use their sinful Practices; or shall depart the Jurisdiction at their own Charge; and if they return, to suffer as in the case of Foreigners ”.

Several Persons and Families were ruined by the Execution of these Laws, for no sooner did they absent themselves from the publick Worship, but Enquiry was made where they were, and whether they had not been at some private Meeting of *Quakers*; if they were silent, or could not give a good Account of themselves, they were watch’d by the Informers, who quickly laid their Hands upon them. But such was the enthusiastick Fire of the *Quakers*, that nothing could quench it: The Sect grew under all these Disadvantages, and several Families went over to

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\* *New-England judg’d.* p. 94.

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W

it; their Sufferings serv'd only to raise the Compassions of the People, and open their Mouths against the publick Ministers of the Country, as the Authors of all the Severities used against them. No Methods were effectual to suppress them, for no sooner was one Party of *Quakers* punish'd and sent out of the Country as the Law directed, but another was immediately detached from their Head-Quarters in *Rhode-Island*, which provok'd the Magistrates to such a Degree, that at their next General Court they pass'd a Law to banish all foreign *Quakers* upon Pain of Death; the Words are these;

After the Preamble declaring the Reasons of their Proceedings, it follows:\*

— “ This Court doth order and enact that  
 “ every Person or Persons of the accursed Sect  
 “ of the *Quakers*, which is not an Inhabitant of,  
 “ but is found within this Jurisdiction, shall be  
 “ apprehended without Warrant, where no Magistrate is at Hand, by any Constable, Commissioner, or select Man, and conveyed from  
 “ Constable to Constable, until they come before  
 “ the next Magistrate, who shall commit the  
 “ said Person or Persons to close Prison, there  
 “ to remain without Bail until the next Court  
 “ of Assistants, where they shall have a legal  
 “ Trial by a special Jury, and being convicted  
 “ to be of the Sect of *Quakers*, shall be sentenc'd to be banished upon Pain of Death;  
 “ and that every Inhabitant of this Jurisdiction  
 “ being convicted to be of the aforesaid Sect, either, by taking up, publishing, or defending  
 “ the horrid Opinions of the *Quakers*, — or  
 “ by taking up their absurd and destructive Practices, *viz.* denying civil Respects to Equals,

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\* *J. Whiting's Answer to Dr. Mather.* p. 276

“ and Reverence to Superiors, and withdrawing *Adno*  
 “ from our Church-Assemblies, and instead 1658  
 “ thereof frequent private Meetings of their  
 “ own, ——— or by adhering to, or approving  
 “ of any known *Quaker*, ——— or condemn-  
 “ ing the Practice of Proceeding of this Court  
 “ against the *Quakers*, ——— Every such Per-  
 “ son upon Examination and legal Conviction  
 “ before the Court of Assistants shall be com-  
 “ mitted to close Prison for one Month, and  
 “ then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart  
 “ this Jurisdiction, shall give Bond for their  
 “ good Behaviour, and appear at the next Court  
 “ of Assistants, where continuing obstinate, and  
 “ refusing to retract, and reform the said Opi-  
 “ nions and Practices, shall be sentenced to Ba-  
 “ nishment upon Pain of Death: And in case  
 “ of the aforesaid voluntary Departure, not to  
 “ remain, nor again to return into this Jurif-  
 “ diction without the Allowance of the Coun-  
 “ cil first had, and published on Penalty of be-  
 “ ing banished on Pain of Death.”

It was with great Difficulty that this \* Law  
 was obtained; the Court of Magistrates indeed  
 pass'd it roundly without the Clause of being  
 tried by a *Jury*, agreeing that it should be exe-  
 cuted by a Country Court consisting of 3 Magi-  
 strates, a Majority of whom were to give Judg-  
 ment; but the Court of Deputies would by no  
 means give their consent, it being contrary to  
 the Laws of *England*, to put Men to Death  
 without Trial by a Jury, but the Magistrates at  
 last, by prevailing with two of the Deputies to  
 change Sides, carried it in the House of Depu-  
 ties by the Majority of a single Voice, the Speaker  
 and 11 being against it, and 13 for it. But the

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\* *New-England judg'd.* p. 100.



*Anno* twelve that were against the Bill resolved to enter  
 1659 their Protests, 'till the others agreed to qualify  
 it by adding those Words of *being tried by a special Jury.*

FOUR Quakers suffered Death by Virtue of this Law, *William Robinson* of London Merchant; *Marmaduke Stevenson* of the East Part of *Yorkshire*, Countryman; *Mary Dyar*, and *William Leddra*: the three former of these coming from *Rhode-Island* in the Month of *June*, were apprehended, and banish'd on Pain of Death, and were allowed 'till the 4th of *September* to depart the Jurisdiction; the two Men went into *Pascataqua* Government, and the Woman to *Rhode-Island*, but returning again to *Boston*, they were all three apprehended about the middle of *October*, and carried before the Magistrates to shew Cause, why they came into the Jurisdiction after they had been banished upon Pain of Death; but all the Reply they made was, that *they came in Obedience to the Call of the Lord.* Next Day they were sent for again, when the Governour spoke to this Effect. "We have made many Laws, " and endeavoured by several Ways to keep you " from us, but I find neither Whipping, nor " Imprisonment, nor cutting off of Ears, nor " Banishment upon Pain of Death will keep you " from us; I desire not your Death" Being then asked what they had to say for themselves, *William Robinson* delivered in a Paper into Court desiring it might be read, which was refus'd, and Sentence of Death pass'd upon him; *to be carried back to the Place from whence he came, and from thence to the Place of Execution to be hanged on the Gallows 'till he be dead.* *Stevenson* and *Dyar* said nothing for themselves at their Trial; but *Stevenson* a little before his Execution gave out a Paper of Reasons of his coming to *Boston* to this Effect, " That as he was following his Plough

