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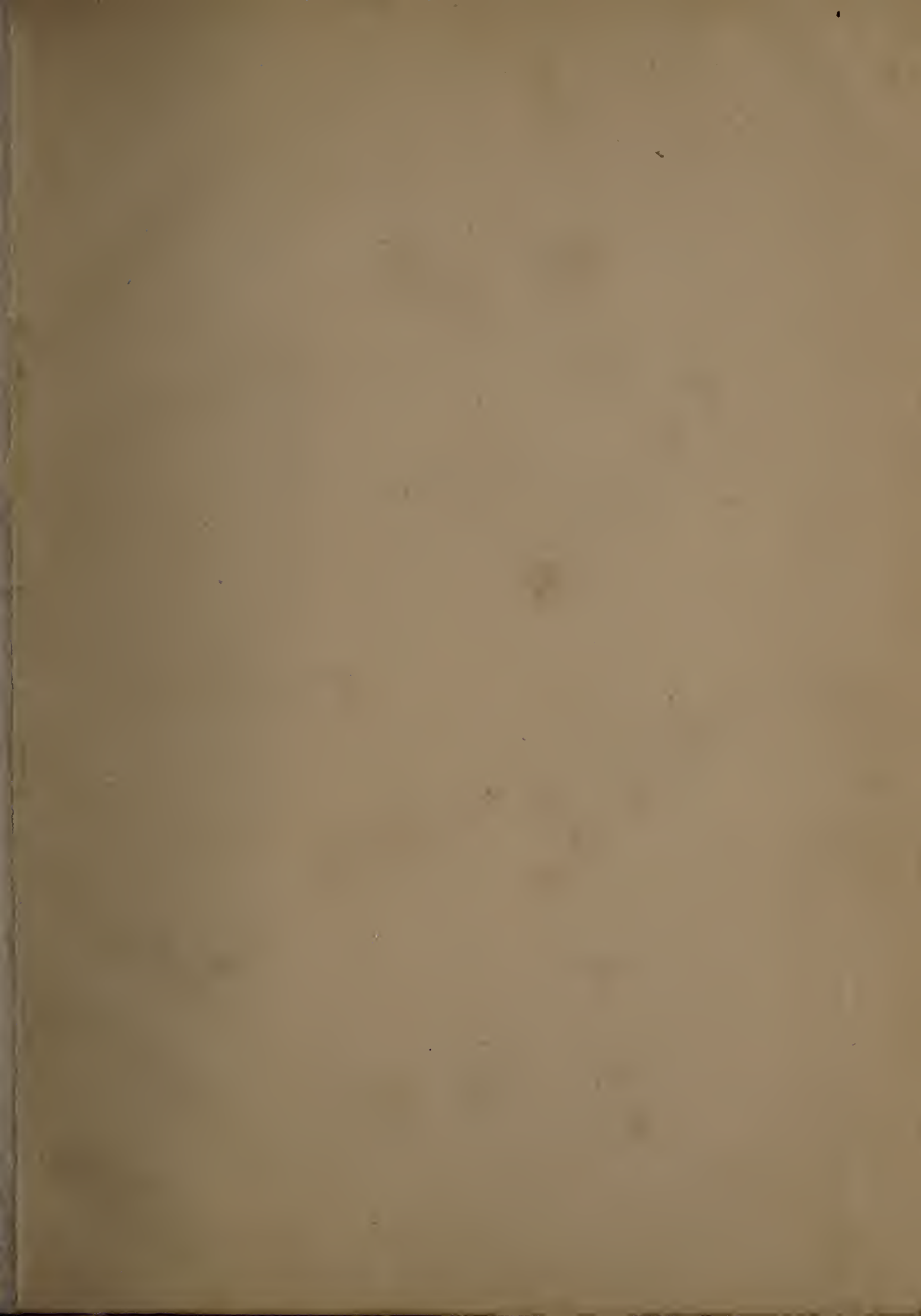


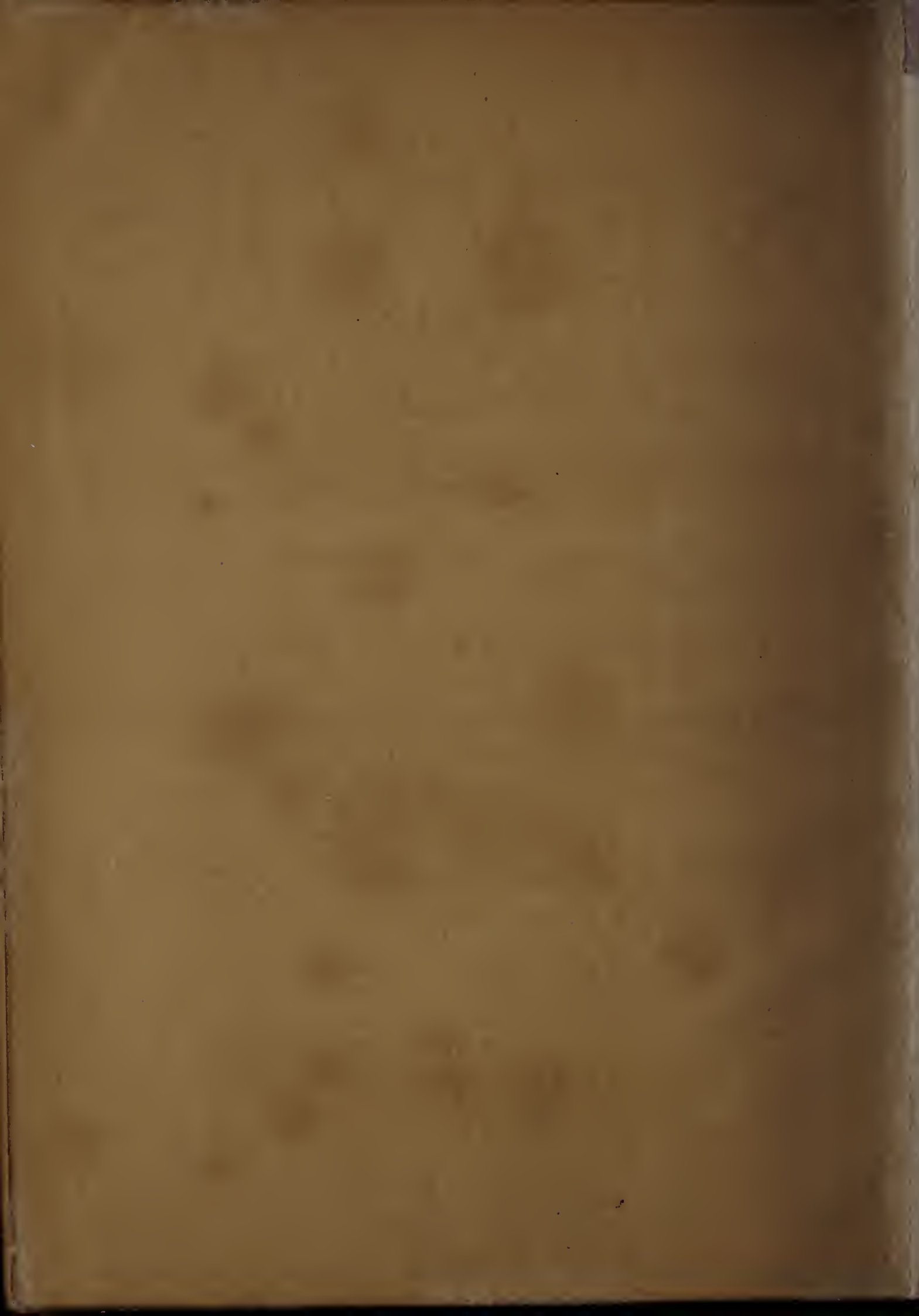
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PLAIN DEALING:
OR,
NEVVES
FROM
New-England.

*(Vivat Rex Angliæ Carolus,
Vivat Anglia,
Vivantq; eorum Amici omnes.)*

A short view of NEW-ENGLANDS
present Government, both Ecclesiasticall and Civil,
compared with the anciently-received and esta-
blished Government of ENGLAND, in
some materiall points ; fit for the gravest
consideration in these times.

By THOMAS LECHFORD of Clements Inne,
in the County of Middlesex, Gent.

*Lævis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest,
Et clepere sese ; Magna non latitant mala.* Sen. 575



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TO THE READER.

Every man is to approve himselfe, and answer to God for his actions his conscience leads him to; and next, to good men, as much as in him lyeth. I have thus presumed to enter into publique, for these reasons:

First, because it is well knowne unto many, that heretofore I suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment out of this good Land, for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England: therefore now I desired to purge my self of so great a scandall, and wherein I have offended, to intreat all my Superiours, and others, to impute it rather to my ignorance, for the time, then any wilfull stubbornnesse.

Secondly, seeing that since my comming home, I find that multitudes are corrupted with an opinion of the unlawfulnessse of the Church-government by Diocesan Bishops, which opinion I beleeve is the root of much mischief; having now had experience of divers governments, I see not how I could with faithfulnessse to God, my King and Countrey, be any longer silent, especially considering some of these late troubles occasioned, among other sins, I fear, much through this evill opinion. Happy shall

To the Reader.

shall I be, if any be made wiser by my harmes; I wish all men to take heed, how they shake hands with the Church of God, upon any such heedlesse grounds as I almost had done.

Thirdly, that I might (though unworthy) in a fit season, acquaint the learned and pious Divines of England with these my slender observations, queres, and experiments, to the end they may come the better prepared, upon any publique occasion, for the consideration of such matters, and so at length, those good things that are shaken among us may be established, and truth confirmed.

It is enough for me, being a Student or Practiser at Law, faithfully to put a Case, which will be this: Whether the Episcopall Government by Provinciall and Diocesan Bishops, in number about 26. in England, being, if not of absolute Divine authority, yet nearest, and most like thereunto, and most anciently here embraced, is still safest to be continued?

Or a Presbyterian government, being (as is humbly conceived) but of humane authority, bringing in a numerous company of above 40000. Presbyters to have chiefe rule in the keyes, in England, be fit to be newly set up here, a thing whereof we have had no experience, and which moderate wise men think to be lesse consonant to the Divine patterne, and may prove more intolerable then the said Episcopacie?

Or an independent government of every congregati-
onall Church ruling it selfe, which introduceth not onely one absolute Bishop in every Parish, but in effect so many men, so many Bishops, according to New-Englands rule, which in England would be Anarchie & confusion?

To the Reader.

I would entreat those that stand for this last mentioned manner of government, to be pleased to consider,

1. That the very terme of leading, or ruling in the Church, attributed to Elders, forbids it; for if all are Rulers, who shall be ruled?

2. The maine acts of Rule consist of receiving into the Church by Baptisme, or otherwise, and ejection out of the Church by censure, binding and loosing; now these are committed to the Apostles, and their successors, and not to all the members of the Church.

3. All have not power to baptize, therefore not to receive into the Church, nor to cast out of the Church.

My brethren, be not many masters, saith S. James,

3. 1. The words of the wise are as goads, and as nayles, fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one Shepheard, Eccles.

12. 11.

And whereas some may say, that this power of ruling is but ministerially in the Officers, and initiatively, conclusively, and virtually in the people: If so, what power ordinarily have the people to contradict the ministeriall works and acts of their Officers? Must the whole Church try all those whom their Ministers convert abroad, suppose among Indians, before they may baptize them? How can all the Church examine and try such? All have not power, warrant, leisure, pleasure, ability, for, and in such works, nor can all speake Indian language.

Doubtlesse the acts of rule by the Officers is the rule of the whole Church, and so to be taken ordinarily without contradiction, else there would be no end

To the Reader.

of jangling : And thus taken, the whole Church of Corinth, by S. Pauls command, (sc. by their Ministers) were to put away that wicked person, and deliver him up to Satan, 1 Cor. 5. 13. and restore him, and forgive him, 2 Cor. 2. and so all the doubt on that Text is (near I think) resolved.

Now that the government at New-England seemeth to make so many Church-members so many Bishops, will be plaine by this ensuing Discourse : for you shall here find, that the Churches in the Bay governe each by all their members unanimously, or else by the major part, wherein every one hath equall vote and superspection with their Ministers : and that in their Covenant it is expressed to be the duty of all the members, to watch over one another. And in time their Churches will be more corrupted then now they are ; they cannot (as there is reason to feare) avoid it possibly. How can any now deny this to be Anarchie and confusion ?

Nay, say some, we will keep out those that have not true grace. But how can they certainly discern that true grace, and what measure God requireth ? Besides, by this course, they will (it is to be feared) in stead of propagating the Gospel, spread heathenisme ; in stead of gaining to the Church, lose from the Church : for when the major part are unbaptized, as in twenty years undoubtedly they will be, by such a course continued, what is like to become of it, but that either they may goe among their fellow-heathens the Indians, or rise up against the Church, and break forth into many grievous distempers among themselves ? which God, and the King forbid, I pray.

And that you (courteous Reader) may perceive I have
from

To the Reader.

from time to time dealt cordially in these things, by declaring them impartially to my friends, as I received light, I shall adde in the last place certaine passages out Letters, sent by me into England to that purpose, and conclude.

And I doe not this, God knoweth, as delighting to lay open the infirmities of these well-affected men, many of them my friends, but that it is necessary, at this time, for the whole Church of God, and themselves, as I take it: Besides, many of the things are not infirmities, but such as I am bound to protest against; yet I acknowledge there are some wise men among them, who would help to mend things, if they were able, and I hope will do their endeavours. And I think that wiser men then they, going into a wildernesse to set up another strange government differing from the settled government here, might have falne into greater errors then they have done.

