A

HISTORY

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

With particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called

BAPTISTS.

CONTAINING

The first principles and settlements of the Country;
The rise and increase of the Baptist Churches therein;
The intrusion of *Arbitary Power* under the cloak of Religion;
The Christian Testimonies of the Baptists and others against the same, with their Sufferings under it, from the Begining to the present Time.

Collected from most authentic Records and Writings, both Ancient and Modern.

By ISAAC BACKUS,

Pastor of the first Baptist Church in Middleborough.

VOL. I.

Enquire I pray thee, of the former Age, and prepare thyself to the SEARCH *of their Fathers.* Job 8, 8.

Not to know what came to pass before you were born, is always to remain a Child. CICERO.

BOSTON:

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THE

PREFACE.

HISTORY has been so often written and improved, either for party purposes, or meer amusement, that some serious persons have been ready to treat it as a thing foreign from religion, and of little service to mankind. Yet the same persons will readily own, that nothing teaches like experience; and what is true history but the experience of those who have gone before us? of which perhaps none have been more remarkable, since the affairs of Canaan, than those of this country. And as the present contests about liberty and government are very great, they call loudly for all the light therein that can be gained from every quarter.

MR. Rollin in his ancient history says, "*The powers that be are ordained of God*; but neither every use that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him. And when we see these governments degenerating, sometimes to violence, factions, despotic sway and tyranny, 'tis wholly to the passions of mankind that we must ascribe those irregularities which are directly opposite to the primative institution of states; and which a SUPERIOR WISDOM afterwards reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of HIS designs, full of equity and justice. This scene highly deserves our attention and admiration." It is with a view of making the reader attentive to this object, that I think it incumbant on me to add to the account of facts and events what regards

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the manners and cuſtoms of nations; becauſe theſe ſhew their genues and character, which we may call, in ſome meaſure, the ſoul of hiſtory."

Now it may well be ſuppoſed, that men who are ſtriving for more power over others than belongs to them, will not nor cannot, ſet either their own or their opponants genues and character in their juſt light. And if it ſhould be found, that near all the hiſtories of this country which are much known, have been written by perſons who thought themſelves inveſted with power to act as lawgivers and judges for their neighbours, under the name either of orthodoxy, or of immediate power from heaven, the inference will be ſtrong, that our affairs have never been ſet in ſo clear light as they ought to be; and if this is not indeed the caſe I am greatly miſtaken, of which the following account will enable the reader to judge for himſelf.

THE greateſt objection that I have heard againſt this deſign is, that we ought not to rake up the aſhes of our good fathers, nor to rehearſe thoſe old controverſies, which will tend to increaſe our preſent difficulties. But what is meant by this objection? To reveal ſecrets, or to repeat matters that have been well ſettled, between perſons or parties is forbidden, and its affects are very pernicious; but what is that to a hiſtory of public facts, and an examination of the principles and conduct, both of oppreſſors, and of the oppreſſed?

MEN who are ſtill fond of arbitary power may make the above objection; but a learned and ingenous pedobaptiſt that felt the effects of ſuch power, lately ſaid, "The preſbyterians, I confeſs formerly copied too nearly the epiſcopalians. The genuine principles of univerſal and impartial liberty were very little underſtood by any; and all parties

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were too much involved in the guilt of intolerance and perſecution. The diſſenters in our times freely acknowledge this, and condemn the narrow principles of many of their predeceſſors; having no objection to tranſmitting down to poſterity, in their true colours, the acts of oppreſſion and intolerance of which all ſects have been guilty. Not indeed, as is ſometimes done, with a view of encouraging ſuch conduct in one party by the example of others; but of expoſing it alike in all, and preventing it wholly, if poſſible, in time to come."* This is the great deſign of the enſuing work; and which ſeems eſſentially neceſſary to that end. For as every one is orthodox to himſelf, they who have oppreſſed others, have always denied it. After our baptiſt fathers in Boſton, had been greatly injured for 15 years, they publiſhed a vindication of their character; but as to their other ſufferings contented themſelves with ſaying, "Some of us were often-times brought before councils and courts, threatened, fined, our eſtates taken away, impriſoned and baniſhed;" a noted miniſter called their vindication, a *fallacious* narrative, and ſaid, "Errors lie in generals, a particular account might have been more ſatisfying." † Here therefore are a great number of particulars with good vouches to ſupport them; which ſhew that oppreſſion on religious accounts was not of the firſt principles of New-England, but was an intruder that came in afterward.

When I was requeſted by ſeveral gentlemen of note and others, to undertake this work, two great objections preſented themſelves to my mind againſt it; namely, my great unfitneſs for it, and the difficulty of obtaining the neceſſary materials. But their importunity prevailed againſt the firſt, and divine providence has removed, the other, by conveying

* Furneaux's letter to Blackſtone, p. 74.
† Wilard's Ref. p. 10.

conveying into my hands a variety of authentic materials, much beyond what I conceived could have now been obtained in the world. Many of them I have taken from the ancient records of the colonies of Plymouth, Maſſachuſetts, Providence and Rhode-Iſland, as well as the records of the united colonies: though I regret the want of better acquaintance with the two latter, before the firſt two hundred pages of our hiſtory were printed off. Many other records have alſo been ſervicable; and I would now return my public thanks to the ſeveral gentlemen who are keepers of them, for the candid and kind treatment they have ſhewn on this occaſion. A great variety of other manuſcripts have been ſervicable to me, whereof Mr. Hubbard's hiſtory, and extracts from governor Winthrop's journal are not the leaſt. It is to be noted, that only the word Hubbard in the following quotations refers to that hiſtory, in diſtinction from another valuable collection, of which take the following account. Mr. Samuel Hubbard came over to Salem in 1633, in his youth; joined to Watertown church in 1635; but went the ſame year up to Windſor, where he ſoon married a church-member that removed from Dorcheſter, and they ſettled at Weathersfield; till in May 1639 they removed to Springfield, and he was one of the five men who firſt joined in founding that church. It was conſtituted under Connecticut government, but falling afterward into the Maſſachuſetts, he removed in 1647 to Fairfield. Though he ſays, "God having enlightened both, but moſtly my wife, into his holy ordinance of baptizing only viſible believers; and being zealous for it, ſhe was moſtly ſtruck at, and anſwered twice publicly, where I was alſo ſaid to be as bad as ſhe, and threatened with impriſon-

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ment to Hartford goal, if we did not renounce it or remove. That ſcripture came into our minds, if they perſecute you in one place, flee to another." Whereupon they removed to Newport, and joined to elder Clarke's church there on Nov. 3. 1648, where they lived to old age; from whence he repeatedly viſited his ſuffering brethren at Boſton, and had an extenſive correſpondance both in Europe and America; and he copied ſeveral hundred of his own and others letters into a book, which I am now favoured with; containing a fund of intelligence, from 1641 to 1688. The writings and papers alſo of our elders, Holmes, Comer, Callander and others have been uſeful in this deſign. Though, for want of room I have been forced to leave a great many valuable articles out of this volume, and to give but a ſketch of things in latter times. However I propoſe by divine leave to preſerve and digeſt them in the beſt manner I can, for the uſe of theſe who may come after us; and ſhould be glad to obtain accounts of the riſe, progreſs and preſent ſtate of all our churches, for the ſame end.

In the following work, Plymouth Regiſter intends an account of their church from its begining, wrote by our county regiſter, and annexed to Mr. Robbin's ordination ſermon 1760. The hiſtory of Providence means what was publiſhed of that nature in their Gazette in 1765. Perhaps the reſt of my authorities are ſufficiently deſcribed. So great a part of this hiſtory is given in the words of others, that continued marks of quotation would have been tedious; therefore many paſſages only begin and end therewith. In the excellent letter you have in page 390—395, I have marked the words which were neceſſarily ſupplied to compleat the ſenſe; but though I have as ſtrictly kept to the true ſenſe in

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all my quotations as in that, yet I have not thought it necessary to continue such marks in all. In the *dates*, where our fathers began the year with March, I have either plainly noted it, or else have begun the year with January, only have let the old stile stand, till it was altered here by law. Of the *monies*, Mr. Prince says they reckoned were sterl. till 1640. In 1652 when they first coined silver here 1l. of it was 15s. sterl. and so it continued to 1690, when they began to make paper money, which gradually depreciated from 6s. to 45s for a Spanish milled dollar. In 1750 our currancy was brought back to what it was a hundred years before, and that is our lawful money ever since. A dash — in a quotation signifies the omission of somthing there for bervities sake; betwixt figures, it is to extend the reference from one number to the other.

WHOEVER considers the difficulty of compiling such a work with exactness, together with the confusion of the present times, and the authors distance from the press, will not be severe upon him for every imperfection they may discover therein; tho' he has named his principle vouchers, on purpose to have his performance thoroughly examined, and every material mistake corrected, Sincerity and impartiallity are allowed to be the most essential rules of history: how far they appear in this the reader will judge. Only the author must say, that he has acted under a full belief, that with what measure we mete, it shall be measured to us again; so that we cannot injure others in any case, without therein wronging our own souls. And to impress this great truth upon every mind, is the aim and earnest desire of their

humble servant,

ISAAC BACKUS.

Middleborough,
July 9, 1777.

A

HISTORY

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

With particular Reference to the People called *Baptists*.

CHAP. I.

The Sentiments and Character of the first Planters of this Country, with their Proceedings down to the Year 1634.

TO obtain clear and just ideas of the affairs of the Baptists in New-England, it seems necessary for us to look back to its first settlement, and carefully to examine what were the sentiments and character of the original planters. Those that began the first colony were called Separatists, because of their withdraw from the national church of England; and different parties have accused them with *rigidness* therein; but ingenuous minds will not choose to be turned off with hard names, without knowing what is meant by them, therefore let us hear those fathers tell their

own ſtory. They ſeparated from the national church near the beginning of the laſt century, and formed ſocieties for worſhip by themſelves; till, after ſuffering much from the ruling party in their native country, they left it, and ſojourned about twelve years in Holland, and then removed to this land.

About the time of their fleeing into Holland, Mr. Richard Bernard, an Epiſcopal miniſter in Nottinghamſhire, out of which many of thoſe fathers removed, publiſhed a book againſt them, which he called *The Separatiſt's Schiſm*, unto which Mr. John Robinſon, the paſtor of the church which afterward began the ſettlement of New-England, publiſhed an anſwer in 1610, intituled, *A Juſtification of Separation from the Church of England.* As I am favoured with this performance, containing 476 pages in quarto, I ſhall from thence give the reader his own words upon the moſt material points of their controverſy, and the rather, becauſe the writings of that eminent father of our country are very little known at this day among us.

Mr. Bernard began his book with ſome things which he called *Chriſtian Counſels of Peace*, to which Mr. Robinſon anſwers, that, "As God is the God of peace, ſo are not they God's children which deſire it not; yea, even in the midſt of their contentions. But as all vices uſe to cloath themſelves with the habits of virtues, that under their liveries they may get countenance, and find the more free paſſage in the world, ſo eſpecially in the church all tyranny and confuſion do preſent themſelves under this colour, taking up the politic pretence of peace, as a weapon of mere advantage, wherewith the ſtronger and greater party uſeth to beat the weaker. The Papiſts preſs the Proteſtants with the

peace

peace of the church, and for the rent they have made in it, condemn them beyond the heathenish soldiers, which forbore to divide Christ's garments; as deeply do the bishops charge the ministers refusing conformity and subscription*, and both of them us. But the godly wise must not be affrighted either from seeking or embracing the truth with such bugs as these are, but seeing *the wisdom which is from above, is first pure, then peaceable*, he must make it a great part of his Christian wisdom to discern betwixt godly and gracious peace, and that which is either pretended for advantage, or mistaken by error, and so labour to hold peace in purity. Let it then be manifested unto us, that the communion which the church of England hath with all the wicked in the land, without separation, is a pure communion; that their service book, devised and prescribed in so many words and letters, to be read over and over with all the appurtenances, is a pure worship; that their government by national provincial and diocesan bishops, according to their canons, is a pure government, and then let us be blamed if we hold not peace with them in word and deed; otherwise, though they speak unto us never so oft, both by messengers and mouth of peace, and again of peace, as Jehoram did to Jehu, yet must we answer them in effect as Jehu did Jehoram, what peace, whilst the whoredoms of the mother of fornications, the Jezebel of Rome, do remain in so great number amongst them? And I doubt not but Mr. Bernard, and a thousand more ministers in the land (were they secure of the magistrate's sword, and might they go on with good

 licence)

* The main of those who afterward settled the Massachusetts colony were of this sort; they refused full conformity to the national church, and yet condemned an entire separation from it.

licence) would wholly ſhake off their canonical obedience to their ordinances, and neglect their citations and cenſures, and refuſe to ſue in their courts, for all the peace of the church which they commend to us for ſo ſacred a thing. Could they but obtain licence from the magiſtrate to uſe the liberties which they are perſuaded Chriſt hath given them, they would ſoon ſhake off the prelates yoke, and draw no longer under the ſame in ſpiritual communion with all the prophane in the land, but would break thoſe bonds of iniquity, as eaſily as Sampſon did the cords wherewith Dalilah tyed him, and give good reaſons alſo from the word of God for their ſo doing." p. 13, 14.

WHOEVER reads and well obſerves the hiſtory of the Maſſachuſetts colony, I believe, will find that thoſe remarks were neither enthuſiaſtical nor cenſorious, but that they diſcover great knowledge, and a good judgment both in human and divine concernments. Mr. Robinſon proceeds and ſays, "Theſe things I thought good to commend to the reader, that he may be the more cautious of this and the like colourable pretences, wiſhing him alſo well to remember, that peace in diſobedience is that old theme of the falſe prophets, whereby they flattered the mighty, and deceived the ſimple, Jer. vi. 14, and viii. 11.—In the church of England we do acknowledge many excellent truths of doctrine, which we alſo teach without commixture of error, many chriſtian ordinances which we alſo practiſed being purged from the pollution of antichriſt, and for the godly perſons in it (could we poſſibly ſeparate them from the prophane) we would gladly embrace them with both arms; but being taught by the apoſtle, ſpeaking but of one wicked perſon, and of one Jewiſh ordinance, that *a little leaven leaveneth the whole*

whole lump, 1 Cor. v. 6, Gal. v. 2—9, we cannot be ignorant how ſour the Engliſh aſſemblies muſt needs be: Neither may we juſtly be blamed though we dare not dip in their meal, leſt we be ſoured by their leaven." p. 15, 16. And to Mr. B. who counſels that we ſhould *bear with lighter faults for a time, till fit occaſion be offered to have them amended*, he replies, "1. No ſin is light in itſelf, but being continued in and countenanced, deſtroyeth the ſinner, Matt. v. 19. 2. It is the property of a prophane and hardened heart evermore to extenuate and leſſen ſins. 3. Though the bearing and forbearing, not only of ſmall but even of great ſins alſo, muſt be for a time, yet it muſt be but for a time, and that is whilſt reformation be orderly ſought and procured, Lev. xix. 17. But what time hath wrought in the church of England, all men ſee growing daily, by the juſt judgment of God, from evil to worſe, and being never aforetime ſo impatient either of reformation or other good as at this day. 4. A man muſt ſo bear evil, as he be no way acceſſory unto it, by forbearing any means appointed by Chriſt for the amending it." p. 16.

"I SEE not upon what occaſion the author ſhould ſhuffle into this controverſy, which is merely eccleſiaſtical, ſuch conſiderations as he doth concerning the frame and alteration of *civil ſtates*, except he would either inſinuate againſt us, that we went about to alter the civil ſtate of the kingdom; or, at leaſt, that the alteration of the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, muſt needs draw with it the alteration of the civil ſtate; with which note the prelates have a long time bleared the eyes of the magiſtrates, but how deceitfully, hath been ſufficiently manifeſted, and offer made further to manifeſt the ſame by ſolemn diſputation. And the truth is, that all ſtates and policies

policies which are of God, whether monarchical, ariſtocratical or democratical, or how mixed ſoever, are capable of Chriſt's government. Neither doth the nature of the ſtate, but the corruption of the perſons, hinder the ſame in one or other.—And where Mr. Bernard further adviſeth, rather to offend many private perſons than one lawful magiſtrate, I doubt not he gives no worſe counſel than he himſelf follows, who (except I be much deceived in him) had rather offend half the private perſons in the dioceſe, than one archbiſhop, though he be an unlawful magiſtrate. But let us remember our care be not to offend the Lord, and if with the offence of a private perſon, though never ſo baſe, be joined the offence of the Lord, better offend all, both lawful and unlawful magiſtrates, in the world, than ſuch a *little one*, Matt. xviii. 6." p. 17, 18.

ANOTHER piece of counſel given by Mr. B. is, *Uſe the preſent good which thou mayeſt enjoy to the utmoſt; and an experienced good, before thou doſt trouble thyſelf to ſeek for a ſuppoſed better good, untried, which thou enjoyeſt not.* To this Mr. R. ſays, "We may not ſtint or circumſcribe either our knowledge, faith, or obedience, within ſtraiter bounds than the whole revealed will of God, in the knowledge and obedience whereof we muſt daily increaſe and edify ourſelves; much leſs muſt we ſuffer ourſelves to be ſtripped of any *liberty* which Chriſt our lord hath purchaſed for us, and given us to uſe for our good, Gal. v. 1. And here, as I take it, comes in the caſe of many hundreds in the church of England, who what good they may enjoy (that is ſafely enjoy, or without any great bodily danger) that they uſe very fully. Where the ways of Chriſt lie open for them, by the authority of men, and where they may walk ſafely with good leave, there they walk

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very uprightly, and that a round pace; but when the commandments of Chrift are as it were hedged up with thorns, by mens prohibitions, there they foully *ftep afide, and pitch their tents by the flocks of his fellows*, Cant. i. 6." p. 23. Again Mr. B. fays, *Never prefume to reform others, before thou haft well ordered thyfelf.* To which Mr. Robinfon anfwers, " True zeal it is certain ever begins at home, and gives more liberty unto other men than it dares affume unto itfelf; and there is nothing more true, and neceffary to be confidered, than that every man ought to order himfelf in his own fteps firft. That is good and the beft, but not all; for if by God's commandment we ought to *bring back our enemy's ox or afs that ftrayeth*, how much more to bring into order our brother's foul and body, wandering in by-paths?" p. 24.

Mr. Bernard went on to lay down a number of things, which he fuppofed would render it very unlikely that a feparation from them could be right, before he came to the merits of the caufe; as 1. *The novelty thereof differing from all the beft reformed churches in Chriftendom.* To which Mr. Robinfon replies, " It is no novelty to hear men plead cuftom, when they want truth. So the heathen philofopher reproached Paul as *a bringer of new doctrine*, Act. xvii. 19. So do the Papifts difcountenance the doctrine and profeffion of the church of England; yea even at this day, very many of the people in the land call Popery the old law, and the profeffion there made the new law. But for our parts, as we believe, by the word of God, that the things we teach are not new, but old truths renewed; fo are we no lefs perfuaded, that the church conftitution, in which we are fet, is caft in the apoftolical and primitive mould, and not one day nor hour younger,

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in the nature and form of it, than the first church of the new testament." p. 40. 2. *For that it agreeeth so much with the ancient Schismatics, condemned in former ages by holy and learned men.* Answer, "Can our way both be a novelty, and yet agree so well with ancient Schismatics? Contraries cannot be both true, but may both be false, as these are." p. 42. Mr. Robinson tells us, that another article which Mr. B. alledged against them is, *That we have not the approbation of any of the reformed churches for our course.* Answer, "This is the same in substance with the first, and that which followeth in the next place the same with them both; and Mr. B. by so ordinarily pressing us with human testimonies, shews himself to be very barren of divine authority. Nature teacheth every creature, in all danger, to fly first and oftenest to the chief instruments either of offence or defence, wherein it trusteth, as the bull to his horn, the boar to his tusk, and the bird unto her wing; right so this man shews wherein his strength lies, and wherein he trusts most, by so frequent and usual shaking the horn, and whetting the tusk, of mortal man's authority against us. But for the reformed churches the truth is, they neither do imagine, nor will easily be brought to believe, that the frame of the church of England stands as it doth. The approbation which they give, is in respect of such general truths of doctrine, as wherein we also, for the most part, acknowledge you; which notwithstanding you deny in a great measure in the particulars and practice. But touching the gathering and governing of the church, which are the main heads controverted betwixt you and us; they give you not so much as the left hand of fellowship, but do, on the contrary, turn their

their backs upon you." p. 46, 47*. Thus much of the learned abroad; in the next place Mr. Bernard draws us to the learned at home, from whose dislike of us he takes his fifth likelihood, which he thus frameth: *The condemnation of this way by our divines, both living and dead, against whom, either for godliness of life or truth of doctrine, otherwise than for being their opposites, they can take no exception.*" To which Mr. Robinson answers, "No marvel: We may not admit of parties for judges: How is it possible we should be approved of them in the things wherein we witness against them? And if this argument be good and likely, then is it likely that neither the Reformists have the truth in the church of England, nor the prelates; for there are many of those both godly and learned, which in

* "The ways of the church of England, wherein we forsake her, do directly and *ex diametro* cross and thwart the ways of the reformed churches, in these three main heads:

"1. The reformed churches are gathered of a free people, joined together by voluntary profession, without compulsion of human laws. On the contrary, the church of England consists of a people forced together violently by the laws of men into their provincial, diocesan and parishional churches (as their houses stand) be they never so unwilling or unfit.

"2. The reformed churches do renounce the ministry of the church of England, as she doth theirs; not admitting of any by virtue of it to charge of souls, as they speak, where, on the contrary, all the mass-priests made in Queen Mary's days, which would say their book-service in English, were continued ministers by the same *ordination* which they received from *Popish prelates*.

"3. The government by Archbishops, Lord Bishops and their substitutes, in the church of England, is abhorred and disclaimed in the reformed churches as antichristian; as is, on the contrary, the Presbyterian government, in use there, by the church of England refused, as *Anabaptistical* and seditious." p. 52.

Here we may see how the very name of Anabaptist was used as a weapon to fight against reformation in Mr. Robinson's day, and the practice is still followed by many.

their differences do oppose, and that very vehemently, the one the other. Now, as for my own part, I do willingly acknowledge the learning and godliness of most of the persons named by Mr. B. and honor the memory of some of them; so neither do I think them so learned, but they might err, nor so godly, but in their error they might reproach the truth they saw not. I do confess to the glory of God, and mine own shame, that a long time before I entered this way, I took some taste of the truth in it by some treatises published in justification of it, which were sweet as honey unto my mouth; and the principal thing which for the time quenched all further appetite in me, was the over-valuation which I made of the learning and holiness of these and the like persons, blushing in myself to have a thought of pressing one hair-breadth before them in this thing, behind whom I knew myself to come so many miles in all other things; yea and even of late times, when I had entered into a more serious consideration of these things, and, according to the measure of grace received, searched the scriptures, whether they were so or no, and by searching found much light and truth, yet was the same so dimmed and overclouded with the contradictions of these men, and others of the like note, that had not the truth been in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, Jer. xx. 9, I had never broken those bonds of flesh and blood, but had suffered the light of God to have been put out in my unthankful heart, by other mens darkness.

"EVERY man stands bound to give this reverence to the graces of God in other men, that in his differences with them he be not suddenly nor easily persuaded, but that being jealous of his own heart,

heart, he undertake the examination of things, and ſo proceed with fear and trembling, and having tried all things, keep that which is good, 1 Theſ. v. 21; ſo ſhall he neither wrong the graces of God in himſelf, nor in others. But on the other ſide, for a man ſo far to ſuffer his thoughts to be conjured into the circle of any man or mens judgment, as either to fear to try what is offered to the contrary, in the balance of the ſanctuary, or finding it to bear weight, to fear to give ſentence on the Lord's ſide, yea though it be againſt the mighty, this is to honor men above God, and to advance a throne above the throne of Chriſt, who is Lord and King for ever. And to ſpeak that in this caſe, which by doleful experience I myſelf have found, many of the moſt forward profeſſors in the kingdom are well nigh as ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the determinations of their guides and teachers, as the ignorant Papiſts unto theirs; accounting it not only needleſs curioſity, but even intolerable arrogancy, to call in queſtion the things received from them by tradition. But how much better were it for all men to lay aſide theſe and the like prejudices, that ſo they might underſtand the things which concern their peace, and ſeeing with their own eyes, might live by their own faith?

"And for theſe famous men named by Mr. B. (with whoſe oppoſitions, as with Zedekiah's horns of iron, he would puſh us here and every where) as we bear their reproofs with patience, and acknowledge their worth without envy or detraction, ſo do we know they were but men, and through human frailty might be abuſed as well, or rather as ill, to ſupport antichriſt in a meaſure, as others before them have been, though godly and learned as they. It will not be denied but the fathers, as they are

called, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerom, Austin, and the rest, were both godly and learned, yet no man, if he have but even saluted them, can be ignorant what way, though unwittingly, they made for the advancement of antichrist which followed after them, and if they, notwithstanding their learning and godliness, thus ushered him into the world, why might not others, and that more likely, though learned and godly as the former, help to bear up his train? Especially considering that as his rising was not, so neither could his fall be perfected at once. And for us, what do we more or otherwise, for the most part, than walk in those ways into which divers of the persons by Mr. B. named have directed us by the word of God, in manifesting unto us by the light thereof what the ministry, government, worship, and fellowship of the gospel ought to be *? We then being taught, and believing that the word of

* For proof of this, Mr. Robinson, in another place, cites a number of passages written; he says, "By such men as I dare say Mr. B. reckons amongst the painful and conscionable ministers: Their words are these:

"The names and offices of Archbishops, Archdeacons, Lord Bishops, &c. are, together with their government, drawn out of the Pope's shop, antichristian, and contrary to the scriptures. Parsons, vicars, parish-priests, stipendiaries, &c. be birds of the same feather." *2d Admo. to the Parliament.* "There is no true visible church of Christ, but a particular congregation only." *Christian Offer, prop.* 4.

"Every true visible church of Christ, or ordinary assembly of the faithful, hath, by Christ's ordinance, power in itself immediately under Christ to elect, to ordain, deprive and depose their ministers, and to execute all other ecclesiastical censures." *Ibid. prop.* 5. "The visible church of Christ, wheresoever it be, hath the power of binding and loosing annexed unto it, as our saviour Christ teacheth, Matt. 18." *Discovery of Dr. Bancroft's Slanders.* "Amongst us the holy mysteries of God are prophaned,

of God is a light and lanthorn, not only to our *eyes*, but to our *feet* and *paths*, as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh, Pſal. cxix. 105, cannot poſſibly conceive how we ſhould juſtly be blamed by theſe men for obſerving the ordinances which themſelves not only acknowledged, but contended for, as appointed by Chriſt to be kept inviolable till his appearing, as ſome of them have expreſly teſtified.

"To conclude, let not the chriſtian reader caſt our perſons, and the perſons of our oppoſites, whether theſe or others, in the balance together; but rather our cauſe and reaſons, with their oppoſitions and the grounds of them, and ſo with ſteady hand, and impartial eye, poize cauſe with cauſe, that ſo the truth of God may not be prejudiced by mens *perſons*, nor held in *reſpect* of them." p. 48—58.

By theſe free and plain declarations the reader may be able to judge, whether the reproach of *rigidneſs* properly belongs to Mr. Robinſon, or to his accuſers and perſecutors; yet becauſe he would not ſtay in the church of England, when he was convinced of its being wrong ſo to do, Mr. Bernard accuſes him and his brethren of either *denying their converſion* there, or elſe of accounting it a *falſe one*. To which Mr. R. anſwers, "For our perſonal converſion in the church of England, we deny it not, but do, and always have done, judge and profeſs it true there; and ſo was Luther's converſion true in the church of Rome, elſe could not his ſeparation from

prophaned, the Gentiles enter into the temple of God, the holy things are indifferently communicated with the clean and unclean." *Plain Declaration.*

"Now, ſays Mr. Robinſon, let the reader judge whether theſe men in thus writing have not opened the door unto us, by which themſelves enter not." p. 75, 76.

from Rome have been of faith, or accepted of God." p. 69.

AND now for *particular* sentiments about church affairs; Mr. Robinson's opponent had said, *The word is the constitution of the church.* To which he replies, "His meaning is or should be, that the word is the ordinary means for collecting and constituting the church of God. I grant it: But how considered? Not the word in mens bibles alone, for then all the heretics in the world were true churches; nor yet the word preached simply, for Paul preached the word to the scoffing Athenians, and to the blasphemous Jews, yet I think he will not say that either the one or the other were churches truly constituted. How then? The word published, understood, believed and obeyed, outwardly at the least, as the spiritual sword or axe, hewing the stones in the rock, and the trees in the forest, and preparing them to be the Lord's spiritual house. And thus much the very places produced by Mr. B. do evidently declare.

"MATT. xxviii. 19, which is the first place, shews, that such as by preaching of the word were *made disciples*, for so much the word importeth, were to be gathered into the church and baptized. Mark xvi. 15, shews the same, especially if you add verse 16, infering that men by preaching must believe, and so believe, as they have the promise of *salvation.* 2 Cor. v. 19, and xi. 2, prove that the word of reconciliation and ministry of the gospel, believed and obeyed to the forgiveness of sins, and to the preparation and sanctification of the church of Christ, is the means of gathering and building up the same. Acts ii. 14, 37, 38, 41, and xvi. 32—34, are of the same nature, and do prove that sundry of the Jews at Jerusalem, by Peter's preaching, and that the gaoler's

gaoler's houſhold at Philippi, by Paul's preaching, were brought to repentance, and faith in Chriſt, and ſo added to the church; but what will be the concluſion of all theſe premiſes? The propoſition is this: "The true apoſtolic churches having a true conſtitution, were gathered and conſtituted of ſuch men and women as by the preaching of the goſpel were made diſciples, had faith and repentance wrought in them, to the obtaining of the forgiveneſs of ſins, and promiſe of life eternal, and to ſanctification and obedience." p. 89, 90.

Of *baptiſm* Mr. Robinſon ſays, "The proper ends and uſes of baptiſm are to initiate the parties baptized into the church of Chriſt, and to conſecrate them to his ſervice, and ſo to ſerve for badges of chriſtianity, by which it is diſtinguiſhed from all other profeſſions, Matt. xxviii. 19, 1 Cor. xii. 13." p. 26. "The ſacrament of baptiſm is to be adminiſtered by Chriſt's appointment, and the apoſtles example, only to ſuch as are, externally, and ſo far as men can judge, taught and made diſciples; do receive the word gladly, Acts ii. 41; believe and ſo profeſs, Acts viii. have received the holy ghoſt, Acts x. 47, and to their ſeed, Acts ii. 39, 1 Cor. vii. 14." p. 92. "Baptiſm adminiſtered to any others is ſo far from inveſting them with any ſaintſhip in that eſtate, that it makes guilty both the giver and receiver of ſacrilege, and is the taking of God's name in vain." p. 110.

Of the *Lord's ſupper* he ſays, "The apoſtle teacheth, 1 Cor. x. 16, that the bread and wine in the ſupper are the communion of the body and blood of Chriſt, that is, effectual pledges of our conjunction and incorporation with Chriſt, and one with another: And in ver. 17, that all which eat of one bread or one loaf, are one myſtical body. This place alone,

alone, if Mr. B. and his fellow miniſters would ſeriouſly conſider, and ſet themſelves faithfully to obſerve, they would rather offer their own bodies to be torn in pieces by wild beaſts, than the holy myſteries of Chriſt's body to be prophaned as they are." p. 92.

Of the *keys*, Matt. xvi. 18, 19, he ſays, "It is granted by all ſides that Chriſt gave unto Peter the keys of the kingdom, that is, the power to remit and retain ſins declaratively, as they ſpeak, as alſo that in what reſpect this power was given to Peter, in the ſame reſpect it was, and is, given to ſuch as ſucceed Peter; but the queſtion is, in what reſpect or conſideration this power ſpoken of was delegated to him? The Papiſt affirms it was given to Peter as the prince of the apoſtles, and ſo to the Biſhops of Rome, as Peter's ſucceſſors, and thus they ſtabliſh the Pope's primacy. The prelates ſay nay, but unto Peter an apoſtle, that is, a chief officer of the church, and ſo to us, as chief officers ſucceeding him. Others affirm it to belong to Peter here as a miniſter of the word and ſacraments, and the like, and ſo conſequently to all other miniſters of the goſpel equally, which ſucceed Peter in thoſe and the like adminiſtrations. But we, for our parts, do believe and profeſs that this promiſe is not made to Peter in any of theſe reſpects, nor to any office, order, eſtate, dignity or degree in the church or world, but to the confeſſion of faith, which Peter made by way of anſwer to Chriſt's queſtion; *Thou art Chriſt, the ſon of the living God.* To this Chriſt replies, *Bleſſed art thou; thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; I will give unto thee the keys*, &c. So that the building of the church is upon the rock of Peter's confeſſion, that is, Chriſt whom he confeſſed. This faith is the foundation

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of the church; against this faith the gates of hell shall not prevail; this faith hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven; what this faith shall loose or bind on earth, is bound and looſed in heaven. Thus the Proteſtant divines, when they deal againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, do generally expound this ſcripture. Now it followeth, that whatſoever perſon hath received the ſame *precious faith* with Peter, as all the faithful have, 2 Pet. i. 1, that perſon hath a part in this gift of Chriſt. Whoſoever doth confeſs, publiſh, manifeſt or make known Jeſus to be the Chriſt, the ſon of the living God, and Saviour of the world, that perſon opens heaven's gates, looſeth ſin, and partakes with Peter in the uſe of the keys; and hereupon it followeth neceſſarily, that one faithful man, yea, or woman either, may as truly and effectually looſe and bind, both in heaven and earth, as all the miniſters in the world." p. 149, 150.

"But here I know the lordly clergy, like the bulls of Baſhan, will roar loud upon me, as ſpeaking things intolerably derogatory to the dignity of prieſthood; and it may be ſome others alſo, either through ignorance or ſuperſtition, will take offence at this ſpeech, as confounding all things; but there is no ſuch cauſe of exception. For howſoever the keys be one and the ſame in nature and efficacy, in what faithful man or mens hands ſoever, as not depending either upon the number or excellency of any perſons, but upon Chriſt alone; yet is it ever to be remembered, that the order and manner of uſing them is very different.

"The keys in doctrine may be turned as well upon them which are without the church, as upon them which are within, and their ſins either looſed or bound, Matt. xxviii. 19; but in diſcipline not ſo, but only upon them which are within, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. Again, the apoſtles by their office had

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these keys to use in all churches, yea, in all nations upon earth: Ordinary elders for their particular flocks, Act. xiv. 23, and xx. 28. Lastly, there is an use of the keys publicly to be had, and an use privately; an use of them by one person severally, and an use of them by the whole church jointly, and together; an use of them ministerially, or in office, and an use of them out of office: But the power of the gospel, which is the keys, is still one and the same, notwithstanding the diverse manner of using it." p. 151.

"If the keys of the kingdom of heaven be appropriated unto the officers, then can there be no forgiveness of sins, nor salvation, without officers; for there is no entrance into heaven but by the door. Without the key the door cannot be opened: So then belike, if either there be no officers in the church (as it may easily come to pass in some extreme plague or persecution) and must needs be in the churches of Christ in our days, either in their first planting, or first calling out of Babylon; for Antichrist's mass-priesthood is not essentially Christ's true ministry, or if the officers *take away the key of knowledge*, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, and will *neither enter themselves nor suffer them that would*; then must the miserable multitude be content to be shut out and perish eternally, for ought is known to the contrary. To admonish the officers of their sin, were *against common sense, that the father should be subject to his children, the work domineer over the workman, the seedsman be ordered by the corn*, and to excommunicate and call new, were intolerable usurpation of the keys; *this power is given to the chief officers only*, p. 94, 95, and to separate from them is as intolerable, p. 88 *. Miserable were the Lord's people, if

* These are quotations from Bernard.

if these things were so; but the truth is, they are miserable guides that so teach.

"THEY which may forgive sins and sinners, save souls, gain and turn men unto the Lord, to them are the keys of the kingdom given, by which they open the door unto such as they thus forgive, gain and save: But all these things, such as are not ministers may do, as these scriptures, which I intreat the godly reader to consider, do most clearly manifest, Matt. xviii. 15. 2 Cor. v. 7—10. Act. viii. 1, 4. with xi. 19—21. Jam. v. 19, 20. 1 Pet. iii. 1. Jude xxii. 23. Erroneous, therefore, and derogatory is it to the nature of the gospel, and free donation of Christ, thus to impropriate and engross the keys, which lie common to all christians in their place and order." p. 152, 153.

CONCERNING *ordination* Mr. Robinson observes, "That the officers of the church are the *servants* of the church; and their *office* a *service of the Lord, and of his church*, Matt. x. 25, 26, 27. 2 Cor. iv. 5. Rom. xv. 31. Whereupon it followeth necessarily, that what power the officers have, the body of the church hath first." p. 411. "To these things I add, that what power any of the Pope's clergy receive from him, the same he takes from them, and deprives them of, where they withdraw their obedience, or separate from that church. For our better proceeding, I will first consider what ordination is; and secondly how far the brethren may go by the scriptures, and the necessary consequences drawn from them, in this and the like cases, in the first planting of churches, or in reducing of them into order, in or after some general confusion. The prelates, and those which level by their line, highly advance ordination far above the administration of the word, sacrament and prayer; making it, and

the power of excommunication, the two incommunicable prerogatives of a Bishop above an ordinary minister. But surely herein these chief ministers do not succeed the chief ministers, the apostles, except as darkness succeeds light, and Antichrist's confusion Christ's order. Where the apostles were sent out by Christ, there was no mention of ordination; their charge was, *go teach all nations, and baptize them*; and that the apostles accounted preaching their principal work, and after it baptism and prayer, the scriptures manifest, Act. vi. 4, 1 Cor. i. 17." p. 412.

"ORDINATION doth depend upon the people's lawful election, as an effect upon the cause, by virtue of which it is justly administred, and may be thus described, or considered of us; as the admission of or putting into possession a person lawfully elected into a true office of ministry.—The right unto their office they have by election, the possession by ordination, with the ceremony of imposition of hands. The apostle Peter, advertising the *disciples or brethren* that one (fitted as there noted) was in the room of Judas to be made a witness, with the eleven apostles, of the resurrection of Christ, when two were by *them presented*, did with the rest present them two and none other *to the Lord*, that he, by the immediate direction of the *lot*, might shew whether of them two he had chosen, Act. i.—In like manner *the twelve* being to institute the office of deaconry in the church at Jerusalem, called the *multitude of the disciples together*, and informed them what manner of persons they were to choose; which choice being made by the brethren accordingly, and they so chosen presented to the apostles, they forthwith ordained them, by virtue of the election made by the brethren. To these add, that the apostles, Paul

Paul and Barnabas (being thereunto called by the holy ghost) did pass from church to church, and from place to place, and in every church where they came did ordain them elders by the *people's election*, signified by their *lifting up of hands*, as the word is, and as the use was in popular elections, throughout those countries, Act. xiii. 2, and xiv. 23.—The judgment and plea (when they deal with us) of the most forward men in the land, in this case, I may not omit; which is, that they renounce and disclaim their ordination by the prelates, and hold their ministry by the people's acceptation. Now if the acceptation of a mixt company, under the prelates government (as is the best parish assembly in the kingdom) whereof the greatest part have by the revealed will of God no right to the covenant, ministry, or other holy things, be sufficient to make a minister, then much more the acceptation of the people with us, being all of them jointly, and every one of them severally, by the mercy of God, capable of the Lord's ordinances*. I acknowledge

* Mr. Robinson gives us a number of the Protestant's testimonies upon this point, of which take the following:

"Gall. i. 8, If any teach another gospel, let him be "*anathema*. Only the assembly where the true doctrine sound-"eth is the *church*: In it is the ministry of the gospel: In it "are *the* keys of *the* kingdom of heaven. Wherefore in that "very assembly there is the right of calling and ordaining the "ministers of the gospel, because we must fly the enemies of "the gospel, as anathema. And besides, if we should desire "of them the ceremony of ordination, they would not give it, "except we would bind ourselves to renounce the true doctrine, "and other wicked bonds would they cast upon us. It is the "confusion of order, to seek shepherds from the wolves. This "hath ever been the right of the true church, to choose and "call out of her own assembly fit ministers of the gospel."

Philip Melancton.

"In the planting of churches anew, when men are wanting, "which should preach the gospel, a woman may perform that at the "first;

ledge that where there are already lawful officers in a church, by and to which others are called, there the former, upon that election, are to ordain and appoint the latter. The officers, being the ministers of the church, are to execute the determinations of the church under the Lord —Ordination is properly the execution of election." p. 413—15.

"THE apostle Paul writes to the churches of Galatia to reject, as *accursed*, such ministers whomsoever as should preach otherwise than they had already *received*: And the same apostle writes to the church of Colosse, to admonish Archippus to take heed to his ministry. So John also, to the church of Ephesus, commendeth it for *examining*, and so consequently for *silencing*, such as pretended themselves apostles, and were not: As also to the church of Thiatyra, reproving for suffering unsilenced the false prophetess Jezebel. Now as these things did first and principally concern the officers, who were in these and all other things of the same nature to go before and govern the people; so are the people also in their places interested in the same business and charge: Neither could the officers sin (if they should have been corrupt or negligent) discharge the people

"first; but so as when she hath taught any company, that some "one man of the faithful be ordained, which may afterwards "minister the sacraments, teach, and do the pastor's duty faith-"fully." *Peter Martyr*.

"Tilenus being demanded of the *Earl of Lavall*, from whom "Calvin had his calling? answered, From the church of Gene-"va, and from Farrell, his predecessor; who also had his from "the people of Geneva; who had right and authority to insti-"tute and depose ministers: Which thing he also confirms by "Cyprian, Epist. xiv." p. 421, 422.

These were the sentiments of those who knew how they came out of Rome, and upon what grounds the Protestant churches were formed; but how differently are things represented by aspiring men at this day?

people of their duty in the things which concerned them; but they were bound notwithſtanding to ſee the commandments of the apoſtles, and of the Lord Jeſus by them, executed accordingly. And if the people be in caſes, and when their officers fail, thus ſolemnly to examine, admoniſh, ſilence, and ſuppreſs their teachers, being faulty and unſound; then are they alſo by proportion, where officers fail, to elect, appoint, ſet up and over themſelves ſuch fit perſons as the Lord affordeth them, for their furtherance of faith and ſalvation." p. 417, 418.

AGAINST this doctrine many objections have been raiſed; the chief of which are about the people's inſtability, and its tendency to confuſion. In anſwer to which, Mr. Robinſon reminds his opponant, that though his ignorant people had readily changed their religion with their Prince, even back to Popery in Mary's days; yet, "The prelates and prieſts were as unſtable as the reſt, yea their ringleaders. But, ſays he, for experience in this our popularity, as you term it, I tell you, that if ever I ſaw the beauty of Sion, and the glory of the Lord filling his tabernacle, it hath been in the manifeſtation of the divers graces of God in the church, in that heavenly harmony, and comely order, wherein by the grace of God we are ſet and walk; wherein, if your eyes had but ſeen the brethren's ſober and modeſt carriage one towards another, their humble and willing ſubmiſſion unto their guides in the Lord, their tender compaſſion towards the weak, their fervent zeal againſt ſcandalous offenders, and their long-ſuffering towards all, you would, I am perſuaded, change your mind, and be compelled to take up your *parable*, and *bleſs* where you purpoſed to *curſe*." p. 212. "For mine own part, knowing mine own infirmities, and that I am ſubject

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to ſin, yea and to frowardneſs in ſin, as much as the brethren are; if by mine office I ſhould be deprived of the remedy which they enjoy, that bleſſed ordinance of the churches cenſures, I ſhould think mine office accurſed, and myſelf by it, as fruſtrating and diſappointing me of that main end for which the ſervants of Chriſt ought to join themſelves unto the church of Chriſt, furniſhed with his power for their reformation. As, on the contrary, God is my record, how, in the very writing of theſe things, my ſoul is filled with ſpiritual joy, that I am under this eaſy yoke of Chriſt, the cenſures of the church, and how much I am comforted in this conſideration, againſt my vile and corrupt nature, which, notwithſtanding, I am perſuaded the Lord will never ſo far ſuffer to rebel, as that it ſhall not be tamed and ſubdued by this ſtrong hand of God, without which it might every day and hour ſo hazard my ſalvation. That doctrine which advanceth an inferior and meaner ſtate in the church, above that which is ſuperior and the chief, that is unſound, and indeed ſerving in a degree for the *exaltation of that man of ſin above all that is called God.* But the doctrine of ſetting the elders without and above the judgments and cenſures of the church, doth advance an inferior above a ſuperior. The point I thus manifeſt:

"THE order of kings is the higheſt order or eſtate in the church. But the order of *ſaints* is the order of *kings*, and we are kings as we are ſaints, not as we are officers. As the Lord Jeſus did prove againſt the Scribes and Phariſees, that the temple was greater than the gold, becauſe it ſanctified the gold, and that the altar was greater than the offering, becauſe it ſanctified the offering, ſo by proportion the condition of a ſaint, which ſanctifieth the condition of an officer, is more excellent than it is.

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To our saintship, and as we have faith, is promised the forgiveness of sins, the favour of God, and life eternal, but not to our office, or in respect of it. The estate of a saint is most happy and blessed, though the person never so much as come near an office; but on the contrary, an officer, if he be not also and FIRST a saint, is a most wretched and accursed creature." p. 216, 217.

THE reader will not wonder that those who were for national churches, and unconverted ministers, discovered a strong prejudice against such writings as these; but how well do they agree with the apostles doctrine? 1 Cor. xii. 31, and xiii. 1—3, Gal. i.

OF REFORMATION, Mr. Robinson says to his opponent, "You speak much of the reformation of your church after Popery. There was indeed a great reformation of things in your church, but very little of the church, to speak truly and properly. The people are the church; and to make a reformed church, there must be first a reformed people; and so they should have been with you, by the *preaching of repentance from dead works, and faith in Christ*; that the people, as the Lord should have vouchsafed grace, being first fitted for, and made capable of, the sacraments, and other ordinances, might afterwards have communicated in the pure use of them; for want of which, instead of a pure use, there hath been, and is at this day, a most prophane abuse of them, to the great dishonor of Christ and his gospel, and to the hardening of thousands in their impenitency. Others also endeavouring yet a further reformation, have sued and do sue to Kings, and Queens, and Parliaments, for the rooting out of the prelacy, and with it, of such other evil fruits as grow from that bitter root; and on the contrary, to

have the ministry, government and discipline of Christ set over the parishes as they stand; the first fruit of which reformation, if it were obtained, would be the prophanation of the more of God's ordinances upon such, as to whom they appertained not; and so the further provocation of his Majesty unto anger against all such as so practised, or consented thereunto. Is it not strange that men, in the reforming of a church, should almost, or altogether, forget the church, which is the people, or that they should labour to crown Christ a King over a people, whose prophet he hath not first been? Or to set him to rule by his laws and officers, over the professed subjects of Antichrist and the devil! Is it possible that ever they should submit to the discipline of Christ, which have not first been prepared, in some measure, by his holy doctrine, and taught with meekness to stoop unto his yoke?" p. 300, 301.

A MAIN plea for such confusion, both then and now, was and is drawn from the parable of the *tares*: But, says Mr. Robinson, "Since the Lord Jesus, who best knew his own meaning, calls the *field the world*, and makes *the harvest*, which is the end of the field, the *end of the world*, and not of the church, why should we admit of any other interpretation? Neither is it like that Christ would in the expounding of one parable speak another, as he should have done, if, in calling the field the world, he had meant the church. As God then in the beginning made man good, and placed him in the field of the world, there to grow, where by the envy of the serpent he was soon corrupted, so ever since hath the seed of the serpent, stirred up by their father the devil, snarled at the heal of the woman's seed, and like noisome tares vexed and pestered the

the good and holy ſeed; which though the children of God both ſee and feel to their pain, yet muſt they not therefore, forgetting *what ſpirit they are of*, preſently call for *fire from heaven*, nor prevent the Lord's hand, but wait his leiſure, either for the converting of theſe tares into wheat, which in many is daily ſeen, and then how great pity had it been they ſhould ſo untimely have been plucked up? Or for their final perdition in the day of the Lord, when the church ſhall be no more offended by them. And that the Lord Jeſus no way ſpeaks of the toleration of prophane perſons in the church, doth appear by theſe reaſons:

"1. BECAUSE he doth not contradict himſelf, by forbidding the uſe of the keys in one place, which in another he hath turned upon impenitent offenders, Matt. xviii. 2. In the excommunication of ſinners apparently obſtinate, with due circumſpection, and in the ſpirit of wiſdom, meekneſs, and long-ſuffering, with ſuch other general chriſtian virtues, as with which all our ſpecial ſacrifices ought to be ſeaſoned, what danger can there be of any ſuch diſorder, as the plucking up of the wheat with the tares, which the huſbandman feareth? 3. The Lord Jeſus ſpeaks of the utter ruinating and deſtruction of the tares—*the plucking them up by the roots*:—But excommunication rightly adminiſtred is not for the ruin and deſtruction of any, but for the ſalvation of the party thereby humbled, 1 Cor. v. 5.—The Lord's field is ſown only with *good ſeed*—his church *ſaints beloved of God*, all and every one of them, though by the malice of Satan, and negligence of ſuch as ſhould keep this field, vineyard and houſe of God, adulterated ſeed, and abominable perſons, may be foiſted in, yea and ſuffered alſo." p. 119, 120. "I deny not but, as it hath been ſaid of old,

there are many *sheep without*, and many *wolves within*; many of the visible church which are not of the invisible church, and many of the invisible church which never come into the visible church: But this, say I, is not according to the revealed will of God in his word; but by men's default and sin. It is their sin of ignorance, or infirmity, which, being of the invisible church, do not, if possibly they can, join themselves unto the visible church, there to partake in the visible ordinances. It is their sin of hypocrisy and presumption, which not being of the invisible church, do adjoin themselves to the visible church, there to prophane the Lord's covenant and ordinances, to which they have no right. For how can they, being wicked and unholy, challenge the Lord to be their God, that is, all happiness and goodness unto them, which is one part of the covenant; or profess themselves to be his people, which is another part, when the devil and their lusts is their God?" p. 313, 314.

Of the Difference between Civil and Ecclesiastical Government.

"1. CIVIL officers are called in the word of God *princes, heads, captains, judges, magistrates, nobles, lords, kings, them in authority, principalities and powers*, yea in their respect *Gods*; and according to their names so are their offices: But on the contrary, ecclesiastical officers are not capable of these, or the like titles, which can neither be given without flattery unto them, nor received by them without arrogancy: Neither is their office an office of lordship, sovereignty or authority, but of *labour and service*, and so they, the *labourers* and *servants* of the church, as of God, 2 Cor. iv. 5, 1 Tim. iii. 1.

"2. MAGISTRATES may publish and execute their own laws in their own names, Ezra i. 1, &c. Esther

Esther viii. 8, Matt. xx. 25. But ministers are only interpreters of the laws of God, and must look for no further respect at the hands of any to the things they speak, than as they manifest the same to be the *commandments of the Lord*, 1 Cor. xiv. 37.

"3. CIVIL administrations, and their forms of government, may be and oft times are *altered*, for the avoiding of inconveniences, according to the circumstances of time, place and persons, Exod. xviii. 13, &c. But the church is a *kingdom which cannot be shaken*, Heb. xii. 28, wherein may be no innovation in office, or form of administration, from that which Christ hath left, for any inconveniency whatsoever.

"4. CIVIL magistrates have authority by their offices to judge offenders, upon whom also they may execute bodily vengeance, using their people as their servants and ministers for the same purpose; but in the church the officers are the ministers of the people, whose service the people is to use for the administring of the judgments of the church, and of God first, against the obstinate, which is the utmost execution the church can perform.—But here it will be demanded of me, if the elders be not set over the church for her guidance and government? Yes certainly, as the physician is set over the body, for his skill and faithfulness, to minister unto it, to whom the patient, though his lord and master, is to submit; the lawyer over his cause, to attend unto it; the steward over his family, even his wife and children, to make provision for them: Yea, the watchman over the whole city, for the safe keeping thereof. Such, and none other, is the elder's or Bishop's government." p. 135—137.

BUT, says Mr. Robinson, "What sway, authority hath in the church of England, appeareth in the laws

laws of the land, which make the government of the church ALTERABLE at the magiſtrate's pleaſure; and ſo the clergy, in their ſubmiſſion to King Henry VIII. do derive, as they pretend, their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction *from him*, and ſo execute it. Indeed many of the late Biſhops and their proctors, ſeeing how monſtrous the miniſtration is of DIVINE things, by an *human* authority and calling; and growing bold upon the preſent diſpoſition of the magiſtrate, have diſclaimed that former title, and do profeſſedly hold their eccleſiaſtical power and juriſdiction *de jure divino*, and ſo conſequently by God's word unalterable: Of whom I would demand this one queſtion:

"WHAT if the King ſhould diſcharge and expel the preſent eccleſiaſtical government, and plant inſtead of it the preſbytery or elderſhip, would they ſubmit unto the government of the elders, yea or no? If yea, then were they traitors to the Lord Jeſus, ſubmitting to a government overthrowing his government, as doth the Preſbyterian government that which is Epiſcopal: If no, then how could they free themſelves from ſuch imputations of diſloyalty to Princes, and diſturbance of ſtates, as wherewith they load us and others oppoſing them? But to the queſtion itſelf: "As the kingdom of Chriſt is *not of this world*, but ſpiritual, and he a ſpiritual King, John xviii. 36, ſo muſt the government of this ſpiritual kingdom under this ſpiritual King needs be ſpiritual, and all the laws of it. And as Chriſt Jeſus hath, by the merits of his prieſthood, redeemed as well the body as the ſoul, 1 Cor. vi. 20; ſo is he alſo by the ſceptre of his kingdom to rule and reign over both: Unto which chriſtian magiſtrates, as well as meaner perſons, ought to ſubmit themſelves, and the more chriſtian they are, the

more

more meekly to take the yoke of Christ upon them, and the greater authority they have, the more effectually to advance his sceptre over themselves and their people, by all good means. Neither can there be any reason given why the merits of saints may not as well be mingled with the merits of Christ, for the saving of the church, as the laws of men with his laws, for the ruling and guiding of it. He is as absolute and entire a King as he is a priest, and his people must be as careful to preserve the dignity of the one, as to enjoy the benefit of the other." p. 38.

Of Ministers Maintenance.

Mr. Bernard charged his opponents with error, in holding that ministers ought not to live of *tithes*, but of the people's *voluntary contribution*; and says, *This is against the wisdom of God, who allowed a settled maintenance under the law; and there is nothing against it in the gospel.* But in reply Mr. Robinson says, "As the Lord appointed under the law a settled maintenance by tithes and offerings, so did he a settled land of Canaan, which was holy, and a sacrament; so did he also appoint that the Levites be maintained there, *should have no part nor inheritance with the rest of the Israelites their brethren.* And hath God's wisdom so appointed now? If it had, I fear many would not rest in it, so wise are they for their bellies. And where you add, that there is nothing in the gospel against this ordinance in the law, the author to the Hebrews might have taught you, that the law is abolished by the gospel, in the sense we speak of; and the old testament by the new, in respect of ordinances, whereof this was one. If it be said that tithes were in use and given by Abraham to Melchizedech, priest of the most high God, before the law or old testament was given by

by Moses, I answer, that so was circumcision ministred and sacrifices offered before Moses; which notwithstanding were parts of the old testament, and assumed by Moses into the body of it, and so are abolished by the new. To conclude this point, since tithes and offerings were appurtenances unto the priesthood, and that the *priesthood*, both of Melchizedech and Levi, are abolished in Christ, as the shadow in the substance; and that the *Lord hath ordained that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel*; we willingly leave unto you both your priestly order and maintenance, contenting ourselves with the people's voluntary contribution, whether it be less or more, as the blessing of God upon our labour, the fruit of our ministry, and declaration of their love and duty." p. 439, 440.

In all these passages which begin and end with marks of quotation, I have recited Mr. Robinson's own expressions, without knowingly adding a single word. The spelling I have brought to the present times, but the language is entirely his; and it may be questioned whether any talked a purer one in that day or not, if there does in this. About the time of his publishing this book, and some following years, "many came to his church at Leyden from "divers parts of England, so that they grew a "great congregation; even so as to have three hun-"dred communicants*." And as the Arminian controversy caused great troubles in Holland, and especially at Leyden, their two divinity professors being divided, Episcopius appearing for, and Polydore against the Arminian tenets; Mr. Robinson, though he preached thrice a week, and went through much other labour, yet went constantly to hear them both, whereby he got well grounded in the controversy,

* Prince's Chronology—Plymouth Register.

controverſy, ſo that when Epiſcopius, about the year 1613, ſet forth ſundry Arminian *theſes* at Leyden, which he would defend againſt all oppoſers, Polydore inſiſted upon Mr. Robinſon's engaging againſt him, telling him, that "Such was the ability and expertneſs of the adverſary, that the truth is in danger to ſuffer, if he would not help them; is ſo importunate as at length he yields; and when the day comes, he ſo defends the truth, and foils the oppoſer, as he put him to an apparent *nonplus* in this great and public audience. The ſame he does a ſecond and a third time, upon the like occaſions, which as it cauſes many to give praiſe to God that the truth had ſo famous a victory; ſo it procures Mr. Robinſon much reſpect and honor from thoſe learned men and others*."

SEVERAL attempts were made to plant New-England from worldly motives, but they all proved abortive. In 1607 an hundred men were ſent over to Sagadahock, with furniture to lay the foundation of a great ſtate, and all lived through the winter but their preſident; yet the next year, "The "whole colony *breaks up*, and returns to England, "and brands the country as *over cold* and *not habi-* "*table by our nation*, and the adventurers give over "their deſign†." Other fruitleſs attempts were made for a while, and then were given over. "Sir "Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Maſon ſpent "twenty thouſand pounds each, in attempts for "ſettlement, and each of them thought it adviſeable "to give over their deſigns, and ſit down with the "loſs. Whether Britain would have had any colo- "nies in America at this day, if religion had not "been the grand inducement, is doubtful‡."

* Prince's Chronology, p. 36, 38. † Ibid. p. 21—25.
‡ Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 3.

THE people whose religious sentiments are described above, after long consideration, many earnest requests to heaven for direction and help, and well consulting matters with English friends, at last determined to come over to this wilderness; and divine providence made them the honored instruments of laying the foundation of this now flourishing country. In December, 1617, Mr. Robinson and Elder Brewster wrote to the Council for Virginia, who then had the management of these affairs, wherein they say, "For your encouragement we will not forbear "to mention these inducements. 1. We verily "believe and trust the Lord is with us; to whom "and whose service we have given ourselves in many "trials, and that he will graciously prosper our en-"deavours according to the simplicity of our hearts. "2. We are well weaned from the delicate milk "of our mother country, and inured to the diffi-"culties of a strange land. 3. The people are, for "the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think "we may safely say, as any company of people in "the world. 4. We are knit together as a body, in "a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the "Lord; of the violation whereof we make great "conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold our-"selves strictly tied to all care of each other's good, "and of the whole. 5. It is not with us as with "other men; whom small things can discourage, "or small discouragements cause to wish ourselves "at home again *."

HEREIN they were not mistaken, as will soon appear; for though contentions among the said Council, and other things, obstructed their proceeding till 1620, and they could not then obtain any royal promise of liberty of conscience in this country, only

* Prince, p. 51, 52.

only that the King would *connive* at them, and not moleſt them if they carried it peaceably, "Yet, caſt-"ing themſelves on the care of providence, they "reſolve to venture." But as they could not obtain ſhipping and proviſion enough to carry half their company the firſt year, Mr. Robinſon was obliged to tarry in Holland with the larger part, while Mr. William Brewſter, their ruling elder, came over with the other. Moſt of their brethren came with them from Leyden to Delph-Haven, where they ſpent the night in friendly, entertaining and chriſtian converſe. And July 22, the wind being fair, they go aboard, their friends attending them; when "Mr. "Robinſon falling down on his knees, and they all "with him, he with watry cheeks commends them "with moſt fervent prayer to God; and then with "mutual embraces, and many tears, they take their "leaves, and with a proſperous gale come to South-"ampton," in England. July 27, 1620, Mr. Robinſon wrote a letter, which was received and read to the company at that place*; which I think worthy of a place here. The letter is as follows:

"*Loving chriſtian Friends*,

"I DO heartily and in the Lord ſalute you, as being thoſe with whom I am preſent in my beſt affections, and moſt earneſt longing after you, though I be conſtrained for a while to be bodily abſent from you: I ſay conſtrained; God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwiſe, I would have born my part with you in the firſt brunt, were I not by ſtrong neceſſity held back for the preſent. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myſelf, with great pain (and as natural bonds ſet aſide) having my better part with you; and although I doubt not, but in your godly wiſdoms you both

* Prince, p. 70, 71.

foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

"And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to both a narrow search and careful reformation in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us to be swallowed up in one danger or other; whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that, watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. *Wo be to the world for offences*, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, *that offences come*, yet *wo unto the man*, or woman either, *by whom the offence cometh*, saith Christ, Matt. xviii. 7. And if offences in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix. 15, how much more in things simply evil,

in

in which neither the honor of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves, by the grace of God, from giving offences, except withal we be armed against the taking of them, when they are given by others; for how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to *cover a multitude of offences?* as the scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or duly to weigh human frailties; or, lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Matt. vii. 1—3; as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this *touchy humour.* But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way; as first, there are many of you strangers to the persons, so to the infirmities of one another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you expected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence*, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently watch it with *brotherly forbearance.* And if taking offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be

* For several years their affairs were managed in one common stock, but they afterward found the way of distinct property to be much better.

be ſo carefully to be avoided; how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himſelf? Which yet we certainly do, ſo oft as we do murmur at his providences in our croſſes, or bear impatiently ſuch afflictions wherewith he is pleaſed to viſit us. Store up therefore patience againſt the evil day; without which we take offence at the Lord himſelf in his juſt works. A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, viz. that with your common employments, you join common affections, truly bent upon the general good, avoiding as a deadly plague of *your* both common and ſpecial comforts, all retiredneſs of mind for proper advantage; and all ſingularly affected every manner of way, let every man repreſs in himſelf, and the whole body in each perſon, as ſo many rebels againſt the common good, all *private reſpects of men's ſelves*, not ſorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new houſe ſhaken with any violence, before it be well ſettled, and the parts firmly knit; ſo be you, I beſeech you my brethren, much more careful that the houſe of God, which you are and are to be, be ſhàken with unneceſſary novelties, or other oppoſitions, at the firſt ſettling thereof.

"LASTLY, whereas you are to become a body politic, uſing amongſt yourſelves civil government, and are not furniſhed with ſpecial eminency above the reſt, to be choſen by you into office of government, let your wiſdom and godlineſs appear, not only in chooſing ſuch perſons as do *entirely* love, and will promote the common good; but alſo in *yielding* unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful adminiſtrations, not beholding in them the ordinarineſs of their perſons, but God's ordinance for *your good*; not being like the fooliſh multitude, who

who more honor the *gay coat*, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of the Lord; but you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magiſtrate beareth, is honorable, in how mean perſon ſoever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conſcionably to perform, becauſe you are, at leaſt for the preſent, to have them for your ordinary governors, which yourſelves ſhall make choice of for that work. Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of thoſe before mentioned, in more words; but I will not ſo far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedleſs of theſe things, there being alſo divers amongſt you ſo well able both to admoniſh themſelves and others of what concerneth them. Theſe few things therefore, and the ſame in few words, I do earneſtly commend to your care and conſcience, joining therein with my daily inceſſant prayers unto the Lord, that he who has made the heavens and the earth, and ſea, and all rivers of water, and whoſe providence is over all his works, eſpecially over all his dear children for good, would ſo guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his ſpirit, ſo outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you, and we alſo for and with you, may have after matter of praiſing his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you truſt, and in whom I reſt, an unfeigned well-wiſher to your happy ſucceſs in this hopeful voyage, JOHN ROBINSON *."

THIS excellent letter properly deſcribes the ſentiments, temper and rules of conduct of the chief founders of New-England; and may the ſame be duly regarded to their lateſt poſterity!

BY

* Morton, p. 7—10.

By Dutch intrigues and other's ill conduct they were hindered long, and at last forced to come with only one ship instead of two, which sailed from Plymouth, in England, on September 6, and arrived in Cape-Cod harbour November 11, and at the place which they named Plymouth, in December, 1620.

And now compare this company with that of Sagadahock. That company, who came upon worldly designs, had an hundred men; this religious society consisted of but one hundred and one souls, men, women, and children; the one arrived at the place designed for settlement in August, the other not till winter had set in: The worldly company only buried their president, and all returned the next year to their native country again; whereas this religious people, in about five months time, buried their Governor and full half their number, and yet with fortitude and patience they kept their station; yea, though they were afterwards deserted and abused by some who had engaged to help them. We cannot now form an adequate idea of what those pious planters endured, to prepare the way for what we at this day enjoy. In the year 1623 they say, "By the time our corn is planted, our victuals "are spent; not knowing at night where to have "a bit in the morning, and have neither bread "nor corn for three or four months together; "yet bear our wants with chearfulness, and rest on "providence*."

It pleased God further to try their faith, by sending a *great drought and heat* from the third week in May till the middle of July, which caused their corn to wither as if it were *truly dead*; and a ship that they had long expected did not arrive, but they thought they

* Prince, p. 135.

they saw signs of its being wrecked on the coast. "The most courageous are now discouraged. "Upon this the public authority set apart a solemn "day of humiliation and prayer, to seek the Lord "in this distress, who was pleased to give speedy "answer, to our own and the Indians admiration; "for though in the former part of the day it was "very clear and hot, without a sign of rain, yet "before the exercise is over the clouds gather, and "next morning distil such soft and gentle showers "as give cause of joy and praise to God." Their corn recovers, and soon after arrives the ship they expected, bringing over about sixty more of their friends, and a letter from others, wherein they say to those here, "Let it not be grievous to you, "that you have been instruments to break the ice "for others who come after with less difficulty: "The honor shall be yours to the world's end. We "bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty "affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of "hundreds more who never saw your faces, who "doubtless pray for your safety as their own*." Their harvest was plentiful; and above twenty years after Governor Bradford says, "Nor has "there been any general want of food among us "since to this day†."

Mr. Robinson and many of his people were detained in Holland, till, after about a week's illness, he died there on March 1, 1625, aged near 50 years. Governor Bradford says, "His and "our enemies had been continually plotting how "they might hinder his coming hither, but the "Lord has appointed him a better place." Mr. Prince says, "His son Isaac came over to Plymouth

* Prince, p. 137—140. † Ibid. p. 141.

" colony, lived to above 90 years of age, a vene-
" rable man, whom I have often seen, and has
" left male posterity in the county of Barnstable *."

The cause why Mr. Robinson and the remaining part of his church were kept back so long, was their inability to transport themselves, and several merchants who had engaged in the affair deserted them, pursuing separate schemes of their own, and sent over one company of sixty stout men, who began a plantation at Weymouth; but soon reduced themselves to such straits that several perished, and the rest were forced to be beholden to the charity of Plymouth people, to keep them alive till they could get back whence they came. Another worldly scheme was begun at Braintree, which also proved abortive, while our christian fathers at Plymouth were enabled to keep their station. And some of the adventurers wrote to them on December 18, 1624, and said, " We are still persuaded you are
" the people that must make a plantation in those
" remote places, when all others fail †." They were long destitute of a pastor, and yet constantly maintained divine worship among them, of which a noted author gives this account; says he,

" To satisfy the reader, how a christian church
" could, in any tolerable measure, carry on the pub-
" lic worship of God without suitable officers, as
" was the case of those people of Plymouth, we
" must know that those were a serious and religious
" people, that knew their own principles—knew
" and were resolved on the way of their worship,
" but in many years could not prevail with any to
" come over to them, and undertake the office of a
" pastor amongst them, at least none in whom they
" could

* Prince, p. 159, 160. † Ibid. p. 155.

"could with full satisfaction acquiesce, and there-
"fore in the mean while they were peaceably and
"prudently managed by the wisdom of Mr.
"Brewster, a grave and serious person—ruling
"elder among them. Besides also several of his
"people were well gifted, and did spend part of
"the Lord's day in their wonted prophesying, to
"which they had been accustomed by Mr. Robin-
"son. Those gifts while they lasted made the
"burthen of the other defect more easily born*."

THE names of those first planters were, John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, successive Governors; William Brewster, elder; Captain Miles Standish, Robert Cushman, John Alden, Samuel Fuller, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, and others, each of whom have posterity remaining among us to this day. "I am not preserving from "oblivion the names of heroes, whose chief merit "is the overthrow of cities, provinces and empires; "but the names of the founders of a flourishing town "and colony, if not of the whole British empire in "America†." Their *deep poverty, and the abundance of their joy, abounded unto the riches of their liberality*, so as not only to enable them to relieve many in distress, but also to launch out so as to help over about 35

* Hubbard Mr. Robinson says, "The disciples of Christ "did not then first receive power to teach when they were "possessed of their apostleship, but long before they were ad-"mitted into office, as did others also besides them, without "office, as well as they, Matt. x. 5, 6, 7, Luke x. 1—3, 9, 10." *Answer to Bernard*, p. 148. "That we call *prophesying*, I affirm "not to be so appropriated to the ministry, but that others "having received a gift thereunto, may and ought to stir up "the same, and to use it in the church, for *edification, exhortation* "*and comfort*, though not yet called into the office of the mini-"stry, Rom. xii. 6, 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11." p. 235.

† Massachusetts History, vol. 2, p. 462, 463.

families more of their friends from Leyden, who were transported hither in 1629, at the charge of their brethren here, which was chearfully born by them, though it amounted to above *five hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, besides supporting them after their arrival for 16 or 18 months, till they had a harvest of their own, which cost near as much more. "Mean while, says Governor Bradford, "God gives us peace and health, with contented "minds, and so succeeds our labours that we have "corn sufficient, and some to spare, with other pro-"visions: Nor had we ever any supply from "England but what we first brought with us*." The first horned cattle that they ever had here were a bull and three heifers, which Governor Winslow brought over to Plymouth in March, 1624.

About that time, "the fame of the plantation "at New-Plymouth being spread in all the western "parts of England, the Rev. Mr. White, a fa-"mous Puritan minister of Dorchester, excites se-"veral gentlemen there to make way for another "settlement in New-England†." This was the beginning of the Massachusetts colony; that year a few persons who gathered at Cape-Ann, that removed the next year, and began the town of Salem, to whom others resorted from time to time, till in the summer, 1628, Mr. John Endicot came over to govern them; and in 1629, Mr. Francis Higginson and Mr. Samuel Skelton, two Non-conformist ministers, came with many others, and formed and organized a church in that place. Upon which we may see Mr. Robinson's words verified; for these Puritans, who had blamed him for an entire separation from the national church, yet were no sooner settled on this side the Atlantic, than they cast off the prelates yoke

* Prince, p. 156, 201. † Ibid. p. 144.

yoke in ſuch a manner, that when John Brown and Samuel Brown, two of the "firſt patentees, men of "eſtates, and men of parts," attempted to ſet up Epiſcopal worſhip at Salem, Governor Endicot convented them before him, where they "accuſed "the miniſters as departing from the orders of the "church of England; that they were Separatiſts, "and would be Anabaptiſts, &c. but for themſelves "they would hold to the orders of the church of "England." Theſe ſpeeches and practices were judged by the Governor and Council to be ſuch as tended "to mutiny and faction, and the Governor "told them, *that New-England was no place for* "*ſuch as they*, and therefore ſent them back for "England, at the return of the ſhips, the ſame "year *."

By this and many other inſtances we may ſee, that the men who drew off from the national eſtabliſhment, as ſoon as they were convinced that truth called them to it, were not ſo ſevere againſt Diſſenters from themſelves, as they were who ſtayed till intereſt and civil power would favour the cauſe before they ſeparated.

In the year 1630, Governor Winthrop with about fifteen hundred people came over, and planted Charleſtown, Boſton, Dorcheſter, and Watertown, and ſoon formed churches in each town. Of theſe people Mr. Hubbard ſays, "Intending not "to write an apology, but an hiſtory of their prac-"tice, nothing ſhall here be interpoſed by way of "defence of their way, only to give a clear diſco-"very of the truth, as to matter of fact, both what "it was at firſt, and ſtill continues to be. Thoſe that "came over ſoon after Mr. Endicot, namely Mr. "Higginſon and Mr. Skelton, Anno. 1629, walked "ſomething

* Morton's Memorial, p. 84, 85.

" something in an untrodden path, therefore it is " the less to be wondered at, if they went in and " out; in some things complying too much, in some " too little, with those of the separation; and it " may be in some things not sufficiently attending " to the order of the gospel, as themselves thought " they understood afterwards. For in the begin- " ning of things they only accepted of one another " according to some *general profession* of the doc- " trine of the gospel, and the honest and good in- " tentions they had one towards another, and so by " some kind of covenant soon moulded themselves " into a church in every plantation where they took " up their abode*; until Mr. Cotton and Mr. " Hooker came over, which was in the year 1633, " who did clear up the order and method of " church government, according as they apprehend- " ed was most consonant to the word of God. " And such was the authority they, especially Mr. " Cotton, had in the hearts of the people, that " whatever

* The covenant of the first church in Boston was in these words:

" In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to " his holy will and divine ordinance, we whose names are " here underwritten, being by his most wise and good provi- " dence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of " Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves into one congre- " gation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ our head, in " such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and " sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously (as " in his most holy presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk " in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all " sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love " and respect each to other, so near as God shall give us grace.

JOHN WINTHROP,
THOMAS DUDLEY,
ISAAC JOHNSON,
JOHN WILSON." &c.

Mr. Foxcraft's Century Sermon at Boston.

" whatever he delivered in the pulpit was ſoon put " into an order of court, if of a civil, or ſet up as " a practice in the church, if of an eccleſiaſtical " concernment. After that time, the adminiſtra- " tion of all eccleſiaſtical matters was tyed up more " ſtrictly than before to the rules of that which is " ſince owned for the Congregational way.—The " principal points wherein they differ from others " may be reduced to theſe four heads:

" 1. THE ſubject matter of the church, ſaints by " calling: Such as have not only attained the " knowledge of the principles of religion, and free " from groſs and open ſcandal, but are willing, to- " gether with the profeſſion of their repentance " and faith in Chriſt, to declare their ſubjection to " him in his ordinances, which they account ought " to be done publicly before the Lord and his peo- " ple, by an open profeſſion of the doctrine of the " goſpel, and by a *perſonal relation of their ſpiritual* " *eſtate*, expreſſive of how they were brought to " the knowledge of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus; " and this is done either with their *viva voce*, or by " a rehearſal thereof by the elders in public before " the church aſſembly, they having beforehand " received private ſatisfaction, the perſons openly " teſtifying their aſſents thereunto, provided they " do not ſcandalize their profeſſion by an unchri- " ſtian converſation, in which caſe a profeſſion is " with them of ſmall account.

" 2. IN the conſtitutive form of a particular viſi- " ble church, which they account ought to be a re- " ſtipulation, or mutual covenanting to walk toge- " ther in their chriſtian communion, according to " the rules of the goſpel; and this they ſay is beſt " to be explicit, although they do not deny but " an implicit covenant may ſuffice to the being of " a true church.

" 3. IN

" 3. In the quantity or extensiveness of a par-
" ticular church, concerning which they hold that
" no church society, of gospel institution, ought to
" be of larger extent, or greater number, than may
" ordinarily meet together in one place, for the
" enjoyment of all the same numerical ordinances,
" and celebrating of all divine worship, nor ordi-
" narily fewer than may conveniently carry on
" church work.

" 4. That there is no jurisdiction, to which as
" such particular churches are or ought to be
" subject, be it placed in classes or synod, by way
" of authoritative censure, nor any church power,
" extrinsical to the said church, which they ought
" to have dependence upon any other sort of men
" for the exercise of.

" After this manner have their ecclesiastical
" affairs been carried on ever since the year 1633," that is, down to 1680, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his history.

Here let it be well observed and ever remembered, that these were the main points wherein they *differed from others*; and the reader is welcome to search through all their history from that day to this, and see if he can find that these principles, in themselves considered, ever produced any evil effects; but this people brought two other principles with them from their native country, in which they did *not differ* from others; which are, that *natural* birth, and the doings of men, can bring children into the *covenant of grace*; and, that it is right to enforce and support their own sentiments about religion with the *magistrate's sword*. And those, let them live in England, Scotland, Rome, or elsewhere, who reproach and condemn New-England for the evils which these two principles have

have produced, while they hold the *same things*, ought to consider that in so doing they will be found *inexcusable* before our GREAT JUDGE.

THE root of a compulsive uniformity was planted at a General Court in Boston, May 18, 1631, when it was "ordered and agreed, that for the time to "come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom "of this *body politic*, but such as are *members* of "some of the *churches* within the limits of the "same*." This test in after times had such influence, that he who "did not conform, was de-"prived of more civil privileges than a Non-con-"formist is deprived of by the test in England. "Both the one and the other must have occasioned "much formality and hypocrisy. The mysteries "of our holy religion have been prostituted to mere "secular views and advantages†."

IF in any instances this people carried their zeal to a greater severity than Episcopalians have often done, let it be remembered, that the latter hold a power in their church to *decree rites and ceremonies*, and so consequently a power to abate or alter the same as occasion suits; but the fathers of the Massachusetts held the scriptures to be their unalterable rule, and having formed a plan which they thought was truly scriptural, Captain Johnson in 1651 said, "To "them it seems unreasonable, and to savour too much "of hypocrisy, that any people should pray unto the "Lord for the speedy accomplishment of his word "in the overthrow of Antichrist, and in the mean "time become a patron to sinful opinions and "damnable errors that oppose the truths of Christ, "admit it be but in the bare permission of them‡." Hence it appears, that it was this erroneous notion

* Prince's Annals, p. 28, 29. † Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 431. ‡ Johnson's History, p. 206.

of using carnal weapons against what they looked upon false opinions, that ought to bear the blame and reproach of those persecutions, and not their particular religious denomination, nor any of their zeal to promote religion by gospel means and methods.