“ in the East Part of *Yorkshire* in *Old England*,  
 “ he was in a sort of Rapture, and heard a se-  
 “ cret Voice, in his Conscience, saying, *I have*  
 “ *ordained thee a Prophet to the Nations.* In O-  
 “ bedience to this Voice he left his Family  
 “ and Employment, and went first to *Barba-*  
 “ *does* in the Year 1658, and from thence to  
 “ *Rhode-Island*, where, as he was visiting the  
 “ Seed, the Word of the Lord came to him  
 “ again, saying, *Go to Boston with thy Brother*  
 “ *William Robinson*; now (says he) for yielding  
 “ Obedience to this Command of the Ever-  
 “ living God, and not obeying the Commands  
 “ of Men do I suffer these Bonds near to Death.

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W

Sign'd MARMADUKE ROBINSON.

*But have a New Name  
 given me, which the World  
 knows not of, written in  
 the Book of Life.*

*Boston-Prison, in the  
 8th Month, 1659.*

*Robinson's* Paper which was afterwards printed was to the same Purpose; declaring the Reason of his continuing in the Jurisdiction after his Banishment to be from the Motion of the Lord in him.

ON the 27th of *October* they were all three carried to the Place of Execution, where the two Men were hanged, but when *Mary Dyar* was upon the Ladder she receiv'd a Pardon, and was sent away to *Newport* in *Rhode-Island*, the Place from whence she came; but being possess'd with the Spirit of Martyrdom, she could not stay at home, but came again into the Jurisdiction some Time after, and was executed *June 1. 1660.*

*Dr. Mather* says, \* “ If any enquire with  
 “ what Spirit these Men dyed, he must sincerely

\* *Mather, Book 6. page 59.*

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 “ say, that as far as he can learn they shewed  
 “ little enough of the Spirit of Martyrdom,  
 “ they dyed not like the true Martyrs of Jesus  
 “ Christ with the glorious Spirit of God rest-  
 “ ing on them ; but a fierce, a raging, a sul-  
 “ len and a revengeful Spirit, and a Degree of  
 “ Madnes rather inspired them.” But how-  
 over these Executions raised a great Clamour  
 against the Government, and sullied the Glory  
 of their former Sufferings from the Bishops, for  
 now it appeared that the *New-England Puritans*  
 were no better Friends to Liberty of Conscience  
 than their Adversaries, and that the Question  
 between them was not, whether one Party of  
 Christians should have Power to oppress another,  
 but who should have that Power? Great Num-  
 bers of the common People were offended at  
 these Proceedings, as well as the Generality of  
 sober Persons in the several Nations of *Europe*,  
 which obliged the Magistrates to publish to the  
 World the following Declaration in their own  
 Vindication.

“ THO’ the Justice of our Proceedings against  
 “ *William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson* and  
 “ *Mary Dyar*, supported by the Authority of  
 “ this Court, the Laws of this Country, and the  
 “ Laws of God, may rather persuade us to ex-  
 “ pect Encouragement and Commendation from  
 “ all prudent and pious Men, than convince us  
 “ of any Necessity to apologize for the same ;  
 “ yet forasmuch as Men of weaker Parts out of  
 “ Pity and Commiseration ( a commendable and  
 “ Christian Virtue, yet easily abused, and sus-  
 “ ceptible of sinister and dangerous Impressions )  
 “ for want of a full Information may be less sa-  
 “ tisfied, and Men of perverfer Principles to ca-  
 “ lumniate us, and render us as bloody Perfe-  
 “ cutors ; to satisfy one, and stop the Mouths  
 “ of the other, we have thought fit to declare,  
 “ that



“ that about three Years since divers Persons *Anno*  
 “ professing themselves *Quakers* ( of whose pernicious *1659*  
 “ Opinions and Practices we had received  
 “ Intelligence from good Hands) both from *Bar-*  
 “ *badoes* and *England*, arrived at *Boston*, whose  
 “ Persons were only secured to be sent away by  
 “ the first Opportunity without Censure or Pu-  
 “ nishment, altho’ their professed Tenets, turbu-  
 “ lent and contemptuous Behaviour to Autho-  
 “ rity, would have justified a severer Animad-  
 “ version ; yet the Prudence of this Court was  
 “ exercised only in making Provision to secure  
 “ the Peace and Order here established against  
 “ their Attempts, whose Design ( we were well  
 “ assured by our own Experience, as well as by  
 “ the Example of their Predecessors in *Minster* )  
 “ was to undermine and ruine the same ; and  
 “ accordingly a Law was made and published,  
 “ prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any  
 “ *Quakers* into this Jurisdiction, and themselves  
 “ from coming in, on Penalty of the House of  
 “ Correction till they could be sent away.  
 “ Notwithstanding which by a Back-Door they  
 “ found Entrance, and the Penalty insisted on  
 “ them proving insufficient to restrain their im-  
 “ pudent and insolent Obtrusions, was encreased  
 “ by the Loss of the Ears of those who offended  
 “ a second Time ; which also being too weak a  
 “ Defence against their impetuous and fanatick  
 “ Fury, necessitated us to endeavour our Secu-  
 “ rity ; and upon serious Consideration a Law  
 “ was made, that such Persons should be ba-  
 “ nished on Pain of Death, according to the  
 “ Example of *England*, in their Provision against  
 “ *Jesuits*, which Sentence being regularly pro-  
 “ nounced at the last Court of Assistants against  
 “ these Parties, and they either returning, or  
 “ continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction  
 “ after the Time limited were apprehended,