Neither have I the least aime to retard or hinder an happy and desired reformation of things amisse either in Church or Common-wealth, but daily and earnestly pray to God Almighty, the God of Wisdome and Counsell, that he please so to direct his Royall Majesty, and his wise and honourable Counsell, the high Court of Parliament, that they may fall upon so due and faire a moderation, as may be for the glory of God, and the peace and safety of his Royall Majesty, and all his Majesties dominions, and good Subjects. Vale.

Clements Inne,
Jan. 17. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

A TABLE of the chiefe Heads
of this DISCOURSE.

1. **T**He Church-government and administrations in the Bay of the Mattachufets. Page 2.
2. Their publique worship. 16
3. Touching the government of the Common-wealth there. 23
4. Certaine Propositions to the generall Court, concerning recording of Civill Causes. 29
5. A Paper of the Church her liberties. 31
6. A Paper intended for the Worshipfull John Winthrop, Esquire, late Governour, touching baptizing of those they terme without, and propagation of the Gospel to the Infidel Natives. 34
7. The Ministers and Magistrates their names. 37
8. The state of the Countrey in the Bay and thereabouts. 47
9. A relation concerning the Natives or Indians. 49
10. Some late occurrences touching Episcopacie. 53
11. Three Questions to the Elders of Boston, and their Answers. 55
12. A Paper of exceptions to their government. 56
13. Forty quares about planting and governing of Churches, and other experiments. 58
14. An abstract of certaine Letters. 68
15. The Conclusion. 78

Plaine



Plaine dealing :
 O R,
 N E W E S
 F R O M
 N E W - E N G L A N D .



Aving been forth of my native Countrey, almost for the space of foure yeeres last past, and now through the goodnesse of Almighty God returned, many of my friends desiring to know of me the manner of governments, and state of things, in the place from whence I came, *New England*; I thinke good to declare my knowledge in such things, as briefly as I may. I conceive, and hope, it may be profitable in these times of disquisition.

*For the Church government, and administrations,
in the Bay of the Massachusetts.*

How Churches
are gathered
there.

A Church is gathered there after this maner: A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith & repentance, they solemlny enter into a Covenant with God, and one an other (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect: *viz.*

Their Church
Covenant.

To forsake the Devill, and all his workes, and the vanities of the sinfull world, and all their former lusts, and corruptions, they have lived and walked in, and to cleave unto, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their onely King and Lawgiver, their onely Priest and Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to submit themselves one unto an other, in all the ordinances of Christ, to mutuall edification, and comfort, to watch over, and support one another.

Election of
their Church
Officers.

Whereby they are called the Church of such a place, which before they say were no Church, nor of any Church except the invisible: After this, they doe at the same time, or some other, all being together, elect their own Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have fit

fit men enough to supply those places ; else , as many of them as they can be provided of.

Then they set another day for the ordination of their said officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands upon their officers, which is done in a publique day of fasting and prayer. Where there are Ministers , or Elders, before, they impose their hands upon the new Officers : But where there is none, there some of their chiefest men, two or three, of good report amongst them, though not of the Ministry, doe, by appointment of the said Church, lay hands upon them. And after the said ordination, if there are any Elders of other Churches present, (as of late I have knowne divers have been present, under the names of the Messengers of the Churches) they give the new Officers the right hand of fellowship, taking them by the right hand, every one severally, or else, sometimes, one forraine Elder, in the name of all the rest, gives the right hand of fellowship, with a set speech unto them. Notice is given in divers Churches or other places , before-hand, of the gathering of every Church, divers weeks before ; and so also of every ordination. And some Ministers, or others , as Messengers from other Churches, are usually present at such gatherings of Churches , and ordinations: For sometimes, Magistrates, Captains, Gentlemen, and other meaner Brethren, are made messengers of Churches, for those and other purposes, never having had imposition of hands : And at planting of a Church , or gathe-

Their ordinations.

The right hand of fellowship by messengers of Churches.

ring, as they tearme it, one of the Church messengers of forraine Churches, examines and tries the men to be moulded into a Church, discerns their faith and repentance, and their Covenant being before ready made, written, subscribed, and here read and acknowledged, hee discerns and pronounceth them to be a true Church of Christ, and gives them the right hand of fellowship, and all this in the name of Christ, and of all the Church-messengers present, and their Churches: so did Master *Weld* at the founding of *Weymouth* Church, or to this effect.

And the generall Court will not allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

Some differ.

Some Ministers have there heretofore, as I have heard, disclaimed the power of their Ministry received in *England*, but others among them have not. Generally, for the most part, they hold the Pastors and Teachers offices to be distinct; the Teacher to minister a word of knowledg, the Pastor a word of wisdome, but some hold them all one; as in the Church of *Watertowne*, there are two Pastors, neither will that Church send any messengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination.

How members are received, or added to the Church there.

When a man or woman commeth to joyne unto the Church so gathered, he or shee commeth to the Elders in private, at one of their houses, or some other place appointed, upon the weeke dayes, and make knowne their desire, to enter into Church-fellowship with that Church, and then the ruling Elders, or one of them, require,
or

or aske him or her, if he bee willing to make known unto them the worke of grace upon their soules, or how God hath beene dealing with them about their conversion: which (at *Boston*) the man declareth usuallly standing, the woman sitting. And if they satisfie the Elders, and the private assembly, (for divers of the Church, both men and women, meet there usuallly) that they are true beleevers, that they have beene wounded in their hearts for their originall sinne, and a small transgressions, and can pitch upon some promise of free grace in the Scripture, for the ground of their faith, and that they finde their hearts drawne to beleeve in Christ Jesus, for their justification and salvation, and these in the ministerie of the Word, reading or conference: and that they know competently the summe of Christian faith. And sometimes, though they be not come to a full assurance of their good estate in Christ. Then afterwards, in convenient time, in the publique assembly of the Church, notice is given by one of the ruling Elders, that such a man, or woman, by name, desireth to enter into Church-fellowship with them, and therefore if any know anything, or matter of offence against them, for their unfitnessse to joyne with them, such are required to bring notice thereof to the Elders; else, that any who know them, or can say any thing for their fitnessse, be ready to give testimony thereof, when they shall be called forth before the whole Church.

The usuall
termes where-
upon.

If there be matter of offence, it is first heard

Matters of offence how heard in private.

before the Elders, and if the party satisfie them, and the offended, in private, for private offences, and promise to satisfie in publique, for publique offences; then, upon another day, one of the ruling Elders calleth forth the party, by name, in the publique assembly of the Church, and before strangers, and whomsoever present, most commonly upon the Lords day, after evening exercises, and sometimes upon a week day, when all the Church have notice to be present.

Dilatorie proceedings in admitting members.

The party appearing in the midst of the Assembly, or some convenient place, the ruling Elder speaketh in this manner: Brethren of this congregation, this man, or woman *A. B.* hath been heretofore propounded to you, desiring to enter into Church-fellowship with us, and we have not, since that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary, of the parties admittance, but that we may goe on to receive him: Therefore now, if any of you know any thing against him, why he may not be admitted, you may yet speak. Then after some silence he proceedeth, Seeing no man speaketh to the contrary of his admission, if any of you know any thing, to speak for his receiving, we desire you, give testimony thereof to the Church, as you were also formerly desired to be ready therewith, and expresse your selves as briefly as you may, and to as good hearing. Whereupon, sometimes, men do speak to the contrary, in case they have not heard of the propounding, and so stay the party for that time also, till this new offence be heard before the Elders,

Elders, so that sometimes there is a space of divers moneths between a parties first propounding and receiving; and some are so bashfull, as that they choose rather to goe without the Communion, then undergoe such* publique confessions and tryals, but that is held their fault.

* Whether Pe-
pish Auricular
confession, and

these publique confessions be not extremes, and whether some private Pastorall or Presbyteriall collation, left at liberty, upon cause, and in case of trouble of conscience, as in the Church of England is approved, be not better then those extremes, I leave to he wise and learned to judge.

But when none speaketh to the contrary, then some one, two, or three, or more of the Brethren speak their opinions of the party, giving instances in some godlinesse and good conversation of his, or some other recommendation is made, and that they are willing (if the Church thereto consent) for their part, to give him the right hand of fellowship.

Testimonials
and Recom-
mendations.

Which done, the Elder turneth his speech to the party to be admitted, and requireth him, or sometimes asketh him, if he be willing to make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his soule; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good hearing as he can, to doe the same.

Thereupon the party, if it be a man, speaketh himselfe; but if it be a woman, her confession made before the Elders, in private, is most usually (in *Boston* Church) read by the Pastor, who registred the same. At *Salem* the women speake themselves, for the most part, in the Church; but of late it is said, they doe this upon the week dayes there, and nothing is done on Sunday, but their

Publique con-
fessions of par-
ties to be recei-
ved.

their entrance into Covenant. The man in a solemne speech, sometimes a quarter of an houre long, shorter or longer, declareth the work of grace in his soule, to the same purpose, as that before the Elders formerly mentioned.

Their profession of faith.

Then the Elder requireth the party to make profession of his faith; which also is done either by questions and answers, if the party be weake, or else in a solemne speech according to the summe and tenour of the Christian faith laid downe in the Scriptures, defining faith, and shewing how it is wrought by the Word, and Spirit of God, defining a Church to be a company of beleevers gathered out of the world, by the Word preached, and holy Spirit, and knit together by an holy Covenant, that there are in the Church remaining such and such officers, and members, as aforesaid: That is to say, Pastors and Teachers, ruling Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses, or Widowes; and such and such are their offices and duties in particular, *viz.* the Pastor to exhort, and besides to rule; the Teacher to instruct in knowledge, and likewise to rule; the ruling Elder to assist Pastor and Teacher in ruling, as the Levites were given to the Priests for helps, and to see to whomsoever comming into, or to goe forth of the Church, by admonition, or excommunication; the Deacon to receive the contributions of the Church, and faithfully to dispose the same; the Deaconesses to shew mercie with chearfulnesse, and to minister to the sick and noore brethren: the members all, to
atch

Officers in the Church.

Their duties or offices.

Members du-
tie

watch over and support one another in brotherly love.

Notwithstanding, there was a Sermon lately made by Master Cotton in October, Anno 1640. upon 1 Cor. 11. 19. touching heresies, which was since commonly there called the Sermon of the twelve Articles, wherein was declared, that there are twelve Articles of Religion, which maintained by any, the Church may receive them, and keepe fellowship with them; but the ignorant of them after instruction and scandalous sins unrepented, exclude from the fellowship of the Church. The said Articles were to this effect: First, that there are three Persons in one God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirit. Secondly, that this God made, and governs all the World, and that he is a rewarder of the good, and punisher of the evill. Thirdly, that this God alone is to be worshiped. Fourthly, this worship of God is instituted in his written Word, not the precepts of men. Fifthly, that from the fall of *Adam*, we have not so worshiped God, but have all sinned, and deprived our selves of the reward promised, and therefore are under the curse by nature. Sixthly, that we are by nature utterly unable to rescue our selves from this curse. Seventhly, that Jesus Christ the eternall Sonne of God, in fulnesse of time took upon him our nature, and was made flesh for us, and by his death and sufferings, redeemed his elect from sin, and death. Eighthly, that Christ Jesus, and salvation by him, is offered, and given in the

C

Gospell,

A Sermon of

twelve Articles
of Religion-

Gospell, unto every one that beleeveth in his name, and onely by such received. Ninthly, that no man can come unto Christ, nor beleeve on him, except the Father draw him by his Word and Spirit. Tenthly, whom the Lord draws to him by his Word and Spirit, them he justifies freely by his grace, and according to his truth, not by works. Eleventhly, where the soule is justified, it is also regenerate and sanctified. Twelfthly, this regeneration and sanctification is still imperfect in this life. And unto all is added this generall Article, That such as walke after this rule, shall arise to everlasting life; and those that walk otherwise, shall arise to everlasting condemnation, in the day of Judgement: That the knowledge and beliefe of these are of the *foundation of Religion*: But things touching the *foundation of Churches*, as Baptisme, Imposition of hands; ignorance in these may hinder the measure of our reward in heaven, not communion with the Church on earth. Exceptions against the Apostles Creed were these: That it is not of necessity to beleeve Christs descent into hell in any sense; That it is not in that Creed contained, that the Scripture is the onely rule of Gods worship; nor doth it so directly set forth the point of Justification.

Master *Knolls*
how admitted.

And also I remember Master *Knolles*, now one of the Pastors at *Watertowne*, when he first came to be admitted at *Boston*, never made any mention in his profession of faith, of any Officers of the Church in particular, or their duties, and yet was received.

The

The party having finished his Discourses of his confession, and profession of his faith, the Elder againe speaketh to the congregation: Brethren of the congregation, if what you have heard of, from this party, doe not satisfie you, as to move you to give him the *right hand of fellowship*, use your liberty, and declare your mindes therein: And then, after some silence, if none except against the parties expressions, (as often some members doe) then the Elder proceedeth, saying, But if you are satisfied with that you have heard of, and from him, expresse your willingnesse, and consent to receive him, by your *usuall signe*, which is *erection and extention of the right hand*.

This done, sometimes they proceede to admit more members, all after the same manner, for the most part, two, three, foure, or five, or more together, as they have time, spending sometimes almost a whole afternoone therein. And then the Elder calleth all them, that are to be admitted, by name, and rehearseth the covenant, on their parts, to them, which they publicquely say, they doe promise, by the helpe of God, to performe: And then the Elder, in the name of the Church, promisseth the Churches part of the covenant, to the new admitted members. So they are received, or admitted.

Then they may receive the Sacrament of the Lords supper with them, and their children be baptized; but not before: also till then they may not be free men of the Common-wealth, but being received in the Church they may.

Right hand of fellowship given to brethren.

The whole Church ruleth.

Their entrance into Covenant.

Severing in
the family.