THAT they were not aware how unscripturally they had confounded church and state together, appears from many facts. They were so much concerned to keep them distinct, that in 1632 the church of Boston wrote to the elders and brethren of the churches of Plymouth, Salem, &c. for their advice in three questions; 1. Whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? 2. If not, then which should they lay down? 3. Whether there might be divers pastors in the same church? The first was agreed by all negatively; the other two doubtful*. In consequence of which Mr. Nowel resigned his office of ruling elder, to which he had been ordained in the church, to hold those of a magistrate and secretary in the state. Hubbard. On the other hand, Mr. John Doan, having been formerly chosen to the office of deacon in the church of Plymouth, at his and the church's request, he was freed from the office of assistant in the commonwealth†.

AGAIN our late Governor says, "I suppose there had been no instance of a marriage lawfully celebrated by a layman in England, when they left it. I believe there was no instance of marriage by a clergyman after they arrived, during their charter; but it was always done by a magistrate, or by persons specially appointed for that purpose. It is difficult to assign a reason for so sudden a change‡."

I hap-

* Prince's Annals, p. 64. † Ibid. p. 92.
‡ Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 144.

I happened to obſerve a paſſage in Mr. Robinſon which I ſuppoſe gives us the true reaſon of that great change. Mr. Bernard had charged the Separatiſts with an error, which he ſaid they had given neither reaſon nor ſcripture for, in holding that *miniſters may not celebrate marriage, nor bury the dead.* To which Mr. Robinſon anſwers,

" In our third petition to the King, and the " fourth branch of the ſixth propoſition, there " are almoſt twenty ſeveral ſcriptures, and " nine diſtinct reaſons grounded upon them, to " prove, that the celebration of marriage, and bu- " rial of the dead, are not *eccleſiaſtical* actions, apper- " taining to the *miniſtry*, but *civil*, and ſo to be " performed. The apoſtle teſtifieth that the *ſcrip-* " *tures*, being divinely inſpired, do make *perfect*, *and* " *fully furniſhed*, the man of God, or miniſter, to " *every good work* of his calling. Now I ſuppoſe " Mr. B. will not be ſo ill adviſed, as to go about " to prove that the celebration of marriage, and " burial of the dead, are duties preſcribed by the " Lord Jeſus to be done in the paſtor's office, or " that the ſcriptures lay this furniture upon the " man of God for the proper works of his office. " They are then other ſpiritual lords than the Lord " Chriſt, that preſcribe theſe duties to be done by " their men, furniſhed by other ſcriptures than the " divine ſcriptures, the Biſhop's ſcriptures, their " canons and conſtitutions; whereby they are " furniſhed indeed with ring, ſervice-book, and " other prieſtly impiements for the buſineſs*."

This I ſuppoſe accounts for that change in our father's conduct then; though it is likely we are agreed in general now, that as it was an error of

* Juſtification of Separation, p. 438.

Popery to call marriage a ſacrament, and to limit its adminiſtration to the clergy; ſo on the other hand that it was a miſtake in thoſe fathers to think that the civil ſtate might not as well appoint miniſters to celebrate marriages as any other perſons.

THESE and many other things prove that thoſe fathers were earneſtly concerned to frame their conſtitution both in church and ſtate by divine rule; and as all allow that nothing teaches like experience, ſurely they who are enabled well to improve the experience of paſt ages, muſt find it eaſier now to diſcover the miſtakes of that day, than it was for them to do it then. Even in 1637, when a number of Puritan miniſters in England, and the famous Mr. Dod among them, wrote to the miniſters here, that it was reported that they had embraced certain new opinions, ſuch as "that a ſtinted form of prayer and ſet liturgy is unlawful. That the children of godly and approved chriſtians are not to be baptized, until their parents be ſet members of ſome particular congregation. That the parents themſelves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord's ſupper until they be admitted ſet members," &c. Mr. Hooker expreſſed his fears of troubleſome work about anſwering of them*; though they may appear eaſy to the preſent generation.

* Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 81.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Mr. ROGER WILLIAMS's Sentiments and his Banishment, with other Affairs of the Massachusetts, from 1634 to 1644.

MR. Hubbard tells us, that "February 5, 1631, "arrived Mr. William Peirse at Nantasket; "with him came one Mr. Roger Williams, of good "account in England for a godly and zealous "preacher;—he had been some years employed "in the ministry in England*." Accordingly I find Mr. Williams reminding Mr. Cotton of conversation he had with him and Mr. Hooker, while they were riding together, "to and from Sempring-"ham†." From whence it appears that Mr. Williams was acquainted with those two famous men, in our mother country, and the subject of that conversation shews that he could not then conform to the national church so far as they did.

MR. Hubbard says, "Immediately after his arrival he was called by the church of Salem to join with Mr. Skelton; but the Governor and Council being informed thereof, wrote to Mr. Endicot, to desire they would forbear any further proceeding therein, till the said Council had conferred further about it. 1. Because he refused to join with the congregation [i. e. church] of Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance, for holding communion with the church of

* It appears by his own account that he was then in the 32d year of his age.

† Reply to Cotton on the Bloody Tenet, p. 12.

of England while they lived there. 2. Because he declared it as his opinion, that the civil magistrate might not punish any breach of the first table; whereupon they for the present forbore proceeding with him, which occasioned his being called to Plymouth;" where, Governor Bradford says, "He was freely entertained, according to our poor ability, and exercised his gifts among us; and after some time was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved; for the benefit whereof I still bless God, and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth*."

As the two points which were so offensive to the rulers at Boston, were the foundation cause of their after-proceedings against Mr. Williams, and nearly affect the history of our country to this day, they demand our close attention. The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts colony held communion with the national church, and reflected upon their brethren who separated from her, while in their native island, and on their departure from it, they from on board their chief ship wrote to those who were left behind, April 7, 1630, in these words†:

Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

"HOWSOEVER your charity may have met with "some occasion of discouragement, through the "misrepresentation of our intentions;—yet we de- "sire you would be pleased to take notice of the "principles and body of our company, as those "who esteem it our honor to call the church of "England, from whence we rise, our *dear mother*, "and cannot part from our native country, where "she

* Prince, p. 48.

† Which were printed in London a few days after. Neal's History of New-England, vol. 1, p. 147.

" ſhe ſpecially reſideth, without much ſadneſs of
" heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknow-
" ledging that ſuch hope and part as we have
" obtained in the common ſalvation, we have re-
" ceived in her boſom, and ſucked it from her breaſts:
" We leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk
" wherewith we were nouriſhed there, but bleſſing
" God for the parentage and education; as members
" of the *ſame body*, ſhall always rejoice in her good.

JOSEPH WINTHROP, Governor.
CHARLES FINES,
GEORGE PHILIPS,
RICHARD SALTONSTALL,
ISAAC JOHNSON,
THOMAS DUDLEY,
WILLIAM CODDINGTON," &c.*

Now as Epiſcopalians, down to this day, try to improve this addreſs, as an evidence that New-England was firſt planted by members of their church (though the foregoing hiſtory ſhews that it was not ſo) we may ſafely conclude that the ruling party in the nation did not neglect the advantage hereby given to ſtrengthen themſelves then in their way, which was ſo corrupt, that when the Archbiſhop of Canterbury a little after commenced a proſecution againſt Mr. Cotton, the Earl of Dorſet interceded for him, till he found matters were got to ſuch a paſs that he ſent Mr. Cotton word, " That
" if he had been guilty of *drunkenneſs* or *uncleanneſs*,
" or any ſuch *leſſer fault*, he could have obtained
" his pardon; but inaſmuch as he had been guilty
" of *Nonconformity* and *Puritaniſm*, the crime was
" unpardonable; and therefore, ſaid he, you muſt
" fly for your ſafety †." And can we wonder that Mr.

* Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1. p. 487—489.
† Magnalia, b. 3. p. 19.

Mr. Williams, who came over the year after the aforesaid address was made, should not incline to join in fellowship with the authors of it, without some honest retraction! Yet he was not so rigid but that he did hold occasional communion at the Lord's table in the church of Plymouth, with Governor Winthrop, and his minister, Mr. Wilson, of Boston, October 28, 1632 §."

Mr. Williams preached at Plymouth between two and three years, and then discerning in a leading part of the church a disagreement with some of his sentiments, and being invited to Salem, he requested a dismission there, and though a number were unwilling for it, yet elder Brewster prevailed with the church to grant his request, fearing, he said, "That he would run the same course of rigid separation and *Anabaptistry*, which Mr. John Smith at Amsterdam had done*. Such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem†:" The court again wrote to Salem against Mr. Williams, but could not prevent his being called to office there; and we are told that, "in one year's time he filled that place with "principles of rigid separation, and tending to *Ana-* "*baptism*‡:" For which they afterwards banished him; though as it was a confused piece of work for them thus to deal with him, so their historians have given the world a very confused account about it. Morton, Hubbard, Dr. Cotton Mather, and others, have

§ Prince's Annals, p. 70.

* Mr. Smith's church separated from the church of England with Mr. Robinson's, and removed a little before him into Holland. After Mr Smith's death a number of his church returned, and promoted the Baptist's cause in London. Crosby's History, vol. 1, p. 268.

† Morton, p 86, 87.

‡ Morton—Hubbard.

have set his banishment in 1634, yet all agree that he was not ordained till after Mr. Skelton's death, which was in August that year; and they tell us of a twelvemonth's labour with him and his church after his ordination, before his banishment; neither do they give us a better account of the true causes of that sentence, than they do of the date of it. I have taken much pains to collect as exact an account of this affair as possible, and have succeeded beyond my expectation.

THE dates I find to be as follow: Governor Winthrop and his Council first wrote to Salem against Mr. Williams, April 12, 1631*, which occasioned his going to Plymouth. His first child was born there the first week in August, 1633†, and Mr. Cotton, who arrived at Boston the fourth of September following, says he had removed into the Bay before his arrival‡. Mr. Skelton died August 2, 1634§, and we shall find proof enough that Mr. Williams was not banished till above a year afterward; so that instead of such hasty proceedings at Salem as his opponents would represent, he preached there more than a year before he was ordained, and as long after it.

As to the causes of his sentence, Mr. Morton has given us five articles, Mr. Hubbard six; Mr. Williams has reduced them to four, but Mr. Cotton is not willing to let them stand as he stated them, but tells us that, "two things there were, which "(to my best observation and remembrance) caused "the sentence of his banishment; and two others "fell in that hastened it.

"1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against "the patent.

* Prince, p. 26. † Providence Records.
‡ Tenet washed, part 2d, p. 4. § Magnalia, b. 3, p. 76.

"By the patent it is, that we received allowance "from the King to depart his kingdom, and to carry "our goods with us, without offence to his officers, "and without paying cuſtom to himſelf. By the pa- "tent, certain ſelect men, as magiſtrates and freemen, "have power to make laws, and the magiſtrates to "execute juſtice and judgment amongſt the people, "according to ſuch laws. By the patent we have "power to erect *ſuch a government of the church* *, as "is moſt agreeable to the word, to the eſtate of "the people, and to the gaining of natives, in God's "time, firſt to civility, and then to chriſtianity.

"This patent Mr. Williams publicly and ve- "hemently preached againſt, as containing matter "of falſhood, and injuſtice: Falſhood, in making "the King the firſt chriſtian Prince who had diſ- "covered theſe parts; and injuſtice, in giving the "country to his Engliſh ſubjects which belonged "to the native Indians †."

Let it be here noted, that we have no proof that Mr. Williams ever preached or objected againſt the whole patent, or charter, without diſtinction, much leſs not againſt that part of it which conſtituted them a civil government. His own account of this matter informs us, that the ſin of the patents which lay ſo heavy on his mind was, that therein "chriſtian Kings (ſo called) are inveſted with a "right, by virtue of their *chriſtianity*, to take and "give away the lands and countries of other men."

And he tells us that this evil ſo *deeply afflicted his ſoul*, that, "before his troubles and baniſhment, he "drew up a letter, not without the approbation of "ſome of the chief of New-England, then tender "alſo upon this point before God, directed unto "the King himſelf, humbly acknowledging the "evil

* This clauſe is not truth. † Tenet waſhed, p. 27.

" evil of THAT PART of the patent which respects " the *donation of lands*, &c.*"

WHAT grounds Mr. Williams and others had for this concern will plainly appear by what follows; for in the said patent from Charles the first, he recites that which was given by his father, King James the first, dated November 3, 1620, wherein he " gave and granted unto the Council established " at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, all that " part of America lying and being in breadth from " 40 degrees of northerly latitude from the " equinoxial line to 48 degrees of the said northerly " latitude inclusively, and in length of and within " all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main " land from sea to sea, together also with all the " firm lands, soils, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, " waters, fishing, mines and minerals—jurisdic- " tions, privileges, franchises, and preheminences, " both within the said tract of land upon the main, " and also within the islands and seas adjoining. " Provided always, that the said islands, or any of " the premises by the said letters patent intended " and meant to be granted, were not then actually " possessed or inhabited by any other *christian* " Prince or state—To have and to hold, possess " and enjoy, all and singular the aforesaid continent " lands, and every part and parcel thereof, unto " the said Council, and their heirs and assigns for " ever—To be holden OF our said most dear and " royal father, his heirs and successors, AS OF HIS " MANOR of East-Greenwich, in the county of " Kent." Then King Charles went on to name the Massachusetts Company, and to describe the limits of their colony through the main lands of America, and granted it to them in the same manner,

* Reply to Cotton on the Bloody Tenet, p. 276, 277.

"to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as "of our manor of East-Greenwich*," &c.

Can any man claim a fuller property in any land in the world, than here was assumed over this vast tract of America! And though the men who had taken this patent banished Mr. Williams out of it, yet before we have done we may see this very principle which he abhorred turned back into their own bosoms, and made use of by a tyrannical party to give them a severe scourging, after their patent was vacated.

The other foundation cause of Mr. Williams's banishment Mr. Cotton gives in these words:

"2. The magistrates, and other members of the "General Court, upon intelligence of some Episcopal and malignant practices against the country, "made an order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, not by imposing upon them, "but by offering to them, an oath of fidelity; that "in case any should refuse to take it, they might "not betrust them with place of public charge "and command. This oath when it came abroad "he vehemently withstood, and dissuaded sundry "from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christ's "prerogative to have his office established by oath; "partly because an oath was part of God's worship, "and God's worship was not to be put upon carnal persons, as he conceived many of the people "to be. So the Court was forced to desist from "that proceeding†."

This case thus stated carries a sad face with it, but one acquainted with the history of the country would be ready to doubt whether it was truly stated or not; for every freeman had taken an oath of

* Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 1—4.
† Tenet washed, p. 28, 29.

of fidelity to the government before that time, and if there was no intent of *imposing* but only of *offering* this new oath, could they not find men enough for officers that would take it? Indeed when I come to find how the truth of this matter was, by the colony records, and to think that Mr. Cotton had them at his door when he wrote, I am the most shocked about him by this publication of his against Mr. Williams, of any thing I ever met with concerning him. Upon the colony records, when the General Assembly met at Boston, May 14, 1634, I find these words, viz.

"It was agreed and ordered, that the former oath of freemen shall be revoked, so far as it is dissonant from the oath of freemen here underwritten, and that those that received the former oath shall stand bound no further thereby to any intent or purpose than this new oath tyes those that take the same."

The Oath of a Freeman.

"I A. B. being by God's providence an inhabitant and freeman within the jurisdiction of this commonweal, do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the government thereof, and therefore do here swear, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support thereunto with my person and estate as in equity I am bound, and I will also truly endeavour to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders made and established by the same. And further, that I will not plot nor practise any evil against it, nor consent to any that shall so do, but will truly discover and reveal the same to lawful authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover I do solemnly bind myself

ſelf in the ſight of God, that when I ſhall be called to give my voice, touching any ſuch matter of this ſtate, wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and ſuffrage, as I ſhall judge in mine own conſcience may beſt conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without reſpect of perſons or favour of any man; ſo help me God in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

THIS oath was framed and taken before they proceeded to election at the time aboveſaid. When the Aſſembly met again at Newtown, now Cambridge, March 4, 1635, they enacted, "that every man of or above the age of ſixteen years, who hath been or ſhall be reſident within this juriſdiction, by the ſpace of ſix months (as well ſervants as others) and not infranchiſed, ſhall take the oath of reſidents, before the Governor, Deputy-Governor, or two of the next Aſſiſtants, who ſhall have power to convent him for that purpoſe, and upon his refuſal to bind him over to the next Court of Aſſiſtants, and upon his refuſal the ſecond time, to be puniſhed at he diſcretion of the Court.

"IT is ordered, that the freeman's oath ſhall be given to every man of or above the age of ſixteen years, the clauſe for election of magiſtrates only excepted *."

Now let the candid reader judge,

1. WHO was the beſt friend to CHARTER-RIGHTS? The Maſſachuſetts Company were limited, in three different paſſages of their patent, not to make any laws contrary to the laws of England; yet one profeſſed deſign of this new oath, was to guard againſt *Epiſcopal* practices, to effect which they left out the clauſe in their former oath, which bound them to ſubmit to "all ſuch laws, orders, ſentences and "decrees,

* Maſſachuſetts Records.

"decrees, as ſhould be *lawfully* made and publiſh-
"ed by them;" and inſtead of it obliged men to ſwear to ſubmit "to the *wholeſome* laws and or-
"ders made and eſtabliſhed by the ſame." And though Mr. Cotton aſſerts that they did not impoſe but only offer this new oath, yet the colony records are expreſs, that every man who reſided within their juriſdiction ſix months, ſervants as well as others, muſt ſwear to obey all their wholeſome laws and orders, or be puniſhed at *their diſcretion*; yea, and alſo ſwear to reveal any plot that they ſhould know of againſt ſuch government, "to lawful authority "*now here eſtabliſhed:*" That is, not to complain to any but themſelves.

2. FROM whence came the power that preſumed to abſolve themſelves and others from their oath, to keep to acts *lawfully* made, and to ſubſtitute the word *wholeſome* in the room of it? Let the learned Cotton Mather anſwer the queſtion. Says he, "the reforming churches, flying from Rome, car-
"ried ſome of them more, ſome of them leſs, all
"of them ſomething, of Rome with them; eſpe-
"cially in that ſpirit of *impoſition* and *perſecution*,
"which has too much cleaved unto them all *."

THAT ſpirit of impoſition and perſecution ran ſo high in England at the time we are upon, that King Charles the firſt gave a commiſſion, April 28, 1634, to Archbiſhop Laud, and ten courtiers more §, ſome of them known Papiſts, committing to any five of them "power of protection and government, as
"well over the Engliſh colonies already planted,
"as

* His ſon Dr. Samuel Mather's Apology for the Churches of New-England, Appendix, p. 149.

§ Lord Coventry, the Archbiſhop of York, the Earls of Portland, Mancheſter, Arundel, and Dorſet, Lord Cottington, Sir Thomas Edmunds, and the Secretaries Cook and Windebank.

" as over all ſuch other colonies, which by any of
" our people of England hereafter ſhall be de-
" duced into any other like parts whatſoever, and
" power to make laws, ordinances and conſtitutions,
" concerning either the ſtate public of the ſaid
" colonies, or utility of private perſons and their
" lands, goods, debts and ſucceſſion, within the
" precincts of the ſame, and for ordering and di-
" recting of them, in their demeanors towards fo-
" reign Princes and their people, and likewiſe
" towards us and our ſubjects, as well within any
" foreign parts whatſoever beyond the ſeas, as du-
" ring their voyages, or upon the ſeas, to and from
" the ſame. And for relief and ſupport of the
" clergy, and the rule and cure of the ſouls of our
" people living in thoſe parts, and for conſigning
" of convenient maintenance unto them by tythes,
" oblations and other profits accruing, according
" to your good *diſcretion*, with the advice of two
" or three of our Biſhops, whom you ſhall think
" fit to call unto your conſultations, touching the
" diſtribution of ſuch maintenance unto the clergy,
" and all other matters eccleſiaſtical, and to inflict
" puniſhment on all offenders or violators of con-
" ſtitutions and ordinances, either by impriſonments
" or other reſtraints, or by loſs of *life or members*,
" according as the quality of the offence ſhall re-
" quire; with power alſo, our royal aſſent being firſt
" had and obtained, to remove all Governors and
" Preſidents of the ſaid colonies, upon juſt cauſe
" appearing, from their ſeveral places, and to ap-
" point others in their ſtead—and power alſo to
" ordain temporal judges and civil magiſtrates to
" determine civil cauſes, with ſuch powers, in ſuch
" a form, as to you or any five of you ſhall ſeem
" expedient; and alſo to ordain judges, magiſtrates

" and

" and officers for and concerning courts eccle-
" ſiaſtical, with ſuch power and ſuch a form, as to
" you or any five or more of you, with the advice
" of the Biſhops ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of
" Canterbury for the time being, ſhall be held meet.
" Giving, moreover, and granting to you, that if it
" ſhall appear, that if any officer or Governor of the
" ſaid colonies ſhall unjuſtly wrong one another,
" or ſhall not ſuppreſs all rebels to us, or ſuch as
" ſhall not obey our commands, that then it ſhall
" be lawful, upon advice with ourſelf firſt had,
" for the cauſes aforeſaid, or upon any other juſt
" reaſon, to remand and cauſe the offender to return
" into England, or into any other place, according
" as in your good *diſcretions* you ſhall think juſt
" and neceſſary. And we do furthermore give
" unto you, or any five or more of you, letters
" patent and other writings whatſoever, of us or
" of our royal predeceſſors granted, for or concern-
" ing the planting of any colonies, in any countries,
" provinces, iſlands or territories whatſoever beyond
" the ſeas; and if upon view thereof, the ſame ſhall
" appear to you, or any five or more of you, to
" have been ſurreptitiouſly and unduly obtained,
" or that any privileges or liberties therein granted
" be hurtful to us, our crown or prerogative royal,
" or to any foreign Princes, to cauſe the ſame to be
" revoked, and to do all other things, which ſhall
" be neceſſary for the *wholeſome* government and
" protection of the ſaid colonies, and our people
" therein abiding*."

THUS the words *diſcretion* and *wholeſome* were brought in to violate charters and all public faith, and to ſet up tyranny over the colonies; but Mr. Edward Winſlow being ſent over agent for the

* Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 502—506.

country, by his indefatigable endeavours, and the influence of some great men, prevented the taking place of this arbitrary commission; upon which Laud turned his resentment against him, and got him imprisoned seventeen weeks in the Fleet prison, in London, for having sometimes taught publicly in the church of Plymouth, and for marrying people, which Laud called "assuming the ministerial "office*."

HAD the Massachusetts fathers only taken lawful and prudent methods to guard against such Episcopal and malignant practices as these, they would have been justified, and applauded by posterity; but now we mourn to think that they brought so much of the same distemper into this country with them as they did.

THE same court that passed the act to oblige all to take the above oath, or be punished at their discretion, also passed the following, viz.

"THIS court doth intreat of the brethren and elders of every church within this jurisdiction, that they will consult and advise of *one uniform* order of discipline in the churches, agreeable to the scriptures, and then to consider how far the magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of *that uniformity* and peace of the churches†."

UPON this Mr. Williams publicly preached against the oath they had framed, of submission to such a power; for which the Governor and Assistants called him before them, March 30, 1635, when "he was "heard before all the ministers, and, according to "Governor Winthrop's opinion, was clearly re-"futed‡." The two things which Mr. Cotton says hastened his banishment were, Mr. Williams's stirring

* Plymouth Register, p. 12—14. † Massachusetts Records.
‡ Winthrop's Journal.

ſtirring up his church to write to other churches to which thoſe rulers belonged, admoniſhing them of injuſtice about ſome land near Salem; and his ſeparating from his own church when they turned againſt him in theſe things*. Concerning the firſt of theſe articles Governor Winthrop ſays, "Salem men preferred a petition at the General Court, May, 1635, for ſome land in Marblehead rock, which they did challenge as belonging to their town; but becauſe they had choſen Mr. Williams their teacher while he ſtood under queſtion of authority, and ſo offered contempt to the magiſtracy, &c. their petition was refuſed till, &c. Upon this the church of Salem wrote to other churches to admoniſh the magiſtrates of this as a heinous ſin, and likewiſe the deputies, &c.†" By the colony records I find, that the town of Marblehead was firſt granted by the Aſſembly which met May 6, 1635, when ſundry parcels of land which Salem had improved were granted to them as ſoon as they ſhould want them, only with order that Marblehead ſhould pay Salem for what they had done upon the land; among the reſt "the land betwixt the clift and the foreſt river, near Marblehead," was ſo granted, but with this proviſo, "that if in the mean time the inhabitants of Salem can ſatisfy the Court that they have *true right* unto it, that then it ſhall belong unto the inhabitants thereof."

The generality of thoſe inhabitants turned the next fall, and joined with the rulers in baniſhing Mr. Williams, and when the General Aſſembly met again, March 3, 1636, I find theſe words, viz. "it was proved this Court that Marble-Neck belongs to Salem‡." Now what can be more na-

* Tenet waſhed, p. 29, 30. † Winthrop's Journal.
‡ Maſſachuſetts Records.

tural than to conclude from hence, that the way for Salem to *satisfy the Court* that they had a *true right* to their land, was to submit their ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs to their direction?

At a General Court, July 8, 1635, "Mr. Williams, of Salem, was summoned, and did appear. "It was laid to his charge, that being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz. 1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such case as did disturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, children, &c. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after sacrament, nor after meals; and that the other churches were about to write to the church of Salem to admonish him of these errors, understanding the church had called him to the office of a teacher. The said opinions were adjudged by all the magistracy and ministers (who were desired to be present) to be erroneous, and very dangerous, and the calling of him to office at that time was judged a great contempt of authority. So in fine there was given to him and the church of Salem to consider of these things till the next General Court, and then either to give satisfaction to the Court, or else to expect the sentence; it being professedly declared by the ministers (at the request of the Court to give their advice) that they who should obstinately maintain such opinions (whereby the church might come into heresy, apostacy or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle) were to be removed, and that the other churches ought to request the magistrate so to do*."

This

* Governor Winthrop's Journal.

THIS is the moſt plain and ingenious account of the real cauſe of Mr. Williams's baniſhment that I have ever met with, from any who were oppoſite to him, and carries the more weight with it, as it was wrote by one of the greateſt gentlemen in the country, in the time of it, and who was perſonally concerned in theſe tranſactions. And by the firſt and laſt of this account it is evident, that the grand difficulty they had with Mr. Williams was, his denying the civil magiſtrates right to govern in eccleſiaſtical affairs.

THIS honorable writer informs us, that on Auguſt 15, 1635, "Mr. Willliams, paſtor of Salem, be-
" being ſick, and not able to ſpeak, wrote to his
" church a proteſtation that he could not communi-
" cate with the churches in the Bay, neither would
" he communicate with them, except they would
" refuſe communion with the reſt: But the whole
" church was grieved thereby."

SEPTEMBER 1. "At this General Court, Mr.
" Endicot made a proteſtation, in juſtification of
" the letters formerly ſent from Salem to the other
" churches againſt the magiſtracy and deputies, for
" which he was committed; but the ſame day he
" came and acknowledged his fault, and was diſ-
" charged †."

OCTOBER. "At this General Court Mr. Wil-
" liams, the teacher of Salem, was again convent-
" ed, and all the miniſters in the Bay being deſired
" to be preſent, he was charged with his ſaid two
" letters, that to the churches, complaining of the
" magiſtrates for injuſtice, &c. and the other to
" his own church.—He juſtified both,—and main-
" tained all his opinions; and being offered further
" conference

† Winthrop's Journal.—Mr. Endicot afterwards acted at the head of the moſt bloody perſecutions in this country.

"conference or disputation, and another respite, "he chose to dispute presently; so Mr. Hooker "was appointed to dispute with him, but could "not reduce him from any of his errors; so the "next morning the Court sentenced him to depart "out of our jurisdiction, within six weeks, all the "ministers approving the sentence; and his own "church had him under question also for the same "case, and he at his return home refused commu-"nion with his own church, who openly disclaim-"ed his errors, and wrote an *humble submission* to "the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in "joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the "churches against them*."

JOHN SMITH was banished at the same time with Mr. Williams, for his dangerous opinions, but we are not told what they were. It seems that the Court after this gave Mr. Williams liberty to stay till spring, only enjoined it upon him not to go about to draw others to his opinions; but in January, 1636, the Governor and Assistants were informed, that he received and preached to companies in his house, "even of "such points as he had been censured for." Upon which they agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart; "the reason was, because "he had drawn about twenty people to his opinions, "they were intended to erect a plantation about the "Narraganset bay, from whence infection would "easily spread into these churches, the people be-"ing many of them much taken with the appre-"hension of his godliness." They sent for him to come to Boston, but he sent an excuse; upon which they

* Winthrop's Journal.—The next time the Court met they confirmed their land to them, as before observed. The province records agree with this account, only they do not set any date after the Court met in September, before Mr. Williams's sentence; but it might be October before it was passed.

they sent a pinnace, with a commission to Captain Underhill, to apprehend him and carry him on board the ship then at Nantasket; but when they "came to his house, they found he had been gone "three days §."

THIS I believe is the exact date of his departure, instead of being in 1634, as their historians have represented. Sixteen years after Mr. Williams tells us, he remembered "a serious question which many "fearing God have made, to wit, whether the "promise of God's spirit blessing conferences, be "so comfortably to be expected in New-England, "because of those many public sins which most "of God's people in New-England lie under, and "one especially, to wit, the framing a gospel or "Christ to themselves without a *cross*, not *professing* "nor *practising* that in Old, which they professedly "came over to enjoy with *peace* and *liberty* from "any *cross* of Christ in New. I know those thoughts "have deeply possessed not a few, considering also "the sin of the patents, wherein *christian* Kings, so "called, are invested with right, by virtue of their "*christianity*, to take and give away the lands and "countries of other men; as also considering the "*unchristian oaths* swallowed down, at their coming "forth from Old-England, especially in superstitious Laud his time and domineering*."

IT is evident by the foregoing list of errors charged upon Mr. Williams, that the Massachusetts ministers and rulers meant to carry their uniformity so far, as to oblige ministers and christians, throughout their jurisdiction, not only to ask a blessing at the Lord's table and at common meals, but also to re-

turn

§ Winthrop's Journal.

* Reply to Cotton, p. 276. Note, it was not all oaths, but only them that he esteemed *unchristian* ones that he objected against.

turn thanks afterward; and it is likely that this ſtraining of that matter beyond ſcripture example, has had not a little influence upon many ſince to carry them to the other extreme. Be that as it may, what human heart can be unaffected with the thought, that a people who had been ſorely perſecuted in their own country, ſo as to flee three thouſand miles into a wilderneſs for religious liberty, yet ſhould have that impoſing temper cleaving ſo faſt to them, as not to be willing to let a godly miniſter, who teſtified againſt it, ſtay even in any neighbouring part of this wilderneſs, but moved them to attempt to take him by force, to ſend him back into the land of their perſecutors! To avoid which he fled to the heathen in the depth of winter, and obtained ſuch favour in their ſight, that Oſamaquin (otherwiſe called Maſaſoit) chief Sachem at Mount Hope, made him a grant of part of that which is ſince called Rehoboth; yet that was ſo far then from anſwering to its preſent name, that a letter and meſſenger was ſent from Plymouth to let him know there was not ROOM for him in that place, becauſe within their patent. *This is a lamentation, and ſhall be for a lamentation!*

MR. Williams's own teſtimony, upon a particular occaſion at Providence twenty-five years after, I think deſerves notice here. Says he,

"I TESTIFY and declare in the holy preſence of God, that when at my firſt coming into theſe parts I obtained the lands of Secunk of Oſamaquin, the then chief Sachem on that ſide, the Governor of Plymouth, Mr. Winſlow, wrote to me, in the name of their government, their claim of Secunk to be in their juriſdiction, as alſo their advice to remove but over the river unto this ſide, where now by God's merciful providence we are, and then I ſhould be

out

out of their claim, and be as free as themselves, and loving neighbours together*. After I had obtained this place, now called Providence, of Canonicus and Myantinomy, the chief Nanhigganset Sachems deceased, Osamaquin (the Sachem aforesaid, also deceased) laid his claim to this place also. This forced me to repair to the Nanhigganset Sachems aforesaid, who declared, that Osamaquin was their subject, and had solemnly, himself in person, with ten men, subjected himself and his lands unto them at the Nanhigganset, only now he seemed to revolt from his loyalty, under the shelter of the English at Plymouth†. This I declared from the Nanhigganset Sachems to Osamaquin, who without any stick acknowledged to be true, that he had so subjected as the Nanhigganset Sachems had affirmed; but withal he affirmed that he was not subdued by war, which himself and his father had maintained against the Nanhigganset; but God, said he, subdued us by a plague, which swept away my people, and forced me to yield. This conviction and confession of his, together with gratuities to himself, brethren and followers, made him often profess, that he was pleased that I should here be his neighbour, and the rather because he and I had been great friends at Plymouth; and also because his and my friends at Plymouth advised him to be at peace and friendship with me; and he hoped that our children after us would be good friends together. And whereas

* This by the way shews a great difference between the temper of Plymouth and Massachusetts rulers, and which we shall yet see more of. The chief Sachem's names are very differently spelt in the different writings I have met with.

† This perfectly agrees with the account we have of Masassoit or Osamaquin's league he made with Plymouth people the spring after their first coming, and of the Narraganset's threatnings on that account. *Prince's Chronology*, p. 102, 116.

there hath been often ſpeech of Providence falling in Plymouth juriſdiction by virtue of Oſamaquin's claim; I add unto the teſtimonies aboveſaid, that the Governor, Mr. Bradford deceaſed, and other of their magiſtrates, declared unto me, both by conference and writing, that they and their government were ſatisfied, and reſolved never to moleſt Providence, nor to claim beyond Secunk, but to continue loving friends and neighbours (among the barbarians) together. This is the true ſum and ſubſtance of many paſſages between our countrymen of Plymouth and Oſamaquin, and me.

ROGER WILLIAMS*."

THE above date of Mr. Williams's removal is confirmed by Mr. Winſlow's being then Governor of Plymouth; for 1636 was the only year that he ſuſtained that office between 1633 and 1644: And as it appeared by Plymouth records that he entered on his government the firſt of March that year, we may conclude that Mr. Williams fled to Secunk in the depth of winter, and removed with a few friends over the river in the ſpring†. And here let us admire the wiſdom that governs the world. "As Joſeph was ſold by his envious brethren, with intent to get him out of their way, yet divine providence over-ruled this cruel action quite otherwiſe than they intended, and made it the means of their future preſervation; ſo the harſh treatment and

* Copied from the original, in his own hand writing, dated "Providence, 13, 10, 1661," (ſo called.)

† It is ſaid that he, with Thomas Angell, a hired ſervant, and ſome others, went over in a canoe, and were ſaluted by the Indians near the lower ferry, by the word *whatcheere?* i. e. how do you do? which gave name to a field, which Mr. Williams ſold many years after, and in the deed ſays he ſatisfied the owner for it, and planted it, "at my firſt coming with mine own hands." They went round till they got to a pleaſant ſpring above the great bridge, where they landed; and near to which both he and Angell lived to old age.

and cruel exile of Mr. Williams ſeem deſigned by his brethren for the ſame evil end, but was, by the goodneſs of the ſame over-ruling hand, turned to the moſt beneficent purpoſes‡."

JUST at this juncture the Pequods, a powerful Indian tribe, who lived upon the lands where are now the towns of Groton and Stonington, were forming plots againſt the Engliſh colonies, even the very year that thoſe of Connecticut and Providence began, and when Boſton was but ſix years old; and as a veſſel was ſent by the government from thence, under the command of John Oldham, to trade with the natives at Block-Iſland, about fourteen Indians boarded the veſſel, and murdered him; but as John Gallop happened to come upon them, in his return from Connecticut river, they leaped into the ſea, where ſome were drowned, and others reached the ſhore. The firſt news of this ſad event that they received was from Mr. Williams's pen, by two Indians who went with Oldham, and one from Conanicus, a Narraganſet Sachem, who arrived at Boſton July 26, 1636. Governor Vane wrote back to Mr. Williams, to let the Narraganſets know that they expected them to ſend home two boys who were with Oldham, and to take revenge upon the iſlanders. Four days after the boys came home with one of Miantinomy's men, with another letter from Mr. Williams, informing that ſaid Sachem had cauſed the Sachem of Niantick to ſend to Block-Iſland for them, and that he had near a hundred fathom of *peag*, and much other goods of Oldham's, which ſhould be reſerved for them, and that three of the ſeven Indians who were drowned were Sachems*. Auguſt 26 came a third letter from Mr. Williams, and Governor Winthrop ſays,

‡ Hiſtory of Providence. * Hubbard.

"In these Indian troubles Mr. Williams was assiduous to influence the Narraganfets in favour of the English, and to keep them from joining with the Pequods*."

SEPT. "Canonicus sent word of some English whom the Pequods had killed at Saybrook, and Mr. Williams wrote that the Pequods and Narraganfets were at truce, and that Minatonomoh told him that the Pequods had laboured to persuade them that the English were minded to destroy all the Indians. Whereupon we sent for Minotonomoh to come to us." Accordingly he and two of Canonicus's sons and another Sachem, and near twenty of their men whom they call Sannups, came to Boston October 21, where the Governor called together all the magistrates and ministers; And next day a firm league was signed between them. "But because they could not make them well understand the articles, they told them they would send a copy of them to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret the same to them. So after dinner they took leave†." What would the Massachusetts have now done, if Mr. Williams had been sent to England, as they intended the winter before!

LET us now review their religious state. In October, 1635, arrived Mr. Thomas Shepard and Hugh Peters, two ministers, who were much improved afterward; also Mr. afterward Sir Henry Vane, the latter of whom was admitted a member of Boston church November 1‖. At the General Assembly held March 3, 1636, "Ordered, that all persons are to take notice that this Court doth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such

* Hubbard's Journal. † Winthrop.—Hubbard.

‖ Winthrop.

ſuch companies of men, as ſhall henceforth join in any pretended way of church fellowſhip, without they ſhall firſt acquaint the magiſtrates and the elders of the greater part of the churches in this juriſdiction with their intentions, and have their approbation herein. And further it is ordered, that no perſon being a member of any church which ſhall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magiſtrates and the greater part of the ſaid churches, ſhall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth*."

At the election at Boſton, May 25, Mr. Vane was choſen Governor, and Mr. Winthrop Deputy-Governor; and a ſtanding Council was formed of three men; "The reaſon was, for that it was ſhew-"ed from the word of God, &c. that the principal "magiſtrates ought to be for life." Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley were choſen for life, and Governor Vane to be their Preſident†. The next year Mr. Endicot was choſen for life in Vane's room. This Council

* Maſſachuſetts Records.

† Winthrop's Journal. Mr. Cotton wrote this year to Lord Say and Seal, and ſays, "God hath ſo framed the ſtate of "church government and ordinances, that they may be com-"patible to any commonwealth, though never ſo much diſor-"dered in its frame. But yet when a commonwealth hath "liberty to mould its own frame, I conceive the ſcripture hath "given full direction for the right ordering of the ſame, and "that in ſuch ſort as may beſt maintain the *euexia* [well being] "of the church. Mr Hooker doth often quote a ſaying out of "Mr. Cartwright, that no man faſhioneth his houſe to his "hangings, but his hangings to his houſe. It is better that "the commonwealth be faſhioned to the ſetting forth of God's "houſe, which is his church; than to accommodate the church "frame to the civil ſtate.—Nor need we fear, that this courſe "will, in time, caſt the commonwealth into diſtractions, and "popular confuſions.—Purity preſerved in the church, will pre-"ſerve well ordered liberty in the people, and both of them "eſtabliſh well balanced authority in the magiſtrates." Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1. p. 497, 500. His great miſtake herein will ſoon appear.

Council ſoon found work to do, one article of which here follows.

To the Conſtable of Salem.

"WHEREAS we are credibly informed that divers perſons (both men and women) within your town, do diſorderly aſſemble themſelves both on the Lord's days and at other times, contemptuouſly refuſing to come to the ſolemn meetings of the church there (or being ſome of them juſtly caſt out) do obſtinately refuſe to ſubmit themſelves, that they might be again received; but do make conventions, and ſeduce diverſe perſons of weak capacity, and have already withdrawn ſome of them from the church, and hereby have cauſed much (not only diſturbance in the church, but alſo) diſorders and damage in the civil ſtate.—Theſe are therefore to require you forthwith to repair unto all ſuch diſorderly perſons; and ſignify to them that ſaid courſe is very offenſive to the government here, and may no longer be ſuffered, and therefore command them from us, to refrain all ſuch diſordered aſſemblies, and pretended church meetings; and either to conform themſelves to the laws and orders of this government, being eſtabliſhed according to the rule of God's word; or elſe let them be aſſured that we ſhall by God's aſſiſtance take ſome ſuch ſtrict and ſpeedy courſe for the reformation of theſe diſorders, and preventing the evils which may otherways enſue, as our duty to God and charge over his people do call for from us. And when you have given them this admonition you ſhall diligently attend how it is obſerved, and certify us accordingly, as you will anſwer your neglect herein at your peril.

H. VANE, GOV.
JO. WINTHROP, Dept.
THO. DUDLEY*."

From Boſton this 30th of the 3d month, 1636.

THEY

* Winthrop.

THEY were somewhat too short in declaring the laws and orders of their government already *established*, for that work was yet to do; therefore this Court now passed the following act, viz. "The "Governor, Deputy-Governor, Thomas Dudley, "John Haynes, Richard Bellingham, Esquires, "Mr. Cotton, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Shepard, are "entreated to make a draught of laws agreeable to "the word of God, which may be the fundamentals "of this commonwealth, and to present the same "to the next General Court; and it is ordered that "in the mean time the magistrates and their asso-"ciates shall proceed in the courts to hear and de-"termine all causes according to the laws now esta-"blished, and where there is no law, then as near "the laws of God as they can*."

SOON after this came on such disputes in the country about grace and works, that "it began to be as "common there to distinguish between men be-"ing under a covenant of works, and a covenant "of grace, as in other countries between Pro-"testants and Papists†." It divided the General Court,

* Massachusetts Records. From their beginning the Governor and Assistants had been their executive court, till the March preceding, when they took in associates with the magistrates, and formed inferior courts in their several towns, to try causes not exceeding ten pounds; from whence appeals might be made to the court of Assistants.

† Hubbard. Captain Johnson says, "That you may understand their way of broaching their abominable errors, it was in dividing those things the Lord hath united in his work of conversion continued, carrying on a soul to heaven, in these four particulars:

"1. In dividing between the word and the word, under pretence of a legal gospel, persuading the people their ministers were legal preachers, teaching them little better than Popery, and unfit for gospel churches; denying them to be any ministers of Christ, that preach any preparation work, by shewing men what

Court, and from thence it was carried into Boston church, where it caused sharp debates on Lord's day, December 31, between the two ministers, Cotton and Wilson, and between the Governor and Deputy-Governor,

what the law requires. Here's nothing, says one of them, but preaching out of the law and the prophets. Truly, says another, I have not heard a pure gospel sermon from any of them.

"In separating Christ and his graces, in manifesting himself to be in the soul; and this they say makes much for the magnifying of free grace; and indeed they made it so free, that the soul that receives it shall never taste any of it by their consent, but remain still a dry branch as before. These legal Pharisees, says one of them, tell us of a thing they call inherent grace, and of a man being made a new creature; but I am sure the best of them go on in their legal duties and performances still, sorrowing for sin, hearing of sermons, observing duty morning and evening, and many such like matters. Tush man, says another, you shall hear more than this; I was discoursing with one of their scholastical preacher's disciples, a professed convert, and yet when he came to pray, he begged for the forgiveness of his sins; I asked him why he used that vain repetition, since he did believe he was justified by Christ already? He made me an answer not worth repeating; but when I told him God could see no sin in his people, no more than I could see that which was covered close from my eye-sight, he told me I spake little less than blasphemy. So ignorant are these men, and their learned guides also; who persuade them the more they have of the indwelling of the spirit of Christ, the better they shall be enabled to these legal duties. Nay, quoth the other, I can tell you more than all this; they make it an evidence of their good estate, even their sanctification, and yet these men would make people believe they are against Popery.

"3. The third dividing tenet, by which these persons prosecuted their errors, was between the word of God and the spirit of God: And here these sectaries had many pretty knacks to delude withal, and especially to please the female sex, they told of rare revelations of things to come from the spirit, as they say. —Come along with me, says one of them, I will bring you to a woman that preaches better gospel than any of your black-coats, that have been at the university; a woman of another kind of spirit, who hath had many revelations of things to come, and for my part, saith he, I had rather hear such a one that speaks from the meer motion of the spirit, without any study at all, than

Governor, who were members of it†. In this controversy Mr. Cotton found what it was to fall into the minority, for none of the ministers held fully with him but Mr. Wheelwright, who was not a settled minister, but was preaching to a branch of Boston church, at the place now called Braintree; where at a general fast on January 19, 1637, he delivered a discourse that greatly increased the flame. Under his third use we are told that he said, "The "second sort of people that are to be condemned, "are all such as do set themselves against the Lord "Jesus Christ; such are the *greatest enemies to the* "*state as can be*; if they can have their wills, you "see what a lamentable state both church and com-"monwealth will be in; then we shall have need "of mourning; the Lord cannot endure those that "are enemies to himself and kingdom and people, "and unto the good of his church‡."

At the General Court, March 9, Mr. Wheelwright was called to account for the words which tended to sedition in his sermon, but the matter was defer-

than any of your learned scholars, although they may be fuller of scripture—and admit they speak by the help of the spirit, yet the other goes beyond them.

"4. To divide between Christ and his ordinances; and here they played their game to purpose, even casting down all ordinances as carnal, and that because they were polluted by the ordinance of man; as some of these sectaries have said to the ministers of Christ, you have cast off the cross in baptism, but you would do well to cast off baptism itself; as also for the sacrament of the Lord's supper, for to make use of bread, or the juice of a silly grape, to represent the body and blood of Christ, they accounted it as bad as necromancy in ministers of Christ to perform it." *Johnson's History*; p. 67—99.

† Winthrop—Hubbard.

‡ Gorton's Glass for New-England, p. 19, 20; who says, in this, Wheelwright "bore testimony to the light;" and the words above he says he transcribed out of Mr. Wheelwright's manuscript.

red from court to court till fall, when he was banished. Contention arose to a great height. Stephen Greensmith, for saying "that all the ministers except A. B C. did teach a covenant of works, was censured to acknowledge his fault in every church, and fined 40 l.*"

AT the General Court, May 17, 1637, after a hot dispute they proceeded to election, when Mr. Vane and his friends were left out§; and a law was made, "that no town or person shall receive any stranger resorting hither with intent to reside in this jurisdiction, nor shall allow any lot or habitation to any above three weeks, except such persons shall have allowance under some one of the council, or of two other of the magistrates their hands, upon pain that every town that shall give or sell any lot or habitation to any such not so allowed shall forfeit 100 l. for every offence; and every person receiving any such for longer time than is here expressed, or than shall be allowed in some special case—shall forfeit for every offence 40 l. and for every month after such person shall there continue 20 l.†"

MR. Cotton was for a while so much dissatisfied with this law, that he had thoughts of removing out of that jurisdiction ‡. Governor Winthrop wrote a defence of it, in which he does not deny but that a principal design of that law was to keep away persons of Mr. Wheelwright's opinions, and says, "If "we find his opinions such as will cause divisions, "and make people look at their magistrates, mi-"nisters, and brethren, as enemies to Christ, an-"tichrists, &c. were it not sin and unfaithfulness "in

* Winthrop.

§ He sailed for England the 3d of August following.

† Massachusetts Records.

‡ Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 63.

" in us, to receive more of their opinions, which " we already find the evil fruit of? Nay, why do " not those who now complain join with us in keep- " ing out such, as well as formerly they did in ex- " pelling Mr. Williams for the like, though less " dangerous?" Where this change of their judg- " ments should arise I leave to themselves to " examine*." Ah! less dangerous, sure enough! for Mr. Williams was banished for holding that the magistrates sword ought not to be brought in to decide religious controversies; but Wheelwright would have turned that sword against the rulers, ministers and people, that he judged to be under a covenant of works, and so enemies to grace.

Mr. Wheelwright was brother in-law to Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who had been a principal instrument of the division in the country about grace and works. We are told that she brought these two errors out of England with her, viz. " 1. That the per- " son of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person, " 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence our " justification†." A synod of ministers and messengers from all parts of the country met at Newtown, the 30th of August, and spent three weeks in debates upon these controversies, and drew up and condemned fourscore errors. The General Court adjourned to attend on their debates, and after their result was signed by all the settled ministers except Mr. Cotton, who also appeared to incline toward the majority; they met Sept. 26, when " Mr. Wheel- " wright appearing, was dismissed until he should " be sent for by the court or courts which shall

* Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 71.
† Winthrop's Journal.

"succeed. This present court is dissolved, until a "new one be called, and to be kept at Newtown*."

HERE opens something that I never heard of till I found it upon the colony records. It was customary to elect their deputies twice a year, namely, in the spring and fall; but to choose them twice in one fall was an unprecedented act, of which I believe no parallel can be found from the foundation of the country to this day. It seems that a major vote of those deputies, to execute the decrees of the late synod, could not be obtained, therefore the house was dissolved, and a new one convened on November 2, 1637; to whom a remonstrance against those former proceedings was presented, signed by above sixty men; of whom William Aspinwall, who drew it, and John Coggshall were members of the Assembly; but for which they were now excluded, and an order was sent for Boston to choose two other deputies. Also, "John Oliver, justifying the seditious libel called a remonstrance or petition, was discharged from being a deputy in this court†." The court then proceeded to pass the following sentences,

* Massachusetts Records.

† Massachusetts Records—Winthrop. The remaining members of the Assembly were Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, John Endicot, John Humfrey, Richard Bellingham, Roger Harlakenden, Israel Stoughton, Simon Bradstreet, and Increase Nowel, Assistants, and 31 deputies. The house that was dissolved in September had 26 deputies, of whom but 11 were in this new house. Mr. Atherton Hough was one who was left out, though he was a magistrate two years before. John and Isaac Heath, John Johnson, Thomas Lynde, Nicholas Danforth, William Spencer, Samuel Appleton, Joseph Metcalf, John Upham, and Thomas Gardner, were also of those they left out.

These and such like proceedings caused the removal of Mr. William Blaxton about this time. He was a minister in the church of England, but came early to this country. It appears by John-

son's

ſentences, viz. "Mr. John Wheelwright being formerly convicted of contempt and ſedition, and now juſtifying himſelf and his former practice, being the diſturbance of the civil peace, he is by the court disfranchiſed and baniſhed, having fourteen days to ſettle his affairs.

"Mr. John Coggſhall being convented for diſturbing the public peace, was disfranchiſed, and enjoined not to ſpeak any thing to diſturb the public peace, upon pain of baniſhment.

"Mr. William Aſpinwall being convented for having his hand to a petition or remonſtrance, being a ſeditious libel, and juſtifying the ſame, for which and for his inſolent carriage, he is disfranchiſed and baniſhed, putting in ſureties for his departure before the end of the firſt month next enſuing.

"Mrs. Hutchinſon, the wife of Mr. William Hutchinſon, being convented for traducing the miniſters and their miniſtry in this country, ſhe declared voluntarily her revelations were the ground, and that ſhe ſhould be delivered, and the court ruin-

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ſon's hiſtory, p. 20, that he was here in 1628, but not agreeing with Mr. Endicot and others about church affairs, he betook himſelf to agriculture. He had planted himſelf upon the neck of land where Boſton ſtands, which from him was called Blaxton's Point, when the Maſſachuſetts company firſt arrived with their charter. At a court in Boſton, April 1, 1633, they made him a grant of fifty acres of land near his houſe there, *Maſſachuſetts Records*. Yet now he ſaid, "I came from England, "because I did not like the *Lord Biſhops*; but I cannot join "with you, because I would not be under the *Lord Brethren*." *Magnalia*. He went and ſettled ſix miles ſouth of Mr. Williams, near what is now called Whipple's Bridge, in Cumberland; where he lived to old age, and uſed at times to preach at Providence, and other places adjacent, and left behind him the character of a godly and pious man, though his family is extinct. He planted an orchard near where he lived, which we are told is the firſt that ever bore fruit in Rhode-Iſland colony; and [illegible] years after, many of the trees continued to be thrifty and fruitful.

ed with their posterity, and hereupon was banished; and the mean while was committed to Mr. Joseph Weld, until the court shall dispose of her."

CAPTAIN Underhill, and two serjeants, were put from office and disfranchised, one of the serjeants being also fined 40l. the other 20l. Four men more were disfranchised for having their hands to said petition, one of whom was William Dyer, afterward the first secretary of Rhode-Island colony. Ten men retracted their signing that remonstrance, and were forgiven. Then upon the 20th of November the court passed the following sentence:

"WHEREAS the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people of New-England, insomuch as there is just cause of suspicion that they, as others in Germany in former times, may upon some revelation make sudden irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment; for prevention whereof it is ordered that all those whose names are underwritten (upon warning given at their dwelling-houses) before the 30th day of this month of November, deliver in at Mr. Keayne's house, at Boston, all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and match, as they shall be owners of, or have in their custody, upon pain of 10 l. for every default to be made thereof; which arms are to be kept by Mr. Keayne till this court shall take further order therein. Also it is ordered, upon like penalty of 10 l. that no man who is to render his arms by this order, shall buy or borrow any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot or match, until this court shall take further order therein." Seventy-six men are named as being disarmed by this sentence, only if any of them would acknowledge and not justify said petition before two magistrates, they should

ſhould then be free from it §. Of theſe men 58 belonged to Boſton, 5 to Roxbury, 2 to Charleſtown, 6 to Salem, 2 to Ipſwich, and 3 to Newbury; of whom Richard Dummer, of Newbury, had been an Aſſiſtant, and Mr. Hutchinſon, Underhill, Aſpinwall, Coggſhall and Oliver, of Boſton, Robert Moulton, of Salem, and others, had been deputies.

DIRECTLY upon the foregoing act the Aſſembly added the following, viz. "The court being ſenſible of great diſorders growing in this commonwealth, through the contempts which have been of late put upon the civil authority, and intending to provide remedy for the ſame in time, doth order and decree, that whoſoever ſhall hereafter openly or willingly defame any court of juſtice, or the ſentence or proceedings of the ſame, or any of the magiſtrates or other judges of any ſuch court, in reſpect of any act or ſentence therein paſſed, and being thereof lawfully convicted in any general court or courts of Aſſiſtants, ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame, by fine, impriſonment or baniſhment, as the quality and meaſure of the offence ſhall deſerve.—Provided always, that ſeeing the beſt judges may err through ignorance or miſinformation—it is not the intent of this court to reſtrain the free uſe of the way of God, by petition," &c.

A COMPLAINT being made at the ſame time that ſome miniſters were not well maintained, the court ſent out a requeſt, "That the ſeveral churches will "ſpeedily enquire hereinto, and if need be to con-"fer together about it, and ſend ſome to adviſe "with this court at the next ſeſſion thereof, that "ſome order may be taken according to the rule of "the

§ Maſſachuſetts Records. It appears that the court had much difficulty afterward with Keayne about theſe arms.

"the gospel*." The effects of these proceedings we shall soon see; though by the way it is proper to observe, that as Mr. Williams had been instrumental of procuring the Narraganfets help against the Pequods, the several colonies sent out their forces against them, and Governor Winthrop says, May 24, "By letters from Mr. Williams we were notified, that Capt. Mason was gone to Saybrook with 80 English and 100 Indians," &c. so that he was constantly engaged for their good; the army was successful, the Pequods were subdued, and I find a proposal of a day of thanksgiving for the soldiers return, at the General Court, August 1. But at the same time they say "Mr. John Greene, of New-Providence, having spoken against the magistrates contemptuously, stands bound over in 100 marks to appear at the next quarter court." At that court he was fined 20l. and committed till it was paid; though upon a submissive petition to the General Court, Sept. 26, he was released†. He with others had resorted to Mr. Williams's plantation, to which there was a great addition the next spring, as well as a new one begun at Rhode-Island, of which take the following account:

Mr. John Clarke, a learned physician, who I find was admitted a freeman at Boston May 6, 1635, as his brother Joseph had been the March before, seeing how things were turned at the court in November, 1637, he made a proposal to his friends, for *peace sake*, and to enjoy the *freedom of their consciences*, to remove out of that jurisdiction. The motion was accepted, and he (being then a gentleman in his 29th year) was requested with some others to look out for a place; they did so, and

* Massachusetts Records.
† Ibid.

and by reason of the heat of the preceding summer, they first went northerly into that which is now the province of New-Hampshire; but the coldness of the following winter made them incline to turn the other way. "So having sought the Lord for direction, they agreed that while their vessel was passing about Cape-Cod they would cross over by land, having Long-Island and Delaware bay in their eye, for the place of their residence. At Providence Mr. Williams lovingly entertained them, and being consulted about their design, readily presented two places before them; Sowams, now called Barrington, and Aquetneck, now Rhode-Island. They being determined to go out of the other jurisdictions, Mr. Williams, Mr. Clarke, and two others, went to Plymouth to enquire how the case stood; who lovingly entertained them, and let them know that they claimed Sowams, but advised them to settle at Aquetneck, and promised that they should be looked upon as free, and to be treated and assisted as loving neighbours." Upon their return eighteen men incorporated themselves into a body politic, and chose Mr. Coddington to be their Judge or chief magistrate*."

Now to take things in their order, it is to be observed, that though Mr. Williams and a few of his friends had, with the consent of the Narraganset sachems, been settled at Providence near two years, yet the first deed of the place that is extant bears date the same day with that of Aquetneck; and is as follows:

"AT Nanhigganſick the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, in the 2d year of our plantation, or planting at Mooshausick, or Providence: Memorandum, that we Caunannicus and Mianti-

* Clarke's Narrative.—Callender's Sermon.

nomu, the two chief ſachems of Nanhiganſick, having two years ſince ſold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two freſh rivers called Mooſhauſick and Wanaſkatuckett*, do now by theſe preſents eſtabliſh and confirm the bounds of thoſe lands, from the rivers and fields of Pautuckett, the great hill of Neoterconkenitt on the northweſt, and the town of Maſhapauge on the weſt. As alſo, in conſideration of the many kindneſſes and ſervices he hath continually done for us, both for our friends of Maſſachuſetts, as alſo at Quininkticutt and Apaum, or Plymouth; we do freely give unto him all that land from thoſe rivers reaching to Pautuxett river, as alſo the graſs and meadows upon Pautuxett river; in witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our hands, in the preſence of,

The mark of ‡ CAUNANNICUS,
The mark of ‖ MIANTINOMU.

The mark of † SEATAGH,
The mark of * ASSOTEMEWETT.

"1639, MEMORANDUM, 3 month 9 day, this was all again confirmed by Miantinomu; he acknowledged this his act and hand; up the ſtream of Pautuckett and Pautuxett without limits we might have for our uſe of cattle; witneſs hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS,
BENEDICT ARNOLD†."

THE

* The firſt of theſe rivers falls into the cove above Providence great bridge from the north, the other from the weſt.

† *Literally tranſcribed from Providence Records.* Pawtucket river riſeth in or near Rutland, and runs through Leiceſter, Sutton, Grafton and Uxbridge, and entering Rhode-Iſland colony, paſſes between Smithfield and Cumberland, and falls into Narraganſet bay, between Providence and Rehoboth. Pawtuxet riſes near the borders of Connecticut, and paſſing through Glouceſter, Scituate and Granſton, falls into ſaid bay, five miles ſouth of Providence.

THE deed of Rhode-Island was also given the same March 24, 1638; and 20 years after Mr. Williams having occasion to give his testimony concerning it, says, "I have acknowledged (and have and shall endeavour to maintain) the rights and properties of every inhabitant of Rhode-Island in peace; yet since there is so much sound and noise of purchase and purchasers, I judge it not unseasonable to declare the rise and bottom of the planting of Rhode-Island in the fountain of it: It was not price nor money that could have purchased Rhode-Island. Rhode-Island was obtained by love; by the love and favour which that honorable gentleman Sir Henry Vané and myself had with that great sachem Miantinomu, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English, &c. and the Narraganlets in the Pequod war. It is true I advised a gratuity to be presented to the sachem and the natives, and because Mr. Coddington and the rest of my loving countrymen were to inhabit the place, and to be at the charge of the gratuities, I drew up a writing in Mr. Coddington's name, and in the names of such of my loving countrymen as came up with him, and put it into as sure a form as I could at that time (amongst the Indians) for the benefit and assurance of the present and future inhabitants of the island. This I mention, that as that truly noble Sir Henry Vane hath been so great an instrument in the hand of God for procuring of this island from the barbarians, as also for procuring and confirming of the charter, so it may by all due thankful acknowledgment be remembered and recorded of us and ours which reap and enjoy the sweet fruits of so great benefits, and such unheard of liberties amongst us*."

* This I copied from the original manuscript, in Mr Williams's own hand writing, dated "Providence, 25 6, 1658, (so

MR. Williams having obtained the aforesaid grant of Providence, conveyed the same to his friends by the following instrument.

"Providence, 8th of the 8th month, 1638 (so called.) Memorandum, that I Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Caunannicus and Miantinomu this our situation or plantation of New-Providence, viz. the two fresh rivers Wanasquatuckett and Mooshausick, and the ground and meadows thereupon; in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do freely and fully pass, grant and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds and lands unto my loving friends and neighbours, Stukely Westcoat, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman, and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us: As also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pautuxett, with the grass and meadows thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me; witness my hand, ROGER WILLIAMS*."

THOSE

(so called)." The affair of procuring the charter we shall hear more of anon.

* *Providence Records.* It seems the first deed of this tenure was lost, therefore this was drawn as exactly as could be remembered in 1666. Of the above men, Olney, Weston, Westcoat, Waterman and Holliman, did not depart the Massachusetts colony till April 1638. *Massachusetts Records.* They, with Throckmorton, came from Salem. *Massachusetts History*, vol. 1, p. 421, and *records* aforesaid. Weston had been a deputy in court.

THOSE who were thus received signed the following covenant, viz.

"WE whose names are here underwritten being "desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do "promise to submit ourselves in active or passive "obedience to all such orders or agreements as "shall be made for public good of the body in an "orderly way, by the major consent of the pre-"sent inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated "together into a township, and such others whom "they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil* "*things*."

BY the records, compared with a more ample and full deed of Mr. Williams's to the town, executed December 20, 1661, which is entered there, it appears that he generously gave the aforesaid twelve men their interest in the town freely, and the thirty pounds were paid by the next who were admitted, at the rate of thirty shillings a man, the names of whom were Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, Richard Scott, William Renolds, John Field, John Warner, Thomas Angell, Benedict Arnold, Joshua Winsor, Thomas Hopkins, Francis Weeks," &c*. In the last mentioned deed, after referring to the former ones, and expressing that the sachems deed was two years after his first purchase, he more fully explains the nature and motives of those transactions. Says he, "notwithstanding I had the frequent promise "of

* Of these I find Williams (brother to Mr. Roger) among the Massachusetts freemen, but no more of their names upon those records. Perhaps most of them might have newly arrived; for Governor Winthrop assures us that not less than 3000 arrived this year in 20 ships; and Mr. Hubbard tells us that those who inclined to the Baptist's principles went to Providence; others went to Newport. Seven of the first twelve, with Angell, I suppose began the settlement with Mr. Williams in 1636.

" of Miantinomu, my kind friend, that it ſhould " not be land that I ſhould want about thoſe bounds " mentioned, provided that I ſatisfied the Indians " there inhabiting, I having made covenant of " peaceable neighbourhood with all the ſachems " and natives round about us, and having, in a " ſenſe of God's *merciful providence unto me in my* " *diſtreſs*, called the place PROVIDENCE, I deſired " it might be for a *ſhelter for perſons diſtreſſed for* " *conſcience*; *I then conſidering the condition of divers* " *of my countrymen*, I communicated my ſaid pur- " chaſe unto my loving friends John Throckmorton, " and others, who then deſired to take ſhelter " here with me. And whereas by God's merciful " aſſiſtance I was the procurer of the purchaſe, " not by monies nor payment, the natives being " ſo ſhy and jealous that monies could not do it, " but by that language, acquaintance and favour " with the natives, and other advantages which it " pleaſed God to give me; and alſo bore the " charges and venture of all the gratuities which " I gave to the great ſachems, and other ſachems " and natives round about us, and lay engaged for " a loving and peaceable neighbourhood with them, " to my great charge and travel; it was therefore " thought fit that I ſhould receive ſome conſidera- " tion and gratuity." Thus, after mentioning the ſaid thirty pounds, and ſaying, " this ſum I " received; and in love to my friends, and with " *reſpect to a town and place of ſuccour for the di-* " *ſtreſſed as aforeſaid*, I do acknowlege this ſaid ſum " and payment a full ſatisfaction;" he went on in full and ſtrong terms to confirm thoſe lands to ſaid inhabitants; reſerving no more to himſelf and his heirs than an equal ſhare with the reſt; his wife alſo ſigning the deed.

I TRUST

I TRUST the reader will excuſe the length of this account, when he conſiders that theſe were the foundations of a now flouriſhing colony, which was laid upon ſuch principles as no other civil government ever had been, as we know of, ſince Antichriſt's firſt appearance; "and ROGER WILLIAMS *, by "claims the honor of having been the firſt legiſlator "in the word, in its latter ages, that fully and ef-"fectually provided for and eſtabliſhed a free, full "and abſolute LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE *."

NONE might have a voice in government in this new plantation, who would not allow this liberty. Hence about this time I find the following town act, viz. "It was agreed that Joſhua Verin, upon breach

* *Hiſtory of Providence.* The Maſſachuſetts were ſo far from favouring this cauſe, that their General Court of March 12, 1638, paſſed this act, viz. "Whereas a letter was ſent unto this court, ſubſcribed by John Greene, dated from New-Providence, and brought by one of that Company, wherein the court is charged with *uſurping the power of Chriſt over the Churches and mens conſciences*, notwithſtanding he had formerly acknowledged his fault in ſuch ſpeeches by him before uſed; it is now ordered, that the ſaid John Greene ſhall not come into this juriſdiction, upon pain of impriſonment and further cenſure. And becauſe it appears to this court that ſome others of the ſame place are confident in the ſame corrupt judgment and practice, it is ordered, that if any other of the inhabitants of the ſaid plantation of Providence ſhall come within this juriſdiction, they ſhall be apprehended, and brought before ſome of the magiſtrates, and if they will not diſclaim the ſaid corrupt opinion and cenſure, they ſhall be commanded preſently to depart, and if ſuch perſons ſhall after be found within this juriſdiction they ſhall be impriſoned, and puniſhed as the court ſhall ſee cauſe."

Maſſachuſetts Records.

Lamentable caſe indeed! that no inhabitant of that infant plantation, who were not able to ſend out ſhipping themſelves, might go into the colony, where many of the neceſſaries as well as comforts of life were only to be obtained by them; but they muſt either be expoſed to diſſemble, or to ſuffer impriſonment, if not worſe; for how could they honeſtly declare that the Maſſachuſetts did not uſurp a power over men's conſciences!

breach of covenant, or restraining liberty of conscience, shall be withheld from the liberty of voting till he shall declare the contrary." It appears from Mr. Hubbard, that the way in which he restrained that liberty was, in not letting his wife go to Mr. Williams's meeting so often as she was called for. Verin soon removed to Barbados, and left his interest in Providence in such a state as has caused much trouble since.

We will now turn to the affairs of Rhode-Island people, who on March 7, 1638, signed the following instrument: "We whose names are under-written do swear solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, to incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as he shall help us, will submit our persons, lives and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of his, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.

Thomas Savage,	*William Coddington,*
William Dyre,	*John Clarke,*
William Freeborne,	*William Hutchinson,*
Philip Sherman,	*John Coggshall,*
John Walker,	*William Aspinwall,*
Richard Carder,	*Samuel Wilbore,*
William Baulstone,	*John Porter,*
Edward Hutchinson, sen.	*Edward Hutchinson,* jun.
Henry Bull,	*John Sanford*‖."
Randal Holden,	

This

‖ *Colony Records.* Of these William Hutchinson died on the island; the other Hutchinsons, Aspinwall and Savage, went back, got reconciled, and were promoted in the Massachusetts colony afterward. Near all the others were considerably promoted afterward in Rhode-Island colony, and have posterity still remaining therein. All but two of the above nineteen men were disarmed by the sentence of November 20, 1637, and which two were Messieurs Coddington and Holden. And Messieurs

THIS was doubtleſs in their view a better plan than any of the others had laid, as they were to be governed by the perfect laws of Chriſt. But the queſtion is, how a civil polity could be ſo governed, when he never erected any ſuch ſtate under the goſpel? As much as they had been againſt the legal covenant, yet they now went back to the firſt order of government after Iſrael came into Canaan, and to imitate it choſe Mr. Coddington their judge, and Mr. Nicholas Eaſton, J. Coggſhall, and William Brenton, elders to aſſiſt him. This form continued, till on March 12, 1640, they altered it, and choſe Mr. Coddington Governor, Mr. Brenton Deputy-Governor, and Meſſieurs Eaſton, Coggſhall, William Hutchinſon, and John Porter, Aſſiſtants, Robert Jefferies Treaſurer, and William Dyre Secretary; which form continued till they received a charter.

ſieurs Coddington, Coggſhall, Baulſton, E. Hutchinſon, Wilbore, Porter, Bull, Sherman, Freeborn and Carder, were all excluded or driven out of the Maſſachuſetts colony by an act of their Aſſembly, on March 12, 1638, in theſe words, viz.

"Whereas you have deſired and obtained licence to remove yourſelves and your families out of this juriſdiction, and for that information hath been given to the court, that your intent is only to withdraw yourſelves for a ſeaſon, that you may avoid the cenſure of the court, for ſome things that may be objected againſt you; the court doth therefore ſignify unto you that you may depart according to the licence given you, ſo as your families be removed before the next General Court. But if your families be not ſo removed, then you are to appear at the next court, to abide the further order of the court herein." Mr. Nicholas Eaſton, of Newbury, who went to Newport, and Meſſieurs Francis Weſton, Richard Waterman, Thomas Olney, and Stukely Weſtcoat, of Salem, who went to Providence, were alſo included in this ſentence. Beſide theſe there were William Lytherland, Robert Harding, John Briggs, George Barden, John Odlin, Richard Wayte, and others that were diſarmed at Boſton, who removed into this colony, and have left a reſpectful remembrance therein.

But before we proceed further upon their affairs, it may be proper to obſerve, that the Aſſembly, who met at Boſton, September 6, 1638, made the two following laws.

1. "Whereas it is found by ſad experience, that divers perſons, who have been juſtly caſt out of ſome of the churches, do profanely contemn the ſame ſacred and dreadful ordinance, by preſenting themſelves over-boldly in other aſſemblies, and ſpeaking lightly of their cenſures, to the great offence and grief of God's people, and encouragement of evil-minded perſons to contemn the ſaid ordinance; it is therefore ordered, that whoſoever ſhall ſtand excommunicated for the ſpace of ſix months, without labouring what in him or her lieth to be reſtored, ſuch perſon ſhall be preſented to the Court of Aſſiſtants, and there proceeded with by fine, impriſonment, baniſhment, or further, for the good behaviour, as their contempt and obſtinacy upon full hearing ſhall deſerve."

2. "The court taking into conſideration the neceſſity of an equal contribution to all common charges in towns, and obſerving that the chief occaſion of the defect herein ariſeth hence, that many who are not freemen, nor members of any church, do take advantage thereby to withdraw their help, in ſuch voluntary contributions as are in uſe; it is therefore hereby declared, that every inhabitant in any town is liable to contribute to all charges both in church and commonwealth whereof he doth or may receive benefit; and withal it is alſo ordered, that every ſuch inhabitant who ſhall not voluntarily contribute proportionably to his ability with other freemen of the ſame town, to all common charges, as well for upholding the ordinances in the churches at otherwiſe, ſhall be compelled thereto by aſſeſſment

ment and diſtreſs, to be levied by the conſtable or other officer of the town, as in other caſes†."

HERE, my dear countrymen, let us make a little pauſe. Not long ſince, in the preſence of a number of gentlemen, mention was made of the former perſecutions in New-England, upon which one of their legiſlators aroſe and ſaid, "it is monſtrous cruelty and injuſtice, thus to rake up the aſhes of our good fathers, and to reproach their children therewith, when we never think of thoſe tranſactions without grief and abhorrence!" If ſo, why are thoſe deeds *imitated* by our preſent rulers? And why do the people *love to have it ſo?* Certainly the ſupport of good order and government in the church is of greater importance than miniſters maintenance; and to vindicate the methods then taken to ſupport the former of theſe, Mr. Cotton brought that plain text, *thou ſhalt ſurely kill him, becauſe he hath ſought to thruſt thee away from the Lord thy God*; and, ſaid he, "this reaſon is of moral, that is, of univerſal "and perpetual equity‖." But I never heard any man ſay ſo of that other text, *thou ſhalt give it me now, and if not, I will take it by force*, which is the moſt like the practice of many in this generation of any thing that I could ever find in our bible. Governor Winthrop informs us, that the next May after the above laws were paſſed, Mr. Cotton, in preaching from Heb. viii. 8, taught "that when "magiſtrates are forced to proceed for the main-"tenance of miniſters, &c. then the churches are "in a declining ſtate. Here he ſhewed that the "miniſters maintenance ſhould be by *voluntary con-"tribution*." But the law to impower their executive court to puniſh excommunicates, for diſregarding the churches authority, was repealed the next

† Maſſachuſetts Records. ‖ Bloody Tenet waſhed, p. 67.

fall, while that to maintain ministers by assessment and distress was continued in full force; and their practice upon it in Watertown moved Nathaniel Briscoe to write a book against it, the consequence of which was, that he was brought before the quarter court at Boston, March 7, 1643, and fined *ten pounds*; and "John Stowers, for reading of divers "offensive passages (before company) out of a "book, against the officers and church of Water-"town, and for making disturbance there, was "fined forty shillings." This severity brought Briscoe to a public acknowledgment, and then his fine was remitted to forty shillings, "and that to be "taken§." The ministers thus left it to the secular arm to convince him, and said, "his arguments "were not worth the answering; for he that shall "deny the exerting of the civil power, to provide "for the comfortable subsistence of them that preach "the gospel, *fuste potius erudiendus, quam argumento*, "as they say of them that are wont, *negare principia*, "*let him that is taught communicate to him that teach-"eth in all good things*†; that is, he that shall deny such an exertion of power, *is rather to be taught by a cudgel than argument*, as they say of them who are wont to *deny first principles*. But let us take heed that we are not imposed upon, by a *confounding* of two things together, which are as distinct in their nature as light and darkness are, namely duty itself, and the right way of enforcing of it. The duty of offering daily or *continual thanksgivings* to our great creator, and of a liberal communication to Christ's ministers and members, are both called *sacrifices to God*, in Heb. xiii. and why do our rulers neglect to enforce the *daily* exercise of family worship, by the same

§ Massachusetts Records.

† Hubbard—Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 427.

ſame ſword as they do miniſters maintenance? Is not God's honor of greater concernment than men's livings are! A college was founded this year in Newtown, which for that reaſon was called Cambridge; and the importance of receiving *learning* at that or like places, to qualify men for the miniſtry, has been much inſiſted upon ever ſince; and thoſe who have not been educated at ſuch places have commonly been called *laymen*. And among the many reflections that have been caſt upon them, one is, that they often beg the queſtion in argument. But who are guilty of this mean ſort of conduct now? The queſtion between us is not, whether it be the duty of thoſe who are taught to communicate unto their teachers or not; but it is, whether that duty ought to be enforced by the ſword, or only by inſtruction, perſuaſion and good example? And what have learned miniſters ever done towards proving their ſide of the queſtion better than begging!

THE great events of this year have taken up conſiderable room, yet I muſt requeſt a place for a few articles more, that will affect the following part of our hiſtory ‡.

ON

‡ Mr. Hanſard Knollys came over in the ſpring of this year, who was ordained by the Biſhop of Peterborough June 29, 1629; but he ſays, "about the year 1636 I was proſecuted in the high commiſſion court, by virtue of a warrant, wherewith I was apprehended in Boſton (in Lincolnſhire) and kept a priſoner in the man's houſe who ſerved the warrant upon me: But God helped me to convince him, and he was ſo greatly terrified in his conſcience, that he ſet open his doors, and let me go away; but before I went, I tarried ſo long in London, waiting for a paſſage, that when I went aboard I had but juſt ſix braſs farthings left, and no ſilver nor gold, only my wife had five pounds that I knew not of, which ſhe gave mē when we came there. By the way my little child died with convulſion fits, our beer and water ſtank, our biſket was moulded and rotten, and our cheeſe alſo,

ſo

On June 5 Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegan Indians, "having entertained some of the Pequods, came to the Governor at Boston with a present, and was much dejected because at first it was not accepted; but afterward, the Governor and Council being satisfied about his innocency, they accepted it; whereupon he promised to submit to the orders of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences between the Narragansets and himself; and confirmed all with this compliment; laying his hand upon his heart,

so that we suffered much hardship, being twelve weeks in our passage; but God was gracious to us, and led us safe through the great deeps; and ere we went on shore came one and enquired for me, and told me a friend that was gone from Boston to Rhode-Island had left me his house to sojourn in, and to which we went, and two families more with us, who went suddenly to their friends and other relations in the country; and I being very poor, was necessitated to work daily with my hoe, for the space of almost three weeks. The magistrates were told by the ministers that I was an Antinomian, and desired they would not suffer me to abide in their patent. But within the time limited by their law in that case, two strangers coming to Boston from Piscataqua, hearing of me by mere accident, got me to go with them to that plantation, and preach there, where I remained about four years, and then being sent for back to England, by my aged father, I returned with my wife and one child, about three years old, and she great with another. We came safe to London on the 24th of December, 1641, in which year the massacre in Ireland broke forth, and the next year wars brake forth in England, between King and Parliament." *Account of his own life.* He embraced the Baptist principles, gathered a church of that persuasion in London, and used seldom to have less than a thousand auditors. He baptized Mr. Henry Jessey, an eminent minister in that city, and others; suffered much for religion, continued pastor of that church till he died in London, September 19, 1691, aged 93. *Crosby.* And though he was reproached as an Antinomian, yet Dr. Mather says he had "a respectful "character in the churches of this wilderness." *Magnalia*, b. 3, p. 7. After his return to England, "he suffered deeply in the "cause of nonconformity, being universally esteemed and belov-"ed by all his brethren." *Neal*, vol. 1, p. 216.

heart, he ſaid, *this heart is not mine, but yours; I will never believe any Indian againſt the Engliſh any more*; and ſo he continued ever after.—Uncas was alive and well in the year 1680*.