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“ owning themselves to be the Persons banished,  
 “ were sentenced by the Court to Death, ac-  
 “ cording to the Law aforesaid, which hath  
 “ been executed on two of them. *Mary Dyar*  
 “ upon Petition of her Son, and the Mercy and  
 “ Clemency of this Court had Liberty to depart  
 “ within two Days, which she hath accepted  
 “ of. The Consideration of our gradual Pro-  
 “ ceedings will vindicate us from the clamou-  
 “ rous Accusations of Severity; our own just  
 “ and necessary Defence calling upon us (other  
 “ Means failing) to offer the Point which these  
 “ Persons have violently and wilfully rushed up-  
 “ on, and thereby became *Felones de se*, which,  
 “ might it have been prevented, and the sove-  
 “ reign Law *Salus Populi* been preserved, our  
 “ former Proceedings, as well as the sparing  
 “ *Mary Dyar* upon an inconsiderable Intercession  
 “ will manifestly evince, we desire their Lives  
 “ absent, rather than their Deaths present.”

THE *Quakers* have observed upon this Decla-  
 ration; that the Law of putting *Quakers* to  
 Death, which it designs to vindicate was con-  
 trary to the Laws of *England*, and consequently  
 a Forfeiture of their Charter, the Example of  
 the *Jesuits* being nothing to the Purpose, for if a  
 Law made against *Jesuits* may be turn'd against  
*Quakers*, by the same Way of Reasoning, it may  
 be made Use of against the *Presbyterians* them-  
 selves, when the Power is lodged in proper  
 Hands. But suppose it was not contrary to the  
 Laws of *England*, it was certainly contrary to  
 the Laws of God which allows every Man a  
 Right of private Judgment. And further, tho'  
 it were allowed that the *Quakers* by their impru-  
 dent Conduct had justly expos'd themselves to the  
 Notice of the Civil Magistrate, yet the Offence  
 was by no Means equal to the Punishment, for  
 they were not proceeded against for Felony or  
 Treason,

Treason, but for Contempt of Authority, and of God's Ordinances, which might indeed deserve a Fine or a Pillory, but has never been thought worthy of Death by any civilized Nation in the World.

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BUT the present Magistrates were not to be softened by these Arguments, they were satisfied of the Reasonableness and Necessity of their Laws, and therefore resolved to continue the Execution of them. Several *Quakers* were banished on Pain of Death, who never returned into the Country any more, as, *Laurence* and *Cassandra Southick*, *Josiah Southick*, *S. Shattock*, *N. Phelps*, and others. But *William Leddra*, a Foreigner, who had been whipp'd several Times, and turned out of the Jurisdiction, and at last banished upon pain of Death, coming again to *Boston* this Spring in Defiance of the Laws, was apprehended and carried before the Court of Assistants: Mr. *Bradstreet* asked him, \* Whether he was willing to go for *England*, he answered, *That he had no Business there*, he was then told, he should have his Liberty, if he would promise to return no more; to which he replied, *I stand not in mine own Will, but in the Will of the Lord; if I may have my Freedom I shall go, but to make such a Promise I cannot.* Mr. *Bradstreet* then said, That if he would neither go for *England*, nor promise to keep out of the Jurisdiction he must suffer the Law; *William* then appealed to the Laws of *England* for his Trial, but his Appeal was refused. The Court spent a great deal of Time in persuading him to recant his Errors, to conform to the Laws of the Country, or promise to come there no more, but he was very obstinate. *What joy*

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\* *New-England judg'd.* p. 313, &c.



*Anno* with such Murtherers as you (says he)? then let  
 1660 every Man that meets me say, Lo! this is the Man  
 that has forsaken the God of his Salvation. At last,  
 Sentence of Death was pass'd upon him, which  
 was executed March 14, 1660-61; he said little  
 at the Gallows but this, *That for bearing his Te-*  
*stimony for the Lord against Deceivers and the De-*  
*ceived he was brought there to suffer.*

WHILE Leddra was upon his Trial *Wenlock*  
*Christison*, \* who had been banished upon pain  
 of Death came boldly into Court with his Hat  
 upon his Head, warning the Magistrates to shed  
 no more innocent Blood; the *Marshal* com-  
 manded him to pluck off his Hat, but he reply-  
 ed, *No, I shall not.* He was then asked, whether  
 his Name was not *Christison*, and whether he  
 had not been banished upon pain of Death;  
 which he confessing, was sent to Prison; he was  
 brought upon his Trial in the Month of *May*,  
 and made the best Defence for his Life of any of  
 the *Quakers* that went before him; Being asked,  
 What he had to say, why he should not suffer the  
 Law, he asked, by what Law they would put him  
 to Death; the Court answered, by the late Law  
 made against *Quakers*; he then desired to know  
 who empowered them to make that Law, and  
 whether it was not repugnant to the Laws of  
*England*; the Governor replied, that there was  
 a Law in *England* to hang *Jesuits*; but *Wenlock*  
 answered, If you put me to Death, 'tis not be-  
 cause I go under the Name of a *Jesuit*, but a  
*Quaker*: I appeal to the Laws of my own Na-  
 tion. The Court told him, he should have a fair  
 Trial for his Life, by a Bench and Jury; but he  
 continued to appeal to the Laws of *England*,  
 saying, He had never read, nor heard of any

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\* *New-England judg'd.* p. 319.