Sometimes the Master is admitted, and not the servant, & *e contra*: the husband is received, and not the wife; and on the contrary, the child, and not the parent.

Offences, how
heard in pub-
lique.

Also all matters of publique offence are heard & determined in publique, before all the Church, (and strangers too in *Boston*, not so in other places). The party is called forth, and the matter declared and testified by two witnesses; then he is put to answer: Which finished, one of the ruling Elders asketh the *congregation if they are satisfied with the parties expressions? If they are, he requireth them to use their *liberty*, and declare their satisfiednesse; If not, and that they hold the party worthy of admonition or excommunication, that they witness their assent thereto by their silence. If they be silent, the sentence is denounced. If it be for defaults in erroneous opinions onely, the Teacher, they say, is to denounce the sentence; If for matter of ill manners, the Pastor denounceth it; the ruling Elders doe not usually denounce any sentence: But I have heard, a Captaine delivered one to Satan, in the Church at *Dorchester*, in the absence of their Minister.

The whole
Church ruling
and usurping
the keyes.

* Whether a
grave and ju-
dicious confi-
storie of the
Bishop well as-
sisted be not a
greatdeale bet-
ter, I leave to
our superiours
to determine.

Who denounce
Church cen-
tures.

De Ecclesia.

* This agreeth
with the rule
in *England*.

Ordinarily, matter of offence is to be brought to the Elders in private, they may not otherwise tell the *Church in ordinary matters, and so it hath been declared in publique, by the Pastors of *Boston*.

Admonition.

The admonished must, in good manners, abstain from the Communion, and must goe on to satisfie the Church, else Excommunication follows.

The

The excommunicate is held *as an Heathen and Publican*: Yet it hath been declared at *Boston* in divers cases, that children may eat with their parents excommunicate; that an elected Magistrate excommunicate may hold his place, but better another were chosen; that an hereditary Magistrate, though excommunicate, is to be obeyed still in civill things; that the excommunicate person may come and heare the Word, and be present at Prayer, so that he give not publique offence, by taking up an eminent place in the Assembly: But at *New-haven, alias Quinapeag*, where Master *Davenport* is Pastor, the excommunicate is held out of the meeting, at the doore, if he will heare, in frost, snow, and raine. Most an-end, in the *Bay*, they use good moderation, and forbearance in their censures: Yet I have known a Gentlewoman excommunicate, for some indiscreet words, with some stifnesse maintained, saying, A brother, and others, she feared, did conspire to arbitrate the price of Joyners worke of a chamber too high, and endeavouring to bring the same into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and so to tell the Church, (though shee first told the party of it) and this without her husband. I feare she is not yet absolved; I am sure she was not upon the third of August last, when we loosed from *Boston*.

Excommuni-
cation.

There hath been some difference about jurisdictions, or cognizance of causes: Some have held, that in causes betweene brethren of the Church, the matter should be first told the

Cognizance of
causes.

Church, before they goe to the civill Magistrate, because all causes in difference doe amount, one way or other, to a matter of offence; and that all criminall matters concerning Church members, should be first heard by the Church. But these opinionists are held, by the wiser sort, not to know the dangerous issues and consequences of such tenets. The Magistrates, and Church-leaders, labour for a just and equall correspondence in jurisdictions, not to intrench one on the other, neither the civill Magistrates to be exempt from Ecclesiasticall censure, nor the Ministers from Civill: & whether Ecclesiasticall, or Civillpower first begin to lay hold of a man, the same to proceed, not barring the other to intermeddle.

Churches independent:

Every Church hath power of government in, and by it selfe; and no Church, or Officers, have power over one another but by way of advice or counsaile, voluntarily given or besought, saving that the generall Court, now and then, over-rule some Church matters: and of late, divers of the Ministerie have had set meetings to order Church matters; whereby it is conceived they bend towards Presbyterian rule.

Difference of rule in Churches.

In *Boston*, they rule, most an-end, by unanimous consent, if they can, both in admissions, and censures, and other things. In *Salem*, they rule by the major part of the Church: You that are so minded hold up your hands; you that are otherwise minded, hold up yours.

Consistory.
A better Consistory is, and may be constituted in *England*.

In *Boston*, when they cannot agree in a matter, they will sometime referre it to some select brethren

thren to heare and end, or to certifie the Church, and any brethren, that will, to be present at the discusse in private.

Some Churches have no ruling Elders, some but one, some but one teaching Elder, some have two ruling, and two teaching Elders; some one, some two or three Deacons; some hold that one Minister is enough for a small number of people; No Church there hath a Deaconesse, as far as I know.

Where farmes or villages are, as at *Rumney-marsh* and *Marblehead*, there a Minister, or a brother of one of the congregations of *Boston* for the *Marsh*, and of *Salem* for *Marblehead*, preacheth and exerciseth prayer every Lords day, which is called prophesying in such a place. And so it was heretofore at *Mountwoollaston* within *Boston* precincts, though since it became a Church now called of *Braintree*, but before they of the mount did, and those of the *Marsh* and *Marblehead* still come and receive the Sacrament at *Boston*, and *Salem* respectively, and some of *Braintree* still receive at *Boston*.

Also when a Minister preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling Elder of the place, after the Psalme sung, saying publicquely; If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people, at this time, in the name of God let him say on; this is held prophesying. Also the confessions or speeches made by members to be admitted, have beene by some held prophesying, and when a brother exerciseth in his
own

Difference in number of Officers.

Chappels of ease.

These, you see, are necessary in England in some places.

Prophesying.

Prophesying,
or
Preaching by
Licence.

It ought not to be otherwaies in England.

own congregation (as at *Salem* they doe sometimes) taking a text of Scripture, and handling the same according to his ability. Notwithstanding, it is generally held in the *Bay*, by some of the most grave and learned men amongst them, that none should undertake to prophesie in publique, unlesse he intend the worke of the Ministry, and so in some places, as in schooles*, and not abroad, without they have both imposition of hands, and mission, or permission, because prophesie properly hath its denomination from * *understanding propheticall Scriptures*, which to know discretely to handle, requireth good learning, skill in tongues, great fidelity, and good conscience.

* Universities,
Cathedrals,
and Collegiat
Churches.

* 1 Cor. 13. 2.

The publique worship.

The publique
worship.
Every Sunday
morning.

THE publique worship is in as faire a *meeting house* as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have beene at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuig about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Psalme is sung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *extempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer, and a blessing.

Lords Supper.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Supper, whereof notice is given usuallly a fortnight before

before, and then all others departing save the Church, which is a great deale lesse in number then those that goe away, they receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling Elders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecrating, unlesse they stand up, and make a narrow shift. The one of the teaching Elders prayes before, and blesseth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, according to the words of Institution; the other prays after the receiving of all the members: and next Communion, they change turnes; he that began at that, ends at this: and the Ministers deliver the Bread in a Charger to some of the chiefe, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have dranke, goes from one to another. Then a Psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed. Any one, though not of the Church, may, in *Boston*, come in, and * see the Sacrament administred, if he will: But none of any Church in the Country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes to one of the ruling Elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they goe to the Sacrament.

* Once I stood without one of the doores, and looked in, and saw the administration: Besides, I have had credible relation of all the particulars from some of the members.

About two in the after-noone, they repaire to the meeting-house againe; and then the Pastor begins, as before noone, and a Psalme being

Afternoone.

fung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to reade and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

Baptisme.

After that ensues Baptisme, if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seate, the most eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders seate. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptisme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptisme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghost*. No sureties are required.

Contribution.

Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or papers;

papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.

But in *Salem* Church, those onely that are of the Church, offer in publike; the rest are required to give to the Ministerie, by collection, at their houses. At some other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to study wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Ministerie.

Differences in contributions.

This done, then followes admission of members, or hearing matters of offence; or other things, sometimes till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is sung a Psalme, and then the Pastor concludeth with a Prayer and a blessing.

Admissions. Offences.

Upon the week dayes, there are Lectures in divers townes, and in *Boston*, upon Thursdayes, when Master *Cotton* teacheth out of the *Revelation*. There are dayes of fasting, thanksgiving,

Lectures. Fasts & feasts.

^a And why not ^{and} prayers upon ^a occasions, but no ^b holy
^{set fasting} dayes & times, ^{dayes, except the Sunday.}

and set feasts, as well as set Synods in the Reformed Churches. ^b And why not
 holy dayes as well as the fift of November, and the dayes of Purim among the Jews?
 Besides, the commemoration of the blessed and heavenly mysteries of our ever blessed
 Saviour, and the good examples and piety of the Saints? What time is there for the
 moderate recreation of youth and servants, but after divine services on most of those
 dayes, seeing that upon the Sunday it is justly held unlawfull? And sure enough, at
 New-England, the Masters will and must hold their servants to their labour more
 then in other Countries well planted is needfull; therefore I think eventhey should
 doe well to admit of some Holy dayes too, as not a few of the wiser sort among them
 hold necessary and expedient.

Little reading,
 catechizing.

In some Churches, nothing is ^c read on the
 first day of the weeke, or Lords day, but a
 Psalme dictated before
 or after the Sermon, as
 at *Hingham*; there is no
 catechizing of children
 or others in any Church,
 (except in *Concord*
 Church, & in other pla-
 ces, of those admitted, in

^c Whereas in *England* every Sunday are read
 in publique, Chapters and Psalmes in every
 Church, besides the ~~the~~ Comman-
 dements, Epistle and Gospell, the Creed and o-
 ther good formes and catechizings, and besides
 what is read upon Holy dayes and other dayes
 both in the parish, and Cathedrall and Collegiat
 Churches, & in the Universities, and other Chap-
 pels, the benefit whereof, doubtlesse, all wise men
 will acknowledge to be exceeding great, as well
 as publique preaching and expounding.

their receiving:) the reason given by some is, be-
 cause when people come to be admitted, the
 Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith,
 and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture
 for Ministers catechizing; As if, *Goe teach all Na-
 tions*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he should goe*,
 did not reach to Ministers catechizings. But,
 God be thanked, the generall Court was so
 wise, in *June* last, as to enjoyn, or take some course
 for such catechizing, as I am informed, but know
 not the way laid down in particular, how it should
 be done.

They

They call the dayes of the weeke, beginning at the first, second, third, forth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, which is Saturday: the moneths begin at March, by the names of the first, second, and so forth to the twelfth, which is *February*: because they would *avoid all memory* of heathenish and idols *names*: And surely it is good to overthrow heathenisme by all good wayes and meanes. But there hath not been any sent forth by any Church to learne the Natives language, or to instruct them in the Religion; First, because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English. Secondly, some say out of *Rev. 15.* last, it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews; *till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter into the Temple*, that is, the Christian Church, and the *seventh Viall* is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee. Thirdly, because all Churches among them are equall, and all Officers equall, and so betweene many, nothing is done that way. They must all therefore equally beare the blame; for indeede I humbly conceive that by their principles, no Nation can or could ever be converted. Therefore, if so, by their principles how can any Nation be governed? They have nothing to excuse themselves in this point of not labouring with the Indians to instruct them, but their want of a staple trade, and other businessses taking them up. And it is true, this may excuse *à tanto*.

Dayes and moneths how called.

Neglect of instructing the Indians.

Of late some Churches are of opinion, that any

Charity.

may be admitted to Church-fellowship, that are not extremely ignorant or scandalous: but this they are not very forward to practice, except at *Newberry*. Besides, many good people scruple their Church Covenant, so highly tearmed by the most of them, a part of the * Covenant of grace; and particularly, one Master *Martin* for saying in argumentation, that their Church Covenant was an humane invention, and that they will not leave till it came to the sword's point, was fined ten pounds, his cow taken and sold for the money. A Minister standing upon his Ministry, as of the Church of *England*, and arguing against their Covenant, and being elected by some of *Weymouth* to be their Minister, was compelled to recant some words; one that made the election, & got hands to the paper, was fined 10. pounds; and thereupon speaking a few crosse words, 5. pound more, and payed it downe presently; Another of them for saying one of the Ministers of the Bay was a Brownist, or had a Brownisticall head, and for a supposed lie, was whipt: and all these by the generall or quarter civill Courts.

* The Covenant of Grace of the New Testament, it is true, makes the whole universall Church of Christ, and every part thereof, or at least belongeth thereunto: but allowing Churches a Covenant of Reformation tending to the better ordering and well-being of themselves, and for other politike respects, this is as much as they at New-England can justly

make of their Covenant, and some that are judicious among themselves have acknowledged it: And yet, even this, unless it be made and guided by good counsell, and held with dependance and concatenation upon some chiefe Church or Churches, may tend to much division and confusion, as is obvious to the understanding of those that are but a little versed in study of these points.

Touching

*Touching the government of the Common-
Weale there.*

NONE may now be a *Freeman* of that Com-
mon-wealth, being a Societie or Corpo-
ration, named by the name of the *Governour*,
Deputy Governour, and *Assistants of the Societie of
the Mattachusets Bay in New-England*, unlesse he be
a Church member amongst them. None have
voice in elections of *Governours*, *Deputy*, and
Assistants; none are to be *Magistrates*, *Officers*,
or *Jurymen*, grand or petite, but *Freemen*. The
Ministers give their votes in all elections of *Magi-
strates*. Now the most of the persons at *New-
England* are not admitted of their Church, and
therefore are not *Freemen*, and when they come
to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or
estate, or whatsoever, they must bee tryed and
judged too by those of the Church, who are in a
fort their adversaries: how equall that hath been,
or may be, some by experience doe know, others
may judge.

*Ecclesia re-
gnans.*

The manner of the elections is this: At first,
the chiefe *Governour* and *Magistrates* were cho-
sen in *London*, by erection of hands, by all the
Free-men of this *Society*. Since the transmitting of
the *Patent* into *New-England*, the election is not
by voices, nor erection of hands, but by papers,
thus:

Elections of
the *Gover-
nour* & chiefe
Magistrates.