MR. Cotton had entertained a favourable opinion of Mrs. Hutchinſon, and when ſhe was upon examination before the court that baniſhed her, he was aſked what he thought of her revelation concerning her deliverance? He replied, "if ſhe doth look for for deliverance from the hand of God by his providence, and the revelation be in a word, or according to a word, I cannot deny it." Upon which Mr. Endicot ſaid, "you give me ſatisfaction." "No, no, (ſaid Mr. Dudley) he gives me none at all—You weary me, and do not ſatisfy me." Mr. Nowel ſaid, "I think it is a deviliſh deluſion." And Governor Winthrop ſaid, "of all the revelations that ever I heard of, I never heard the like ground laid as is for this. The enthuſiaſts and *Anabaptiſts* had never the like." Mr. Dudley added, "I never ſaw ſuch revelations as theſe among *Anabaptiſts*, therefore am ſorry that Mr. Cotton ſhould ſtand to juſtify her;" and he and others of the court would have brought him upon trial alſo, but the Governor prevented it †.

AFTER a year's conſideration, Mr. Cotton, at a public faſt, December 13, 1638, "did confeſs and bewail,

* *Winthrop—Hubbard.* Mr. Hubbard dates his coming in July, but I follow the Governor who acted in the affair. Uncas's head quarters were about eight miles above the mouth of New-London river, on the weſt ſide of it; and though they, as well as other Indians, are greatly diminiſhed, yet a conſiderable body of that tribe remain there to this day. In 1741 a remarkable work of God was wrought among them; a church of Chriſtian Indians was afterward gathered, and continues there, many of whom give great evidence of true piety. Mr. Samſon Occum is of that tribe.

† Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 514, 515.

bewail, as the churches, so his own security and credulity, whereupon so many and dangerous errors had gotten up, and spread in the churches, and went over all the particulars, and shewed how he came to be deceived; the errors being formed, in words, so near the truth he had preached, and the falshood of the maintainers of them was such, as they usually would deny to him what they had delivered to others. He acknowledged that such as had been seducers of others (instancing in some of those of Rhode-Island, though he named them not) had been justly banished; yet he said such as only had been misled, and others who had done any thing out of a misguided conscience (not being grosly evil) should be born withal, and first referred to the church, and if that could not heal them, they should rather be imprisoned or fined than banished, it being likely that no other church would receive them.—If he were not convinced, yet he was persuaded to an amicable compliance with the other ministers, by a studious abstaining on his part from all expressions that were like to be offensive; for although it was thought he did still retain his own sense, and enjoy his own apprehension, in all or most of the things then controverted (as is manifest by some expressions of his in a treatise of the new covenant, since published by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Norwich) yet was there an healing of the breach that had been between him and the rest of the elders, and a putting a stop to the course of errors in the country for the future. By that means did that reverend and worthy minister of the gospel recover his former splendor throughout the country of New-England ‡."

THIS

‡ *Winthrop—Hubbard.* Roger Harlakenden, one of the magistrates, died at Cambridge, November 17, this year. *Winthrop.*

Near

This year, upon an occurrence, Governor Winthrop wrote to Mr. Clarke at Aquetneck, and ſtiled him, " a phyſician and a preacher to thoſe of that " iſland."

We are now come to an event which has made much noiſe in the world, I mean Mr. Williams's baptiſm. The reader may remember that he was charged with advancing principles at Plymouth that tended to Anabaptiſm, and that he filled Salem therewith; and could he have found an agreeable adminiſtrator, it is not likely that he would have neglected the putting of this principle into practice ſo long as he did. At length, being in ſuch a ſtate of exile in a heathen land, it is probable he concluded that the caſe about baptiſm, which Mr. Robinſon recites, was applicable to theirs, which is in theſe words:

" Zanchy, upon the fifth to the Epheſians, treat-
" ing of *baptiſm*, propounds a queſtion of a Turk
" coming to the knowledge of Chriſt, and to faith,
" by reading the new-teſtament, and withal teaching
" his family, and converting it and others to Chriſt;
" and being in a country whence he cannot eaſily
" come to Chriſtian churches, whether he may
" baptize them, whom he hath converted to Chriſt,
" he himſelf being unbaptized? He anſwers, I
" doubt not of it but that he may, and withal pro-
" vide, that he himſelf be baptized of one of the
" three converted by him. The reaſon he gives
" is, becauſe he is a miniſter of the word extraordi-
" narily ſtirred up of Chriſt: And ſo as ſuch a

Near the ſame time a church was gathered at Exeter, on Piſcataqua river, and ſoon after Mr. Wheelwright, at his and their requeſt, was diſmiſſed with others to it, from the church of Boſton, and became their miniſter. *Hubbard.* Theſe facts help to diſcover the ſpirit of thoſe times.

"minister may, with the consent of that small "church, appoint one of the communicants, and "provide that he be baptized by him*."

Mr. Williams took such a method, with only this difference, that one of the community was first appointed to baptize him, and then he baptized the rest; for Mr. Hubbard, says he, "was baptized by "one Holliman, then Mr. Williams rebaptized him, "and some ten more." With this Governor Winthrop agrees, and sets the date of it in March, 1639. The Governor called Holliman a poor man, and Hubbard stiles him a mean fellow; but after the year 1650 I find him more than once a deputy from the town of Warwick in their General Court. The above gentlemen represent that Mrs. Hutchinson's sister, the wife of one Scott, stirred Mr. Williams up to this action; though afterward Mr. Hubbard does not pretend to certainty as to that, and says it was difficult for one to give an exact account of their religious affairs in that colony, that did not live among them; and it is certain that he and the Governor were both mistaken in calling "those of Providence *all Anabaptists*." For it appears from under Mr. Williams's own hand, seventeen years after, that Arnold and Carpenter, two of the first twelve, were not such‡; neither have I met with any proof that Gorton, Weston or Waterman, who went to Warwick, were ever of that denomination†.

Before

* Robinson's answer to Bernard, p. 422.

‡ Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 277.

† This Baptist church at Providence appears to be the second distinct society of that denomination in all the British empire. There had been many of them intermixed with other societies from their first coming out of Popery, but their first distinct church in our nation was formed out of the independent church in London, whereof Mr. Henry Jacob was pastor from 1616 to 1624,

Before this time Mr. Peters was got to be minister of Salem, and he wrote to the church of Dorchester on July 1, this year, to acquaint them that their "great censure" was past upon Roger Williams and his wife, John Throgmorton and his wife, Stukely Westcot and his wife, Mary Holliman, and the widow Reves, and that all but two of these were rebaptized‡.

Besides the above men, we are well informed that William Wickenden, Chad Brown, and Gregory Dexter, were of this Baptist church in Providence, and in 1765 Governor Hopkins, who is not a Baptist, said, "this first church of Baptists at Providence hath from its beginning kept itself in repute, and maintained its discipline to this day; hath always been, and still is, a numerous congregation, and in which I have with pleasure observed very lately sundry descendents from each of the above named founders, except Holliman*." It seems he removed away.

I am sensible that this testimony is very different from the accounts of many New-England historians,

1624, when he went to Virginia, and Mr. John Lothrop was chosen in his room. *Prince's Chronology.* But nine years after, "several persons in the society, finding that the congregation kept not to their first principles of separation, and being also convinced that *baptism* was not to be administred to *infants*, but such only as professed faith in Christ," desired and obtained liberty, and formed themselves into a distinct church, Sept. 12, 1633, having Mr. John Spilsbury for their minister. A second Baptist church was constituted in London this year, but I believe later in the year than ours at Providence. *Crosby's History*, vol. 1, p. 148, 149. Mr. Lothrop came over to Boston in 1634, was minister a while at Scituate, and then at Barnstable. *Winthrop*, —*Prince.*

‡ Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 421.

* History of Providence. Olney and Dexter were much improved in their day in public offices in the colony.

who represent that the church soon broke up, because Mr. Williams did not walk long with it. His stop in that travel Governor Winthrop mentions in July following; and Richard Scott, who afterward turned to the Quakers, says, "I walked with him in "the *Baptists* way about 3 or 4 months, in which "time he brake from the society, and declared at "large the ground and reasons of it; that their "baptism could not be right, because it was not "administred by an apostle. After that he set "upon a way of *seeking* (with two or three of them "that had dissented with him) by way of preaching "and praying; and there he continued a year or "two, till two of the three left him. That which "took most with him was to get honor amongst "men. After his society and he in a church way "were parted, he then went to England, and there "got a charter; and coming from Boston to Pro-"vidence, at Seaconk the neighbours of Provi-"dence met him with fourteen canoes, and car-"ried him to Providence. And the man being "hemmed in the middle of the canoes, was so "elevated and transported out of himself, that I "was condemned in myself, that amongst the rest I "had been an instrument to set him up in his pride "and folly.—Though he professed *liberty of con-"science*, and was so zealous for it at the first coming "home of the *charter*, that nothing in government "must be acted till that was granted; yet he could "be the forwardest in their government to prosecute "against those that could not join with him in it; "as witness his presenting of it to the court at "Newport†."

Thus Quakers, as well as Pædobaptists, could cast out hard reflections against him; whether justly or not,

† Scott's letter in George Fox's answer to Williams, 1677, p. 247.

not, the reader when he has heard the whole ſtory will judge. At preſent I would only remark, that this man had been Mr. Williams's neighbour 38 years when he wrote this letter, and the ſpirit of it fully proves that he was not prejudiced at all in his or the Baptiſt's favour; yet the facts according to him were, that but two or three perſons went off with Mr. Williams, leaving the reſt in a *church way* ſtill; neither does he ſay a word of Mr. Williams's expecting to be an apoſtle himſelf. Indeed as to that point, Mr. Hubbard goes no further than to ſay, "expecting (as was ſuppoſed) to become an apoſtle;" and Governor Winthrop has the ſame parentheſis; ſo that it was no more than a *ſuppoſition* in that day, but a late hiſtorian has delivered it off as fact, without the parentheſis; and Dr. Mather, from his grandfather Cotton, ſays they "broke "forth into *Anabaptiſm*, and then to *Antibaptiſm* "and *Familiſm*, and now finally into *no church at* "*all* ‡." Such naked untruths have one generation after another told about theſe people!

An evident cauſe of Mr. Williams's refraining from a farther proceeding in church ordinances, was an apprehenſion of the neceſſity of a *viſible ſucceſſion* of regular ordinations from the apoſtles, to impower men to it, which ſucceſſion he could not find: Yet how fond are many miniſters in our day of this *ſucceſſive* notion? A miniſter's preaching upon it was vindicated in the Boſton Evening-Poſt of May 9, 1774, which informs us that the preacher ſaid, "God the Father ſent forth the Son; he ſent forth the "apoſtles as the Father ſent him; they ſent forth "others, with command to *commit* theſe things to "*faithful men.* And the preacher ſaid that Chriſt "had never committed this power (to put into office) "to

‡ Magnalia, b. 7, p. 9.

"to any but such as were in office; and conse-
"quently no other had a power to put out of office."
But I am not afraid boldly to assert, that I verily believe, according to this doctrine, there is not a minister this day under heaven but what must stop from administring baptism, as Mr. Williams did, if they were as *honest* as he was. A minister in Connecticut a few years ago published a pamphlet to support the above opinion; wherein, to get over the difficulty that arises for want of any proof of such a lineal succession, he observed that none under the law were to be priests but the lawful posterity of Aaron; yet supposing a bastard son of that family should have posterity, in so long a succession that the knowledge of his illegitimacy was lost, he asserted that such priests might well be admitted into office with others. According to which doctrine, *knowledge* must be very detrimental to such priests, and *ignorance* must be the mother of such devotion. The minister who published said pamphlet is a trustee of Yale College; and likely he is better acquainted with philosophy and school divinity than he is with his bible, or else he would have known that *Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven* (in distinction from all *earthly gods*) refused to admit or suffer men upon *negatives:* And such as *sought*, but could not *find* THEIR REGISTER, *were, as polluted, put from the priesthood.* Ezra ii. 62. And if we review the text that is now so much harped upon, we shall find that the *apostolic succession* is in the line of *faithful men*, and no others are truly in it, though *false brethren* have sometimes *crept in unawares.*

Mr. John Spilsbury, pastor of the first Baptist church in London, says, "because some think to
"shut up the ordinance of God in such a strait, that
"none can come by it but through the authority
of

" of the popedom of Rome; let the reader consi-
" der who baptized John the Baptist before he bap-
" tized others, and if no man did, then whether he
" did not baptize others, he himself being unbap-
" tized. We are taught by this what to do upon
" the like occasion. I fear men put more than is
" of right due to it, that so prefer it above the
" church, and all other ordinances; for they can
" assume and erect a church, take in and cast out
" members, elect and ordain officers, and admini-
" ster the *supper*, and all anew, without looking after
" *succession*, any further than the scriptures; but as
" for *baptism*, they must have that successively from
" the apostles, though it comes through the hands
" of Pope *Joan*. What is the cause of this, that
" men can do all from the WORD but only bap-
" tism?"

The learned Mr. John Tombs also in that day produced the foregoing passage from Zanchy, for the same purpose that I have now done*.

I would just add, that though the express rule to Israel was, that every male must *needs* be circumcised at eight days old, or be *cut off* from their people, yet this general rule was so far dispensed with in a particular case, that circumcision was omitted forty years in the wilderness; and multitudes of them stood before God, and *entered into* or renewed their father Abraham's covenant in the plains of Moab, who yet were not circumcised till after they came over Jordan. Deut. xxix. Joshua v. 4—7. But the Christian church had been through a worse wilderness than that of Arabia, between the apostolic age and that we are now treating of; therefore that ancient example seems to give light in the case before us.

Mr.

* Crosby, vol. 1, p. 103—105.

Mr. Pelatiah Mason, who was born near Providence ferry in 1669, told his sons (three of whom are now public preachers in Swanzey) that he heard from the fathers of that day, that in the trial they then had, they heard that the Queen of Hungary, or some in those parts, had a register of a regular succession from the apostles, and had thoughts of sending Mr. Thomas Olney (who succeeded Mr. Williams as their pastor) into that country for it; but at length concluded that such a course was not expedient, but believing they were now got into the right way, determined to persevere therein.

Mr. Hubbard speaking of that colony says, "as to matters of religion, it was hard to give an exact account to the world of their proceedings therein, by any who have not been conversant with them from the beginning of their plantations; yet this was commonly said by all that ever had any occasion to be among them, that they always agreed in this principle, *that no man or company of men ought to be molested by the civil power upon the account of religion, or for any opinion received or practised in any matter of that nature; accounting it no small part of their happiness that they may therein be left to their own liberty*; by which means the inhabitants are of many different persuasions. But what tendency that liberty had, by so long experience, towards the promoting of the power of godliness, and purity of religion, they are best able to judge that have had occasion to be most conversant amongst them."

By this and many other passages, that learned writer, as well as Governor Winthrop, discovered more candor of mind toward Mr. Williams and Rhode-Island colony, than almost any other of the Massachusetts writers have ever done, first or last. Mr. Hubbard says, "at Rhode-Island they gather-

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ed a church, but in a very disordered way; taking in some excommunicate persons, and others which were members of the church of Boston, but not dismissed;—yet had they afterwards one Mr. Clarke for their minister, who had been bred to learning."

At the General Court at Boston, March 13, 1639, "John Smith, for disturbing the public peace, by combining with others to hinder the orderly gathering of a church at Weymouth, and to set up another there, contrary to the orders here established, and the constant practice of all our churches, and for undue procuring the hands of many to a blank for that purpose, is fined 20l. and committed during the pleasure of the court or the council.

"Richard Silvester, for going with Smith to get hands to a blank, was disfranchised and fined forty shillings.

"Ambrose Morton, for calling the church covenant a stinking carrion, and a human invention, and saying he wondered at God's patience, feared it would end in the sharp, and said the ministers did dethrone Christ and set up themselves, he was fined 10l. and counselled to go to Mr. Mather to be instructed by him*. Thomas Mackpeace, because of his novel disposition, was informed we were weary of him unless he reformed.

"The fourth of the 2d month was thought fit for a day of humiliation, to seek the face of God, and reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ in all the churches. Novelties, oppression, Atheism, excess, superfluity, idleness, contempt of authority, and troubles in other parts, to be remembered.

"Mr. Robert Lenthal, upon his free acknowledgment under his hand, given into the court, was

* Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester.

appointed to appear at the next court, and enjoined to acknowledge his fault, and give satisfaction to the church at Weymouth, and to give a copy of that he gave into the court to the church of Weymouth.

"John Smith and John Spur are bound in 40l. to pay 20l. the first day of the next court*."

Mr. Lenthal went to Rhode-Island, was admitted a freeman there on August 6, 1640; and he kept school and preached there for a while, but before March, 1642, was gone for England. The first settlement of the island began the same spring they purchased it, the second the spring after; the latter of which was named Newport, on May 16, 1639; the other was called Portsmouth, at a general court, March 12, 1640.

At a General Court at Boston, Oct. 8, 1640, "it is ordered, that the letter lately sent to the Governor by Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Haynes, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Brenton, but coming also to the General Court, shall be thus answered by the Governor, that the court doth assent to all the propositions laid down in the aforesaid letter, but that the answer shall be directed to Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Haynes only, excluding Mr. Coddington

* *Massachusetts Records.* Their crime was this, Mr. Lenthal held, "that only baptism was the door of entrance into the "visible church; the common sort of people did eagerly em- "brace his opinion, and some laboured to get such a church on "foot, as all baptized ones might communicate without any "further trial of them; for this end they procured many hands "in Weymouth to a blank, intending to have Mr. Lenthal's "advice to the form of the call.—Mr. Lenthal, having before "conferred with some of the magistrates and ministers, did open- "ly and freely retract—so the court forbore any further censure, "though it was much urged by some." *Hubbard.* The next court Smith was fined 5l. more for contempt; but upon making his submission, and presenting his money, he got released by paying 15l. *Massachusetts Records.*

dington and Mr. Brenton, as men not to be capitulated withal by us, either for themſelves or the people of the iſland where they inhabit, as their caſe ſtandeth*." Eaton was of New-Haven, the other of Connecticut, which had no more of a charter from England than Rhode-Iſland had; therefore it was a difference about religious affairs that cauſed this partiality.

" Our neighbours of Plymouth had procured " from hence this year one Mr. Chauncy, a great " ſcholar and a godly man, intending to call him " to the office of a teacher; but before the fit time " came, he diſcovered his judgment about baptiſm, " that the children ought to be *dipt*, and not *ſprinkled*. There aroſe much trouble about it. The " magiſtrates and the elders there, and the moſt of " the people, withſtood the *reviving of that practice*, " not for itſelf ſo much as for fear of worſe conſequences; as the annihilating our baptiſm, &c. " Whereupon the church there wrote to all the " other churches, both here and at Connecticut, &c. " for advice, and ſent Mr. Chauncy's arguments. " The churches took them into conſideration, and " wrote ſeveral anſwers, wherein they ſhewed their " diſſent from him, and clearly confuted all his " arguments;—yet he could not give over his " opinion; and the church of Plymouth, being " much taken with his able parts, were very loth to " part with him. He did maintain alſo that the " Lord's ſupper ought to be adminiſtred in the " evening, and every Lord's day. And the church " at Sandwich (where one Mr. Leveridge was mi- " niſter) fell into the practice of it. But that being

* *Maſſachuſetts Records.* They at this court granted to Mr. John Winthrop, junior, all their right to Fiſher's Iſland, which ſtill belongs to his poſterity.

" a matter of no great ill consequence, save some " outward inconvenience, there was little stir about " it. This Mr. Chauncy was after called to office " in the church of Scituate*."

At a quarter court at Boston, Dec. 1, " the jury found Hugh Buet to be guilty of heresy, and that his person and errors are dangerous for infection of others. It is ordered that the said Hugh Buet should be gone out of our jurisdiction by the 24th present, upon *pain of death*, and not to return upon pain of being *hanged*." This is the first instance that I find upon the Massachusetts records of banishment for heresy upon this penalty. Two years before they banished three persons at once, on pain of death, for adultery. The records give no account of what Buet's heresy was, but Governor Winthrop says, it was " for holding he was free from original sin, and from actual also, for half a year before, and for holding that true Christians are enabled to live without committing actual sin."

The learned and pious Mr. Henry Dunstar came over this summer, and on August 27 was chosen President of Harvard College, which flourished under his care and influence fourteen years; till having openly renounced infant baptism, such a temper was manifested against him on that account, that he resigned that office†." About this time it appears by Mr. Hooker's letters, that many inclined toward the Baptist way, and he expressed his apprehensions that the number would increase‡; which it seems moved him to " resolve that he would have an argument able to remove a mountain before he would recede from" infant baptism. This resolution Mr. Mitchel,

* Winthrop's Journal.
† Magnalia, b. 4, p. 127, 128.
‡ Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 227.

Mitchel, thirteen years after, adopted from him, as a ſhield againſt Mr. Dunſtar's arguments§.

The eſtate of Mr. Humphry, one of their magiſtrates, being much impaired, he ſold his plantation at Lynn to the lady Moody, and returned to England¶. She ſoon embraced the Baptiſt principles, and ſuffered therefor. And divers of thoſe at Aquidnet turned profeſſed *Anabaptiſts*‖. Mr. Hubbard ſays, Nicholas Eaſton uſed to teach at Newport, and maintained, "that man had no power nor will in himſelf, but as he was acted by God; and ſeeing that God filled all things, nothing could be or move but by him, and ſo muſt needs be the author of ſin, and that a Chriſtian is united to the eſſence of God. Being ſhewed what blaſphemous conſequences would follow therefrom, they ſeemed to abhor the conſequences, but ſtill defended the poſition.—Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggſhall, and ſome others, joined with Nicholas Eaſton in thoſe deluſions; but their miniſter, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Lenthal and Mr. Harding, with ſome others, diſſented and publicly oppoſed; whereby it grew to ſuch a heat of contention that it made a ſchiſm amongſt them." Mr. Coddington and Mr. Eaſton afterward joined the Quakers, Mr. Clarke and his friends formed the firſt Baptiſt church on Rhode-Iſland.

In June this year the General Aſſembly of the Maſſachuſetts ſent to Plymouth to know why they might not take Seaconk into their juriſdiction; they tried for it about three years, till the commiſſioners of the united colonies confirmed it to Plymouth.

At a quarter court at Boſton, Sept. 7, Mr. William Collins, a man of learning, who had married Mrs.

§ Mitchel's Life, p. 70.
¶ Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 15. ‖ Winthrop.

Mrs. Hutchinson's daughter, being "found a seducer;" and Francis Hutchinson, for calling the church of Boston "a whore," &c. were both fined and banished upon *pain of death**. About two years after they were both killed by the Indians, with their mother Hutchinson, towards New-York. It is evident that the planters of Rhode-Island did not at first see into the true nature and grounds of liberty of conscience, but their assembly at Portsmouth, Mar. 16, 1641, passed an act for that purpose, which on the 17th of Sept. following was confirmed as a perpetual law. And at an assembly in Newport, Sept. 19, 1642, they appointed Messrs. Coddington, Brenton, Easton, Coggshall, Baulston, Porter, Dyer, Clarke, Harding and Jefferies, a committee to improve the first and best opportunity that presented to send home for a charter, and to write to Sir Henry Vane to solicit his assistance and influence in the design. They accordingly sent over by Mr. Williams, and obtained their request; though in the mean time a most dreadful broil broke out, and prevailed to a terrible degree among them, of which take the following account.

Samuel Gorton, a man of learning from London, arrived at Boston in 1636, and doubtless had a considerable hand in the mystical disputes that then embroiled them. From thence he went to Plymouth, where he treated their pastor Mr. Smith in such a manner, as caused the authority to take him in hand, and required bonds of him for his good behaviour. This occasioned his departure to Rhode-Island, where such a difficulty arose, that by Mr. Coddington's order he was imprisoned and whipt. From thence he came to Providence, where he was kindly treated by Mr. Williams and others; and he and his friends sat

* Massachusetts Records.

ſat down at Pawtuxet, now called Cranſton. I find by the records that Mr. Gorton bought half of Robert Cole's intereſt there on Jan. 10, 1641. And as the court at Newport in March following diſfranchiſed Richard Carder, Randal Holden, Sampſon Shatton, and Robert Potter, they and John Wickes, who had followed Gorton from Plymouth, came and formed a conſiderable party at Pawtuxet. And ſuch a contention was raiſed between them and the former inhabitants, "as they came armed into the "field, each againſt other; but Mr. Williams pa-"cified them for the preſent. This cauſed the "weaker party to write a letter to the Maſſachuſetts "rulers, complaining of the wrong they ſuffered, "deſiring aid, or if not, counſel from us. We an-"ſwered them, that we could not levy war without "a General Court. For counſel we told them, "that except they would ſubmit to ſome juriſdic-"tion (Plymouth, or &c.) we had no calling or "warrant to interpoſe in their contentions, but if "they would ſubmit to any, then they had a call to "protect them*." How different was the temper here diſcovered, from that of the pious Mr. Williams? He was ever ready wherever he came to exert all his influence to make peace ſo far as he could with a good conſcience, but the court at Boſton ſeemed willing to play one party againſt another, till all would ſubmit to their power, Gorton took a like method to defend himſelf againſt them; the conſequence of which was terrible indeed; the true ſtate whereof I ſhall give with all the exactneſs I can.

William Arnold, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, and Benedict Arnold, of Pawtuxet, went to the General Aſſembly at Boſton, Sept. 8, 1642, and ſubmitted

* Winthrop—Hubbard.

ſubmitted themſelves and their lands to that government. At the ſame time Mr. Leveret and Edward Hutchinſon were ſent to Miantinomu to demand ſatisfaction of him, and firſt to tell him "of credible information received, partly by relation of the Indians themſelves, that they have drawn in many other Sachems to join with the Narraganſets, in making war upon the Engliſh." Benedict Arnold and Ahauton, the Indian, were to be their guides and interpreters†. Then, October 28, a warrant was ſent from Boſton to cite Gorton and his friends to come to their court, to anſwer to the complaints of Arnold's company againſt them, ſigned by the Governor and three aſſiſtants. To this an anſwer was returned on Nov. 20, ſigned by Samuel Gorton, Randal Holden, Robert Potter, John Wickes, John Warner, Richard Waterman, William Woodale, John Greene, Francis Weſton, Richard Carder, Nicholas Power and Sampſon Shatton. It contained a long myſtical paraphraſe upon their warrant, and many provoking ſentences againſt thoſe rulers and their miniſters, and a refuſal to come to them. But in order to get out of their reach they removed and purchaſed Shawomet for 144 fathoms of wampum, and obtained a deed of it, ſigned by Miantinomu, Pomham, and others, on Jan. 12, 1643. John Greene had received a deed of an iſland, neck of land and meadow, called Ocupaſſutuxet-cove, dated October 1, 1642, ſigned by Miantinomu and Socononcoſ‡.

The General Court at Boſton, May 10, 1643, appointed Mr. Atherton and Tomlyns, with William

† Hubbard—Maſſachuſetts Records.

‡ Gorton's Defence—Callender—Colony Records. The 144 fathom of peag it is ſaid was computed at 40l. 16s. ſterling. Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 118.

liam Arnold to ſpeak with Mr. Greene, Warner, and their company. On June 22, through Benedict Arnold's influence and aſſiſtance, Pumham, Sachem of Shawomet, and Sacanocho, Sachem of Pawtuxet, ſigned at Boſton a ſubmiſſion of their perſons and lands to that government; and Arnold was allowed 4l. for his pains§. Governor Winthrop tells us that they had 2 or 300 men under them. The plea for this action was, that Gorton's company and Miantinomu had oppreſſed theſe Sachems, and wronged them of their lands. Pumham ſaid he was forced to ſign the deed, but would take none of the pay. The Governor, with another magiſtrate, wrote to Shawomet people about it; and alſo to Miantinomu, and he came down and met ſaid Sachems at Boſton, where they were forced to confeſs that they had ſometimes ſent him preſents, and had aided him in his wars againſt the Pequods; yet they and Arnold would have it, that they were as free Sachems as he was, becauſe their people paid tribute to them. So the court received them (as is before noted) under their protection. We are told that before this, Gorton and his company had ſent a writing of four ſheets, "full of reproaches againſt the "magiſtrates, miniſters and churches, and ſtuffed "likewiſe with abſurd familiſtial ſtuff, and wherein "they juſtified the purchaſe of the Sachems lands, "and profeſſed to maintain it to the death*."

Miantinomu had already ſeen Uncas, a warlike Sachem to the weſt of him, putting himſelf and his people under the protection of the Engliſh; and

§ *Maſſachuſetts Records.* The colonies of Maſſachuſetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, by their commiſſioners, ſigned articles of confederation together for mutual aſſiſtance and defence on May 19, 1643, from whence they were called the united colonies.

* Hubbard.

he was accuſed of hiring a young Pequod to murder Uncas, but he brought the young man with him, who told the court that Uncas cut his own arm with a flint, and then charged him to report that Miantinomu had hired him to murder him. But upon private examination, the court were perſuaded the young man was guilty, and adviſed Miantinomu to ſend him to Uncas; but inſtead of doing it, he cut off his head by the way, as he returned home*. What followed till his own death, we have recorded by Governor Winthrop, in a more diſtinct and clear light than has ever been publiſhed, I ſhall therefore give it to the reader in his own words.

Auguſt. "Onkus being provoked by Sequaſſion, a Sachem of Connecticut (who would not be perſuaded by the magiſtrates there to a reconciliation) made war upon him, and ſlew divers of his men, and burnt up his wigwams; whereupon Miantinomu, being his kinſman, took offence againſt Onkus, and went with near one thouſand men, and ſet upon Onkus before he could be provided for defence; for he had not then with him above three or four hundred men. But it pleaſed God to give Onkus the victory, after he had killed about thirty of the Narraganſets, and wounded many more: And among theſe, two of Canonicus's ſons, and a brother of Miantinomu, who fled; for having on a *coat of mail*†, he was eaſily overtaken, which two of his captains perceiving, they laid hold of him and carried him to Onkus, hoping thereby to procure their own pardon. But ſo ſoon as they came to Onkus he ſlew them preſently; and Miantinomu ſtanding mute, he demanded of him, why he would not ſpeak? If you had taken me (ſaith he) I would have beſought you

* Johnſon, p. 182—184.

† Johnſon calls it a *Corſlet*, and both he and Hubbard ſay he had it of Gorton.

you for my life, &c. The news of Miantinomu's captivity coming to Providence, Gorton and his company wrote a letter to Onkus, willing him to deliver their friend Miantinomu, and threatned him with the power of the English if he refused. Upon this Onkus carries Miantinomu to Hartford to take advice of the magistrates there; and, at Miantinomu's earnest entreaty, he left him with them, yet as a prisoner. They kept him under guard, but used him very courteously. So he continued till the commissioners of the united colonies met at Boston †, who taking into serious consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him at liberty; neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death. In this difficulty we called in five of the most judicious elders (it being in the time of the general assembly of the elders) and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death. Upon this concurrence we enjoined secresy upon ourselves and them, lest if it should come to the notice of the Narragansets, they might attempt somewhat against Hartford for this reason, or might set upon the commissioners, &c. upon their return, to take some of them to redeem him (as Miantinomu himself had told Mr. Haynes had been in consultation amongst them) and agreed that upon the return of the commissioners to Hartford, they should send for Onkus, and tell him our determination, that Miantinomu should be delivered to him again, and he should put him to death so soon as he came within his own jurisdiction, and that the English should go along with him to see the execution. And if any Indians should invade him for it, we would send men to defend him. If Onkus should refuse to do it,

† In September.

then Miantinomu ſhould be ſent in a pinnace to Boſton, there to be kept until further conſideration.

"The reaſons of this proceeding with him were theſe: 1. It was now clearly diſcovered to us that there was a general conſpiracy among the Indians to cut off the Engliſh, and that Miantinomu was the head and contriver of it. 2. He was of a turbulent and proud ſpirit, and would never be at reſt. 3. Although he had promiſed us in the open court to ſend the Pequod to Onkus, who had ſhot him in the arm, with intent to have killed him (which was by the procurement of Miantinomu, as did probably appear) yet in his way homeward he killed him. 4. He beat one of Pumham's men, and took away his wampam, and then bid him go and complain to the Maſſachuſetts. According to this agreement the commiſſioners, at their return to Connecticut, ſent for Onkus, and acquainted him herewith, who readily undertook the execution; and taking Miantinomu along with him, in the way between Hartford and Windſor (where Onkus hath ſome men dwell) Onkus's brother following after Miantinomu, clave his head with an hatchet, ſome Engliſh being preſent. And that the Indians might know that the Engliſh did approve of it, they ſent 12 or 14 muſqueteers home with Onkus to abide a time with him, for his defence, if need ſhould be ‡."

Alas! when good men get into an evil path, where will it carry them? The next news we hear is as follows. September 12, the General Court ſent a warrant to require Gorton and his company to come to Boſton, to anſwer the Indians complaints againſt them. To which they ſent a verbal anſwer, that they were out of that juriſdiction, and would own ſubjection to none but the government of Old-England.

‡ Winthrop.

England. Upon which the court wrote the 19th, informing them that they intended to ſend commiſſioners for to ſeek to right theſe things among them §. The commiſſioners were, Captain George Cook, Humphry Atherton, and Edward Johnſon, who were ſent, "with forty able men to attend "them, which have authority and order to bring "Samuel Gorton and his company, if they do not "give them ſatisfaction." A Major-General was appointed in the colony, and the country put into a poſture of war. "They of Aquidneck are granted "to buy a barrel of powder, provided Lieutenant "Morris give caution that it be employed for the "defence of the iſland, by the advice of the Gover-"nor and Deputy. It is ordered that the deputies "ſhould acquaint the elders, to deſire them in "ſpecial manner to commend this undertaking to "God."

A large committee of magiſtrates and deputies were appointed in the receſs of the General Court, "not knowing (ſay they) what may fall out, con-"cerning the expedition now on foot againſt Sa-"muel Gorton, and the reſt of that company.

"It is ordered that Pumham and Sochonoco "ſhould have, each of them, lent them a fowling-"piece, and Benedict Arnold hath liberty to "ſupply them with powder and ſhot as he ſees oc-"caſion †."

Hearing of their coming, Gorton's company ſent a letter to meet them, dated September 28, to let them know, that if they came in a way of loving neighbourhood, they were welcome; but if with a band of ſoldiers, they charged them not to ſet foot on their land at their peril. The commiſſioners wrote

§ Gorton's Defence.
† Maſſachuſetts Records.

wrote a reply, ſignifying their great deſire of having converſation with them, with hope of reclaiming them from their errors; but if that could not be done, that they ſhould then "look upon them as "men prepared for ſlaughter, and accordingly "ſhould addreſs themſelves with all convenient "ſpeed;" which we may well ſuppoſe was very ſurprizing to their wives and children, and it is ſaid it ſcattered and occaſioned ſome of their deaths. Some of the people of Providence went with thoſe commiſſioners and ſoldiers, and procured a parley with Shawomet men, who demanded the reaſon of this proceeding; to which the others anſwered, that they had done wrong to certain of their ſubjects, and alſo held blaſphemous errors. Shawomet men offered to appeal to England, but that was refuſed; then they offered to leave the controverſy to indifferent men in this country. This appeared ſo reaſonable that a truce was agreed upon, till they could ſend to Boſton to know the mind of the court upon it. And Chad Brown, Thomas Olney, William Field, and William Wickenden, of Providence, wrote a letter to perſuade the rulers of the Maſſachuſetts to comply with this propoſal. But an anſwer was returned, dated October 3, refuſing any ſuch thing*. After this thoſe men were ſeized and forcibly carried to Boſton, where the General Court by adjournment met October 17, when the accuſation following was exhibited, viz.

"The charge of the priſoners, Samuel Gorton and his company.

"Upon much examination and ſerious conſiderations of your writings, with your anſwers about them, we do charge you to be a blaſphemous enemy of the true religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and

* Gorton's Defence.

and his holy ordinances, and alſo of all civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this juriſdiction.

"It is ordered that Samuel Gorton ſhall be confined to Charleſtown, there to be ſet on work, and to wear ſuch bolts or irons as may hinder his eſcape, and to continue during the pleaſure of the court; provided that if he ſhall break his ſaid confinement, or ſhall in the mean time, either by ſpeech or writing, publiſh, declare or maintain any of the blaſphemous or abominable hereſies wherewith he hath been charged by the General Court, contained in either of the two books ſent unto us by him or Randal Holden; or ſhall reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in theſe united colonies, or the civil government, or the public ordinances of God therein (unleſs it be by anſwer to ſome queſtions propounded to him, or conferrence with any elder, or any other licenced to ſpeak with him privately under the hand of one of the aſſiſtants) that immediately upon accuſation of any ſuch writing or ſpeech, he ſhall, by ſuch aſſiſtant to whom ſuch accuſation ſhall be brought, be committed to priſon till the next court of aſſiſtants, then and there to be tried by a jury, whether he hath ſo ſpoken or written, and upon conviction thereof ſhall be condemned and executed. Dated the third of the ninth month, 1643."

A like ſentence was paſſed, by which John Wickes was confined to Ipſwich, Randal Holden to Salem, Robert Potter to Rowley, Richard Carder to Roxbury, Francis Weſton to Dorcheſter, and John Warner to Boſton; all on the ſame penalty with Gorton. William Woodale was confined to Watertown during the pleaſure of the court, and if he eſcaped to be puniſhed as they ſee meet. Further,

"It

"It is ordered, that all ſuch cattle of Samuel Gorton, John Greene†, &c. as have been or ſhall be ſeized upon, for ſuch ſatisfaction of charges as the country hath been put unto, by ſending and fetching them in, and other charges about the trial in the court, and expence in the priſon or otherwiſe, ſhall be appraiſed and ſold to the moſt advantage, and diſpoſed of accordingly, and the overplus to be reſerved by the treaſurer for their maintenance.—If any of them will not do ſuch work as they may, and as ſhall be appointed them, they are to be left to ſhift as they may.

"Richard Waterman is diſmiſſed for the preſent, ſo that what is taken of his, is to go toward payment of the charge, and the reſt of his eſtate is bound in 100 l. that he ſhall appear at the General Court the third month, and not depart without licence, and to ſubmit to the order of the court.

"Nicholas Power appearing, and denying that he ſet his hand to the firſt book, was diſmiſſed with an admonition.

"For appraiſing the cattle brought from Providence, the priſoners have liberty to name two, Robert Turner and the ſoldiers two, and the court one. The priſoners refuſing, the court, Robert Turner, and the ſoldiers, choſe Mr. Colbron, John Jephſon and William Parks ‡." The whole of the aforeſaid charges were adjudged to amount to an hundred and ſixty pounds. They were detained through the winter under the above ſentence; but finding that

† I can't find that Greene was carried now to Boſton. Hubbard ſays Woodale was found to be an ignorant young man.

‡ *Maſſachuſetts Records.* Nicholas Power, and many of his poſterity have been of good note among the Baptiſts in Providence. Hubbard ſays he was releaſed "freely, for that he was "in his maſter's houſe."

that they could not "keep them from seducing "others, nor yet bring them to any sight of their "folly and wickedness, the General Court (March "7, 1644) sent them away*." Ah, sent them away sure enough! it was with the words following, viz.

"It is ordered that Samuel Gorton and the rest of that company, who now stand confined, shall be set at liberty, provided that if they or any of them shall, after fourteen days after such enlargement, come within any part of our jurisdiction, either in the Massachusetts, or in or near Providence, or any of the lands of Pomham and Soconocho, or elsewhere within our jurisdiction, then such person or persons shall be apprehended, wheresoever they may be taken, and shall *suffer death* by course of law: Provided also, that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the said time of fourteen days, they shall be still bound to the rest of the articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expressed†."

Such a way of treating our fellow servants as this, will doubtless appear very surprizing to the present generation; and many will be ready to say, how was it possible for any, if they had been endowed with the least spark of Christianity, or even humanity, to treat their neighbours as those rulers did? Let Captain Johnson, who was one of the three commissioners that took them, answer the question; says he,

"That holy man of God, Mr. John Cotton, "among many others, hath diligently searched for "the Lord's mind herein, and hath declared some "sudden blow to be given to this blood-thirsty "monster (the man of sin) but the Lord hath in-

* Hubbard. † Massachusetts Records.

" ſeparably joined the time, means and manner of
" this work together; and therefore all men that
" expect the day (of his fall) muſt attend the means."
And ſpeaking of Gorton and his company, he ſays,
" to be ſure there be them in New-England that
" have Chriſt Jeſus and his bleſſed ordinances in
" ſuch eſteem, that the Lord aſſiſting, they had
" rather loſe their lives, than ſuffer them to be
" thus blaſphemed, if they can help it; and whereas
" ſome have favoured them, and endeavoured to
" bring under blame ſuch as have been zealous
" againſt their abominable doctrines, the good God
" be favourable unto them, and prevent them from
" coming under the like blame with *Abab*; yet
" they remain in their old way, and there is ſome-
" what to be conſidered in it to be ſure, that in
" theſe days, when all look for the fall of Anti-
" chriſt, ſuch deteſtable doctrines ſhould be upheld,
" and perſons ſuffered, that exceed the beaſt him-
" ſelf for blaſphemy, and this to be done by thoſe
" that would be counted reformers, and ſuch as
" ſeek the utter ſubverſion of Antichriſt*."

This plain account of the reaſons and motives they acted upon, takes off the edge in ſome meaſure of Gorton's keen ſatire upon them, which he wrote from Warwick, Sept. 16, 1656, to the firſt Quakers that were impriſoned in Boſton, ſaying, " I marvel
" what manner of God your adverſaries truſt in, who
" is ſo fearful of being infected with error, or how
" they think they ſhall eſcape the wiles and power
" of the devil, when the arm of fleſh fails them,
" whereby they ſeek to defend themſelves for the
" preſent; ſure they think their God will be grown
" to more power and care over them, in and after
" death, or elſe they will be loth to paſs through it."

Which

* Johnſon's Hiſtory, p. 187, 230.

Which remark is cutting indeed, if we leave out any consideration of duty in the case; but if that be brought in, then it is presumption, and not faith, to expect protection and support from God in a way of disregard of the means of his appointment. Hence, the error of supposing that God has appointed the use of secular force in religious affairs, ought to bear all the blame and scandal of those cruel proceedings; and instead of venting our resentment against our dead fathers, let these things rouse the living to repentance and reformation. Those fathers could find warrant enough in the old testament for the use of force against idolaters and blasphemers; but the use of force to collect the priests support was plainly censured in those times. With what face then can those who profess to be under the *law of liberty*, forcibly take a farthing from any to maintain professed ministers of HIM who has said, *freely ye have received, freely give*; and who commanded his disciples to *shake off*, and therefore not to carry away, so much as *the dust* of a city or house that would not receive them!

It is likely that the reader would want to know what Gorton's sentiments really were, which were so offensive. To this I answer, that he evidently was a man of smart capacity, and of considerable learning, and when he pleased could express his ideas as plainly as any man; but he used such a mystical method in handling the scriptures, and in speaking about religion, that people are not agreed to this day in what his real sentiments were. It is so common for parties to misrepresent the opinions of their opponents, that little regard is paid by many to what the Massachusetts have said against him. I will therefore give a taste of what he published to the world, not in a way of controversy, but of

friendly correſpondence with the aforeſaid priſoners at Boſton. He firſt wrote a letter to them of the date I have given; to which they returned an anſwer; then he made a reply, October 6, 1656, wherein he gives various remarks upon the ſentiments expreſſed in their letter, and ſays,

"In us a child is born, in us a ſon is given §, "but the government is upon his ſhoulder, and he "is called wonderful Counſellor, the mighty God, "the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace: So "that wherever this lowly and meek ſpirit is, there "is alſo the ſpirit of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, "and the Lord thereby ſhall roar out of Zion, and "utter his voice from Jeruſalem, and the heavens "and the earth ſhall ſhake, but the Lord is the "hope of his people, and the ſtrength of the chil-"dren of Iſrael. True lowlineſs of ſpirit, and the "loftieſt mind that ever was, are never ſeparated; "for theſe twain are made one ſo as never to be "ſeparated, no more than a child (in point of all "human abilities) and the Ancient of Days ſhall; "for as we receive the kingdom of heaven as a "little child, ſo we are never otherwiſe in the ſame "reſpect, which we know, no wiſdom human, "ſerpentine, or upon principles proper to a crea-"ture, can ever yield unto, or find out; and there-"fore we are fools unto the world, being bereaved "of all their principles, in regard of any exerciſe "of them according to their proper intent in any "of our deſigns.—And therefore as brute beaſts "are unto them, ſo are they to us in the things of "God." Again he ſays, "we conclude that the "wiſdom of God, though become fooliſhneſs unto "the world, yet doth it contain ſufficiency of power "in

§ Obſerve the word of truth ſays, *unto us*, but this perverter of ſcripture ſays, *in us*.

" in argument to over-top any council, ſynod, ſy-
" nedrim or aſſembly, compoſed by human art and
" learning.—For as it is in that way of the devil,
" to propoſe his temptations from the *letter* of the
" ſcriptures, to ſubdue Chriſt thereby; ſo is there
" ſufficiency of *ſpirit* and wiſdom, in the true inter-
" pretation thereof, to confound and bring them
" (in the party propoſing them) to nought. A
" Chriſtian is ſtill ſaying, let there be light, and it
" is ſo; he ſhall ever divide the light from the
" darkneſs, and the waters that are above the firma-
" ment from the waters that are below the out-
" ſpread firmament. In a word, he is for ever to
" form all things out of that ancient chaos of God
" and man being made one." Once more he ſays,
" if I witneſs to the Son, word, light, life, law, or
" peace of God, I muſt witneſs unto the being of
" ſuch a thing, that ſuch a thing is, as alſo to the
" manner of its being, how it comes to be ſuch a
" thing, together with its neceſſary and proper
" operations, which muſt inevitably accompany
" ſuch a manner of being, with the comprehenſions
" and extenſions of ſuch operations and motion, or
" elſe I am not that faithful and true witneſs, the
" *beginning of the creation of God*, or that head and
" maſterpiece of his work†."

Theſe extracts from his own writings, may give the reader ſome idea of his way of handling the ſcriptures. Our Saviour vanquiſhed the tempter by appealing to what was *written*, and ſhewing thereby that Satan perverted the text he pretended to quote; but the *lofty mind* of this writer ſoared ſo much above that method, as to ſay of the world of mankind, " as brute beaſts are unto them, ſo are
" they

† Theſe letters are annexed to a book he publiſhed in 1656, p. 272—294.

"they to us in the things of God." Well therefore might Mr. Williams say, "I am no more of Master Gorton's religion than of Master Cotton's; and yet if Master Cotton complain of their *obstinacy* in their way, I cannot but impute it to his *bloody tenet* and practice, which ordinarily gives strength, vigour, spirit and resolution to the most erroneous, when such *unrighteous* and most *unchristian* proceedings are exercised against them†." Besides their difference about gospel doctrines, they evidently differed in the following points of practice. 1. Mr. Williams used great *plainness of speech*, so that his meaning was obvious to common understandings; but Mr. Gorton's writings are not so. 2. Mr. Williams openly stood for what he believed to be the truth, in the face of the greatest danger; but when Mr. Gorton saw himself greatly exposed in Boston, he explained their mystical writings in such a manner, that Governor Winthrop said, "he could agree with him in his answer, though not in their writings *." 3. Mr. Williams set a noble example of overcoming evil with good; but Mr. Gorton was sadly ensnared in rendering evil for evil, and railing for railing. Though after he had been to England, and obtained liberty to return to and enjoy the lands they had purchased, he and sundry of his suffering companions became very useful members of civil society. But as corruption is ever the most dangerous when covered with a religious mask, it is of great importance for us all to learn to distinguish between that and true religion. Paul said to the contending Corinthians, *are ye not carnal and walk as men?* The same query may be made concerning those contentions betwixt Gorton and his opponents.

The

† Reply to Cotton, p. 123. * Gorton's Defence.

The Maſſachuſetts profeſſed a high regard to their charter, when they baniſhed Mr. Williams; but that gave them no right to any land or government, further than three miles ſouth of their bay, and of every part of Charles river; and that line croſſes the great poſt road near landlord Maxcy's, in Attleborough, from whence to Pawtuxet river is 19 miles, and Shawomet is ſtill further ſouthward; yet we are plainly told that Arnold and his company were received "partly to draw in the reſt, either "under themſelves or Plymouth." *Hubbard.* And when Gorton and his friends were got out of Arnold's reach, two petty ſachems were taken in to found a claim upon, though it was known that Miantinomu was ſo much above them, that he ſold Providence and Pawtuxet over their heads ſome years before, in which was contained the beſt title that Arnold's company had to their lands. What work then did they make, in firſt enticing ſubjects to revolt from their prince, and then in killing him becauſe he was uneaſy about it! Had they not been blinded with ſuch a zeal as the diſciples had, when they were for having fire to come down and conſume the Samaritans, ſurely they would not have violated the rules of juſtice and equity as they did. They tried afterwards to vindicate their conduct by the claim of Plymouth to that land, and upon an act of the commiſſioners of the united colonies concerning it *. But Plymouth patent extended no farther weſtward than Narraganſet river, and the utmoſt limits of Pocanokit or Sawamſet, that is Oſamaquin or Maſaſſoit's territories †; and we have before heard how they fell ſhort of the lands in queſtion. Further the commiſſioners pleaded, that Miantinomu engaged by treaty, not to begin war with

* Maſſachuſetts Hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 122.
† Prince's Chronology, p. 197.

with Uncas without first appealing to the English, yet had broken that agreement §. But a very credible writer of their own informs us, that Miantinomu first sent his complaint to Hartford against Uncas; and when they refused to meddle in Sequassion's quarrel, he would know whether they would be offended if he should make war upon Uncas? And that they left him to take his course †, so that their case in truth was, like that of other invaders of their neighbour's rights; they were in danger of being awfully requited, by a man so sensible and powerful as Miantinomu, if he was not taken out of the way. This evil is greatly to be lamented, and should ever stand as a solemn warning to us all, to beware of taking one step into any course of injustice, deceit, or cruelty; for it will surely prove bitterness in the latter end.

Had Gorton been duly aware of this, he would not have armed Miantinomu against Uncas, for no better reason, that we know of, than because he, being a warlike prince, stood in the way of his forming an Indian party sufficient to withstand or overcome the Massachusetts; which proceeding, together with his irritating writings against their rulers and ministers, were the evident cause of things being carried to the dreadful extremity they were. Mr. Williams ever bore as plain and full testimony against their persecuting any man for matters of conscience, as Gorton could; and had a much greater influence over the Indians than he ever had; yet he was so far from trying to raise a heathen party against Christians, to correct them for injuries done to himself, that he exerted himself with great assiduity to prevent any thing of that nature; by which

§ Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 140.
Hubbard.

which he undoubtedly was the greateſt inſtrument of ſaving New-England of any one man that lived in that day, and for which his *memory* is and will be *bleſſed*.

Among the reaſoners of our world, ſome will not allow, that men are influenced in all their voluntary actions by previous cauſes and motives, while others incline ſo much to infidelity as to repreſent, that the very notion of religion, or of perſons thinking that the Deity loves them better than others, tends to make them hate and treat thoſe ill who, as they ſuppoſe, are not thus beloved. But as nothing teaches like experience, let the experience of thoſe fathers be conſidered, and the light which facts give in the caſe be regarded, beyond all the ſuppoſitions or wrangles of diſputants. Is it not evident, that thoſe ſeveral contending parties were influenced in all their bad actions by the ſame principles of ambition, avarice, deceit, and reſentment, that other men are? And is it not as evident, that thoſe actions which were good and praiſe-worthy, flowed from a hearty belief of revealed religion, eſpecially of free ſalvation by Chriſt Jeſus? At preſent we will take a view of the head men of the three parties of Boſton, Warwick and Providence.

Governor Winthrop was in ſuch eſteem in his native country, as to be made a juſtice of peace at the age of eighteen, had an eſtate of ſix or ſeven hundred pounds ſterling per annum; yet ſold it, and ſpent the main of it in promoting a religious ſettlement in this wilderneſs; where for all his vaſt labour and pains, in ſettling and managing the government, he for ſome years had no ſtated ſalary, and never had more than one hundred pounds a year; was ſeveral times very ungratefully treated by his own people; and what could carry him

through all this, with chearfulness to the end, but the power of religion *?

Gorton,

* What his religious sentiments were, the reader may form some judgment by the following extracts. In the first part of his administrations as Governor, he said, "in the infancy of plantations, justice should be administred with more lenity than in a settled state; because people are more apt then to transgress; partly out of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly out of oppression of business and other straits. But when some leading and learned men took offence at his conduct in this matter, and upon a conference, gave it as their opinion, that a stricter discipline was to be used in the beginning of a plantation, than after its being with more age established and confirmed, the Governor being readier to see his own errors than other men's, professed his purpose to endeavour their satisfaction with less lenity in his administrations." From whence we may guess at the cause of the severities we have been treating of.

His expences were great, and for two years he had no settled salary, yet the divine precept against taking bribes, had such influence upon his mind, that when he was the third time chosen Governor, May 8, 1632, he told the people publicly, "that he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content; he had also received many kindnesses from particular persons, which he could not refuse, lest he should be accounted uncourteous, &c. but he professed he received them with a trembling heart, in regard to *God's rule*, and the consciousness of his own infirmity, and therefore desired that hereafter they would not take it ill if he should refuse presents from particular persons, except the assistance of some special friends. To which no answer was made; but he is told after, that many good people were much grieved at it, *for that he never had any allowance toward the charge of his place.*"

After he had acted in banishing Mr. Wheelwright and others, many of their friends in Boston church, whereof he was a member, were earnest with the elders to have the church call him forth as an offender, for passing that sentence; which he understanding, took occasion to make a public speech to them upon it, in which he said,

"As for myself, I did nothing in the causes of any of the *brethren*, but by advice of the *elders* of the church. Moreover, in the oath which I have taken there is this clause, *in all causes wherein you are to give your vote, you shall do as in your judgment and conscience you shall see to be just, and for the public good.* And I am

Gorton, as we have seen, had a notion that the child was born in him and his followers, who had the *government upon his shoulders*, and he concurred

 with

I am satisfied it is most for the glory of God, and the public good, that there be such a sentence passed; yea, those brethren are so divided from the rest of the country in their opinions and practices, that it cannot stand with the *public peace* for them to continue with us; Abraham saw that Hagar and Ishmael must be sent away."

Seven years after, upon a hot debate between the magistrates and deputies about who should have the negative vote, Governor Winthrop wrote his mind upon it, some passages whereof gave offence to some noted men, which he understanding, made the following speech at the next General Court, viz. "As for the *matter* of my writing, I had the concurrence of my brethren; it is a point of *judgment* which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and over again, by such *light* as God has given me, from the rules of religion, reason and custom; and I see no cause to retract any thing of it: Wherefore I must enjoy my *liberty* in that, as you do yourselves. But for the *manner*, this, and all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly *my own*; and whatsoever I might alledge for my own justification before *men*, I wave it, as now setting myself before *another judgment-seat*. However, what I wrote was upon great provocation, and to vindicate myself and others from great aspersion; yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to allow any *distemper of spirit* in myself; and I doubt I have been too prodigal of my brethren's reputation. I might have maintained my cause without casting any blemish upon others. When I made that my conclusion, *and now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case*, it looked as if I arrogated too much unto myself, and too little to others: And when I made that profession, *that I would maintain what I wrote before all the world*, though such words might modestly be spoken, yet I perceive an unbeseeming pride of my own heart breathing in them. For these failings I ask pardon both of God and man."

Once more; when a great disturbance had been made in the colony by Dr. Child and others, in 1646, Governor Winthrop was called to an account for his actings against them, before a great assembly, but he was openly acquitted; upon which he said, "though I am justified before men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administrations, as calls me

to

with Wheelwright in treating those who opposed their religious sentiments as *enemies to the state*; which principle evidently moved him to endeavour

to be humbled; and indeed for me to have been thus charged by men, is itself a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed. But give me leave before you go to say something that may rectify the opinions of many people, from whence the distempers have risen that have lately prevailed upon the body of this people. The questions that have troubled the country have been about the *authority* of the magistracy, and the *liberty* of the people. It is you who have called us unto this office; but being thus called, we have our authority from God; it is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God by terrible examples of his vengeance. I intreat you to consider, that when you choose magistrates, you take from among yourselves *men subject to like passions with yourselves*. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censurers of ours. We count him a good servant who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between us and you is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, *that we shall govern you, and judge your causes, according to God's laws, and our own, according to our best skill*. As for our skill, you must run the hazard of that; and if there be an error, not in the *will*, but in the *skill*, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own *liberty*. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list; and this liberty is inconsistent with authority, impatient of all restraint; by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*: It is the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority; it is a liberty for that only which is just and good; for this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you, will in all administrations for your good be quietly submitted unto, by all but such as have a disposition to *shake off the yoke*, and lose their true liberty, by their murmuring at the

honor

vour to raiſe what force he could againſt them, even from among the barbarians; and alſo to treat them with ſuch a temper as he did from time to time. Even ſo late as the year 1676, the very little of the book he then publiſhed ſhews the ſpirit of it, which is exactly in theſe words, viz. "A "glaſs for New-England, in which they may ſee "themſelves and ſpirits, and if not too late, re-"pent and turn from their abominable ways and "curſed contrivances. By S. G." And as the Quakers were about that time accuſed by authority of ſetting up their poſt by God's poſts, he ſays, "I hope none will be ſo blind and ignorant as to "ſet their poſts or threſholds to the devil's poſt, "and the profeſſors of New-England's poſts, viz. "their whipping-poſt or gallows-poſts; no nor "yet join their threſhold to their gaol-threſholds, "nor their bridewell-threſhold, over which and in "which profeſſors and talkers of God and Chriſt "do and have hauled over lambs and followers of "Chriſt, and in which they crop their ears, and "out of which they bring them in their *wills* and "*madneſs*, and baniſh, whip and hang them in their "blind zeal." p. 17, 18. And he annexes to ſaid book a letter to Governor Bellingham, dated from Boſton priſon June 15, 1667, wrote by John Tyſo, a Quaker, who ſpeaks of it as a great error in Dr. Increaſe Mather to ſay, "there was "nothing IN him that he hoped to be ſaved by, "and that there was none cleanſed from *all ſin* on "this

honor and power of authority." *Magnalia*, b. 2, p. 9—13. *Prince's Annals*, p. 60.

O! had it not been for the miſtaken notion of uſing ſecular force in religious affairs, how gloriouſly would this and other New-England fathers have ſhined!

"this side the grave." p. 35. Gorton likewise, speaking of Wheelwright's being first called before the General Court for his sermon, at their session in March, 1637, tells us that Mr. Cotton then said, "brother Wheelwright's doctrine was according to "God, in the point controverted, and wholly and al-"together; and nothing did I hear alledged against "the doctrine proved by the word of God.—But, "(says G.) that which is most to be lamented, is "that those which once had a *good testimony in their* "*hearts* and mouths for God, and his *light and spi-*"*ritual appearance*; and they not being faithful "and constant to that which is made manifest and "*committed to them*, it has even happened to them "according to the saying of the Lord God, by the "mouth of his prophet, that *in the day in which a* "*righteous man turns from his righteousness, and doth* "*wickedly, all the righteousness that he hath done* "*shall be forgotten, and in the sin which he hath sin-*"*ned he shall surely die the death.*" p. 6, 7.

Now is it not evident, that the Massachusetts were moved by the same unreasonable principle of grasping at power and gain, that belonged not to them, in their dealings with Gorton, as operates in other men, though it went under a cloak of religion? And is it not as evident that he was moved with self-conceit, and carnal wit and resentment, in his carriage towards them, notwithstanding all his talk of the child's being born in him, and of a creating power "for ever to form all things out of that an-"cient *chaos* of God and man being made one!" And neither of these things can hurt the truth and excellency of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, any more than the self confidence, rashness and dissimulation of Peter did on the one hand, or the blasphemy of Hymenus and Alexander on the other. And though some

ſome would have it, that Mr. Williams, after his baniſhment, left revealed religion, and took to the exerciſe of reaſon and humanity, in diſtinction from it, yet his own teſtimony is exceeding clear to the contrary. In his addreſs to the Quakers 37 years after his baniſhment he ſays,

" The truth is, from my childhood, now above " threeſcore years, the Father of lights and mercies " touched my ſoul with a love to himſelf, to his " *only begotten*, the true LORD JESUS, to his HOLY " SCRIPTURES, &c. his infinite wiſdom hath given " me to ſee the city, court and country, the ſchools " and univerſities of my native country, to converſe " with ſome Turks, Jews, Papiſts, and all ſorts of " Proteſtants, and by books to know the affairs " and religions of all countries. My concluſion is, " that, *be of good cheer, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, " Matt. ix. is one of the joyfuleſt ſounds that " ever came to poor ſinful ears. How to ob- " tain this ſound from the mouth of the me- " diator that ſpoke it, is the greateſt diſpute be- " tween the Proteſtants and the bloody whore of " Rome: This is alſo the great point between the " true Proteſtants and yourſelves; as alſo, in order " to this, about what man is now by nature, and " what the true Lord Jeſus is*."

And upon their uſe of thoſe words ſpoken to the ſaints, the manifeſtation of the ſpirit is given to *every man* to profit withal, and other like expreſſions, which they would apply to mankind in general, he ſays, " the Papiſts catch hold upon a letter; *this is* " *my body*; you as ſimply as do the *Generaliſts* " catch hold upon the letter, *all*, *every man*, &c. " whereas the *ſcope* and *connexion* in all writings, " and in all matters in the world, is *rationally* to be " minded

* Dedication of his book againſt the Quakers, 1673.

" minded. The *sense* and *meaning* is, in all speech
" and writing, the very speech and writing itself.
" The words *all* and *every one*, in our own and
" other tongues, are often used *figuratively*. It is
" so all the scripture over, and thrice in one verse,
" Col. i. 28, where reason cannot imagine that
" Paul did literally and individually admonish
" *every man*, teach *every man*, and present *every*
" *man* that comes into the world *perfect in Christ*
" *Jesus*, which could not, cannot possibly be true,
" without another sense and exposition than the
" words *literally* hold out*."

And when they demanded the reason why he condemned them for not holding to the external use of baptism and the supper, while he did not live in the practice thereof himself? He answered, " that
" it was one thing to be in arms against the King
" of kings, and the visible administration of his
" kingdom, and to turn off all to notions of an
" invisible kingdom, officers and worship, as the
" Quakers did; and another thing, among so many
" pretenders to be the true church, to be in doubt
" unto which to associate himself. After all my
" search and examinations, I said, I do profess to
" believe, that some come nearer to the first *churches*
" and *institutions* of Christ than others; as in many
" respects, so in that gallant, heavenly and funda-
" mental principle, of the *true matter* of a Christian
" society, viz. *actual believers*, *true disciples and con-*
" *verts*, and *living stones*, such as can give some ac-
" count how the *grace of God* hath appeared to
" them, and wrought that *heavenly change in them*.
" I professed that if my soul could find rest in join-
" ing unto any of the churches professing Christ now
" extant, I would readily and gladly do it, yea,
" unto

* Ibid. p. 8, 9.

" unto themſelves whom I now oppoſed. But not " finding reſt, they knew there is a time of purity " and *primitive* ſincerity; there is a time of tranſ- " greſſion and *apoſtacy*, and there is a time of the " coming out of the *Babylonian* and *wilderneſs apo-* " *ſtacy**."

Theſe extracts may aſſiſt the reader in forming a true judgment of the motives upon which thoſe ſeveral noted men acted in thoſe difficult times, which alſo may be uſeful now to teach us all, what to avoid and what to purſue; the importance of which I hope will ſufficiently apologize for the length of this account, and alſo make the reader willing to take an article or two more before we conclude this chapter.

The church at Plymouth was ſo unwilling to part with " a man of ſuch eminence" as Mr. Chauncy, that they conceded, in caſe he would ſettle with them, that he ſhould act according to his perſuaſion, which was that " baptiſm ought *only* to be by *dip-* " *ping or plunging the whole body under water*," with ſuch as deſired it, either for themſelves or infants, provided he could without offence ſuffer their other miniſter, Mr. Regner, to practiſe in the other way, with thoſe who deſired it; " but he did not ſee " light to comply†." From thence he was called to office in the church at Scituate, where we are told that he " perſevered in his opinion of *dipping* " *in baptiſm*, and practiſed accordingly, firſt upon " two of his own children, which being in very " cold weather, one of them ſwooned away;—ano- " ther, having a child about three years old, fear- " ed it would be frighted (as others had been, and " one caught hold of Mr. Chauncy, and had near

 " pulled

* Ibid. p. 65, 66.

† Plymouth Regiſter, p. 5, 6.

" pulled him into the water) ſhe brought her child " to Boſton (with letters teſtimonial from Mr. " Chauncy) and had it baptized here." This laſt action was in July, 1642; and not long after, " the lady Moody, a wiſe and amiable religious " woman, being taken with the error of denying " baptiſm to infants, was dealt withal by many of " the elders and others, and admoniſhed by the " church of Salem (whereof ſhe was) perſiſting " ſtill, and to avoid further trouble, ſhe removed " to the Dutch, againſt the advice of her friends. " Many others infeſted with Anabaptiſm, &c. re- " moved thither alſo. She was after excommuni- " cated*."

Here as well as elſewhere appears the honeſty and ingenuity of this great man, in ſtating facts plainly, when they make directly againſt his own perſuaſion. Thoſe who deny infant baptiſm have been reproached from age to age with the name of Anabaptiſts, under which have been couched ſuch dreadful ideas, that even to this day we ſee the very name uſed as an argument in various controverſies; ſo that if a diſputant can tell his opponent, he in that point agrees with the Anabaptiſts, it is thought that therein he muſt be in an error; but our honorable author gives, without a covering, the good characters and virtues of that father and that mother in our Iſrael, at the ſame time that he deſcribes plainly what he diſliked in them; leaving fair grounds for others to judge upon, without being biaſſed with any old ſtories of German madneſs. By this it appears that the grand difficulty in the way of *burying in baptiſm*, is their admitting of ſubjects to it who have not the faith or diſcretion which is neceſſary for ſuch an action.

Though

* Winthrop.

Though Mr. Williams had done ſuch great ſervices for his Engliſh neighbours in the late wars, yet he was not permitted to paſs through their coaſts, but was forced to repair to the Dutch to get a paſſage to his native country; yea, it muſt needs be ſo, becauſe the bleſſings of a peace-maker were to come upon him, among the Dutch as well as Engliſh †.

When Mr. Williams arrived in England, he found the country involved in the dreadful calamities and horrors of a war between the King and Parliament; but the Parliament having the command of the fleet, did by an ordinance of November 2, 1643, ap-

† As a diſtinct account of this affair has not been publiſhed among us, I ſhall give it a place here. When the commiſſioners of the united colonies met in September, 1643, they were informed of a Dutch ſhip that had arrived in Hudſon's river, which brought 4000 pounds of powder, and 700 piecer, to trade with the natives; but the Dutch Governor, having notice thereof, prudently confiſcated them to the uſe of the company; thereby depriving their enemies of arms, whereby they might themſelves have been deſtroyed, and furniſhing themſelves and friends with weapons for their ſafety; for at this time the Indians had fierce war with the Dutch, and if it had not been for the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, they might have been all cut off. The occaſion of the war was this: An Indian being drunk, had ſlain an old Dutchman; the Dutch required the murderer, but he could not be had. The people called often upon the Governor to take revenge, but he ſtill put it off, becauſe he thought it not juſt, or not ſafe. It fell out in that time, that the Maquaſor Mohawks, either upon their own quarrel or (as the report was) being ſet on by the Dutch, came ſuddenly upon the Indians near the Dutch, and killed about 30 of them; the reſt fled for ſhelter to the Dutch. One Marine, a Dutch captain, hearing of it, went to the Governor and obtained a commiſſion to kill as many as he could of them; and accordingly went with a company of armed men, and ſet upon them, when they feared no ſuch thing from the Dutch, and killed 70 or 80 men, women and children. Upon this the Indians burnt divers of their farm houſes, and their cattle in them; and ſlew all they could meet with, to the number

point commissioners to manage the affairs of the islands and other plantations; from whom, by the kind assistance of Sir Henry Vane, who was one of them, Mr. Williams obtained a charter, including the lands "bordering northward and northeast on "the patent of the Massachusetts, east and southeast "on Plymouth patent, south on the ocean, and on "the west and northwest by the Indians called "Narraganfets; the whole tract extending about "twenty-five miles, unto the Pequod river and "country;

ber of 20 or more, of men, women and children, and pursued hard upon the Dutch, even home to their fort Aurana (Albany) that they were forced to call in the English to their aid, and entertained Captain Underhill in their service. Marine was so much enraged to see Underhill preferred before him, that his Governor was forced at last to send him home in chains. About this time Captain Patrick, who went from Boston, was shot dead by a Dutchman, upon a Lordsday, at Stamford. Though the people were all for war before, yet now they were so much offended with the Governor, that he entertained a guard of 50 English about his person. And the Indians annoyed them so by sudden assaults out of swamps, &c. that he was forced to keep a running army to oppose them upon all occasions. The Indians killed and drove all before them as far as Stamford; slew Mrs. Hutchinson and her family, all except one whom they captivated. They passed over to Long-Island, and the natives there took part with them, and began to burn the Dutchmen's houses; assaulted the house of the lady Moody, who not long before moved from Salem upon the account of *Anabaptism*; but she was defended by forty men that gathered to her house, which they assaulted divers times. But the Long-Island Indians, "by the mediation of Mr. Williams (who was then there to "take ship for England) were pacified, and *peace re-established* "between the Dutch and them. But still upon the main, they "set upon the Dutch with an implacable fury, killing all they "could come by, burning their houses, and destroying their "cattle, without any resistance; so as the Governor and such as "escaped betook themselves to their fort at Manhatos [New-"York] and there lived upon their cattle. But many of the "Indians being destroyed by Captain Underhill and his fol-"lowers, at last they began to be weary of the sport, and conde-"scended to terms of peace." *Winthrop—Hubbard.*

" country; to be known by the name of *The* " INCORPORATION *of* PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, " *in the* NARRAGANSET-BAY, *in* NEW-ENGLAND. " Together with full power and authority to rule " themselves, and such others as shall hereafter in- " habit within any part of the said tract of land, by " such form of civil government, as by voluntary " consent of all, or the greater part of them, they " shall find most suitable to their estate and condi- " tion.—Provided the civil government of the said " plantations be conformable to the laws of Eng- " land, so far as the nature and constitution of the " place will admit."

This charter was signed March 14, 1644, by Robert Warwick, Philip Pembroke, Say and Seal, Philip Wharton, Arthur Haslerig, Cornelius Holland, Henry Vane, Samuel Vassel, John Rolle, Miles Corbet, and William Spurstow*.

CHAP. III.

From 1644 to 1651, containing the first Law that was made in New-England against the Baptists, and a Variety of other Events.

THE first Baptist church in Newport we are told was formed and set in order about this year, under the ministry of Mr. John Clark; which is the first church of any denomination on Rhode-Island that has continued by succession, and the second in the colony†. Also in the Massachusetts we

* See said charter in the History of Providence.

† The first certain date in their church records is taken from a manuscript of Mr. Samuel Hubbard in 1648, which says the church

we are told that "Anabaptists increased and spread "in the country‡." Upon which they framed and passed the following act at their General Court, November 13, 1644.

"Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about 100 years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other heretics use to do) concealed the same till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple; and whereas divers of this kind have since our coming into New-England appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and their inspection into any breach of the first table; which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth; it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance,

church was formed about the year 1644, and by what I have quoted from Winthrop and Hubbard, it appears as likely to be earlier as later than that time.

‡ Winthrop.

ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be *sentenced to banishment**.

Let it be here noted, that the evident design of this law was to guard against such as refused to countenance infant baptism, and the use of secular force in religious affairs; which the Baptists have ever done from that day to this; but the other articles inserted in this act they have not owned; and the court then had no proof at hand, but were forced to have recourse to surmises, distant times, and

* *Massachusetts Records.* Mr. Hubbard speaking of their making this law, says, "but with what success is hard to say; all men being naturally inclined to pity them that suffer, how much soever they are incensed against offenders in general. Natural conscience and the reverence of a Deity, that is deeply engraved on the hearts of all, make men more apt to favour them that suffer for religion, true or false." A judicious remark; yet in another instance we may see how party influence can blind great men. For this author in 1638 tells us of Arnold's opposing their censuring Verin at Providence, for refusing to let his wife go to Mr. Williams's meeting so often as she was called for, and represents that to censure Verin therefor, would be a breach of God's ordinance, about the "subjection "of wives to their husbands." But the same author informs us, that in 1644 one Painter, a poor man, was suddenly turned Anabaptist, "and having a child born, would not suffer his wife "to carry it to be baptized. He was complained of for this to "the court, and *enjoined* by them to suffer his child to be bap-"tized." And because he refused to obey them therein, and told them it was an Antichristian ordinance, they tyed him up and whipt him; which he bare without flinching, and declared he had divine help to support him; upon which, says our author, "two or three honest men that were his neighbours affirmed "that he was of very loose behaviour at home," &c. Be it so or

and foreign countries, for them; and a like method of treating the Baptists, in courts, from pulpits and from the press, has been handed down by *tradition* ever since. And can we believe that men so knowing and virtuous in other respects, as many on that side have been, would have introduced and continued in a way of treating their neighbours, which is so unjust and scandalous, if they could have found better arguments to support that cause upon? I have diligently searched all the books, records and papers I could come at upon all sides, and have found a great number of instances of Baptists suffering for the above points that we own; but not one instance of the conviction of any member of a Baptist church in this country, in any court, of the errors or evils which are inserted in this law to justify their making of it, and to render our denomination odious*. Much has been said to exalt the characters of those good fathers: I have no desire of detracting from any of their virtues; but the better the men were, the worse must be the principle that could ensnare them in such bad actions.

The contrast betwixt their treatment of Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Williams this year deserves notice.

or not, yet we have no better account of Verin's character than of his, yet Verin must not be censured for withholding his wife from meeting; but if poor Painter will not give up the disposal of his children to his wife, at the court's commandment, he must not only be censured, but also suffer corporal punishment: Yea, and into the bargain, be publicly reproached for his private failings! Governor Winthrop tells us he belonged to Hingham, and says he was whipt "for reproaching the Lord's ordinance." But did not they reproach infant-sprinkling, by taking such methods to support it, much more than Painter did?

* That is not one instance in any government that supported Pædobaptism by force. But Mr. Williams, when Governor of Providence colony in 1655, acted with the court in punishing a man for opposing all government, who then was called a Baptist, but after turned to the Quakers.

notice. Upon a new running of the line, the Massachusetts had taken Exeter into their colony, which caused Mr. Wheelwright to remove to Wells, from whence he wrote to the Governor at Boston for a reconciliation, Dec. 7, 1643, and said, "it is the "grief of my soul that I used such vehemen- "censorious speeches. I repent me that I did ad- "here to persons of corrupt judgments, to the "countenancing and encouraging of them in any "of their errors, or evil practices, though I intend- "ed no such thing." The court inclined to hear him, of which the Governor sent him a written account, and received such a reply as would make one think of Bishop Burnet's remark. Said he, there are none of us but what will acknowledge in *general terms* that our church is imperfect, though when we come to *particulars* we are always in the right†.

X Yet

† Said letter to the Governor is in these words:

R. W.

"I have received your letters, wherein you signify to me, that you have imparted my letter to the H. C. and that it finds good acceptance, for which I rejoice with all thankfulness; as also for liberty of safe conduct granted by the court, and, in case I desire, letters for that end. I should very willingly (upon letters obtained) express by word of mouth, openly in court, that which I did by writing, might I without offence express my true intent and meaning more fully to this effect, that notwithstanding my failings (for which I crave pardon) yet I cannot with a good conscience condemn myself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations and gross errors, as have been charged upon me. The concurrence of which, as I take it, make up the substance of all my sufferings. I do not see but in so mixt a cause, I am bound to use, may it be permitted, my just defence, so far as I apprehend myself to be innocent, and to make my confession where I am convinced of any delinqency, otherwise I shall seemingly and in appearance fall under guilt of many heinous offences, for which my conscience doth acquit me. If I seem to make suit to the court for relaxation to be granted as an act of mercy upon my sole confession, I must offend my conscience; if by

Yet without waiting for his personal appearance, they at the General Court in Boston, May 29, 1644, passed the following act, viz.

"It is ordered that Mr. Wheelwright (upon a "particular, solemn, and serious acknowledgment "and confession, by letters, of his evil carriages, and "of the court's justice upon him for them) hath "his banishment taken off, and is received as a "member of this commonwealth*."

Mr. Williams returned with the charter he had procured to Boston, the 17th of September following†, and brought the ensuing letter with him.

To the right worshipful the Governor and Assistants, and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of Massachusetts-Bay.