Law that was in *England* to hang *Quakers* ; however, the Court over-ruled his Plea, and the Jury brought him in guilty. When Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him, he desired the Court to consider what they had gained by their cruel Proceedings against the *Quakers* ; *For the last Man, that was put to Death, (says he) here are five come, in his Room, and if you have Power to take my Life from me, God can raise up the same Principle of Life in ten of his Servants, and send them among you in my Room, that you may have Torment upon Torment.* What Effect this Speech had upon them I can't determine, but before the 13th of *June*, which was the Day appointed for his Execution, he was set at Liberty, and conducted out of the Jurisdiction, together with 27 *Quakers* more, then in Prison.

THE Court began to be sensible that the putting Men to Death for their religious Principles, was odious in the Eye of the World ; that in the Case of the *Quakers* it did not answer their Ends, for the more they persecuted, the more bloody Work they had upon their Hands ; and therefore they resolved for the future, only to whip them at the Cart's-Tail, as Vagabonds, thro' all the Towns in their Way out of the Jurisdiction. 'Tis possible likewise, that the Change of Government in *England* might make them act with more Caution, for the *Quakers* were very busy about this Time in soliciting *K. Charles* the Second, to put a Stop to the Hardships of their Friends in *New-England*, and at last, they obtained the following Order.

CHARLES R.

“ TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you  
 “ well, having been informed, that several of our Subjects among you called *Quakers*, have been, and are imprisoned by you,  
 “ whereof

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 “ whereof some have been executed, and others  
 “ (as hath been represented to us) are in Dan-  
 “ ger to undergo the like; We have thought fit  
 “ to signify our Pleasure in that Behalf for the  
 “ future, and do hereby require, That if there  
 “ be any of those People called *Quakers* amongst  
 “ you, now already condemned to suffer Death,  
 “ or other corporal Punishment, or that are im-  
 “ prisoned, and obnoxious to the like Condem-  
 “ nation, you are to forbear to proceed any fur-  
 “ ther therein, but that you forthwith send the  
 “ said Persons (whether condemned, or impris-  
 “ oned) over into this our Kingdom of *England*,  
 “ together with their respective Crimes or Of-  
 “ fences laid to their Charge, to the End such  
 “ Course may be taken with them here, as shall  
 “ be agreeable to our Laws and their Demerits,  
 “ and for so doing, these our Letters shall be your  
 “ sufficient Warrant and Discharge. Given at  
 “ our Court at *Whitehall*, *Sept. 9. 1661*, in the  
 “ 13th Year of our Reign.

Subscribed, To our trusty and well-be-  
 loved *John Endicott*, Esq; and to all and  
 every other the Governour or Govern-  
 ours of our Plantation of *New-England*,  
 and of all the Colonies thereunto be-  
 longing that now are, or hereafter shall  
 be; and to all and every the Ministers  
 and Officers of our said Plantation and  
 Colonies whatsoever within the Conti-  
 nent of *New-England*. By His Maje-  
 sty's Command.

*William Morris.*

THIS put an effectual Stop to the Sufferings  
 of the *Quakers* on the Account of their Principles,  
 the Hands of the Government being tied up by  
 this Letter from putting their Laws in Execu-  
 tion



tion for the future; some of them indeed have been punished since, as Vagabonds and Criminals against the State, but none that I know of, purely for their Sentiments in Religion.

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It ought to be observed, that all the Colonies of *New-England* were not equally severe against the *Quakers*, they suffer'd but little in the Jurisdictions of *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, but *Plymouth* Patent copied after the *Massachusetts*, as appears by the following Abstract of Capt. *James Cudworth's* Letter to his Friend in *London*, dated *December 10, 1658.*

“ **A**S for the \* State and Condition of Things  
 “ amongst us (says he) it is sad, and  
 “ like so to continue; the Antichristian perse-  
 “ cuting Spirit is very active, and that in the  
 “ Powers of this World; he that will not whip  
 “ and lash, persecute and punish Men that differ  
 “ in Matters of Religion must not sit on the  
 “ Bench, nor sustain any Office in the Common-  
 “ wealth. Last Election Mr. *Hatherly* and my-  
 “ self left off the Bench, and I was discharged of  
 “ my Captainship, because I had entertain'd  
 “ some of the *Quakers* at my House (that I might  
 “ be the better acquainted with their Principles):  
 “ I thought it better so to do, than with the  
 “ blind World to censure, condemn, rail at, and  
 “ revile them, when they neither saw their Per-  
 “ sons, nor knew any of their Principles; but  
 “ the *Quakers* and myself can't close in divers  
 “ Things; and so I signified to the Court I was  
 “ no *Quaker*, but must bear my Testimony a-  
 “ gainst sundry Things that they held, as I had  
 “ Occasion and Opportunity, but withal I told  
 “ them, that as I was no *Quaker*, so I would be

\* *New-England judg'd.* p. 169.