The generall Court-electory sitting, where
are present in the Church, or meeting-house at

Boston,

Boston, the old Governour, Deputy, and all the Magistrates, and two Deputies or Burgesses for every towne, or at least one, all the *Freemen* are bidden to come in at one doore, and bring their votes in paper, for the new Governour, and deliver them downe upon the table, before the Court, and so to passe forth at another doore. Those that are absent, send their votes by proxies. All being delivered in, the votes are counted, and according to the major part, the old Governour pronounceth, that such an one is chosen Governour for the yeare ensuing. Then the *Freemen*, in like manner, bring their votes for the Deputy Governour, who being also chosen, the Governour propoundeth the Assistants one after the other. New Assistants are, of late, put in nomination, by an order of general Court, beforehand to be considered of: If a *Freeman* give in a blanck, that rejects the man named; if the *Freeman* makes any mark with a pen upon the paper which he brings, that elects the man named; then the blancks and marked papers are numbered, and according to the major part of either, the man in nomination stands elected or rejected. And so for all the Assistants. And after every new election, which is, by their Patent, to be upon the last Wednesday in every Easter Terme, the new Governour and Officers are all new sworn. The Governour and Assistants choose the Secretary. And all the Court consisting of Governour, Deputy, Assistants, and Deputies of towns, give their votes as well as the rest; and the *Ministers*,
and

and *Elders*, and all *Church-officers*, have their *votes* also in all these elections of chiefe Magistrates. Constables, and all other inferiour Officers, are sworn in the generall, quarter, or other Courts, or before any Assistant.

Freemen their oath.

Every *Free-man*, when he is admitted, takes a strict oath, to be true to the Society, or jurisdiction: In which oath, I doe not remember expressed that ordinary saving, which is and ought to be in all oathes to other Lords, *Saving the faith and truth which I beare to our Sovereigne Lord the King*, though, I hope, it may be implied.

Courts and Laws.

There are two generall Courts, one every halfe yeare, wherein they make Lawes or Ordinances: The Ministers advise in making of Lawes, especially Ecclesiasticall, and are present in Courts, and advise in some speciall causes criminall, and in framing of Fundamentall Lawes: But not many Fundamentall Lawes are yet established: which, when they doe, they must, by the words of their Charter, make according to the Lawes of *England*, or not contrary thereunto. Here they make taxes and levies.

There are besides foure quarter Courts for the whole Jurisdiction, besides other petie Courts, one every quarter, at *Boston*, *Salem*, and *Ipswich*, with their severall jurisdictions, besides every towne, almost, hath a petie Court for small debts, and trespasses under twenty shillings.

Actions and causes.

In the generall Court, or great quarter Courts, before the Civill Magistrates, are tryed

all actions and causes civill and criminall, and also Ecclesiasticall, especially touching non-members: And they themselves say, that in the generall and quarter Courts, they have the power of Parliament, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission, and Star-chamber, and all other Courts of England, and in divers cases have exercised that power upon the Kings Subjects there, as is not difficult to prove. They have put to death, banished, fined men, cut off mens eares, whipt, imprisoned men, and all these for Ecclesiasticall and Civill offences, and without sufficient record. In the lesser quarter Courts are tryed, in some, actions under ten pound, in *Boston*, under twenty, and all criminall causes not touching life or member. From the petie quarter Courts, or other Court, the parties may appeale to the great quarter Courts, from thence to the generall Court, from which there is no appeale, they say: Notwithstanding, I presume their Patent doth reserve and provide for Appeales, in some cases, to the Kings Majesty.

Grand Juries.

The generall and great quarter Courts are kept in the Church meeting-house at *Boston*. Twice a yeare, in the said great quarter Courts held before the generall Courts, are two grand Juries sworne for the Jurisdiction, one for one Court, and the other for the other, and they are charged to enquire and present offences reduced, by the Governour, who gives the charge, most an-end, under the Heads of the *ten Commandements*:

And

And a draught of a body of fundamentall laws, according to the judiciall Laws of the Jews, hath been contrived by the *Ministers* and *Magistrates*, and offered to the generall Court to be established and published to the people to be considered of, and this since his Majesties command came to them to send over their Patent: Among which Lawes, that was one I excepted against, as you may see in the paper following, entituled, *Of the Church her liberties, presented to the Governour and Magistrates of the Bay, 4. Martii, 1639.* Notwithstanding, a by-law, to that or the like effect, hath been made, and was held of force there when I came thence: yet I confesse I have heard one of their wisest speak of an intention to repeale the same Law.

Matters of debt, trespassse, and upon the case, and equity, yea and of heresie also, are tryed by a Jury. Which although it may seeme to be indifferent, and the Magistrates may judge what is Law, and what is equall, and some of the chief Ministers informe what is heresie, yet the Jury may finde a generall verdict, if they please; and seldome is there any speciall verdict found by them, with deliberate arguments made thereupon, which breeds many inconveniences.

The parties are warned to challenge any Jurymen before he be sworn; but because there is but one Jury in a Court for tryall of causes, and all parties not present at their swearing, the liberty of challenge is much hindred, and some inconveniences doe happen thereby. Jurors are returned

by the Marshall, he was at first called the Bedle of the Societic. Seldome is there any matter of record, saving the verdict many times at randome taken and entred, which is also called the judgment. And for want of proceeding duly upon record, the government is cleerely arbitrary, according to the discretions of the Judges and Magistrates for the time being. And humbly I appeale to his royall Majesty, and his honourable and great Counsell, whether or no the proceedings in such matters as come to be heard before Ecclesiasticall Judges, be not fit to be upon Record; and whether Registers, Advocates, and Procurators, be not necessary to assist the poore and unlearned in their causes, and that according to the warrant and intendment of holy Writ, and of right reason. I have knowne by experience, and heard divers have suffered wrong by default of such in *New-England*. I feare it is not a little degree of pride and dangerous improvidence to slight all former lawes of the Church or State, cases of experience and precedents, to go hammer out new, according to severall exigencies; upon pretence that the Word of God is sufficient to rule us: It is true, it is sufficient, if well understood. But take heede my brethren, despise not learning, nor the worthy Lawyers of either gown, lest you repent too late.

The parties in all causes, speake themselves for the most part, and some of the Magistrates where they thinke cause requireth, doe the part of Advocates without fee or reward. Most matters
are

are presently heard, and ended the same Court, the party defendaunt having foure dayes warning before ; but some causes come to be heard again, and new suits grow upon the old.

Profane swearing, drunkennesse, and beggers, are but rare in the compasse of this Patent, through the circumspection of the Magistrates, and the providence of God hitherto, the poore there living by their labours, and great wages, proportionably, better then the rich, by their stocks, which without exceeding great care, quickly waste.

Prophanenesse
beaten downe.

*A Paper of certaine Propositions to the generall Court,
made upon request, 8. Iunii, 1639.*

1. **I**T were good, that all actions betweene parties, were entred in the Court book, by the Secretary, before the Court sits.

2. That every action be declared in writing, and the defendants answer, generall or speciall, as the case shall require, be put in writing, by a publique Notarie, before the cause be heard.

3. The Secretary to take the verdicts, and make forth the judiciall Commands or Writs.

4. The publique Notarie to record all the proceedings in a fair book, and to enter executions of commands done, & satisfactions acknowledged.

5. The fees, in all these, to be no more then in an inferiour Court of Record in *England*, and to be allowed by the generall Court, or Court of Assistants.

The benefit hereof to the publique good.

1. **I**T will give an easie and quick dispatch to all Causes : For thereby the Court and Jury will quickly see the point in hand, and accordingly give their verdict and judgement.
2. The Court shall the better know, constantly, how to judge the same things ; and it is not possible, that Judges should, alwayes, from time to time, remember clearly, or know to proceed certainly, without a faithfull Record.
3. The parties may hereby more surely, and clearly obtaine their right; for through ignorance and passion, men may quickly wrong one another, in their bare words, without a Record.
4. Hereby shall the Law of God and Justice be duly administred to the people, according to more certaine and unchangeable rules, so that they might know what is the Law, and what right they may look for at the mouthes of all their Judges.
5. Hereby the Subjects have a great part of their evidences and assurances for their proprieties, both of lands and goods.

*A Paper touching the Church her liberties,
delivered at Boston, 4. Martii, 1639.*

*To the Right Worshipfull the Governour, Deputy
Governour, Councillers, and Assistants,
for this Iurisdiction.*

WHereas you have been pleased to cause me to transcribe certain Breviats of Propositions, delivered to the last generall Court, for the establishing a body of Lawes, as is intended, for the glory of God, and the wel-fare of this People and Country; and published the same, to the intent that any man may acquaint you, or the Deputies for the next Court, with what he conceives fit to be altered or added, in or unto the said lawes; I conceive it my duty to give you timely notice of some things of great moment, about the same Lawes, in discharge of my conscience, which I shall, as *Amicus curie*, pray you to present with all faithfulnesse, as is proposed, to the next generall Court, by it, and the reverend Elders, to be further considered of, as followeth:

1. It is propounded to be one chiefe part of the charge, or office of the Councell intended, to take care, that the *conversion* of the *Natives* be endeavoured.

2. It is proposed, as a liberty, that a convenient* number of Orthodoxe Christians, allowed

two may make a Church, yet I have heard Master Cotton say, that a Church could not be without the number of sixe or seaven at least, and so was their practise while I was there, at *Weymouth*, and *New Taunton*, and at *Lin*, for *Long Island*; Because if there are but three, one that is offended with another, cannot upon cause tel the Church, but one man.

* Although some have held that three or

to plant together in this Jurisdiction, may gather themselves into a Church, and elect and ordaine their Officers, men fit for their places, giving notice to seven of the next Churches, one moneth before thereof, and of their names, and that they may exercise all the ordinances of God according to his Word, and so they proceede according to the rule of God, and shall not be hindered by any Civill power; nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

This clause (*nor will the Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered*) doth as I conceive contradict the first proposition.

My reasons are these.

1. If the *conversion of the Natives* must be endeavoured, then some wise and godly men (they should be of your *gravest and best men*) must be sent forth to teach them to know God.

2. When such are sent, they must be either sent immediately by the Lord, or mediately by his Churches.

3. If the Churches send men, they that are sent must be sent by imposition of *hands of the Presbyterie*.

Now

Now when Churches are thus gathered or planted, they are gathered by Ministers, doing the works of Apostles and Euangelists, which hath ever been, and is the ordinary and regular way of gathering or planting Churches, (and not as is proposed, a convenient number of Orthodox Christians, gathering themselves into a Church) and yet when such a Church is gathered by Church-messengers and Ministers, this Court is advised not to allow the same; which, I conceive, is to say, The conversion of the Natives shall not be endeavoured, orderly, according to the rule of God.

Againe, it would be considered, that when men are sent forth, whether they should not be sent forth *two*, and by *two* at least, as the Scriptures beare, and for divers good reasons, which lye not hid to your wisdomes.

That you would be pleased to shew unto the Elders these things to be considered, and that they would well weigh, whether or no those Ministers and Messengers sent by Churches, should not visit the Churches which they plant?

Other things there are, wherein, I think, I could also, to good purpose, move somewhat to your Worships, which lyes more directly in the way, and calling, I have been educated, if I were required, but this thing lying upon my conscience, I could not well passe by: Wherefore I shall request it may be considered.

- I. Whether it be not fit to leave out, at least,

that contradictory clause, *viç.* *Nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered?*

2. Whether it be not better to let the liberty run thus, in generall,

The holy Church of God shall enjoy all her just liberties?

A Paper intended for the honoured John Winthrop, Esquire, late Governour. Boston, Maii 2. 1640.

IF you see a necessity of baptizing them without, If an ingagement of Propagation of the truth to the Infidel Natives:

Then consider, whether by the Kings leave, some Churches may not be appointed to send their chiefe Pastors, and other Ministers, to doe such works.

Also with some kind of subjection, or acknowledgement of authority of the Ministerie in *England*, if it be but by way of advice, which is cleare to me you may doe:

I make no doubt but in all things requisite for the state of the Country, they will yeeld you all faire liberties.

Nay, I am perswaded, the Kings Majesty will not send any unexperienced Governour to afflict, but make you Patentees againe, or at least, after the manner of other Plantations, restoring not onely favour, but other benefits, whereof, under God, to us *Englishmen*, he is the Fountaine. The Kings Attorney did offer some of you this in my hearing, I meane, the renewall of your Patent.

Nay

Nay further, if you would invent, and devise what the King may doe for the Country, you might obtaine.

The very conversion of these poore naked people, which is very hopefull, and much prepared for *per accidens*, or Gods owne providence, bringing good out of evill, will rejoyce the hearts of all Christians in our deare native Countrey, and here: and of it selfe (if there were no other desirable things here, as blessed be God there are many) would cause a continued confluence of more people then you can tell well where to bestow for the present.

The Fishing trade would be promoted with authority.

Hereby would you give the greater testimony to the cause of Reformation.

Hereby will you, under God and the King, make Church-work, and Common-wealth work indeed, and examples to all Countreyes.

You will enrich your Countries both, in short time. The Heathens in time, I am perswaded, will become zealous Christians, then will they labour, get cloathes, and substance about them. In vaine doe some think of civillizing them, either by the sword, or otherwise, till (withall) the Word of God hath spoken to their hearts: wherein I conceive great advice is to be taken.

For which purpose a Presse is necessary, and may be obtained, I hope, so that wise men watch over it.

Consider how poorely your Schooles goe on,

you must depend upon *England* for help of learned men and Schollers, bookes, commodities infinite almost.