Our much honored friends,

"TAKING notice some of us of long time of Mr. Roger Williams's good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressors of God's people the prelates, as also of his great industry and travels in his printed Indian labours

by an act of justice, upon my apology and lawful defence, I fear I shall here offend your Worships. I leave all things to your wise and holy consideration, hoping you will pardon my simplicity and plainness, which I am forced unto by the power of an over-ruling conscience. I rest your Worship's in the Lord,

J. WHEELWRIGHT."

Wells (1) 1, 1643.

Winthrop—Hubbard. Note, their way was to begin the year with March 25, so that according to our reckoning this was March 1, 1644.

* At the same time they passed a sentence, that "Richard Waterman, being found erroneous, heretical and obstinate, it was ordered that he should be detained prisoner till the quarter court in the seventh month unless five of the magistrates find cause to send him away, which if they do, it is ordered, he shall not return within this jurisdiction upon *pain of death.*"

Massachusetts Records.

† Winthrop.

labours in your parts (the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America) and in which respect it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode, and withal sorrowfully resenting that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of the other (as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you*) there should be such a distance; we thought it fit upon divers considerations to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavours of nearer closing and of ready expressing those good affections (which we perceive you bear each to other) in effectual performance of all friendly offices. The rather because of those bad neighbours you are likely to find too too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the west of England and from Ireland. That howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your

* Mr. Williams confirmed his profession of love to them by his practice, in constantly doing them all the good in his power, both in this country and at the British court, where also his great friend, Sir Henry Vane, this year shewed a truly Christian spirit of forgiveness towards the Massachusetts; for when upon a certain affair "a heavy complaint was made against the government, and they were threatened with the loss of their privileges, Sir Henry Vane stood their friend, and by his great interest with the Parliament, appeased their resentment, and laid the storm which was gathering and hung over them."
Massachusetts History, vol. 1, p. 66.

Mr. Williams's printed Indian labours referred to, which had considerable influence in procuring their charter, were three years before the famous Mr. Elliot began to preach to the Indians at Natick, or Mr. Thomas Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard.
Magnalia, b. 3, p. 193. *Mayhew's Indian Converts*, p. 5.

peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshings to your true and faithful friends,

Cor. Holland,	*Robert Harley,*
John Blackistow,	*John Gurdon,*
Isaac Pennington,	*Northumberland,*
Miles Corbet,	*P. Wharton,*
Oliver St. John,	*Thomas Barrington,*
Gibert Pickering,	*William Marsham* *."

It is said, "upon the receipt of this letter, the Governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts found, upon examination of their hearts, no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams; but for any offices of Christian love, and duties of humanity, they were very willing to maintain a mutual correspondence with him; but as to his dangerous principles of separation, unless he can be brought to lay them down, they see no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, free liberty of ingress or egress, lest any of their people should be drawn away with his erroneous opinions †."

The reader may remember that Wheelwright, in his sentence of banishment, was charged with contempt and sedition, which he never confessed; and that Governor Winthrop declared his opinions to be worse than Mr. Williams's ‡; yet now the one is received

* *Massachusetts History*, vol. 1, p. 39, 40. King Charles the first's party at that time had the command of the west of England, Ireland and Virginia, and fear of visits from them is what they refer to. That party was defeated the next year, and the King taken prisoner.

† Hubbard.

‡ The court's sentence against him was in these words: "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates, as also written letters of defamation both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth

received to favour and liberty again, while the other is denied it, though he had done the colony such great and essential services as the former never did. How can we account for this? The best answer I can give is, that Mr. Wheelwright held to infant baptism, and to the magistrates power to govern in religious affairs, and now yielded to their exercise of it; but Mr. Williams denied both, for which he was excommunicated by the church, after the court had sent him away; Wheelwright was also in such favour with Mr. Cotton, that he was dismissed from his church in fellowship, after the court had banished him for sedition; and he now appeared very complaisant and submissive to men in power: But Williams was so "*self-conceited, turbu-* "*lent*, and *uncharitable*, as to give public adver- "tisements and admonition to all men, whether "of meaner or more public note and place, of the "corruptions of religion which *himself* observed, "both in their judgments and practices; of which "there needs no other evidence, than what is ob- "vious to the view of every indifferent reader, in "his dealing with that famous and reverend divine "Mr. John Cotton, in his book called *The bloody* "*Tenet*."

These words Mr. Hubbard quotes from another, as the received opinion of that day. But who was this reverend divine, and how was he dealt with? Was not Mr. Williams as truly a minister of Christ as he? Does self-conceit move men to give plain warnings

tainetb the same without retraction: It is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the Governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without licence from the court."

Massachusetts Records, 1635.

warnings to great men, which have a tendency to expose self to heavy sufferings? And does it move persons to do every kind office they can from year to year, for those who will not hear reproof, but requite evil for good? This is a different sort of pride than what most men are acquainted with. However that the reader may have a fair opportunity of judging for himself, I shall endeavour plainly to state before him the occasion and nature of this controversy between Cotton and Williams.

A prisoner in Newgate wrote some arguments against persecution, which were presented to Mr. Cotton, and he wrote an answer to them in a letter to one Mr. Hall, of Roxbury; who not being satisfied therewith, sent them to Mr. Williams at Providence, requesting him to write upon the subject. And as Mr. Cotton closed his letter to Mr. Hall with saying, "I forbear adding reasons to justify "the truth, because you may find that done to "your hand, in a treatise sent to some of the bre-"thren, late of Salem, who doubted as you do:" Mr. Williams wrote to Mr. Sharp, elder of Salem church, for it, and obtained it §. He then wrote his sentiments upon the whole, under the title of *The bloody Tenet of Persecution for Conscience Sake*; which I suppose he now brought with him from London, though I have not been able to obtain it. Mr. Cotton wrote an answer to him, which he called *The bloody Tenet washed, and made white in the Blood of the Lamb*; that was printed in London in 1647. To this Mr. Williams published a reply in 1652, intituled, *The bloody Tenet yet more bloody, by Mr. Cotton's Endeavour to wash it white.* The two last of these performances are now before me, and from thence I shall give the reader their own words upon the most material points of their dispute.

First,

§ William's Reply to Cotton, p. 290, 291.

First. Mr. Cotton's memory failed him so much as to represent, that what he wrote in answer to the prisoner's arguments, was in a private letter to Mr. Williams, and upon that said, "I wrote my conscience, and the truth of God according to my conscience; why should he punish me with open penance, and expose me (as much as in him lieth to the world) to open shame, as a man of blood, for the liberty of my conscience? How will it stand with his own principles, to plead for liberty of conscience and yet to punish it? Besides let him remember, if I did offend him with such an error, it was but a private offence, and the rule of the gospel required he should first have convinced and admonished me privately of it, and so have proceeded upon my contumacy, at length to have told the church, before he had published it to the world*." C. p. 2.

Mr. Williams in his reply mentions Mr. Cotton's mistake about who he wrote the letter to, and that he supposed his answer to the prisoner's arguments had been as public as his profession and practice was upon that tenet, and then says, "but grant it had been a private letter, and the discourse and the opinion private; yet why doth he charge the discusser with breach of rule, in not using orderly ways of admonition, and telling the church, when master Cotton in this book blames the discusser for disclaiming communion with their church, and they also (after he was driven by *banishment* from civil habitation amongst them) had sent forth a bull of excommunication against him in his absence! Such practice the Lord Jesus and his first apostles or messengers

* Note, C. and W. in this account stand for Cotton and Williams's books abovesaid; the figures for the pages therein.

ſengers never taught.—I never heard that diſputing, diſcourſing and examining men's tenets or doctrines by the word of God, was, in proper Engliſh, perſecution for conſcience: Well had it been for New-England, that no ſervant of God, nor witneſs of Chriſt, could juſtly take up complaint for other kinds of perſecution." W. p. 4, 5.

The main point of all Mr. Cotton's waſhings is a denial of the charge of perſecuting any for cauſe of conſcience, and he ſays, "I expreſly profeſs, 1, that no man is to be perſecuted at all, much leſs for conſcience ſake. 2, I profeſs further, that none is to be puniſhed for conſcience ſake, though erroneous, unleſs his errors be fundamental, or ſeditiouſly and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of conſcience; that it may appear, he is not puniſhed for his conſcience, but for ſinning againſt his conſcience.—If this tenet have any appearance of blood in it, it is becauſe it is waſhed in the blood of the Lamb, and ſealed with his blood. And then though it may ſeem bloody to men of corrupt minds and deſtitute of the truth (as Paul ſeemed to ſuch to be a peſtilent fellow) yet to faithful and upright ſouls, ſuch things as are waſhed in the blood of the Lamb, are wont to come forth white." C. p. 3.

In reply to this Mr. Williams ſays, "is not this the guiſe and profeſſion of all that ever perſecuted or hunted men for their religion and conſcience? Are not all hiſtories and experiences full of the pathetical ſpeeches of perſecutors to this purpoſe? You will ſay you are perſecuted for your conſcience, you plead conſcience, thou art a heretic, the devil hath deceived thee, thy conſcience is deluded, &c. —Time hath and will diſcover that ſuch a *blackamore* cannot be waſhed in the blood of Chriſt himſelf,

ſelf, without repentance." And he goes on to obſerve, that the ſetting up of ſtate religions has been the grand ſource of perſecution in every age. W. p. 6, 7. Againſt which he brought our Lord's parable of the *tares of the field.* Upon which Mr. Cotton ſaid, "it is true, Chriſt expoundeth the field to be the world, but he meant not the world, but (by an uſual trope) the church ſcattered throughout the world." C. p. 41.

Mr. Williams ſays, "it is no wonder to find maſter Cotton ſo entangled, both in his anſwers and replies touching this parable; for men of all ſorts in former ages have been ſo entangled before him. To which purpoſe I will relate a notable paſſage recorded by that excellent witneſs of God, maſter Fox, in his book of Acts and Monuments; it is this: In the ſtory of Mr. George Wiſehart, in the days of King Henry the eighth, there preached at the arraignment of ſaid Wiſehart one John Winryme, ſub-prior of the abbey of St. Andrews; he diſcourſed on the parable of the tares; he interpreted the tares to be heretics; and yet contrary to this very ſcripture (as Mr. Fox obſerveth, though elſewhere himſelf maintains it the duty of the civil magiſtrate to ſuppreſs heretics) I ſay the ſaid Winryme concludeth that heretics ought not to be let alone until the harveſt, but to be ſuppreſſed by the power of the civil magiſtrate. So that both the Popiſh prior and the truly Chriſtian Fox were entangled in *contradictions* to their *own writings* about this heavenly ſcripture." W. p. 46.

To ſupport the notion of calling the *church* the *world*, Mr. Cotton quoted ſome texts wherein the redeemed are ſo called. C. p. 43. In reply Mr. Williams ſays, "grant that it hath pleaſed the Lord in his infinite wiſdom to cauſe the term *world* to be

used in various significations; yet let any instance be given of any scripture, wherein the Lord opposing the church and world, wheat and tares doth not distinguish between the church redeemed out of the world, and the world itself, which is said to lie in wickedness, and to be such as for which Jesus would not pray, John xvii." W. p. 56. He further argued that sowing of the seed in four sorts of ground by Christ's messengers, he called the *kingdom of heaven*, which four sorts cannot be supposed to be of the church. Mr. Cotton answers, 1, that Christ preached himself to those four sorts of hearers, yet he was the minister of circumcision, and seldom preached to any but members of the church of Israel. C. p. 44. Reply, "when they grew incurable, and received not the admonitions of the Lord, by the Lord Jesus and his servants preaching unto them, the Lord cast them out of his sight, destroyed that *national church*, and established the *Christian church*." W. p. 57.

But Cotton says, "2, it is an error to say, the church consisteth of no more sorts of hearers but one, the honest and good ground; for if the children of church-members be in the church, and of the church, till they give occasion of rejection, then they growing up to years, become some of them like the highway-side, others like the stony, others like the thorny, as well as others like the honest and good ground. C. p. 44." Mr. Williams replies,

"Admit the Christian church were constituted of the natural seed and offspring (which yet Mr. Cotton knows will never be granted to him, and I believe will never be proved by him) yet he knows, that upon the *discovery* of any such portion of ground in the church, the church is bound to admonish,

and

and upon impenitency after admonition, to caſt them into the *world*, the proper place of ſuch kinds of hearers and profeſſors." W. p. 57.

Mr. Cotton adds, "is it not a main branch of their covenant with God, that as God giveth himſelf to be a God to them, and to their ſeed, ſo they ſhould give up themſelves and their ſeed to be his people? Beſides hath not God given paſtors and teachers, as well for the gathering together of the ſaints, as for the edification of the body of Chriſt? And hath he not given the church, and the goſpel preached in the church, to lie like leaven in three pecks of meal till all be leavened?" C. p. 44. Mr. Williams ſays, "I anſwer, the proper work of paſtors and teachers is to feed the ſheep in the flock, and not the herds of wild beaſts in the world. And although it is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the nurture and fear of the Lord; yet what if thoſe children refuſe to frequent the aſſemblies of the church, and what if thoſe three ſorts of ground or hearers will not come within the bounds of the paſtors and teachers feeding; hath not the Lord Jeſus appointed other officers in Eph. iv. for the gathering of the ſaints, that is, ſending out of the church of Chriſt apoſtles or meſſengers, to preach Chriſt to the three ſorts of bad ground, to labour to turn them into good ground? But alas! to ſalve up this, the *civil ſword* is commonly run for, to *force* all ſorts of ground to come to church, inſtead of ſending forth the heavenly ſowers according to the ordinance of Chriſt." W. p. 38.

Another argument Mr. Cotton draws from the ſervants wondering to ſee the tares, which would not have been ſtrange in the highway. C. p. 45. In reply to which Mr. Williams ſays, "let the highway, ſtony and thorny ground, be conſidered

in their ſeveral qualities of prophaneneſs, ſtoutneſs, and worldlineſs, and all the ſons of men throughout the world naturally are ſuch; and it is no wonder, nor would the ſervants of Chriſt be ſo troubled, as to deſire their plucking up out of the world. But again conſider all theſe ſorts of men as profeſſing the name and anointing of Chriſt Jeſus, in a falſe, counterfeit antichriſtian way, and then it may well be wondered whence ſuch monſtrous Chriſtians or anointed ones aroſe; and God's people may eaſily be tempted rather to deſire their rooting out of the world, than the rooting out of any ſuch ſorts of ground or men, profeſſing any other religion, Jewiſh, Mahometan or Pagan.—A traitor is worſe than a profeſſed fox." W. p. 58, 59.

Again, while Mr. Cotton pleaded for the exertions of the civil power againſt heretics and antichriſtians, he ſays, "no ordinance or law of God, nor juſt law of man, commandeth the rooting out of hypocrites, either by civil or church cenſure, though the church be bound to endeavour as much as in them lieth to heal their hypocriſy." C. p. 47. To this Mr. Williams anſwers, "hypocriſy diſcovered in the *fruit* of it, is not to be let alone in the church or ſtate; for neither the church of Chriſt nor civil ſtate can long continue ſafe, if hypocrites or traitors (under what pretence ſoever) be permitted to *break forth* in them, without due puniſhment and rooting out; this hypocriſy being eſpecially the great ſin againſt which Chriſt ſo frequently and ſo vehemently inveighed, and againſt which he denounced the foreſt plagues and judgments." W. p. 62. He then proceeded to plead, that the civil ſtate ſhould only puniſh civil offences. Upon which Mr. Cotton aſks, "what if their worſhip and conſciences incite them to civil offences?" C. p. 50.

Mr.

Mr. Williams ſays, " I anſwer, the conſcience of the civil magiſtrate muſt incite him to civil puniſhment; as a Lord Mayor of London once anſwered that he was born to be a judge, to a thief that pleaded he was born to be a thief. If the conſcience of the worſhippers of the beaſt incite them to prejudice prince or ſtate, although theſe conſciences be not as the conſcience of the thief, commonly convinced of the evil of his fact, but perſuaded of the lawfulneſs of their actions; yet ſo far as the civil ſtate is endamaged or endangered, I ſay the ſword of God in the hand of civil authority is ſtrong enough to defend itſelf, either by impriſoning or diſarming, or other wholeſome means, while yet their conſciences ought to be permitted in what is merely point of worſhip, as prayer and other ſervices and adminiſtrations. Againſt any civil miſchief the civil ſtate is ſtrongly guarded. Againſt the ſpiritual miſchief, the church or city of Chriſt is guarded with heavenly armies, wherein there hang a thouſand bucklers, and moſt mighty weapons. Cant. iv. 2 Cor. x." W. p. 66, 67. But as he ſtill pleaded that the civil ſword was never appointed by Chriſt for an antidote or remedy in ſpiritual evils and dangers; Mr. Cotton denies it, and ſays, " it is evident the civil ſword was appointed for remedy in this caſe, Deut. xiii. and appointed it was by that angel of God's preſence, whom God promiſed to ſend with his people. Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3. And that angel was Chriſt, whom they tempted in the wilderneſs. 1 Cor. x. 9. Therefore it cannot truly be ſaid, that the Lord Jeſus never appointed the civil ſword for a remedy in ſuch a caſe: For he did expreſly appoint it in the old teſtament; nor did he ever abrogate it in the new. The reaſon of the law (which is the life of the law) is of eternal force

and

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and

and equity in all ages. *Thou shalt surely kill him, because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God*; this reason is moral, that is, of universal and perpetual equity to put to death any apostate seducing idolator, or heretic §." C. p. 66, 67.

In reply Mr. Williams says, "how grievous is this language of master Cotton! Moses in the old testament was Christ's servant, yet being but a servant, dispensed his power by *carnal* rites and ceremonies, laws, rewards and punishments, in that holy *nation*, and that *one land of Canaan*. But when Jesus the Son and Lord himself was come, to bring the truth, life and substance, of all those *shadows*; to break down the partition-wall between Jew and Gentile, and establish the Christian worship and kingdom in all nations of the world, master Cotton will never prove, from any of the books and institutions of the new testament, that unto those *spiritual* remedies appointed by Christ against *spiritual* maladies, he added the help of the *carnal sword*. If it appear, as evidently it doth, that Jesus, the antitype of the kings of Israel, wears his sword in his mouth, being a sharp and two-edged sword, then the answer is as clear as the sun, that scatters the clouds and darkness of the night. Besides, master Cotton needs not fly to the *pope's argument* for *children baptism*, to wit, to say Christ never abrogated Deut. xiii. therefore, &c for Mr. Cotton knows the profession of the Lord Jesus, John xviii. that his kingdom was *not earthly*, and therefore his sword cannot be earthly. Mr. Cotton knows that Jesus commanded a *sword* to be put up, when it was drawn in the cause of Christ, and added a dreadful threatning,

§ Does not this and such like sentences make the tenet to appear *yet more bloody!*

threatning, that all that take the ſword (that is, the carnal ſword in his cauſe) ſhall periſh by it." W. p. 95, 96.

The reader may remember, that Mr. Williams was often blamed for holding that the civil magiſtrate's work was confined to the precepts of the ſecond table; his main argument therefor was, that Rom. xiii. ſpeaks the moſt fully of that ſubject of any place in the new teſtament, and there the diſcourſe is confined to the duties included in *love to our neighbour*. Mr. Cotton grants his premiſes, but not his concluſion, and ſays, "though ſubjection to magiſtrates, and love to all men, be duties which concern the ſecond table, yet the' inference will not follow, that therefore magiſtrates have nothing to do to puniſh any violation, no not the weighteſt duties of the firſt table. It is a clear caſe, among the duties of the ſecond table, people may be exhorted to honor their miniſters, and children may be exhorted to honor their parents; but will it hence follow, that therefore miniſters have nothing to do with matters of religion in the church, or parents in the family?" C. p. 96.

Mr. Williams anſwers, "if people are bound to yield obedience in civil things to civil officers of the ſtate, Chriſtians are much more bound to yield obedience to the ſpiritual officers of Chriſt's kingdom; but how weak is this argument to prove, that therefore civil officers of the ſtate are conſtituted rulers, preſervers and reformers of the Chriſtian and ſpiritual ſtate, which differs as much from the civil, as the heavens are out of the reach of the earthly globe?" W. p. 147, 148.

Mr. Cotton often recurs, through his book, to his notion of not puniſhing men for any matter of conſcience, but only for ſinning againſt their own conſciences

ſciences *after conviction.* One great article of Mr. Williams's ſentence of baniſhment was, his writing letters againſt the rulers and churches before *any conviction.* And Mr. Cotton ſays of miniſters and churches, "none of us had any further influence, than by private and public *conviction* of himſelf, and of the demerit of his way." C. 2d part, p. 12. And when one of the magiſtrates was going to the court that baniſhed Mr. Williams, and aſked Mr. Cotton what he thought of it? his anſwer was, "I pity the man, and have interceded for him, whilſt there was any hope of doing good; but now he having refuſed to hear both his own church and us, and having rejected *us all*, as no churches of Chriſt, before any *conviction*, we have now no more to ſay in his behalf, nor hope to prevail for him." C. p. 39.

This notion of not puniſhing any in matters of religion, till they had firſt convinced their conſciences, runs through Mr. Cotton's whole book, as thoſe who have it may ſee in the quotations below ‖; and he tries to ſupport it by Tit. iii. 11, which refers entirely to eccleſiaſtical, and not to civil government; and there not to every error, but only to groſs hereſy, which was to be judged of by thoſe who were well acquainted with ſpiritual things. But, ſaid Mr. Williams,

"Every lawful magiſtrate, whether ſucceeding or elected, is not only the miniſter of God, but the miniſter or ſervant of the people alſo (what people or nation ſoever they be, all the world over) and that miniſter or magiſtrate goes beyond his commiſſion, who intermeddles with that which cannot be given him in commiſſion from the people, unleſs maſter Cotton

‖ Page 3, 26, 189; ſecond part, p. 12, 17, 32, 37—39.

Cotton can prove that all the people and inhabitants of all nations in the world have *spiritual power*, Christ's power, naturally, fundamentally and originally residing in them, to rule Christ's spouse the church, and to give spiritual power to their officers to exercise their spiritual laws and commands †; otherwise it is but profaning the holy name of the Most High. It is but flattering of magistrates, it is but the accursed trusting to an *arm of flesh*, to persuade rulers of the *earth* that they are Kings of the Israel or *church of God*, who were in their institutions and government *immediately from God*, the rulers of his holy church and people. Not a few of his opposites will say, and that aloud, that he and they were or might have been *convinced*, whatever he or they themselves thought. The truth is, the carnal sword is commonly the judge of the conviction or obstinacy of all supposed heretics*. Hence the faithful witnesses of Christ, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, had not a word to say in the disputations at Oxford: Hence the Nonconformists were cried out as obstinate men, abundantly convinced by the writings of Whitgift and others; and so in the conference before King James at Hampton Court." W. p. 96, 192.

† Those who are called *Lords spiritual* in England have no power, since the pope excommunicated them, but what they derive from the *civil state*.

* Dr. Owen wrote a piece upon toleration soon after Mr. Cotton's book was published in London, and upon this point he says, "he that holds the truth may be confuted, but a man cannot be convinced but by the truth That a man should be said to be convinced of a truth, and yet that truth not shine in upon his understanding, to the expelling of the contrary error; to me is strange. To be convinced is to be overpowered by the evidence of that, which before a man knew not. I once knew a scholar invited to a dispute with another man, about something

Mr. Williams in discussing his opponent's arguments observed, that his opponent had taken many charges and exhortations which Christ gave to his ministers, and directed them to the civil magistrate. But Mr. Cotton says, "the falshood of the discussor in this charge is palpable and notorious." Yet fifty pages forward in the same discourse Mr. Cotton says, "the good that is brought to Princes and subjects by the due punishment of apostate seducers, idolaters and blasphemers, is manifold. First, it putteth away evil from the people, and cutteth off a gangrene, which would spread to further ungodliness. Deut. xiii. 5, 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17, 18. Secondly, it driveth away wolves from worrying and scattering the sheep of Christ. False teachers be wolves. Matt. vi. 15, Act. xx. 29." C. p. 88, 138. This is a clear proof that great men cannot go strait in a crooked path.

Mr. Williams had argued that Mr. Cotton's doctrine tended to the setting up of a Spanish inquisition in all parts of the world, and to frustrate the great design of our Saviour's coming. He denies it, and accuses Mr. Williams of rather promoting the

something in controversy in religion; in his own, and in the judgment of all the by-standers, the opposing person was utterly confuted: And yet the scholar, within a few months, was taught of God, and clearly convinced, that it was an error which he had maintained, and the truth which he opposed; and then, and not till then, did he cease to wonder, that the other person was not convinced by his strong arguments, as before he had thought. To say a man is convinced, when either for want of skill and ability, or the like, he cannot maintain his opinion against all men, is a meer conceit.—That they are obstinate and pertinacious is a cheap supposal, taken up without the price of a proof. As the conviction is imposed, not owned, so is this obstinacy; if we may be judges of other men's obstinacy, all will be plain; but if ever they get uppermost, they will be judges of ours." *Collection of Owen's sermons and tracts*, 1721, p. 312.

the principal end of the Spanish inquisition, " by proclaiming impunity to all their whorish and wolvish emissaries. Nor is it, says he, a frustrating of the sweet end of Christ's coming, which was to save souls, but rather a direct advancing of it, to destroy, if need be, the bodies of those wolves, who seek to destroy the souls of those for whom Christ died." C. p. 93.

Mr. Williams replies, " I cannot without great horror observe, what is this but to give a woful occasion, at least to all civil powers in the world, to persecute Christ in his poor saints and servants? Yea, if master Cotton and his friends of his conscience should be cast by God's providence (whose wheels turn about in the depth of his councils wonderfully) I say should they be cast under the reach of opposite *swords*, will they not produce master Cotton's own bloody tenet and doctrine to warrant them (according to their consciences) to deal with him as a wolf, an idolater, an heretic, and as dangerous an emissary and seducer as any whom master Cotton so accuseth? Master Cotton hath no reason to charge the discusser with indulgence or partiality toward Romish and wolvish emissaries; his judgment and practice is known so far different, that for departing too far from them (as is pretended) he suffers the brands and bears the marks of one of Christ's poor persecuted heretics to this day †. All that he pleaded for, is an impartial liberty to their consciences in worshipping God, as well as consciences and worships of other their fellow subjects." W. p. 141, 142.

 This

† One of the two points that the Massachusetts began their contention with him upon, was his refusing to countenance the fellowship they had with popish corruptions in the church of England.

This book Mr. Williams dedicated to the rulers of New-England, wherein, after several useful remarks, he says, "there is one commodity for the sake of which most of God's children in New-England have run mighty hazards; a commodity marvelously scarce in former times, in our native country: It is the *liberty of searching after God's most holy mind and pleasure.* Of this most precious and invaluable *jewel* if you suffer Satan to bereave you, and that it shall be a *crime* humbly and passibly to question even *laws* and *statutes*, or whatever is even publicly taught and delivered, you will find yourselves after all your long *run* (like that little Frenchman who killed the Duke of Guise, and was taken next morning near the place from whence he had fled upon a swift horse all night) I say you will most certainly find yourselves but where you were, *enslaved* and *captivated* in the chains of those popish darknesses, viz. ignorance is the mother of devotion, and we must believe as the church believes, &c.— O remember that your gifts are rare, your professions of religion rare, your persecutions and hidings from the storms abroad rare and wonderful *! So in proportion your transgressions and public sins cannot but be of a rare and extraordinary guilt.— Amongst the crying sins of our own or other sinful nations, those two are ever among the loudest, viz. *invented devotions* to the God of heaven. 2dly, *Violence and oppression* on the sons of men, especially of his sons, for *dissenting*. That the impartial and dreadful hand of the most holy and *jealous God, a consuming fire*, tear and burn not up at last the roots of those plantations, but graciously discerning the plants

* Persecution drove them into this land, where they were hid from the bloody storm of intestine wars in England.

plants which are not his, he may graciouſly ſanctify and cauſe to flouriſh what his right hand will own, this is the humble and unfeigned deſire and cry at the *throne of grace*, of your ſo long deſpiſed outcaſt, ROGER WILLIAMS." W. dedication, p. 26, 27.

Thus I have laid before the reader ſome of the moſt material points of that controverſy in their own words, that he may ſee what thoſe principles were which New-England writers have often reproached, under the name of rigid ſeparation and Anabaptiſm; and alſo how the ruling party, with all their boaſt of orthodoxy, could confound Jewiſh *types* with Chriſt's *inſtitutions*, in order to keep up Pædobaptiſm, and the uſe of ſecular force in religious affairs; and could *ſeparate* from the common rights of humanity good Chriſtians, and ſome of their own beſt friends, only for teſtifying againſt ſuch *confuſion!*

" At a General Court, March, 1645, two petitions were preferred, one for ſuſpending (if not aboliſhing) a law made againſt Anabaptiſts the former year; the other was for eaſing a law of like nature made in Mrs. Hutchinſon's time, forbidding the entertaining of any ſtrangers, without licence of two magiſtrates; which was not eaſily obtained in thoſe days. Some at this time were much afraid of the increaſe of Anabaptiſm. This was the reaſon why the greater part prevailed for the ſtrict obſervation of the aforeſaid laws, although paradventure a little moderation as to ſome caſes might have done very well, if not better. Many books coming out of England in the year 1645, ſome in defence of Anabaptiſm and other errors, and for liberty of conſcience, as a ſhelter for a general toleration of all opinions, &c. others in maintenance of Preſbyterian government (agreed upon by the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter) againſt the Congregational

way

way which was practised in New-England; the ministers of the churches through all the United Colonies agreed upon a meeting at Cambridge, where they conferred their councils, and examined the writings which some of them had prepared, in answer to the said books; which being agreed upon and perfected, were sent over into England to be printed, viz. Mr. Hooker's Survey, in answer to Mr. Rutherford; Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen and Mr. Shepard, about the same subject *," &c.

Our friends in London, hearing of the law made at Boston last year to banish Baptists, and the learned Mr. John Tombes having written an examination of Mr. Stephen Marshal's sermon upon infant baptism, dedicated to the Westminster assembly, Mr. Tombes was moved to send a copy of his examination to the ministers of New-England, and wrote an epistle with it to them, dated from the Temple in London, May 25, 1645; hoping thereby to put them upon a more exact study of that controversy, and to allay their vehemency against the Baptists §. But the Westminster assembly were more ready to learn severity from this country, than these were to learn lenity from any; for the Independents on December 4, 1645, presented a request to that Presbyterian assembly, "that they might not "be forced to communicate as members in those "parishes where they dwell; but may have liberty "to have congregations of such persons who give "good testimonies of their godliness, and yet out "of tenderness of conscience cannot communicate "in their parishes;" but the assembly returned a flat denial, and said, "this opened a gap for all *sects* "to

* Hubbard.

§ Crosby's history, vol. 1, p. 121, 122.

" to challenge such a liberty as their due; and that " this liberty was denied by the churches of New-" England, and we have as just ground to deny it as " they ‖."

Sir Henry Vane also, when his interest in Parliament was very great, wrote to Governor Winthrop in the following terms.

Honored Sir,

" I received yours by your son, and was unwilling to let him return without telling you as much. The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay upon these kingdoms, and the inhabitants in them, teaches us patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be difference in our opinions, which makes me hope that, from the experience here, it may also be derived to yourselves, lest while the Congregational way amongst you is in its freedom and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners here to extirpate it and root it out, from its own principles and practice. I shall need say no more, knowing your son can acquaint you particularly with our affairs. Sir, I am your affectionate friend, and servant in Christ, H. VANE *."

June 10, 1645.

Had not the notion of securing religion to their posterity, by infant baptism and the magistrates power, strongly prepossessed their minds, how could they have resisted all these motives to lenity as they did? That they were under a very strong bias may be seen in three pieces which were wrote this year against the Baptists. One of them was by Mr. Cotton, who was so much afraid of having both sides of the argument examined, that he gives us neither the names of the authors he wrote against nor

‖ Crosby's history, vol. 1, p. 185, 186.
* Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 137.

nor the titles of their works; only he owns them to be such as did not "deny magistrates, nor predestination, nor original sin; nor maintain free will "in conversion, nor apostacy from grace; but "only deny the lawful use of baptism of children, "because it wanteth a word of commandment and "example from the scripture." And he says, "I "am bound in Christian love to believe, that they "who yield so far, do it out of conscience, as following herein the example of the apostle, who "professed himself, and his followers, *we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.* But yet "I believe withal, that it is not out of love to the "truth that Satan yielded so much to the truth, but "rather out of another ground, and for a worse "end. He knoweth the times that how, by the good "and strong hand of God, they are set upon purity and reformation. And now to plead against "the baptism of children upon any of those Arminian and popish grounds, which be so grosly ungracious as those above named, Satan knoweth "and seeth they would utterly be rejected ‡. He "chooseth therefore rather to play small game, as "they say, than to lose all. He now pleadeth no other "argument in these stirring times of reformation "than may be urged from a main principle of purity and reformation, viz. *that no duty of God's "worship, nor any ordinance of religion, is to be administered in the church, but such as hath just warrant "from the word of God.* And by urging this argument against the baptism of children, Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light; and the "spirit of error and *profaneness* into a minister of "truth and righteousness. And so he hopeth to "prevail

‡ Here is an acknowledgment, that the Baptists of that day did not hold the errors charged upon them in the aforesaid law.

" prevail, either with those men who do believe
" the lawful and holy use of children's baptism to
" renounce that principle, and so to renounce also
" all reformation brought in by it: Or else, if they
" stick to that principle, then to renounce the bap-
" tism of children; and so the reformation begun
" will neither spread far, nor continue long. For
" if godly parents do withdraw their children from
" the covenant, and from the seal of the covenant,
" they do make void (as much as in them lieth) the
" covenant both to themselves, and to their children;
" and then will the Lord cut off such souls from his
" people, Gen. xvii. 14. And so the reformation,
" begun with a blessing, will end in a curse, and
" in a cutting separation either of parents or of chil-
" dren, or both, from the Lord and his people §."

About the same time a minister at Lynn wrote a volume against various Baptist authors; but before he came to any of their arguments he said, " ever
" since that word of old, *I will put enmity betwixt*
" *thee and the woman, and betwixt thy seed and her*
" *seed*, Satan hath had a special spite at the seed
" of the church: Witness that act of Cain, who
" was therein of that evil one, in killing his brother
" Abel: Whence also that project of Satan, all the
" ways that may be, to lay foundations of corrupt-
" ing, and in time ruining the seed of the church
" by unequal marriages, &c. Gen. vi. 1, 2, Neh.
" xiii. 23, 24. Whence also that act of his, in
" stirring up his instruments to deride little Isaac.
" Whence also that satanical practice of seeking to
" cut them off by Pharoah, Exod. i. by Edomites,
" Psalm cxxxvii. by Babylonians, Jer. ix. Syri-
" ans, Dan. viii. Herod, Matt. ii. &c. or if they

 " be

§ Cotton's Grounds and Ends of Children's Baptism, printed 1647, p. 3, 4.

" be not cut off in such sort, yet to stir up persons
" under pretence of religion, to devote them unto
" the very devil, Jer. vii. 31, &c. Ezek. xvi.
" 20, &c. or if they live, yet to persuade to
" their detainment under an *Egyptian estate*, and
" exclusion from any church care or privilege.—
" Who seeth not how Satan doth seek by such
" suggestions to undermine the succession of the
" true religion, and of true visible churches,
" which have used to be continued in and by the
" church seed? And what is Satan's fetch, to bring
" this about, but the old trick, to create (as I may
" say) scruples in the hearts of God's people,
" knowing well that it is a taking wile first to be-
" mist through such legerdemain the eyes of the
" mind, and then to spoil them of truth. It took
" with our grandmother Eve, and was the inlet of
" all error and evil. *Hath God said it?* was the
" old serpentine insinuation to blind and buzzle,
" and so corrupt first the judgment in point of war-
" rant of this or that practice.—How many pre-
" cious professors, to outward view at least, did at
" first entertain some scruples about the external
" interest of church members children in the co-
" venant, and initiatory seal of it, which now pe-
" remptorily censure the same as antichristian and
" human inventions? Let my advice be grateful to
" thee thus far, Christian reader, to take heed of
" unnecessary discourses and disputes with satanical
" suggestions, under what promising and plausible
" pretences soever they come.—It is not the first age
" or time, that satanical suggestions, *thus it is writ-*
" *ten*, and *thus saith the Lord*, hath been pro-
" pounded ‖."

The

‖ Mr. Thomas Cobbet's *Vindication of the Covenant and Church Estate of Children of Church Members*, printed in London, 1648, preface,

The question has often been asked in our day, what do you think of our good fathers who held to infant baptism? How did they get along? Here you have an answer in their own words; and the famous Dr. Thomas Goodwin ushered these performances into the world with a recommendatory preface to each of them; and the sentiments and temper of them have evidently been handed down by tradition ever since. But I appeal to the conscience of every reader, whether he can find three worse things on earth, in the management of controversy, than first to secretly take the point disputed for truth without any proof; then secondly blending that error with known truths, to make artful addresses to the affections and passions of the audience, to prejudice their minds, before they hear a word that the respondent has to say. And thirdly, if the respondent refuses to yield to such management, then to call in the secular arm to compleat the argument. And were not these the methods that were then taken to support Pædobaptism? The Protestants way of defending their cause against the Papists was, "if that ye will prove that your ce-"remonies proceed from faith, and do please God, "ye must prove that God in express words hath "commanded them, or else shall you never prove "that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they "please God *." But when this argument was urged against infant baptism, Cotton without any proof asserts that "Satan transformeth himself into "an angel of light." And the whole of the above recited addresses to men and women's passions, are evidently founded upon the supposition, that infant

preface, p. 7—9. Mr. Tombs says Mr. Cotton wrote to him, that the piece he sent them was delivered to Mr. Cobbet to answer.

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 104.

baptism is as infallibly required by God, as abstaining from the forbidden fruit was, or Abraham circumcising his children; and having taken the very point which is disputed for truth, without any evidence, they blended that with many known facts recorded in scripture, and thereupon rank the opposers of that point with the old serpent the devil and Satan, and with his instruments Cain, Pharoah, Herod, and other murderers; yea with such as sacrificed their children to devils! And this history contains abundant evidence of their adding the magistrate's sword to all these hard words, which were used in their prefaces before they came to any of the Baptist's arguments. When Mr. Cotton came to them, the first of them is, that in Christ's commission to his ministers, he ordered them first to *teach* or make *disciples*, and then to *baptize* them; and he says two arguments offer themselves for his way from hence.

"1. Such as be disciples, they are to baptized; "but the children of the faithful, they are disci-"ples; therefore children of the faithful, they are "to be baptized." And to support this assertion "he turns to Isaiah liv. 13, *all thy children shall* "*be taught of God*; and says he, "if they be taught "of God, then are they disciples; for that is the "meaning of the word. Disciples are *taught* or "*learnt* of God *." This is true, and our Lord quotes this text to shew how the father *draws* souls *to himself*, and says upon it, "every *man* § there-"fore that hath *heard*, and hath *learned* of the fa-"ther, *cometh* unto me," John vi. 45. Can we desire a more exact and certain definition of the word

* Cotton's Grounds and Ends, p. 5, 6.

§ Note, Christ shews that the word *children* in that text means posterity; *men* that are taught.

word disciple than we have here? And let conscience speak before him who will judge us all; do you who practise in this disputed way, believe when you bring your infants to be sprinkled that they *have heard and learned of the father*, so as to *come unto Christ?* And do you bring them because they *be taught of God?* If they are not, they are *not disciples* according to the known meaning of the word.

Mr. Cotton frames his second argument from Exod. xii. 48, where God required every proselyte to have all his males circumcised, before he could come to the passover; upon which Cotton says, "if "then our Lord's supper come in the room of the "passover, and our baptism in the room of circum-"cision, like as he that had not circumcised his "males, was accounted as one uncircumcised him-"self, and so to be debarred from the passover, so "he who hath not baptised his children, is account-"ed of God as not baptized himself, and so to be "debarred from the Lord's supper. If therefore "you forbid baptism to children, you evacuate the "baptism of their parents, and so make the com-"mandment of God, and the commission to the "apostles, and the baptism of believers, of none "effect †."

These are the two main arguments for infant baptism to this day; and they both hang upon the little word IF, which I think is a very small pin to rest the weight of whole provinces and kingdoms upon: *If* infants are disciples by virtue of their parents profession, then are they to be baptized; and *if* our baptism comes in the place of the circumcision of Jewish proselytes, then we cannot lawfully omit bringing our infants thereto. But what *if* this supposition

† Ibid. p. 11.

position ſhould prove to be as contrary to truth as darkneſs is to light, will men perſiſt in that way ſtill? Abraham had no warrant to circumciſe any but ſuch as were either born in his houſe or bought with his money. The firſt order that was given for bringing in others by *houſholds* was *in the day* that Iſrael came out of Egypt. Now as we make no pretence of being Abraham's natural poſterity, nor of being bought with Jewiſh money, the argument all turns upon a ſuppoſal that Gentile believers ought to bringtheir houſholds with them to baptiſm, as the ſaid proſelytes did theirs to circumciſion. But I know not how words can expreſs the contrary more plainly than God himſelf has done in this caſe; for he ſays, his new covenant is not according to that he made with Iſrael on ſaid day, Heb. viii. 8—11. Upon this men often aſſert that the *ordinances* differ, while the *ſubjects* are the ſame: But the text aſſures us expreſly, that the main difference is in the ſubjects; that the ſubjects of the new covenant *all know God* from the *leaſt* to the *greateſt* When this is mentioned, they would then turn it to the difference betwixt the outward adminiſtration and inward efficacy of the covenant; but that cannot be here intended, becauſe that diſtinction was as real in Abraham's time as it is now, as the apoſtle ſhews in Rom. iv. 11, which text is often brought for a proof that the covenant is the ſame now as with Abraham. It does prove that the internal efficacy of divine inſtitutions was the ſame upon believers then as now; only their faith was fixed on a future Meſſiah, ours on one already come. The difference then betwixt the two covenants we are ſpeaking of, is not internal, but external. By divine inſtitution a whole family and a whole nation were then taken into covenant; now none are *added* to the church

by

by the Lord but *believers* who shall *be saved*, Acts ii. 41, 47. Professors who had not this character were *false brethren unawares brought in*, Gal. ii. 4. Their being in was owing to mens imperfection, and not to God's institution; yet because the Baptists refused to yield to a practice they viewed to be not only without, but directly against divine institution, they were abused in the manner above described; and Mr. Cobbet concludes his discourse with a few inferences, in which he says, "see the "danger and detestableness of Anabaptistical te-"nets, giving God and Christ (in part) the lie, "vailing the glory of his preventing grace of cove-"nant, Numb. xi. 18.—Condemning the judg-"ment and practice of former churches, Jews and "Gentiles—Whence that *prophane trick* of some to "turn their back upon the churches [when they "sprinkled infants] as if all their persons, and "prayers, and fellowship, were unclean: Whence the "stiling of it antichristian, &c. What is this but to "*blaspheme* the name and tabernacle and saints of "God? Rev. xiii." Thus the Baptists were accused by those noted authors of prophaneness and blasphemy, only for their manifesting by word and gesture their dissent from infant sprinkling.

Mr. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich (the Indian name of which was Agawam) who, with Mr. Cotton, had often been improved by the Court in composing their law-book, published a tract this year under a fanciful title, which contains the following addresses to the Anabaptists. "1. To entreat them "to consider, what an high pitch of boldness it is, "for a man to cut a principal ordinance out of the "kingdom of God; if it be but to make a dislocation, which so far disgoods the ordinance, I fear "it altogether unhallows it. To transplace or

"transtime

" transtime a stated institution of Jesus Christ, with-
" out his direction, I think is to destroy it ||. 2.
" What a cruelty it is, to divest children of that only
" external privilege which their heavenly father
" hath bequeathed them, to interest them visibly
" in himself, his son, his spirit, his covenant of
" peace, and the tender bosom of their careful
" mother the church. 3. What an inhumanity it
" is, to deprive parents of that comfort they may
" take from the baptism of their infants dying in
" their childhood. 4. How unseasonably and un-
" kindly it is, to interturbe the state and church
" with their *Amalakitish* onsets, when they are in
" their extreme pangs of travel with their lives?
" 5. To take a thorough view of those who have
" perambled this by-path; being sometimes in the
" crowds of foreign *wederdropers*, i. e. Anabaptists,
" and prying into their inward frames with the best
" eyes I had, I could but observe those disguised
" guises in the generality of them. 1. A flat for-
" mality of spirit, without salt or savour in the spi-
" ritualities of Christ; as if their religion had be-
" gun and ended in their opinion. 2. A shallow
" slighting of such as dissent from them, appear-
" ing too often in their faces, speeches and car-
" riages. 3. A feeble yet peremptory obstinacy:
" Seldom are any of them reclaimed *."

By these extracts the reader may see the temper and language of Pædobaptists in that day; and how much

|| How easily may this reasoning be retorted? Christ's institution, and the apostles administrations of baptism, were expressly to such as believed, gladly received the word, and should be saved; and those who professed such a faith, went into the water, and were buried in baptism; and according to this writer's doctrine, how does it destroy the ordinance to change it into sprinkling of infants?

* Simple Cobler of Agawam, p. 16, 17. *Hubbard*

much of the ſame has there been in later times? Of charging us with cruelty, becauſe we hold that no acts of men can intereſt children in the grace of God, before they are taught and believe his truth; and becauſe we dare not place our hopes of infants ſalvation upon the doings of miniſters and churches; inſtead of the ſovereign mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom we would commit them by believing prayer, and if they live, would uſe all goſpel methods for their converſion, and obedience to all his commands? How much alſo have we ſeen of their aſſuming God's prerogative, in judging the hearts of ſuch as yield not to their arguments?

As all the foregoing means were ineffectual, ſome of the miniſters preſented a bill to the General Court this year, for the calling a ſynod to ſettle theſe and other eccleſiaſtical affairs. "The magiſtrates paſſed the bill, but ſome of the deputies queſtioned the power of the Court, to require their churches to ſend their meſſengers to ſuch a convention, as not being ſatisfied that any ſuch power was given by Chriſt to the civil magiſtrates over the churches in ſuch caſes." This cauſed a debate, the concluſion of which was, that the enſuing ſynod ſhould be convened by way of motion only to the churches, and not in words of command§. The order of it began thus:

"*Boſton, 15th 3d Month, 1646.*

"The right form of church government and diſcipline being agreed, part of the kingdom of Chriſt upon earth, therefore the eſtabliſhing and ſettling thereof by the joint and public agreement and conſent of churches, and by the ſanction of civil authority, muſt needs greatly conduce to the honor and glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the ſettling

 and

§ Hubbard.

and ſafety of church and commonwealth, where ſuch a duty is diligently attended and performed." Upon which they ſent out their motion for ſaid ſynod; to enforce which they ſay, "that for want of the thing here ſpoken of, ſome differences of opinion and practice of one church from another do already appear amongſt us; and others (if not timely prevented) are like ſpeedily to enſue, and this not only in leſſer things, but even in points of no ſmall conſequence and very material; to inſtance in no more but thoſe about baptiſm, and the perſons to be received thereto, in which one particular the apprehenſions of many perſons in the country are known not a little to differ; for whereas in moſt churches the miniſters do baptize the children if the grandfather or grandmother be ſet members, though the immediate parents be not, and others, though for avoiding of difference of neighbour churches they do not yet actually ſo practiſe, yet they do much incline thereto. And many perſons living in this country who have been members of the congregations in England, but are not found fit to be received at the Lord's table here, there be notwithſtanding conſiderable perſons in theſe churches who do think that children of theſe alſo, upon ſome conditions and terms, may and ought to be baptized: Likewiſe on the other ſide, there be ſome among us who do think that whatever be the ſtate of the parents, baptiſm ought not to be diſpenſed to any infants whatſoever; which various apprehenſions being ſeconded with practices according thereto, as in part they already are, and are like to be more, muſt needs, if not timely remedied, beget ſuch differences as will be diſpleaſing to the Lord, and offenſive to others, and dangerous to ourſelves." Theſe were their reaſons for calling

calling the ſynod, and the work aſſigned for them was to "diſcuſs, diſpute, and clear up by the word of God, ſuch queſtions of church government, and diſcipline, in the things aforementioned, or any other as they ſhall think needful and meet, and to continue ſo doing, till they or the major part of them ſhall have agreed upon *one form of government and diſcipline*, for the main and ſubſtantial parts thereof, as that which *they judge* agreeable to the holy ſcriptures; which when it was finiſhed was to be preſented to the General Court, "to the end that the ſame being found agreeable to the word of God, it may receive from the ſaid General Court ſuch approbation as is meet, that the Lord being thus acknowledged by church and ſtate, to be our judge, our lawgiver and King, he may be graciouſly pleaſed ſtill to ſave us, as hitherto he hath done *."

Here we may plainly ſee wherein their great miſtake lay. They confounded the judgment that they formed upon the ſcripture with the rule itſelf. Alſo the majority aſſumed the power of judging for the whole, and of puniſhing diſſenters from their judgments, as breakers of God's law; a deluſion that the world is not clear of to this day, though light and truth have gained much ſince that time.

We are told that oppoſition was made in ſome of the churches againſt ſending to that ſynod, notwithſtanding the moderate expreſſions in the Court's *order* for it, and Mr. Hubbard ſays the principal men who raiſed it were "ſome who lately came from England, where ſuch a vaſt liberty was pleaded for, by all that rabble of men that went under the name of Independents, whether Anabaptiſts,

* This requeſt was alſo ſent to the churches of Plymouth and Connecticut colonies. *Maſſachuſetts Records.*

Antinomians, Familists and Seekers, far beyond the moderate limits pleaded for by Congregational divines in the assemoly at Westminster, such as Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Burroughs, &c. who yet tacked about further than they need to have done. A great part of the Parliament also, then in being, inclined much that way, and had by their commissioners sent word to all the English plantations in the West-Indies, and Summer Islands, that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience; and had by their letters also intimated the same to those of New-England. Some few of the church at Boston adhered to these principles, which made them stickle so much against the calling of the synod at that time; against which they raised a threefold objection. 1. That by a liberty already established among the laws of New-England, the elders or ministers of the churches have liberty to assemble upon all occasions, without the compliance of the civil authority. 2. It was observed that this motion came originally from some of the ministers, and not from the Court. 3. In the order was expressed, that what the major part of the assembly should agree upon should be presented to the Court for their confirmation.

"To the *first* it was answered, that said liberty was granted only for help in case of extremity, if in time to come either the civil authority should grow opposite to the churches, or neglect the care of them, and not with any intent to practise the same while the civil rulers were nursing fathers to the church †. To the *second* it was answered, it was not

† Mr. Williams in discussing Mr. Cotton's arguments observed, that the higher powers in Rom. xiii. were strangers to God and true religion, from whence he argued, that for Paul to command

not for the churches to enquire what or who gave the occasion; but if they thought fit to desire the churches to afford them help of council in any matter which concerned religion and conscience, it was the churches duty to yield it to them; for as far as it concerns their command or request, it is an ordinance of man, which all are to submit unto for the Lord's sake, without troubling themselves about the occasion or success. For the *third*, where the order speaks of the major part, it speaks in its own language,

command subjection to such in spiritual causes, would have been to put out the eye of faith, reason and sense, at once. To which Mr. Cotton answers, "the cases of religion wherein *we* "*allow* civil magistrates to be judges, are so fundamental and "palpable, that no magistrate studious of religion in the fear of "God, but if he have any spiritual discerning, he cannot but "judge of such gross corruptions as unsufferable in religion.— "But for such magistrates as are merely natural and Pagan, "though Christians be bound to subject themselves to them with "patience; yet such magistrates ought to *forbear* the exercise "of their power, either in protecting or punishing matters of "religion, till they have learned so much knowledge of the "truth, as may enable them to discern of things that differ." *Tenet washed*, p. 101, 102. In reply to which Mr. Williams says, "O the miserable *allowance* which master Cotton hath "brought the Kings and governors of the world unto! *We al-* "*low them to judge in such fundamentals*, &c.—The magistrate "must wait at their gates for their poor *allowance:* They shall "*judge*, and they shall not *judge*; they shall judge that which "is gross and palpable, enough to hold the people in *slavery*, "and to *force* them to sacrifice to the *priest's belly*; but the more "sublime and nicer *mysteries* they must not judge or touch, but "attend upon the tables of the *priests infallibility*." *Williams's* "*Reply*, p. 152. "If Christ Jesus have left such power with "the civil rulers of the world, for the establishing, governing, "and reforming his church, what is become of his care and "love, wisdom and faithfulness, since in all ages since he left "the earth, for the general, he hath left her destitute of such "qualified princes and governors, and in the course of his "providence furnished her with such, whom he knew would be "as fit as *wolves* to protect and feed his *sheep* and people!" p. 202.

guage, but it never intended thereby to restrain the synod in the manner of their proceeding; nor to hinder them, but that they might first acquaint the churches with their conclusions, and have their assent to them, before they did present them to the Court.

"This matter was two Lord's-days in agitation with the church in Boston, before they could be brought to any comfortable conclusion; but on a lecture day intervening, Mr. Norton, teacher of the church at Ipswich, was procured to supply the place at Boston, where was a great audience; and the subject then handled was, Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the mount of God.—On the next Lord's-day, after much debate in Boston church, it was agreed by the vote of the major part, that the elders and three of the brethren should be sent to the synod ‡."

This account from one of their noted ministers, may give us considerable light about the actings of that day. He informs us that the synod did not meet till near winter, when after a session of fourteen days, they adjourned to June 18, 1647; and that summer proving sickly §, they were forced to adjourn again. But on August 16, 1648, they met, and compleated the Cambridge platform; the last article of which says, "if any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require." Which principle the Baptists and others felt

‡ Hubbard.

§ The celebrated Mr. Hooker, minister of Hartford, died July 7, 1647.

felt the cruel effects of for many years after. A clause was also inserted at the end of their tenth chapter, that no church act can be consummated without the consent of both elders and brethren; which implicitly gives ministers a power to negative the churches acts, and which many in later times have contended for; though that would give them such a lordly power over the church, as chief judges in the state are not allowed to have in the executive courts of our nation. But as to baptism, though the order for calling the synod asserted that most ministers do baptize the grandchildren of church members, yet that assertion was so far from truth, that those who "laboured much to have this principle declared and asserted in the platform," could not effect it because of "many worthy men §." Mr. Hooker had published his testimony, wherein as he asserted, "that children as children have no right to baptism, so that it belongs not to any predecessors either nearer or farther off removed from the next parents to give right of this privilege to their children †:" Mr. Thomas Shepard, pastor of the church where this synod met, had also publicly asked what members every particular visible church ought to consist of? and answered, that "Christ being the head of every particular church, and it his body, hence none are to be members of the church but such as are members of Christ by faith." And though he observes that hypocrites do sometimes *creep in*, yet he says, "if they could have been known to be such, they ought to be kept out; and when they are known they are orderly to be cast out *." And there was still more regard paid to this first principle of the New-England churches,

§ Magnalia, b. iv. p. 176.
† Survey of Church Discipline, part 3, p. 13.
* First Principles of the Oracles of God, p. 25, 26.

churches, than could consist with the admission of persons to bring their children to baptism, who were "not found fit" for the other ordinance.

It may be proper now to take a further view of the affairs of Mr. Gorton and his company. Upon their being released and banished, as I have related, they went to Rhode-Island, and from thence over to Narraganset, where, on April 19, 1644, they procured a deed from the sachems, whereby they resigned themselves, people, lands, rights, inheritances and possessions, over unto the protection and government of King Charles; and appointed Samuel Gorton, and others their agents, to carry the same to him. This was signed by Passicus, Canaunicus and Maxan, and witnessed by two Indians and three English. The loss of their great sachem Miantinomu lay very heavy upon their spirits. Hubbard says he "was a very goodly personage, of tall "stature, subtile and cunning in his contrive-"ments." In May came a letter to the rulers at Boston, signed by Canaunicus, "though written by some of Gorton's company, to this effect, that they purposed to make war upon Uncas, in revenge of the death of Miantinomu and others of their people, and marvelled that the English should be against it; and that they had put themselves under the government and protection of the King of England, and so were become their fellow subjects, and therefore if any difference should fall between them, it ought to be referred to him; professing withal their willingness to continue all friendly correspondence with them. The General Court received another letter from Gorton and his company, to the like effect. "June 23, news came that the Narraganisets had killed six of Uncas's men and five women, and had sent two hands and a foot to Pum-

ham,

ham, to engage him to join with them, but he chose to keep to the Massachusetts *. Contentions increased so much the next year that an extraordinary meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was called at Boston, on July 28, 1645, when they sent three messengers to the Narraganfets, who on their return brought a letter from Mr. Williams to the Commissioners, assuring them that "war would presently break forth, and that the Narraganset sachems had lately concluded a neutrality with Providence, and the towns on Aquedneck island." Upon which they determined to raise an army of 300 men, in the following proportion, viz. 190 out of the Massachusetts, 40 out of Plymouth, 40 out of Connecticut, and 30 out of New Haven colonies. Forty were raised immediately, and sent away under the command of Lieutenant Humphry Atherton, to protect Uncas, till Capt. Mason should meet him there with the western forces, who were then to proceed to meet the remainder of the forces from the eastward, in Narraganset, under the command of Edward Gibbons, Major General. After which Governor Winthrop informed the Commissioners, "that since Miantinomu's death the Narraganset sachems by messengers sent him a present, expressing their desire to keep peace with the English, but desiring to make war with Uncas for their sachem's death." The present was about the value of 15 pounds in wampum, but he refused to receive it upon those terms. The Commissioners concluded to take the present into their hands, and thereupon sent Captain Harding and Mr. Wilbore to those sachems, who were to take Benedict Arnold with them. and inform them that their present was returned and not accepted, unless they would be at peace with Uncas

* Winthrop—Hubbard.

as well as the English; but if said sachems would come with them to Boston, they should have liberty safely to come and return without molestation, to treat of peace, though deputies in their stead would not now do. The messengers returning brought back the present, and informed the Commissioners that "they found not Benedict Arnold at Providence, "and heard that he durst not adventure himself "again amongst the Narraganset Indians without a "sufficient guard. They also understood that Mr. "Williams, sent for by the Narraganset sachems, "was going thither, wherefore they acquainted him "with their message, shewed him their instructions, "and made use of him as an interpreter." He prevailed with Passicus and others to go to Boston, and moved the messengers to write and acquaint Captain Mason of the prospect there was of peace; which last article the Commissioners censured them for, as going beyond their instructions. The English demanded 2000 fathoms of wampum to pay the costs of this expedition, and for other damages; which the Indians were compelled to yield to, and to give hostages till it was paid; and so articles of peace were drawn up and signed between them. After which the Commissioners drew up a formal declaration, to justify their proceedings in said war †.

The Indians were far from being easy under these things; and in August, 1648, about 1000 Indians from various parts were collected in Connecticut, with 300 guns among them; and it was reported that they were hired by the Narraganfets to fight with Uncas. The magistrates of Hartford sent three horsemen

† Records of the United Colonies. Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 138—145.

horſemen to enquire what they deſigned, and to let them know that if they made war with him the Engliſh muſt defend him, upon which they diſperſed. When the Commiſſioners met at Plimouth the next month, they ordered four men to be ſent to the Narraganſets, " with inſtructions how to treat with them, both concerning their hiring other Indians to war upon Uncas, and alſo about the tribute of wampum that was behind. Captain Atherton and Captain Prichard undertook the ſervice, and going to Mr. Williams, they procured the ſachems to be ſent for; but they, hearing that many horſemen were come to take them, ſhifted for themſelves: Paſſicus fled to Rhode-Iſland; but ſoon after they were, by Mr. Williams's means, delivered of their fears, and came to the meſſengers as they were deſired, and denied their hiring the Mohawks to war againſt Uncas, though they owned that they had ſent them a preſent §.

Gorton, Holden and Greene, went to England to carry the Narraganſet's ſurrendry of themſelves and lands, as well as their own complaints, to the King; but found him not able to help either himſelf or them. However, they publiſhed their caſe and a narrative of their ſufferings, in 1645, under the title of *Simplicity's Defence againſt ſeven-headed Policy.* They alſo applied themſelves to the Commiſſioners that the Parliament had appointed over the affairs of the plantations, and at length obtained from them the following letter to the authority in the Maſſachuſetts colony, viz.

" We being eſpecially intruſted, by both houſes of Parliament, with ordering the affairs and government of the Engliſh plantations in America, have

 ſome

§ Canaunicus died a very old man, on June 4, 1648. *Hubbard.*

ſome months ſince received a complaint from Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, in the name of themſelves and divers other Engliſh, who have tranſported themſelves into New-England, and now are or lately were inhabitants of a tract of land called the Narraganſet Bay (a copy of which complaint the incloſed petition and narrative will repreſent unto your knowledge) we could not proceed forthwith to a full hearing and determining of the matter, it not appearing unto us that you were acquainted with the particular charge, or that you had furniſhed any perſons with power to make defence in your behalf; nor could we conveniently reſpite ſome kind of reſolution, without a great prejudice to the petitioners, who would have lain under much inconveniency if we had detained them from their families, till all the formalities and circumſtances of proceeding (neceſſary at this diſtance) had regularly prepared the cauſe for a hearing. We ſhall therefore let you know in the firſt place, that our preſent reſolution is not grounded upon an admittance of the truth of what is charged; we knowing well how much God hath honored your government, and believing that your ſpirit and affairs are acted by principles of juſtice, prudence and zeal to God; and therefore cannot eaſily receive any evil impreſſions concerning your proceedings. In the next place you may take notice that we found the petitioners aim and deſire, in the reſult of it, was not ſo much a reparation of what was paſſed, as a ſettling their habitations for the future, under that government, by a charter of civil incorporation, which was heretofore granted them by ourſelves. We find withal that the tract of land called the Narraganſet Bay, concerning which the queſtion is ariſen, was divers years ſince inhabited by thoſe of Providence,

Portſmouth

Portſmouth and Newport, who are intereſted in the complaint; and that the ſame is wholly without the bounds of the Maſſachuſetts patent granted by his Majeſty. We have conſidered that they be Engliſh, that the forcing of them to find out new places of reſidence will be very chargeable, difficult and uncertain, and therefore, upon the whole matter, do pray and require you to permit and ſuffer the petitioners, and all the late inhabitants of Narragaſiet Bay, with their families, and ſuch as ſhall hereafter join with them, freely and quietly to live and plant upon the Shawomet, and ſuch other part of the ſaid tract of land, within the bounds mentioned in our ſaid charter, on which they have formerly planted and lived, without extending your juriſdiction to any part thereof, or otherwiſe diſquieting them in their conſciences or civil peace, or interrupting them in their poſſeſſions, until ſuch time as we ſhall have received your anſwer to their claim in point of title, and you ſhall thereupon have received our further order therein. And in caſe any others, ſince the petitioners' addreſs to England, have taken poſſeſſion of any part of the lands heretofore enjoyed by the petitioners, or any their aſſociates, you are to cauſe them that are newly poſſeſſed as aforeſaid to be removed, that this order may be fully performed. And, till our further order, neither the petitioners are to enlarge their plantations, nor are any others to be ſuffered to intrude upon any part of the Narragaſiet Bay; and if they ſhall be found hereafter to abuſe this favour, by any act tending to diſturb your rights, we ſhall expreſs a due ſenſe thereof, ſo as to teſtify our care of your honorable protection and encouragement. In order to the effecting of this reſolution we do alſo require, that you ſuffer the ſaid Mr. Gorton, Mr. Holden, Mr. Greene, and their

their company, with their goods and neceſſaries, to paſs through any part of that territory which is under your juriſdiction, toward the ſaid tract of land, without moleſtation, they demeaning themſelves civilly, any former ſentence of expulſion otherwiſe notwithſtanding. We ſhall only add, that to theſe orders of ours we ſhall expect a conformity, not only from yourſelves, but from all other governments and plantations in New-England whom it may concern. And ſo commending you to God's gracious protection, we reſt your loving friends.

"From the Governor in Chief, loving Admiral, and Commiſſioners for foreign plantations, ſitting at Weſtminſter, 15 May, 1646.

"To our loving friends the Governor, Deputy-Governor and Aſſiſtants of the Maſſachuſetts plantations, in New-England.

Warwick, Governor and Admiral,
Northumberland, *John Holland*,
Nottingham, *H. Vane**," *&c.*

With this order and reſolution Mr. Gorton and his friends returned to Boſton, where they were in motion to apprehend them, till upon ſhewing the ſtate's order they were permitted to return to Shawomet, which, in honor to their friend the Admiral, they called Warwick. Sundry of them lived there to old age, and were conſiderably improved in the government of the colony.

As there was no particular form of government, nor appointment of officers in their charter, it took a length of time to ſettle upon a method that was agreeable to the majority of the inhabitants. Their firſt General Aſſembly met at Portſmouth on May 19, 1647, when Mr. John Coggſhall was choſen Preſident, Mr. Roger Williams Aſſiſtant for Providence, Mr. John Sanford for Portſmouth, Mr. William

* Providence Records.

William Coddingdon for Newport, and Mr. Randal Holden for Warwick. Mr. William Dyre was chosen recorder. They agreed upon a body of laws, chiefly taken from the laws of England, with the addition of a few suited to their particular circumstances. They also ordered, "that forasmuch "as Mr. Roger Williams hath taken great pains, "and expended much time, in obtaining the charter "for this province, of our noble Lords and Gover-"nors, be it enacted and established, that in regard "to his so great trouble, charges and good endea-"vours, we do freely give and grant unto the said "Mr. Roger Williams an hundred pounds, to be "levied out of the three towns, viz. fifty pounds "out of Newport, thirty pounds out of Portsmouth, twenty pounds out of Providence; which "rate is to be levied and paid in by the last of No-"vember."

The form of government which they came into was thus to elect a President and four Assistants annually, who had the executive power, were judges in the courts of law, and kept the peace. An Assembly of six Commissioners, or Representatives from each town, made laws and ordered their general affairs; but their laws must be sent to every town, to be deliberately considered in their town meetings, from whence the clerk was to send an account of their votes to the general recorder §, and if the majority of the towns approved the law, it was confirmed, if not, it was disannulled. The Assembly chose yearly a general recorder and general serjeant; which are only other names for a secretary and sheriff. In each town six persons were yearly chosen, who were called the town-council, who had the powers of a Court

§ In May, 1660, they enacted that the return of their votes to the recorder must be made in three months.

Court of Probate, of granting licences to inn-keepers and retailers, and the care of the poor.

Persons of almost all sentiments and tempers had resorted to this new colony, and various contentions and parties had appeared, which were not easily composed and reconciled; but toward the obtaining of such a desirable end, the following covenant was drawn and signed at Providence, viz. "considering the great mercy afforded unto us, in this liberty thus to meet together, being denied to many of our countrymen in most parts, especially in our poor native country, now deploring their distressed condition in most sad and bloody calamities: That ingratitude and disacknowledgments for favours received, are just causes for the deprivation of them, together with home divisions and home conspiracies, the ruination of families, towns and countries: Moreover, the many plots and present endeavours at home and abroad, not only to disturb our peace and liberties, but utterly to root up both root and branch of this our being; that government held forth through love, union and order, although few in number and mean in condition, yet (by experience) hath withstood and overcome mighty opposers; and above all, the several unexpected deliverances of this poor plantation, by that mighty providence who is still able to deliver us, through love, union and order: Therefore being sensible of these great and weighty premises, and now met together to consult about our peace and liberty, whereby our families and posterity may still enjoy these favours; and that we may publicly declare unto all the free discharge of all our consciences and duties, whereby it may appear upon record that we are not wilfully opposite, nor careless and senseless, and thereby the means of our own and others

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ruin and deſtruction; and eſpecially in teſtimony of our fidelity and cordial affection unto one another here preſent, that ſo there may be a current placable proceeding, we do faithfully and unanimouſly, by this our ſubſcription, promiſe unto each other to keep unto theſe enſuing particulars. First, that the foundation in love may appear among us, what cauſes of difference have heretofore been given, either by word or miſbehaviour, in public or private, concerning particular or general affairs, by any of us here preſent, not to mention or repeat them in the aſſembly, but that love ſhall cover the multitude of them in the grave of oblivion. Secondly, that union may proceed from love, we do promiſe to keep conſtant unto thoſe ſeveral engagements made by us, both unto our town and colony, and that to the uttermoſt of our powers and abilities to maintain our lawful rights and privileges, and to uphold the government of this plantation. Alſo that love may appear in union, we deſire to abandon all cauſleſs fears and jealouſies of one another, ſelf-ſeeking and ſtriving one againſt another, only aiming at the general and particular peace and union of this town and colony. Laſtly, for our more orderly proceeding in this aſſembly, whereby love and union may appear in order, if in our conſultations differences in judgment ſhall ariſe, then moderately in order, through argumentation, to agitate the ſame; conſidering the cauſe how far it may be hurtful, or conducing unto our union, peace and liberty, and accordingly act, not after the will or perſon of any, but unto the juſtice and righteouſneſs of the cauſe. Again, if ſuch cauſe ſhall be preſented wherein ſuch difficulties ſhall appear, that evident arguments cannot be given for preſent ſatisfaction, but that either town or colony or both ſhall ſuffer,

then to take into our consideration a speech of a beloved friend, "better to suffer an inconvenience than a mischief," better to suspend with a loss which may be inconvenient, than to be totally disunited and bereaved of all rights and liberties, which will be a mischief indeed. Moreover that offences and distractions may be prevented, that so the current of business may peaceably proceed in this assembly, we do faithfully promise to carry ourselves, in words and behaviour, so moderately and orderly as the cause shall permit, and if any of us shall fly out in provoking, scurrilous, exorbitant speeches, and unsuitable behaviour, that he or they so doing shall be publicly declared, branded and noted upon record to be a covenant violator, and disturber of the union, peace and liberty of this plantation. We do here subscribe without partiality. Dated December, 1647.

Robert Williams, Roger Williams, John Smith, Hugh Bewit, William Wickenden, John Tripp, Thomas Hopkins, William Hawkins."

THIS preferring of the public good to private interest or inclination, Mr. Williams discovered as much of, through his life, as perhaps any man has done in latter ages; but alas! he had to do with many who were not of this disposition.

IN their General Assembly at Providence, May 16, 1648, Mr. Coddington was elected President, and Jeremiah Clarke, Roger Williams, William Baulston, and John Smith, Assistants; Philip Sherman, recorder, and Alexander Partridge, general serjeant; but Mr. Coddington absented himself, Mr. Dyre, the late recorder, having exhibited divers bills of complaint against him, and he did "not attend this Court for the clearing of the accusations charged upon him;" upon which the Assembly passed

passed an act that in such a case the Assistant of the town where the President lived should supply his place *.

Mr. Coddington wrote to Governor Winthrop the 25th of the same month, that "Mr. Baulstone, "and some others of this island, are in disgrace with "the people in Providence, Warwick, and Gor-"ton's adherents on the island, for that we will not "interpose or meddle at all in their quarrels with "the Massachusetts, and the rest of the colonies; "and do much fear that Gorton will be a thorn in "their sides, if the Lord prevent not." And when the Commissioners of the United Colonies met in September this year, he and Captain Partridge went to them and said, "our request and motion is "in "the behalf of our island, that we the islanders of "Rhode-Island may be received into a combina-"tion with all the United Colonies of New-Eng-"land, into a firm and perpetual league of friend-"ship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual "advice and succour, upon all just occasions, for "our mutual safety and welfare, and for preserv-"ing of peace amongst ourselves, and preventing, "as much as may be, all occasions of war or dif-"ferences, and to this our motion we have the "consent of the major part of our island.

William Coddington,
Alexander Partridge."

Thus, under a pretence of promoting peace, they would have separated the island from the rest of that little colony. However the Commissioners were not willing to own them as a distinct colony,

* All the articles from Mr. Gorton's return till now are taken from the colony and Providence town records, compared with Mr. Callender and others.

but would have the island to be included in Plymouth patent, and if the majority of its inhabitants would acknowledge themselves to be under that jurisdiction, they were willing then to afford them the same advice and help as they did to others *. Mr. Edward Winslow had been sent over to England their agent, to answer the complaints of Gorton's company, and to support their claims against that little colony; but he wrote from London to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, April 17, 1651, and said, "since "I perceived by letters from Plymouth, that after "another year's warning nothing is likely to be "done, in reference to the old order of Lords and "Commons sent over; I looked upon it as a vain "thing to strive against the stream; whereas indeed "that was the main material objection above a twelve-"month since, which I could not answer that we "had such an order, but never looked after the per-"formance thereof, nor made any return upon it §."

While various parties were exerting themselves in different ways, Mr. Williams on August 31, 1648, made the following motion to the town of Providence, viz.

"Worthy friends, that ourselves and all men are apt and prone to differ, it is no new thing. In all former ages, in all parts of the world, in these parts, and in our dear native country and mournful state of England, that either part or party is most right in his own eyes, his cause right, his carriage right, his arguments right, his answers right, is as woefully and constantly true as the former. And experience tells us, that when the God of peace hath taken peace from the earth, one spark of action, word or carriage, is too too powerful to kindle such a fire as burns

* Massachusetts History, vol. 3, p. 225, 226.
§ Ibid. p. 229.

burns up towns, cities, armies, navies, nations and kingdoms. And ſince, dear friends, it is an honor for men to ceaſe from ſtrife; ſince the life of love is ſweet, and union is as ſtrong as ſweet; and ſince you have been lately pleaſed to call me to ſome public ſervice, and my ſoul hath been long muſing how I might bring water to quench, and not oil or fuel to the flame, I am now humbly bold to beſeech you, by all thoſe comforts of earth and heaven which a placable and peaceable ſpirit will bring to you, and by all thoſe dreadful alarms and warnings either amongſt ourſelves, in deaths and ſickneſſes, or abroad in the raging calamities of the ſword, death and peſtilence; I ſay I humbly and earneſtly beſeech you to be willing to be pacifiable, willing to be reconcileable, willing to be ſociable, and to liſten to the (I hope not unreaſonable) motion following: To try out matters by diſputes and writings, is ſometimes endleſs; to try out arguments by arms and ſwords, is cruel and mercileſs; to trouble the ſtate and Lords of England, is moſt unreaſonable, moſt chargeable; to trouble our neighbours of other colonies, ſeems neither ſafe nor honorable. Methinks, dear friends, the colony now looks with the torn face of two parties, and that the greater number of Portſmouth, with other loving friends adhering to them, appear as one grieved party; the other three towns, or greater part of them, appear to be another: Let each party chooſe and nominate three; Portſmouth and friends adhering three, the other party three, one out of each town: Let authority be given to them to examine every public difference, grievance and obſtuction of juſtice, peace and common ſafety: Let them, by one final ſentence of all or the greater part of them, end all, and ſet the whole into an unanimous poſture and order, and

let

let them set a censure upon any that shall oppose their sentence. One log, without your gentle help, I cannot stir; it is this: How shall the minds of the towns be known? How shall the persons chosen be called? Time and place appointed in any expedition? For myself I can thankfully embrace the help of Mr. Coddington or Mr. Clarke, joined or apart, but how many are there who will attend (as our distempers are) to neither? It is, gentlemen, in the power of the body to require the help of any of her members, and both King and Parliament plead, that in extraordinary cases they have been forced to extraordinary ways for common safety. Let me be friendly construed, if (for expedition) I am boid to be too too forward in this service, and to say, that if within twenty days of the date hereof, you please to send to my house, at Providence, the name of him whom you please to nominate, at your desire I will acquaint all the persons chosen with place and time, unto which in your name I shall desire their meeting within ten days, or thereabouts, after the receipt of your letter. I am your mournful and unworthy ROGER WILLIAMS*."

THIS address had such effect, that Mr. Williams was received to act as President of the colony, till their election at Warwick, May 22, 1649, when Mr. John Smith was chosen President, and Thomas Olney, John Sanford, John Clarke, and Samuel Gorton, Assistants; Philip Sherman, recorder; Richard Knight, serjeant, and John Clarke, treasurer. Mr. Williams was chosen "to take "a view of the records delivered into the Court by "Mr. William Dyre." And they made a law that if a President should be elected, and should refuse to serve, he should be fined ten pounds; and if an Assistant

* Providence Records.

Assistant refused, five pounds. Also "ordered that a messenger be sent to Pumham and the other sachem, to require them to come to this Court; and that letters be sent to Benedict Arnold and his father, and the rest of Pawtuxet, about their subjecting to this colony." Mr. Dyre again presented his complaints against Mr. Coddington, but they were deferred.

AT the Assembly at Newport, May 23, 1650, a fresh order was sent to the towns, to collect and pay what they owed to Mr. Williams for the charter, within twenty days. William Arnold and William Carpenter, instead of submitting to the government of their own colony, went again and entered complaints against some of their neighbours to the Massachusetts rulers, and they sent a citation to them to come and answer the same in their courts, dated from Boston, June 20, 1652, signed by Edward Rawson, secretary †. Such obstructors of good government were they who have made a great noise in the world about the disorders of Rhode-Island colony.! In 1651, Mr. Coddington caused a terrible difficulty among them, as will be seen in its place, though another affair must be attended to first.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Holmes, and of their Sufferings at Boston in 1651.

IT has already been seen that Mr. John Clarke was a principal instrument in procuring Rhode-Island for a people who were persecuted elsewhere, and that he

† Providence Records.

he was the first religious minister on the island, and serviceable also in their civil government; yet all this did not prevent his being most abusively treated this year in Boston, with two other members of his church.