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“ no *Persecutor* ; this Spirit did work those two  
 “ Years that I was of the Magistracy, during  
 “ which Time I was on sundry Occasions forced  
 “ to declare my Dissent in sundry Actings of  
 “ that Nature, which tho’ done with all Mode-  
 “ ration, and due Respect, yet wrought great  
 “ Disaffection and Prejudice in them against me,  
 “ and produced a Petition to the Court against  
 “ me, sign’d with 19 Hands, which was follow’d  
 “ with another in my Favour, sign’d with 54  
 “ Hands. ——— The Court return’d in An-  
 “ swer to the last Petition, That they acknow-  
 “ ledged my Parts and Gifts, and professed,  
 “ they had nothing against me, only in the  
 “ Thing of my giving Entertainment to *Quakers*,  
 “ tho’ I break no Law in so doing, for our Law  
 “ then was, ——— *If any entertain a Quaker,*  
 “ *and keep him after he is warned by a Magistrate*  
 “ *to depart, he shall pay 20 s. a Week for entertain-*  
 “ *ing him.* But since that, a Law has been  
 “ made, *That if any entertain a Quaker, tho’ but*  
 “ *a quarter of an Hour, he shall forfeit 5 l.* Ano-  
 “ ther, ——— *That if any see a Quaker, he is*  
 “ *bound, tho’ he lives six miles or more from a Con-*  
 “ *stable, to give immediate Notice to him, or else be*  
 “ *subject to the Censure of the Court.* ——— An-  
 “ other, ——— *That if the Constable know, or*  
 “ *hear of any Quaker in his Precincts, he is pre-*  
 “ *sently to apprehend him, and if he will not presently*  
 “ *depart the Town, to whip, and send him away.*  
 “ Divers have been whipp’d within our Patent ;  
 “ and truly, to tell you plainly, the whipping of  
 “ them with that Cruelty, as some have been  
 “ whipp’d, and their patience under it, hath  
 “ sometimes been the Occasion of gaining more  
 “ Adherents to them, than if they had suffered  
 “ them openly to have preached a Sermon.

“ ANOTHER Law made against the *Quakers*  
 “ is, ——— *That if there be a Quaker’s-Meeting*  
 “ any

“ any where in this Colony, the Party in whose House, Anno  
 “ or on whose Ground it is shall pay 40 s. the Prea- 1661  
 “ cher 40 s. and every Hearer 40 s. ——— Our  
 “ last Law is, ——— That the Quakers are to be  
 “ apprehended, and carried before a Magistrate, and  
 “ by him committed to close Prison, till they will pro-  
 “ mise to depart, and never come again, and will also  
 “ pay their Fees (neither of which they will ever do)  
 “ and they must be kept only with the Country Allow-  
 “ ance (which is coarse Bread and Water). No  
 “ Friend may bring them any thing, nor be permit-  
 “ ted to speak to them; nay, if they have Money of  
 “ their own, they may not make Use of it to relieve  
 “ themselves. ———

“ IN the *Massachusetts*, after they have whipt  
 “ them, and cut off their Ears, they have now  
 “ at last gone the furthest Step they can; they  
 “ have banished them upon pain of Death if ever  
 “ they come there again; we expect we must do  
 “ the like; we must dance after their Pipe, for  
 “ it is well if in some there be not a Desire to  
 “ be their Apes and Imitators in all their Pro-  
 “ ceedings of this Nature.

“ ALL these carnal and antichristian Ways,  
 “ being not of God's Appointment, effect  
 “ nothing, as to the obstructing or hindring  
 “ them in their Way or Course: It is only the  
 “ Word and Spirit of the Lord that is able to  
 “ convince Gainfayers; these are the mighty  
 “ Weapons of a Christian's Warfare, by which  
 “ great and mighty Things are done and accom-  
 “ plished.

“ THE *Quakers* have many Meetings and  
 “ many Adherents, almost the whole Town of  
 “ *Sandwich* is adhering towards them; and give  
 “ me leave a little to acquaint you with their  
 “ Sufferings, which is grievous to, and saddens  
 “ the Hearts of most of the precious Saints of  
 “ God; it lies down and rises up with them,  
 “ and



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“ and they cannot put it out of their Minds, —  
“ The *Massachusetts* have banished six on pain of  
“ Death, and I wish that Blood be not shed:  
“ But our poor People are pillaged and plundered  
“ of their Goods, and haply, when they have  
“ no more to satisfy their unfatiable Desire, may  
“ be forced to fly, and glad they have their Lives  
“ for a Prey.

“ As for the Means by which they are im-  
“ poverished, those in the first Place were their  
“ scrupling an Oath; upon which all were called  
“ upon to take the Oath of Fidelity; which  
“ they refusing, a Clause was added, That if  
“ any Man refused or neglected to take it by  
“ such a Time, he should pay Five Pounds, or  
“ depart the Colony: When the Time is come,  
“ they are the same as before; then goes out the  
“ *Marshal*, and fetcheth away their Cows and  
“ other Cattle. Well, another Court comes, and  
“ they are required to take the Oath again, —  
“ they cannot, — then Five Pounds more. On  
“ this Account Thirty five Head of Cattle, as I  
“ have been credibly informed, hath been, by  
“ the Authority of our Court, taken from them  
“ the latter Part of this Summer. —

“ THE last Court of Assistants, the first  
“ *Tuesday* of this Instant, the Court was pleased  
“ to determine Fines on *Sandwich* Men for  
“ Meetings on the first Day of the Week, and  
“ other Days, (for they meet ordinarily twice a  
“ Week besides the Lord's-Day) an Hundred  
“ and Fifty Pounds; whereof *W. Newland* is  
“ Twenty four Pounds for himself and Wife, at  
“ Ten Shillings a Meeting; *W. Allen* Forty six  
“ Pounds; and a poor *Weaver* Twenty Pounds.  
“ Brother *Cook* told me, One of the Brethren at  
“ *Barnstable* was in the House when the *Marshal*  
“ came to demand the Money, when all that he  
“ was worth did not amount to Ten Pounds.  
“ What