No doubt but the King, this way, will make your authority reach even to the Dutch Southward, and to the French Northward. *New-England* indeede without fraction. A facile way, taking out the core of malice.

The conversion and subduing of a Nation, and so great a tract of ground, is a work too weighty for subjects any much longer to labour under without Royall assistance, as I apprehend, I think, in religious reason.

If any shall suggest, that your Churches may send forth men of their own authority;

Consider, if it may be done warrantably by the Word of God, as peradventure it may be so.

Yet you will be in danger, *rebus sic stantibus*, of great imputations.

That you infringe *Regall power*,
And Ecclesiasticall.

Wheron adversaries will sure enough make fearfull worke.

And besides, some reformations (under favour) have been too deep, at least for others to follow.

They were also unexperienced of mission to convert Infidels.

Is *Geneva* without her faults? or *Holland*, *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, without theirs? what experience have they of mission, or ever had?

Now I beseech you grave Sir, doe you thinke it good, honourable, safe, for us poore men here,

or for the Religion and Professors thereof in generall, in the whole world, that such as have the name of the most zealous, should be the first example of almost utmost provocation to our owne Sovereaigne.?

For my part, I disclaime *Parker*,
And encline to *Hooker*, *Iewel*, as to government.

Great men have great burthens, therefore they have their counsels crosse, and sometimes they use them both.

You heare enough on the other side,
Heare now this, on this, and the Lord guide your spirit.

Odere Reges dicta, quæ dici jubent.

These are the Ministers of the Bay.

AT Boston, master *Cotton* Teacher, master *Wilson* Pastor: At *Roxbury*, master *Weld* Pastor, master *Eliott* Teacher: At *Dorchester*, master *Mather* Pastor or Teacher, and Master *Burgh* out of office: At *Braintree*, Master *Thomson* Pastor, Master *Flint* Teacher: At *Weymouth*, Master *Newman* Pastor, Master *Parker* out of office: At *Hingham*, master *Hubbard* Pastor, master *Peck* Teacher: They refuse to baptize old *Ottis* grandchildren, an ancient member of their own Church. At *Charlestowne*, Master *Synms* Pastor, master *Allen* Teacher: At *Cambridge*, master *Sheppard* Pastor, master *Dunster* School-master; divers young Schollers are there under him to the number of almost twenty: At *Watertowne*, master *Phillips* Pastor,

Ministers names.

Pastor, master *Knolls* Pastor: At *Dedham*, another master *Phillips* out of office, and master *Allen* Pastor or Teacher: At *Sudbury*, master *Brown* in office, master *Fordham* out of office: At *Lynne*, master *Whiting* Pastor, master *Cobbet* Teacher: At *Salem*, master *Peter* Pastor, master *Norris* Teacher, and his Sonne a Schoole-master: At *Ipswich*, master *Rogers* Pastor, master *Norton* Teacher, and master *Nathaniel Ward*, and his sonne, and one Master *Knight*, out of employment: At *Rowley*, Master *Ezek. Rogers* Pastor, Master *Miller*: At *Newberry*, Master *Noyse* Pastor, Master *Parker* Teacher: He is sonne of Master *Robert Parker*, somtime of *Wilton*, in the County of *Wiltes*, deceased, who in his life time writ that mis-learned and mistaken Book *De Politeia Ecclesiastica*. At *Salisbury*, Master *Worster* Pastor: At *Hampton*, Master *Bachelor* Pastor, Master *Dalton* Teacher: There are other School-masters which I know not, in some of these townes.

The Magistrates in the Bay are these:

Magistrates
nam. s.

Master *Bellingham* the present Governour, master *Endecot* the present Deputy Governour, master *Winthrop*, master *Dudley*, master *Humfrey*, master *Saltonstall*, master *Bradstreet*, master *Stoughton*, master *Winthrop junior*, master *Nowell*, Assistants. Master *Nowell* is also Secretarie. Master *Stephen Winthrop* is Recorder, whose office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Testaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages. There is a *Marshall*, who

who is as a *Sheriffe* or *Bailiffe*, and his Deputy is the *Gaoler* and executioner.

Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates, and not by the Ministers. * Probats of Testaments, and granting of Letters of Administration, are made and granted in the generall or great quarter Courts. At Burials, nothing is read, nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The Ministers are most commonly present.

better grounds then many are aware of. Brethren, I pray consider well that the Apostle doth allow judgements of controversies to the Church, 1 Cor. 6. And so they did anciently in other Countries, as well as in England, as appears by S. Augustines profession thereof, cited by one lately, viz. *That he* (the said Father, and other holy men of the Church) *suffered the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes touching secular affaires, either by determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by entreaties: which labour* (saith he) *we endure with consolation in the Lord, for the hope of eternall life. To which molestations, the Apostle tyed us, not by his owne judgement, but by his judgement who spake in him.* Besides, should they judge these things, and labour for, and watch over us in the Lord, and not be recompenced as long as they doe well? I speak not to countenance undue exactions, bribes, or other corruptions. I intend brevity, and therefore make bold to refer my Reader to the many learned arguments both in Law-books and Divinity of this subject.

They are very diligent in traynings of their souldiers and military exercises, and all except Magistrates, and Ministers beare armes, or pay for to bee excused, or for speciall reasons are exempted by order of Court. The Captains, and Officers are such as are admitted of the Church.

But the people begin to complain, they are ruled like *slaves*, and in short time shall have their

Marriages.
Testaments.
Administat.
Burials.
* Causes touching Matrimo-
nie, and Testa-
ments, and o-
ther Ecclesia-
sticall causes,
have been an-
ciently by the
good lawes of
England, com-
mitted to the
Clergie, upon

Trainings or
Musters.

Grievances.

their children for the most part remain unbaptized: and so have little more priviledge then Heathens, unlesse the discipline be amended and moderated.

Danger.

It is feared, that Elections cannot be safe there long, either in Church or Common-wealth. So that some melancholy men thinke it a great deale safer to be in the midst of troubles in a settled Common-wealth, or in hope easily to be settled, then in mutinies there, so far off from succours.

New Plymouth Patent.

M. Raymer.

M. Smith.

M. Chancey his controversie.

*Eccles. 12. 11.

One shepheard:

James 3. 1. Not

many masters.

Whether this

be their ground, I know not; but what ever there be in others to advise and assist, the deciding, determining voice, I meane also the negative, in some cases, ought, as I think, to be in the Pastor: Be there never so many Ministers in the Church, *Doe nothing without your Pastor or Bishop*, saith *Irenæus*: for whatsoever is faulty in the Church, the Bishop is first and principally blamed, *Rev. 2. and 3.*

Taunton.

M. Hooke,

M. Streate,

their ordination.

Cohannet, alias *Taunton*, is in *Plymouth Patent*.

There is a Church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the Church, the rest excluded. Master *Hooke* Pastor, master *Streate* Teacher. Master *Hooke* received ordination from the hands of one master *Bishop* a School-master, and one *Parker* an Husbandman, and then master *Hooke* joyned in ordaining master *Streate*. One master *Doughty*, a Minister, opposed the gathering of the Church

M. Doughty his controversie.

Church there, alleadging that according to the Covenant of *Abraham*, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so *Abrahams* children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publique, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the Ministers spake to the Magistrate to order him: The Magistrate commanded the Constable, who dragged master *Doughty* out of the Assembly. He was forced to goe away from thence, with his wife and children.

There are also in this Patent divers other Plantations, as *Sandwich*, *Situate*, *Duxbury*, *Greenes-harbour*, and *Yarmouth*. Ministers there are, master *Leveridge*, master *Blackwood*, master *Mathews*, and master *Andrew Hallet* a School-master. Master *Saxton* also, who was comming away when we did.

Divers other Towns and Ministers.

At the Island called *Aquedney*, are about two hundred families. There was a Church, where one master *Clark* was Elder: The place where the Church was, is called *Newport*, but that Church, I heare, is now dissolved; as also divers Churches in the Country have been broken up and dissolved through dissention. At the other end of the Island there is another towne called *Portsmouth*, but no Church: there is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another, and call it Prophecie. These of the Island have a pretended civill government of their owne erection, without the Kings Patent. There lately they whipt one master *Gorton*, a grave man, for denying their power, and abusing some of their Magi-

Island *Aquedney*.

Master *Gorton* whipt and banished.

strates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master *Coddington*, saying in Court, *You that are for the King, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the King, lay hold on Coddington*; whereupon *Gorton* was banished the Island: so with his wife and children he went to *Providence*. They began about a small trespassse of swine, but it is thought some other matter was ingredient.

New Providence.

At *Providence*, which is twenty miles from the said Island, lives master *Williams*, and his company, of divers opinions; most are Anabaptists; they hold there is no true visible Church in the *Bay*, nor in the world, nor any true Ministerie. This is within no Patent, as they say; but they have of late a kind of government also of their owne erection.

M. Blakeston.

One master *Blakeston*, a Minister, went from *Boston*, having lived there nine or ten yeares, because he would not joyne with the Church; he lives neere master *Williams*, but is far from his opinions.

Connecticot.

There are five or six townes, and Churches upon the River *Connecticot*, where are worthy master *Hooker*, master *Warham*, master *Hewet*, and divers others, and master *Fenwike* with the *Lady Boteler*, at the rivers mouth in a faire house, and well fortified, and one master *Higgison*, a young man, their Chaplain. These plantations have a Patent; the *Lady* was lately admitted of master *Hookers* Church, and thereupon her child was baptized.

Lady Boteler.

The Lady *Moody* lives at *Lynne*, but is of *Salem*. Lady *Moody*.
 Church, shee is (good Lady) almost undone by
 buying master *Humphries* farme, *Swampscot*, which
 cost her nine, or eleven hundred pounds.

Beyond *Connecticott* are divers plantations, New Haven.
 as *New-haven*, alias *Quinapeag*, where master
Davenport is Pastor, and one master *James* a
 Schoole-master; and another where master *Whit-*
field is: and another where master *Pridgeon* is,
 and some others, almost reaching to the Dutch
 plantation southward. Among these are my old
 acquaintance, master *Roger Ludlow*, master *Frost*,
 sometime of *Nottingham*, and his sonnes, *John*
Grey and *Henry Grey*; the Lord in his goodnesse
 provide for them; they have a Minister, whose
 name I have forgotten, if it be not master *Black-*
well. I do not know what Patent these have.

Long Island is begun to be planted, and some Long Island.
 two Ministers are gone thither, or to goe, as one
 master *Peirson*, and master *Knowles*, that was at
Dover, alias *Northam*. A Church was gathered
 for that Island at *Lynne*, in the Bay, whence some,
 by reason of straitnesse, did remove to the said
 Island; and one master *Simonds*, heretofore a
 servant unto a good gentlewoman whom I know,
 was one of the first Founders. Master *Peter* of
Salem was at the gathering, and told me the said
 master *Henry Simonds* made a very cleare confessi-
 on. Notwithstanding he yet dwels at *Boston*, and
 they proceed on but slowly. The Patent is gran-
 ted to the Lord *Starling*; but the *Dutch* claime
 part of the Island, or the whole: for their plan-
 tation

tation is right over against, and not far from the South end of the said Isle. And one Lieutenant *Howe* pulling downe the Dutch Arms on the Isle, there was like to be a great stir, what ever may become of it. The Dutch also claime *Quinapeag*, and other parts.

Pascattaqua.

At *Northam*, alias *Pascattaqua*, is master *Larkham* Pastor. One master *H. K.* was also lately Minister there, with master *Larkham*. They two fell out about baptizing children, receiving of members, buriall of the dead; and the contention was so sharp, that master *K.* and his party rose up, and excommunicated master *Larkham*, and some that held with him: And further, master *Larkham* flying to the Magistrates, master *K.* and a Captaine raised Armes, and expected helpe from the *Bay*; master *K.* going before the troop with a Bible upon a poles top, and he, or some of his party giving forth, that their side were *Scots*, and the other *English*: Whereupon the Gentlemen of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* plantation came in, and kept Court with the Magistrates of *Pascattaqua*, (who have also a Patent) being weake of themselves. And they fined all those that were in Armes, for a Riot, by Indictment, Jury, and Verdict, formally. Nine of them were censured to be whipt, but that was spared. Master *K.* and the *Captain* their leaders, were fined 100. l. a piece, which they are not able to pay. To this broyle came master *Peter* of *Salem*, and there gave his opinion, at *Northam*, that the said excommunication was a nullity.

M. *Larkham*
excommunicated.

A broyle or
riot.

Episcopacie.

Master

Master *Thomas Gorgs* sonne of *Captain Gorgs* of *Batcombe*, by *Chedder* in *Somersetshire*, is principall Commissioner for the *Province of Maigne*, under *Sir Ferdinando*, but he was not at that Court at *Northham* himselfe. Master *Wards* sonne is desired to come into the *Province of Maigne*. There is one master *Ienner* gone thither of late. There is want of good Ministers there; the place hath had an ill report by some, but of late some good acts of Justice have been done there, and divers Gentlemen there are, and it is a Countrey very plentifull for fish, fowle, and venison.

Province of
Maigne.

Not farre from *Northam* is a place called *Exeter*, where master *Wheelwright* hath a small Church.

Exeter.

And at *Cape Anne*, where fishing is set forward, and some stages builded, there one master *Rashley* is Chaplain; for it is farre off from any Church: *Rashley* is admitted of *Boston* Church, but the place lyeth next *Salem*, and not very far further from *Ipswich*.

Cape Anne.
Fishing.

The *Isle of Shoales* and *Richmonds Isle*, which lie neere *Pasquattaqua*, and good fishing places.

Isles of Shoales
and *Richmond*.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from *Boston* Eastward is the *Isle of Sables*, whither one *John Webb*, alias *Evered*, an active man, with his company are gone with commission from the *Bay*, to get Sea-horse teeth and oyle.