THE best account of Mr. Obadiah Holmes that I have seen, is in a manuscript which he left to his children, that a gentleman of his posterity has favoured me with; an extract of which I will give in his own words. Says he,

"FIRST, I must remember my honored parents, who were faithful in their generation, and of good report among men, and brought up their children tenderly and honorably. Three sons they brought up at the university in Oxford; but the most of their care was to inform and instruct them in the fear of the Lord; and to that end gave them much good counsel, carrying them often before the Lord by earnest prayer; but I, the most rebellious of all, did neither hearken to counsel nor any instruction, for from a child I minded nothing but folly and vanity, and as years did grow on, and wisdom should have taken place, then the wisdom I had was wise to do evil, but to do well had no knowledge.—As days and strength increased, even so did my transgressions, so that I became hardened in sin, not only to be drawn into it by others, but was as forward to draw others into evil as my fellows—being come to that height of wickedness that I did think it best when I could do the most wickedness, and began to think that it was but a foolish thing to talk of God, that should bring man to judgment—Continuing in such a course for four or five years, and then began to bethink what counsel my dear parents had given me, many a time with tears and prayers; my rebellion to my honored parents then looked me in

open

open face, and my dear mother being sick, it struck to me my disobedient acts, which forced me to confess the same to her. After this I began to go to hear the word preached, but every word was against me, and left me without hope of mercy; and sometimes passing over a field called the Twenty Acres, stood still and said, oh! that I might lie in hell but so many years as here are grass! It would have an end.—That word was ever before me, *the wicked shall be turned to hell—where the worm dieth not*, &c. And yet at this time Satan tells me, it is best to put such thoughts out of mind, and take pleasure while thou art here, and return to thy former merry companions and friends; which I did for a time; but the worm in the conscience did still gnaw. I went to hear the most noted men I could, but found it still against me; yet often heard them say, I must repent and be humbled, and must pray, and then should find mercy; but must confess sins and forsake them; which brought me to a resolution, in the most public way or company I could find, ever so to do; and had done it through ignorance, had not a friend advised me to the contrary, and that upon good grounds. But he also put me upon prayer and hearing. I then fell to prayer and duties, but found no rest or quiet in my soul; for then Satan let fly at me, and told me, it was too late to return, for there was no hope for me. I answered him, and did instance several of my wicked companions God had shown mercy unto a little before. He answered, remember thou scorned, mocked and derided them; yea saying the devil was in them, they were all mad, and become fools; and withal he told me I had read and heard that there was a sin that never could be forgiven, the which sin I had committed. With this assault he fooled me a long time; even

my life was a burden to me. Oh! the knives, ropes, trees, coal-pits, can witness the many escapes of them, as one in a most undone, desperate condition, as one appointed to eternal destruction. The perplexity of mind brought me to great weakness in body, and yet for ease and comfort I turned over every stone, hearkened to all my acquaintance and friends, as to leave off my old ways, and all my old companions, which I had done before; but all this while I never considered sin according to the true nature of it, as being loathsome to the Lord, but as it brought judgment upon me; yet was I fearful to sin, and began to love to read the scriptures, and frequent prayer and other duties, and took delight among professors that were of the strictest sort, easily seeing the gross evil and danger of the formal ministers and professors, and so that conformity was only superstition and a name: Yet for all that I had no rest in my soul, though I was in a manner as strict as any. As I was enlarged in sorrow for sin, deep in humiliation, enlarged in prayer, or filled with tears, my comfort came in and encreased; but as I failed in them, so my sorrows renewed; and when I looked over my best performances found them full of sin. Oh! then the fears, doubts and questioning of my own estate! I judged it was all done in hypocrisy, which sin my soul did then abhor. In this sad and doubtful state I continued very long, yea many years. And although I could speak comfortably to others, yet had often much disquiet within my soul; my comforts were according to my enlargements. Not long after this there was in me a great love to the Lord; but alas! I was deceived by my own heart, and the ministers who told me there must be such and such a love to him, as to keep to him in duty, and to

part

part with all for him, but they left me short of understanding him as I should, and my selfish heart was willing to love him or part with all for him, yea my dear honored father, brethren and friends, house and lands, and my own native country, for time, and to avoid those popish relics of the bishops, and that filthy rabble, and to separate from them, and all those that mention them; and was fully known in my own country, and adventured the danger of the seas to come to New-England, where I tried all things in several churches, and for a time thought I had made a good choice or change: But in truth it little differed from former times, and my spirit was like a wave tossed up and down, as not yet come to dig so deep as I should, or to consider the only ground of a well-grounded hope, which God at last brought me to consider, which is, *his own love to poor lost man, which first was in his own secret council and purpose before man was, and revealed to man in his time*; and that there is no preparative necessary to obtain Christ, nor any thing to deserve that love, or to merit the same. And nothing could stay or satisfy my soul till I came to consider why, when and upon whom he laid sin and transgression, namely, on the Lord, and on him alone. And looking at me when a rebel, an enemy, yea dead in sin and trespasses, yea in my blood, he then said, live, through the blood of Christ be cleansed, and in him be loved, for his own love to poor man, and that the election may obtain it, for he knows who are his; but his good will is manifested before they have done either good or evil, so that neither good foreseen shall prevail, nor evil original or actual shall hinder, but that free grace may have its free course; but manifested when he giveth faith to believe the promise of the Father in giving a full

discharge to the soul, by taking full satisfaction from his only Son, who became sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him; and so remission and free pardon is granted forth, that whosoever believes in him shall not perish, but have everlasting life; and all those that so come to him he will no ways cast away. And when God had given me to see in any measure this love of his, then and not till then could I give over working for life, and to live in working. But at last he caused me to say, that *from* life I must work, and then all my former turnings and returnings must come to nought, yea all my righteousness as filthy rags, and to account all as dung, so I might obtain Christ; or rather that I might be accepted by him, and so removed me from the covenant of works to the covenant of grace, even that new covenant of life alone by himself, who paid so dear a price, as to lay down his own blood to wash, cleanse and purify the soul, and to redeem both soul and body to serve the Lord; and that is now the life I live by faith in the Son of God; and this faith causes works of faith, or rather fruits that flow from that root, so that now love hath constrained me to yield myself to live to him, as to a king to rule me by his holy laws and commandments, and as to an only prophet to teach and instruct me, both to know and to do his holy will, and as my only chief priest to offer a sacrifice for me, which he did even for all, whereby my poor imperfect prayers and all other services became accepted of the Father; and this love, shed abroad in my heart, wrought in me a restless desire to know his will, that I might shew forth the praises and glory of him, that had called me by his grace."

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As the ſentiments of the ancient Baptiſts in this country have been groſly miſrepreſented, and as Mr. Holmes was no ſmall ſufferer in that cauſe, I thought it expedient to let the reader thus far hear him ſpeak for himſelf, or tell his own experience and ideas about the nature of true religion. When he firſt came to this land he joined with the chuch in Salem, with whom he walked ſix or ſeven years, and then about the year 1645 was diſmiſſed to the Congregational church in Seaconck (Rehoboth) newly ſettled there, under the miniſtry of Mr. Samuel Newman; and he continued in that relation about four years, till an unrighteous act, as he judged, of the miniſter and part of the church, for which they would not give ſatisfaction, cauſed Mr. Holmes and ſeveral more to withdraw, and ſet up a meeting by themſelves, and being convinced that the Baptiſt's way was right, a number of them were baptiſed, I ſuppoſe by the aforeſaid Mr. Clarke, for they joined to his church. After this Mr. Newman pronounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt Mr. Holmes, upon which he and two more were preſented to the General Court at Plymouth, June 4, 1650, where they met with four petitions againſt them, one from their own town with thirty-five hands to it, one from the church at Taunton, one from all the miniſters but two in Plymouth colony, and a fourth from the Court at Boſton, under their ſecretaries hand, urging Plymouth rulers to ſuppreſs them ſpeedily †.

Here we may obſerve the great difference between our Plymouth fathers, and the Maſſachuſetts. With all theſe ſtimulations to ſeverity, the Court of Plymouth only charged them to deſiſt from their practice,

† Clarke's Narrative, p. 18, 25. Plymouth Records.

practice, which others had taken such offence at, and one of them yielding thereto, the others, viz. Obadiah Holmes and Joseph Tory, were bound over to the next October Court, but were not so much as bound to their good behaviour, nor any other sureties required, only they were bound "one "for another in the sum of ten pounds a piece," for their appearance at said Court.

"At a General Court holden at New-Plymouth the second of October, 1650, before William Bradford, gentleman, Governor, Thomas Prince, William Collyare, Capt. Miles Standish, Timothy Hetherly, William Thomas, John Allen, gentlemen, Assistants, [and a House of Deputies.]

Presentment by the Grand Inquest.

October 2cond, 1650.

"WEE whose names are heer underwritten, being the grand inquest, doe present to this Court John Hazell, Mr. Edward Smith and his wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Tory and his wife, and the wife of James Man, William Deuell and his wife, of the towne of Rehoboth, for the continuing of a meeting uppon the Lord's-day from house to house, contrary to the order of this Court, enacted June 12, 1650. THOMAS ROBINSON,

HENRY TOMSON," &c. to the number of 14 †.

This is an exact copy of their presentment, but no sentence appears upon record against them. How different is this from the actings of Boston Court the next year*! For on July 19, 1651, Messieurs

† Plymouth Records.

* Mr. Hazel wrote to his cousin Hubbard, of Newport, June 23, 1651, that they were then threatened with a fine of 10 s. a day for every person who set up any other meeting, and that their absence from the town meeting the day before should prove

ſieurs Clarke, Holmes and Crandal, "being the repreſentatives of the church in Newport, upon the requeſt of William Witter, of Lynn, arrived there, he being a brother in the church, who, by reaſon of his advanced age, could not undertake ſo great a journey as to viſit the church §." He lived about two miles out of town, and the next being the Lord's-day, they concluded to ſpend it in religious worſhip at his houſe; and Mr. Clarke ſays, "finding by ſad experience, that the hour of temptation ſpoken of was coming upon all the world (in a more eminent way) to try them that are upon the earth, I fell upon the conſideration of that promiſe, made to thoſe that keep the word of his patience, which preſent thoughts, while in conſcience toward God, and good will unto his ſaints, I was imparting to my companions in the houſe where I lodged, and to four or five ſtrangers that came in unexpected after I had begun, opening and proving what is meant by the hour of temptation, what by the word of his patience, and their keeping it, and how he that hath the key of David (being the promiſer) will keep thoſe that keep the word of his patience from the hour of temptation: While I ſay I was yet ſpeaking, there comes into the houſe where we were two conſtables, who, with their clamorous tongues, made an interruption in my diſcourſe, and more uncivilly diſturbed us than the purſuivants of the old Engliſh biſhops were wont to do, telling us that

prove coſtly. *Samuel Hubbard's manuſcript.* Mr. Harel died ſoon after, near Boſton; the reſt of them moved to Newport, where I find that Edward Smith, Joſeph Torry, James Man and William Deuall, were admitted freemen May 17, 1653. Smith was afterward a magiſtrate, and Torry many years ſecretary of the colony, as well as a teacher in Mr. Clarke's church, in which Mr. Holmes alſo miniſtered for many years.

§ Newport church papers.

that they were come with authority from the magistrate to apprehend us. I then desired to see the authority by which they thus proceeded, whereupon they plucked forth their warrant, and one of them with a trembling hand (as conscious he might have been better employed) read it to us; the substance whereof was as followeth:

"*BY virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witter, and so to search from house to house, for certain erroneous persons, being strangers, and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to-morrow morning by eight o'clock to bring before me,*

ROBERT BRIDGES."

"WHEN he had read the warrant, I told them, friends, there shall not be, I trust, the least appearance of a resisting of that authority by which you come unto us; yet I tell you, that by virtue hereof you are not so strictly tyed, but if you please you may suffer us to make an end of what we have begun, so may you be witnesses either to or against the faith and order which we hold. To which they answered they could not; then said we, notwithstanding the warrant, or any thing therein contained, you may.—They apprehended us, and carried us away to the ale-house or ordinary, where at dinner one of them said unto us, gentlemen, if you be free I will carry you to the meeting; to whom it was replied, friend, had we been free thereunto we had prevented all this, nevertheless we are in thy hand, and if thou wilt carry us to the meeting, thither will we go; to which he answered, then will I carry you to the meeting; to this we replied, if thou forcest us unto your assembly, then shall we be constrained to declare ourselves, that we cannot hold communion with them. The constable answered, that is nothing to me; I have not power to command you

to

to ſpeak when you come there, or to be ſilent. To this I again replied, ſince we have heard the word of ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, we have been taught, as thoſe that *firſt truſted in Chriſt*, to be obedient unto him both by word and deed; wherefore if we be forced to your meeting, we ſhall declare our diſſent from you both by word and geſture. After all this, when he had conſulted with the man of the houſe, he told us he would carry us to the meeting; ſo to their meeting we were brought, while they were at their prayers, and uncovered; and at my firſt ſtepping over the threſhold I unveiled myſelf, civily ſaluted them, and turned into the ſeat I was appointed to, put on my hat again, and ſat down, opened my book, and fell to reading. Mr. Bridges being troubled, commanded the conſtable to pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine there I let it lie, until their prayers, ſinging and preaching was over; after this I ſtood up, and uttered myſelf in theſe words following: I deſire as a ſtranger to propoſe a few things to this congregation, hoping in the propoſal thereof I ſhall commend myſelf to your conſciences, to be guided by that wiſdom that is from above, which being pure is alſo peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be entreated; and therewith made a ſtop, expecting if the Prince of peace had been among them, I ſhould have had a ſuitable anſwer of peace from them.—Their paſtor anſwered, we will have no objections againſt what is delivered. To which I anſwered, I am not about at preſent to make objections againſt what is delivered, but as by my geſture at my coming into your aſſembly, I declared my diſſent from you, ſo leaſt that ſhould prove offenſive unto ſome whom I would not offend, I would now by word of mouth declare the grounds, which are theſe: Firſt, from

the consideration we are strangers each to other, and so strangers to each other's inward standing with respect to God, and so cannot conjoin and act in faith, and what is not of faith is sin. And in the second place, I could not judge that you are gathered together, and walk according to the visible order of our Lord; which when I had declared, Mr. Bridges told me, I had done, and spoke that for which I must answer, and so commanded silence. When their meeting was done, the officers carried us again to the ordinary, where being watched over that night, as thieves and robbers, we were the next morning carried before Mr. Bridges, who made our mittimus, and sent us to the prison at Boston †; the words of the mittimus are these:

To the Keeper of the Prison at Boston.

"By virtue hereof you are required to take into your custody from the constable of Lynn, or his Deputy, the bodies of John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandal, and them to keep until the next county Court to be held at Boston, that they may then and there answer to such complaints as may be alledged against them; for being taken by a constable at a private meeting at Lynn, upon the Lord's-day, exercising among themselves, to whom divers of the town repaired, and joined with them, and that in the time of the public exercise of the worship of God; as also for offensively disturbing the peace of the congregation, at their coming into the public meeting in the time of prayer in the afternoon, and for saying and manifesting that the church in Lynn was not constituted according to the order of our Lord, and for such other things as shall be alledged against them, concerning their seducing

† It appears that somehow they were permitted to meet again on Monday, and were sent to prison on Tuesday.

ing and drawing others after their erroneous judgments and practices, and for suspicion of having their hands in re-baptizing of one or more among us, as also for neglecting or refusing to put in sufficient security for their appearance at the said Court. Hereof fail not at your peril.

22, 5, 51. ROBERT BRIDGES §."

ON July 31, Mr. Clarke was brought before the Court, and fined twenty pounds, or to be well whipt; and the crimes he was charged with, beside what is above mentioned, were, that he met again the next day after his contempt, as they call it, of their public worship, "at the house of Witters; and in contempt of authority; being then in the custody of the law, did there administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper to one excommunicated person, to another under admonition, and to a third that was an inhabitant of Lynn, and not in fellowship with any church; and yet upon answer in open Court did affirm, that he never re-baptized any," &c.* And, says Mr. Clarke, "none were able to turn to the law of God or man by which we were condemned. At length the Governor stepped up, and told us we had denied infants baptism; and being somewhat transported, told me, I had deserved death, and said he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction; moreover he said, "you go up and down, and secretly insinuate into those that are weak, but you cannot maintain it before our ministers. You may try and dispute with them." To this I had much to reply, but he commanded the gaoler to take us away. So the next morning, having so fair an opportunity, I made a motion to the Court in these words following:

§ Clarke's Narrative, p. 1—4.

* Neal's History of New-England, vol. 1, p. 30.

To the honorable Court assembled at Boston.

"WHEREAS it pleased this honored Court yesterday to condemn the faith and order which I hold and practise; and after you had passed your sentence upon me for it, were pleased to express, I could not maintain the same against your ministers, and thereupon publicly proffered me a dispute with them: Be pleased by these few lines to understand, I readily accept it, and therefore desire you would appoint the time when, and the person with whom, in that public place where I was condemned, I might with freedom, and without molestation of the civil power, dispute that point publicly, where I doubt not by the strength of Christ to make it good out of his last will and testament, unto which nothing is to be added, nor from which nothing is to be diminished. Thus desiring the Father of lights to shine forth, and by his power to expel the darkness, I remain your well-wisher,

From the prison, this 1, 6, 51. JOHN CLARKE.

"THIS motion, if granted, I desire might be subscribed by their Secretary's hand, as an act of the same Court by which we were condemned §."

THIS was presented, and after much ado, one of the magistrates informed Mr. Clarke, that a disputation was granted to be the next week, but on Monday their ministers came together and made no small stir about the matter, and near the close of the day the magistrates sent for Mr. Clarke into their chamber, and queried with him about this matter, and demanded of him whether he would dispute upon the things contained in his sentence, and maintain his practice, "for said they, "the Court sentenced you not for your judg-"ment and conscience, but for matter of fact "and

§ Clarke's Narrative, p. 7.

" and practice." To which, says Mr. Clarke, I replied, " you say the Court condemned me for matter of fact and practice; be it so; I say that matter of fact and practice was but the manifestation of my judgment and conscience; and I make account, that man is void of judgment and conscience, with respect unto God, that hath not a fact and practice suitable thereunto.—If the faith and order which I profess do stand by the word of God, then the faith and order which you profess must needs fall to the ground; and if the way you walk in remain, then the way that I walk in must vanish away; they cannot both stand together; to which they seemed to assent; therefore I told them, that if they please to grant the motion under the Secretary's hand, I would draw up the faith and order which I hold, as the sum of that I did deliver in open Court, in three or four conclusions, which conclusions I will stand by and defend, until he whom you shall appoint shall by the word of God remove me from them; in case he shall remove me from them, then the disputation is at an end: But if not, then I desire like liberty by the word of God to oppose the faith and order which he and you profess, thereby to try whether I may be an instrument in the hand of God to remove you from the same. They told me the motion was very fair, and the way like unto a disputant, saying, because the matter is weighty, and we desire that what can, may be spoken, when the disputation shall be, therefore would we take a longer time.—So I returned with my keeper to prison again, drew up the conclusions, which I was resolved through the strength of Christ to stand in defence of, and through the importunity of one of the magistrates, the next morning very early I shewed them to him, having a promise I should

have

have my motion for a dispute granted, under the Secretary's hand. The conclusions were as followeth.

"THE testimony of John Clarke, a prisoner of Jesus Christ at Boston, in behalf of my Lord, and of his people, is as followeth.

"1. I TESTIFY that Jesus of Nazareth, whom God hath raised from the dead, is made both Lord and Christ; this Jesus I say is the Christ, in English, the anointed one, hath a name above every name; he is the anointed priest, none to or with him in point of atonement; the anointed prophet, none to him in point of instruction; the anointed King, who is gone unto his Father for his glorious kingdom, and shall ere long return again; and that this Jesus Christ is also the Lord; none to or with him by way of *commanding and ordering*, with respect to the worship of God, the houshold of faith, which being purchased with his blood as priest, instructed and nourished by his spirit as prophet, do wait in HIS appointments as THE LORD, in hope of that glorious kingdom which shall ere long appear §.

2. "I TESTIFY

§ To confirm this article Mr. Clarke says, "if the nature of the commanding and ordering power, that suits both with the worship and with the worshippers, which the Father of spirits seeks for, be considered, which is not a law of a carnal commandment, seconded with carnal weapons, or an arm of flesh; but a spiritual law, as the apostle calls it, Rom. viii. *a law of the spirit of life from Christ Jesus*, spoken unto, or rather written in the heart of a Christian by the spirit of Christ, by reason whereof he obeys from the heart readily, willingly and chearfully, that form of doctrine which is engraven and laid up therein, Heb. viii. 10. 2 Cor. iii. 3. Rom vi. 17. If this I say be considered, that the worship is spiritual, such as must begin in, spring up and rise from, the heart and spirit, and to be directed to the Father of spirits, and so the commanding power that suits herewith must speak to the heart and spirit of the man, then is there no Lord in this matter to Christ Jesus, who speaks to the heart and spirit, and his words are as commands

2. "I TESTIFY that baptism, or dipping in water, is one of the commandments of this Lord Jesus Christ, and that a visible believer or disciple of Christ Jesus (that is one that manifesteth repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ) is the only person that is to be baptised, or dipped with that visible baptism, or dipping of Jesus Christ in water, and also that visible person that is to walk in that visible order of his house, and so to wait for his coming the second time, in the form of a Lord and King, with his glorious kingdom according to promise, and for his sending down in the time of his absence the Holy Ghost, or holy Spirit of promise, and all this according to the last will and testament of that living Lord, whose will is not to be added to or taken from *.

3. "I TESTIFY or witness, that every such believer in Christ Jesus, that waiteth for his appearing, may in point of liberty, yea ought in point of duty, to improve that talent his Lord hath given unto him, and in the congregation may either ask for information to himself; or if he can, may speak by way of prophesy for the edification, exhortation and comfort of the whole;

mands from the head to the members, which convey spirit and life to obey them, by reason of which his commands are not grievous, for where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, &c.—2 Cor. iii. 17, 18." p. 48, 49.

* To confirm the first part of this article Mr. Clarke says, "although there be frequent mention made of that appointment of Christ in his last will and testament, yet it is never expressed by the word that may be rendered *rantism*, or sprinkling, but by the word that is rendered *baptism*, or dipping." To which he adds many proofs, p. 50—52. The other part, which concerns the subjects of baptism, he confirms by the apostles commission, and by their practice, and notes in particular, that on the day of Pentecost they baptised none but such as were *called, gladly received his word*, were *added and continued in the apostles doctrine and fellowship*, &c. p. 54.

whole; and out of the congregation at all times, upon all occasions, and in all places, as far as the jurisdiction of his Lord extends, may, yea ought to walk as a child of light, justifying wisdom with his ways, and reproving folly, with the unfruitful works thereof, provided all this be shown out of a good conversation, as James speaks with meekness of wisdom.

4. "I TESTIFY that no such believer or servant of Christ Jesus hath liberty, much less authority, from his Lord, to smite his fellow servant, nor yet with outward force, or arm of flesh, to constrain, or restrain his conscience, no nor yet his outward man for conscience sake, or worship of his God, where injury is not offered to the person, name or estate of others, every man being such as shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and must give an account of himself to God, and therefore ought to be fully persuaded in his own mind for what he undertakes, because he that doubteth is damned if he eat, and so also if he act, because he doth not eat or act in faith, and what is not of faith is sin *."

WHEN Mr. Clarke had thus freely given them his testimony, instead of openly and fairly meeting him as they had talked of, to vindicate their proceedings, the next news that he hears from them is this:

To the Keeper of the Prison.

"BY virtue hereof you are to release and set at liberty the body of Mr. John Clarke, and this shall be your discharge for so doing. Given under my hand the 11th of the 6th month, 1651.

WILLIAM HIBBINS §."

GREAT expectations had been raised in the country of hearing these points disputed, and Mr. Clarke knowing

* Narrative, p. 9, 10.

§ *Narrative*, p. 10. Four years after Hibbins's wife was hanged for a witch.

knowing well how they would try to turn all the blame upon him, immediately drew up the following addreſs.

"WHEREAS through the indulgency of tender hearted friends, without my conſent, and contrary to my judgment, the ſentence and condemnation of the Court at Boſton (as is reported) have been fully ſatisfied on my behalf, and thereupon a warrant hath been procured, by which I am ſecluded the place of my impriſonment, by reaſon whereof I ſee no other call for preſent but to my habitation, and to thoſe near relations which God hath given me there; yet leſt the cauſe ſhould hereby ſuffer, which I profeſs is Chriſt's, I would hereby ſignify, that if yet it ſhall pleaſe the honored magiſtrates, or General Court of this colony, to grant my former requeſt under their Secretary's hand, I ſhall chearfully embrace it, and upon your motion ſhall, through the help of God, come from the iſland to attend it, and hereunto I have ſubſcribed my name,

11th 6, 51. JOHN CLARKE."

THIS was the next morning ſent to the magiſtrates, who were met at the commencement at Cambridge, upon which it was noiſed abroad that the motion was granted; and that Mr. Cotton was to be the man, and ſays Mr. Clarke, "beſt of all approved "of by myſelf for that ſame purpoſe, he being the "inventor and ſupporter of that way in theſe parts "wherein they walk." But a little before their lecture the next Thurſday he received the following paper:

Mr. John Clarke,

"WE conceive you have miſrepreſented the Governor's ſpeech, in ſaying you were challenged to diſpute with ſome of our elders, whereas it was plainly expreſſed, that if you would confer with any of

 them,

them, they were able to satisfy you, neither were you able to maintain your practice to them by the word of God, all which we intended for your information and conviction privately; neither were you enjoined to what you were then counselled unto; nevertheless if you are forward to dispute, and that you will move it yourself to the Court, or magistrates about Boston, we shall take order to appoint one who will be ready to answer your motion, you keeping close to the questions to be propounded by yourself, and a moderator shall be appointed also to attend upon that service; and whereas you desire you might be free in your dispute, keeping close to the points to be disputed on, without incurring damage by the civil justice, observing what hath been before written, it is granted; the day may be agreed, if you yield the premises.

JOHN ENDICOTT, Governor,
THOMAS DUDLEY, Dep. Governor,
RICHARD BELLINGHAM,
WILLIAM HIBBINS,
INCREASE NOWEL."

11th † of the 6th, 1651.

"MY answer followeth superscribed.

To the honored Governor of the Massachusetts, and the rest of that honorable Society, these present.

Worthy Senators,

"I RECEIVED a writing, subscribed with five of your hands, by way of answer to a twice repeated motion of mine before you, which was grounded as I conceive sufficiently upon the Governor's words in open Court, which writing of yours doth no way answer my expectation, nor yet that motion which I made; and whereas (waving that grounded motion)

† It seems this should be the 12th.

tion) you are pleased to intimate, that if I were forward to dispute, and would move it myself to the Court, or magistrates about Boston, you would appoint one to answer my motion, &c. be pleased to understand, that although I am not backward to maintain the faith and order of my Lord, the King of saints, for which I have been sentenced, yet am I not in such a way so forward to dispute, or move therein, lest inconvenience should thereby arise; I shall rather once more repeat my former motion, which if it shall please the honored General Court to accept, and under their secretary's hand shall grant a free dispute, without molestation or interruption, I shall be well satisfied therewith; that what is past I shall forget, and upon your motion shall attend it; thus desiring the father of mercies not to lay that evil to your charge, I remain your well wisher,

JOHN CLARKE †."

From Prison this 14, 6, 51.

I HAVE transcribed the whole of these letters with great care, to give the reader a fair opportunity to judge for himself, whether those rulers and ministers were not afraid of the light, though they pretended the contrary; for they knew that they had then laws in force to punish any man who should dispute against infant baptism, as well as other of their ways, and what they now sent was no act of Court, but only a writing from some of their rulers met at commencement; and Mr. Clarke says, it was in Mr. Cotton's hand writing, by which they would fain have stopped Mr. Clarke's mouth, or else have drawn him again under the lash of their laws. This he says gave ground for others to conclude, "that "the utmost they can say for themselves, and to "stop the mouth of him that is contrary minded,

 "lies

† Narrative, p. 11—13.

"lies in the ſword and power of the magiſtrate, "which, although it be a good ordinance of God "in this preſent evil world to reſtrain the oppreſ- "ſor, and to let the oppreſſed go free, and ſo ap- "proved and owned by Chriſt and all true Chri- "ſtians, in caſe of wrong and wicked lewdneſs—yet "was it never appointed by Chriſt (to whom all "power, not only in earth, but alſo in heaven, is "committed, and by whom all earthly powers are to "be judged; I ſay it was never appointed by "Chriſt) to inform and rectify the minds and con- "ſciences of men in the worſhip of God, in that "great myſtery of godlineſs, and in thoſe myſtical "matters concerning the kingdom of Chriſt, that "being a matter that only belongs to the holy ſpirit "of promiſe, and to the ſword of that ſpirit, "which is the word (not of man, but) of God, "to effect, much leſs to conform their outward "man contrary to their minds and conſciences in "the worſhip of God; and therefore that ſword "and power ought to take heed how they med- "dle herein, leſt they attempt to take the place "and enter upon the THRONE and KINGDOM OF "CHRIST §."

MR. Crandal, who was fined five pounds, only for being with the others, was releaſed upon promiſe of appearing at their next Court (though they did not let him know when it was, till it was over, and they exacted the fine of the keeper) and he with Mr. Clarke returned home. Mr. Holmes was kept in priſon till their Court met in the beginning of September, and then, after their public lecture in Boſton, the ſentence of Court was executed upon him; a particular account of which we have written with his own hand, as follows:

"UNTO

§ Narrative, p. 13, 14.

"UNTO the well beloved brethren, John Spilsbury, William Kiffen, and the reſt that in London ſtand faſt in the faith, and continue to walk ſtedfaſtly in that order of the goſpel which was once delivered unto the ſaints by Jeſus Chriſt: Obadiah Holmes, an unworthy witneſs that Jeſus is the Lord, and of late a priſoner for Jeſus ſake at Boſton, ſendeth greeting.

Dearly Beloved and longed after,

"MY heart's deſire is to hear from you, and to hear that you grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and that your love to him, and one unto another, as he hath given commandment, aboundeth, would be the very joy and great rejoicing of my ſoul and ſpirit. Had I not been prevented by my beloved brethren of Providence, who have wrote unto you, wherein you have my mind at large; and alſo by our beloved brother Clarke, of Rhode-Iſland, who may, if God permit, ſee you, and ſpeak with you mouth to mouth, I had here declared myſelf in that matter, but now I forbear; and becauſe I have an experimental knowledge in myſelf, that in members of the ſame body, while it ſtands in union with the head, there is a ſympathizing ſpirit, which paſſeth through, and alſo remaineth in each particular, ſo that one member can neither mourn nor rejoice, but all the members are ready to mourn and rejoice with it; I ſhall the rather impart unto you ſome dealings which I have had therein from the ſons of men, and the gracious ſupports which I have had from the Son of God, my Lord and yours, that ſo like members you might rejoice with me, and might be encouraged, by the ſame experiment of his tender mercies, to fear none of thoſe things which you ſhall ſuffer for Jeſus ſake. It pleaſed the Father of lights, after a long

continuance

continuance of mine in death and darkness, to cause life and immortality to be brought to light in my soul, and also to cause me to see that this life was by the death of his Son, in that hour and power of darkness procured, which wrought in my heart a restless desire to know what the Lord, who had so dearly bought me, would have me to do, and finding that it was his last will (to which none is to add, and from which none is to detract) that they which had faith in his death for life, should yield up themselves to hold forth a lively consimilitude or likeness unto his death, burial and resurrection, by that ordinance of baptism, I readily yielded thereto, being by love constrained to follow the Lamb (that takes away the sins of the world) whithersoever he goes. I had no sooner separated from their assemblies, and from communion with them in their worship of God, and thus visibly put on Christ, being resolved alone to attend upon him, and to submit to his will, but immediately the adversary cast out a flood against us, and stirred up the spirits of men to present myself and two more to Plymouth Court, where we met with four petitions against our whole company to take some speedy course to suppress us; one from our own plantation, with 35 hands to it; one from the church, as they call it, at Taunton; one from all the ministers in our colony, except two, if I mistake not, and one from the Court at Boston, in the Massachusetts, under their Secretary's hand; whereupon the Court straitly chargeth us to desist, and neither to ordain officers, nor to baptize, nor to break bread together, nor yet to meet upon the first day of the week; and having received these strait charges, one of the three discovers the sand foundation upon which he stood, who, when the flood came and the wind blew, fell, yet it pleaseth

the Father of mercies (to whom be the praiſe) to give us ſtrength to ſtand, and to tell them it was better to obey God than man; and ſuch was the grace of our God to us-ward, that though we were had from Court to Court, yet were we firmly reſolved to keep cloſe to the rule, and to obey the voice of our Lord, come what will come.

"NOT long after theſe troubles I came upon occaſion of buſineſs into the colony of the Maſſachuſetts, with two other brethren, as brother Clarke being one of the two can inform you, where we three were apprehended, carried to Boſton, and ſo to the Court, and were all ſentenced; what they laid to my charge, you may here read in my ſentence †, upon the

" † *The ſentence of Obadiah Holmes, of Seaconk, the 31ſt of the 5th m.* 1651.

" Foraſmuch as you Obadiah Holmes, being come into this juriſdiction about the 21 of the 5 m. did meet at one William Witter's houſe, at Lynn, and did here privately (and at other times, being an excommunicate perſon, did take upon you to preach and baptize) upon the Lord's day, or other days, and being taken then by the conſtable, and coming afterward to the aſſembly at Lynn, did, in diſreſpect to the ordinance of God and his worſhip, keep on your hat, the paſtor being in prayer, inſomuch that you would not give reverence in vailing your hat, till it was forced off your head, to the diſturbance of the congregation, and profeſſing againſt the inſtitution of the church, as not being according to the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; and that you the ſaid Obadiah Holmes did upon the day following meet again at the ſaid William Witter's, in contempt to authority, you being then in the cuſtody of the law, and did there receive the ſacrament, being excommunicate, and that you did baptize ſuch as were baptized before, and thereby did neceſſarily deny the baptiſm that was before adminiſtered to be baptiſm, the churches no churches, and alſo other ordinances, and miniſters, as if all were a nullity; and alſo did deny the lawfulneſs of baptizing of infants; and all this tends to the diſhonor of God, the deſpiſing the ordinances of God *among us*, the peace of the churches, and ſeducing the ſubjects of this commonwealth from the

the pronouncing of which, as I went from the bar, I expressed myself in these words: I bless God, I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus. Whereupon John Wilson (their pastor, as they call him) struck me before the judgment seat, and cursed me, saying, the curse of God or Jesus go with thee §; so we were carried to the prison, where not long after I was deprived of my two loving friends, at whose departure the adversary stept in, took hold of my spirit, and troubled me for the space of an hour, and then the Lord came in, and sweetly relieved me, causing to look to himself, so was I stayed, and refreshed in the thoughts of my God; and although during the time of my imprisonment the tempter was busy, yet it pleased God so to stand at my right hand, that the motions were but sudden, and so vanished away; and although there were that would have paid the money if I would accept it, yet I durst not accept of deliverance in such a way, and therefore my answer to them was, that although I would acknowledge their love to a cup of cold water, yet could I not thank them for their money, if they should pay it. So the Court drew near, and the night before I should suffer according to my sentence, it pleased God I rested and slept quietly; in the morning my friends

the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and perverting the strait ways of the Lord, the Court doth fine you 30 pounds, to be paid, or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipt, and that you shall remain in prison till it be paid, or security given in for it. By the Court, INCREASE NOWELL."

§ "Mr. Wilson is represented by his cotemporaries as one of "the most humble, pious and benevolent men of the age." *Massachusetts History*, vol. 1, p. 258. But when that darling point, *infant sprinkling*, was in danger, see how it makes the most benevolent act like cruel persecutors!

friends come to visit me, desiring me to take the refreshment of wine, and other comforts; but my resolution was not to drink wine, nor strong drin that day until my punishment was over: and the reason was, lest in case I had more strength, courage and boldness than ordinarily could be expected, the world should either say he is drunk with new wine, or else that the comfort and strength of the creature hath carried him through; but my course was this: I desired brother John Hazel to bear my friend' company, and I betook myself to my chamber, where I might communicate with my God, commit myself to him, and beg strength from him. I had no sooner sequestred myself, and come into my chamber, but Satan lets fly at me, saying, Remember thyself, thy birth breeding, and friends, thy wife, children, name and credit: but as this was sudden, so there came in sweetly from the Lord as sudden an answer, 'Tis for my Lord, I must not deny him before the sons of men (for that were to set men above him) but rather loose all, yea wife, children, and mine own life also. To this the tempter replies, Oh but that is the question, is it for him? and for him alone? is it not rather for thy own, or some other's sake? thou hast so professed and practised, and now art loth to deny it; is not pride and self in the bottom? Surely this temptation was strong, and thereupon I made dilligent search after the matter, as formerly I had done, and after a while there was even as it had been a voice from heaven in my very soul, bearing witness with my conscience, that it was not for any man's case or sake in this world, that so I had professed and practised, but for my Lord's case and sake, and for him alone; whereupon my spirit was much refresht; as also in the consideration of these three scriptures, which speak on this wise, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Although I*

walk through the valley and ſhadow of death I will fear no evil, thy rod and thy ſtaff they ſhall comfort me. And he that continueth to the end, the ſame ſhall be ſaved.

But then came in the conſideration of the weakneſs of the fleſh to bear the ſtrokes of a whip, though the ſpirit was willing, and thereupon I was cauſed to pray earneſtly unto the Lord, that he would be pleaſed to give me a ſpirit of courage and boldneſs, a tongue to ſpeak for him, and ſtrength of body to ſuffer for his ſake, and not to ſhrink or yield to the ſtrokes, or ſhed tears, leſt the adverſaries of the truth ſhould thereupon blaſpheme and be hardened, and the weak and feeble-hearted diſcouraged, and for this I ſought the Lord earneſtly; at length he ſatisfied my ſpirit to give up, as my ſoul ſo my body to him, and quietly to leave the whole diſpoſing of the matter to him; and ſo I addreſſed myſelf in as comely a manner as I could, having ſuch a Lord and Maſter to ſerve in this buſineſs. And when I heard the voice of my keeper come for me, even chearfulneſs did come upon me, and taking my teſtament in my hand, I went along with him to the place of execution, and after common ſalutation here ſtood. There ſtood by alſo one of the magiſtrates, by name Increaſe Nowel, who for a while kept ſilent, and ſpoke not a word, and ſo did I, expecting the governor's preſence, but he came not. But after a while Mr. Nowel bade the executioner do his office; then I deſired to ſpeak a few words, but Mr. Nowel anſwered, it is not now a time to ſpeak. Whereupon I took leave, and ſaid, men, brethren, fathers and countrymen, I beſeech you give me leave to ſpeak a few words, and the rather becauſe here are many ſpectators to ſee me puniſhed, and I am to ſeal with my blood, if God give ſtrength, that which I hold and practice in reference

ence to the word of God, and the teſtimony of Jeſus: that which I have to ſay in brief is this, Although I confeſs I am no diſputant, yet ſeeing I am to ſeal what I hold with my blood, I am ready to defend it by the word, and to diſpute that point with any that ſhall come forth to withſtand it. Mr. Nowel anſwered me, now was no time to diſpute. Then ſaid I, then I deſire to give an account of the faith and order I hold, and this I deſired three times, but in comes Mr. Flint, and ſaith to the executioner, *Fellow, do thine office, for this fellow would but make a long ſpeech to delude the people.** So I being reſolved to ſpeak, told the people; that which I am to ſuffer for is the word of God, and teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt. No, ſaith Mr. Nowel, it is for your error, and going about to ſeduce the people. To which I replied, not for error, for in all the time of my impriſonment, wherein I was left alone (my brethren being gone) which of all your miniſters in all that time came to convince me of an error; and when upon the governor's words a motion was made for a public diſpute, and upon fair terms ſo often renewed, and deſired by hundreds, what was the reaſon it was not granted? Mr. Nowel told me, it was his fault that went away, and would not diſpute; but this the writings will clear at large. Still Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office: ſo before, and in the time of his pulling off my cloaths I continued ſpeaking, telling them, that I had ſo learned, that for all Boſton I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruiſed upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a † *wampum peaque* to free it out of their hands, and that I made as much conſcience of

* Thomas Flint was choſen one of their magiſtrates in 1642.

† A *wampum peaque*, is the ſixth part of a penny with us.

of unbuttoning one button, as I did of paying the £ 30 in reference thereunto. I told them moreover, the Lord having manifested his love towards me, in giving me repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ, and so to be baptized in water by a messenger of Jesus into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, wherein I have fellowship with him in his death, burial and resurrection, I am now come to be baptized in afflictions by your hands, that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed.

"And as the man began to lay the strokes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet my God would not fail. So it pleased the Lord to come in, and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, and with an audible voice I broke forth, praying unto the Lord not to lay this sin to their charg ; and telling the people, that now I found he did not fail me, and therefore now I should trust him forever who failed me not ; for in truth, as the strokes fell upon me, I had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence as the like thereof I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshly tongue express; nd the outward pain was so removed from me, that indeed I am not able to declare it to you, it was so easy to me, that I could well bear it, yea and in a manner felt it not although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength (yea spitting in his hand three times, as many affirmed) with a three-corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart, and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, I told the magistrates, you have struck me as with roses ; and said moreover, although the Lord hath made it easy to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge.

"After

"AFTER this many came to me rejoicing to see the power of the Lord manifested in weak flesh; but sinful flesh takes occasion hereby to bring others in trouble, informs the magistrates hereof, and so two more are apprehended as for contempt of authority; their names were John Hazel and John Spur, who came indeed and did shake me by the hand, but did use no words of contempt or reproach unto any; no man can prove that the first spoke any thing, and for the second, he only said thus, blessed be the Lord; yet these two for taking me by the hand, and thus saying after I had received my punishment, were sentenced to pay 40 shillings, or to be whipt. Both were resolved against paying their fine; nevertheless after one or two days imprisonment, one paid John Spur's fine, and he was released; and after six or seven days imprisonment of brother Hazel, even the day when he should have suffered, another paid his, and so he escaped, and the next day went to visit a friend about six miles from Boston, where the same day he fell sick, and within ten days ended his life. When I was come to the prison, it pleased God to stir up the heart of an old acquaintance of mine, who with much tenderness, like the good Samaritan, poured oil into my wounds, and plaistered my sores;* but there was present information given what was done, and inquiry made who was the surgeon, and it was commonly reported he should be sent for, but what was done I yet know not. Now thus it hath pleased the Father of mercies so to dispose of the matter, that my

* In a manuscript of governor Joseph Jencks's, wrote near 50 years ago, he says, "Mr. Holmes was whipt thirty stripes, and in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay. But Mr. Clarke being a scholar bred, a friend of his, paid his fine."

my bonds and imprisonments, have been no hindrance to the Gospel, for before my return, some submitted to the Lord, and were baptized, and divers were put upon the way of inquiry. And now being advised to make my escape by night, because it was reported that there were warrants forth for me, I departed; and the next day after, while I was on my journey, the constable came to search at the house where I lodged, so I escaped their hands, and was by the good hand of my heavenly Father brought home again to my near relations, my wife and eight children. The brethren of our town, and Providence having taken pains to meet me four miles in the woods where we rejoiced together in the Lord. Thus have I given you as briefly as I can, a true relation of things; wherefore my brethren rejoice with me in the Lord, and give glory to him, for he is worthy, to whom be praise forevermore; to whom I commit you, and put up my earnest prayers for you, that by my late experience, who have trusted in God, and have not been deceived, you may trust in him perfectly. Wherefore my dearly beloved brethren, trust in the Lord, and you shall not be ashamed nor confounded; so I also rest, *Your's in the bond of charity,*

OBADIAH HOLMES."*

THUS I have given the reader his own testimony, without adding or diminishing a single word, that all who understand may judge; for the scriptures assure us, that *the ear trieth words, as the mouth tasteth meat.* You have heard from Mr. Holmes, that two men were put to trouble for the respect they shewed to him after his sufferings. Mr. Clarke says, it was reported that warrants were sent forth to the number of 13, but that "some through fear were fain to hide "themselves

* Clarke's narrative, p. 16—23.

"themſelves, and being ſtrangers, to haſten away, or "to change their habit." John Spur, one of their church members, and who was taken, gives us the following teſtimony. Saith he,

"Mr. Cotton in his ſermon immediately before the Court gave their ſentence againſt Mr. Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandal, affirmed, that denying infant baptiſm would overthrow all, and this was a capital offence; and therefore they were ſoul-murtherers. When therefore the governor, Mr. John Endicot, came into the Court to paſs ſentence againſt them, he ſaid thus, you deſerve to die, but this we agreed upon, that Mr. Clarke ſhall pay £. 20 fine, and Obadiah Holmes £. 30 fine, and John Crandal £. 5 and to remain in priſon until their fines be either paid or ſecurity given for them, or elſe they are all of them to be well whipped. When Obadiah Holmes was brought forth to receive his ſentence, he deſired of the magiſtrates, that he might hold forth the ground of his practice; but they refuſed to let him ſpeak, and commanded the whipper to do his office; then the whipper began to pull off his cloaths, upon which Obadiah Holmes ſaid, Lord lay not this ſin unto their charge; and ſo the whipper began to lay on with his whip; upon which Obadiah Holmes ſaid, O Lord, I beſeech thee to manifeſt thy power in the weakneſs of thy creature. He neither moving nor ſtirring at all for their ſtrokes, brakes out in theſe expreſſions, bleſſed and praiſed be the Lord, and thus he carried it to the end, and went away rejoicingly; I John Spur being preſent, it did take ſuch an impreſſion in my ſpirit to truſt in God, and to walk according to the light that God had communicated to me, and not to fear what man could do unto me, that I went to the man (being inwardly affected with what I ſaw and heard) and with a joyful countenance took him by the

hand

hand when he was from the post and said, praised be the Lord; and so I went along with him to the prison, and presently that day there was information given to the Court what I had said and done; and also a warrant * granted out that day to arrest both myself and John Hazel, which was executed on the morrow morning upon us, and so we were brought to the Court and examined. The governor asked me concerning Obadiah Holmes, according as he was informed by old Mr. Cole, and Thomas Buttolph, of my taking of him by the hand, and smiling, and I did then freely declare what I did, and what I said, which was this: Obadiah Holmes, said I, I do look upon as a godly man; and do affirm that he carried himself as did become a Christian, under so sad an affliction; and his affliction did so affect my soul, that I went to him being from the post, and said, blessed be the Lord.— But said the governor, what do you apprehend concerning the cause for which he suffered? my answer was, that I am not able to judge of it; then said the governor, we will deal with you as we have dealt with him. I said unto him again, I am in the hands of God. Then Mr. Symonds a magistrate said, *you shall know that you are in the hands of men.* The governor then said, keeper, take him, and so I was presently carried away to prison.

"THE next day about one of the clock I was sent for again into the Court; the governor (being then about to go out of the Court when I came in) delivered his speech to me; said he, you must pay 40 shillings

* *To the keeper or his deputy.*

By virtue hereof you are to take into your custody, and safe keeping the body of John Spur for a heinous offence by him committed, hereof fail not. Dated the 5th of the 7th month, 1651. Take also into your safe keeping John Hazel.

By the Court. INCREASE NOWEL.

ings or be whipped. I said then to those of the Court that remained, that if any man suffer as a Christian, let him glorify God in this behalf. Then I desired to know what law I had broken, and what evil I had done? but they produced no law, only they produced what the two witnesses had sworn against me.* My speech thereto was this; My practice and carriage is allowed by the word of God, for it is written in Rom. 12. *Be like affectioned one towards another, rejoice with them that rejoice;* and it is contrary to my judgment and conscience to pay a penny. Then said Mr. Bendal, I will pay it for him, and there presented himself. I answered then and said, I thanked him for his love, but did believe it was no acceptable service for any man to pay a penny for me in this case: yet notwithstanding the Court accepted of his proffer, and bid me be gone, then came John Hazel to be examined. JOHN SPUR."†

MR. Hazel was one of Mr. Holmes brethren of Rehoboth, who, though above threescore years old.

Ii and

* J— Cole being in the market place, when Obadiah Holmes came from the whipping-post, John Spur came and met him presently, laughing in his face, saying, Blessed be God for thy brother, and so did go with him, laughing upon him up towards the prison, which was very grievous to me to see him harden the man in his sin, and shewing much contempt of authority by that carriage, as if he had been unjustly punished, and had suffered as a righteous man under a tyrannical government. Deposed before the Court, the 5th of the 7th month.

INCREASE NOWELL.

I, Thomas Buttolph, did see John Spur come to Obadiah Holmes, so soon as he came from the whipping-post, laughing in his face, and going along with him towards the prison to my great grief to see him harden him in his sin, and to shew such contempt of authority. Deposed the 5th of the 7th month, 1651, before the Court. INCREASE NOWELL.

† Narrative p. 26—28.

I find that John Hazel was admitted a freeman at Boston, March 9, 1637, and John Spur, May 22, 1639. Mass. Rec.

and infirm in body, had travelled near fifty miles, partly indeed on other business, but chiefly to visit his beloved brother in prison; and how he was treated there he has given us an account, written and subscribed with his own hand as follows.

"*A relation of my being brought before the magistrates the 6th of the 7th month*, 1651.

I going from place to place, to buy and take up commodities for my use, was attached or arrested by the marshal, by virtue of a warrant from the Court, to appear in the Court, and there to answer for a high misdemeanor committed by me, and coming into the Court (which was then privately kept in the chamber) they asked me divers questions, among which this was one, Whether I did think that Obadiah Holmes did well or not, in coming among them to baptize, and administer the sacrament? laying this to my charge, that I was one with him, and of the same judgment, and, Whether I did think he did well or no, in his so carrying himself? To which I answered, I had here nothing to do with that which another man did, but I was here to answer for what I myself had committed against their law. Then said they, you have offended our law, and have contemned authority, for you took him by the hand, and did countenance him in his sin, so soon as he was gone from the post. To which I said, If I have broken any law of the place, by what I then did, I am willing to submit unto punishment. Yea, said the governor, you took him by the hand, did you not? and spake to him, what said you? did you not say so and so? blessed be God, &c. To which I said, I shall refer myself unto the testimonies that may or can be brought against me. Well, said the governor, we shall find testimony enough against you; take him to you, keeper, and we will call you forth in publick, for what we do with you we will

proceed

proceed in publick with you, and so I went to prison. This was the sum and substance of the first time I was called before them. The next day being the last day of the week, and the last day of their Court, I was in expectation all the forenoon to be called forth, but was not; so after dinner, when (as appeareth) the Court was risen, and some of the magistrates departed, I was sent for again into the chamber, where was the governor with three others, *scil.* Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbens, and Mr. Encrease Nowel. As soon as I was come into the room, the governor read my sentence, which was, that I must pay 40*s.* or be well whipt, and so immediately he departed, and when he was gone (for I could not have time before) I answered, that I desired the privilege of an English subject, which was to be tried by the country, to wit, a jury, and to be made to appear (if they can) to be a transgressor by a law. To which they said, I had contemned authority, and they had a law to punish such, and said they, you did shew your contempt of authority in that you did take such a person by the hand, as soon as he was from the post. To which I answered, I could not do that which I did in contempt to authority, seeing he had satisfied the law to the full, and was departed from the place of suffering; and in the next place, what I did, I did unto him as my friend; and further I said, if I had taken him by the hand so soon as he was loosed from the post, and had led him out of the town, I should not have broken any law either of God or man. To this they said, that there was a law in all Courts of justice, both in Old-England and other countries, to punish contempt of authority, and so had they such a law among themselves. To which I said, that in Old-England, and in other places, they had such a law I denied not, but that law also was both enacted and published,

but what law have I broken in taking my friend by the hand, when he was free, and had satisfied the law? To this they replied, that he had not satisfied the keeper. To this I answered, that he had talked with the keeper, and there was some agreement between them, and so in that sense also not under the law, but free. Then said they, If you would have shewed kindness unto your friend, you might have forborne in that place, and done it more privately. To which I answered, I knew not but that place was as free as another, he having satisfied the law. The testimony that was given by Mr. Cole was this, "I saw John Hazel take Obadiah Holmes by the hand, but what he said I cannot tell." This is the substance of all the proceedings until the last day at night, and then they said I should be whipt, but said some of their officers, the whipper cannot be found. Then they commanded that they should be ready by the second day morning, and then I did expect to be called forth, but neither that day, nor the third, nor fourth, was I called, but am as I understand reserved unto the fifth day, to be more publick in the view of the world; and when the fifth day came, as I had many before, so also then, that would have paid the fine, if I would give my consent, which I denied to do, and so set myself by the power of Christ to suffer what should be inflicted upon me; but when noon came I was told I should not suffer whipping, yet not having a discharge, I did not look to be freed until the keeper told me, I might go about my business. Then I demanded a discharge (meaning under the magistrates hands) so he bad me go, he would discharge me.

"The strokes I was enjoined by the Court to have, were ten with a three-corded whip; the very same number I understand, that the worst malefactors that were there punished had, of which some were guilty of

of common whoredom, other of forcing a little child, and one Indian for coining of money. Thus far have you a relation according to my best remembrance from the first to the last of all the passages concerning this matter; by me John Hazel, written with mine own hand in Boston prison, the 13th day of the 7th month, 1651.

"*A postscrip.* SINCE I wrote, I understand there is report that I was willing to pay my fine, and that the magistrates would not accept of it without I were willing. Gentle reader, be pleased to understand that this is false, for it was without my consent or approbation; and further understand, that the fine was taken by them, upon the profer of Mr. Bendal for John Spur, it was willingly accepted by the magistrates, and approved of, although John Spur did to their faces contradict it, and oppose it; therefore, good reader, believe not such reports.

By me, JOHN HAZEL."*

THUS far we have attended to those sufferers own testimony, the last of whom wrote the postcript of his relation on his death-bed, and how much the abusive treatment he met with was the cause of his death, God only knows. Let us now hear what others had to say about them. Mr. Clarke went to England in November 1651, and the next year printed the narrative from whence we have taken these accounts; upon which Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the Massachusetts first magistrates, then in our mother country, wrote to Mr. Cotton and Wilson, of Boston, in this manner.

"REVEREND and dear friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect.

"IT

* *Narrative*, p. 29.---32. Here note, that Mr. Neal mistakes in representing that it was the general Court that fined these men; for it was only the Court of assistants.

"It doth not a little grieve my ſpirit to hear what ſad things are reported daily of your tyranny and perſecutions in New-England, as that you fine, whip and impriſon men for their conſciences. Firſt, you compel ſuch to come into your aſſemblies as you know will not join you in your worſhip, and when they ſhew their diſlike thereof or witneſs againſt it, then you ſtir up your magiſtrates to puniſh them for ſuch (as you conceive) their public affronts. Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any in matters of worſhip to do that whereof they are not fully perſuaded, is to make them ſin, for ſo the apoſtle (Rom. 14 and 23) tells us and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of puniſhment. We pray for you and wiſh you proſperity every way, hoped the Lord would have given you ſo much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practice thoſe courſes in a wilderneſs, which you went ſo far to prevent. Theſe rigged ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the ſaints. I do aſſure you I have heard them pray in the publick aſſemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble ſpirits, not to ſtrive ſo much for uniformity as to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace."*

Mr. Cotton's anſwer.

"Honoured and dear Sir,

"My brother Wilſon and ſelf do both of us acknowledge your love, as otherwiſe formerly, ſo now in the late lines we received from you, that you grieve in ſpirit to hear daily complaints againſt us.—Be pleaſed to underſtand we look at ſuch complaints as altogether injurious in reſpect of ourſelves, who had no hand or tongue at all to promote either the coming of

* Maſſ. hiſtory vol. III. p. 401, 402.

of the persons you aim at into our assemblies, or their punishment for their carriage there. Righteous judgment will not take up reports, much less reproaches against the innocent. The cry of the sinners of Sodom was great and loud, and reached up to heaven; yet the righteous God (giving us an example what to do in the like case) he would first go down to see whether their crime were altogether according to the cry, before he proceed to judgment. And when he did find the truth of the cry, he did not wrap up all alike promiscuously in the judgment, but spared such as he found innocent.* We are amongst those whom (if you knew us better) you would account, peaceable in Israel. Yet neither are we so vast in our indulgence or toleration, as to think the men you speak of, suffered an unjust censure. For one of them (Obadiah Holmes) being an excommunicate person himself, out of a church in Plymouth patent, came into this jurisdiction, and took upon him to baptize, which I think himself will not say he was compelled here to perform.† And he was not ignorant that the rebaptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of

* Alas! how often do men act contrary to the good rules they prescribe for others! How often was Mr. Cotton guilty of censuring others, without a fair and full hearing! he does it to Mr. Holmes before he has got to the end of this letter. And where there are some things wrong, yet how little care has been used by his party to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, among the baptists? So far from such a care, that from his day to ours, it has been a common trade of that party to ransack Germany, in order to reproach the English baptists with errors and bad actions, which we never had any more concern with, than our accusers have with the whoredom of pope Joan!

† What an evasion is this? Sir Richard spake of compelling persons into their worship, and Cotton here turns it as if he ment a compelling persons out of one government into another to worship in their own way.

of them manifest contestations against the order and government of our churches, established (we know by God's law, and (he knoweth) by the laws of the country. As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the Court was to have paid (as I know) 30 pounds, or else be whipt; his fine was offered to be paid by friends for him freely, but he chose rather to be whipt; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship.* The other (Mr. Clarke) was wiser in that point and his offence was less, so was his fine less, and himself (as I hear) was contented to have it paid for him, whereupon he was released.† The imprisonment of either of them was no detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home, and I am sure Holmes had not been so well clad of many years before.

"But be pleased to consider this point a little further. You think to compel men in matter of worship is to make them sin. If the worship be lawful in itself, the magistrate compelling him to come to it, compelleth him not to sin, but the sin is in his will that needs to be compelled to a christian duty. If it do make men hypocrites, yet better be hypocrites than profane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the profane

* "Although the paying of a fine seems to be but a small thing in comparison of a man's parting with his religion, yet the paying of a fine is the acknowledging of a transgression: and for a man to acknowledge that he has transgressed when his conscience tells him he has not, is but little if any at thing all short of parting with his religion; and 'tis likely that this might be the consideration of those sufferers.

"Governor JENCKS."

† If the reader will look back to page 225, he may see how contrary this is to truth.

phane perſon giveth God neither outward nor inward man. You know not, if you think we came into this wilderneſs to practice thoſe courſes here which we fled from in England. We believe there is a vaſt difference between men's inventions and God's inſtitutions; we fled from men's inventions, to which we elſe ſhould have been compelled; we compel none to men's inventions. If our ways (rigid ways as you call them) have laid us low in the hearts of God's people, yea, and of the ſaints (as you ſtile them) we do not believe it is any part of their ſaintſhip. Nevertheleſs, I tell you the truth, we have tolerated in our church ſome anabaptiſts, ſome antinomians and ſome ſeekers, and do ſo ſtill at this day. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourſelves or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us."*

HERE I would remark,

1. THAT they were not infalliable, can eaſily be believed, by all who ſee what great abſurdities and ſelf-contradictions they were driven to, in trying to ſupport that way. Mr. Cotton here aſſerts, that they were far from arrogating infallibility to themſelves, and yet in the ſame letter had ſaid, our churches are eſtabliſhed, "WE KNOW by God's law," and that in the points Mr. Holmes conteſted; and the uſe of force in religious matters naturally carries men into this abſurdity; for it would ſound very odd in any men, to compel others to their way by the magiſtrates ſword, and yet own at the ſame time that they did not know but they were compelling them into errors. When I firſt came into the pariſh where I now dwell, as they were without a miniſter, their committee requeſted me to preach to them for ſome time, which I did. But in the year following, they got a major

* Maſſ. hiſt. vol. III. p. 103—406.

vote to hire other sort of preaching, and taxed me with our society thereto This caused our society to present an address to that party, dated November 21, 1748, wherein they say," Pray consider, would you like it if we were a few more in number than you, to be forced to help us build a meeting-house, and maintain our minister! We doubt it much." To this the other party, by the help of a neighbouring minister, returned a long answer, the turning point of which was in these words, viz. " What we demand of you is equal and right; what you demand of us is evil and sinful; and hence we have the golden rule upon our side, while you are receeding and departing from it; for if we were in an error and out of the right way, as we see and *know* that you are in several respects, and you see and *knew* it of us, as *we do* of you, we think the golden rule would oblige you to tell us of our error, and not let us alone to go on peacibly in it, that is without using proper means to recover and reclaim us; whether by the laws of God, or the good and wholesome laws of the land, as we now treat you."

Now only allow it to be right to join the *laws of the land* with the *laws of God*, in supporting what the majority calls the right way of worship, and then how can any one fairly withstand this reasoning? for we are required not to suffer sin upon our neighbour: and if seculiar force be a means that christians ought to use, to bring their neighbours from error to attend and support the truth, how can Mr. Cotton's party be condemned for seizing and punishing Mr. Clarke and his brethren for worshiping in a private house, when they had an orthodox meeting in the town, established by public authority? And how can the major party in any parish be blamed for imprisoning men for their ministers rates (as my neighbours did me) though they

never heard him, or received the least benefit from him? If any think these two are not parallel cases, I ask what is the difference? Mr. Clarke and Holmes might have gone to the established worship, if they *would*; and Mr. Holmes might have had his fine paid it seems if he *would*, and so all his devotion under the whip is declared to be "no better than *will worship*." According to Mr. Cotton's own words, men might then be anabaptists, antinomians and what not, if they would but come to hear the right ministers, and join with the right churches; and is not the greatest complaint they have at this day against the baptists, because they refuse to commune with pedobaptist churches? They professed to grant liberty of conscience then, as well as now. Captain Johnson who wrote in the time we are upon, says of erronious persons, "They report in all places where they come, that New-England government doth persecute the people and churches of Christ; which to speak truth, they have hitherto been so far from, that they have endeavoured to expel all such beasts of prey (who will not be reclaimed) that here might be none left to hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain.—Neither do they exercise civil power to bring all men under their obedience, to a uniformity in every point of religion, but to keep them in the unity of the spirit, and the bond of peace; nor yet have they ever mixed their civil powers with the authority peculiarly given by Christ to his churches and officers of them, but from time to time have laboured to uphold their privileges, and only communion one with another."[a]

It is readily granted that the sentiments of Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark, about religious liberty, have had a great spread since that day, so that men of a contrary mind cannot carry their oppressive schemes so far

[a] Johnson's history, p. 197.

far now as they did then: yet, as to ſuch as ſtill hold that they have a right to uſe ſecular force to ſupport worſhip, I think the chief difference between them and their fathers in 1651, lies in theſe two points: *Then* they gave the church the whole power of electing and ſettling miniſters; *now* the world is empowered to controul the church in her choice; *then* they obliged men to hear, as well as ſupport their good miniſters; *now* men may hear whom they pleaſe, if they will but let the pariſh miniſter have their money; but if that is refuſed, men are as liable to impriſonment or confiſcation of goods now as then; and whether the compelling of a man to pay for that which is no benefit to him, be not an action more void of the very appearance of juſtice, than the compelling of men to hear what the compellers eſteemed good preaching was, is freely refered to every reader's conſcience: as it alſo is, whether the real error in both caſes does not lie in blending divine and human laws together, rather than in any miſtake about applying of them then, more than now.

2. We have abundant reaſon to think that Mr. Clarke's narrative of their ſentiments and ſufferings, is a true and juſt one; for he publiſhed it in 1652, and it greatly concerned the Maſſachuſetts colony to confute the ſame if they could, and they did not want for men of ability and inclination to vindicate themſelves in that reſpect, if they had found matter to work upon. But Captain Johnſon who publiſhed his hiſtory of that colony in 1654, is ſilent about this remarkable affair. Mr John Leverett their agent at the Britiſh Court, wrote to governor Endicot about it; but he in a letter of June 29, 1657, ſays, "I cannot for the preſent anſwer your expectation touching Rhode-Iſland, and Clarke and Holmes."* Mr. Morton

* Maſſ. hiſt. vol. III, p. 309.

Morton printed his New-England memorial in 1669, in which he endeavours to vindicate the country against many other complaints, but leaves this narrative untouched. Mr. Hubbard wrote a large history of the country in 1680, yet touches not this affair unless in an obscure hint which confutes nothing. Dr. Cotton Mather published his folio history of New-England in 1702, but passes over these sufferings in silence; yea, and so does governor Hutchinson, though his history is the most impartial upon religious disputes of any that has been written in this country, yet he says, "The first prosecution I find upon record of any of the people called anabaptists was in the year 1665."* Indeed in his third volume, which is a collection of ancient papers, are a few references to these sufferers, which I have now made use of, but instead of confuting, they confirm Mr. Clarke's narrative. Mr. Neal who wrote in London 1720, has from that narrative given a brief account of their sufferings, and has done them the most honour of any pedobaptist author I ever saw; though he has made several mistakes about them.†

3. By

* Mass. hist. vol. I. p. 226.

† As in vol. I. p. 298 he says, "Mr. Newman admonished Holmes of his offence; but finding him obstinate, and not willing to give an account of his conduct to the church, he excommunicated him;" for which he gives no other proof than Mr. Clarke's narrative, and that informs us, p. 24, that the first occasion of Mr. Holmes's separation was, "That seven of the brethren should pass an act of admonition upon a brother, without the consent of the rest, we (says Mr. Holmes) being 23 in number, who might all in one hour's space, if in health, have come together; so when I heard of it I went to Mr. Newman, and told him of the evil which he and the other six had done; he told me they were the church representative, and if four of them had done it, it had been a church act. When this comes to the congregation, with much ado, he got five more to himself, and then they were twelve and we eleven, then they owned themselves

3. By all that appears, those baptist fathers were found in the faith and much acquainted with experimental and practical religion. All that was proved against them may be summed up in their noble testimony, that there is, "None to or with Christ the Lord, by way of commanding and ordering with respect to the worship of God: that baptism or dipping in water is one of his commandments, and that a visible believer or disciple of Christ is the only person that is to be baptized; that every such believer, may in point of liberty, yea, ought in point of duty to improve that talent his Lord hath given him with meekness of wisdom; and that no such believer hath any liberty, much less authority from his Lord, to smite his fellow-servant, nor yet with outward force to restrain his conscience, nor outward man for conscience sake, where injury is not offered to the person, name or estate of others." This is the sum of all the principles for which they suffered such cruel things, tho' their opposites have constantly accused them of others. The assembly of the Massachusetts begin their law against the baptists in 1644, with saying, "That since the first arising of the anabaptists about 100 years since, they have been the incendiaries of the common-

wealths,

themselves to be the church, and began to deal with me for saying, they had abused the church, and had took from them their power; whereupon I told them I should renounce them, till either they saw their sin, or I further light." After which a number more drew off and set up a meeting by themselves, and there was public notice of the day when they were to be baptized, and many witnesses of the transaction, yet says he, "not one man or woman of Mr. Newman's company ever come to deal with me for evil either in judgment or practice till a long time after." Now is it just to charge Mr. Holmes with obstinacy, only for his refusing to submit to the other party after this? Again Mr. Neal, p. 302, charges Mr. Clarke, with standing upon a *punctilio* against *very fair concessions* of the Massachusetts rulers, only because he refused to dispute without an exemption from the lash of their law.

wealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been;" and great pains have been taken by teachers and writers from that day to this, to connect these odious ideas with the very name of anabaptists. But let the reader judge whether it be possible for ministers of any denomination, to visit and worship with any of their brethren, more peacibly than these ministers did to their brother at Lynn; and whether he can find one of their martyrs who shewed less of a disposition for denying the lawful authority of magistrates, or more of a christian temper in suffering, under their unlawful usurpations, than these baptists did. And whether they were hetrodox or not in main matters of religion, may be partly gathered from the foregoing account, and still further by the confession of their faith inserted below.*

I SHALL

* Mr. Clarke left a confession of his faith in writing, from whence an extract was inserted in the records of his church, the main of which here follows.

"The decree of God is that whereby God hath from eternity set down with himself whatsoever shall come to pass in time, Eph. i. 11. All things with their causes, effects, circumstances and manner of being, are decreed by God, Acts, ii. 23. *Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God*, &c. Acts, iv. 28. This decree is most wise, Rom. xi. 33. Most just, Rom. ix. 13. 14. Eternal, Eph. i. 4. 5. 2. Thes. ii. 13. Necessary, Psa. xxxiii. 11. Prov. xix. 21. Unchangable, Heb. vi. 17. Most free, Rom. ix. 18. And the cause of all good, Jam. i. 17. But not of any sin, 1 John, i. 5. The special decree of God concerning angels and men is called *predestination*, Rom. viii. 30. Of the former, viz. angels, little is spoken in the holy scripture; of the latter more is revealed, not unprofitable to be known. It may be defined the wise, free, just, eternal and unchangable sentence or decree of God, determining to create and govern man for his special glory, viz. the praise of his glorious mercy and justice, Rom. ix. 17, 18, and xi. 36. Election is the decree of God, of his free love, grace and mercy, choosing some men to faith, holiness and eternal life, for the praise of his glorious mercy, 1 Thes. i. 4. 2 Thes. ii. 13. Rom.

I SHALL close this chapter with an address of Mr. Roger Williams to governor Endicot, concerning these

Rom. viii. 29. 30. The cause which moved the Lord to elect them who are chosen, was none other but his meer good will and pleasure, Luke xii, 32. The end is the manifestation of the riches of his grace and mercy, Rom ix. 23. Eph. i. 6. The sending of Christ, faith, holiness, and eternal life, are the effects of his love, by which he manifesteth the infinite riches of his grace. In the same orderGod doth execute this decree in time, he did decree it in his eternal counsel, 1 Thes. v. 9. 2 Thes. ii. 13. Sin is the effect of man's free will, and condemnation is an effect of justice inflicted upon man for sin and disobedience.—A man in this life may be sure of this election, 2 Pet. i. 10. 1 Thes. i. 4. Yea of his eternal happiness—but not of his eternal reprobation ; for he that is now profane, may be called hereafter." Thus far Mr. Clarke.

Mr. Holmes says, " Having had two or three requests from my friends and brethren, in special my brother Robert, to give some information of my present state and standing with reference to the Lord, and my own soul, shall as briefly as I can, give account thereof.—But before I come to speak to the point in hand, I cannot forget the rock out of which I was hewn, and the pittern out of which I was digged ; who was by nature a child of wrath as well as others, and by actual transgression added sin to sin, as my conscience and others did know. But God had mercy for me in store when I neither deserved it nor desired it, for he knows who are his ; and the elect shall obtain it, forever blessed be his holy name, to whom be glory forever, amen. Now in this faith or belief I stand, not doubting but it is the faith of God's elect.

1. I believe there is one Essence or Being, even one God, who made heaven and earth, the waters, and all things therein contained, who governs all things by the word of his power, and hath appointed life and death to men and bounded their habitations, whose providence extendeth to the least creature and actions.

2. I believe this God is father to our Lord Jesus Christ. In a special understanding may be distinguished as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and yet but one in Essence.

3. I believe that as God made the world, so by his word made he man in his own image without sin, and gave him a most excellent place and being, giving him commandment what he should do, and what he should forbear ; but through the mallice of Satan working with his wife was deceived ; for she did eat, and gave her husband and he did eat, which was the first cause of the curse

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these affairs. The governor having occasion (as they often had) to write to Mr. Williams about the "peace of

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to him, and reached to all his posterity, by which came death natural, and death eternal.

4 I believe in this interim of time the Lord manifested his great love in that word, the seed of the woman shall break the head of the serpent, but enmity was between the two seeds.

5. I believe that at and after time the Lord was worshiped by sacrifices, though darkly held forth to us.

6. I believe after that God in his own time chose a people to himself, and gave them his laws and statutes in a special manner, though he had always his chosen ones in every generation.

7. I believe with this people he made a choice covenant to be their God, and they to be his people: which covenant they brake though he was a father to them, and was grieved for them, and yet did not only give them his laws, but sent his prophets early and late, but they would not hear; and in fulness of time sent his only Son: but as they had abused his prophets, so they killed his only Son.

8. I believe God in his Son made a new covenant, a sure and everlasting covenant, not like that he made with Israel, of which Moses that faithful servant was mediator, but a covenant of grace and peace through his only Son, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

9. I believe that all those that are in this covenant of grace, shall never fall away nor perish, but shall have life in the prince of life, the Lord Jesus Christ. 10. I believe no man can come to the Son but they that are drawn by the Father to the Son, and they that come, he in no wise will cast away. 11. I believe he came to call sinners to repentance, for the whole need him not, but they that are sick. 12. I believe that by the shedding of his precious blood is my redemption, and not mine only but all that are or shall be saved. 13. I believe that as

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of the English and Indians," and having at the entrance of his letter said "Were I as free in my spirit as

he was God so was he man, for he did not take the nature of angels but the nature of Abraham. 14. I believe God hath laid the iniquity of all his elect and called ones upon him. 15 I believe the Father is fully satisfied, and the debt is truly paid to the utmost farthing, and the poor sinner is set quit, and set free from all sin past present and to come. 16. I believe the holy scriptures which testify of Christ in dark shadows and types, and all that was written of Christ in the prophets and psalms; and that he was born of a virgin at Bethlehem, and come to his own and they received him not. 17. I believe he was put to death and hanged upon a tree, called the cross, and was buried, and the third day rose again according to the scriptures, and appeared to many 18. I believe he ascended to his Father and sitteth at his right hand, having made request for his 19. I believe that the Fathers commandment and his declaration of him is to be observed, when the aFther uttered that voice saying *this is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased hear ye him.*— 20 I believe there is no salvation but by him alone; no other name under heaven by which man can be saved. 21 I believe he is sent unto the world, and to be published to all men; but some, ye many reject the counsel of God against themselves. 22. I believe none have power to choose salvation, or to believe in Christ for life; 'its only the gift of God. 23. I believe although God can bring men to Christ, and cause them to believe in him for life, yet he hath appointed an ordinary way to effect that great work of faith, which is by means of sending a ministry into the world, to publish repentance to the sinner, and salvation, and that by Jesus Christ; and they that are faithful shall save their own souls and some that hear them. 24. I believe that they that are sent of God are not to deliver a mission of their own brain, but as it is in the scripture of truth, for holy men wrote as they were inspired by the holy Spirit. 25. I believe the precious gifts of the Spirit's teaching were procured by Christs assention

as formerly I have been to write unto you, you ſhould have received another manner of ſalutation than

ſention and given to men fo begetting of ſouls to the truth, and for eſtabliſhment and conſolation of thoſe that are turned to the Lord; for none ſhall pluck them out of his Father's hand 26. I believe no man ſo ruſh into the miniſtry without a ſpecial call from God even as goſpel miniſters had of old, which was the call of the holy Spirit, with ſome talent or talents to declare the counſel of God to poor ſinners declaring the grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt, even to thoſe that are yet in the power of ſatan: yea, to bring glad tidings by and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. 27. I believe this miniſtry is to go forth, and he that hath received grace with a talent or talents, as he hath received freely, of the Lord, ſo he is freely to give, looking for nothing again but the promiſe of the Lord. 28. I believe none is to go forth but by commiſſion, and carefully to obſerve the ſame according as Chriſt gave it forth without adding or diminiſhing; firſt to preach Chriſt, that is to make diſciples, and then to baptize them, but not to baptize them before they believe; and then to teach them what Chriſt commanded them For as the Father had his order in the former diſpenſation, ſo hath the Son. In former times the Lord ſpake in divers ways and manners, but now hath he ſpoken by his Son. 29. I believe that as God ordained a begetting miniſtry, even ſo doth he alſo prepare a feeding miniſtry in the church, where a called people out of the world, by the word and Spirit of the Lord, aſſembling of themſelves together in a holy brotherhood, continuing in the apoſtles doctrine, fellowſhip, breaking bread, and prayer. 30 I believe ſuch a church ought to wait for the holy Spirit of promiſe, on whom it may fall, and to chooſe out among themſelves either paſtor teacher or elders to rule, or deacons to ſerve the table, that others may give themſelves to the word and prayer, and to keep them cleſe to the Lord, and their fellowſhip clear and deſtinct, not to have fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather to reprove them. 31. I believe

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than now, with a good conscience I can express; however God knoweth who are his, and what he is

the church of Christ, or this company gathered, are bound to wait on the Lord for the Spirit to help them, and have liberty, and are under duty, that they may prophesy one by one. 32. I believe that the true baptism of the gospel, is a visible believer with his own content to be baptized in common water, by dying or as it were drowning, to hold forth death, burial and resurrection, by a messenger of Jesus, into the name of the Father, Son and holy spirit. 33. I believe the promise of the Father concerning the return of Israel and Judah, and the coming of the Lord to raise up the dead in Christ, and to change them that are alive, that they may reign with him a thousand years, according to the scripture. 34. I believe the resurrection of the wicked to receive their just judgment, go ye cursed to the devil and his angels forever. 35. I believe as eternal judgment to the wicked, so I believe the glorious declaration of the Lord saying, come ye blessed of my Father, enter into the joy of your Lord, which joy, eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man to conceive the glory that God hath prepared for them that love and wait for his appearance; wherefore come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

"For this faith and profession I stand, and have sealed the same with my blood in Boston, in New-England, and hope through the strength of my Lord, shall be enabled to witness the same to death, although I am a poor unworthy creature, and have nothing to plead or fly unto but to grace, grace; and have nothing to rest on but only the mercy, the free mercy of God in and through Jesus Christ my Lord and saviour; to whom be honor, glory and praise forever and ever, Amen. Thus have I given you an humble and true account of my standing, and of my dear wife's standing in our faith and order, that you may consider the same, comparing what is written by the holy scriptures, which are our rule towards God and man; committing this and you to the wisdom and counsel of God. Your's in all love to serve continually having you in our prayers; fareyewell.