“ What will be the End of such Courses or Practices the Lord only knows! *Annals*  
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“ Our civil Powers are so exercised in Matters  
 b o Religion and Conscience, that we have no  
 “ Time to do any thing that tends to promote  
 “ the civil Prosperity of the Place. We must  
 “ now have a State Religion, such as the Powers  
 “ of this World will allow, and no other; a  
 “ State Ministry, and a State Way of Maintenance; and we must worship and serve the  
 “ Lord *Jesus* as the World shall appoint us; we  
 “ must all go to the publick Place of Meeting  
 “ in the Parish where we dwell, or be presented.  
 “ I am informed of Three or Fourscore last  
 “ Court presented for not coming to publick  
 “ Meetings at Ten Shillings a Time. Certainly we have either less Wit or more Money  
 “ than the *Massachusetts*, for a Man may stay a-  
 “ way there for Five Shillings a Day, ’till it  
 “ come to Twelve or Thirteen Pounds, if he  
 “ has but Money to pay.

“ We are wrapped up in a Labyrinth of confused Laws, that the Freemens Power is quite gone. *Sandwich* Men may not go to the Bay, lest they be taken up for *Quakers*. *W. Newland* was there about his Occasions Ten Days ago, and they put him in Prison Twenty four Hours, and sent for divers to witness against him, but they had not Proof enough to make him a *Quaker*, which if they had he should have been whipped; nay, they may not go about their Occasions in other Towns in our Colony, but Warrants lie in Ambush to apprehend and bring them before a Magistrate to give an Account of their Business. Some of the *Quakers* in *Rhode-Island* came to bring their Goods, to trade with them on more reasonable Terms than the Merchants of the Country, but that will not be suffered; so that unless

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“ the Lord step in to their Help and Assistance,  
“ their Case is sad, and to be pitied, and truly,  
“ it moves Bowels of Compassion in all Sorts,  
“ except those in Place, who carry it with a  
“ high Hand towards them; thro’ Mercy, we  
“ have yet among us worthy Mr. *Dunstar*, whom  
“ the Lord hath made boldly to bear his Testi-  
“ mony against the Spirit of Persecution.” —

*James Cudworth.*

BUT after so long a Narrative of Matters of Fact, ’tis but reasonable that I acquaint the Reader with the Motives, that push’d the Government of *New-England* upon such violent Measures, against the *Quakers*, which may be reduced to these three :

*First*, THEIR new and strange Opinions which seem’d to sap the very Foundations of Christianity. They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only Rule of their Faith and Manners, and advanced their *Light within* in the Place of it; *the Spirit of the Lord is our Rule*, (said one of them to Mr. *Shubael Dummer*) and ought to be all Mens to walk by. This *Light within* they affirmed to be sufficient to Salvation without any thing else; and called them blind Beasts and Lyars, who should say that the Scriptures reveal God to us. *Samuel Fisher* says, *The Scriptures are not God’s Voice, they are in some Things fallible, and so not fit to be the Rule, but the Light of Christ in the Heart; this is infallible, the only Guide, Law, and Rule\**. They advanced new and strange Notions about the Person of Christ calling him † *a certain heavenly divine Body, constituted of invisible Flesh, Blood, and Bones in which he came down from Heaven*; and they

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\* *Messages of the Lord*, p. 19, 21.

† *Answer to Mather*, p. 63.



directed the People not to look so much to Christ without them, as to Christ within. *John Whiting* says, *The Quakers believe both in a Christ without and a Christ within, but not as two Christs, but one, and the same without as within.* *George Fox* says, *Your imagined God beyond the Stars, and your carnal Christ is utterly denied; to say this Christ is God and Man in one Person is a Lie †.* They denied the received Doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*, saying that the Doctrine of three Persons in the Godhead was introduced by the Pope\*. They denied the *Morality* of the *Sabbath*, maintaining that every Day was equally the *Lord's*, and that there was no particular Day chosen or set apart by God for divine Worship. They denied the two Sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Lord's-Supper* calling them carnal Ordinances, and teaching the People, that there was no other *Baptism* under the Gospel Dispensation, but the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and no other Supper of the Lord but *Drinking the Wine new in the Kingdom of Heaven.* They condemned the Prayers and Preachings of the publick Ministers, as carnal and wicked; they reviled their Persons, calling them Priests of *Baal*, Hirelings, Deceivers of the People, and exhorted them to desert their Market-houses (as they called their Meeting-places) on Pain of the severest Judgments of Almighty God. The spreading of these new and strange Doctrines alarmed the Clergy of the Country, and made them not only preach boldly against them, but call for the Assistance of the civil Magistrate, to preserve the Purity of Religion, and prevent the Confusions they were falling into.

Ann<sup>o</sup>  
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† *The Sword of the Lord drawn*, p. 4.

\* *FOX's Great Mystery*. p. 246.