Isle of Sables.

Eastward off *Cape Codd* lyeth an Island called *Martins Vineyard*, uninhabited by any English, but Indians, which are very savage.

Martins Vineyard.

French and Dutch.

Northward from the Bay, or Northeast, lyeth the French plantation, who take up bever there, and keepe strict government, boarding all vessels that come neare them, and binding the masters till the governour, who is a Noble-man, know what they are; and south of New-England the Dutch take up the bever.

Virginia.

Three hundred Leagues south from the Bay along the coasts, lyeth Virginia; neare to that is Maryland, where they are Roman Catholiques, they say.

Maryland.

Swedes.

There was a speech of some Swedes which came to inhabit neere Delawar Bay, but the number or certainty I know not.

New-found-land.

Three hundred leagues from the Bay, Eastward, lyeth New-found-land, where is a maine trade for fishing. Here we touched comming homeward.

Florida.

Florida lyes betweene Virginia and the Bay of Mexico, and had been a better Country for the English to have planted in, according to the opinion of some, but it is so neere the Spaniard, that none must undertake to plant there, without good Forces.

For

For the state of the Country in the Bay
and thereabouts.

THe Land is reasonable fruitfull, as I think ; they have cattle, and goats, and swine good store, and some horses, store of fish and fowle, venison, and * corne, both *English* and *Indian*. They are indifferently well able to subsist for victuall. They are setting on the manufacture of linnen and cotton cloath, and the fishing trade, and they are building of ships, and have good store of barks, catches, lighters, shallops, and other vessels. They have builded and planted to admiration for the time. There are good masts and timber for shipping, planks, and boards, clap-board, pipe-staves, bever, and furrer, and hope of some mines. There are Beares, Wolves, and Foxes, and many other wilde beasts, as the Moose, a kind of Deere, as big as some Oxen, and Lyons, as I have heard. The Wolves and Foxes are a great annoyance. There are Rattle-snakes, which sometimes doe some harme, not much ; He that is stung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and greene spotted ; and swelling, dyes, unlesse he timely get some Snake-weed ; which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body. Money is wanting, by reason of the failing of passengers these two last yeares, in a manner. They want help to goe forward

State of the
Countrie of
New-England.

* Wheat and Barley are thought not to be so good as those grains in *England* ; but the Rye and Pease are as good as the English : the Pease have no wormes at all. Beanes also there are very good.

forward, for their subsistence in regard of cloathing: And great pity it would be, but men of estates should help them forward. It may bee, I hope, a charitable worke. The price of their cattell, and other things being fallen, they are not at present able to make such returns to *England*, as were to be wished for them: God above direct and provide for them. There are multitudes of godly men among them, and many poore ignorant soules. Of late some thirtie persons went in two small Barks for the *Lords Isle of Providence*, and for the *Maine* thereabout, which is held to be a beter countrey and climate by some: For this being in about 46. degrees of northerne latitude, yet is very cold in winter, so that some are frozen to death, or lose their fingers or toes every yeere, sometimes by carlesnes, sometimes by accidents, and are lost in snowes, which there are very deepe sometimes, and lye long: Winter begins in October, and lasts till Aprill. Sixty leagues Northerly it is held not habitable, yet again in Summer it is exceeding hot. If shipping for conveyance were sent thither, they might spare divers hundreds of men for any good design. The jurisdiction of the *Bay Patent* reacheth from *Pascattaqua* Patent Northeast to *Plymouth* Patent Southward. And in my travailes there, I have seene the towns of *Newberry*, *Ipswich*, *Salem*, *Lynne*, *Boston*, *Charlestowne*, *Cambridge*, *Wattertowne*, *Concord*, *Roxbury*, *Dorchester*, and *Braintree* in the *Bay Patent*, *New Taunton* in *Plymouth* Patent, the Island *Aquedney*, and the two townes therein,

Newport and Portsmouth, and New Providence within the Bay of Narhiggansets. This for the satisfaction of some that have reported I was no Travailler in New-England.

Concerning the Indians, or Natives.

Of the Indians.

They are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame. Seldome they are abroad in extremity of Winter, but keep in their *wigwams*, till necessity drives them forth; and then they wrap themselves in skins, or some of our English coorse cloth: and for the Winter they have boots, or a kind of laced tawed-leather stoc-kins. They are naturally proud, and idle, given much to singing, dancing, and playes; they are governed by *Sachems*, Kings; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords; by an absolute tyrannie. Their women are of comely feature, industrious, and doe most of the labour in planting, and carrying of burdens; their husbands hold them in great slavery, yet never knowing other, it is the lesse grievous to them. They say, *Englishman* much foole, for spoiling good working creatures, meaning women: And when they see any of our *English* women sewing with their needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, *Lazie squaes!* but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of the *English*. Their children, they will not part with, upon any terms, to be taught. They are of complexion swarthy and tawny;

H

their

their children are borne white, but they bewhite them with oyle, and colours, presently. They have all black haire, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoycing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads, and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath, or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampompeag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom*, after the manner of chequer work, two fingers broad, about their loynes: Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toyes in their ears. And their women, some of the chiefe, have faire bracelets, and chaines of *wampom*. Men and women, of them, come confidently among the *English*. Since the *Pequid* war, they are kept in very good subjection, and held to strict points of Justice, so that the *English* may travail safely among them. But the *French* in the East, and the *Dutch* in the South, sell them guns, powder and shot. They have *Powahes*, or Priests, which are Witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them, notwithstanding, are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powabeing*, which they will, of late, have called Prayers, according to the *English* word. The

Powabe labours himfelfe in his incantations, to extreame sweating and wearineffe, even to extafie. The *Powabes* cannot work their witchcrafts, if any of the *English* be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harme to the *English*, as I have been credibly informed. The *Powabe* is next the King, or *Sachem*, and commonly when he dyes, the *Powabe* marryes the *Squa Sachem*, that is, the queene. They have marriages among them; they have many wives; they fay, they commit much filthineffe among themselves. But for every marriage, the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about seven or eight shillings value. Some of them will diligently attend to any thing they can understand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *English*. They live much the better, and peaceably, for the *English*; and themselves know it, or at least their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know fo much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another. They live in *Wigwams*, or houses made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midst of the house. They cut downe a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *English*, *Dutch*, or *French*, & bring in the butt-end into the *wigwam*, upon the hearth, and fo burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne, (of late, they grinde at our *English* mills.) Venifon, Bevers, Otters, Oysters, Clammes, Lobsters, and other fish, Ground-nuts, Akornes, they boyle all together in a kettel. Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles, trayes,

kettles, and spoones, bever, fures, and canoos. He is a *Sachem*, whose wife hath her cleane spoons in a chest, for some chief *English* men, when they come on guest wise to the *wigwam*. They lye upon a mat, with a stone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the best entertainment they can make to any *English* comming amongst them. They will not taste sweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely they are taken with tobacco, wine, and strong waters; and I have seene some of them in *English*, or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long staves, or halfe pykes, with pieces of swords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them: They have Captaines, and are very good at a short mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is, most commonly, all in one fyle. They are many in number, and worship *Kitan*, their good god, or *Hobbamocco*, their evill god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, because he doth them most harme. Some of their Kings names are *Canonicus*, *Meantimony*, *Owshamequin*, *Cushamequin*, *Webbacowitts*, and *Squa Sachem* his wife: She is the *Queene*, and he is *Powabe*, and King, in right of his wife. Among some of these Nations, their policie is to have two Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counsell, the other younger for action. Their Kings succeed by inheritance.

M. Dunster a
hopefull
Schoolmaster.

Master *Henry Dunster*, Schoolmaster of *Cambridge*, deserves commendations above many; he hath

hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skill in the Tongues; He will make it good, that the way to instruct the *Indians*, must be in their *owne* language, not *English*; and that their language may be perfected.

*A Note of some late occurrences touching
Episcopacie.*

SOME of the learnedst, and godliest in the *Bay*, begin to understand Governments; that it is necessary, when Ministers or People fall out, to send other Ministers, or they voluntarily to goe among them, to seek by all good wayes and meanes to appease them.

Some late occurrences concerning Episcopacie.

And particularly, Master *Peter* went from *Salem* on foot to *New Dover*, alias *Pascattaqua*, alias *Northam*, to appease the difference betweene Master *Larkham* and Master *K.* when they had been up in Armes this last Winter time. He went by the sending of the *Governour*, *Counsell*, and *Assistants* of the *Bay*, and of the Church of *Salem*; and was in much danger of being lost, returning, by losing his way in the woods, and some with him, but God be blessed they returned.

Againe he went a second time, for appeasing

the same difference, and had a Commission to divers Gentlemen, master *Humfrey*, master *Bradstreate*, Captaine *Wiggon*, and master *Simons*, to assist, and to heare and determine all causes civill and criminall, from the *Governour of the Bay*, under his hand, and the publique seale, and then master *K.* went by the worst.

Master *Wilson* did lately ride to *Greens harbour*, in *Plymouth Patent*, to appease a broyle betweene one master *Thomas*, as I take it, his name is, and master *Blindman*, where master *Blindman* went by the worst, and Captaine *Keayne* and others went with master *Wilson* on horseback.

Also at another time, master *Wilson*, master *Mather*, and some others, going to the ordination of master *Hooke* and master *Streate*, to give them the right hand of fellowship, at *New Taunton*, there heard the difference betweene master *Hooke* and master *Doughty*, where master *Doughty* was overruled, and the matter carried somewhat partially, as is reported.

It may be, it will be said, they did these things by way of love, and friendly advise: Grant that; But were not the counsell'd bound to receive good counsell? If they would not receive it, was not the Magistrate ready to assist, and in a manner ready, according to duty, to enforce peace and obedience? did not the Magistrates assist? and was not master *K.* sent away, or compounded with, to seek a new place at *Long Island*, master *Doughty* forced to the Island *Aquedney*, and master *Blindman* to *Connecticot*?

*Questions to the Elders of Boston,
delivered 9. Septemb. 1640.*

1. **W**Hether a people may gather themselves into a Church, without a Minister *sent* of God?
2. Whether any People, or Congregation, may *ordaine* their owne Officers?
3. Whether the Ordination, by the hands of such as are *not Ministers*, be good?

To the which I received an Answer the same day :

TO the first, the Answer is affirmative; for though the people in this Countrey are not wont to gather themselves into a Church, but (as you would have it) with the presence and advice of sundry Ministers; yet it were lawfull for them to gather into a Church without them. For if it be the priviledge of every Church to choose their owne Ministers, then there may be a Church, before they have Ministers of their owne; for Ministers of another Church have no power but in their owne Church.

To the second and third; The second and third *Questions* are coincident, and one Answer may serve for both: The Children of *Israel* did impose hands upon the *Levites*, *Num. 8. 10.* and if the people have power to elect their owne officers, they have power also to ordaine them; for Ordination is but an Installment of a man into that office,

office, whereto election giveth him right, nevertheless such a Church as hath a *Presbyterie*, ought to ordain their Officers by a *Presbyterie*, according to 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.

This Answer was brought me by Master Oliver, one of the Elders, and Master Pierce, a Brother of Boston.

When I was to come away, one of the chiefest in the Country wished me to deliver him a note of what things I misliked in the Country, which I did, thus :

I doubt,

1. **W**Hether so much time should be spent in the publique Ordinances, on the Sabbath day, because that thereby some necessary duties of the Sabbath must needs be hindred, as visitation of the sick, and poore, and family.

2. Whether matters of offence should be publicly handled, either before the whole Church, or strangers.

3. Whether so much time should be spent in particular catechizing those that are admitted to the communion of the Church, either men or women; or that they should make long speeches; or when they come publicly to be admitted, any should speak contradictorily, or in recommendation of any, unlesse before the Elders, upon just occasion.

4. Whether the censures of the Church should be ordered, in publique, before all the Church, or strangers, other then the denunciation of
the

the censures, and pronounciation of the solutions.

5. Whether any of our *Nation* that is not extremely ignorant or scandalous, should bee kept from the Communion, or his children from *Baptisme*.

6. That many thousands in this Countrey have forgotten the very principles of Religion, which they were daily taught in *England*, by set forms and Scriptures read, as the Psalmes, first and second Lesson, the ten Commandments, the Creeds, and publique catechizings. And although conceived Prayer be good and holy, and so publike explications and applications of the Word, and also necessary both in and out of season: yet for the most part it may be feared they dull, amaze, confound, discourage the weake and ignorant, (which are the most of men) when they are in ordinary performed too tediously, or with the neglect of the Word read, and other premeditated formes inculcated, and may tend to more ignorance and inconvenience, then many good men are aware of.

7. I doubt there hath been, and is much neglect of endeavours, to teach, civilize, and convert the *Indian Nation*, that are about the Plantations.

8. Whether by the received principles, it bee possible to teach, civilize, or convert them, or when they are converted, to maintain Gods worship among them.

9. That electorie courses will not long be safe here, either in Church or Common-wealth.

10. That the civill government is not so equally administred, nor can be, divers orders or by-laws considered.

11. That unlesse these things be wisely and in time prevented, many of your usefulest men will remove and scatter from you.

At Boston July 5. 1641.

Certain Quæres about Church government, planting Churches, and some other Experiments.

1. **W**Hether the people should cal the Minister, or the Minister^a gather the people?
2. When a Church is gathered or planted; should they not have care in^b propagating other Churches, in other places next them?
3. Whether should not the first Church^c visit the later Churches planted by them, to see they keepe the faith and order, as long as shee remains her selfe in purity of Doctrine and worship?
4. How shall a Church propagate, and visit other Churches? shall they do it by their members, ordinary Christians, or by their Ministers, ^d or Pastors? shall they^e intend such propagation, or stay, till by their numbers increasing, they are necessitated to swarme, or are persecuted abroad?
5. If by their Pastors, must there not bee more ^f Ministers then one in the first Church? how else can any be spared to goe abroad about such works upon occasion?
6. When they have planted other Churches, must

^a Mat. 10. 1.