"This

is pleased to hide from sinful man in this life, shall in that great day be manifested to all."——Mr. Williams refering to the sufferings of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Holmes says, "Sir, at the reading of this line, the speech of that wise woman of Tekoa unto David come fresh unto my thoughts; *Speaks not the King this thing as one that is guilty*? for will my honored and beloved friend not know me for fear of being disowned by his conscience? Shall the goodness and integrity of his conscience to God cause him to forget me? Doth he quiet his mind with this (God knoweth who are his? God hides from sinful man; God will reveal before all?) Oh how comes it then that I have heard so often, heard so lately, and heard so much, that he that speaks so tenderly for his own, hath yet so little respect, mercy or pity to the like *consciencious* persuasions of other men! are all the thousands of millions of millions of consciences at home and abroad, fuel only for a prison, for a whip, for a stake, for a gallows! are no consciences to breath the air, but such as suit and sample his! may not the Most High be pleased to hide from his as well as from the eyes of his fellow-servants, fellow-mankind, fellow-English? Who can shut when he will open? and who can open, when he that hath the key of David will shut?—

"OBJECTION. But what makes this to heretics, blasphemers, seducers, to them that sin against their conscience (as Mr. Cotton saith) after conviction? First, I answer, he was a tyrant that put an innocent man into a bear's-skin, and so caused him as

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"This for Mr. John Angher, and my brother Robert Holmes, and my brother-in-law, and sisters, with Mary Nonly, and to them that love and fear the Lord. For Robert Holmes in the parish of Manchester—Lancashire." *Obadiah Holmes's manuscript*, 1675.

a wild beast to be baited to death. Secondly, This is the common cry of hunters or persecutors, *heretics, blasphemers*. &c. and why, but for crossing the persecutors consciences (it may be but their superstitions) whether Turkish, popish, protestant, &c. This is the outcry of the pope and prelates, and of the Scotch presbyterians, who would fire all the world, to be avenged on the sectarian heretics, the blasphemous heretics, the seducing heretics, &c. had it not pleased the God of heaven who abounds the insolent rage of the furious ocean to raise up a second Cromwel, to stay the fury of the oppressor, whether English Scottish, popish, presbyterian, independant, &c.——

"LET it not be offensive in your eyes, that I single out a point, a cause of *y banishment*, wherein I greatly fear one or two sad evils have befallen your soul and conscience. The point is that of the *civil magistrates dealing in matters of conscience and religion*, as also of persecuting any for any matter merely *spiritual* and *religious*. The two evils intimated are these: First, I fear you cannot after so much light, and so much profession to the contrary (not only to myself often in private,* but) before many witnesses; I say, I fear you cannot say and act so much, against so many several consciences, former and latter, but with great checks, great threatenings and inward throws of conscience. Secondly, If you shall thank God, that it is not so with you, but that you do what conscience bids you in God's presence, upon God's warrant, I must then be humbly faithful to tell you, that I fear your underprizing of holy light, hath put out the candle, and the eye of conscience in these particulars, and that delusions, strong delusions,

* Governor Endicot was once a member of Salem church, under Mr. William's ministry.

delusions, and that from God (by satan's stubtility) hath seized upon your very soul's belief, because you prized not, loved not the persecuted Son of God in his despised truth and servants.—I desire to say it tremblingly and mournfully, I know not which way he will please to raise his glory only I know my duty my conscience and my love, all which inforce me to knock to call, to cry at the gate of heaven, and at your's and to present you with this loving, though loud and faithful noise, and sound of a few grounds of deeper examination of both our souls and consciences, uprightly and impartially at the holy and dreadful tribunal of him that is appointed the judge of all the living and the dead.

"B pleased then (honoured sir) to remember that the thing which we call conscience is of such a nature, especially in Englishmen, as once a pope of Rome at the suffering of an Englishman in Rome himself observed that although it be groundless, false and deluded, yet it is not by any arguments of *torments* easily removed. I speak not of the stream of the multitude of all nations, which have their ebbings and flowings in religion (as the longest sword, and strongest arm of flesh carries it*) but I speak of conscience, a persuasion fixed in the mind and heart of a man, which inforceth him to judge (as Paul said of

* The following words are remarkable viz. "It is made by learned an judicious writes one of the undoubted rights of sverignty to determine what religion shall be publickly professed and exercised within their dominions. Why else do we in New-England that profess the doctrine of Calvin, yet practise the discipline of them called independent, or congregational churches, but because the authority of the country is persuaded, that is most agreeable to the mind of God." Mr. Hubbard's election sermon at Boston, May 3, 1676, p. 35.

of himself a persecutor)and to do so and so with respect to God, his worship, &c. This conscience is found in all mankind, more or less.—To this purpose let me freely without offence remember you (as I did Mr. Clarke, newly come up from his sufferings amongst you) I say, remember you of the story I did him, of William Hartly in queen Elizabeth her days, who receiving the sentence of hanging—spake confidently (as afterward he suffered) *what tell you me of hanging, if I had ten thousand millions of lives, I would spend them all for the faith of Rome.* Sir, I am far from glancing the least countenance on the consciences of papists—all that I observe is, that boldness and confidence, zeal and resolution, as it is commendable in a kind when it seriously respects a deity, so also, the greatest confidence hath sometimes need of the greatest search and examination.—Wise men use to enquire, what motives, what occasions, what snares, what temptations were there which moved, allured, &c.—Surely sir, the baits, the temptations, the snares laid to catch you were not few nor common.—It is no small offer,the choice and applause and rule over so many towns, so many *holy*, so many *wise*, in such a *holy way* as you believe you are in—I cannot but fear and lament, that some of these and others have been too strong and potent with you.—Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, it is impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by the sword, and to worship a true Christ! to fight against all consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true Lord Jesus Christ. Oh remember whether your principles and consciences, must in time and opportunity force you!—yourself and others have said it, by your principles such whom you count heretics, blasphemers, seducers, ought to be put to death.

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You cannot be faithful to your principles and consciences, if you satisfy them with but imprisoning, fining, whipping and banishing the heretics, and by saying that banishing is a kind of death, as some chief with you formerly said in my case.—I end with an humble cry to the father of mercies, that you may take David's counsel, and, silently commune with your own heart upon your bed, reflect upon your own spirit, and believe him that said to his over-zealous disciples, *you know not what spirit you are of.* That no sleep may seize your eyes, nor slumber upon your eye-lids, until your serious thoughts have calmly, and unchangably, through help from Christ, fixed, first on a *moderation* towards the spirit and consciences of all mankind, merely differing from, or opposing yours with only religious and spiritual opposition.—Secondly, a deep and cordial resolution to search, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearfully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy pleasure, and the holy mysteries of the MOST HOLY are; in whom I humbly desire to be, *your poor fellow servant, unfeignedly, respective, and faithful.*

ROGER WILLIAMS."*

How happy had it been for New-England, and for governor Endicot in particular, if they had then regarded this faithful admonition of their old friend! but disregarding of it, Mr. Williams's words a few years after were fully verified, when, under governor Endicot's administration, the blood of the quakers was shed, which has left an indellible stain upon their characters, and "sullied the glory of their former sufferings from the bishops; for now it appeared that the New-England *puritans* were no better friend to

M m liberty

* Appendix of his reply to Cotton, 1652, p. 303—313. Mr. Cotton died the 23d of December that year.

liberty of conscience than their adversaries, and that the question between them was not, whether one party of christians should have power to oppress another, but who should have that power?"*

CHAP. V.

A variety of events, from 1651 to 1664.

A REVIEW of 1651, presents before us such a dark cloud and threatning gloom, upon the cause of believers baptism, and true liberty of conscience, as must affect every heart that is not extreamly obdurate. The friends of that cause had been so cruelly treated in Europe that a number of them fled into America, where a persecuting temper followed them, and expelled them out of the Massachusetts colony; but God gave them favor in the eyes of the heathen, from whom they obtained a grant of lands, to begin the first civil government upon that ever allowed equally liberty of conscience since our Saviour died for us. With great hazard and expence Mr. Williams had procured a charter for that purpose, which they had enjoyed about seven years, when alas! Mr. Coddington, who had the deeds and records of the islands in his own hands, went to England, and procured from the council of state a commission, dated April 3. 1651, signed by J. Bradshaw, constituting him governor of the islands, to rule them with a council of six men, nominated by the people and approved by himself; which split this little colony into two parts, and Mr. Clarke and his brethren were to submit to a governor that they had no hand in chusing,

* Neal's history of N. E. vol. I. p. 320

chusing, and their estates lay at his mercy. This melancholy news arrived just about the time that he and his brethren had been so cruelly handled in the Massachusetts, only for visiting and worshiping with an aged brother there. At the same time, a party both of English and savages were supported in the heart of Mr. Williams's part of the colony, in opposition to all the good orders that he endeavored to establish among them. And what could they now do! where could they go for relief! banished from their mother kingdom, and from neighbouring colonies, who were exerting all their power to divide and conquer them; and a man of the greatest worldly note among them, seemed as if he was like to do it effectually.*

Capt. Johnson at that time said, "familists, seekers, antinomians, and *anabaptists*, are so ill armed, that they think it best sleeping in a whole skin, fearing that if the day of battle once go on, they all fall

* Near the same time the court at Boston imposed a large fine upon the church in Malden, for calling a man to be their minister, without the approbation of the rulers and other ministers; and as they had before a law against gathering churches without their consent, their assembly now made another wherein they enacted, "That no minister should be called unto office in any of the churches, without the approbation of some of the magistrates, as well as the neighbouring churches; on which ground in the year 1653, the court would not allow the north church in Boston to call Mr. Powell a well gifted though illetirate person to the stated office of a public teacher or minister; wherefore the people contented themselves with his being called to the place of a ruling elder.—And whereas the plantations of New-England had never as yet been acquainted, with the way of paying tithes for the support of the ministry, it was now left to the power of the county courts throughout the whole jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry in the respective towns of the colony."

fall among antichrists armies; therefore they cry out like cowards, if you will let me alone, I will let you alone; but assuredly the Lord Christ hath said, *he that is not with us, is against us*; there is no room in his army for *toleratorists*."† Had this been true, how could Mr. Williams and Mr. Clarke have persevered like heroes, in the cause of equity and liberty as they did? for being requested by their injured neighbours, they again crossed the boisterous ocean, and appeared as advocates for them at the British court; and also published to the world their pleas for equal liberty of conscience; and where can any writers be found of so early date, who defended that important right of mankind, so well as they did? Mr. Locke's excellent letters upon that subject were written near forty years afterward.

A LITTLE look back will give a more clear and just view of the important concerns of Mr. Williams's agency at this time. When the commissioners of the united colonies met at Plymouth September 7, 1648, Mr. Coddington and Capt. Partridge tried for a confederacy with them, but were denied it, unless they would come in as part of Plymouth colony. Mr. Henry Bull then complained to them, that some Narraganset Indians had beat him, and done him other injuries; and Mr. John Smith, assistant for Warwick, sent a writing by Mr. Holden and Warner, in the behalf of the whole town, "wherein they complain, among other things, of divers injuries, insolences and affronts offered them by the Indians that are about them, and near inhabitants to them, as namely, killing their cattle, about a hundred hogs, abusing their servants when they take them alone, sometimes making violent entrance into their houses, and striking the masters thereof, stealing and purloining their goods; and hereupon do earnestly desire to know the minds

† Johnson, page 231.

minds of the commiſſioners herein, and to receive advice from them." Upon which the commiſſioners gave them a writing to the ſachems and others to warn them "to prevent and abſtain from all ſuch miſcarriges for the future, and if any of them receive any injury from the Engliſh, upon complaint in due place and order, ſatisfaction ſhall be endeavored them according to juſtice, as the like will be expected from them." When the commiſſioners met at Boſton, July 23, 1649: Warwick wrote again to them; but they refuſed to do any thing for their defence, till they could find under what colony their plantation fell, and it was then diſputed whether it belonged to the Maſſachuſetts, or Plymouth, and they adviſed the latter to take it. When the commiſſioners met again at Hartford, September 5th, 1650, they received a letter from Mr. Eaſton preſident, in the name of the council of that colony, in which he declared, that "Rhode-Iſland and Warwick were combined and bound mutually to ſupport one another." Upon this the commiſſioners mention a former article of advice which they had received from the honorable committee of parliament, "that in this and like caſes the bounds of patents ſhould be firſt ſet out by a jury, of unintereſted perſons, and that all inhabiting within the limits ſo ſet forth, ſhould fall under the government eſtabliſhed by patent." But inſtead of following this direction, after mentioning that the inhabitants of Warwick claimed an intereſt in Mr. Williams's patent, and refuſed to be brought under the Maſſachuſetts government, they adviſed the authority of Plymouth "forthwith to reſume the right they formerly had by patent to the place." And that if the inhabitants refuſed to ſubmit to them, then the advice of ſaid committee ſhould be

taken

taken, and if the same was not complied with, "that real damages duly proved, be levied by legal force, though with as much moderation and tenderness as the case will permit." * This was the treatment that was shewn to Warwick; and hearing of what Mr. Coddington had done, they joined with Providence in sending Mr. Williams to England. William Arnold hired a messenger secretly to carry a letter to Boston, to apprize their rulers of it, † but they were notified of it in a better way: For at a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies at New-Haven, September 4, 1651, they received the following letter, viz.

"MAY it please this honored committee to take knowledge, that we the inhabitants of Shawomet alias Warwick, having undergone divers oppressions and wrongs, amounting to great damage since we first possessed this place; being forced thereby to seek to that honorable state of Old-England for relief, which did inevitably draw great charge upon us, to the further impairing of our estates; and finding favor for redress, were willing to wave for that time (in regard to the great troubles and employment that then lay on that state) all other lesser wrongs we then underwent, so that we might be replaced in and upon this our purchased possession, and enjoy it peaceably for time to come, without disturbance or molestation by those from whom we had formerly suffered. But since our gracious grant from the honorable parliament. in re-placeing of us in this place. we have been and daily are pressed with intolerable grivences. to the eating up of our labours, and wasting of our estates making our lives, together with our wives and children,

* *Records of the United Colonies.*

† Massachusetts history, vol. 3. Page 237—239.

dren, bitter and uncomfortable; insomuch, that groaning under our burthens, we are constrained to make our address to the honorable parliament and state, once again, to make our just complaint against our causless molestors, who by themselves and their agents, are the only cause of this our renuttering of our distressed condition. May it please therefore this honored assembly, to take notice of this our solemn intelligence (given unto you as the most public authorised society appertaining unto, and instituted in the united colonies, whom our complaints do concern) that we are now preparing ourselves with all convenient speed for Old-England, to make our grievances known again to the state, which fall upon us by reason that the order of parliament concerning us hath not been observed, nor the enjoyment of our granted privileges permitted to us, that we are as it were bought and sold from one patent and jurisdiction to another. In that we have been prohibited and charged to acquit this place since the order of parliament given out and known to the contrary. In that we have had warrants sent us, to summon us to the Massachusetts court, and officers employed amongst us for that purpose. In that these barberous Indians about us, with evil minded English mixed among us, under pretence of some former personal subjection to the government of the Massachusetts countenacing of them, cease not to kill our cattle, offer violence to our familes, vilefy authority of parliament vouchsafed to us, justifying their practices with many menaces and threatnings, as being under the protection of the Massachusetts. In that we have been restrained this seven or eight years past of common commerce in the country, and that only for matters of conscience,

ence. In that our estates formerly taken from us remain yet unrestored, with these additions thereunto. These and the like are the grounds of our complaints, with our serious desire that you would be pleased to take notice of them, as our solemn intelligence given hereof, that as yourselves shall think meet, you may give further seasonable intelligence to your several colonies whom it may concern, so that their agent or agents may have seasonable instructions to make answer, and we hereby shall acquit ourselves, that we offer not to proceed in these our complaints, without giving due and seasonable notice thereof.

By me JOHN GREENE, *jun. Clerk.*
In behalf of the town of Warwick.

Warwick, the first of September 1651.

THIS brought matters to a close trial among them and the commissioners for the Massachusetts (who were Mr. Simon Bradstreet, and Mr. William Hathorne, Esq'rs,) made a long declaration, how Plymouth gave up their right in that land to them in 1643; which was approved of by all the commissioners, who advised them to proceed against Gorton and his company; and had silently assented to what they had done from time to time since; and that when in 1649 they were advised to return those lands back to Plymouth, their court sent two deputies to the assembly at Plymouth, with orders to offer, to "resign and submit the said lands, and persons residing thereon to the government of Plymouth; they only promising to do equal justice both to English and Indians there, according to our engagements; but the government of Plymouth chose rather to ratify the aforesaid resignment of their commissioners." After which they had "out of their own treasury allowed a large

gratuity

gratuity of corn to the Indians under their government their, to keep them alive, the cattle of Gorton's company having destroyed most of theirs, rather than force to compel them, till all other means and ways of prudence for issuing these and the like differences were used." And closed with asking what aid the other jurisdictions would afford them, for the righting their injured and oppressed people, and bringing delinquents to *condign punishment?* The Connecticut and New-Haven commissioners answered, by owning that they had their advice in 1643, to proceed against Gorton's company, and that when Plymouth commissioners yielded up their right to the Massachusetts, the others, *being neither concerned, nor understanding where the right lay, saw no cause to dissent, &c.* The commissioners for Plymouth (who were Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Timothy Hatherley) declared that what was done by the commissioners for their colony in 1643, in resigning of said lands to the Massachusetts, was not at all in their power, neither could the Massachusetts receive any such resignation without injuring the third and sixth articles of their confederation; what right the authority of the Massachusetts had to send for Samuel Gorton and company, "inhabiting so far out of their jurisdiction they understand not." And as to what the governor of Plymouth and some others did in 1650, about ratifying that former resignation of Warwick to the Massachusetts, they said they had "protested against it in the court of Plymouth, as being directly contrary to the order of the honorable committee of the parliament of England, and contrary to the articles of confederations with the rest of the colonies. And whereas we are informed, that the court of the Massachusetts have lately sent out

 several

several warrants to several persons inhabiting Warwick and Pawtuxet, and have made seizure upon some of their estates, we do hereby protest against such proceedings if any there be" * The Massachusetts were so unwilling to have these things laid before the parliament, that they put Mr. Williams to great *distresses* only for attempting to take his passage through their colony.

THE town of Newport signed an engagement and request to Mr. Clarke in these words, "We whose names are here underwritten, † being resolved to make our address unto the parliament of England, in point of our lands and liberties, do earnestly desire those six men that were last chosen, the council of the town of Newport, and such as they shall consult with, to improve their best abilities for the managing thereof: We also do earnestly request Mr. John Clarke to do his utmost endeavors in solliciting our cause in England: And we do hereby engage ourselves to the utmost of our estates to assist them, being resolved in the mean time peaceably to yield all due subjection unto the present power set over us. Witness our hands the 15th of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1651.—He sailed for England the next month.

MR.

* *Records of the United Colonies.*

† This was signed by John Easton, James Barker, John Cranston, Robert Craw, John Sheldon, Samuel Hubbard, John Allen, Henry Bull, Edward Thurston, Nathaniel West, William Dyre, William Lytherland, Richard Knight, Thomas Clarke, Thomas Dungan, &c. to the number of sixty-five, who with the six counsellors were almost all the free inhabitants of Newport, as Mr. Clarke said afterward to their general assembly. Forty-one of the inhabitants of Portsmouth signed a like request. [*Copied from the original papers now before me.*]

Many of the above men were afterwards noted rulers in that colony; and Mr. Dungan was a member of Mr. Clarke's church, till

Mr. Coddington having gotten the command of the islands, Providence and Warwick, each chose six deputies, who met at Providence Nov. 4. and unanimously concluded to stand embodied and incorporated as before, by virtue of their charter, and as president Easton had given place to Mr. Coddington; they chose another in his room, and made several laws, one of which was to prohibit any from purchasing lands of the Indians, without the assemblies approbation, on penalty of forfeiting the same to the colony. When those two agents arrived in England, they united in a petition to the council of state, who on April 8th, 1652, refered the same to the committee for foreign affairs. The court of election at Warwick, May 18, made a law to forbid the Dutch who were not inhabitants among them, from trading with the Indians in this colony, upon penalty of forfeiting both goods and vessel to the colony if they did: and the president was ordered to give the governor of Manhato's notice of it. When their assembly met again in the fall at Providence, they wrote the following letter to Mr. Williams, viz.

"*Honored Sir*,

"WE may not neglect any opportunity to salute you in this your absence, and have not a little cause to bless God, who hath pleased to select you to such a purpose, as we doubt not but will conduce to the peace and safety of us all, as to make you once more an instrument to impart and disclose our cause unto those noble and grave senators our honorable protectors, in whose eyes God hath given you

till about the year 1684; when he went to Pennsylvania, and became the first baptist minister in that colony, where he left a numerous posterity. *Edward's history of the Baptists in that colony, page* 10.

you honor (as we understand) beyond our hopes, and moved the hearts of the wise to stir on your behalf; we give you hearty thanks for your care and diligence, to watch all opportunities to promote our peace, for we perceive your prudent and comprehensive mind stireth every stone to present it to the builders, to make firm the fabrick unto us about which you are employed, laboring to unweave such irregular devises wrought by others amongst us, as have formerly cloathed us with so sad events, as the subjection of some among us, both English and Indian to other jurisdictions, as also to prevent such near approach of our neighbours upon our borders on the Narraganset side, which might much annoy us, with your endeavors to furnish us with such ammunition as to look a foreign enemy in the face, being that the cruel begin to stir in these western parts, and to unite in one again, such as of late have had seeming separation in some respects, to encourage and strengthen our week and infeebled body to perform its work in these foreign parts, to the honor of such as take care, have been and are so tender of our good, though we be unworthy to be had in remembrance by persons of so noble places, indued with parts of so excellent and honorable and abundantly beneficial use.

"SIR, give us leave to intimate thus much, that we humbly conceive (so far as we are able to understand) that if it be the pleasure of our protectors to renew our charter for the re-establishing of our government, that it might tend much to the weighing of mens minds, and subjecting of persons who have been refractory, to yield themselves over as unto a settled government, if it might be the pleasure of that honorable state, to invest, appoint and im-

power

power yourself to come over as governor of this colony for the space of one year, and so the government to be honorably put upon this place, which might seem to add weight forever hereafter in the constant and successive derivation of the same. We only present it to your deliberate thoughts and consideration, with our hearty desires that your time of stay there for the effectual perfecting and finishing of your so weighty affairs may not seem tedious, nor be any discouragement unto you; rather than you shall suffer for loss of time here, or expence there, we are resolved to stretch forth our hands at your return beyond our strength for your supply.—Your loving bed-fellow is in health, and presents her endeared affection, so are all your family.——Mr. Sayles also and his, with the rest of your friends throughout the colony, who wish and desire earnestly to see your face.

"SIR we are yours, leaving you unto the Lord, we heartily take leave.

"From the general assembly of this colony of Providence-Plantations, assembled in the town of Providence the 28th of October 1652

"JOHN GREENE, General recorder."*

ON the 2d of October, the council of state gave an order and wrote letters to vacate Mr. Coddington's commission, and to confirm their former character; which were sent over by William Dyre. And about the 16th of February 1653, he brought a letter to Providence, signed by Messrs. Sanford Baulston, Porter and William Jefferies, requesting the two towns on the main to appoint a time to meet those on the island, to hear and act upon the states letters. Providence met upon the affair, and enquired why those letters were not brought to them,

* Providence Records.

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* Providence Records.

them, seeing they had continued to act upon the charter, after the island was parted from them? Dyre told them that the two agents had united in their petition, and that as it appeared to him that the island was the major part of the colony, therefore they had the greatest interest in the letters, and he had left them there. President Smith, William Field, and some others joined with Dyre, and strove to perswade them to "account themselves a disordered confused rout, as he acknowledged the Islanders were, and to account all officers orders of court, laws and cases depending as null, and to come to a popular meeting to lay a new foundation of government for the colony." This they could not consent to, but each town chose six commissioners who met at Pawtuxet on February 25th, and sent four messengers to the island for those letters or a copy of them; and that if the states orders were for them all to unite again, then to agree upon a meeting for that purpose. Dyre seeing no other way to carry his own scheme, assumed the power to himself to call the whole colony together by the following instrument.

"Loving friends and neighbours, these are to signify unto you, that it hath pleased the right honorable, the council of state, authorised by the supreme authority of the common-wealth of England, to betrust myself with letters and orders concerning this colony, and the welfare thereof; be pleased therefore to understand, that upon Tuesday come seven night, at Portsmouth on Rhode-Island, at Mr. Baulston's house, I shall be there (God willing) ready to attend the communication of the trust committed to my charge, unto all such free inhabitants as shall there make their personal appearance. Given under my hand this present

6th

6th day of the week, being the 18th of February 1652. WILLIAM DYRE."

A COPY of this he sent to each town, and many of the freemen met on the said March 1st, but instead of throwing all up, they ordered, "That all officers who were in place when Mr. Coddington's commission obstructed, should stand in their places, to act according to their former commissions, upon the island; and the rest in the colony according as they had been annually chosen, until a new election according to former order." The commissioners met again at Pawtuxet on March 9th, to receive the answer of their messengers from the island, who reported what was done, but that they could not obtain so much as a copy of those letters from England. Upon which they sent again therefor, and also a proposal of joining with the towns on the island in the next election, if they would agree to it in their former method, and give them ten days notice. By some means such notice was not given, therefore the two towns on the main met at Providence, May 17th, 1653, and elected their officers. An assembly met at the same time on the island, and chose Mr. Sanford their president, and some freemen coming from the main, they chose an assistant for each town in the colony. And they sent Mr. James Barker, and Mr. Richard Knight to Mr. Coddington, to demand the statute book, and book of records. And as it was then a time of war betwixt England and Holland, and a mention was made of it in the letters which confirmed their charter, Dyre thought to make his advantage thereby, and procured commissions for himself, Capt. Underhill, and Edward Hull, to act against the Dutch in America; and some cannon with twenty men were sent to the English on the

east

eaſt end of Long-Iſland, to enable them to act againſt the Dutch who lay to the weſtward of them. This alarmed Providence colony, who met again in June, and a third time at Warwick, on Auguſt 13th, when they anſwered a letter from the Maſſachuſetts, and remonſtrated againſt being drawn into a war with the Dutch; and wrote to Mr. Williams an account of Dyre's conduct, and of their being urged to give up their former actings as null; but ſay they, "being ſtill in the ſame order you left us, and obſerving two great evils that ſuch a courſe would bring upon us. First, the hazard of involving in all the diſorders and blood ſhed which have been committed on Rhode-Iſland ſince their ſeparation from us" Secondly, the invading and fruſtrating of juſtice in divers weighty cauſes then orderly depending in our courts, in ſome of which cauſes Mr. Smith, preſident, William Field, &c. were deeply concerned;" therefore they could not yield to ſuch a motion. *

BEFORE we proceed further upon their affairs, ſome tranſactions in the Maſſachuſetts call for our attention.

* *Callender—Colony records.* To give a clear idea of their difficulties I would inſert the following things.

"The 24th of the firſt month called March, in the year (ſo commonly called) 1637-8 Memorandum, that we Canonius and Miantinomo, the two chief ſachems of the Narraganſet, by virtue of our general command of this bay, as alſo the particular ſubjecting of the dead ſachem of Aquedneck and Kitackamuckqut, themſelves and lands unto us, have ſold to Mr. Coddington and his friends united unto him, the great iſland of Aquedneck, laying hence eaſtward in this bay, as alſo the marſh or graſs upon Quinunnuqut, and the reſt of the iſlands in this bay (excepting Chibachuweſa [Prudence] formerly ſold to Mr. Winthrop, the now governor of the Maſſachuſetts, and Mr. Williams of Providence) alſo the graſs upon the rivers and bounds about Kitackamuckqut, and from thence to Paupuſquatch, for the full payment of forty fathoms of white beads, to be equally divided between us;

attention. Their ministers have often tried to persuade people, that ignorance of the original languages that our bible was wrote in, is the cause why any embrace the baptists principles. How well this agrees with their fear of a fair dispute with the learned Mr. Clarke the reader will judge, and what follows may afford further light.

O o CAPT.

us; in witness whereof we have here subscribed. Item, that by giving, by Miantonomo's hands, ten coats and twenty hoes to the present inhabitants, they shall remove themselves from off the island before next winter. Witness our hands,

In presence of,
The mark X of Yotuesh;
Roger Williams,
Randal Holden,
The mark ‡ of Assotemuit;
The mark || of Mihammoh;
Canonicus his son.

The mark † of Canonicus,
The mark ‡ of Miantinomo."

"Memorandum, that Osemaquin freely consent that Mr. William Coddington, and his friends united unto him, shall make use of any grass or trees on the main land on Pawakasick side, and all my men, to the said Mr. Coddington, and English, his friends united to him, having received of Mr. Coddington five fathoms of wampum, as gratuity for himself and the rest.

Witness, { Roger Williams, Randal Holden. } The mark X of Osamaquin."

Dated the sixth of the fifth month, 1638.

These deeds, with a number of receipts from the Indians, are upon the colony records which Mr. Coddington had in his power when he obtained a commission to be their governor without the peoples consent; and when they contended hotly with him, it seems that he fled to Boston, where they sent after him, and prevailed with him to sign an engagement on April 14th, 1652, in the presence of Robert Knight and George Manning; to deliver up said deeds and records to such men as the majority of the purchasers and freemen should appoint to receive them, and to claim no more to himself than an equal share with the other purchasers. And the above record shews that he had those deeds in his hands till May, 1653. The main instance of *blood-shed* above refered to, was of a principle inhabitant of Newport, who was charged with a capital crime before a town-meeting, and was condemned by them, and carried forth and shot to death in their presence. *History of Providence,*

east end of Long-Island, to enable them to act against the Dutch who lay to the westward of them. This alarmed Providence colony, who met again in June, and a third time at Warwick, on August 13th, when they answered a letter from the Massachusetts, and remonstrated against being drawn into a war with the Dutch; and wrote to Mr. Williams an account of Dyre's conduct, and of their being urged to give up their former actings as null; but say they, "being still in the same order you left us, and observing two great evils that such a course would bring upon us. First, the hazard of involving in all the disorders and blood shed which have been committed on Rhode-Island since their separation from us" Secondly, the invading and frustrating of justice in divers weighty causes then orderly depending in our courts, in some of which causes Mr. Smith, president, William Field, &c. were deeply concerned;" therefore they could not yield to such a motion. *

BEFORE we proceed further upon their affairs, some transactions in the Massachusetts call for our attention.

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"The 24th of the first month called March, in the year (so commonly called) 1637-8 Memorandum, that we Canonius and Miantinomo, the two chief sachems of the Narraganset, by virtue of our general command of this bay, as also the particular subjecting of the dead sachem of Aquedneck and Kitackamuckqut, themselves and lands unto us, have sold to Mr. Coddington and his friends united unto him, the great island of Aquedneck, laying hence eastward in this bay, as also the marsh or grass upon Quinunnuqut, and the rest of the islands in this bay (excepting Chibachuwesa [Prudence] formerly sold to Mr. Winthrop, the now governor of the Massachusetts, and Mr. Williams of Providence) also the grass upon the rivers and bounds about Kitackamuckqut, and from thence to Paupusquatch, for the full payment of forty fathoms of white beads, to be equally divided between us;

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The mark † of Canonicus,
The mark ‡ of Miantinomo."

"Memorandum, that Osemaquin freely consent that Mr. William Coddington, and his friends united unto him, shall make use of any grass or trees on the main land on Pawakasick side, and all my men, to the said Mr. Coddington, and English, his friends united to him, having received of Mr. Coddington five fathoms of wampum, as gratuity for himself and the rest.

Witness, { Roger Williams, Randal Holden. } The mark X of Osamaquin."

Dated the sixth of the fifth month, 1638.

These deeds, with a number of receipts from the Indians, are upon the colony records which Mr. Coddington had in his power when he obtained a commission to be their governor without the peoples consent; and when they contended hotly with him, it seems that he fled to Boston, where they sent after him, and prevailed with him to sign an engagement on April 14th, 1652, in the presence of Robert Knight and George Manning, to deliver up said deeds and records to such men as the majority of the purchasers and freemen should appoint to receive them, and to claim no more to himself than an equal share with the other purchasers. And the above record shews that he had those deeds in his hands till May, 1653. The main instance of *blood-shed* above refered to, was of a principle inhabitant of Newport, who was charged with a capital crime before a town-meeting, and was condemned by them, and carried forth and shot to death in their presence. *History of Providence,*

CAPT. Johnſon, ſpeaking of the firſt preſident of Harvard College, ſays, "He was fitted from the Lord for the work, and, by thoſe who have ſkill that way, reported to be an able proficient both in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, an orthodox preacher of the truths of Chriſt, and very powerful thro' his bleſſing to move the affections."* Mr. Hubbard ſpeaking of Mr. Dunſtar's being made preſident in 1640 ſays, "Under whom, that which was before but at beſt *ſchola illuſtra*, grew to the ſtature and perfection of a college, and flouriſhed in the profeſſion of all liberal ſciences for many years." And Mr. Prince, upon the New-England pſalm-book ſays, "for a further improvement it was committed to the Rev. Mr. Henry Dunſtar, preſident of Harvard College; one of the greateſt maſters of the oriental languages, that hath been known in theſe ends of the earth." †

THIS eminent man was brought ſo far this year that, "he not only forebore to preſent an infant of his own unto baptiſm, but alſo thought himſelf under ſome obligation to bear his teſtimony in ſome ſermons, againſt the adminiſtration of baptiſm to *any infant whatſoever*." His brethren were ſo *vehement* and *violent* againſt him therefor, as to deſire him to ceaſe preaching there, and procured his removal both from his office and from his living in the town; ‡ and Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, their miniſter at Cambridge, wrote December 24th, 1653, "That after I came from him, I had a ſtrange experience; I found hurrying and preſſing ſuggeſtions

* Johnſon, page 168.

† Prince's preface to his own verſion of the pſalms.

§ Governor Dudly died, July 31ſt, 1653, with theſe lines in his pocket, viz.

"*Let men of God in courts and churches watch*
"*O'er ſuch as do a* TOLERATION *hatch*."

tions against *peedo-baptism*, and injected scruples and tho'ts whither the other way might not be right, and infant baptism an *invention of men*, and whether I might with good conscience baptize children, and the like. And these thoughts were darted in with some impression, and left a strange confusion and sicklines upon my spirit. Yet methought, it was not hard to discern that they were from the EVIL ONE. First, because they were rather injected, hurrying suggestions, than any deliberate tho'ts, or bringing any light with them. Secondly, because they were *unreasonable*; interrupting me in my study for the sabbath, and putting my spirit into confusion, so as I had much ado, to do ought in my sermon. It was not now a time to study that matter; but when in the former part of the week, I had given myself to that study, the more I studied it, the more clear and rational light I saw for peedo-baptism, but now these suggestions hurried me into scruples.——It was a check to my former *self-confidence*, and it made me *fearful* to go needlesly to Mr. D. for methought I found a venum and poison, in his insinuations and discourses against *peedo-baptism*. I *resolved* also on Mr. Hooker's principle, that I would have an argument, able to *remove a mountain*, before I would recede from, or appear against a truth or practice received among the faithful." *

Query, How did he know but that his hurry and darkness was caused by the opposition of his heart, and the injections of the devil against the truth? Can any thing be more *unreasonable* than his conclusion drawn from the time of his scruples? The fact was just this; in his own study he tho't he saw a light for infant baptism, but when he came

* Michel's life, page 67—70.

came to converſe with a gentleman who knew more than he did, it raiſed ſcruples in his mind about that practice. But where was the modeſty of a youth not thirty years old, when he accuſed one of the moſt venerable fathers of that age, of having *venum* and *poiſon* in his diſcourſes, only becauſe his own *ſelf-confidence* was ſhocked thereby! Sure I am that if any baptiſt miniſter had told ſuch a ſtory, and that it made him *fearful* of going near a learned gentleman, whoſe arguments had bro't him to ſcruple whether he had not been educated in a wrong way, but that he was *reſolved* to have an argument able to *work miracles* before he would leave it, the other party would then have had ſuch grounds, to charge the baptiſt with *wilfulneſs* and *obſtinacy* upon, as they never yet had.

RIGEDNESS is a word that both epiſcopalians and preſbyterians have often caſt upon our Plymouth fathers. Yet the Maſſachuſetts now diſcovered ſo much more of that temper than they, that Mr. Dunſtar on October 24, 1654, reſigned his office among them, and removed and ſpent his remaining days at Scituate, in Plymouth colony. And it ſeems remarkable that Mr. Charles Chauncy, who, though he allowed believers to bring their infants, yet held that baptiſm was dipping; was on the 27th of November following, made preſident of Harvard College in Mr. Dunſtar's room. * Mr. Chauncy was born in Hartfordſhire in 1589; was educated in the univerſity of Cambridge; "was incomparably well ſkilled in *all the learned languages*, eſpecially in the oriental, and eminently in the Hebrew; in obtaining whereof, his converſation with a Jew for the ſpace of a year, was no little advantage." He was ſucceſsful in the miniſtry at Ware in

* Magnalia, book iv. page 128.

in England, till being perfecuted, and having suffered much from Laud's party, he came to our Plymouth, in 1638; in which place he preached about two years, and then, as he has been noted, he removed and fettled at Scituate, where, upon his taking the charge of that flock, he preached from that text, *Wifdom hath fent forth her maidens!* but reflecting in his difcourfe upon fome compliences with the High commiffion court that he had been guilty in his own country, he with tears faid, "Alas, chriftians I am no maiden! my foul hath been defiled with falfe worfhip! how wonderous is the free grace of the Lord Jefus Chrift, that I fhould ftill be employed among the maidens of wifdom!" upon an invitation from his old people at Ware, he now came to Bofton, with a defign of returning to them, when the overfeers of the college, "by their vehement importunity prevailed with him to accept the government of that fociety." * Where we will leave him, till we fhall have further occafion to mention his teftimony againft degeneracy in our land.

MR. Williams had many enemies and difficulties to encounter with, in pleading for the rights of his colony, but was wonderfully fupported and carried through them all; of which fome account is given in the following letter.

From Sir Henry Vane's at Belleau in Lincolnfhire. } April 1ft. 53 (fo called.)

"MY dear and loving friends and neigbours of Providence and Warwick; our noble friend Sir Henry Vane, having the navy of England moftly depending on his care, and going down to the navy at Portfmouth, I was invited by them both to accompany his lady to Lincolnfhire, where I fhall yet

ftay

* Ibid. page 134—136.

ſtay as I fear until the ſhip is gone; I muſt therefore pray your pardon that by the poſt I ſend this to London. I hope it may have pleaſed the moſt high Lord of ſea and land to bring Capt. Ch-rſt-n's ſhip and dear Mr. Dyre unto you, and with him the councils letters, which anſwer the petition Sir Henry Vane and myſelf drew up, and the council by Sir Henry's mediation granted us, for the confirmation of the charter, until the determination of the controverſy. This determination you may pleaſe to underſtand is hindered by two main obſtructions. The firſt is the mighty war with the Dutch, which makes England and Holland and the nations tremble; This hath made the parliament ſit Sir Henry Vane and two or three more as commiſſioners to manage the war, which they have done with much engaging the name of God with them, who hath appeared in helping ſixty of ours againſt almoſt three-hundred of their men of war, and perchance to the ſinking and taking about one-hundred of theirs, and but one of ours which was ſunk by our own men. Our ſecond obſtruction is the oppoſition of our adverſaries, Sir Arther Haſelrig and Colonel Fenwicke, who hath married his daughter, Mr. Winſlow and Mr. Hopkins, both in great place; * and all the friends they can make in the parliament and council, and all the prieſts both preſbyterian and independant; ſo that we ſtand as two armies ready to engage, obſerving the motions and poſtures each of other, and yet ſhy each of other.——Under God the ſheet anchor of our ſhip is Sir Henry, who will do as the eye of God leads him, and he faithfully promiſed me that he would obſerve the motion of our New-England buſineſs, while I ſtayed ſome ten weeks with his lady in Lincolnſhire.

* Winſlow died in the Weſt-Indies in 1655.

Lincolnſhire. Beſide here is great thoughts and preparation for a new parliament; ſome of our friends are apt to think another parliament will more favor us and our cauſe than this has done. You may pleaſe to put my condition into your ſouls caſes; remember, I am a father and an huſband; I have longed earneſtly to return with the laſt ſhip, and with theſe, yet I have not been willing to withdraw my ſhoulders from the burthen leaſt it pinch others, and may fall heavy upon all; except you are pleaſed to give to me a diſcharge. If you conceive it neceſſary for me ſtill to attend this ſervice, pray you conſider if it be not convenient that my poor wife be incouraged to come over to me, and to wait together on the good pleaſure of God for the end of this matter. You know my many weights hanging on me; how my own place ſtands, and how many reaſons I have to cauſe me to make haſte, yet I would not loſe their eſtates, peace and liberty, by leaving haſtily. I write to my dear wife, my great deſire of her coming while I ſtay; yet left it to the freedom of her ſpirit, becauſe of the many dangers; truly at preſent the ſeas are dangerous, but not comparably ſo much nor likely to be, becauſe of the late great defeat of the Dutch, and their preſent ſending to us offers of peace. My dear friends although it pleaſed God himſelf, by many favors to incourage me, yet pleaſe you to remember, that no man can ſtay here as I do, leaving a preſent employment there, without much ſelf-denial, which I beſeech God for more, and for you alſo, that no private reſpects or gains or quarrels may cauſe you to neglect the public and common ſafety, peace and liberties. I beſeech the bleſſed God to keep freſh in your thoughts what he hath done for Providence-Plantations.

My

My dear respects to yourselves, wives and children; I beseech the eternal God to be seen amongst you:——So prays your most faithful and affectionate friend and servant. ROGER WILLIAMS."

P. S. My love to all my Indian friends.

As men of all tempers and sentiments had resorted to that colony, and there had been from various quarters such interruptions of a regular administration of government as have been mentioned, it is not to be wondered at if many disorders appeared among them, of which enemies to their liberties did not fail to make all the advantage they could. Mr. Williams attended upon the difficult and important affairs of his agency another year, and then leaving the cause there with Mr. Clarke and other friends, he came over to take care of things here; and brought with him the following epistle, viz.

Loving and christian friends,

I COULD not refuse this bearer, Mr Roger Williams, my kind friend and ancient acquaintance, to be accompanied with these few lines from myself to you, upon his return to Providence colony; though perhaps my private and retired condition, which the Lord of his mercy hath brought me into, might have argued strongly enough for my silence; but indeed something I hold myself bound to say to you, out of the christian love I bear you, and for his sake whose name is called upon by you and engaged on your behalf. How is it that there are such divisions amongst you? Such headiness, tumults, disorders, injustice? The noise echoes into the ears of all, as well friends as enemies, by every return of ships from those parts. Is not the fear and awe of God amongst you to restrain? Is not the love of Christ in you to fill you with earning bowels

bowels one towards another, and constrain you not to live to yourselves but to him that died for you, yea, and is risen again? Are there no wise men amongst you? No public self-denying spirits, that at least upon grounds of common safety, equity and prudence can find out some way or means of union and reconciliation for you amongst yourselves, before you become a prey to common enemies? Especially since this state, by the last letter from the council of state, give you your freedom, as supposing a better use would have been made of it than there hath been. Surely when kind and simple remedies are applied and are ineffectual, it speaks loud and broadly, the high and dangerous distempers of such a body, as if the wounds were incurable. But I hope better things from you, though I thus speak, and should be apt to think, that by commissioners agreed on and appointed on all parts, and on behalf of all interests, in a general meeting, such a union and common satisfaction might arise, as through God's blessing might put a stop to your growing breaches and distractions, silence your enemies, encourage your friends, honor the name of God which of late hath been much blasphemed by reason of you; and in particular refresh and revive the sad heart of him who mourns over your present evils, as being your affectionate friend, to serve you in the Lord. H. VANE." *

Belleau, the 8th of February, 1653-4.

WITH this Mr. Williams returned to Providence; but at first met with such treatment as caused him to address the town in the following manner.

"*Well beloved friends and neighbours,*

"I AM like a man in a great fog; I know not well how to stear. I fear to run upon the rocks

* Copied from the original letter.

at home, having had trials abroad. I fear to run quite backward (as men in a mist do) and undo all that I have been a long time undoing myself to do, viz. to keep up the name of a people, a free people, not inslaved to the bondages and iron yokes of the great (both soul and body) oppressions of the English and barbarians about us; nor to the divisions and disorders within ourselves. Since I set the first step of any English foot into these wild parts, and have maintained a chargable and hazardous correspondance with the barbarians, and spent almost five years time with the state of England, to keep off the rage of the English against us, what have I reaped of the root of being the steping stone to so many families and towns about us, but grief, and sorrow, and bitterness! I have been charged with folly for that freedom and liberty which I have always stood for; I say liberty and equallity both in land and government. I have been blamed for parting with Mooshawsick, and afterward Pawtuxet (which were mine own, as trul, as any man's coat upon his back) without reserving to myself a foot of land, or an inch of voice in any matter, more than to my servants and strangers. It hath been told me that I labored for a licentious and contentious people; that I have foolishly parted with town and colony advantages, by which I might have preserved both town and colony in as good order as any in the country about us. This and ten times more I have been censured for, and at this present am called a traitor by one party, against the state of England, for not maintaining the charter and the colony; and (it is said) that I am as good as banished by yourselves, and that both sides wished that I might never have landed, that the fire of contention

might

might have had no ſtop in burning. Indeed the words have been ſo ſharp between myſelf and ſome lately, that at laſt I was forced to ſay, They might well ſilence all complaints if I once began to complain, who was unfortunately fetched and drawn from my employment, and ſent to ſo vaſt diſtance from my family to do your work of a high and coſtly nature, for ſo many days, and weeks, and months together, and there left to ſtarve, or ſteal, or beg, or borrow. But bleſſed be God who gave me favor to borrow one while, and to work another, and thereby to pay your debts there, and to come over with your credit and honor, as an agent from you, who had in your name grappled with the agents and friends of all your enemies round about you. I am told that your oppoſites thought on me, and provided (as I may ſay) a ſpunge to wipe off your ſcores and debts in England, but that it was obſtructed by yourſelves, who rather meditated on means and new agents to be ſent over to croſs what Mr. Clarke and I obtained. But gentlemen, bleſſed be God who faileth not, and bleſſed be his name for his wonderful PROVIDENCES by which alone this town and colony, and that grand cauſe of TRUTH AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE hath been upheld to this day. And bleſſed be his name who hath again quenched ſo much of our fires hitherto, and hath brought your names, and his own name thus far out of the dirt of ſcorn, reproach, &c. I find among yourſelves and your oppoſites that of Solomon true, that the contentions of brethren (ſome that lately were ſo) are the bars of a caſtle, and not eaſily broken; and I have heard ſome of both ſides zealouſly talking of undoing themſelves by a trial in England. Truly friends I cannot but fear you

loſt

loſt a fair wind lately, when this town was ſent to for its deputies, and you were not pleaſed to give an overture unto the reſt of the inhabitants about it; yea, and when yourſelves thought that I invited you to ſome conference tending to reconciliation, before the town ſhould act in ſo fundamental a buſineſs, you were pleaſed to foreſtal that, ſo that being full of grief, ſhame and aſtoniſhment; yea, and fear that all that is now done (eſpecially in our town of Providence) is but provoking the ſpirits of men to fury of deſparation. I pray your leave to pray you to remember (that which I lately told your oppoſites) *Only by pride cometh contention.* If there be humility on the one ſide, yet there is pride on the other, and certainly the eternal God will engage againſt the proud; I therefore pray you to examine, as I have done them, your proceedings in this firſt particular. Secondly, Love covereth a multitude of ſins. Surely your charges and complaints each againſt other have not hid nor covered any thing, as we uſe to cover the nakedneſs of thoſe we love. If you will now proteſt not to have diſfranchiſed humanity and love, but that (as David in another caſe) you will ſacrifice to the common peace, and common ſafety, and common credit, that which may be ſaid to coſt you ſomething, I pray your loving leave to tell you that if I were in your ſouls caſe, I would ſend unto your oppoſites ſuch a line as this.——"Neighbours, at the conſtant requeſt, and upon the conſtant mediation which our neighbour Roger Williams, ſince his arrival, hath uſed to us, both for pacification and accommodation of our ſad differences, and alſo upon the late endeavors in all the other towns for an union, we are perſwaded to remove our obſtruction, viz. that paper of contention between us, and

to

to deliver it into the hands of our aforesaid neighbour, and to obliterate that order which that paper did occasion: This removed, you may be pleased to meet with, and debate freely, and vote in all matters with us as if such grievances had not been amongst us. Secondly, If yet ought remain grievous which we ourselves by free debate and conference cannot compose, we offer to be judged and censured by four men, which out of any part of the colony you shall choose two, and we the other."

GENTLEMEN, I only add, that I crave your loving pardon to your bold but true friend,

ROGER WILLIAMS."

THIS address had the desired effect; and when the town came together, and Mr Williams had a full hearing of the case, he, in the name of the town, drew an answer to Sir Henry Vane's letter, on August 27th, 1654, which now remains on record in his own hand writing as follows:

"*SIR*,

"ALTHOUGH we are agrieved at your late retirement from the helm of public affairs, yet we rejoice to reap the sweet fruits of your rest in your pious and loving lines, most seasonably sent unto us. Thus the sun when he retires his brightness from the world, yet from under the very clouds we perceive his presence, and enjoy some light and heat, and sweet refreshings. Sir, your letters were directed to all and every particular town of this Providence colony. Surely Sir, among the many providences of the most High, toward this town of Providence, and this Providence colony, we cannot but see apparantly his gracious hand, providing your honorable self for so noble and true a friend to an out-cast and despised people. From the first begining of this Providence colony, (occasioned

casioned by the banishment of some in this place from the Massachusetts) we say ever since to this very day, we have reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving kindness and favor towards us. Oh Sir! whence then is it that you have bent your bow; and shot your sharp and bitter arrows now against us? Whence is it that you charge us with divisions, disorders, &c.? Sir, we humbly pray your gentle acceptance of our two fold answer.

"FIRST, we have been greatly disturbed and distracted by the ambition and covetousness of some amongst ourselves. Sir we were in compleat order untill Mr. Coddington (wanting that public selfdenying spirit which you commend to us in your letter) procured, by most untrue information, a monopoly of part of the colony, viz. Rhode-Island to himself, and so occasioned our general disturbance and distractions. Secondly, Mr. Dyre, with no less want of a public spirit, being ruined by party contentions with Mr. Coddington, and being betrusted to bring from England the letters of the council of state for our re-unitings, he hopes for a recruit to himself by other men's goods; and (contrary to the states intentions and expressions) plungeth himself and some others, in most unnecessary and unrighteous plundering, both of Duch and French, and English also, to our great grief, who protested against such abuse of our power from England; and the end of it is to the shame and reproach of himself, and the very English name, as all these parts do witness."

"SIR, our second answer is (that we may not lay all the load upon other mens backs) that possibly a sweet cup hath rendered many of us wanton and too active; for we have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people that we can

hear

hear of under the whole heaven. We have not only been long free (together with all New-England) from the iron yoke of wolviſh biſhops, and their popiſh ceremonies (againſt whoſe cruel oppreſſions God raiſed up your noble ſpirit in parliament)* but we have ſitten quiet and dry, from the ſtreams of blood ſpilt by that war in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the preſbyterian tyrants, nor in this colony, have we been conſumed with the over-zealous fire of the (ſo called) godly chriſtian magiſtrates. Sir, we have not known what an exciſe means; we have almoſt forgot what tythes are, yea, or taxes either, to church or common wealth. We could name other ſpecial privileges, ingredients of our ſweet cup, which your great wiſdom knows to be very powerfull (except more than ordinary watchfulneſs) to render the beſt of men wanton and forgetful. But bleſſed be your love, and your loving heart and hand, awakening any of our ſleepy ſpirits by your ſweet alarm; and bleſſed be your noble family, root and branch, and all your pious and prudent engagements and retirements. We hope you ſhall no more complain of the ſadning of your loving heart, by the men of Providence town or Providence colony, but that when we are gone, and rotten, our poſterity and children after us ſhall read in our town records, your pious and favorable letters and loving kindneſs to us, and this our anſwer, and real endeavour after peace and righteouſneſs; and to be found Sir, your moſt obliged,

and

* When thoſe cruel oppreſſors had regained their power in 1662, ſo as to eject 2000 proteſtant teachers out of their places, they wreaked their vengeance on this noble man, ſo as to have him publicly beheaded: but he died in an heroic manner.

and moſt humble ſervants, the town of Providence, in Providence colony in New-England,

GREGORY DEXTER, Town-Clerk."

THEY choſe commiſſioners, who met with thoſe from the other towns on Auguſt 31; when they agreed that the affairs that had been tranſacted by authority in each town ſhould remain till further orders; and that for the future their government ſhould be managed according to their charter; and that an aſſembly of ſix commiſſioners from each town, ſhould tranſact the buſineſs of making laws, and trying their general affairs, and they ordered, "That Mr. Ezekiel Holiman, and Mr. John Greene, jun'r, are to view the general laws of the colony, and to repreſent them to the next court of commiſſioners." And they appointed a general election at Warwick on Sept. 12.* At that election Mr. Williams was choſen preſident of the colony; and the aſſembly ordered, "That Mr. Roger Williams, and Mr. Gregory Dexter draw forth and ſend letters of humble thankſgiving, to his Highneſs the Lord Protector, and Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Holland, and Mr. John Clarke, in the name of the colony, and Mr. Williams is deſired to ſubſcribe them by virtue of his office." Thus far things appeared encouraging; but as tyranny and licentiouſneſs are equally enemies, both to government

* *Providence Records.*—The names of the commiſſioners who compoſed and ſigned this amicable ſettlement were, Thomas Harris, Gregory Dexter, John Sayles, William Wickenden, John Brown and Henry Brown, for Providence; William Baulſton, John Roome, Thomas Cornell, John Briggs and William Hall, for Portſmouth; Benedict Arnold, Richard Jew, John Coggſhall, John Eaſton, William Lytherland and Thomas Gould, for Newport; John Greene ſenior, Randal Holden, Ezekiel Holiman, John Greene, jun. John Townſend, for Warwick. Arnold left his father's party at Pawtuxet and was received a freeman at Newport in May 1653; after which he was greatly promoted in the colony,

government and liberty, Mr. Williams often had both of them to conflict with. Soon after this settlement a person sent a paper to the town of Providence, *That it was blood-guiltness, and against the rule of the gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors, against the private or public weal.* But said Mr. Williams, "That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case. There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common; and is a true picture of a common-wealth, or an human combination, or society. It hath fallen out some times that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I affirm that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, That none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship: nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety to be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passenger to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write, that

there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This if seriously and honestly minded, may if it so please the Father of lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes. I remain studious of your common peace and liberty.

ROGER WILLIAMS." *

THIS clear description of the difference between civil and ecclesiastical affairs, and of the difference betwixt good government on the one hand, and tyranny or licentiousness on the other, confirmed by a correspondant practice through fifty years of incessant labors, are more than a sufficient ballance to all the slanders that various parties have cast upon this ancient witness and advocate for the rights and liberties of men, against the superstitions and enthusiasms of his day. Having settled things as well as he could among his own people, he as president of his colony, addressed the general assembly at Boston, in the following words, directed to their governor.

"Providence 15. 9 month 55 (so called.)

"*Much honored Sir,*

"IT is my humble and earnest petition unto God and you, that you may be so pleased to exercise command over your own spirits that you may not mind myself nor the English of these parts, (unworthy with myself of your eye) but only that face of equity (English and Christian) which I humbly hope may appear in these representations following.

FIRST

* History of Providence.

"FIRST, May it pleaſe you to remember, that concerning the town of Warwick, there lies a ſuit of 2000l. damages againſt you before his highneſs and the lords of the council. I doubt not, if you ſo pleaſe, but that (as Mr. Winſlow and myſelf had well nigh ordered it) ſome gentlemen from yourſelves and ſome from Warwick deputed, may friendly and eaſily determine that affair between you.*

"SECONDLY, The Indians which pretend your name at Warwick and Pawtuxet (yet live as barberouſly if not more than any in the whole colony) pleaſe you to know their inſolences upon ourſelves and cattle (unto 20l. damages per annum) are inſufferable by Engliſh ſpirits; and pleaſe you to give credance that to all theſe they pretend your name, and affirm that they do not (for offending you) agree with us, nor come to rules of righteous neighborhood,

* Thus it appears that their invading their neighbors rights at Warwick, cauſed troubles for them in England above ten years after, which Mr. Winſlow their agent, and Mr. Williams, could not quite ſettle; and they not complying with his reaſonable propoſal now, Gorton entered a complaint againſt them before king Charles's commiſſioners in 1665, in which beſides all their other ſufferings, they alledged that the Maſſachuſetts took away and ſold eighty head of their cattle, *Maſſachuſetts hiſtory vol.* 1. *page* 123.

The controverſy not being then ſettled, drew conſequences after it enough to make our ears to tingle; an account of which I perceive was preſented to king Charles the ſecond, in 1679, by Randal Holden and others, as agents from Warwick, wherein they, after deſcribing their ſuffering at Boſton, ſay, "and all this becauſe that we (being without their juriſdiction) would not relinquiſh and forſake the ſound doctrine and chriſtian principles taught us in our minority in the church of England." Upon which they go on to relate how that party diſpoſition againſt them, after exaſperating the Narraganſets in Philip's war, left Warwick defenceleſs to the fury of the ſavages; and that the Engliſh themſelves did them other great injuries afterward. How ſhould theſe things warn all to leave off contention before it is meddled with!

borhood, only they know you favor us not, and therefore send us for redress unto you.

"THIRDLY, Concerning *four families* at Pawtuxet, may it please you to remember the two controversies they have long (under your name) maintained with us, to the *constant obstructing of all order and authority amongst us.*——To obey his highness's authority in this charter, they say they dare not for your sakes, though they live not by your laws, nor by your common charges, nor ours, but *evade oath under colour of your authority.*——Be pleased to consider how unsuitable it is for yourselves to be the obstructors of all orderly proceedings amongst us; for I humbly appeal to your own wisdoms and experience how unlikely it is for a people to be compelled to order and common charges, when others in their bosoms are by such (seeming) partiality exempted from both."

He then observes, that there were in reality only W. Arnold and W. Carpenter, "very far in religion from you, if you knew all," who continued this obstruction; and all their plea for it was a fear of offending the Massachusetts. And says he, "I conceive your commerce with the people of this colony is as great as with any in the country, and our dangers (being a frontier people to the barbarians) * are greater than those of other colonies, and the ill consequences to yourselves would be not few nor small, and to the whole land, were we first massacred or mastered by them. I pray your equal and favorable reflection upon that your law, which prohibits us to buy of you all means of our necessary defence, of our lives and families; yea, in

* When Mr. Williams first began among the Narragansets, he said they had 5000 fighting men. *Callendar, page* 70.

in this bloody and maſſacreing time. We are informed that tickets have rarely been denied to any Engliſh of the country; yea, the barbarians, though notorious in lies, if they profeſs ſubjection, they are furniſhed: [See page 125.] only ourſelves, by former and latter denial, ſeem to be devoted to be the Indian-ſhambles and maſſacres. The barbarians all the land over are filled with artillery and ammunition from the Dutch, openly and horridly, and from the Engliſh all over the country, by ſtealth, I know they abound ſo wonderfully, that their activity and inſolences is grown ſo high, that they daily conſult and hope and threaten to render us ſlaves, as they long ſince have made the Dutch. For myſelf, as through God's goodneſs, I have refuſed the gain of thouſands by ſuch a murderous trade, and think no law yet extant among yourſelves or us, ſecure enough againſt ſuch villany; ſo am I loth to ſee ſo many hundred, if not ſome thouſands, in this colony deſtroyed like fools and beaſts without reſiſtance. I grieve that ſo much blood ſhould cry againſt yourſelves; yea, and I grieve, that at this inſtant by theſe ſhips, this cry and the premiſis ſhould now trouble his highneſs and his council. For the ſeaſonable preventing of which is this humble addreſs preſented to your wiſdom, by him who deſires to be your unfeigned and faithful ſervant,

ROGER WILLIAMS,
Of Providence-Plantations, preſident."

HE then requeſted them to record an order which the lords of the council gave him upon his laſt return from England, for his free taking of ſhip or landing at their ports, leaſt, ſays he, "forgetfulneſs hereafter again put me upon ſuch *diſtreſſes*

treſſes as, God knows, I ſuffered when I laſt paſſed through your colony to our native country." *

THE above were not all the trying things that he met with this year. No, Mr. William Harris, to whom he generouſly gave a ſhare in Providence lands, and who had profeſſed himſelf a baptiſt, "ſent his writings to the main and to the iſland, againſt all earthly powers, parliaments, laws, charters, magiſtrates, priſons, puniſhments, rates, yea, againſt all kings and princes, under the notion that the people ſhould ſhortly cry out, *No lords, no maſters;* and in open court proteſted, before the whole colony aſſembly, that he would maintain his writings *with his blood!*" This was done at the election at Newport, May 22d, 1655. Upon which the aſſembly appointed Meſſrs. Olney, Baulſton and Roome, to deal with him; and Mr Williams ſoon after received the following letter from the lord protector, viz.

"GENTLEMEN,

"YOUR agent here hath repreſented unto us ſome particulars concerning your government, which you judge neceſſary to be ſettled by us here, but by reaſon of the other great and weighty affairs of this common-wealth, we have been neceſſitated to defer the conſideration of them to further opportunity; in the mean time we are willing to let you know, that you were to proceed in your government according to the tenor of your charter, formerly granted on that behalf, taking care of the peace and ſafety of thoſe plantations, that neither through inteſtine commotions or foreign invaſions, there do ariſe any detriment or diſhonor to their common-wealth

* *Maſſachuſetts hiſtory vol.* 3. *page* 275—278.——This year the church of Charleſtown began their dealings with Mr. Gould, which iſſued in his gathering the firſt baptiſt church in Boſton.

common-wealth or yourſelves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things that are before us, they ſhall, as ſoon as the other occaſions will permit, receive a juſt and ſufficient determination. And ſo we bid you farewel and reſt, Your very loving friend,

OLIVER, P."

March 29th, 1655.

To our truſty and well-beloved, the preſident, aſſiſtant, and inhabitant of Rhode-Iſland, together with Narraganſet-Bay, in New-England.

HEREUPON the aſſembly met again, June 28th, and enacted that, "Whereas we have been rent and torn with diviſions, and his highneſs hath ſent unto us an expreſs command, under his hand and ſeal, to provide againſt inteſtine commotions, by which his highneſs noteth, that not only ourſelves are diſhonored and endangered, but alſo diſhonor and detriment redounds to the common-wealth of England: It is ordered, that if any perſon or perſons be found, by the examination and judgment of the general court of commiſſioners, to be a ring-leader or ring-leaders of factions or diviſions among us, he or they ſhall be ſent over at his or their own charges, as priſoners, to receive his or their trial or ſentence at the pleaſure of his highneſs and the lords of his council." Theſe means had ſuch effect, that at their aſſembly at Warwick, in March following I find it thus recorded.

"I WILLIAM CODDINGTON do freely ſubmit to the authority of his highneſs in the colony as it is now united, and that with all my heart.

"WHEREAS there have been differences depending between William Coddington, Eſq; and Mr. William Dyre, both of Newport, we declare joyfully for ourſelves and heirs by this preſent record, that

that a full agreement and conclusion is made between us, by our worthy friends, Mr. Baulston, Mr. Gorton, Mr. John Smith of Warwick, Mr. John Greene, jun. of Warwick, and Mr. John Easton; and in witness whereof we subscribe our hands, and desire this to be recorded, this present 14th of March, 1655, 1656.

William Coddington,
William Dyre."

In the presence of
Roger Williams, president,
John Roome,
Benedict Arnold,
John Greene, jun.

And Harris now turned, and cried up government and magistrates as much as he had cried them down before.* And being desirous to make thorough work of it, Mr. Williams wrote again to the Massachusetts governor, and was encouraged by him to come to their assembly at Boston, which he did, with an address, dated May 12th, wherein he says, "Honored Sirs, our first request was and is, for your favorable consideration of the long and lamentable condition of the town of Warwick, which hath been thus. They are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the barbarians, that I have long admired the wonderful power of God in restraining and preventing very great fires, of mutual slaughters, breaking forth between them. Your wisdoms know the inhuman insultations of these wild creatures, and you may be pleased also to imagine, that they have not been sparing of your name as the patron of all their wickedness against our Englishmen, women and children, and cattle, to the yearly damage of 60, 80 and 100l. The remedy

* *Rhode-Island Colony records.*——Williams against the Quakers, page 11—20.

medy, under God is only your pleasure that Pumham shall come to an agreement with the town or colony, and that some convenient way and time be set for their removal. And that your wisdoms may see just grounds for such your willingness, be pleased to be informed of a reality of a solemn covenant between this town of Warwick and Pumham, unto which, notwithstanding he pleads his being drawn to it by the awe of his superior sachems, yet I humbly offer that what was done was according to the law and tenor of the natives (I take it) in all New-England and America, viz. that the inferior sachems and subjects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and supreme sachems, and I humbly conceive that it pleaseth the most High and only wise to make use of such a bond of authority over them, without which they could not long subsist in human societies, in this wild condition wherein they are. Please you not to be insensable of the slipery and dangerous condition of this their intermingled co-habitation. I am humbly confident, that all the English towns and plantations in all New-England put together, suffer not such molestation from the natives as this one town and people.——Be pleased to review this copy from the lord admiral [See p. 197.] that this English town of Warwick should proceed, and that if any of yours were there planted, they should by your authority be removed, And if the English, whose removes are difficult and chargeable, how much more these wild ones, who remove with little more trouble and damage than the wild beasts of the wilderness?—This small neck, whereon they keep and mingle fields with the English, is a very den of wickedness, where they not only practice the horrid barbarisms of all kinds of whore-

doms, idolatries and conjurations, but living without all exercise of actual authority, and getting store of liquors (to our grief) there is a confluence and rendezvous of all the wildest and most licentious natives and practices of the whole country." He then proceeded to inculcate his other former requests, which now had their effect. *

THE journal of governor Winthrop shews, that before they received Pumham and his fellows under their protection, the court made them promise to keep the sabbath, and to observe other religious rules; but this account manifests the pernicious evil of invading others rights under the mask of religion; and they were awfully requited therefor. Beside the manifold troubles that it cost the Massachusetts before, in Philip's war; they not only "lost more of their substance as well as inhabitants than both Plymouth and Connecticut colonies together." † But Pumham and his family had so great a hand therein, that the dispatching of a grandson of his is mentioned among the heroic exploits of Captain Denison, nine months after that war began; and Pumham himself was "accounted the most warlike and best soldier of all the Narraganset sachems;" and he was so *bloody* and *barbarous* through the war, that when he was killed a few days before Philip, within about fifteen or twenty miles of Boston, he, after he could not stand, "catching hold of an Englishman, that by accident came near him, had done him a mischief, if he had not been presently rescued." ‡

No sooner had Mr. Williams obtained such a settlement of old controversies in the country, but new

* *Massachusetts history, vol.* 3. *page* 278—283.
† Massachusetts history, vol. 3. page 493.
‡ Hubbard's history of that war, page 68—100.

new ones arose in the following manner. George Fox, a very zealous teacher, had raised a new sect in England, who from his, and his friends companions quaking and trembling when they were brought before Gervase Bennet, a justice in Derby, in 1650, were called QUAKERS; though Fox says it was because, "we bid him and his company *tremble at the word of God.*" * In July (this year) a number of his followers arrived at Boston, but were soon imprisoned. Mr. Gorton wrote to them as I have related page 130, to which they gave an answer Sept. 28th, wherein they say, "Friend, in that measure which we have received, which is eternal, we see thee, and behold thee, and have access with thee, in that which is meek and low, and is not of this world—and in that meek and low spirit we salute thee, and own that of God in thee which is waiting for, and expecting the rising of that which is under the earth—the ransomed of the Lord shall come to Zion with joy and gladness, being redeemed from kindreds, nations, tongues and people. *by the blood of Jesus, which is spirit and life to all those that obey the light*, which from the life doth come, for the life is the light of men, and whosoever believes in the light which they are enlightened with, shall not abide in darkness, which light we have obeyed in coming into these parts. The Lord is come and coming, to level the mountains, and to rend the rocks of wisdom and knowledge, and to exalt that which is low and foolish to the wisdom of the world, and blessed shall thou, and all those be, who meets him in this his work. From the servants and messengers of the Lord whom he hath sent and brought by the arm of *his power* into these parts of the world, for which we

* Williams's dispute with them, p. 27. Fox's answer, p. 26.

we suffer bonds and close imprisonment.—Known in the world by these names.

Christopher Holden, William Brend,
John Copeland, Thomas Thurston."

To this Gorton wrote a reply recited in page 132, 133, and thereby as well as by what is in page 141, 142, we may learn that he held with them about inward power, perfection in this life, and falling from grace received; but when he came to be acquainted with them, he did not concur with them about thee and thou, and the names of months and days, nor in the more important articles of refusing the oath of alliegance to civil government, and a defensive war. After his return from England, his character as a member of civil society, and as a ruler, stands unimpeached in their records. And as Fox in his book in folio had said, "The scriptures are the words of God, but Christ is the word of God *in whom they end* And it is not blasphemy [as an author said it was] to say the soul is *part of God*, for it comes out of him, and rejoiceth in him:" which John Stubs tried to defend against Mr. Williams, from those words, *God breathed into man the breath of life*; Gorton, desiring liberty to speak, said, "If it be affirmed that God can be divided, and that man was a part of God, the Godhead was destroyed, and the soul of man. ——It is in the margin, the breath of *lives*, which Stubs acknowledged." *

On September 2d, 1656, the assembly at Boston, wrote to the commissioners of the united colonies, and said, "Having heard sometime since, that our neighbor colony of Plymouth, our beloved brethren in a great part seem to be wanting to themselves, in a due acknowledgment and encourage-

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* Williams 1672, page 144, 145.

ment to the miniſtry of the goſpel, ſo as many pious miniſters (how juſtly we know not) have deſerted their ſtations, callings and relations; our deſire is, that ſome ſuch courſe may be taken, as that a pious orthodox miniſtry may be reſtated among them, that ſo the flood of errors and principles of anarchy, may be prevented. Here have arrived amongſt us ſeveral preſons, profeſſing themſelves Quakers, fit inſtruments to propagate the kingdom of Satan: for the ſecuring of ourſelves and our neighbors from ſuch peſts we have impriſoned them till they be diſpatched away to the place from whence they came—we hope that ſome general rules may be commended to each general court, to prevent the coming amongſt us, from foreign places ſuch notorious heretics as quakers, ranters, &c.

THE commiſſioners having conſidered the premiſes, cannot but acknowledge the godly care and zeal of the gentlemen of the Maſſachuſetts, to uphold and maintain thoſe profeſſed ends of coming into theſe parts, and of combination of the united colonies, which if not attended in particulars aforeſaid will be rendered wholly fruſtrate, our profeſſion miſerably ſcandelized, ourſelves become a reproach in the eyes of thoſe that cannot without admiration behold our ſudden defection from our firſt principles." From whence they went on to inculcate what the Maſſachuſetts had propoſed. *

THOUGH the Maſſachuſett rulers knew not whether thoſe miniſters had deſerted their ſtations juſtly or not, yet they had approved of the ſettlement of Mr. John Mayo in Boſton, Mr. Edward Bulkley at Concord, Mr. John Reyner at Dover (who preached

* Maſſachuſetts hiſtory, vol. 2, page 283—285.

preached in Boston, the winter after he left Plymouth) Mr. Richard Blinman, at Cape-Ann, &c. all of whom were ministers in Plymouth colony, when the colonies confederated together in 1643. We learn also that Mr. John Norton arrived at Plymouth in 1635, where he preached the following winter, and Mr. Smith their pastor resigned his place to him, "and the church used him with all respect, and large offers, yet he left them—alledging that *his spirit could not unite with him.*" * He went and settled at Ipswich, but after Mr. Cotton's death removed and took his place in Boston, where he with his colleague had not a little hand in*spiriting* up others to the above described measures. Another vigorous hand in the same work was Mr. Cobbet, who arrived at Boston in 1637, wrote against the baptists in 1645, was minister at Lynn, when they suffered there in 1651, but upon the death of Mr. Nathaniel Rogers took his place at Ipswich, where the town on Feb. 25, this year voted to give him an 100l. to buy or build him a house, and taxed all the inhabitants to pay it. This being a new thing with them, several persons would not comply with the scheme: Therefore destress was made upon them in 1657. Samuel Symonds, Esq; descended from an ancient and honorable family in Essex in England, was then one of the Massachusetts magistrates, and at last died their deputy governor. Before him George Giddings prosecuted Edward Brown, for seizing his pewter for said tax: The justice gave the plantiff damage and costs, for which judgment he rendered these reasons; "I understand this to be about a fundamental law:—Such a law as that God and nature has given to a people; so that it is in the trust.

* Winthrop—Hubbard.

truſt of their governors in higheſt place and others, to preſerve, but not in their power to take away from them. Of this ſort are theſe, viz. 1. Election of the ſupreme governors. 2. That every ſubject ſhall and may enjoy what he hath a civil right unto, ſo as it cannot be taken from him, by way of gift or loan, to the uſe or to be made the right or property of another man, without his own free conſent. 3. That ſuch laws, (though called liberties) yet more properly may be called rights, and in this ſenſe this may be added, as a third fundamental law, viz. That no cuſtom or precedent ought to prevail in any moral caſe, that may appear to be ſinful in reſpect of the breach of any law of piety againſt the firſt table, or of righteouſneſs againſt the ſecond.—I ſhall add—that it is againſt a fundamental law in nature, to be compelled to pay that which others do give; for then no man hath any certainty, or right to what he hath; if it be in the power of others by pretence of authority or without, to give it away (when in their prudence they conceive it to be for the benefit of the owner) without his own conſent.—The parliament may tax, and that juſtly, the whole country to give a reward to one man for ſome ſervice, for they are betruſted ſo to do. The reaſon is, it is levied upon the whole country, *with their conſent, and for the immediate benefit of the whole.* But if they ſhould do it between perſons (though they ſhould do it by power, and the perſon arranged hath no remedy in this world) yet it would be accounted TYRANNY. Is it not to take from Peter and give unto Paul?" Then after mentioning the law for miniſters ſalaries in page 98, he ſays, "yet the law was framed ſo, as ſuch churches as choſe to go in a voluntary way of weekly contribution,

might

might so continue, as some churches in the country do to this day." After an appeal to the county court, the question, with the reasons each party had for and against it, was put to the general court, whether the town vote for giving the said 100l. bound the inhabitants, so that any of them who were unwilling, might be compelled to pay it, or not? On October 20th, 1657, the deputies resolved it in the negative, which was non-concurred by the council; and influence enough was made the next day to bring a majority of the house round to the compelling side. *

NEITHER could they be content with using compulsion themselves, but the commissioners of the united colonies, wrote to that of Providence Sept 25, 1656, to try to draw them into their measures towards the Quakers. To this the assembly at Portsmouth gave an answer, on March 13th, 1657, wherein they say, "Whereas freedom of different consciences to be protected from inforcements was the principal ground of our charter, both with respect to our humble suit for it, as also to the true intent of the honorable and renowned parliament of England, in granting of the same to us, which freedom we still prize, as the greatest happiness that men

* *Massachusetts history, vol.* 3. *page* 287—308.——So in October 1658, the majority of the house were against the law, to banish Quakers on pain of death; but the council, with the help of some ministers, at last prevailed to carry it, by the majority of only one vote; which, when deacon Wozel [or Wiswal] understood he wept, and though illness caused his absence, yet had notice been given him, he said, "if he had not been able to go, he would have crept upon his hands and knees, rather than it should have been." Thus those oppressions were carried on by a few men, against the sense of the best part of the community. Endicot, Bellingham, Bradstreet and Denison, with the ministers they sat under, were as guilty in this respect as any. *Bishop's New-England judged. Massachusetts history, vol.* 1. *p.* 198.

men can possess in this world, therefore we shall for the preservation of our civil peace and order, the more especially take notice that those people, and any others that are here, or shall come among us, be impartially required, and to our utmost, constrained to perform all civil duties requisite.—And in case they refuse it, we resolve to make use of the first opportunity to inform our agent residing in England," &c. They close with thankful acknowledgements of the commissioners care they had expressed for the peace and welfare of the whole country, and saying, "we rest yours, most affectionately, desirous of your honorable welfare.