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BUT Secondly, The Magistrates and Ministers of *New-England* were not only offended at the Quakers *Doctrines*, but at their Seditious and riotous Manner of spreading them; for when a Man or Woman was moved by the Spirit of the Lord, they would leave their Families and Employments, and ramble over the whole Province to gain Profelytes: They would insinuate themselves into private Families, and endeavour by a Pretence to Inspiration to draw them from the publick Assemblies. It was for this that *Edward Wharton* of *Salem* was whip'd through severall Towns, being told that if he would stay at home and mind his Business, he might have his Liberty. Several of the Quakers went thro' the Streets of the most populous Towns in the Country, and in a publick Manner dencounced the Judgments of God upon the People, except they repented. *George Wilson* went thro' the Streets of *Boston*, crying with a loud Voice, that *the Lord was coming forth with Fire and Sword to plead with Boston*; and *Eliz. Hooton* did the like at *Cambridge*. And to cloath their Message with the greater Terrour, they covered themselves with Sackcloth, and put Ashes on their Heads. Four Women appeared in the Court at *Boston* \* in this rueful Figure when *Wenlock Christison* was upon his Trial; nay, *Deborah Wilson* was so impudent, that laying aside the Modesty of her Sex, she went thro' the Streets of *Salem* stark naked as she was born, for which she was apprehended and sent to the House of Correction: One would think, that no sober Person should appear in Vindication of such an Action, and yet *G. Bishop* † represents her, as a

\* *New-England judg'd*, p. 34c, in the Margin.† *Ibid.* p. 388.

“ modest Woman of a retired Life, and sober  
 “ Conversation; and that bearing a great Bur- Anno  
 “ then for the Hardness and Cruelty of the Peo- 1651  
 “ ple, she went thro’ the Town of *Salem* naked  
 “ as a Sign, which she having in part performed  
 “ (says he) was laid hold on, and bound over to  
 “ appear at the next Court of *Salem*, where the  
 “ wicked Rulers sentenced her to be whipt.”  
 In short the whole Province was sadly disturbed  
 by these itinerant Prophets, and Prophetesses, and  
 the Minds of the People were continually disqui-  
 eted, there being seldom a Month in the Sum-  
 mer Time, wherein one or other had not a  
 Message to deliver after this Manner to the  
 People.

BUT the Quakers were not content to pro-  
 phesy in the Streets, and High-ways, but they  
 entred the Meeting-Houses and disturbed the  
 People at their Devotions; *Humphrey Norton* stood  
 up in the Meeting-House at *Boston* after Sermon,  
 and said \*, *Verily, this is the Sacrifice which the Lord*  
*accepteth not, for whilst with the same Spirit that ye sin,*  
*ye preach and pray and sing, that Sacrifice is an Abo-*  
*mination to the Lord.* Another time, *Tho. Newhouse*  
 went into the Meeting-House † with a Couple  
 of great Glass-Bottles, and breaking them against  
 one another in the Face of the Congregation,  
 said, *Thus will the Lord break you in pieces.* *Margaret*  
*Brewster* went into the Meeting-House ano-  
 ther time, with her Face smeered all over as  
 black as a Cole ‡, as a Sign (says my Author)  
 of the black Pox, which was to come among  
 them. *Lydia Wardwell*, Wife of *Eliakim Ward-*  
*well* of *Hampton* went at the Time of Divine  
 Service into the Meeting-House at *Newbury*, as

\* *New England judged*, p. 72.

† *Ibid.* p. 431.

‡ *Answer to Mather*, p. 103.



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naked as she was born\*, which put the Congregation into such Disorder that they could not proceed in their Worship, till some of the Congregation had laid hold of her, and carried her to the House of Correction, where she received twenty or thirty Lashes at the Whipping-post.

SUCH Methods of Reformation are not only riotous but infamous: If the *Quakers* had wrought Miracles, or produced any other sufficient Credentials of their divine Mission, they ought to have been received in any Form; but to suppose the World must believe them to be Prophets and Prophetesses without the least external Evidence, merely because they themselves say so, or because they have the Assurance to go about Streets in a ludicrous Manner, denouncing the Judgments of God against their Adversaries, is the most absurd Conclusion in the World. I am satisfied the *Modern Quakers* cannot approve of these Things, and their present Conduct is a Proof of it; for we hear no more of their Agitations, their Prophefying in the Streets, and their Disturbing the Assemblies of other Christians; they are content with the Liberty of Worshipping God, in their own Way, without troubling themselves about other People.

BUT *Thirdly*, Another thing that disgusted the Government of *New-England* was the stubborn and disrespectful Behaviour of the *Quakers* to Authority: It was a new thing in those Times to see People refuse the common Titles of Respect to their Superiors, and deny them the Ceremony of the Hat; this was apprehended to be a Denial of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate, tho' 'tis now known that the *Quakers* make it a Part of their Religion: But their rude

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\* *New-England judged*, p. 376.

Behaviour in Court was very provoking; *Wharton, Christison, Mary Tomkins*, and some others, being brought before Deputy Governor *Billingham* with their Hats on their Heads, he ordered them to be taken off and thrown on the Ground; whereupon *Mary Tomkins* setting her Foot on one of the Hats, calls out to the Governor in an indecent Manner, saying, *See I have your Honour under my Feet.* Besides, they would not comply with any of the Usages of the Country, they would neither hold up their Hand at the Bar, nor plead to their Indictments, nor give an intelligible Answer to any Questions which the Court asked them. When *Mary Tomkins* was asked, Where she dwelt? All the Answer they could get was, that *She lived in God; for in him we live, and move, and have our Beings.* The Court had an immense deal of Trouble with them; for when one was at the Bar, half a Score (it may be) would come in to Court, and disturb the Process, by threatening the Magistrates with the Vengeance of God. And when any of the *Quakers* were convicted, they knew not what to do with them, for they would not submit to any of their Orders; they would give no Security to the Government for their good Behaviour at Home, nor would they depart the Jurisdiction with a Promise not to return. When some of them were offered their Liberty upon these Terms, they refused it, saying, *They were at the Will of the Lord; the Lord commanded them to do as they did; and should the Government send them never so far away, if the Lord commanded them they would return.* They would not pay the Fines that were laid upon them, nor work in Prison, tho' they were whipped to Death for not doing it. In short, the *Quakers* would suffer any thing, but would do nothing at the Command of the Magistrate; and this is the true Reason