Mar. 3. 13.

Act. 1. 4. & 2.

47. & 8. 5. 6. &

9. 32, 35. & 11.

19. 20. 21. 26.

^b Act. 8. 14. &

9. 31. & 11.

22. 27. & 13. 2.

3. & 14. 21. to

28.

^c Col. 2. 5.

Act. 11. 27. &

15. 36. & 16. 4.

^d Act. 8. 5. 14.

& 11. 22, 27.

& 13. 2, 3.

^e Mat. 28. 19.

Act. 13. 1, 2, 3.

& 8. 1.

^f Act. 1, 2, 3, 4.

& 2. 47 & 13. 1

must not the ^g first Church take care for the providing of Elders or Ministers for these new planted Churches, and ^h ordain them, and sometimes goe ⁱ or send some to teach them, and uphold the worship of God among them ?

^g Act. 1. 25, 26.

^h Act. 6. 6.

& 14. 23.

ⁱ Act. 8. 14.

& 11. 22.

7. How can any preach, unlesse he be ^k sent? and how can he be sent, unlesse by imposition of ^l hands of the Presbytery of the first Church ?

^k Rom. 10. 15.

^l Act. 6. 6. & 13

3. 1 Tim. 4. 14.

8. If so, hath not the first Church and the Ministers therof, Apostolical ^m power in these things?

^m Eph. 4. 11.

Act. 1. 25. & 8.

14. & 11. 22. 27

ⁿ Rom. 16. 1.

9. But have all ⁿ Churches and Ministers this power? are they able? have they learned men enough, to ^o water where they have planted? If some should not be of the ^p *Quorum*, as it were, in ordinations, and the like, what order, peace, or unity can be expected?

^o 1 Cor. 3. 6.

^p 2 Tim. 1. 6.

1 Tim. 4. 14.

compared.

10. Againe, if all Churches and Ministers have this power, equally, to exercise the work Apostolicall; must they not all then goe, or send abroad, to convert the Indians, and plant Churches? and how can all be spared abroad? Are all ^q Apostles? all Euangelists? where were the body, if so?

^q 1 Cor. 12.

19, 29.

11. Will they not interfere one upon another, and trespasse upon one anothers ^r line, rule, or portion, which blessed *S. Paul* condemned in those that entred into his labours?

^r 2 Cor. 10. 12.

to the end.

12. When any other ^s Church, besides the ^t first, hath power and ability to propagate and bring forth other Churches, may she not doe well so to doe? must she not? in her fitting line, observing peace, and holding communion with

^s Act. 13. 1, 2, 3

^t Act. 1. 4. & 2.

47.

the first, as long as they remain in purity both of them? and if a second, why not a third, and a fourth, and so forth to a competent number?

13. Whether the first and other Churches also having power and ability thus to propagate the Gospell and plant Churches, may not be fitly called, prime, chief, or principall seats of the Church, or ^v chiefe Churches?

^v As Hierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Acts 11. 26.

14. Whether those Churches so gathered, in one Kingdome, Citie, or Principality, holding communion together, may not be fitly, in regard of their unity in Doctrine and worship, called the Church of such a Nation, or Province, ^u City, or Countrey?

^u Acts 11. 22.

15. Whether is it probable, that the first Church Christian, that wee reade of to be, at ^x Hierusalem, was onely one congregation, or but as many as could meete in one place? had they not among them twelve Apostles, besides Elders, three thousand, at once added, what ever number there was besides? and had they such a large Temple or meeting-houses at their command in those dayes?

^x Acts 1. 4, 15, 26. & 2. 41.

16. Whether the word *Church* bee not diversly taken in holy Scripture, and sometimes for a civill or uncivill assembly or congression? ^y Acts 19. 40. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, and when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly or Church?

^y Act. 19. 40.

Eitzherb. N. B.

17. Whether anciently in *England*, some small assemblies were not called Churches, as every pre-

presentative Rectory or Parsonage is called *Ecclesia*, when others that were greater were not so called, as no Vicaridge, Donative or Chappel is called *Ecclesia* in our Law?

18. Whether the Rector, or Parson that is a Presbyter in a Church, should, being alone, rule absolutely by himselfe, without the concurrence, advise, or superiour power of the Evangelisticall ² Pastor of the Church, who had care in the plantation or erection of the Parsons Church?

2 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4.

19. If not; should the Vicar, Donative, Minister or Chaplain?

20. But where they have used to rule more absolutely, (as in some peculiar jurisdictions in *England*) why may they not with the peace and unity of the Church, and by good advise, stil doe the same alway, with subordination to the Evangelisticall leaders, and fit Christian, and Nationall Synods?

21. If the Parson should not rule alone ordinarily, why should the principall leaders rule ordinarily alone without the advise and assistance of a competent number of their Presbyters, who may afford them counsell? Did not the holy Apostles advise with the Elders ^a sometimes? is it safe for them or the whole?

a Acts 15. 6.

22. But were there any Bishops superintendent, over other Bishops, or Presbyters, in the first hundred years after Christs birth? Did not Saint *James* write his Generall Epistle to the twelve

Objection.

b James 5.14.

c 1 Pet. 5.1, 2, 3

Tribes, which were then scattered abroad, no doubt, in many places, and therein mention for Rulers, onely ^b Elders? and *S. Peter* write his generall Epistle, and therein direct or command the ^c Elders, not to over-rule the flock, the Lords inheritance? where was the Order of Bishops? had not the Elders the rule? might they not else have returned answer, that the command concerned not them, but a certaine Order of men, called Bishops, above us?

Answer.

d Acts 1.20.

e 2 Cor. 11.28.

& Chap. 10.12
to the end.

23. Were not the Apostles and Euangelists then living, ^d Bishops, and superintendent overseers? had they not the ^e care of all the Churches, in their lines? did not these holy Apostles, *S. James* and *S. Peter*, mention their owne names, in their Epistles? is it not plain, that *Peter* had over-sight upon those to whom he wrote, to see that they did not over-rule, and take account of them, if they did? And did the Lord ordaine there should be such a superintendencie, onely for an 80. years, and not some equall correspondent superspection also in after-ages, when those extraordinary men should cease? If some had then the care of all the Churches, should there not be some, in after-times, to have the care of some, to a competent number of Churches, in their fitting lines, and as they are ^f able? And though this Divine right be broken through the many grosse corruptions of successions, and thelike, yet is it not equall to observe the first Institution, as neere as may be, as we say the equity of some Lawes and Statutes among us is sometimes to be observed, though

f 2 Cor. 8.12.

not

not in the Letter? And why may not a chiefe Pastor be called a Bishop, as well as an Elder, or any other officer heretofore superiour?

24. If ^g Pſalms, and Hymnes, and spirituall ſongs are to be ſung in the Church, and to ſing melodiously, and with good harmony, is the gift of God, and uncomely ſinging a kind of ſin in the holy Aſſemblies; why ſhould not the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint ſome, in their ſtead, to take care of the ſingings of the Church? and may not ſome be fitter to lead in ſinging, then others? and leſt they may fall out of their tunes to jarring, why may they not uſe the help of ſome muſicall inſtruments? and leſt they ſhould want able men this way, why ſhould they not take care, that ſome children be trained up in Muſique?

^g Eph. 5. 19.
ⁱ Cor. 14. 26. 40

25. Whether or no Chriſt did not allow of a ^h form of Prayer, and a ſhort one too? will not the ⁱ ſtrong allow the weak helps in Prayer? are not the beſt Chriſtians often diſtracted in long Prayers? is it not eaſier for the ſtrong to pray, then for as ſtrong men to hear Prayer well? ſhould thoſe that are ſtrong Proficients in grace not be ſatisfied, without all their weak brethren come to the ſame pitch of high ſanctification with themſelves? ſhould they not rather ^k condeſcend to the weaker? And although it be rare to tell of any actually converted by formes of Prayer, and Scriptures read; yet who can juſtly deny, but that much good hath been, is, and may for ever be done by ſuch things that way, *Sicut ultimus ictus*

^h Mat. 6. 9. Sic
ergo adrate
vos. ἵνα
Luke 11. 2.
ⁱ Rom. 15. 1.

^k Rom. 12. 16.
Idiſum in in-
vicem ſentien-
tes; non alta
ſapientes, ſed
humilibus con-
ſentientes. ἀλλὰ
τοῖς ταπεινοῖς
συναναγκάζοντες,
but condeſcend-
ing to the
humble.

quercum

quercum non cædit, extrema arena clepsydram non exhaurit, as the last stroak fells not the oake, nor the last sand exhausts the houre-glasse?

l Act. 10. 24, 44
47, 48. & 16.
30, 31, 32, 33.
vers. 14, 15.
m Acts 8. 8,
12, 14.

26. Whether may not a man^l and his household, a woman and her household, a whole^m City, or Countrey, a King and his people, a whole Nation, be baptized, after they are competently instructed in the Religion of God?

n Acts 10.
o Acts 16.
p Acts 8.
q Acts 18.

17. Is it certain, that all that were baptized inⁿ *Cornelius* his house, in the^o *Gaolers* house, in *Lydia's*, in^p *Samaria*, in^q *Corinth*, were such true beleevers, as now good men require all those that joyne with them, to be, before they will receive them to the Communion of their Church? Were not^r hypocrites admitted & baptized in the Primitive Church, by the Apostles and Evangelists themselves, being deceived by them? Were not children circumcised in the old Testament, and baptized all along in the times of the New, so received into the bosome of the Church?

r Acts 8. 13.
Act. 2. 41. &
5. 1. compared.

28. Could, or can ever any Nation, probably, be brought into the obedience of the Gospel, poll by poll, in such manner as is imagined by the leaders of separations?

29. If it be possible, let them make experience, and try whether the *Indians*, or any other Hea-then people, can be so converted, before the Greek Kalends.

30. Whether there be any direct Scripture for the peoples choice of their chiefe Pastour? Can there, ordinarily, be a better election, then when the supream Magistrate (who hath, at most times,

times, the power of all the people, and sometimes their counsell in a regular way) joynes with a select and competent number and company of Presbyters in the same ?

31. Whether any that have not skill, grace, and learning, to judge of the parties to be ordained, whether they be fit, and able to what they are to be ordained, may ordaine them ?

f 1 Tim. 5. 22.
Titus 2. 2.

32. Whether or no to maintain a desired purity or perfection in the Magistracie, by election of the people, these good men of *New-England*, are not forced to be too strict in receiving the brethren, and to run a course tending to heathenisme ?

33. Whether have not popular elections of chiefe Magistrates beene, and are they not very dangerous to States and Kingdomes ? Are there not some great mysteries of State and government ? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary, for all men to attain to the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, courage, magnanimity, patience ? Whence are Kings denominated, but from their skill and knowledge to rule ? whereto they are even born and educated, and by long experience, and faithfull Counsellors enabled, and the grace and blessing of God upon all ? Doe not the wise, good, ancient, and renowned Laws of *England* attribute much, yea, very much trust and confidence to the King, as to the head and supream Governour, though much be also in the rest of the great body, heart and hands, and feete, to counsell, maintain, and

K

preserve

preserve the whole, but especially the Head?

Pro. 25. 3.
Ecclef. 8. 4.
& 10. 16, 17.

34. Hence what government for an Englishman but an hereditary, successive, *King*, ^v *the son of Nobles*, well counselled and assisted?

35. Whether we the posterity of the Church, and people of God, who now see the tops of things onely, may safely condemne the foundations, which we have not seen?

36. Whether is there not a difference between bare speculation, and knowledge joyned with sound experience, and betweene the experience of Divines and people reforming from out of some deepe corruptions in Churches called Christian, and the experience of those that have conversed in and about planting, and building Churches, where there was none before, or among Heathens? what is art many times without experience?

37. Whether those Authors from *Hierome*, to Arch-Bishop *Adamson*, that alledge all Presbyters to be equall, and should alwayes have equall power and authority, had any great skill, or will, or experience, in the propagation of Churches among heathens, or barbarous Nations?

38. If not, whether their Testimony bee of that validity as is thought by some? If they had, whether they might not erre?

39. Whether messengers sent by Churches, or Ministers taking upon them to go to gather or plant Churches, and to ordain, or give the right hand of fellowship to Ministers in those Churches,

ches, and to appease differences in Church affairs, are not Episcopall acts?

40. Is Episcopacie, or a superintendencie necessary at *New-England*, and is it not necessary in more populous places? Are there not some, nay many depths and ^u mysteries in Gods holy Word, the Scriptures, and certain Catholique interpretations, which transgressed, the faith is hurt? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary for all men, nay all Ministers, to attain the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, patience, long suffering, courage, whereby to be enabled to rule in the Church of God, whereto they are educated, tryed, chosen, and ordained? and do not the sacred rules and Laws of God, of holy Church and of this Kingdome attribute much, yea very much trust and confidence to the chief Pastors, Leaders, and Rulers, the Fathers of the Church, especially to the Bishops of the prime and Metropolitall Churches, by the assistance of, and with, and under the supreame Magistrate, the chiefe, the best cement of government, though much be also in other members of the great body, the Church, to counsell, maintaine and preserve the whole in the faith, soundnesse, peace and unity, especially the chief leaders, when need requireth? Hence what government for Christians in chief, but by pious, learned, Provinciaall and Diocesane Bishops, especially in *England* and *Ireland*?

u 1 Cor. 4. 1.
& 2. 10.