JOHN SANFORD, *Clerk of Assembly.*"

THIS did not content those commissioners; but they wrote again the next fall, to which governor Arnold, and his court returned an answer, October 13th, which has been published. * And the contention growing more terrible the year after, the assembly at Warwick, Nov. 5th, 1658, appointed Mr. Olney, Mr. Gorton and Mr. Crandal, who had suffered from them at Boston, with Mr. Trip, to draw a letter to their agent in England, which is as follows:

"*Worthy Sir, and trusty friend, Mr. Clarke,*

"WE have found, not only your ability and diligence, but also your love and care to be such concerning the welfare and prosperity of this colony, since you have been intrusted with the more public affairs thereof, surpassing the no small benefit which we had of your presence here at home, that we in all straits and incumbrances, are emboldned to repair unto you, for further and continued care, counsel and help, finding that your solid and christian demeanor hath gotten no small interest in the

* *Massachusetts history, vol. 1. page 526, 527.*

hearts of our superiors, those noble and worthy senators, with whom you had to do in our behalf, as it hath constantly appeared in our addresses made unto them, we have by good and comfortable proofs found, having plentiful experience thereof. The last year we had laden you with much employment, which we were then put upon by reason of some too refractory among ourselves, wherein we appealed unto you for advice, for the more public manifestation of it, with respect to our superiors; but our intelligence fell short in that great loss of the ship, which we concluded here to be cast away. We have now a new occasion given us by an old spirit, with respect to the colonies round about us, who seem to be offended with us because a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, who have raised up divers who at present seem to be of their spirit, where-at the colonies about us seem to be offended with us, being the said people have their liberty with us, are entertained in our houses, or any of our assemblies; and for the present we have found no just cause to charge them with the breach of the civil peace; only they are constantly going forth amongst them about us, and vex and trouble them about their religion and spiritual state, though they return with many a foul scar in their bodies for the same. * And the offence our neighbors take against us, is because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from amongst us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who

* Many were whipt, some were branded, and Holder, Copeland and Rouse, three single young men, had each his right ear cut off in the prison at Boston, the 16th of September this year. *Grove's abridgment of Bishop, page* 64, 91, 92.

who are in fear leaſt their religion ſhould be corrupted by them. Concerning which diſpleaſure that they ſeem to take, it was expreſſed to us in a ſolemn letter, written by the commiſſioners of the united colonies at their ſitting, as though they would either bring us in to act according to their ſcantling, or elſe take ſome courſe to do us a greater diſpleaſure. A copy of which letter we have herewith ſent unto you, wherein you may perceive how they expreſs themſelves; as alſo we have herewith ſent our preſent anſwer unto them, to give you what light we may in the matter. There is one clauſe in the letter which plainly implies a threat, though courtly expreſſed as their manner is; which we gather to be this, that themſelves (as we conſtrue it) have been much awed in point of continued ſubjection to the ſtate of England, left in caſe they ſhould decline, England might prohibit all trade with them, both in point of exportation and importation of any commodities, which were an hoſt ſufficiently prevalent to ſubdue New-England, not being able to ſubſiſt: even ſo they ſeem to threaten us, by cutting us off from all commerce and trade with them, and thereby to diſable us of any comfortable ſubſiſtance, being that the concourſe of ſhiping, and all other ſorts of commodities are univerſally converſant among themſelves; as alſo knowing that ourſelves are not in a capacity to ſend out ſhiping of ourſelves, which in great meaſure is occaſioned *by their oppreſſing of us*, as yourſelf well knows: as in many other reſpects ſo in this for one, that we cannot have any thing from them, for the ſupply of our neceſſities, but in effect they make the price, both of our commodities and their own. Alſo, becauſe we have no Engliſh coin, but only that which paſſeth among theſe barbarians,

and

and ſuch commodities as are raiſed by the labor of our hands, as corn, cattle, tobacco, &c. to make payment in, which they will have at their own rates, or elſe not deal with us; whereby, tho' they gain extraordinarily by us, yet for the ſafeguard of their religion, they may ſeem to neglect themſelves in that reſpect; for *What will not men do for their God?* Sir, this is our earneſt and preſſing requeſt unto you in this matter, that as you may perceive by our anſwer unto the united colonies, we fly as our refuge in all civil reſpects to his highneſs and honorable council, as not being ſubject to any other in matters of our civil ſtate, ſo may it pleaſe you to have an eye and ear open, in caſe our adverſaries ſhould ſpeak, to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and plead our cauſe in ſuch ſort, as that we may not be compelled to exerciſe any civil power over men's conſciences, ſo long as human orders in point of civility are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbors about us do frequently practiſe, whereof many of us have abſolute experience, and judge it to be no leſs than a point of ABSOLUTE CRUELTY.

JOHN SANFORD, *Clerk of Aſſembly.*" *

THE

* As Oliver Cromwel died Sept. 3, 1658, and his ſon Richard was choſen protector in his ſtead, their aſſembly of May 17, 1659, ſent an addreſs to him, wherein they ſay, "May it pleaſe your highneſs to know, that this poor colony of Providence plantations, moſtly conſiſts of a birth and breeding of the providence of the Moſt High, we being an out caſt people, formerly from our mother nation in the biſhops days, and ſince from the New-Engliſh over-zealous colonies; our whole frame being like unto the preſent frame and conſtitution of our deareſt mother England; bearing with the ſeveral judgments and conſciences each of other in all the towns of our colony, which our neighbor colonies do not, which is the only cauſe of their great offence againſt us.—Sir, we dare not interrupt your high affairs with the

THE commiſſioners of the colonies who met at Boſton, September 2, 1658, and continued their meeting to the 23d, cloſed their acts with ſaying, "Whereas there is an accurſed and pernicious ſect of heretics, lately riſen up in the world, who are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately ſent of God, and infalliably aſſiſted, who do ſpeak and write blaſphemous things, diſpiſing government, and the order of God in church and common-wealth; ſpeaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magiſtrates, and the miniſters of the goſpel, ſeeking to turn the people from the faith, and to gain proſelytes to their pernicious ways: And whereas the ſeveral juriſdictions have made divers laws to prohibit their coming amongſt them; [but they refuſing to obey them, and ſtill making diſturbance] it is therefore propounded, and ſeriouſly commended to the ſeveral general courts—to make a law, that all Quakers formerly convicted and puniſhed as ſuch, ſhall (if they return again) be impriſoned, and forthwith baniſhed or expelled out of the ſaid juriſdiction, under *pain of death*." All the eight commiſſioners ſigned this advice, only the governor of Connecticut ſaid, "Looking at the laſt as a query and not an act, I ſubſcribe, John Winthrop." * Such a law was made at Boſton the next month, but the like was not done in any of the other colonies. At Plymouth they had prevailed for two years

the particulars of our wilderneſs condition, only beg your eye of favor to be caſt upon our faithful agent, Mr. John Clarke, and unto what humble addreſſes he ſhall at any time preſent your Highneſs with in our behalf." *Colony records.*

* *Records of the United Colonies.*——The other commiſſioners were Endicot and Bradſtreet, of Maſſachuſetts; Prince and Winſlow, of Plymouth; Taliot, of Connecticut; and Newman and Leet, of New-Haven.

years paſt, with the majority of the court, to imprison, fine and whip the Quakers, and to ſend ſome of them out of the colony; and the manner of their proceedings take as follows:

Mr. John Brown, who had long been one of their magiſtrates, and often a commiſſioner for his colony, took a voyage to England. Capt. James Cudworth of Scituate, was a magiſtrate theſe two years; and near the beginning of this year he entertained Copeland and Brend, two of the Quakers, at his houſe a night or two, and ſays, "I thought it better ſo to do, than with the blind world, to cenſure, condemn and rail at them, when they neither ſaw their perſons, nor knew any of their principles; but the Quakers and myſelf cannot cloſe in divers things; and ſo I ſignified to the court, I was no Quaker, but muſt bear my teſtimony againſt ſundry things that they held, as I had occaſion and opportunity. But withal I told them, that as I was no Quaker, ſo I would be no perſecutor. This ſpirit worked in thoſe two years that I was of the magiſtracy; during which time, I was on ſundry occaſions forced to declare my diſſent, in ſundry actings of that nature; which although I did with all moderation of expreſſion, together with reſpect unto the reſt, yet it wrought great diſaffection and prejudice againſt me." A perſon took pains to go to Marſhfield to procure a warrant to apprehend the Quakers he had entertained, which Mr. Hatherly underſtanding ſaid, Mr. *Envy hath procured this*; and in lieu of it, gave them a paſs under his hand, with which they travelled to Plymouth; but were there ſeized and whipt, by order of three other magiſtrates And ſays, Captain Cudworth, "Truly the whipping of them with that cruelty as ſome have been, and their patience under it. hath

ſometimes

ſometimes been the occaſion of gaining more adherence to them, than if they had ſuffered them openly to have preached a ſermon.—The Maſſachuſetts, after they have whipped them, and cut their ears, they have now gone the fartheſt ſtep they can, they baniſh them upon pain of death, if ever they come there again. We expect we muſt do the like; we muſt dance after their pipe; now Plymouth ſaddle is on the bay-horſe, we ſhall follow them on the career.——All theſe carnal and antichriſtian ways being not of God's appointment, effect nothing as to hindering of them in their way or courſe. It is only the word and ſpirit of the Lord, that is able to convince gainſayers. They are the mighty weapons of the chriſtian warfare, by which great and mighty things are done and accompliſhed.——Our civil powers are ſo exerciſed in things appertaining to the kingdom of Chriſt, in matters of religion and conſcience, that we can have no time to effect any thing that tends to the promotion of the civil weal, or proſperity of the place; but now we muſt have a *ſtate-religion*, ſuch as the powers of the world will allow, and no other; a *ſtate-miniſtry*, and a *ſtate-way of mainteinance*; and we muſt worſhip and ſerve the Lord Jeſus, as the world ſhall appoint us. We muſt all go to the public place of meeting, in the pariſh where we dwell, or be preſented. I am informed of three or fourſcore laſt court, preſented for not coming to public meetings; and let me tell you how they brought this about. You may remember a law once made, called Thomas Hinckley's law, *That if any neglected the worſhip of God, in the place where he lives, and ſet up a worſhip contrary to God, and the allowance of this government, to the public prophanation of God's holy day and ordinance, ſhall pay ten ſhillings.* This

law

law would not reach what then was aimed at; because he must do so and so; that is, all things therein expressed, or else break not the law. In March last, a court of deputies was called, and some acts touching Quakers were made; and then they contrived to make this law serviceable to them; and that was by putting out the word *and*, and putting in the word *or*, which is a disjunctive, and makes every branch become a law. So now, if any neglect, or will not come to the public meetings, ten shillings for every defect.——And these men altering this law last March, yet left it dated, June 6th, 1651, [See page 214] and so it stands as the act of a general court; they to be the authors of it seven years before it was in being; and so yourselves have your part and share in it, if the records lie not. But what may be the reason that they should not by another law, made and dated by that court, as well effect what was intended, as by altering a word, and so the whole sense of the law; and leave this their act, by the date of it, charged on another courts account? Surely, the chief instruments in the business, being privy to an act of parliament *for liberty*, should too openly have acted repugnant to a law of England; but if they can do the thing, and leave it on a court, as making it six years before the act of parliament, there can be no danger in this.——If we can but keep the people ignorant of their liberties and privileges, then we have liberty to act in our own wills what we please.——Through mercy we have yet among us worthy Mr. DUNSTAR, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear testimony against the *spirit of persecution.*" * FOR

* These things Capt. Cudworth wrote to Mr. Brown, then in England, who let Bishop publish them, page 168—176. Morton,

For the above things those two magistrates Hatherly and Cudworth were left out of all their offices, in June, this year. At the same time it is meet that posterity should know how those Quakers behaved under their sufferings. Humphery Norton, one of their teachers and authors, was sent out of Plymouth colony in 1657, for being *an extravagant person*; which charge, says Bishop, *could not be proved.* On election day June 1st, 1658, he and John Rouse came again to Plymouth, and were taken up and whipt, Norton twenty-three lashes, and Rouse fifteen, which Bishop says, "They received for no other thing but for coming into that colony *in the will of God.*" * Though the records inform us, that when they were brought before the assembly June 3d, Norton "said unto the governor sundry times, *Thou liest!* and said unto him, *Thomas, thou art a malicious man*, &c. And that for these things, and for refusing the oath of allegiance to any civil government, they were then whipt, and for officers fees were imprisoned till the tenth, when they were released, and went to Rhode-Island, where on the 16th, Norton wrote a letter to Mr. Alden, one of their magistrates, and another to the governor, with an answer to Christopher Winter's deposition against them, all which the court ordered to be recorded. The beginning and end of that to the governor, I took from thence with my own hand, which is in the words and letters following:

T t THOMAS

ton, says Mr. Dunstar, "was useful and helping in defending the truth against Quakers; and that he fell asleep in the Lord, in 1659." After Mr. Brown returned from England, he and Cudworth were called to account for this letter, but were not punished. Cudworth was restored to the magistracy in 1674, and died their deputy governor, in 1681. *Plymouth records.*

* *New-England judged*, page 163—179.

"THOMAS PRINCE, thow who haſt bent thy hart to worke wickednes, and with thy tongue haſt thou ſet forth deceite; thou imagineſt miſchief upon thy bed, and hatcheſt thy hatred in thy cecrett chamber; the ſtrength of darknes is over thee, and a mallicioufe mouth haſt thow opened againſt God and his anointed, and with thy tongue and lipps haſt thow uttered perverſe things; thow haſt ſlaundered the innocent by railing, lying and falſe accuſations, and with thy barborouſe hart haſt thow cauſed theire bloud to bee ſhed. Thow haſt through all theſe things broke and tranſgreſed the laws and waies of God, and equitie is not before thy eyes. The curſe cauſles cannot come upon thee, nor the vengance of God unjuſtly cannot fetch thee up; thow makeſt thyſelf merry with thy cecrett mallice.—The day of thy wailing will bee like unto that of a woman that murthers the fruite of her wombe; the anguiſh and paine that will enter upon thy reignes will be like knawing worms lodging betwixt thy hart and liver: When theſe things come upon thee, and thy backe bowed downe with pain, in that day and houre thow ſhalt know to thy griefe, that prophetts of the Lord God wee are, and the Godof vengance is our God. HUMPHERY NORTON.

"I HAVE ſent thee heer incloſed a reply to C. Winter's depoſition, alſoe I have ſent already a true relation of parte of thy proceedings towards London, with a coppy of the fines laid on, and levied of the people of God, with a coppy of thy late laws.

Superſcribed, *For the governer of Plymouth pattent, this with care and ſpeed.*"

AFTER this prophecy Mr. Prince continued governor of that colony near fourteen years, and then died in peace (for ought we know.) His ſon was

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a juſtice of peace in his day, and his grandſon was a learned and pious miniſter at Boſton, whoſe writings have furniſhed many valuable materials for our hiſtory It ought alſo to be known, that in *reading the works of wiſdom and knowledge*, and *exalting that which is low*—theQuakers meant to have civil as well as eccleſiaſtical government managed by the above deſcribed power. For in thoſe times George Fox publiſhed a large book in folio, in the 170th page of which he ſaid, "The magiſtrate of Chriſt, the *help government* for him, *he is in the light and power of Chriſt*; and he is to *ſubject all under the power of Chriſt, into his light*, elſe he is not a faithful magiſtrate: and his laws here are not agreable, and anſwerable according to *that of God in every man*; when men act contrary to it, they do evil: ſo he is a terror to evil-doers, diſcerneth the precious and the juſt from the vile; and this is a praiſe to them that do well." And when Mr. Williams mentioned this paſſage, as one proof, that their ſpirit tended to arbitrary government, and fiery perſecution, they ſaid upon it, "Is there one word of perſecution here? Or can Roger Williams think himſelf a chriſtian, and look upon it to be perſecution, for Chriſt's magiſtrates by Chriſt's light and *power*, *to ſubject all* under the power of Chriſt, and to bring all into this light of Chriſt! Or can he think ſuch an one an unfaithful magiſtrate? Or are thoſe laws, and the execution of them perſecution, that are agreable and anſwerable to *that of God in every man*? Theſe are George Fox's words. Such magiſtrates, ſuch laws, ſuch power, and light, and ſubjection, is G. F. for, and NO OTHER." * This opens the plain cauſe why they militated ſo hard

* Williams, page 207. Fox's anſwer, page 229, 230.

hard against other magistrates and government, as in the lamentable instances following:

OUR Lord directed his disciples to depart from any house or city, that they should travel into, when they refused to receive them; and when the Gadarenes besought him to depart out of their coasts, he did so; and we have no account of his forceing himself upon them again; but the Quakers took another course. Three of them who were banished, on pain of death, yet returned again to Boston, and were condemned to die; and William Robinson gave in a paper to the court, which contains the following reason for his conduct therein, viz. "On the 8th day of the 8th month, 1659, in the after part of the day, in travelling betwixt Newport in Rhode-Island, and Daniel Gould's house, with my dear brother Christopher Holder, the word of the Lord came expressly to me, which did fill me immediately with *life* and *power*, and heavenly love, by which he constrained me, and commanded me to pass to the town of Boston, my life to lay down in his will, for the accomplishing of his service, that he had there to perform at the day appointed. To which *heavenly voice* I presently yielded obedience, not questioning the Lord how he would bring the thing to pass.—For the Lord had said unto me, *My soul shall rest in everlasting peace, and my life shall enter into rest*, FOR BEING OBEDIENT *to the God of my life.*" Marmaduke Stevenson, gave in another paper, informing the court, how he heard a *voice* as he was plowing in Yorkshire, saying, *I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations*; and after he came to Rhode-Island, he says, "The word of the Lord came unto me saying, Go to Boston, with thy brother William Robinson——This is given forth

to

to be upon record, that all people may know, who hear it, that we came not in our *own will, but in the will of God.*" * This was their way of following what they called *the light*; and the clearest account of what they meant thereby, that I have seen, is contained in the following sentences directed to Mr. Williams, viz.

"THOU wrongest the Quakers in saying, they confess their *light* to be *conscience*: In this thou perverteſt their words, and thou wouldeſt have it ſo; for George Fox's words are, *The light which you call conſcience, which is the light of Chriſt*, as you may ſee all along in his book.——Thou haſt read our books with an evil eye, or elſe thou mighteſt ſee how often we mention, that Chriſt hath bought us with a price, which is his blood; and how that *all died* in Adam, and how that Chriſt *died for all*, that they that live, might live to him; and that all might believe in him, who died for them; and if they do not, they are *condemned with the light, which they ſhould believe in.*——Chriſt *lighteth every man that cometh into the world*, † with *life in him, the word*, and ſaith, He is the light of the world, and ſaith, *Believe in the light, that ye may become children of light*, and he that believeth *is ſaved*, and he that doth not *is condemned.* And the condemnation is the light that is come into the world; which *light, is ſaving* to them that believe *in it*, and *condemning* to them that do not believe *in it*, but hate it, whoſe deeds be evil, John 3." ‡ In all which there is a manifeſt confounding of grace and works, law and goſpel, which the inſpired writers took great pains to keep diſtinct. And ſince Chriſt himſelf ſays,

* *Biſhop*, page 127—133.

† Williams, ſays he, believes Fox, in his book in folio, repeats theſe words near or quite a thouſand times. Page 186.

‡ Fox againſt Williams, ſecond part. Page 4—6—10.

ſays, "God ſent not HIS SON into the world to *condemn* the world; but that the world THROUGH HIM might be ſaved. Think not that I will *accuſe* you to the Father; there is one that *accuſeth* you, even Moſes, IN WHOM YE TRUST." John 3. 17. and 5. 45; was not the *zeal* of theſe men like that we read of in Rom. 10. 2—4? Did they not truſt *in* the law inſtead of the goſpel? As to the *perſon* of the Saviour, Mr. Williams ſays, "Fox in all his book cannot endure to hear of the word *human*, as being a new name, and never heard of in ſcripture. I ſaid in public, many words truly and properly Engliſh, are commendably uſed that are not in ſcripture, in Engliſh. The word human comes from the Latin *humanus*, ſignifying pertaining, or belonging to man: So a human ſoul or body is ſuch as all mankind have. Hence I told them, that the word *anthropinos peiraſmos*, 1 Cor. 10. might have been turned human, but is truly turned, no temptation but ſuch as is *common to man*. G. Fox knows, that if Chriſt Jeſus be granted to have had ſuch a ſoul and body as is human, or common to man, down falls their monſtrous idol of a Chriſt, called light within." To which Fox anſwers, "For thee and the prieſts to give ſuch names to Chriſt, our Lord and Saviour, which the ſcriptures do not give, and yet ſay the ſcriptures are the rule, that is abominable. And there is no ſuch word in 1 Cor. 10. that calleth Chriſt's body and ſoul *human*; and whether is Chriſt's body celeſtial or terreſtial, or which glory doth he bear?—1 Cor. 15. 14. G. F. doth grant, and all the Quakers, that Chriſt was made *like unto us*, ſin excepted, and had *a body and ſoul*, or elſe how could he ſuffer? And is riſen, the *ſame that decended is aſcended*, as the apoſtle ſaith." * And I have ſeen

* Williams, page 51. Fox, page 43.

ſeen other of their writings which hold expreſsly, that Chriſt brought the ſame body from heaven, that he carried thither again. But they reckoned it *abominable* for Mr. Williams to uſe a word concerning our Saviour's humanity, that is, not in our tranſlation, while he at the ſame time approved of the reading as it is; yet when Hebrews 1. 3. was brought in thoſe times to prove the *perſonallity* of the Trinity, the Quakers ſaid, "That is *faſly tranſlated*, for in the Greek it is not *perſon* but *ſubſtance*." * And ſaid Mr. Samuel Hubbard, "They turn the holy ſcriptures into allegories, all unleſs, ſome which they wreſt to their own deſtruction, as the apoſtle Peter ſaith?"

THEY expreſsly held to a power of direction within them, ſuperior to the ſcriptures, which carried them into actions that *ight* from thence, or from reaſon could not juſtify; and their only way, was to appeal to an inward *motion* or *voice*. As for inſtance, George Biſhop ſpeaks of Deborah Wilſon, as a "modeſt woman, of retired life, and ſober converſation; and that bearing a great burthen for the hardneſs and cruelty of the people, ſhe went through the town of Salem *naked*, as a *ſign*, which ſhe having in part performed, was laid hold of, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers ſentenced her to be whipt." Lydia Wardwel, a married woman of Hampton, went in the ſame manner into the meeting-houſe in Newbury, in time of public worſhip; for which ſhe met with the like treatment. Mr. Williams refered the Quakers to theſe inſtances that their own author had publiſhed; and told them they never could perſuade ſouls not *bewitched*, that the holy ſpirit would move them to do ſo: to which they anſwer

* Biſhop, page 362.

anſwer thus. " We do believe thee, in that dark, perſecuting, bloody ſpirit, that thou and the New-England prieſts are *bewitched* in, you cannot believe that you are *naked* from God and his clothing, and blind: and therefore hath the Lord in *his power moved* ſome of his ſons and daughters to *go naked*; yea, and they did tell them in OLIVER's days, and the long parliaments, that God would ſtrip them of their church-profeſſion, and of their power, as naked as they were. And ſo they were true prophets and propheteſſes to the nation, as many ſober men have confeſſed ſince; though thou and the old perſecuting prieſts in New-England remain in your blindneſs and nakedneſs.—As thou didſt in the diſpute, ſo now, thou makeſt a great ado with our men and woman going naked: we told them then, we owned no ſuch practice in any, unleſs they were called unto it *by the Lord.*—He begineth again to upbraid us with our men and women's going naked, as if it were a thing commonly allowed among us in *their wills*, without the *motion of God.*" *

As an impartial hiſtorian I thought it duty thus to ſtate theſe plain facts and ſentiments on both ſides; for upon Dr. Mather's ſaying, *ſome good Men* formerly took that *wrong way* of reclaiming heretics by *perſecution*; the Quakers ſpent ſeventeen pages in the moſt ſtriking recital of what they ſuffered in thoſe times that their art would admit of, in order to prove, that *no good man* could be an actor therein. And to fix this prejudice more laſtingly in the minds of all, they turned it into verſe, ſaying,

" Thoſe that in conſcience cannot wrong a worm,
Are fin'd and whip'd, becauſe they can't conform;
And time hath been, which ne'er ſhall be forgot,

God's

* Fox, page 69—28—32.

God's servants have been hanged none knows for
Except for serving of their blessed Lord, [what;
For quaking and for trembling at his word.
Let these black days, like the fifth of November,
Be writ in red, for ages to remember." *

And they are remembered in such a manner to this day, that a person can hardly plead for equal liberty of conscience among the Massachusetts, without having the disorders of Rhode-Island colony brought up against it; nor for the good doctrine, and family orders of those fathers, among some in the latter colony, without having hot irons and halters thrown in his teeth! Not only so, but we have lately seen artful men trying to prevent our union in the cause of our civil liberties by these means. But from the above facts the reader may judge, whether an invasion of each others rights, under the name of religion, was not the real cause of those dreadful broils; which a true acknowledgment thereof, both as to property and conscience, would have prevented. Whether the grand error on both sides, was not the assuming a power to govern religion, instead of being governed by it?

On October 20th, Robinson, Stevenson and Mary Dyre, received the sentence of death, which was executed upon the two men, the 27th: the woman was brought with them to the gallows, but at the intercession of her son of Newport and others, she was then reprieved, and sent away. Though returning again the next spring, she was hanged, June 1st, 1660; twelve days after the court of Plymouth repealed one or more of the sharpest laws they had made against that people. Charles the second had been restored to the crown of England, on May 29, which Plymouth could have no know-

* Magnalia, book 7, p. 22. Whiting's answer, p. 11—29.

ledge of then. After the news of it arrived, governor Endicot and his court wrote to him, Dec. 10th, when they said, "Our liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel, with all *good conscience*, was the cause of our transporting ourselves, with our wives, little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land over the atlantic ocean, into this vast wilderness, choosing rather the pure scripture worship with a good conscience, in this remote wilderness among the heathen, than the pleasures of England with submission to the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience.——Concerning the Quakers, open and capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospel, and from the holy scripture as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itself as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles.—" The magistrate at last, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them; this could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby, their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act, we with humility conceive a crime bringing their blood upon their own head." *

In like manner they proceeded and hanged William Leddra, March 14th, 1661; but their friends in England procured an express from White-Hall, of Sept. 9th, which was brought over by Samuel Shattock, of Salem, requiring these rulers to forbare such things for the future, and to send such Quakers as appeared to them so obnoxious, over to be tried in England. Soon after the receipt of which

* Hubbard—Massachusetts history, vol, 3. p. 326, 327.

which Mr. Norton and Mr. Bradſtreet, were ſent over as agents, by whom governor Endicot and his court wrote to the Earl of Mancheſter, "to beſeech his majeſty to tender them in reſpect of thoſe peſtilent heretics the Quakers, who have lately obtained his majeſty's letter, requiring us to forbare their puniſhments; in obſervance whereof we have ſuſpended execution of our laws againſt them, reſpecting death or corporal puniſhments; but this indulgance they abuſe to inſolency and ſeduction of our people, and unleſs his majeſty ſtrengthen our hands in the application of ſome ſuitable remedy to ſuppreſs theſe and others, ill affected to our tranquility, this hopeful plantation is likely in all probability to be deſtroyed." They had before ſaid, that allowing ſuch to have liberty here, would be "ſo contrary to our conſciences to permit, and no leſs oppreſſion of us than the deſtroying both us and ours by the ſword."* How juſtly then did Mr. Williams call the uſe of force in ſuch affairs, *The bloody tenet!*

We will now return to the affairs of baptiſm: Mr Hubbard upon the year 1656, ſays, "Baptiſm unto this time had been adminiſtred unto thoſe children *only*, whoſe immediate parents were admitted into full communion in the churches where they lived: but now the country came to be increaſed, and ſundry families were found, that had children born in them, whoſe immediate parents had never attempted to join to any of the churches to which they belonged, and yet were very much unſatisfied that they could not obtain baptiſm for their children; the cauſe occaſioned many debates between the miniſters of the country." Connecticut took the lead therein, and ſent a draught of queſtions about it

* Ibid. page 331—360.

it to the rulers of the Maſſachuſetts, requeſting that the ableſt miniſters of both colonies might be called together, to anſwer the ſame. Such an aſſembly was therefore called by authority at Boſton, June 4th, 1657, and ſat till the 19th. Their anſwers to 21 queſtions were afterwards printed in London, under the title of *A diſputation concerning church members, and their children.* Therein they concluded, that the children of profeſſing parents, "are by means of their parents covenanting, in covenant alſo, and *members of the church* by divine inſtitution. 1. Becauſe they are in that covenant for ſubſtance which was made with Abraham, Gen. 17. 7. compared with Deut. 29. 12. &c. 2. Becauſe ſuch children are, by Chriſt affirmed to have a place and portion in the kingdom of heaven. 3. Elſe no children could be baptized, baptiſm being a church ordinance, and a ſeal of the covenant of grace." And alſo, that "it is the duty of infants, who confederate in their parents, when grown up to years of diſcretion, though *not yet fit for the Lord's ſupper*, to own the covenant they made with their parents, by entering thereinto in their own perſons; and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof; and if, being called upon, they ſhall refuſe the performance of this great duty, or otherwiſe continue ſcandalous, they are liable to be cenſured for the ſame by the church. And in caſe they underſtand the grounds of religion, are not ſcandalous, and ſolemnly own the covenant in their own perſons, wherein they give up both themſelves and their children unto the Lord, and deſire baptiſm for them, we (with due reverence to any godly learned that may diſſent) ſee not ſufficient cauſe to deny baptiſm unto their children."

As

"As this disputation had its first rise in Connecticut, so was there much difference and contention raised at Hartford, between Mr. Samuel Stone, their teacher, and the rest of the church, occasioned at the first on some such account; insomuch that sundry members of that church, having rent themselves off, removed to another place higher up the river, where they settled, and gathered a distinct church in that way of *Schism*, as the rest of the churches accounted. This unhappy difference over spread the whole colony of Connecticut, with such a monstrous *enchantment* upon the minds of christian brethren that in all the towns round about, the people generally made themselves *parties* to one side or the other of the *quarrel*.—A world of sin was doubtless committed, even by pious men on this occasion.

It came at last to an open breach, which could not be healed, or made up among themselves, which put them upon a necessity of calling a convention of the messengers of sundry churches in the Massachusetts, who met at Boston, in 1659, and made a reconciliation between them —The practice of *church-care*, about the children of our churches, met with such opposition ascould not be encountered with any thing less than a synod, of elders and messengers from all the churches of the Massachusetts colony. Accordingly the general court, having the necessity of the matter laid before them at their second session, in the year 1661, issued out their desire and order for the convening of such a synod at Boston in the spring." After long labor the majority of them approved of the above proposition, and obtained the concurrance of the general court thereto, on October 8th, 1662. * Mr. Mitchel,

* Hubbard—Magnalia, B. 3. p. 117, 118, and B. 5. p. 63, 64.

Mitchel, who was the chief draughtſman, of that reſult, ſaid, "We make account that if we keep baptiſm within the non-excommunicable, and the Lord's ſupper within the compaſs of thoſe that have (unto charity) ſome what of the *power of goodlineſs, or grace in exerciſe*, we ſhall be near about the right *middle-way* of church-reformation." * And it has been called the *half-way* covenant ever ſince; tho' this *halving* of matters in religion has done more miſchief in this land, as well as elſewhere, than tongue can expreſs.

Mr. Eleazer Mather, the firſt miniſter of Northampton, wrote on July 4, this year, to Devenport, and ſaid concerning this ſynod, "There was ſcarce any of the congregational principles, but what were lyen at by ſome or other of the aſſembly; as relations of the work of grace, power of voting of the fraternity in admiſſion," &c. † Preſident Chauncey publiſhed his teſtimony againſt this new ſcheme; and ſo did Mr. Devenport; to the laſt of which Mr. Increaſe Mather wrote a preface, containing a diſtinct apology for thoſe who diſſented from it. Mr. John Allen of Dedham anſwered Mr. Chauncey, and Mr. Richard Mather the other, while Mr. Mitchel was employed to anſwer his ſons preface. Young Mr. Mather in that preface ſays, "The ſynod acknowledged, that there ought be to true *ſaving faith* in the parent, or elſe the child ought not to be baptized. We intreated and urged again and again, that this, which themſelves acknowledged was a principle of truth, might be ſet down for a concluſion, and then we ſhould all agree. But thoſe reverend perſons would not conſent to this." No; and Mr. Mitchel was ſo far from doing it in his

* His life, p. 76, 80.
† Maſſ. hiſt. vol. 1. p. 224.

his anſwer, that he tells of diſtinguiſhing between faith in its hopeful beginning, and faith in ſpecial exerciſe; initial faith and exerciſed faith, and ſays, "All reformed churches, unanimouſly grant the child's right unto baptiſm, by its being *born within the viſible church.* Beſides, what have infants more than *meer memberſhip* to give them right unto baptiſm? We know of no ſtronger argument for infant baptiſm than this, that *church members are to be baptized.*" * To which I would ſay, that the Jewiſh church indeed was firſt conſtituted of the houſhold of Abraham, and all his offſpring were born in the church, of whom the ſon of the bond woman was the firſt that was circumciſed; but the chriſtian church is conſtituted of the *houſhold of God*, the children of the *free woman*, in diſtinction from thoſe who were *born after the fleſh*, though from Abraham's body. Epheſians 2. Gal. 4.

Mr Mitchel, by his reaſonings drew Mr. I. Mather over to that ſide; after which he acted many cruel things againſt the baptiſts for near 20 years, till the ſame meaſures were meeted to him again, ſo as very ſenſable to convince him of his error therein. Mr Hubbard ſays, "Some think Mr. Devenport's book hath overthrown the propoſitions of the ſynod, according to their own principles." Mr. Devenport was a while in Holland, before he came here, where he teſtified againſt their *promiſcuous baptiſms*; and he ſaid, "When a reformation of the church has been brought about in any part of the world, it has rarely been afterwards carried on any one ſtep further than the *firſt reformers* did ſucceed in their *firſt endeavors.* He obſerved, that as eaſily might the ark have

* Magnalia, book 5. page 77—79.

have been removed from the mountains of Ararat, where it first grounded, as a people get any ground in reformation, after and beyond the first remove of the reformers. And this observation quickened him to embark in a design of reformation, wherein he might have opportunity to drive things in the *first essay*, as near to the precept and pattern of scripture as they could be driven." * We shall presently see other ministers promoting a separation from him for these attempts.

On the 8th of May, this year, the assembly at Boston wrote to that of Rhode-Island and said, "Our affection to peace and a fair correspondance, puts us upon a condescention far beneath our own reason, and the justice of our cause, once more to transmit this our last letter to you, concerning the unjust molestation and intrusion of some of your inhabitants, upon the undoubted rights of this jurisdiction, and the inhabitants thereof, in their grants and possessions in the Pequot and Narraganset country, upon pretence of authority from your court, and purchase from Indians, but producing no deed, record, order or commission for warranting the same; wherein, as we conceive, they act directly against reason, righteousness, precedent, grants from England, clear conquest, purchase and possession. It is not unknow to yourselves what means have been used from time to time, both by the commissioners of the United Colonies, and by the governor and magistrates, general court and council of this jurisdiction, by their several letters, to desire you to cause your people to desist such proceedings, and extend your authority for suppressing injustice; but to this day have received no satisfactory or particular answer in the premises;

* Magnalia, book 3. page 53.

ſes; which has given us grounds to ſuppoſe, that at leaſt you indulge them in their proceedings. You may hereby have notice, that two of your people, namely, Tobias Sanders, and Robert Bardick, being long ſince taken on the place, and ſecured by us to anſwer their treſpaſs, we have now called them before the court, and find nothing from them to juſtify their proceedings; therefore the court hath fined them 40l. for their offence, and towards ſatisfaction for the charges expended in carrying them before authority; and that they ſtand committed till the fine be ſatisfied, and ſecurity given to the ſecretary to the value of 100l. for their peaceable demeanour toward all the inhabitants of this juriſdiction for the future. And we hereby ſignify unto you, that unleſs you command off your inhabitants that yet continue their poſſeſſion at Sotherton and Pateſkomſcut before the laſt of June next, you may expect we ſhall not continue to neglect the relief and protection of our people there moleſted; and ſhall account it our duty to ſecure all ſuch perſons and eſtates of yours as ſhall be found within our juriſdiction, until juſt damages be ſatisfied. But this we heartily and earneſtly deſire may be avoided, by your prudent care and juſtice, and that peace and good agreement may for the future be preſerved between us."*

THIS reminds me of Mr. Locke's ſaying, "That *dominion is founded in grace*, is an aſſertion by which thoſe who maintain it do plainly lay claim to the *poſſeſſion of all things*; for they are not ſo wanting to themſelves as not to believe, or at leaſt as not to profeſs themſelves to be the truly pious and faithful." † Becauſe Mr. Williams teſtified againſt

* Rhode-Iſland records. † On tolleration, page 61.

that power when he first came to Boston, the court wrote to Salem against him; whereupon he did not stay to contend with them, but peacably withdrew to Plymouth, where his teaching was well approved as long as Mr. Bradford was governor. But when Mr. Winslow came into that office, who with the Massachusetts was against a full toleration in religious matters, * Mr. Williams peaceably retired to Salem, and took the charge of that flock; but for the churches receiving him without the rulers leave, they took away some of their possessions, till they would give up Mr. Williams; and, for his faithful admonitions to them on that account, they expelled him out of their jurisdiction; but who can tell how far that extends? When he came first into this country all the Indians from Boston and Plymouth-Bays to Paucatuck river were tributaries to the chief sachems of Narragansset; and from thence to Hudson's river, and over all Long-Island Sassicus had extended his power, even over 26 sachems. † The Pequot, being thus powerful, made war upon the Narragansets, who, in April 1632, had a number of their tributaries out of Plymouth and Massachusett colonies to assist them against him; yet Sassicus prevailed, and extended ‡ his territories ten miles east of Paucatuck river. About the same time Natuwannute, a sachem of the country about where Hartford now stands, with a number of his men, "were driven out from thence by the potency of the Pequots," and came to our fathers at Plymouth, and requested them to go up and trade there, tho' "their

* Massachusetts history, vol. 3. page 154.

† Connecticut assembly's answer to the king's letter, 1773, wrote by governor Trumbull.

‡ Prince's annals, page 58, 59.

"their end was to be restored to their country again." This motion was complied with, and a trading house was set up among them. * Which was such an eyesore to the Pequots, that in 1634 they murdered captain Stone and seven men with him, plundered his goods and sunk his vessel, because they were going up Connecticut river to trade there. Two years after they murdered Captain Oldham as I have related, p. 75. And upon the notice which Mr. Williams gave them of this sad event, Mr. Endicot with an armed force was sent in Aug. 25, 1636, to try to bring the Pequots to terms; but Johnson says it proved a *bootless voyage*, only his leaving some men with Underhill, at Saybrook fort prevented its being taken. Upon his return Sassicus applied to the Narragansets for a reconciliation, that they all might join to expel these new comers; representing, "that if they should help, or suffer the English to subdue the Pequots, they would thereby make way for their own future ruin; and that they need not come to open battle with the English; for only to fire their houses; kill their cattle, lay in ambush and shoot them as they went about their business, they would quickly be forced to leave the country, and the Indians not be exposed to any great hazard." †

HAD two such politic and potent princes as Sassicus and Miantinomo were, united in this scheme, when Boston was but six years old; Providence and Hartford but a few months, and New-Haven not begun, what would have become of all their claims they were now contending for. And it is most evident that Mr. Williams was the very instrument

* Massachusetts history, vol. 2. page 469, 470.

† Major Mason's history of the Pequot war and others.

ſtrument of preventing the junction of thoſe two great Indian powers, and ſo of ſaving the vaſt intereſt we now have in this country; but how was he requited for it? Why after Warwick men had obtained as fair a title to that town, as the Maſſachuſetts ever had to Boſton, yet becauſe they were not orthodox they were fetched away by force of arms; and the captive ſachem was murdered for fear he ſhould revenge ſuch doings. And when the orthodox party afterward proclaimed war upon his ſucceſſors, becauſe they were for revenging his death, and Mr. Williams, to prevent the further efuſion of blood, had prevailed with them to go down and ſettle the matter at Boſton, how were they treated? p. 193, 195. They were not only compelled to ſign an engagement to pay all damages and coſts, and to quit any claim to the Pequot country, but alſo to ſay, "The Narraganſet and Nyantick ſagamores and deputy, hereby agree and covenant, to and with the commiſſioners of the United Colonies, that henceforward, they will neither give, grant, ſell, or in any manner alienate any part of *their country*, nor any parcel of land therein, either to any Engliſh or others, without conſent or allowance of the ſaid commiſſioners." And two years after, upon their calling for their pay, Paſſicus ſent them word, that "when he made this covenant, he did it in fear of the army, and though the Engliſh kept their covenant with him there, and let him go from them, yet the army was to go to Narraganſet immediately and kill him there; therefore ſaid the commiſſioners, *Set your hands to ſuch and ſuch things, or elſe the army ſhall go forth to the Narraganſets.*" In anſwer to which the commiſſioners ſay, After covenants have been ſolemnly made, and hoſtages given, and

a ſmall part of the wampum paid, and all the reſt due, now to pretend fears is a vain and offenſive excuſe" * This ſhews that themſelves did not neglect the rule they preſcribed to their general in that expedition, viz. "You are to uſe your beſt endeavours to gain the enemies canoes, or utterly to deſtroy them, and herein you may make good uſe of the Indians our confederates, as you may do upon other occaſions, having due regard to the honor of God, who is both our ſword and ſhield, and to the *diſtance* which is to be obſerved betwixt *chriſtians* and *barbarians*, as well in war as in other negociations." †

SIXTEEN months before that covenant was made, Paſſicus and other heads of their tribes, had by an ample deed reſigned over and ſubmitted all thoſe lands to the ſupreme authority in England, and Mr. Williams had procured a charter thereof from thence, extending *unto the Pequot river and country*, page 148, 192. The Maſſachuſetts records, upon granting Fiſher's iſland to Mr. Winthrop, p. 115 ſay it lies againſt the mouth of Pequot river. What right of juriſdiction then had thoſe colonies eaſt of that river? and what right had Paſſicus to engage any of thoſe lands to them, which he had ſubmitted to another authority ſo long before? By repeated endeavors the commiſſioners had got all the wampum that was promiſed in ſaid covenant but 308 fathom, before they met at Hartford on Sept. 5, 1650; and then captain Atherton was ſent, with twenty armed men, to demand the remainder, with orders to ſeize their goods if the Indians refuſed to pay it; and if reſiſtance ſhould be made ſo as any life was loſt, that

* Records of the United Colonies.

† Maſſachuſetts hiſtory, vol. 3. page 151.

that a ſpecial meeting of the comiſſioners ſhould then be called to make war upon them for it. He accordingly went, and placed his men round Paſſicus's tent, and going into it, ſeized the ſachem by the hair of his head, and threatened to ſhoot him, if any reſiſtance was made. This terrified them ſo much, that the wampum was prudently paid. On July 25, 1651, at the deſire of the Narraganſet ſachems, Mr. Williams wrote to the governor at Boſton, an account of ſundry complaints they had againſt Uncas; which letter was laid before the commiſſioners when they met at New-Haven, the 4th of September following; but tho' Uncas was preſent yet they acted nothing upon it, becauſe the Narraganſets had not ſent any of their men to ſupport the charge. At the ſame time a tribute of 312 fathom of wampum was paid by Uncas, Ninceroſt and others, on account of the Pequots they had among them; and upon laying of it down they demanded, "Why this tribute was required, how long it ſhould continue, and whether the children to be born hereafter were to pay it? All which being conſidered, the commiſſioners by Thomas Stanton, anſwered, that the tribute by agreement hath been due yearly from the Pequots ſince anno 1638, for ſundry murders without provocation committed by them upon ſeveral of the Engliſh at ſeveral times, as they found opportunity; refuſing either to deliver up the murderers or to do juſtice upon them; ſo drawing on a war upon themſelves, to the great charge and inconvenience of the Engliſh: which war, through the good hand of our God, iſſued firſt in a conqueſt over that treacherous and bloody people, and after by agreement (to ſpare as much as might be even ſuch guilty blood) in a ſmall tribute, to be

paid

paid in different proportions, by, and for their males, according to their different ages yearly; but hath not hitherto been satisfied, though demanded. Wherefore, though twelve years tribute were due before the year 1650, and though the agreement was for a yearly tribute to be paid by them and theirs, so long as they continue in this part of the country; yet the commissioners, something to ease their spirits, and to engage them to an inoffensive and peacable carriage, declared that the payment of this tribute shall be limited to ten years, this last year to be reckoned the first; after which, unless they draw trouble unto themselves, they shall be free." *

SUCH an uneasiness among the Narraganſets was discovered two years after, that another army was raised and sent against them, which compelled them into another treaty, which not being otherwise fulfilled, the sachems were brought on October 13, 1660 to mortgage all their lands, to Major Atherton, and about twenty associates with him, for 600 fathom of wampum, said then to be due to the commissioners of the united colonies. I find also by the records, that the Massachusetts and Connecticuts could never agree how to divide the Pequot lands betwixt them, till the commissioners from Plymouth and New-Haven had the case refered to them, and they on Sept. 16, 1658, settled the line betwixt them; which was to be Mistick river (which runs in betwixt Stonington and Groton) up to the pond, by Lanthorn-hill, and thence from the middle of that pond to run a north course; the Massachusetts to have both property and jurisdiction from thence to Wecapaug-brook, which was the easterly bounds of Sassicus's conquest, Pataquamscut

* Records of the United Colonies.

Pataquamscut purchase was made partly in 1657 and partly in 1658. by some inhabitants of Rhode-Island, and John Hull of Boston, who got a great estate by coining their silver money.) This purchase was about fifteen miles in length, and seven in breadth, in the heart of the Narraganset country.*

When their assembly met at Newport May 21, 1661, they appointed a committee upon the letters they had then received from the Massachusetts, "who seriously considered and debated circumstances, concerning the matter in difference, betwixt the gentlemen, and some friends with them, that are active in sharing the Narraganset lands in the colony, without the consent of the colony; and we find by their letter, that those gentlemen, major Atherton and associates are not so well informed of the intent of the colony as might be requisite." And they concluded to write and give them better information, and to offer to leave the case to referees to settle it; but say, "In case a fair issue cannot be had, as is desired, then, in a speedy and convenient time and season, to forbid the said gentlemen, or any of their company, in his majesty's name, from further proceeding in the said purchase, as to possessing or sharing of any of the said lands, and to prosecute them, or any of them, in case they still proceed without consent of the colony,

* In 1668 these purchasers gave three-hundred acres of their best land, for an orthodox person, to preach God's word to the inhabitants; which has cost much contention in the law. *Dowglass, vol. 2. page* 104.

In 1752, Dr. Macsparran said, "I have been engaged in a lawsuit about Glebeland twenty-eight years, and the independant teacher has at last obtained a decree in council in his favour; so that I am forced to sit down by the loss of at least 600l. sterling." *America dissected, page* 42.

I am told that Dr. Stennett, a baptist minister in London, had a great hand in procuring this decree for Mr. Joseph Torry.

colony, as concluding that such their proceedings are contrary to the crown and dignity of his majesty, and to the peace and well-being of his majesty's subjects in this colony." The 27th of August following an assembly met at Portsmouth, of which Mr. Willliams was a member, when they sent a commission and letters to Mr. Clarke, to sollicit for a new Charter, April 27th, 1662, the town of Providence gave Mr. Clarke a full purchase right of land therein as a free gift. The next month came the forgoing letter from Boston to their assembly, with account of their dealing with men whom they called trespasers, of whom Mr. Burdick was then a member of Mr. Clarke's church.——He married Mr. Samuel Hubbard's daughter, and has a large posterity remaining in and about westerly to this day. Mr. Sanford, and Mr. Greene, were now sent to Boston to make another trial for an amicable settlement of this controversy. It is to be noted, that neither of those colonies, who had made such a noise about their rights, had ever received any charter, either from king or parliament, of any lands to the west of Providence colony, till Connecticut, by the help of Mr. Winthrop, obtained one dated April 23, 1662, which took New-Haven into the same colony. And when the commissioners met at Boston the 4th of September, they wrote to Rhode-Island rulers in their former strain, and informed them of a warrant they had seen, signed by Joseph Torry their secretary, in the name of the general court, "warning Capt. Gookin and others to desist and forbear any further or future possession of any lands at or about Paucatuck as they shall answer the contrary at their peril; yet withal expressing your submission to his majesty's determination. Wherefore [say the commissioners]

being earneſtly deſirous to prevent any further diſturbance of the peace of the colonies, though we have no doubt of the preſent right and intereſt of the Maſſachuſetts to thoſe lands, we are willing to improve the argument which yourſelves have owned and therefore thought meet to certify you, that we have read and peruſed a charter of incorporation, under the broad ſeal of England, ſent over in the laſt ſhip, granted to ſome gentlemen of Connecticut, wherein the lands at Paucatuck and Narraganſet are contained, which we hope will prevail with you to require and cauſe your people to withdraw themſelves, and deſiſt from further diſturbance."

THE words in ſaid charter which they built this upon, bounded that colony eaſt, " by the Narraganſet river, commonly called Narraganſet bay, where the ſaid river, falleth into the ſea." Now it is to be remembered, that Plymouth patent was bounded weſtward by Narraganſet river and bay, and theſe coloniſts pretended that Warwick was included therein, which could not be, unleſs Paucatuck was the river meant; and if it was, where is their right now to go eaſt of it by Connecticut charter? The truth is, names are arbitrary, and thoſe worthy governors, Bradford and Winſlow, took Patucket to be the river intended in their patent, p. 72, 74. And there was now leſs room left for this diſpute; for on July 8, 1663 his majeſty granted Rhode-Iſland charter, which deſcribes their weſt boundaries to be the middle channel of Paucatuck river up to its head, and thence a north courſe to the ſouth line of the Maſſachuſetts; which river ſays he, " having been yielded after much debate, for the fixed and certain bounds between theſe our ſaid colonies, by the agents thereof; who

have

have alſo agreed, that the ſaid Paucatuck river ſhall be alſo called, alias, Narraganſet river; and to prevent future diſputes that otherwiſe might ariſe thereby forever hereafter, ſhall be conſtrued, deemed and taken to be the Narraganſet river, in our late grant to Connecticut colony, mentioned as the eaſtwardly bounds of that colony." This colony of Rhode-Iſland and Providence plantations, was to extend three Engliſh miles eaſt and northeaſt of the moſt eaſtern and northeaſtern parts of the Narraganſet bay, unto the mouth of Providence river, and thence by the eaſtwardly bank of it up to Patucket falls, *being the moſt weſtwardly line of Plymouth colony*; and thence due north to the Maſſachuſetts line, by which it is bounded on the north, and by the ocean on the ſouth, including Block-Iſland, and the other iſlands within their bay. As the Indians had formerly ſent over a ſubmiſſion of themſelves and land, to the king's father, they had now ſent another to him; whereupon he ſays in this charter, "It ſhall not be lawful to, or for the reſt of the colonies, to invade or moleſt the native Indians, or any other inhabitants inhabiting within the bounds and limits hereafter mentioned; they having ſubjected themſelves unto us, and being by us taken into our ſpecial protection, without the knowledge and conſent of the governor and company of our colony of Rhode-Iſland, and Providence-plantations."

THIS charter appointed that a governor deputy-governor, and ten aſſiſtants ſhould be elected annually on the firſt Wedneſday in May, who, with deputies or repreſentatives from each town, were to make laws, not contrary to the laws of England, make grants of land, conſtitute courts of juſtice, and appoint their officers both civil and military.

Mr.

Mr. Clarke sent over this charter, and Capt. Gregory Dexter fetched it from Boston; upon which a large assembly of the freemen in all the colony, met at Newport November 24, and ordered Capt. Dexter to take forth the charter and read it before all the people, and hold it up with the broad seal to their view, and then to have it safely deposited with governor Arnold. And they voted to pay all Mr. Clarke's disburstments in going to England, in their service there, and upon his intended return; as also one hundred pounds sterl. as a free gratuity to him, beside those expences: yea, and to give Capt. Dexter twenty-five pounds sterl. for his service and faithfulness in bringing the charter from Boston. Mr. Clarke's letters were read, upon which letters of thanks were ordered to be sent to the king, and to lord Clarendon, for these great favors they had received by their means. The next day (after the govenor, duputy-governor, and six assistants had taken their engagements) they called the sachems of the Narraganiets, and Nianticks before them, and let them know what the king had done for them; upon which they said, "they return his majesty great thanks for his gracious relief, in releasing their lands from those forced purchases and mortgages by some of the other colonies." But another thing which is by no means to be omitted is, that the king says, in their petition for the charter they declared, "That it is much on their hearts, if they may be permitted, to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a FULL LIBERTY IN RELIGIOUS CONCERNMENTS, and that true piety rightly grounded upon gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security

to

to the sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men, the strongest obligation to true loyalty. This petition was therefore fully granted: and above a hundred years after, a worthy gentleman well says, "This great experiment hath been made, and it hath fully appeared, that a flourishing civil state, and the most unstained loyalty, may stand without the help of any religious party tests to support them; and the christian religion is as little indebted to *human laws* for its support, as it is to *human inventions*, for the purity of its morals, and the sublimity of its doctrines." *

For seven years past there had been many contentions about lands, and strivings to strain Indian purchases, beyond their just limits, in Providence, Newport, and other parts of the colony, which Mr. Williams had a great hand in composing and settleing; the particulars of which would be very instructive, had we room for them And his HOPE in 1647; that government, held forth through love, union and order, though by few in number, and mean in condition, yet would withstand and overcome mighty opposers, [page 200] was wonderfully granted and confirmed; the memory of which, in the figure of an ANCHOR with this word for its motto, in their colony seal, has been continued from that time to this. Mr. Clarke returned, June 7th, 1664, after he had served his colony at the British court twelve years. In October following the assembly appointed him, Mr. Williams and others, to inspect their laws, to see if any of them were contrary to their charter, and to make a table of them. A committee was also appointed to consider of their eastern and western boundaries, and to write to the other colonies concerning them.

Connecticut

* History of Providence.

Connecticut ſtill contended for power and juriſdiction in Narraganſet, and offered to leave the caſe to the colonies of Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth; which Rhode-Iſland would not do. The king's commiſſioners who were now ſent over, heard the complaints of the ſachems and others, and entered upon the Narraganſet country in the king's name, and called it the king's province. But on the eaſt line they allowed Plymouth colony to come to the the water, till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be further known.* And ſo the line continued, till other commiſſioners in 1741, ſettled the line according to to Rhode-Iſland charter, which gave them the towns of Briſtol, Warren, Barrington, Tiverton and Littlecompton, which Plymouth and the Maſſachuſetts had held till then.

THE firſt baptiſt church within that which is now the Maſſachuſetts ſtate, was conſtituted in Rehoboth this year; Mr. Holmes and his friends having only held a meeting there for a while, and then removed to Newport. For a more clear idea of of its original we muſt look over into Wales, where at Ilſton in Glamorganſhire a baptiſt church was formed, October 1ſt, 1649; the beginning whereof their records deſcribe thus, viz. "We cannot but admire at the unſearchable wiſdom, power and love of God, in bringing about his own deſigns, far above, and beyond the capacity and underſtanding of the wiſeſt of men. Thus, to the glory of his own great name, hath he dealt with us; for when there had been no company or ſociety of people, holding forth and profeſſing the doctrine, worſhip, order and diſcipline of the goſpel, according to the primative inſtitution, that ever we heard of in all Wales, ſince the apoſtacy, it pleaſed the Lord to

* Maſſachuſetts hiſtory, vol. 3. page 382—414, 415.

to chuſe this dark corner to place his name in, and honor us, undeſerving creatures, with the happineſs of being the firſt in all theſe parts, among whom was practiſed the glorious ordinance of baptiſm, and here to gather the firſt church of baptized believers." From whence they go on to relate, how Mr. John Miles and Mr. Thomas Proud, went up to London the next preceeding ſpring, and by the direction of Providence, came into the baptiſt ſociety at the Glaſs-houſe in Broadſtreet, under the care of Mr. William Conſett, and Mr. Edward Draper, "immediately after they had kept a day to ſeek the Lord, that he would ſend laborers into the dark corners of the land." Theſe travellers were well received, and were ſoon ſent back into their own country again, and were inſtrumental of gathering a baptiſt church at the time above mentioned; and which, by a bleſſing upon their labors, increaſed by the cloſe of the next year to fifty-five members. In 1651, forty more joined to it; forty-ſeven in 1652, and by the end of 1660, two-hundred and ſixty-three perſons had joined to that church, whoſe names all now ſtand in a neat book of records which they kept; which contain a diſtinct account of the means and methods they took to promote vital and practical religion among the ſeveral branches of their ſociety; as alſo letters of correſpondence to and from their brethren in various parts of England and Ireland.

But here another ſcene opens.

The preſbyterians had been as much againſt equal religious liberty as the epiſcopalians, and manifeſted as great bitterneſs againſt thoſe who broke their power in the long parliament; and theſe two parties joined in reſtoring the ſecond Charles to the throne, who came in with plauſable promiſes

of

of *indulgence to tender consciences*; and great pains were taken to accommodate matters between them, without any good effect. The episcopalians having got the power into their hands, determined to crush all that opposed it. Among the rest they wreaked their vengance on Sir Henry Vane, whom they beheaded in August 1662." His indiscretion and insolence (says a great author) as well on his trial as his execution, have been extreamly aggravated; but it is easy to see, it was only to save the king's honor, who having positivly promised a pardon to all except the king's judges, could not avoid granting a pardon to Vane, without violating his promise." And when Vane's friends persuaded him to make some submission in order to save his life, he said, "If the king does not think himself more concerned for his honor and word, than I do for my life, I am very willing they should take it. Nay, I declare that I value my life less in a good cause, than the king can do his promise." * A presbyterian author who writes very bitterly against him, yet owns that, "the two things in which he had most success, and spake most plainly, were his earnest plea for *universal liberty of conscience*, and against the magistrates intermeddling with religion, and his teaching his followers to revile the ministry, calling them ordinarily *black coats*, *priests*, and other names which savoured of reproach." And he says, "No man could die with greater appearance of a gallant resolution, and fearlessness than he did, though before supposed a timerous man; insomuch, that the manner of his death procured him more applause than all the actions of his life." † On the 24th of that month, called St. Bartholomew's

* Rapin, vol. 2. page 631.
† Calamy's abridgment. page 99, 101.

mew's day, and act of parliament took place, which ejected all teachers, both of churches and schools, out of their places, who would not declare their assent or consent to all the forms and ceremonies of the church of England. About 2000 were turned out by it; and the method the church party took to procure this act, was secretly to foment disturbances and tumults in different parts of England, and then to persuade the parliament that the presbyterians did it, and that no peace could be had with them till dissenters were all turned out of place. And among those so ejected was our Mr. Miles. * Upon which he and some of his friends came over to our country, and brought their church records with them. And at Mr. Butterworth's house in Rehoboth, in 1663, John Miles, elder, James Brown, Nicholas Tanner, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley, and Benjamin Alby, joined in a solemn covenant together.

THIS church was then in Plymouth colony, concerning whom Dr. Mather says, "there being many good men among those—I do not know that they have been *persecuted* with any harder means, than those of kind conferences to reclaim them." † I suppose it was so for some years, and that because Mr. Newman, who persecuted Mr Holmes, died this year; but four years after I find it thus recorded, viz. "At the court holden at Plymouth the 2d of July, 1667, before Thomas Prince, governor, John Alden, Josiah Winslow, Thomas Southworth, William Bradford, Thomas Hinckley, Nathaniel Bacon, and John Freeman, assistants—Mr. Miles, and Mr. Brown, for their breach of order, in setting up of a public meeting with-

* Ibid. p. 178—181. and vol. 2. p. 731.
† Magnalia, Book 1. p. 14.

out the knowledge and approbation of the court, to the disturbance of the peace of the place, are fined each of them 5l and Mr. Tanner the sum of 1l. and we judge that their continuance at Rehoboth, being very prejudicial to the peace of that church and that town, may not be allowed; and do therefore order all persons concerned therein, wholly to desist from the said meeting in that place or township, within this month. Yet in case they shall remove their meeting unto some other place, where they may not prejudice any other church, and shall give us any reasonable satisfaction respecting their principles, we know not but they may be permitted by this government so to do." And it was no longer than the 30th of October following, before the court made them an ample grant of Wannamoiset which they called Swanzey. It then included what is now Warren and Barrington, and the district of Shawomet, as well as the present town of Swanzey. * There they made a regular settlement, which has continued to this day. The families also of Luther, Cole, Bowen, Wheaton, Martin, Barnes, Thurber, Bozworth, Mason, Child and others, which are numerous in those parts, sprang from the early planters of that town and church. There first meeting-house was built a little west of Kelly's-ferry, against Warren, but Mr. Miles settled the west side of the great bridge which still bears his name.

CHAP.

* *Plymouth records.*—Note, this town was named on March 1st, 1667-8, when by mistake the first grant is dated, in Swanzey town records; but the above I took from the court records at Plymouth.

CHAP. VI.

An account of the conſtitution of the firſt baptiſt church in Boſton, in 1665, and of their ſufferings down to 1675.

MR. Hubbard ſays, "As ſome were ſtudying how baptiſm might be enlarged and extended to the ſeed of the faithful in their ſeveral generations, there were others as ſtudious to deprive all unadult children thereof, and to reſtrain the privilege only to adult believers." And Dr. Mather, after confeſſing that very odious and unjuſt things had been publiſhed againſt anabaptiſts ever ſince Luther's time, ſays, "Infant baptiſm hath been ſcrupled by multitudes in our day, who have been in other points moſt worthy chriſtians, and as holy, whatchful, fruitful and heavenly people as perhaps any in the world. Some few of theſe people have been among the planters of New-England *from the beginning*, and have been welcome to the communion of our churches, reſerving their particular opinion unto themſelves ——At laſt ſome of our churches uſed, it may be, a little too much *cogency* towards the brethren, who would weakly turn their backs when infants were brought forth to be baptized." * Twenty years before Mr. Cobbet had called their ſo doings a *prophane trick*: And what their

* *Magnalia*, Book 7. p. 27. Seth Sweetſer, who came over to Charleſtown in 1638, from Tring in Hardfordſhire, was one of thoſe early baptiſts. I find by the records that he was received a free man that year. His ſon Benjamin was long a uſeful member of the baptiſt church in Boſton, and he has left a numerous poſterity, one of whom has been School-Maſter and Town-Clerk in Charleſtown for ſundry years paſt.

their dealings were, which are here covered under the obscure term cogency, will presently be seen. It was such that a number drew off and met by themselves in Charlestown, till on May 28th, 1665, Thomas Gould, Thomas Osburne, Edward Drinker, and John George, were baptized, and joined with Richard Goodall, William Turner, Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall, and Mary Newel, "in a solemn covenant, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to walk in fellowship and communion together, in the practice of all the holy appointments of Christ, which he had, or should further make known to them." Goodall came recommended from Mr. Kiffen's church in London; Turner and Lambert from Mr. Stead's church in Dartmouth, having been regular walkers in the baptist order before they came to this country. Gould and Osburne separated from the church in Charlestown; Drinker and George had lived many years in this country, but had not joined to any of their churches. *

The king's commissioners being here, caused the court not to lay hold of these people so soon as otherwise they might have done. But in August a note was entered in Roxbury church records, and published in an Almanack, which has been communicated to me in these words, "The anabaptists gathered themselves into a church, prophesied one by one, and some one among them administered the Lord's-supper after he was regularly excommunicated by the church at Charlestown, they also set up a lecture at Drinker's house once a fortnight." As great noise was made about their receiving excommunicate members and officers, it is proper to give that matter a distinct consideration here. Dr. Mather tells of this church being formed, "not only

* Their church records—Russell's narrative, p. 1, 2.

ly with a manifeſt violation of the laws in the common-wealth, relating to the orderly manner of gathering a church, but alſo with a manifold provocation unto the reſt of our churches, by admitting into their own ſociety ſuch as our churches had excommunicated for *moral ſcandals*, yea, and employing ſuch perſons to be adminiſtrators of the two ſacraments among them." *

THEY would thus repreſent as tho' that church had many ſuch members and officers, whereas in fifteen years, among fourſcore baptiſt members they have not named but four excommunicate perſons, and but one of them an officer, viz. Thomas Gould, who with Thomas Oſburne were of the firſt members; and as the impartial reader would be willing to hear both ſides upon it, I will give him their ſtory in their own words.

MR. Samuel Willard of Boſton, who wrote againſt this church, ſays of Thomas Gould, "1 Though he was firſt called to an account about withholding his child from baptiſm, yet that was not the reaſon of his being admoniſhed, nor becauſe he could not be convinced of error; nor yet did the church proceed to admonition, till ſuch time as he (not only ſpake contemptuouſly and indecorouſly of the emptineſs and nullity of that ordinance, but alſo) uſed unbecoming geſtures in the time of adminiſtration, of which (being aſked the reaſon) he (before the congregation) acknowledged they were to caſt diſreſpect upon it: and then neither till after much patience. 2 At the firſt admonition he was not ſententially ſuſpended, but only deſired, for preventing of the offence of ſome, to abſtain from coming to the other ſacrament. 3 Upon this Thomas Gould took up a trade

* Magnalia, Book 7. p. 87.

trade of abſenting himſelf from the meetings of the church to worſhip God on the ſabbath, which made a new offence. 4 The church in much tenderneſs waited upon him, and proceeded not to excommunication, but tried with admonition upon admonition, and that by the ſpace of ſeven or eight years : nor was he excommunicated, till (having left his own) he joined to another ſociety, without the churches leave, or once aſking it : and now alſo being twice ſent for by the church, he diſclaimed their authority over him. 5 Thomas Gould did not leave the church at Charleſtown on the account of the anabaptiſts new church (as is pretended) but had many years before renounced his ſubmiſſion to that church. 6 He did (while under admonition) neglect public worſhip, and gather a private meeting on the ſabbath to his houſe. 7 He did wickedly ſlight the admonition of the church, declaring that they had by it, diſcharged him of all relation to them.

" For Thomas Oſburne ; the churches proceedings with him were with the like patience as to Thomas Gould : only it is to be obſerved, that his firſt offence was this ; whereas it is one thing which church-members engage to upon admiſſion to walk with the church in conſtant attendance upon public worſhip, he (without notifying any offence) did withdraw and ſeparate, frequenting thoſe ſchiſmatic meetings at Gould's on the ſabbath : this was the offence, nor did he when firſt dealt with pretend any diſlike of infant baptiſm, but that the church gave no liberty to private brethren to propheſie, that they limited the miniſtry to learned men, and that he did not find his own ſpirit free to come ; though afterwards he ſpake both of that, and of their ſeverity to the Quakers, though

that

that church meddled not with them, but to preach against their errors. In this practice he contumaciously persisted many years, denying himself to be subject to that church, or bound to assemble with them, slighting many admonitions; and afterwards (with Thomas Gould) went off to, and became a worthy pillar of an anabaptist church."† This is the pedobabtist's story; Mr. Gould has given us his in the words following.

"IT having been a long time a scruple to me about infant baptism, God was pleased at last to make it clear to me by the rule of the gospel, that children were not capable nor fit subjects for such an ordinance, because Christ gave this commission to his apostles, first to preach, to make them disciples, and then to baptize them, which infants were not capable of; so that I durst not bring forth my child to be partaker of it; so looking that my child had no right to it, which was in the year 1655 when the Lord was pleased to give me a child; I staid some space of time and said nothing to see what the church would do with me. On a third day of the week when there was a meeting at my house, to keep a day of thanksgiving to God for his mercy shown to my wife, at that time one coming to the meeting, brought a note from the elders of the church to this effect, that they desired me to come down on the morrow to the elders house, and to send word again what time of that day I would come, and they would stay at home for me; and if I could not come that day to send them word. I looking on the writing

† *Willard's answer to Russell*, p. 13, 14. Note, Richard Russell, says one of their magistrates, was a member of Charlestown church, and did not he act against the Quakers?

ing with many friends with me, I told them I had promised to go another way on the morrow. Master Dunstan* being present desired me to send them word, that I could not come on the morrow, but that I would come any other time that they would appoint me; and so I sent word back by the same messenger. The fifth day, meeting with elder Green I told him how it was; he told me it was well, and that they would appoint another day when he had spoken with the pastor, and then they would send me word. This lay about two months, before I heard any more from them. On a first day in the afternoon one told me I must stop for the church would speak with me. They called me out, and master Sims told the church, that this brother did withhold his child from baptism, and that they had sent unto him to come down on such a day to speak with them, and if he could not come on that day to set a day when he would be at home, but he refusing to come, would appoint no time, when we writ to him to take his own time, and send us word.

"I REPLIED, That there was no such word in the letter, for me to appoint the day; but what time that day I should come. Mr. Sims stood up and told me, *I did lie*, for they sent to me to appoint the day. I replied again that there was no such thing in the letter. He replied again, that they did not set down a time, and not a day, therefore he told me it was a lie, and that they would leave my judgement, and deal with me for a lie; and told the church that he and the elder agreed to write, that if I could not come that day, to appoint the time when I could come, and that he read it, after the elder writ it, and the elder affirmed

* I suppose Mr. Henry Dunstar.

affirmed it was so, but I still replied, there was no such thing in the letter, and thought I could produce the letter. They bid me let them see the letter, or they would proceed against me for a lie. Brother Thomas Wilder, sitting before me, stood up and told them, that it was so in the letter as I said, for he read it when it came to me. But they answered, it was not so, and bid him produce the letter, or they would proceed with me. He said, I think I can produce the letter, and forthwith took it out of his pocket, which I wondered at; and I desired him to give it to Mr. Russell to read, and so he did, and he read it very faithfully, and it was just as I had said, that I must send them word what time of that day I would come down: so that their mouths were stoped, and master Sims put it off, and said he was mistaken, for he thought he had read it otherwise; but the elder sayed, this is nothing, let us proceed with him for his judgment. Now let any man judge what a fair beginning this was, and if you wait a while you may see as fair an ending. They called me forth to know why I would not bring my child to baptism. But before I speak to that, observe the providence of God in the carriage of this letter. Brother Wilder was with us when their letter come to my house, and after Mr. Dunstan had read it, he gave it to brother Wilder, and he put it into his pocket, and it lay there eight or nine week's, till that day, I was called forth, going a good space from his house, finding it too cold to go in the clothes he had on, returned again and put on another pair of breeches which were warmer, and when he had so done, put his hand into his pocket to see if he had any paper to write with, and there found that letter, and put it in again

and went to meeting, yet not knowing what would be done that day concerning me. God had so appointed it, to stop their fierce proceedings against me for a lie, which they sought to take me in. Then asking me why I did not bring my child to baptism, my answer was, I did not see any rule of Christ for it, for that ordinance belongs to such as can make profession of their faith, as the scripture doth plainly hold forth.—They answered me, that was ment of grown persons and not of children: but that which was most alledged by them was, that children were capable of circumcision in the time of the law, and therefore as capable in the time of the gospel of baptism; and asked me why children were not to be baptized in the time of the gospel, as well as children were circumcised in the time of the law? his answer was, God gave a strict command in the law for the circumcision of children; but we have no command in the gospel, nor example, for the baptizing of children. Many other things were spoken, then a meeting was appointed by the church the next week at Mr Russel's.

"Being met at Mr. Russel's house, Mr. Sims took a writing out of his pocket wherein he had drawn up many arguments for infants baptism, and told the church that I must answer those arguments, which I suppose he had drawn from some author; and told me I must keep to those arguments. My answer was, I thought the church had met together to answer my scruples, and to satisfy my conscience by a rule of God, and not for me to answer his writing. He said he had drawn it up for the help of his memory, and desired we might go on. Then I requested three things of them. 1st That they should not make

me

me offender for a word. 2d. They ſhould not drive me faſter than I was able to go. 3d. That if any preſent ſhould ſee cauſe to clear up any thing that is ſpoken by me, they might have their liberty without offence; becauſe here are many of you that have their liberty to ſpeak againſt me if you ſee cauſe. But it was denied, and Mr. Sim's was pleaſed to reply, that he was able to deal with me himſelf, and that I know it. So we ſpent four or five hours ſpeaking to many things to and again; but ſo hot both ſides that we quickly forgat and went from the arguments that were written. At laſt one of the company ſtood up and ſaid, I will give you one plain place of ſcripture where children were baptized. I told him that would put an end to the controverſy. That place in the ſecond of the Acts 39th, 40th verſes. After he had read the ſcripture, Mr. Sims told me that promiſe belonged to infants, for the ſcripture ſaith, *The promiſe is to you and your children, and to all that are afar off*; and he ſaid no more: to which I replied, *Even ſo many as the Lord our God ſhall call.* Mr. Sims replied, that I ſpoke blaſphemouſly in adding to the ſcriptures. I ſaid, pray do not comdemn me, for if I am deceived, my eyes deceive me. He replied again, I added to the ſcripture which was blaſphemy. I looking into my bible read the words again, and ſaid it was ſo. He replied the ſame words the third time before the church. Mr Ruſſell ſtood up and told him it was ſo as I had read it. Ay, it may be ſo in your bible, ſaith Mr. Sims. Mr. Ruſſell anſwered, yea in yours too if you will look into it. Then he ſaid he was miſtaken, for he thought on another place; ſo after many other words we broke up for that time.

"AT another meeting the church required me

to bring out my child to baptism. I told them I durst not do it, for I did not see any rule, for it in the word of God. They brought many places of scripture in the old and new testament, as circumcision and the promise to Abraham, and that children were holy, and they were disciples. But I told them that all these places made nothing for infants baptism. Then stood up W. D. in the church and said, *Put him in the court! Put him in the court!* But Mr. Sims answered, I pray forbear such words; but it proved so, for presently after they put me in the court, and put me in seven or eight courts, whilst they looked upon me to be a member of their church. The elder pressed the church to lay me under admonition, which the church was backward to do. Afterwards I went out at the sprinkling of children which was a great trouble to some honest hearts, and they told me of it. But I told them I could not stay, for I lookt upon it as no ordinance of Christ. They told me that now I had made known my judgment I might stay, for they know I did not join with them. So I stayed and sat down in my seat when they were at prayer and administring that service to infants. Then they dealt with me for my unreverent carriage—one stood up and accused me, that I stoped my ears; but I denied it.

"At another meeting they asked me if I would suffer the church to fetch my child and baptize it? I answered, if they would fetch my child and do it as their own act they might do it; but when they should bring my child I would make known to the congregation that I had no hand in it: then some of the church were against doing of it. A brother stood up and said, Brother Gould, you were once for childrens baptism, why are you fallen from it?

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I anſwered, It is true, and I ſuppoſe you were once for croſſing in baptiſm, why are you fallen from that? the man was ſilent: But Mr. Sims ſtood up in a great heat, and deſired the church to take notice of it, that I compared the ordinance of Chriſt to the croſs in baptiſm! this was one of the great offences they dealt with me for. After this the deputy governor * meeting me in Boſton, called me to him and ſaid, Goodman Gould, I deſire you that you would let the church baptize your child. I told him that if the church would do it upon their own account they ſhould do it, but I durſt not bring out my child. So he called to Mrs. Norton of Charleſtown and prayed her to fetch Goodman Gould's child and baptize it. So ſhe ſpake to them, but not rightly, informing them, ſhe gave them to underſtand that I would bring out my child. They called me out again and aſked me if I would bring forth my child? I told them no, I durſt not do it, for I ſee no rule for it. One of the brethren ſtood up and ſaid, If I would not let my child pertake of one ordinance, it was meet I ſhould not pertake of the other; ſo many of the church concluded to lay me under admonition; but before they did it Mr. Sims told me, It was more according to rule for me to withdraw from the ordinance, than for them to put me by; bringing that place of ſcripture, *If thou bring thy gift to the alter, and there remembereſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy offering and be reconciled firſt to thy brother.* But I told them, I did not know that my brother had any thing juſtly againſt me; for they had not ſhewn me any

* Mr. Bellingham, who was chief governor, when Mr. Gould was baniſhed, in 1663.

any rule of Christ that I had broken, therefore durst not withdraw from that ordinance that I had found so much of God in; but if they would put me by I hoped God would feed my soul another way. So they proceeded to admonition. Elder Green * said, Brother Gould you are to take notice that you are admonished for three things: the first is, that you refused to bring your child to be baptized; the second is, for your contentious words, and unreverent carriage in the time of that ordinance; the third is, for a late lie you told, and therefore you are to take notice, that you are not to partake any more of the ordinance of Christ with us, till you give satisfaction for these things. But when that late lie was told I know not, except it was when the letter was found in brother Wilder's pocket. This admonition was between seven and eight years before they cast me out. After this I went to Cambridge meeting, which was as near to my house as the other; upon that they put me into the court, that I did not come to hear; but many satisfied the court that I did come constantly to Cambridge; so they cleared me. Then the church called me to account and dealt with me for schism, that I rent from the church. I told them, I did not rend from them, for they put me away. Master Sims was very earnest for another admonition for schism, which most of the church were against; but it seems he set it down for an admonition on a bit of paper. This continued for a long time before they called me out again. In the mean time, I had some friends who came to me out of old England, who

* Mr. Green as I take it, was ruling elder; Mr. Zechariah Sims, was teaching elder.

who were baptists, and desired to meet at my house of a first day, which I granted: Of these was myself, my wife and Thomas Osborne that were of that church. Afterward they called me forth and asked why I kept the meeting in private on the Lord's day, and did not come to the public? My answer was, I know not what reason the church had to call me forth. They asked me if I was not a member of that church? I told them they had not acted toward me as a member, who had put me by the ordinances of Christ seven years ago—they had denied me the privileges of a member. They asked whether I looked upon admonition as an appointment of Christ? I told them, yes, but not to lie under it above seven years, and to be put by the ordinances of Christ in the church; for the rule of Christ is first to deal with men in the first and in the second place, and then in the third place before the church; but the first time that ever they dealt with me, they called me before the whole church. Many meetings we had about this thing, whether I was a member or not, but could come to no conclusion; for I still affirmed that their actings rendered me no member. Then Mr. Sims told the church that I was ripe for excommunication, and was very earnest for it; but the church would not consent. Then I desired that we might send to other churches for their help to hear the thing betwixt us; but Master Sims made me this answer, We are a church of Christ ourselves, and you shall know that we have power to deal with you ourselves. Then said Mr. Russell, We have not gone the right way to gain this our brother, for we have dealt too harshly with him. But still master Sims pressed the church to excommunicate me. Mr. Russell

said

ſaid, There were greater errors in the church in the apoſtles time and yet they did not ſo deal with them. Mr. Sims aſked him what they were? He ſaid, *How ſay ſome of you that there is no reſurrection of the dead?* Mr. Sims was troubled and ſaid, I wonder you will bring this place of ſcripture to encourage him in his error! Mr. Sims was earneſt for another admonition; then ſtood up Solomon Phips and ſaid, you may clap one admonition on him upon another, but to what end, for he was admoniſhed about ſeven years ago? Mr. Sims ſaid, Brother! do you make ſuch a light matter of admonition, to ſay, Clap them one upon another! doth not the apoſtle ſay, After the firſt and ſecond admonition reject an heretick? therefore there might be a ſecond admonition. It was anſwered, it was a hard matter to prove a man an heretic, for every error doth not make a man a heretic. Mr. Sims ſaid, it was not ſeven years ago, nor above three ſince I was admoniſhed, and that was for ſchiſm. A brother replied and ſaid, it was ſeven years ſince I was admoniſhed. On that there was ſome difference in the church what I was admoniſhed for. Mr. Sims then pulled a bit of paper out of his pocket and ſaid, This is that he was admoniſhed for, and that was but three years ſince. Brother Phips aſked him when that paper was writ, for he never heard of that admonition before? He anſwered, he ſet it down for his own memory; then he read it, that it was for ſchiſm, and rending from the church. I told him I did not rend from the church, but the church put me away from them, and that was four years before this. Then there was much aggitation when the admonition was given, and what it was for? And this was all the church records that

could

could be found, which was about ſeven years after, the admonition was given; ſo after many words we broke up, which was the laſt time we met together. Now let any man judge of the church records that were drawn up againſt me, and read at the diſpute in Boſton, which contained three or four ſheets of paper; read by Mr. Shepard, * and drawn up by him, a little while before the diſpute, who was not an eye nor ear witneſs to the churches actings, not above half the time.