*Anno* why many of them suffered a great-deal more  
*1661* Damage in their Goods and Chattels than other-  
 wise they would. Now the *Quakers* themselves  
 confess, that a turbulent and provoking Carriage  
 to the Government we live under, requires the  
 Notice of the Civil Magistrate, and for this  
 Reason their Friends in *Pensilvania* fined and  
 imprisoned *George Keith*, and obliged him to  
 leave the Province; tho' I am of Opinion it  
 was not merely for his Crimes against the State,  
 but for his new Doctrines, which had like to  
 have made a Schism among them: But how-  
 ever, if turbulent and seditious Persons, who  
 disquiet the Minds of People, disturb the Peace  
 of the Government, and refuse Obedience to  
 their Superiors, ought to be punished; I leave all  
 Mankind to judge whether the Behaviour of the  
*Quakers* in *New-England* did not absolutely re-  
 quire the Interposure of the Civil Magistrate in  
 this Way, for the Preservation of the publick  
 Peace.

THE General Court in their Address of  
 Congratulation to King *Charles* the Second on  
 his Restoration, have endeavoured to justify the  
*Whole* of their Proceedings against the *Quakers*  
 from the forementioned Topicks; they tell the  
 King, " That the *Quakers* were open capital  
 " Blasphemers; open Seducers from the glorious  
 " Trinity, the Lord *Christ*, the blessed Gospel,  
 " and from the holy Scriptures, as the Rule of  
 " Life; open Enemies to Government itself, as  
 " established in the Hands of any but Men of  
 " their own Principles; malignant Promoters of  
 " Doctrines directly tending to subvert both our  
 " Church and State. " ---- They add further, ----  
 " That after all other Means, for a long Time  
 " used in vain, they were at last constrained for  
 " their own Safety to pass a Sentence of Banish-  
 " ment against them upon pain of Death, such  
 " was



“ was their dangerous, impetuous and desperate Anno  
 “ Turbulency in Religion, and to the State 1661  
 “ Civil and Ecclesiastical; as that how unwilling  
 “ soever, could it be avoided, the Magistrate,  
 “ at least in Conscience both to God and Man,  
 “ judged himself called for the Defence of all,  
 “ to keep the Passage with the Point of the  
 “ Sword held towards them. This could do no  
 “ harm (say they) to them that would be warn-  
 “ ed thereby; their willingly rushing themselves  
 “ thereupon was their own Act; and we with  
 “ all Humility think a Crime, bringing their  
 “ Blood upon their own Heads. ” — They  
 conclude therefore, — “ That the *Quakers* died  
 “ not because of their other Crimes how capital  
 “ soever, but for their superadded Presumpti-  
 “ ons and incorrigible Contempt of Authority,  
 “ breaking in upon ’em notwithstanding the Sen-  
 “ tence of Banishment. Had they not been re-  
 “ strain’d, there was too much Cause to fear that  
 “ we ourselves (say they) should quickly have died,  
 “ or worse; and they would not be restrained but  
 “ by Death: Nay, had they at last but promised  
 “ to depart the Jurisdiction, and not to return  
 “ without Leave from Authority, we should  
 “ have been glad to have said, they should not  
 “ die. ”

BUT after all I must freely declare it as my  
 Opinion, that no Man ought to be deprived of  
 his civil Rights upon the Account of his reli-  
 gious Sentiments, tho’ differing never so widely  
 from the established Doctrines of his Country.  
 A *Turk* or a *Jew* has as much a Right to live  
 as a *Christian*, and therefore to fine or imprison  
 Men for not coming to Church, or to prohibit  
 their Worshipping God in a peaceable Manner  
 according to the Light of their own Consciences,  
 is no better than Persecution for Conscience sake:  
 But when Men disturb the publick Assemblies of  
 other

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 other *Christians*, revile their Ministers, and terrify the Minds of People by Predictions of approaching Judgments, as the *Primitive Quakers* of *New-England* did, 'tis the Duty of the Magistrate to restrain them; for the Ministers and People of the Country had certainly as good a Right to be protected in their Way of Worship, as the *Quakers* had to set up a new One. Not that I think the Crimes which the *Quakers* were guilty of will, justify all the Severities of the Government against them; for it was very hard to take away Mens Lives for Contempt of the Court, for speaking in a peculiar Dialect, or for being guilty of some riotous and seditious Practices; nor will the present Clergy of *New-England* vindicate these Proceedings. Dr. Mather says \*, “ That he does not approve of Persecution; that he abhors it; that he has preached against it, and writ against it; that he has bewailed the Mistakes that some Men have committed in it; that he would have the *Quakers* treated with all the Civility imaginable, and would not have the civil Magistrate inflict upon them the Damage of one Farthing for their Consciences.” He tells us further †, “ That his Country has since renounced these Laws, and declared for a just Liberty of Conscience.” I can assure the Reader this is now the general Sense of the Country; and I heartily wish that such generous Sentiments may prevail in all other Parts of the World.

\* *Book vii. p. 100.*† *Ibid. p. 24.*







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