By the just examination of the whole, those that are pious and learned, may easily gather, what good

reasons I had, and have, to returne, as now humbly I doe, to the Church of England, for whose peace, purity, and prosperity, is the daily prayer of one of her most unworthy sons,

ClementsInne,

Novemb. 16. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

To a friend.

Sir,

Here is a good Land, and yeelding many good commodities, especially fish, and furs, corne, and other richer things, if well followed, and if that popular elections destroy us not. It is a good Land, I say, that instructs us to repentance, when we consider what a good Land we came from, what good lawes and government we have left, to make experiments of governing our selves here by new wayes, wherein (like young Physitians) of necessity we must hurt and spoile one another a great while, before we come to such a settled Common-wealth, or Church-government, as is in *England*.

I thank God, now I understand by experience, that there is no such government for *English* men, or any Nation, as a Monarchy; nor for Christians, as by a lawfull Ministerie, under godly Diocesan Bishops, deducing their station and calling from Christ and his Apostles, in descent or succession; a thing of greater consequence then ceremonies,

monies, (would to God I had known it sooner) which while I have in my place stood for here these two years, and not agreeing to this new discipline, impossible to be executed, or long continued, what I have suffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Common-wealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread; and therefore sometimes I look to planting of corne, but have not yet here an house of my owne to put my head in, or any stock going: Whereupon I was determined to come back, but by the over-entreaty of some friends, I here think to stay a while longer, hoping that the Lord will shortly give a good issue to things both in our native Country, and *Scotland*, and here, as well as in all other his Majesties dominions.

I was very glad to see my Lord Bishop of *Exeters* Book; it gave me much satisfaction. If the people may make Ministers, or any Ministers make others without an Apostolicall Bishop, what confusion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Bishops then shall we have? If every Parish or congregation be so free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect?

Glad also was I to see Master *Balls* Book of the tryall of the grounds of Separation, both which are newly come over, and I hope will work much good among us here.

And whereas I was sometimes mis-led by those of opinion that Bishops, and Presbyters, & all Ministers, are of the same authority; When I came to consider the necessary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church, by experimentall foot-steps here, I quickly saw my error: For besides, if the congregations be not united under one Diocesan in fit compasse, they are in a confusion, notwithstanding all their classically pretendments, how can the Gospel be propagated to the Indians without an Apostolicall Bishop? If any Church, or people, by the Kings leave, send forth Ministers to teach and instruct the poore Indians in the Christian Religion, they must have at least Apostolicall power to ordain Ministers or Elders in every congregation among them; and when they have so done, they have power of Visitation where they plant: Nor can they without just cause be thrust out from government without great impiety; and where they have planted, that is their line or Diocese. Thus I came to see, that of necessity a Diocese, and Bishop Diocesan, is very neere, if not altogether of Divine authority.

I am also of opinion, that it were good for our Ministers to learne how to doe this work from some of our reverend Bishops in *England*, for I feare our Ministers know not how to goe about it. Whether must not some Ministers learne their language? It is a copious language, as I am informed, and they have as many words to expresse one thing as we have. And when they teach Indians to pray, will they not teach them
by

by a forme ? and how can Gods worship be maintained among ignorant persons without a forme ? I am firme of opinion, that the best of us have been much beholding to the Word read, and formes of Prayer.

From Boston in N.E.

Iulii 28. 1640.

This Gentleman to whom I wrote, kindly returned me a wise answer, wherein is this passage :

TO speak in brieffe, I think now that *New-England* is a perfect model and sampler of the state of us here at this time ; for all is out of joynt both in Church and Common-wealth, and when it will be better, God knoweth : To him we must pray for the amendment of it, and that he will not lay on us the merits of our nationall and particular sinnes, the true cause of all these evils.

*Dated out of Somerset-shire,
Aprilis 27. 1641.*

To another, thus :

IN a word or two, we heare of great disturbances in our deare native Countrey ; I am heartily sorry, &c. I beseech you take my brieffe opinion ; We here are quite out of the way of right government both in Church and Common-wealth, as I verily think, and as far as I can judge upon better consideration, and some pains taken
in

in searching after the bottome of some things. Some electorie wayes tend to the overthrow of Kingdomes: No such way for government of Englishmen, as a Monarchie; of Christians, as by Diocesan Bishops in their line: Better yeeld to many pressures in a Monarchie, then for subjects to destroy, and spoile one another. If I were worthy to advise a word, I should desire you to have a care, and so all your friends, you prejudice not your estate, or posterity, by too much opposing the Regall power: For I verily beleve the Kings Majesty hath in generall a good cause touching Episcopacie: My reasons I could better deliver in presence, if haply God give opportunity to see you, or if you require it hereafter, I will be ready to present my thoughts unto you. All this, as I shall answer before the Lord, without any by-respects. If you were here, I presume you would see more then I can, but I think you would be much of my mind.

From Boston in N. E.

Septemb. 4. 1640.

To another of no meane rank.

Complaining of my sufferings, and shewing the reasons, desiring him to send for me, that I might declare them to his person more effectually.

From Boston in N. E. March, 1640.

To another.

YOU knew my condition and employment, and how ill it went with me in *England*, by reason of the trouble of our friends, and my own danger therby. For my outward subsistence here, at this time, God knowes it is but meane; some say it is my owne fault, and that I stand in my owne light, and you, and others may so conceive; but the God of heaven is my witnesse, I have endeavoured in all things to keep a good conscience, though sometimes I have failed; I have endeavoured, laying all by-respects aside, to joyne with the Church here, but cannot yet be satisfi'd in divers particulars, whereby I am kept from all place of employment or preferment, as I have had overtures made unto me of, if I would or could yeeld; but hitherto I have not dared to doe it, for good reasons best knowne to our heavenly Witnesse. I must give you a taste.

They hold their Covenant constitutes their Church, and that implies, we that come to joyne with them, were not members of any true Church whence we came, and that I dare not professe. Againe, here is required such confessions, and professions, both in private and publique, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Country remaine out of the Church, so that in short time most of the people will remaine unbaptized, if this course hold, and is (we feare) of dangerous consequence, a thing not tending to the propaga-

tion of the Gospel in peace: Which, though it have a colour of sanctimony and strictnesse, whereby many well-affected or affectionate people, but weak in sound experience and judgement, are the rather drawn thereunto, and they are in a manner necessitated to it, to maintaine their election of Magistrates and Ministers in their owne way of popular or Aristocraticall government; I dare not (for my part) yeeld unto neither in my own conscience, nor for the credit of those persons with whom I have been educated, and in whose causes I have been seen. A Monarchy is the best government for Englishmen; better to suffer some pressures under that kind of government, then to spoile one another with popular elections. Againe, I cannot yeeld to Lay-Elders, nor that Lay-men should impose hands upon any to the Ministerie, nor that any Minister should renounce his calling to the Ministerie which he received in *England*, as Antichristian: It is a grosse error, and palpable schisme; then our Baptisme is not right, and so there will be no end of separations. Also I beleieve there cannot be a Church, without a true Minister; nor can anygather themselves together into a Church without a true Minister; nor can they ordain their own Ministers; ordinarily, I meane; what may be done in an extraordinary case, *pro prima vice*, is another question; I hold there ought to be an Apostolicall Bishop, by succession from Christ and his Apostles, superiour in order or degree to his brethren; which Bishop ought to ordain, and rule

rule with other Presbyters, or alone, but Presbyters cannot without him. And if so be any thing in word or act passed from mee to the contrary hereof, I do professe it was in my ignorance. Their calling is of Divine authority, or nearest thereunto, else the Church of God could not have subsisted in any tolerable way of peace, through all this by-past time of 1600. yeeres. I feare they know not what they say, that say the contrary: let them come here, they will quickly change their minde, if they study the point, and follow it home; for, besides the keeping of peace and unity, and a pure and able learned Ministry, how can the Gospell be propagated without some speciall Ministers, having the power Apostolicall, to goe forth to convert *Indians* or *Pagans*? If a Pastor, or Minister, or Christian, of any Church shall doe so, what hath he to doe with Infidels? as hee is a Pastor, he is no Pastor to them. Therefore if any are sent to convert, and establish Churches among Infidels, such as are sent are Apostolick Messengers, Bishops or Ministers to them, and ought to be sent with fasting and Prayer, and by imposition of hands of the Presbytery, and having converted Infidels, may plant Churches, and ordain Ministers among them, and afterwards visit them; and is not this Episcopacie, and their line wherein they have gone their Diocesse? These things naturally flow from, and are grounded in the Word, or equity thereof, and meere necessity. Now if all Ministers should ordinarily have this authority, to go forth to these works,

without mission, what quarelling there would be for division of Lines or Dioceses, let the experience of former ages tell, yea of the Apostolique times, wherein were not wanting those that quarrelled with *Saint Paul* himselfe, about his Line or rule, *2 Cor. 10*. Now unto this confusion, tends the opinion, that saith, a Bishop and Presbyter is all one and equall; it is of *Acrius*, it is false, and it is confusion. The reformed Churches and Writers that held so, had little experience of mission to convert & plant Churches among Infidels. That reformation goes too deep that tends to pulling downe of Cathedrall Churches, and Bishops houses: Should not Apostolick Bishops, and the chiefe Ministers have houses to dwell in, and Churches to recide and officiate in, whither all the Churches of their Line may send and come together in Councel, or Synod, and so do nothing of great moment without their Bishop, a *Timothy*, or a *Titus*? Again, Baptisme is admission and initiation into the Church; to whom Baptisme is committed, *viç.* Apostles and Apostolick Ministers, they have power of admission, that is, of loosing; and consequently of binding, excommunication or expulsion. Where is now the peoples power in the keyes? are they all Apostles, and Apostolick Ministers? what confusion is this? who can yeeld to it knowingly? I beseech you pardon my zeale, and when you have considered all, pity my condition, and pray for me still. Well I am assured, that master *Prynne* & master *Burton* would never yeeld to these things, especially,

if

if they had experience of them. It is good for us to see our errours, and acknowledge them, that we may obtain peace in the day of account.

Boston, 13. Oct. 1640.

To another.

Sorry and grieved we are at the heart, to heare of the troublous estate and condition of our native countrey; wee here also meete with our troubles and distresses in outward things, and some in spirituall matters also. Here wants a staple commodity to maintain cloathing to the Colony. And for my own particular, hitherto I have beene much distressed here by reason I cannot yet so clearely understand the Church proceedings, as to yeeld to them, there are therein so many difficult considerations, that they have sometimes bred great confusion in my thoughts. Never since I saw you have I received the Sacrament of the Lords supper. I have disputed in writing, though to my great hinderance, in regard of outward things, yet blessed be the Lord, to my better satisfaction at the last. I never intended openly to oppose the godly here in any thing I thought they mistooke, but I was lately taken at advantage, and brought before the Magistrates, before whom, giving a quiet and peaceable answer, I was dismissed with favour, and respect promised me by some of the chiefe for the future. Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the Church and Ministry, and what rigid separations

may tend unto, what is to be feared, in case the most of the people here should remaine unbaptized; considerations which may trouble the wisest among us. Rigid separations never did, nor can propagate the Gospell of Christ, they can do no good, they have done hurt. It is dangerous to found Church government on dark & uncertain interpretations of Propheticall, or other Scriptures; foundations ought to be full of evidence, & demonstration. Blessed be the Lord, now some of the chiefe leaders of the Churches here hold the Churches in *England* true Churches, and your Ministry lawfull, though divers corruptions there may be among you; yea some there bee of the chiefe among us that conceive the government by godly Bishops superintendent over others to be lawfull. Churches are not perfect in this world. We may not for every disagreement in opinion, or for slender pretended corruptions, separate from the Church: separate so once, and no end of separation.

From Boston in N. E.

Decem. 19. 1640.

To conclude.

Suppose there are foure sorts of Government, which are used in Church, as in Commonwealth; Monarchicall absolute without Lawes, which is tyrannie; Monarchicall bounded by Lawes; Aristocraticall, and Democraticall: Episcopall absolute, which is Popish tyrannie;
Epi-

Episcopall regulated by just Lawes; Presbyterian, and Congregationall: Which of these will all men like, and how long? Some have well compared the humour of the people in this kind, to a merry relation of an old man and his sonne, passing through the streets of a City, with one horse betweene them: First, the old man rode, then the people found fault with his unkindnesse, in that he did not caule his son to ride with him: then the young man gets up too, now the people say they are both unmercifull to the beast: downe comes the old man, then the young man is unmannerly to ride, and his father walk on foot: at last downe goes the young man also, and leads the horse, then they were both unwise to lead the horse, and neither of them to ride. Well, but alter the inconstant vulgar will; if so, God grant it be for the better. But then consider stories, one alteration follows another; some have altered sixe times, before they were settled againe, and ever the people have paid for it both money and bloud.

Concerning Church-government, what the Presbyterian way is, and how sutable for *Englands* Monarchie, I leave to the pious experienced Divines to set forth, and the Church and State thereof to judge.

And for the Congregationall independent government, whereof I have had some experience, give me leave instead of a better intelligencer thus to present to my deare countrey, now in a time of neede, my impartiall opinion in these confused

papers : And in brief thus: Although it had some small colour in Scripture, and a great pretence of holinesse, yet no sound ground in the Scripture ; Again, if it be neither fit nor possible long to bee continued in *New-England*, as not I alone, but many more eye and eare witnessses doe know , and the learned can and will judge undoubtedly , it must needes be much more unfit and impossible to be brought into *England*, or *Ireland*, or any other populous Nation.

All which upon the whole I humbly submit unto the sacred judgment and determination of holy Church, his royall Majesty, and his Highnesses great and honourable Councel, the high Court of PARLIAMENT.

Imprimatur,
Joh: Hansley.

F I N I S.