"Now after this, conſidering with myſelf what the Lord would have me to do; not likely to join with any of the churches of New-England any more, and ſo to be without the ordinances of Chriſt; in the mean time God ſent out of Old England who were baptiſts; we conſulting together what to do, ſought the Lord to direct us, and taking counſel of other friends who dwelt among us, who were able and godly, they gave us counſel to congregate ourſelves together; and ſo we did, being nine of us, to walk in the order of the goſpel according to the rule of Chriſt, yet knowing that is was a breach of the law of this country; that we had not the approbation of magiſtrates and miniſters, for that we ſuffered the penalty of that law, when we were called before them. After we had been called into one or two courts, the church underſtanding that we were gathered into church order, they ſent three meſſengers from the church to me, telling me the church required me to come before them the next Lord's-day. I replyed, The church had nothing to do with me, for they had put me from them eight years before. They replied, that they had nothing to do with that, but were ſent by the

* Son to Mr. Thomas Shepard, formerly of Cambridge.

church to tell me it was the mind of the church to ſpeak with me. I told them I was joined to another church, and that church was not willing I ſhould come to them, they having nothing to do with me, therefore I would not come without the churches conſent; then they departed. The next week they ſent three meſſengers more, who came to my houſe and told me that the church had ſent them to require me to come to the church the next Lord's-day after. I told them that the church had nothing to do to require me to come, who had put me from them eight years, and the church I now walked with would not let me come. They told me again that if I did not come, the church would proceed againſt me the next Lord's-day. I told them that I could not come for we were to break bread the next Lord's-day. They told me they would return my anſwer to the church. One of them aſked if I would come the next Lord's-day after? But another preſently ſaid, We have no ſuch order from the church; ſo they departed. The laſt day of that week three loving friends coming to me of their own account, one of them was pleaſed to ſay to me, Brother Gould, though you look upon it as unjuſt for them to caſt you out, yet there be many that are godly among them that will act with them through ignorance, which will be a few of them, and you are perſuaded I believe that it is your duty to prevent any one from any ſinful act; for they will caſt you out for not hearing the church; now your coming will ſtop them from acting againſt you, and ſo keep many from that ſin. Upon theſe words I was clearly convinced that it was my duty to go, and replied, Although I could not come the next day, yet I promiſed them that if I was alive,

and

and well I would come the next Lord's-day if the Lord permit. He replied, What if the church I was joined to was not willing? I told him I did not question that any one would be against it upon this ground. After I had propounded it to the church, not one was against it. I intreated these friends to make it known to the elders that I would come to them the next Lord's-day after: Yet tho' they knew of it, they proceeded against me that day, and delivered me up to Satan for not hearing the church."

THIS narrative I met with among Mr. Callender's papers, and have good reason to think it genuine, and that the manuscript now in my hands was written above a hundred years ago, which I have copied that the public may be better able to judge of what those excomunications were. It appears by Mr. Willard, that the first charge they had against Mr Osburne, was his going to meeting with that schismatical Gould; therefore, as the reader judges of the one, so likely he will of the other. Only it ought to be noted, that neither of them were excommunicate persons, when they formed that baptist church, but had that sentance pronounced upon them, and afterwards for refusing to return to those, who had treated them so ill. And before that act, viz on August 20, 1665. Richard Russell, Esq; issued a warrant to the constable of Charlestown, the original whereof is now before me, requiring him in his majesty's name, to labour to discover where these people were assembled, and to require them to attend the *established* worship, which if they refused, he was to return their names and places of abode to the next magistrate. In consequence whereof they were brought before the court of

assistants

assistants in September; to whom they exhibited a confession of their faith, which is copied into their records. The only article of which, that I find objected against is in these words, viz. "Christ's commission to his disciples is to teach and baptize, and those who gladly receive the word and are baptized, are saints by calling, and fit matter for visible church. This was complained of as excluding all from a visible saint-ship but baptized persons, which we shall hereafter see they had no thought of. But their grand crime lay in not obeying the ruling party in their religious affairs.

The court of assistants charged them to desist from what they called their schismatical practice; and because they would not, the general court that met Oct. 11, convented Gould, Turner, Osburne, Drinker and George before them, to whom these baptists exhibited the same confession as they had to the court of assistants, which was closed with saying, "If any take this to be heresy, then do we with the apostle confess, that after the way which they call heresy, we worship God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, believing all things that are written in the law and the prophets and apostles." Which the court called a "contemning the authority and laws here established, for the maintenace of godliness and honesty, as well as continuing in the prophanation of God's holy ordinances; (and said) This court taking the premises into their serious consideration, do judge meet to declare, that the said Gould and company, are no orderly church assembly, and that they stand justly convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointment, as also the peace of this government, against which this court doth account themselves bound to God, his truth and

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his churches here planted, to bear their testimony, and do therefore sentence the said Thomas Gould, William Turner, Thomas Osburne, Edward Drinker and John George, such of them as are freemen, to be disfranchied, and all of them, upon conviction before any one magistrate or court, of their further proceeding herein, to be committed to prison until the general court shall take further order with them. Zechariah Rhodes, being in court when they were proceeding against Thomas Gould and company, and saying in court, *The court has not to do in matters of religion*: he was committed; being sent for he acknowledged his fault, declaring he was sorry he had given them offence. The court judged meet to discharge him, the governor giving him an admonition for his said offence." *

CAN any man believe that these were measures to promote either *godliness* or *honesty*, in Rhodes, or in any one else? rather did not the court take Jehovah's name in vain in this act! The forementioned excuse, made by Dr. Mather, for this severity, viz. their joining in church fellowship without the approbation of other ministers and their rulers, says Mr. Neal, "condemns all the dissenting congregations that have been gathered in England, since the act of uniformity in the year 1662—Let the reader judge, who had most reason to complain; the New-England churches, who would neither suffer the baptists to live quietly in their communion, nor seperate peacably from it? or these unhappy persons who were treated so unkindly for following the light of their consciences." † Yet because they still followed that light

* Massachusett's records. Rhodes was a baptist, but had been of Arnold's party at Pawtuxet. Massachusett's history vol. 3, p. 277.

† Neal's history of New-England, vol. 1. P. 304, 305.

light, they were presented to the county court at Cambridge, April 17, 1666, "for absenting themselves from the public worship." And when they asserted that they did steadily attend such worship, the forgoing act of the assembly was produced to prove that it was not in a lawful way; and Gould, Osburne and George, were each of them fined four pounds therefor, and ordered to bind themselves in a bond of twenty pounds apiece, for their appearance at the next court of assistants; and refusing so to do were committed to prison. * When the court of assistants came, they gave sentance that they should pay their fines and court charges; and when the assembly sat on Sept. 11, they ordered, that if they would pay the same, they should be set at liberty; but added that, "the order of court of October 1665, referring to the said schismatical assembly, shall be, and hereby is declared to stand in full force." † Thus they went on from time to time, till the court of assistants at Boston, March 3, who adjourned to May 1, 1668, passed the following act, a copy of which I find among their church papers, exactly in these words, viz.

"Thomas Gould plaintiff, on appeal from the judgement of the last county court at Charlestown. After the courts judgement reasons of appeal, and evidences in the case produced were read, committed to the jury, and remain on files with the records of this court. The jury brought in their verdict, they found for the plaintiff, reversion of the former judgement. The court not accepting this verdict, commended it to the jury's further consideration, and sent them out again. And at the adjournment, on the further consideration, they

* Mass. hist. vol. 3, p. 400, 401. † Mass. Records.

they brought in a ſpecial verdict, i. e. If the intent of this law, that the appallent is accuſed of the breach of, be that the preſentment of the grand jury, without their certain knowledge, or other evidence, or the perſon ſo complained of is legally convicted of the breach of the law, thereby he not making it appear he had done his duty; then they confirm'd the judgement of the former court at Charleſtown, but if otherwiſe they acquit the appellant. The court, on a due conſideration of this ſpecial verdict, do confirm the judgement of the county court at Charleſtown. This judgment was declared, and on the plaintiff's refuſal to pay the fine impoſed, was committed to priſon."

On the 7th of this March, they alſo ſaid, "The governor and council, accounting themſelves bound by the law of God, and of this commonwealth, to protect the churches of Chriſt here planted, from the intruſion thereby made upon their peace in the ways of godlineſs, yet being willing by all chriſtian candor to endeavour the reducing of the ſaid perſons from the error of their way, and their return to the Lord and the communion of his people from whence they are fallen, do judge meet to grant unto Thomas Gould, John Farnum, Thomas Olburne and company, yet further an opportunity of a full and free debate, of their grounds for their practice; and for that end this court doth nominate and requeſt the Rev. Mr. John Allen, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, Mr. John Higginſon, Mr. Samuel Danforth, Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, and Mr Thomas Shepard, to aſſemble with the governor and magiſtrates upon the 14th day of the next month, in the meeting-houſe at Boſton, at nine in the morning; before whom, or ſo many of them, with any other the Reve-

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end elders or miniſters, as ſhall then aſſemble, the aboveſaid perſons and their company ſhall have liberty, freely and fully in open aſſembly, to preſent their grounds as aboveſaid, in an orderly debate of this following queſtion: whether it be juſtifiable by the word of God, for theſe perſons and their company to depart from the communion of theſe churches, and to ſet up an aſſembly here in the way of anabaptiſm, and whether ſuch a practice is to be allowed by the government of this juriſdiction?—To Thomas Gould: you are hereby required in his majeſty's name, according to the order of the council above-written, to give notice thereof to John Farnum, Senior, Thomas Oſburne, and the company, and you and they are alike required to give your attendance, at the time and place, above-mentioned, for the end therein expreſſed.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secratary."*

MR. Clarke's church in Newport, hearing of this appointment, ſent to the aſſiſtance of their brethren, Mr. William Hiſcox, Mr. Joſeph Tory, and Mr. Samuel Hubbard, who arrived at Boſton, three days before the diſpute. The author of Mr. Mitchel's life ſays, "when the churches were troubled by a *ſtrong attempt* upon them from the the *ſpirit of anabaptiſm*, there was a public diſputation appointed at Boſton, two days together, for the clearing of the faith in that article; this worthy man was he, who did moſt ſervice in this diſputation; whereof the effect was, that although the erring brethren, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, made this their laſt anſwer to the arguments, which had caſt them into much confuſion, *ſay what you will,*

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* Copied from the warrant now before me in Mr. Rawſon's hand writing.

we will hold our minds! Yet others were happily eſtabliſhed in the right ways of the Lord." How well this correſponds with the preceeding pages, the reader may judge. For therein we are informed, that Mr. Mitchel was *fearful* of going to a learned gentleman who had renounced infant baptiſm; and that he *reſolved* that he *would* have an argument *able to remove a mountain*, before he *would* recede from that principle. * And a look back to our p. 226, will ſhew what fear the ruling party had, of diſputing upon their way with another learned baptiſt; but the whole power of the country now adventured to enter the liſt with a few honeſt mechanicks.

WHEN the aſſembly met at Boſton in May following, they proceeded to the next argument, and ſaid,—" Whereas the council in March laſt did, for their further conviction, appoint a meeting of divers elders, and required the ſaid perſons to attend the ſaid meeting, which was held in Boſton with a great concourſe of people.—This court, being ſenſible of their duty to God and the country, and being deſirous that their proceedings in this great cauſe might be clear and regular, do order that the ſaid Gould and company be required to appear before this court, on the ſeventh inſtant, at eight in the morning, that the court may underſtand from themſelves, whether upon the means uſed, or other conſiderations, they have altered their former declared reſolution, and are willing to deſiſt from their former offenſive practice, that accordingly a mete effectual remedy may be applied to ſo dangerous a malady. At the time they made their appearance and after

* His Life, p. 69, 70, 72. The diſpute was held both the 13th and 15th of April.

the court had heard what they had to say for themselves, proceeded. Whereas Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnum, Senior, obstinate and turbulent anabaptists, have some time since combined themselves with others in a pretended church estate, without the knowledge and approbation of the authority here established, to the great grief and offence of the godly orthodox; the said persons did in open court, assert their former practice to have been according to the mind of God, that *nothing that they had heard convinced them to the contrary*; which practice, being also otherwise circumstanced with making infant baptism a nullity, and thereby making *us all* to be unbaptized persons, and so consequently no regular churches, ministry or ordinances; as also renouncing *all our churches*, as being so *bad and corrupt* that they are not fit to be held communion with; denying to submit to the government of Christ in the church, and entertaining of those who are under church censure, thereby making the discipline of Christ to be of none effect, and manifestly tending to the disturbance and destruction of these churches—opening the door for all sorts of abominations to come in among us, to the disturbance not only of ecclesiastical enjoyments, but also contempt of our civil order, and the authority here established—which duty to God and the country doth oblige us to prevent, by using the most compassionate effectual means to attain the same; all which considering, together with the danger of disseminating their errors, and encourageing presumptuous irregularities by their example, should they continue in this jurisdiction; this court do judge it necessary that they be removed to some other part of this country

try

try, or elſewhere, and accordingly doth order, that the ſaid Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnum, Senior, do before the 20th of July next remove themſelves out of this juriſdiction, and that if after the ſaid 20th of July either of them be found in any part of this juriſdiction, without licence had from this court or the council, he or they ſhall be forthwith apprehended and committed to priſon by warrant from any magiſtrate, and there remain without bail or mainprize, until he or they ſhall give ſufficient ſecurity to the governor or any magiſtrate, immediately to depart the juriſdiction, and not to return as aboveſaid. And all conſtables and other officers, are required to be faithful and diligent in the execution of this ſentance. And it is further ordered, that the keepers of all priſons whereto the ſaid Thomas, or any of them ſhall be committed, ſhall not permit any reſort of companies of more than two at one time to any of the ſaid perſons. And our experience of their high obſtinate and preſumptuous carriage, doth engage us to prohibit them any further meeting together, on the Lord's day, or other days, upon pretence of their church eſtate, or for the adminiſtration or exerciſe of any pretended eccleſiaſtical functions, or diſpenſation of the ſeals or preaching; wherein, if they ſhall be taken offending, they ſhall be impriſoned until the tenth of July next, and then left at their liberty within ten days to depart the juriſdiction upon penalty as aforeſaid. And whereas Thomas Gould is committed to priſon in the county of Middleſex, by the laſt court of aſſiſtants, for non-payment of a fine impoſed, this court judgeth it meet, after the ſentance of this court is publiſhed this day *after the lecture to them*, that the ſaid Gould

ſhall

shall be discharged from imprisonment in Middlesex as to his fine, that so he may have time to prepare to submit to the judgment of this court." *

THIS looked like a powerful way of arguing; but the baptists were not convinced by it, either of its being duty to return into fellowship with those who managed the argument, or to quit their stations and enjoyments at their command. I find by the colony records, that John Farnum was admitted a freeman of that colony May 13, 1640; Thomas Gould, June 2, 1641; in which year John George bound himself to governor Winthrop, I suppose to pay for his passage over to this country. And I have a copy before me of a warrant for the commitment of Turner and Farnum to Boston Goal, dated July 30 this year, signed by governor Bellingham, Eleazer Lusher and Edward Tyng. When the assembly met again in the fall, a petition was presented to them whereof a copy found among their church papers, is before me, in these words.

"WHEREAS by the censure of this honorable court Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnum, now lie in prison deprived of their liberty, taken off from their callings, separated from their wives and children, disabled to govern or to provide for their families, to their great damage and hastening ruin, how innocent soever; beside the hazard of their own lives, being aged and weakly men, and needing that succour a prison will not afford; the sense of this, their personal and family most deplorable and afflicted condition, hath sadly affected the hearts of many sober and serious christians, and such as neither approve of their judgment or practice; especially considering that the

* Mass. Records.

the men are reputed godly, and of a blamelefs converfation; and the things for which they feem to fuffer feem not to be moral, unqueftioned, fcandalous evils, but matters of religion and confcience; not in things fundamental, plain and clear, but circumftantial, more dark and doubtful, wherein the faints are wont to differ, and to forbear one another in love, that they be not expofed to fin, or to fuffer for confcience fake. We therefore moft humbly befeech this honored court, in their chriftian mercy and bowels of compaffion, to pity and relieve thefe poor prifoners; whofe fufferings (alfo being doubtful to many, and fome of great worth among ourfelves, and grievous to fundry of God's people at home and abroad, may crave a further confideration) whereby perceiving this court not likely to effect the end defired, but rather to grieve the hearts of God's people: Now your wifdoms may be pleafed to think of fome better expedient, and ferioufly confider whether an indulgence, juftifiable by the word of God, pleaded for and practifed by congregational churches, may not, in this day of fuffering to the people of God, be more effectual, fafe and inoffenfive than other ways, which are always grievous, and feldom find fuccefs. We in all humility hope, hereby occafions of difference being removed, that love and communion among all faints, which our dying Lord fo weightily charged and earneftly prayed for, will more eafily be preferved and practifed, to the glory of God, honor of the gofpel, peace and welfare of all the churches, which this honored court being the happy inftruments of effecting, will oblige your poor petitioners, as in duty bound, to pray for your happinefs both in this life and in that to come, and that your

authority

authority may be long continued as an unparalled bleſſing to this commonwealth."

WE are informed that Capt. Edward Hutchinſon, Capt. Oliver, and many others ſigned this petition; but the Court were ſo far from granting it, that the chief promoters of it were fined, and others compelled to an acknowledgment of their fault in reflecting upon the Court herein. We are alſo told, that the Hon. Francis Willoughby, who was their deputy Governor from 1665, till he died on April 4, 1671, "was a great oppoſer of theſe perſecutions againſt the baptiſts." * Leveret and Symonds, his ſucceſſors in that office, appear alſo to have been on that ſide of the queſtion. The ruling party printed their ſentance againſt thoſe baptiſts, an anſwer to which I find among their church papers, which is cloſed with theſe words. "This my huſband would intreat of you, to take counſel of maſter Bennet, and if he and you jndge it mete, to ſend it to England, and the printed ſentance with it. It is deſired that no man ſee it but goodman Sweetſer, and that Joſiah write it fair and plain." I conclude the perſon here ſpeaking is elder Gould's wife; and the moſt material points of her anſwer are as follows:

"FIRST, They call them *obſtinate and turbulent anabaptiſts.* 1. I deſire to know wherein their obſtinacy doth appear? They deſired the court to ſhow them, from the rule of Chriſt, of any point that they were out of the way of God; and if the Lord was pleaſed to ſhew them wherein they were out, they would freely lay it down; but they ſhewed them no other rule than their own law; and ſentanced them to be fined and impriſoned; and this was all the rule they could give, which

* Maſſ. hiſt. vol. p. 227, 269.

which did not convince them. 2. They say they were *turbulent*: I desire them to prove wherein they were turbulent, when they did not disturb neither churches nor courts, neither by word nor by action; but desired to live quietly and peaceably among them, and they cannot tell of any one thing that they disturbed them in, but desired they might enjoy that liberty that Christ hath purchased for them. They know not that they spoke any word that gave offence to the court, unless it was those few words, when master Bradstreet pronounced that sentance against them, and charged them no more to meet together, whether on the Lord's-day or on the week days, *in their conventicles*; those words were returned by them, *We ought to obey God rather than man; we cannot but do the things that we have heard and learned.* 3. As for *anabaptists*, they do not own that name, except they will be pleased to explain what they mean by it; for they own them to be of the baptized. Again they say, *they combined together in a pretended church estate.* They need not have said so, unless they could have proved they set up their church contrary to a rule of Christ. Beside, they gave them in a writing wherein they gave a brief account of their faith, where they declared what they owned to be a church of Christ, and the order of it according to the rule of the scripture, which neither the court nor the elders ever answered to this day. They say it was *without the knowledge or approbation of the authority here established as the law required.* Answer, 1. If the apostles had not set up churches in their time, without the approbation of the authority and their priests, there had been few or no churches in their time. 2. Christ is Lord and King of his church, and he

will

will set up his government therein, and hath given them rules from himself, how to set it up and to carry it along according to his appointment, and not to ask leave of the powers of the word to set up his church; for Christ's jurisdiction is the reatest jurisdiction n the world. 3. They had asked leave, had they found a command of Christ for it, but finding no rule of Christ they did notdo it.

" AGAIN, they say some of themselves were *excommunicated persons.* First, it is true what they say, yet that some was but two that were cast out, and that after they were gathered into this pretended church, as they call it, a good space of time. But consider for what it was, and how it was? [Hear the foregoing account of Mr. Gould and Osburne is confirmed. And of the day they were cast out she says,] The word was carried to the elder, that if they were alive and well they would come the next day, yet they were so hot upon it that they would not stay, but master Sims, when he was laying out the sins of these men, before he had propounded it to the church, to know their mind, the church having no liberty to speak, he wound it up in his discourse, and delivered them up to satan, to the amazment of the people, that ever such an ordinance of Christ should be so abused, that many of the people went out: and these were the excommunicated persons. They say, *after long forbearence to use the utmost means convince and reduce them, intreated the assistance of to divers elders.* Answer 1. It is true there were seven elders appointed to discourse with them, and there were a few plowman and taylors to come before: but how they were served with a warrant to appear before these elders in his Majest'ys name! 2. When they were met, there was a

long

long speech made by one of them, of what vile persons they were, and how they acted against the churches and government here, and stood condemned by the court. The other desiring liberty to speak, they would not suffer them, but told them they stood there as delinquents, and ought not to have liberty to speak. Then they desired they might choose a moderator as well as they: they denied them Two days were spent to little purpose—in the close, master Jonathan Mitchel pronounced that dreadful sentance against them in Deut, xvii, 3. to the end of the 12th, and this was the way they took to convince them, and you may see what a good effect it had.—There was nothing spoken from the rule of Christ, neither from the court nor the elders, but such sentances as these, fineing, and whipping, and prisoning, and banishing, and master Mitchel's sentance, and all these are not the weapons of Christ, but carnal weapons that never did convince any soul of the error of his ways.

"WHEREAS they say, *which practice making infant baptism a nullity*, &c. I answer, it is good for every one to be sure that they are upon good ground whatsoever the practice of others may seem to condemn—They say, *tending to the disturbance and destruction of these churches.* For answer, 1. If eight or nine poor anabaptists, as they call them, should be the destruction of their churches, then let any seeing man judge what their churches are built upon; then we may think they are built upon a sandy foundation; for the church of Christ is built upon himself, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. 2. If they be the churches of Christ, and think they shall be overthrown by them, it is from the weakness of their

faith, looking more to an arm of flesh and powers of the world to uphold them, than to Christ and his faithful promise. 3. If they fear they will be the destruction of their churches, now all the power of the country is for them and have an arm of flesh to help them, what will they do when all the powers of the country are against them, as are against the other, as you say yourselves of them, that when they were in examination before the court, they professed themselves resolved to adhere to the same practice; and now suffer willingly for it. But for the men, what they are I shall say nothing, for the sixty-five hands to the petition that was put into the general Court, does plainly declare to their best discerning, that they have been honest and godly, and lived quietly and peacably among them a good length of time. Again they say, *by using the most compassionate and effectual means to attain the same.* Answer, 1. The Lord keep every gracious soul from such compassionate means for the truth of the gospel! 2. For what compassionate means were used with them, let men fearing God judge; for one of them was called from prison when this sentance of banishment was read against them; and if any man desires to inform himself wherein their compassion appears, let him read their printed sentance against them, which was executed upon them; for not moving themselves, they sent the constable, and fetch them away to prison on a public lecture day at Boston, when the said Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnum, had been all there, and newly come home to their houses, and they remain in prison to this day."

How any that feared God, could be ensnared and held in such a way of treating their fellow

Servants

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hereunto, how miserable a people should we be! [And at night he blessed them upon their parting] with great affection, and with tears, and all the ministers wept with him, and took their leave of him, even as children of their father, who having blessed them was about to die." And did so the the 7th of August following. * These things affected their minds in such a manner, that upon his church's obtaining Mr. Devenport from New-Haven to succeed him, who had printed his testimony against the result of the late synod about the halfway covenant, a minor part of the church drew off from the rest, and in May 1669 other ministers assisted in forming them into a new church, in open *separation* from the first church in Boston, which *schism* continued about fourteen years, till an episcopal invader of their rights drove them together again. † Hence see what a schismatical doctrine that is, of infants church-membership, and of using secular force in religious affairs. What divisions and contentions did it produce both in Connecticut and the Massachusetts? And is it not evident that they proceeded from a *confounding* of the Jewish and Christian churches together? for a right to membership and to office, in the former, proceeded in a natural, in the latter, in a spiritual line. The gainsaying,

* Morton, p. 195, 196.

† *Magnalia*, b. 5, p 82, 83. "There was a great difference betwixt the old church and the members of the new church, about baptism, and their members joining in full communion with either church; this was so high that there was imprisoning of parties, and great disturbances; but now hearing of my proposals for ministers to be sent over, they are joined together, about a fortnight ago, and pray to God to confound the devices of all who disturb their peace and liberties" *Randolph's letter to the bishop of London, May* 19, 1682. *Mass. hist. vol.* 3, p. 532. That new church is since called *The old South*.

saying of Korah was after an infalliable authority had fixed the priest-hood in the line of Aaron and his seed, who were types of Christ and his saints; but officers in distinction from the rest of the *lively stones* whereof his house is built, are never called priests in the new-testament: yea, we have seen ministers resenting others calling of them by that name, and yet they in the above instance and down to this day, have applied the case of Korah to those who refuse *practically* to own them as such. And they have often told us of David's error, in carrying the ark upon a new cart, instead of the priests shoulders; but that error is theirs, not ours; and had they been as ready to immitate David in reformation as they were in transgression what happy times might we have seen before now? The oracles of God were then carried in the ark, but now his church is the *pillar and ground of the truth.* 1 Tim. 15, 15, 1 Peter 2, 5. Upon Uzza's being struck dead, David was turned to search the divine rules, which taught him to rest the cause of truth upon *living shoulders*, instead of an *earthly machine drawn by beastly force*: 1 Cor. 15, 2. But when the rulers of the Massachusetts were moved by their ministers to exert such force against the baptists, though they saw the chief procurers of that sentance struck dead before the time came for its execution, and many more of them about that time, yet their posterity have approved their sayings even to this day.* I am well sensible that the divine judge-

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* Mr. Henry Flint of Braintree, and Mr. Samuel Shepard of Rowley, died about the time of their dispute with the baptists in Boston. Mr, Mitchel, who was most active in procuring the sentance against them, died July 9, aged 43, and Mr. John Eliot jun'r, October 13, 1668, aged 35, both of Cambridge, Mr.

John

ments are a great deep, and that love or hatred is not to be known merely by such outward events; yet they ought to put us all upon searching and trying our ways (as David did) by the revealed will of God; which duty was excellently inculcated upon them at that time in a letter to Capt. Oliver of Boston, in the words following.

My dear Brother,

"The ardent affection and great honors that I have for New-England transport me, and I hope your churches shall ever be to me as the gates of heaven. I have ever been warmed with the apprehension of the grace of God towards me in carrying me thither. I have always thought that of the congregational churches of N. E. in our days. But now it is otherwise, with joy as to ourselves and grief as to you be it spoken. Now the greater my love is to N. E. the more am I grieved at their failings. It is frequently said here, that they are swerved aside towards presbetery: if so, the Lord restore them all. But another sad thing that much effects us is, to hear that you even in N. England persecute your brethren; men sound in the faith; of holy life; agreeing in worship and discipline with you; only differing in the point of baptism. Dear brother, we here do love and honor them, hold familiarity with them and take sweet council together; they lie in the bosom of Christ and therefore they ought to be laid in our bosoms. In a word, we freely admit them into churches; few of our churches but many of our members are anabaptists: I mean baptized again.

This

John Reyner of Dover, and Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester both died in April, and Eleazer Mather of Northampton on July 24, 1669, aged 32. Mr. Sims, who had treated the baptists so ill, and Mr. John Allen of Dedham, one of the disputants against them, both died within two years after, as well as many others,

This is love in England; this is moderation; this is a right new teſtament ſpirit. But do you now (as is aboveſaid) bear with, yea, more than bear with, the Preſbyterians? yea, and that the worſt ſort of them, viz. thoſe who are the corrupteſt, rigedſt; whoſe principles tend to corrupt the churches; turning the world into the church, and the church into the world; and which doth no leſs than bring a people under meer ſlavery. It is an iron yoke which neither we nor our congregational brethren in Scotland were ever able to bear. I have heard them utter theſe words in the pulpit, that it is no wrong to make the independants ſell all they have, and depart the land; and many more things I might mention of that kind; but this I hint only, to ſhew what cauſe there is to withſtand that wicked tyranny which was once ſet up in poor miſerable Scotland, which I verily believe was a great wrong and injury to the reformation. The generality of them here, even to this day, will not freely conſent to our enjoyment of our liberty; though through mercy the beſt and moſt reformed of them do otherwiſe. How much more therefore would it concern dear N. E. to turn the edge againſt [thoſe] who, if not prevented, will certainly corrupt and enſlave, not only their own, but alſo your churches? Whereas anabaptiſts are neither ſpirited nor principled to injure nor hurt your government nor your liberties; but rather theſe be a means to preſerve your churches from apoſtacy, and provoke them to their primitive purity, as they were in the firſt planting, in admiſſion of members to receive none into your churches but viſible ſaints, and in reſtoring the intire juriſdiction of every congregation compleat and undiſturbed. We are hearty and

full

full for our presbyterian brethren's enjoying equal liberty with ourselves, oh that they had the same spirit towards us! but oh how it grieves and affects us that New-England should persecute! will you not give what you take? is liberty of conscience your due? and is it not as due unto others that are found in the faith? Read the preface to the declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, p. 6, 7. Amongst many others scriptures, that in the 14th of Romans much confirms me in liberty of conscience thus stated; To him that esteems any thing unclean, to him it is unclean, verse 13. Therefore though we approve of the baptism of the immediate children of church members, and [of] their admission into the church when they evidence a real work of grace; yet to [those] that in conscience believe the said baptism to be unclean it is unclean. Both that and meer ruling elders, though we approve of them, yet our grounds are meer interpretations of, and not any express scripture. I cannot say so clearly of any thing else in our religion, neither as to faith or practice Now must we force our interpretation, upon others Pope-like! In verse 5 of that chapter the spirit of God saith, *Let every one be fully perswaded in his own mind*; therefore this being the express will of God, who shall make a contrary law, and say, perswaded or not perswaded you shall do as we say, and as we do! and verse 23, *what is not of faith is sin*; therefore there must be a word for what we do, and we must see and believe it, or else we sin if we do it. And Deut. 12 and last, as we must not add, nor may we deminish: what is commanded we must do. Also 28th of Matthew. And what principles is persecution

cution grounded upon? Dominiation and infallibility: this we teach is the truth. But are we infallible, and have we the government? God made none, no not the apostles who could not err, to be lords over faith; therefore what monstrous pride is this! At this rate any perswasion geting uppermost may command, and persecute them that obey them not; all non-conformists must be ill-used. Oh wicked and monstrous principle! What ere you can plead for yourselves against those that persecute you, those whom ye persecute may plead for themselves against you. Whatever they can say against the poor men, your enemies say against you: and what! is that horrid principle crept into precious New-England, who have felt what persecution is. and have always pleaded for liberty of conscience; Have not those run equal hazards with you for the enjoyment of their liberties; and how do you cast a reproach upon us, that are congregational in England, and furnish our adversaries with weapons against us? We blush and are filled with shame and confusion of face, when we hear of these things. Dear brother! we pray that God would open your eyes and perswade the hearts of your magestrates, that they may no more *smite their fellow-servants*, nor thus greatly injure us their bretheren; and that they may not thus dishonor the name of God and cause his people to be reproached, nor the holy way of God (the congregational way) to be evil spoken of. My dear brother! pardon my plainness and freedom for the zeal of God's house constrains me. What cause have we to bless God who gives us to find favour in the eyes of his Majesty? and to pray God to continue him. and to requite it graciously to him in spiritual blessings. Well, strive I beseech

you with God by prayers, and use all lawful ways and means, even to your greatest hazard, that those poor men may be set free. For be assured, this liberty of conscience, as we state it, is the cause of God; and hereby you may be a means to divert the judgments of God from falling upon dear New-England, for our Father in faithfulness will afflict us if we repent not Doth not the very gospel say, *what measure we mete to others shall be measured to us?* God is not unrighteous: what is more provoking to him than the persecuting of his saints! *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*; did he not *reprove kings for their sake?* Those who have the unction the apostle John speaks of, and the spirit and gift of prophesies. With what marvellous strength did holy Mr. Burroughs urge that place against persecution? Persecution is bad in wicked men, but it is most abominable in good men, who have suffered and pleaded for liberty of conscience themselves. Discountenance men that certainly err, but persecute them not. I mean gross errors. Well, we are travelling to our place of rest: with joy we look for new heavens and new earth. We shall ere long be in the fulness of bliss, holy, harmless in the bosom of Christ. Let us pray, the earth may be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, that they may not hurt nor destroy in all his holy mountain. The Lord grant we may by the next hear better things of the government of New-England. My most hearty love to your brother, and to all our brethren. My respects and service to my dear cousin Leveret, and to Mr. Francis Willoughby. The Lord make them instrumental, for his glory, in helping to reform things among you. I shall be glad to hear from you. I remember

member our good old sweet communion togeher. My dear brother, once again pardon me, for I am affected! I speak for God, to whose grace I commit you all in New-England; humbly craving your pryers for us here, and remain,

Your affectionate brother.

ROBERT MASCALL."*

Finsbury near Moresield,
the 25th of March, 1669.

NEVER did I see the true nature of these controversies better stated by any on that side. Our apponents have no better grounds for accusing us of denying scripture consequences, than because we refuse to yield to their interpretations, which appear to us unsound. Neither are we any more rigid than themselves; though because they hold to two or three ways of baptizing, while we believe our Lord has instituted but *one baptism*, they accuse us with it, if we cannot act with them *as* baptized persons, who appears to us not to be such. The plain question is, whither each one shall be allowed to act the *full persuasion of his own mind*, according to God's law, or whether the ruling party in the state shall make that law *void by their traditions?* The learned and much esteemed Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl and nine other noted dissenting ministers in London wrote to the Massachusetts governor, upon these things at the same time, and said,

"WE shall not here undertake to make any apology for the persons, opinions and practices of those who are censured among you. You know our judgement and practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as yours; wherein (God assisting) we shall continue to the end. Neither shall we return

* S. Hubbard's collection.

return any answer to the reason of the Reverend elders, for the justification of your proceedings, as not being willing to engage in the management of any the least difference with persons whom we so much love and honor in the Lord. But the sum of all which at present we shall offer to you is, that though the court might apprehend, that they had grounds in general warranting their procedure (in such cases) in the way wherein they have proceeded; yet that they have any rule or command rendering their so proceeding indispensibly necessary, under all circumstances of times and places, we are altogher unsatisfied; and we need not represent unto you how the case stands with ourselves, and all your bretheren and companions in the services of these latter days in these nations. We are sure you would be unwilling to put an advantage into the hands of some, who seek pretences, and occasions against our liberty, and to reinforce the former rigour. Now we cannot deny but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been vogued, that persons of your way, principles and spirit, cannot bear with dissenters from them. And as this greatly reflects on us, so some of us have observed how already it has turned unto your own disadvantage. We leave it to your wisdom to determine, whether under all these circumstances, and sundry others of the like nature that might be added, it be not advisable at present to put an end unto the sufferings and confinements of the persons censured, and to restore them to their former liberty. *

You

* "At a court of assistants held at Boston March 2, 1669, the governor and magistrates being assembled in council and motion being made by Thomas Gould, in behalf of himself and William Turner, now in durance by the sentance of the general court;

You have the advantage of truth and order; you have the gifts and learning of an able ministry to manage and defend them; you have the care and vigilency of a very worthy magistracy to countenance and protect them, and to preserve the peace; and above all, you have a blessed Lord and Master, who hath the keys of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, living forever to take care of his own concernments among his saints; and assuredly you need not be disquieted, through some few persons (though their own infirmity and weakness, or through their ignorance, darkness and prejudices) should to their disadvantage turn out of the way, in some lesser matters, into by-paths of their own. We only make it our hearty request to you, that you would trust God with his truths and ways so far, as to suspend all rigorous proceedings in corporal restraints or punishments, on persons that dissent from you, and practice the principles of their dissent without danger, or disturbance to the civil peace of the place. Dated March 25, 1669."

We may reasonably conclude that this address did not reach Boston till May or June, and Dr. Mather says, "I cannot say that this excellent letter had *immediately* all the effect it should have had." So that though he allows that some of those baptists were "truly godly men," * yet it is likely that

court; the keepers of the prisons, under whose custody they now are, are ordered to permit them liberty for three days, to visit their families, as also to apply themselves to any that are able and orthodox, for their further convincement of their many irregularities in those practises for which they were sentanced; the said keepers taking the engagements of the said Gould and Turner, or other sufficient caution, for their return again to prison at the end of the said three days.

By the council, Edward Rawson secretary."

* Magnalia, b. 7, p. 27, 28.

that they were imprisoned a year or more, only for not banishing themselvs for their religion. After their release, elder Gould went and lived upon an Island in the harbour; where they held their meeting for some years. But this could not make the ruling party easy, as the following letter to Mr. Clarke and his church at Newport plainly shews.

"BELOVED *brethren and sisters*, I most heartily salute you all in our dear Lord, who is our alone Saviour in all our troubles, that we his poor members are exercised with for his name sake. And blessed be God our father that has given us such a high priest, that was touched with the feeling of our infirmities, which is no small comfort to the souls of his poor suffering ones; the which through grace the Lord hath been pleased to make us in some measure pertakers of. And at this present our dear brother William Turner, a prisoner for the Lord's cause in Boston, has some good experience of, both of that which Paul desired, to be conformable to our Lord in his sufferings, and also of the promises of our Lord, in the giving forth the comfort of his spirit, to uphold us all, for that he is sensible of the sufferings of his poor members, and is ready to give forth supplies as are most suitable to such a condition as he calls his to. Friends I suppose you have heard that both he and brother Gould were to be taken up; but only brother Turner is yet taken and has been about a month in prison. Warrants are in two marshal's hands for brother Gould also, but he is not yet taken, because he lives on Noddles-Island, and they wait to take him at town. The cause why they are put in prison is the old sentance of the general court in 68, because they would not

remove

remove themſelves. There were ſix magiſtrates hands to the warrant to take them up, viz. Mr. Bradſtreet, major Deniſon, Thomas Danforth, captain Gookin, major Willard and Mr. Pinchon. But all the deputies of the court voted their liberty, except one or two at moſt, but the magiſtrates carry againſt all; and becauſe ſome others of the magiſtrates were abſent, and ſome that were there were Gallio like, as one Mr. R. B. G. * But bleſſed be the Lord who takes notice of what is done to his poor ſervants, though men little regard. The town and country is very much troubled at our troubles; and eſpecially the old church in Boſton, and their elders, both Mr. Oxonbrige and Mr. Allen have labored abundantly, I think as if it had been for their beſt friends in the world.* Many more gentlemen and ſolid chriſtians are for our brothers deliverance; but it cannot be had; a very great trouble to the town; and they had gotten ſix magiſtrates hands for his deliverance, but could not get the governors hand to it. Some ſay one end is, that they may prevent others coming

* I ſuppoſe Richard Bellingham governor. Thus a few men at the head of the government, by the clergy's help, carried on their oppreſſions againſt the minds of thoſe worthy rulers, Willoughby, Symonds and Leveret; a whole houſe of deputies, and the beſt part of the whole community. "That magiſtrates ſhould thus ſuffer theſe incendiaries, and diſturbers of the public peace, might juſtly be wondered at, if it did not appear that they have been invited by them unto a participation of the ſpoil, and have therefore thought fit to make uſe of their coveteouſneſs and pride, as a means whereby to increaſe their own power. For who does not ſee that *theſe good men* are indeed more miniſters of the government, then miniſters of the goſpel." *Locke on toleration*, p. 71, 72.

* Mr. Devenport died March 15, 1670, aged 72; and Mr. John Oxonbridge, who left England after the cruel Bartholomew act in 1662, was ſettled in his head, collegue with Mr. James Allen, who came from thence about the ſame time.

ing out of England; therefore they would discourage them by dealing with us; a sad thing if so; when God would have Moab be a refuge for his banished ones, and that christians will not. But God will be a refuge for his, which is our comfort. We keep our meeting at Noddles-island every first day, and the Lord is adding some souls to us still, and is enlightning some others; the priests are much inraged. The Lord has given us another elder, one John Russell senior, a gracious wise and holy man that lives at Woburn, where we have five brethren near that can meet with him; and they meet together a first days when they cannot come to us, and I hear there are some more there looking that way with them. Thus dear friends I have given you an account of our troubles, that you may be directed in your prayers to our God for us; as also of the goodness of God to us, and the proceedings of his good work in our hands, both to our, and I doubt not to your joy and comfort. That God may be glorified in all, is our earnest desire and prayer, to God in all his dispensations to us. Brother Turner's family is very weakly, and himself too. I fear he will not trouble them long; only this is our comfort, we hear if he dies in prison, they say they will bury him. And thus my dear friends, I desire we may be remembered in your prayers to our heavenly father, who can do abundantly above what we can ask or think: to whom I commend you all, and rest, your friend and brother,

EDWARD DRINKER."

Nov. 30, 1670.

THIS occasioned the following epistle to them, viz.

"UNTO

"UNTO to the church of Jesus Christ, meeting on Noddles-island in New-England; grace, mercy and peace be mightily showered down upon you all, with such daily supplies to every one of you, according to your various conditions, strengthning the weak, and making you to press forward with life and couragious hearts, being valliant for the Lord and his holy truths, holding out to the end in what ye have received; not to look back, but pressing forward to know more of his holy will, like children desiring the sincere milk of the word, to grow up therein.--Samuel Hubbard, a very poor and unworthy one, yet by great grace found in my sinful estate, among the sinners in a sinful world, in a sinful age, and by free grace called by a divine call or power, being not able to resist it, but by grace shewed that it was his will to call sinners that were weary and heavy laden to come unto him, making a gracious promise, that they should find rest to their souls. Mat. 11. And by his grace hath made me willing, in my very weak measure, to be going on in what he hath shewed me; though I find a law in my members contrary to God's holy law, which is written in my heart, leading me captive both in thoughts words and deeds, which is a great burden, and makes me go heavily. But blessed be God my rock, who hath shewed me that it is not by my works, but by faith in our precious Redeemer, I am accepted with the Father. Not thereby taken off from endeavouring to keep all his holy commandments and ordinances, but with righteous Zacharias and Elizabeth, desirous to be found blamless when our Lord and King Jesus shall come, and by him enabled with joy to say, *This is my Lord, I have waited for him*; when you

with others shall meet and sing the song of Moses and the Lamb, Halalujah to God most High, &c. Dear and precious hearts, my love is such towards you, for what of God is in you, and what great grace hath appeared towards you, in bearing you up to stand in this hour of temptation, that your feet are not moved, and your arms are made strong by the mighty God of Jacob; yea, not only so, but hath crowned your endeavours with a blessing of increase of such precious helps, as I hear you have, in which I rejoice, desiring greatly of the Lord that he would be still with you to the end of your race, Dear friends, it was upon my heart to have given you a visit, whereby I might have been refreshed by your mutual love, as I have been to see your precious order in the gospel; but it has pleased our havenly Father to visit me and my dear wife, by a sore stroke in taking away our only son Samuel; * all we had; a man grown (whose we are also.) But God of his grace hath born us up, blessed be his name: by which I have been very much disappointed as in coming to you, so in many other things, and am learning in every condition to be content; a hard lesson to learn I find. Dear brethren and sisters, what am I poor worm, to inform you! but to stir up your pure minds that you would be holding fast what you have received, that you may not loose your rewards, for this is a declining day. But know the reward is laid up in most sure hands, for those who hold out to the end. I beseech you pray with all

* He was in his 21st year; a very promising youth. Mr. Hubbard's daughter Ruth, married to Robert Burdick, and Bethia married to Joseph Clarke jun'r, have left a large posterity at Westerly; and Rachel married to Andrew Langworthy, left a large family in Newport, and he hoped that all his children, and some of his grandchildren were savingly converted.

all manner of prayers, and for me poor one, that I may have ſuch freſh ſupplies of grace, that I may ſtand faſt in what I have received of God, and not deny his name, knowing of whom I have received it. Pray for me that I may have more of the ſpirit of adoption, to cry in faith Abba, Father; more of faith in thoſe precious promiſes made to his in the holy ſcriptures, and more ſtrength to run the ways of his holy commandments with more delight and largneſs of heart without partiality. Oh! my dear friends, pray for Sion! they that love her ſhall proſper. Oh! my brethren and ſiſters! pardon my boldneſs, and accept in love my weak endeavours, and let me have from you a few lines, which would be as a dew upon my poor weak heart, which needs information, inſtruction and comfort.—Thus deſiring your proſperity in your inward man, and outward man alſo, knowing that if ye ſeek firſt the kingdom of God, we have our Lords word for it, that all other things ſhall be added—Commiting you to the Almighty to bleſs you with ſpiritual bleſſings, with ſuch daily freſh ſupplies as you ſtand in need of, whereby ye may abound for his names praiſe, the good of ſinners, ſtrengthening of ſaints, comforting one another, drawing in love in all your ways, which is as precious ointment, giving forth ſuch a precious ſavour as that all Chriſt's virgins may love and rejoice in you, and bleſs God on your behalf. The God of all grace be with you all, Amen. My wife deſires to have her affectionate intire love to you all remembered. Your poor weak brother in the beſt relation.

SAMUEL HUBBARD."

Newport, this 4th day of
the 9th Month, 1671.

"DEAR

"DEAR brother and sister, my kind love and respect with my wife's, be remembered to your with all the rest of our dear friends, hoping you welfare. These few lines are to let you understand, that your loving christian letter you sent me I received, for which I give you hearty thanks. I delivered your letter according to your desire, and it was read in the church, wherein we understand the Lord has been pleased to take away your son, that was dear unto you. God sometimes tries his people in that which is most near and dear to them, even in their Isaac's. Jacob must part with his Benjamin, and say, *all these things are against me*; yet the Lord turned it about for good; and he has promised that all shall work for good unto those that love and fear him; and what he deprives us of in the creature, he is able to make up abundantly in himself. The good Lord grant it may be so with you!—Brother Turner has been near to death, but through mercy is revived, and so has our pastor Gould. The Lord make us truly thankful, and give us hearts to improve them, and those liberties we yet enjoy that we know not how soon may be taken from us. The persecuting spirit begins to stir again. Elder Russel and his son, and brother Foster are presented to the court that is to be this month. We desire your prayers for us, that the Lord would keep us, that we may not dishonor that worthy name we have made profession of, and that the Lord would still stand by us, and be seen amongst us, as he has been in a wonderful manner in preserving of us until this day. We should be glad to hear how it is with you, and desire if it be the will of God, that love and peace may be continued betwixt you and the other society; although

you

you may differ in some things, yet that there may be endeavours to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and as far as we have attained to walk by the same rule. I shall not trouble you any further, but commit you to the guidance and protection of the Almighty, and remain your unworthy brother in the best relation.

BENJAMIN SWEETSER."

Charlestown, the first 10th month 71.

THE next news from them is as follow. "I perceive you have heard as if our brother Russel had died in prison. Through grace he is yet in the land of the living, and out of prison bonds; but is in a doubtful way as to recovery of his outward health; but we ought to be quiet in the good will and pleasure of our God, who is only wise.—I remain your loving brother,

WILLIAM HAMLIT."

Boston, 14, of the 4th month, 1672.

WE will now look a little back, and see how their oppressors got along. The breach in Boston church affected many; and the governor appeared against the new party, and in July 1669 called his council together, fearing he said, "a sudden tumult, some persons attempting to set up an edifice for public worship, which was apprehended by authority to be detrimental to the public peace." But the majority of the council were for not hindering their proceeding On May 11, 1670, Mr. Danforth of Roxbury, who was one of those that had been called to the baptist dispute two years before, said to the assembly in his election sermon, "Is not the temper, complexion and countenance of the churches strangely altered? Doth not a careless, remiss, flat, dry, cold, dead frame of spirit grow upon us secretly, strongly, prodigiously?

they

they that have ordinances are as though they had none; they that hear the word as though they heard it not; and they that pray as though they prayed not; and they that receive sacraments as though they received them not; and they that are exercised in holy things, use them by the by as matters of custom and ceremony. Pride, contention, worldliness, coveteousness, luxury, drunkenness and uncleanness break in like a flood upon us; and good men grow cold in their love to God, and one another." * Upon which the house of deputies appointed a committee, to enquire into the prevailing evils that had procured the divine displeasure against the land; and they reported these among other causes, viz. "Declension from the primative foundation work, innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice; an invasion of the rights, liberties and privileges of churches, an usurpation of a lordly and prelatical power over God's heritage, subversion of gospel order, &c." They then go on to speak of the late transaction of the elders, in constituting the third church in Boston, as "irregular, illegal and disorderly." But the effect was such, that among fifty deputies in their next assembly, there were but twenty of those who were in this; and then fifteen ministers presented an address to the new modled house, wherein they mention their former connection with rulers like Moses and Aaron, and then call the sitting up of said church in Boston, "That weighty and worthy transaction." And prevailed with this house to correct and declare against what the preceeding house had done to the contrary. † Such was the ministerial influence of that day

* Prince's Christian hist. vol. 1, p. 97.

† Mass. hist. vol. 1, p. 272, 274.

day. On May 15, 1672, the assembly ordered their law-book to be revised and reprinted; and therein they say.

"ALTHOUGH no human power be Lord over the faith and consciences of men, yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the christian faith, and destruction of the souls of men, ought duly to be restained from such notorious impietis; it is therefore ordered and declared by the court, that if any christian within this jurisdiction, shall go about to subvert and destroy the christian faith and religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresies; as denying the immortallity of the soul, or resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or denying that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his death and righteousness, but by the perfection of our own works, or shall deny the morality of the fourth commandment, or shall openly *condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance*, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful authority to make war, or to *punish the outward breaches of the first table*, or shall endeavour to seduce others to *any* of the errors and heresies above-mentioned; every such person continuing obstinate therein after due means of conviction, shall be *sentanced to banishment*." *

THE reader may here observe what advances they had made since the year 1644, p. 150. The two articles which the baptists own, are now fenced with a much more formidable catalogue of

* Mass. law-book printed 1672. p. 58, 59.

of heresies and errors, than were then inserted in their law against them. Though they still fall far behind their mother, the church of England; for the last man that she burnt for religion was a baptist, and in the warrant for his burning, the King says, "Whereas, the reverend father in God, Richard, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, having judicially proceeded in the examination, hearing and determining of a cause of heresie against Edward Wightman, of the parish of Burton upon Trent, in the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning the wicked heresies of the Ebionites, Cerenthians, Valentinians, Arrians, Macedonians, of Simon Magus, of Manes, Manichees, of Photinus, and *Anabaptists*, and of other heretical, execrable and *unheard of opinions*, by the instinct of satan, by him excogitated and holden," of which they went on to name sixteen articles, many of them so foolish and inconsistant, that as the historian observes, he must be an idiot or a madman to hold them all. But three of them are in these words, viz. "13 That the baptizing of infants is an abominable custom. 14. That there ought not in the church the use of the Lord's supper to be celebrated in the elements of bread and wine; and the use of baptism to be celebrated in the element of water, AS they are now practised in the church of England; but the use of baptism is to be administered in water, only to converts of sufficient age and understanding, converted from infidelity to the faith. 16. That christianity is not wholly professed and preached in the church of England but only in part." For these things Mr. Wightman was burnt at Litchfield, April 11, 1611, by a warrant from that King, who in the preface to our bible is compared to the *rising sun*, * and

* Crosby's hist. vol. 1, p. 108, and appendix, p. 1, 3.

and whose tyranny drove our fathers into New-England.

THE above clearly shews that the church of England far exceeded her daughters in this land, both in the number of hard names they imposed upon the baptists, and also in their degree of cruelty towards them; though a lamentable imitation of those evils appear in this history. And to inforce the forecited law among the rest, the Massachusetts placed the following motto in the title page of their law-book; *whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist receive to themselves damnation.* But whether the assuming and exerting of *such power* in religious affairs, be not the way to damnation, rather than the resistance of it, deserves the serious consideration of all? Some years ago, when the presbyterians had the upper hand in England [See p. 174] Mr. Samuel Oates, a noted and successful baptist minister, was imprisoned, put in irons and tried for his life as a murderer, at Chelmsford assize, only because Ann Martin, a young woman that he had baptized, happened to die a few weeks after. But when his case came to be tried, her mother and others declared upon oath, "that she was in better health for several days after her baptism than she had been for some years before; and was seen to walk abroad very comfortably," so that he was acquitted. *

AND now when the episcopalians had gotten the power again into their hands, Mr. Neal truly observes, that the enemies to the baptists tried to ruin them, "by as unparalled a piece of villany as ever was heard of. A pamphlet was published in London in 1673, entitled, *Mr. Baxter baptized*

* Ibid: p. 237, 238.

in blood; or, a sad history of the unparalled cruelty of the ANABAPTISTS in NEW-ENGLAND; *faithfully relating the cruel, barbarous and bloody murder of Mr. Josiah Baxter, an othodox minister, who was killed by the* ANABAPTISTS, *and his skin most cruelly flead off from his body.* Published by his mournful brother Benjamin Baxter, living in Fenchurch-street, London. This pamphlet was licenced by Dr. Parker, the arch-bishops chaplain, and cried about streets by the hawkers * The author represents his brother as worsting the anabaptists in a public disputation at Boston; for which, by way of revenge, they sent four ruffins in vizors to his house a little way out of town, who after they had bound his wife and three children, first whipped, and then flead him alive The author concludes, I have published this narrative *in perpetuam rei memoriam* that the world may see the *spirit and temper* of those men, and that it may stand as an eternal memorial of their hatred to all orthodox ministers." But when search was made by authority, they could find no account of such a minister as Josiah Baxter in New-England, nor of his brother Benjamin in London. The whole story was a naked and malicious forgery, † and verified the words of Lactantious, in the next century after Constantine first introduced the custom, of supporting such ministers by force as the court called orthodox. Said he, "among those, who seek *power* and *gain* from their religion, there will never be wanting an inclination to *forge* and *lie* for it." ‡

As

* Yea, it went off so current that a second edition was got into the press in a few weeks. Parker was thought to be its author, Crosby

† Neal's history of N. E. vol. 1, p. 374, 375.

‡ Middleton's letter from Rome, p. 97.

As a contrast to the above, I will give a further taste of the *spirit* of those men who have often been accused of hatred to orthodox ministers. In the beginning of 1665 Mr. Stephen Mumford, a seventh day baptist, arrived from London at Newport, and Mr. Hiscox, Mr. Hubbard, and other members of Mr. Clarke's church soon embraced the keeping of that day; but in 1671, two or three men who had so done, turned back to the observation of the first day, which Mr. Hubbard and others called *apostacy*, though many accounted it a reformation; and in June that year Mr. Holmes preached smartly against the others sentiments; and the contention increased, till in December it caused an open separation; upon hearing of which our suffering fathers in the Massachusetts wrote the following letter.

"To brother William Hiscox, and the rest of our beloved brethren and sisters, that observe the seventh day sabbath with him. The church of Christ in or near Boston sends greeting. Brethren, beloved of the Lord, we having had a view of the proceedings between yourselves and the church, cannot but be grieved to see how busy the adversary hath been, and how easily he hath prevailed upon the corruptions of our nature, to make breaches and divisions among those whom we dare not but judge, are united unto one head, even Christ Jesus. And although we dare not judge your consciences in the observation of a day or days to the Lord, yet brethren, your judging them that have so done, and we hope have not unadvisedly changed their minds, to be *apostates*, seems to our understandings to savour too much a censorious spirit. And we, as brethren, made pertakers of the same grace of God through the

influence

influence of his holy ſpirit, not being enlightened in the obſervation of the ſeventh day as a ſabbath to the Lord, ſhall humbly beſeech you all, to put on bowels of mercy, and not be ſo ſtrait in your ſpirits towards others; but conſider, the only wiſe God giveth to each ſoul what meaſure of light and knowledge he pleaſeth; and it is he muſt give wiſdom to improve that meaſure of knowledge ſo given, or elſe we ſhall make a bad improvement thereof. Now brethren, we dare not juſtify your action, nor the manner of the actions that have been between you and the church; but ſhould have been glad, if it had been the good pleaſure of the Lord, that you could have borne each with other in the matter of difference, and ſo have left it for the Lord to reveal more light and knowledge to thoſe that are yet in the dark. But may we not ſay, we are all in the dark, and ſee and know but in part? and the little part that any one knoweth, he is ready to conceive is the will of God, and ſo would have all to ſee with his eyes, and underſtand with his underſtanding; and cannot patiently wait on the Lord till he ſhall make diſcoveries of it to his brethren; ſo that our quick, narrow and impatient ſpirits are the cauſe of ſo many breaches and diviſions amongſt the citizens of Sion at this day. By all which we humbly deſire the Lord may make you and us, and all the Lord's people, to ſee the corruption of our natures that is yet unſubdued, that ſo we may all with ſincerity of ſoul, wait on him according to that meaſure of light and knowledge that each of us have received from him. And now brethren, our deſire is, if it may be the good pleaſure of God, that this breach may be healed between you and the church. Our prayers ſhall be to the

Lord

Lord for you, that each one of you may be truly sensible, wherein you have so far departed from the law of brotherly love, as to be an occasion of grief one to another, and to the Israel of God, and have given an occasion to the enemies to speak reproachfully of the ways of God; not doubting but you will be willing to look back over all those actions past in these differences, and if you find any thing contrary to the mind and will of God, be willing to own it both to God and his people. We shall leave you to his care and guiding, who is able to comfort you in all your tribulations, and to establish, strengthen and settle you; to whom we leave you, and remain your poor unworthy brethren, who should rejoice in your prosperity, both in spirituals and temporals. By the apointment of the church assembled.

THOMAS GOULD,
WILLIAM TURNER,
JOHN WILLIAMS."

Church assembled,
Noddle's island. Sep. 1, 1672.

THIS sweet letter, Mr. Hubbard has preserved, and it caused no alienation of mind, but there remained a great nearness between them as long as they lived. I find him in a letter the next year to his brother Hamlit, "desiring the welfare of the whole Sion, and the brethren with you; brother Foster, brother Farlow, elder Russell and his son; yea to all the church, with thanks for their love to me and my wife." Mr. Hamlit wrote on June 19, 1673, that the baptists were still persecuted for their withdrawing from the public meetings, and said, "Brother Trumbel and brother Osborne were fined last court at Charlestown twenty shillings a piece; they have appealed to the

the court of assistants." But Mr. Bellingham dying, and Mr Leveret being chosen governor, and Mr. Symonds deputy governor; things took another turn, so that Mr. Hamlit wrote to his brother Hubbard on Jan. 9, 1674, and said, "Brother Drinker hath been very sick near unto death, but the Lord hath restored him to health again. The church of the baptized do peacably enjoy their liberty. Brother Russell, the elder and the younger, have good remembrance of you." And while those governors lived, that church enjoyed the greatest liberty that ever they did under their first charter. After governor Leveret's death, I find Mr. Russell and his church, in an appointment of a day of thanksgiving, expressing their sense of "the Lord's goodness in preserving our peace and liberty beyond all expectation; God having removed him, who was a friend to us in the authority, by reason of which our opposites have the greater advantage against us, who have not been wanting to do their endeavour to suppress us." We shall soon find how that advantage was improved. We are informed by their records, that the next members that were added, after the first constitution of the church, were Isaac Hull, John Farnum, Jacob Barney, John Russell, junior, John Johnson, George Farlow, Benjamin Sweetser, all before Ellis Callender, who was received, Nov. 9, 1669. Mr. Hull was called also to be an elder in the church in the time of their sufferings. The next on the list are Joshua Turner, Thomas Foster, John Russell, senior, (afterwards their pastor) William Hamlit, James Landon, Thomas Skinner, John Williams, Philip Squire, Mary Gould, Sutanna Jackson, Mary Greenleaf, &c. Elder Gould died Oct. 27, 1675, having

having been a man, "in some good measure fitted and qualified (says elder Russell) for such a work; and proved an eminent instrument in the hand of the Lord for the carrying on this good work of God in its low and weak beginnings" And including the other first constitutors with him, says, "Their trouble and temptations followed, one upon the neck of another, like the waves of the sea; but these precious servants of the Lord, having in some good measure counted the cost beforehand, were not moved for any of these things, but were cheerfully carried on by the hand of the Lord upon them, through all the afflictions and reproaches they met with; and are the most of them now at rest with the Lord, having served the will of God in their generation." *

CHAP. VII.

An account of Philip's war, of the baptist's further sufferings, and other events down to 1690.

THE forgoing history may give the reader some idea, of the nature and causes of the contentions that long laboured in the country, between the natives and the English. Mr. Samuel Hubbard in the close of that war, wrote to a minister in England and said, "God has been long waiting with patience, by several signs and warnings these forty years as I can witness; but we in our turnings have not so turned to the Lord as ought to be, and his displeasure is broke forth in the country by the natives, who were forced thereto,

* Hubbard ---- Russell's narrative 1680, p. 1, 2. 6.

to, as some of them said (and in very deed I judge truly.") I find by their records, that the commissioners of the united colonies, in September 1662, appointed Capt. George Denison, Thomas Stanton and James Averell, to manage their affairs at Paugatuck, to govern the Indians, and collect the tax imposed upon them on account of the Pequots; and then say, "They are also hereby authorised to act and do, or cause to be done, what in their discretion may best conduce, to reduce them to civility and the knowledge of God, as well by causing due punishment to be inflicted on disorderly persons according to their demirits, as by encouraging such as shall be sent to instruct them by order of the commissioners, and by causing them to attend thereunto." And nothing has been more common with their party ever since, than to represent the Rhode-Islanders as an irreligious people: but I trust the forgoing facts shew that they were not all so, to which I shall add, that Mr. S. Hubbard's daughter Ruth was converted and joined to Mr. Clarke's church in 1652, when she was not 13 years old, and on August 4, 1666, she wrote from Westerly thus,

"Most loving and dear father and mother, my duty with my husband and children presented unto you, with all my dear friends.—My longing desire is to hear from you, how your hearts are borne up above these troubles which are come upon us, and are coming as we fear; for we have the rumours of war, and that almost every day. Even now we have heard from your Island by some Indians who declared unto us, that the French have done some mischief upon the coast, and we have heard that 1200 Frenchmen have joined with the Mohawks, to clear the land both

of

of English and Indians. But I trust in the Lord, if such a thing be intended, that he will not suffer such a thing to be. My desire and prayer to God is, that he will be pleased to fulfil his promise to us, that is, that as in the world we shall have troubles, so in him we shall have peace. The Lord of comfort, comfort your and our hearts, and give us peace in believing, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Oh that the Lord would be pleased to fill our hearts with his good spirit, that we may be carried above all these things! and that we may remember his saying, *When ye see these things come to pass, lift up your heads, knowing that your redemption draws nigh.* Then if these things be the certain sign of our Lord's return, let us mind his command, that is, *pray always that ye may be counted worthy to escape all these things, and to stand before the son of man.* Let us have boldness to come unto him in the new and living way, which he hath prepared for us. Through grace I find the Lord doth bear up the spirits of his in this place, in some comfortable measure, to be looking above these things, the Lord increase it more and more unto the day of his appearing, which I hope is at hand. Dear father and mother, the Lord hath been pleased to give us here many sweet and comfortable days of refreshing, which is great cause of thankfulness, and my desire is, that we may highly prise it, and you with us give the Lord the praise for this benefit. I pray remember my love to all my dear friends with you in fellowship. Sister Sanders desires to be remembered to you all: so doth sister Clarke. Your loving daughter to my power, RUTH BURDICK."

PHILIP was son to Osamaquin and succeeded him as the chief sachem on the east side of Narra-

ganset Bay. He had this name given him by Plymouth court in 1660. Such rumours spread of his preparing for war, as brought governor Prince, and two of his assistants to Taunton, April 13, 1671, to meet three gentlemen from the Massachusetts, to examine into the matter. Philip kept at a distance, and sent to them to come to him at three mile river. * The governor sent again for him to come to them, but he refused, till old Mr. Roger Williams and Mr. Brown, [I suppose of Swanzey] offered to remain there as hostages; by which means he was brought forward and prevailed with to deliver up about 70 guns he had got, and to promise future fidelity, which suspended the war four years. † And then it was brought on in the following manner. John Sasaman, an Indian that the English had given considerable instruction to, both as to human learning and religious affairs, being with Philip at Namasket, discovered that he was preparing for war, and informed the English of it; for which he was murdered upon a pond at Assawamset, both of which places are in Middleborough. Three Indians were apprehended for that murder, and were executed at Plymouth.

Mr. John Tracy of Norwich had married Mrs. Mary Winslow from Marshfield five years before, and returning from a visit there at this time, happened to fall in among a party of Indians in arms, waiting to hear whether their friends would be executed or not. They brought him to Philip, whom he satisfied that he was only a traveller and upon no

* Which runs from Norton through the west part of Taunton, and falls into the great river betwixt that town and Dighton.

† Mass. hist. vol. 1, p. 278, 279.

no ill design, so that he sent him away in peace. * But hearing soon after that those Indians were executed, they broke out on June 24, 1675, and killed nine men in different parts of Swanzey, and fired upon one in Rehoboth; which alarmed the country, and in four days an army was collected there, and made Mr. Miles's house their head quarters. Philip soon left his station at Mount Hope, now Bristol, and retired to a great swamp east of the great river. The Massachusetts part of the army went into the Narraganset country, and brought those Indians to promise not to join in the war, and then returned, and with the other forces, attacked Philip at the swamp on July 18, but had little success therein. Soon after which, Philip and many of his men repassed the river, and crossing Seaconk plain, made his way up to the Nepmuck Indians in Worcester county, who had begun the war on July 14.

THESE alarms caused Mr. Joseph Tory and Mr. Hubbard to send a boat which brought their friends from Westerly to Newport this month, who continued on the island till the war was over. Soon after Philip had joined the Nepmucks, they violently assaulted a small English plantation at Brookfield, and as Capt. Hutchinson with a company went to relieve them on August 2, they from an ambush gave him a mortal wound. But Major Willard came two days after with 48 men, and slew many of the enemy, and delivered his friends. Upon which the enemy steered further westward, and on Sept. 1, burnt most of the houses in Deerfield, and killed 8 men the next day at Northfield; and Capt. Beers going with thirty-six

* Callender's century sermon, p. 73. Mr. Tracy was my mother's grandfather.

36 men to fetch off the inhabitants there, had a terrible fight with the enemy, wherein he and above half of his men fell. September 18, ſundry teams went to bring off a large quantity of grain from Deerfield, and Capt. Lothrop went with about 80 men to guard them; but not ſeeing any of the enemy, they on their return, got to picking grapes by Muddy-brook, when the enemy got a dreadful advantage of them. I have ſeen the ſtone over the place where they tell me about 70 of them were buried in one grave. Preſently after an aſſault was made upon Springfield, where the miniſter's houſe and library was burnt, with 31 houſes beſide. But a large body of Indians making an onſet upon Hadly, Oct. 19, and having killed one man, were ſo bravely repulſed by the Engliſh, that in their flight ſome of them were drowned in Connecticut river, and others who eſcaped retired into Narraganſet. In that country on a ſmall tract of upland within a great ſwamp, ſeven miles weſt from the ſouth ferry that goes over from Newport, the Indians built and ſtored the ſtrongeſt fort they ever had in this country. Therefore the colonies gathered an army of a thouſand men, under the command of governor Winſlow, and after a fierce conflict, took and deſtroyed it on Dec. 19. They ſuppoſed that a thouſand of the enemy were cut off; but it coſt on our ſide the lives of ſix Captains, and 170, ſome ſaid 210 men killed or wounded. They marched 16 or 18 miles from Major Smith's to that fight, and returned through a terrible ſnow-ſtorm the ſame night. *

GREAT

* I have met with the original of a teſtimony concerning that family, and that affair, which I will give a copy of here, and is as follows.

Narraganſet

GREAT stores of corn were destroyed in that fort, which reduced the Indians to terrible distress. But

Narraganset, 21 July, 1679, *(ut vulgo.)*

"ROGER WILLIAMS of Providence in the Narraganset Bay, in New-England, being (by God's mercy) the first beginner of the mother town of Providence, and of the Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, being now near to fourscore years of age, yet (by God's mercy) of sound understanding and memory! do humbly and faithfully declare, that Mr. Richard Smith, senior, who for his conscience to God left fair possessions in Gloucestershire, and adventured, with his relations and estate to New-England, and was a most acceptable inhabitant, and a prime leading man in Taunton in Plymouth Colony; for his conscience sake, many differences arising, he left Taunton and came to the Narraganset country, where (by God's mercy and the favour of the Narraganset sachems) he broke the ice at his great charge and hazard, and put up in the thickets of the barbarians, the first English house amongst them. 2 I humbly testify that about 40 years from this date, he kept possession, coming and going himself, children and servants, and he had quiet possession of his housing, lands and meadow; and there in his own house, with much serenity of soul and comfort, he yield up his spirit to God, (the father of spirits) in peace. 3. I do humbly and faithfully testify as abovesaid, that since his departure his honored son, Capt. Richard Smith, hath kept possession (with much acceptance with English and Pagans) of his fathers housing, lands and meadows, with great improvement, also by his great cost and industry. And in the late bloody Pagan war, I knowingly testify and declare, that it pleased the Most High to make use of himself in person, his housing, goods, corn, provisions and cattle, for a garrison and supply for the whole army of New-England, under the command of the ever to be honored general Winslow, for the service of his Majesty's honor and country of New-England. 4 I do also humbly declare, that the said Capt Richard Smith, jun'r, ought by all the rules of equity, justice and gratitude (to his honored father and himself) to be fairly treated with, considered, recruited, honored, and by his Majesty's authority, confirmed and established in a peaceful possession of his fathers and his own possessions in this Pagan wilderness, and Narraganset country. The premises I humbly testify, as now leaving this country and this world. ROGER WILLIAMS."

IT appears by governor Winthrop's journal that Taunton was first planted in 1637, so that Mr. Smith came there soon after. We are told that the mansion house of the Updike family in North Kingston stands where he began among the Narragansets.

But a thaw in January enabled them to get some sustenance out of the earth, upon which they burnt the deserted houses in Mendon, and on Feb. 10, 1676, made an onset upon Lancaster, burnt their habitations, and killed or captivated 40 persons, one of whom was Mrs. Rowlandson, wife to the minister, who was then gone to Boston to procure help against the enemy. The narrative she gave of her captivity has lately been re-printed. Like mischiefs were done at Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford; and on Feb. 21 the enemy wheeled round and came down upon Medfield, (twenty miles from Boston) and burnt half their houses, and slew eighteen men, notwithstanding two or three hundred soldiers that they then had in the town. Feb. 25 they did considerable damage in Weymouth, still nearer to Boston; and the like at Groton and Sudbury on March 10. The 12th they cut off two families in Clark's garrison at Plymouth; and the next day burnt almost all Groton [in Middlesex] to the ground.

Here I must open something that has been surprizingly concealed from this country. It has been the constant practice of all parties who are fond of an ecclesiastical establishment by human laws, to accuse the baptists of disobedience to government, especially in the point of a defensive war. This the reader may see inserted in a law of the Massachusetts, but three years before this war began. Mr. Callender was then a member of the baptist church in Boston, and was continued a great blessing to them for more than fifty years. The copy of Mr. Russell's narrative that I am favoured with came out of his family, and in it is a manuscript note in the margin, against Mr. Russell's account of Mr. Turner, which says, "In the beginning

beginning of the war, William Turner gathered a company of volunteers, but was denied a commiſſion and diſcouraged, becauſe the chief of the company were anabaptiſts. Afterwards when the war grew more general and diſtructive, and the country in very great diſtreſs, having divers towns burnt, and many men ſlain, then he was deſired to accept a commiſſion. He complained it was too late, his men on whom he could confide being ſcattered; however was moved to accept." They made him Captain, and his brother Drinker Lieutenant of a company that marched up with others in the beginning of this month, to relieve the weſtern towns, under Major Savage as chief commander; and by them the Indians were repulſed and driven off from Northampton on March 14. The 17th they burnt all but one of the houſes in Warwick, moſt of the inhabitants being gone to Rhode-Iſland. On Lord's day, March 26, Capt. Pierce being at Rehoboth, with fifty Engliſh ſoldiers, and twenty friend Indians, heard of a body of the enemy up Patucket river, and wrote to Capt. Andrew Edmunds of Providence, to meet him there with his company to attack them. He ſent the letter by a perſon who was going over to Providence meeting, but who did not deliver it till their worſhip was done at noon. As ſoon as Capt. Edmunds had read the letter, he gave the bearer a ſharp reprimand, for not delivering it before, and expreſſed his fear of the conſequence as it proved; for Capt. Pierce engaging the enemy alone, who were alſo more numerous than he expected, he was ſurrounded and cut off; with all but 13 of his men, only one of whom was of the Engliſh; and it is ſaid he eſcaped by a friend Indian's turning and runing after him with a wea-

pon,

pon, as if he was an enemy, which others seeing did not persue him. They tell us that another of those friends escaped in this manner; being persued by an enemy, he took shelter behind a rock, where as each waited for an opportunity to shoot the other, our friend gently raising his hat above the rock upon a stick, the enemy discharged his gun at it, on which the other shot him down and escaped. It is reported, that Capt. Pierce and his men slew 140 of the enemy in the conflict. The people both of Marlborough and Springfield suffered considerably the same day. March 28, forty houses were burnt in Rehoboth, and twenty-nine the next day at Providence, the people returning into garrisons.

In the clerk's office in that town is a paper, in which Mr. Williams said, "I pray the town, in the sense of the late bloody practices of the natives to give leave to so many as can agree with William Field, to bestow some charge upon fortifying his house, for security to women and children; also to give me leave and so many as shall agree, to put up some defence on the hill, between the mill and the highway, for the like safety of the women and children in that part of the town." To this eleven principal inhabitants subscribed, the highest whereof was two pounds six shillings, except Mr. Williams who subscribed ten pounds. Tradition says, that when the Indians appeared on the high lands north of their great cove, Mr. Williams took his staff and walked over towards them, hoping likely to pacify them as he had often done; but when some of their aged men saw him, they came out and met him, and told him that though those who had long known him would not hurt him, yet their young men were so in-

raged

raged that it was not safe for him to venture among them; upon which he returned to the garrison. The house where their records were kept was plundered, and they thrown into the mill-pond, but were recovered, though by that means some passages are not legible, and likely many articles were lost.

In April Capt. George Denison of Stonington, with a number of English and Mohegan Indians, performed two great exploits. They penetrated into the Narraganset country, and slew forty-four of the enemy at one time, and sixty-six at another, without the loss of a man Though in the mean time the Massachusetts met with a dreadful blow Capt. Wadsworth and Lieut. Bruttlebank, with above thirty men, were cut off as they were going to relieve Sudbury, on April 18. Bridgewater, which was planted in 1652, was now assaulted by a great body of the enemy on May 8, when twelve deserted houses were burnt, but there was never one of their people killed in that war; neither can we learn that any English person who was born in that town, was ever slain by the sword for eighty years after. Major Savage and most of his men returning, he left Capt. Turner to command in that quarter. Hereupon the enemy, thinking themselves more out of danger, resorted seven or eight hundred of them to to the great falls above Deerfield, on the fishing design. Two captive lads made their escape, and gave information of their secure state, whereupon Capt. Turner and young Capt. Holioke of Springfield, collected what force they could on a sudden, being not much more than a hundred and fifty men, and went up silently in the night, tied their horses at some distance, and a little before day

break, May 13, 1676, came unawares upon the enemy, "fired amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frighting others with the ſudden alarm of their guns, made them run into the river, where the ſwiftneſs of the ſtream carrying them down a ſteep fall, they periſhed in the waters; ſome getting into canoes, ſank or overſet by the ſhooting of our men; others creeping for ſhelter, under the banks of the great river, were eſpied by our men and killed with their ſwords.—Some of their priſoners afterwards owned that they loſt above three hundred, ſome whereof were principal men, ſachems and ſome of their beſt fighting men that were left.—Nor did they ſeem ever to have recovered themſelves after this defeat, but their ruin immediately followed upon it" When our people firſt fired upon them they cried out, *Mohawks!* but in the morning diſcovering their miſtake, they rallied their ſcattered men, and Capt. Turner being unwell, and ſo "not able for want of bodily ſtrength (no ways defective for want of ſkill or courage) to aſſiſt or direct in making a retreat; ſome of the enemy fell upon the guards that kept the horſes, others perſued them in the rear, ſo as our men ſuſtained pretty much damage as they retired, miſſing after their return thirty-eight of their men." One of whom was Capt. Turner, who was afterwards found and buried. * Dr. Stephen Williams ſays, "There were many remarkables in this affair (as related by Jonathan Wells, Eſq; who was preſent) which are taken notice of by Mr. Hubbard, or Dr. Mather." † Mr. Hubbard's account was examined and approved by three gentlemen

* Hubbard's hiſtory of that war. p. 88, 94.

† Appendix to his father and Deerfield's captivity. p. 66.

gentlemen of the council, and so was published by authority. All the rest of the baptists who were in that action, but their Captain were preserved and returned. And as they again meet with cruel treatment four years after, both from rulers and ministers, and the old charge of denying magistracy was revived, they said in answer thereto.

1st. "It is directly against our principles, and contrary to what we asserted in a confession of our faith, that we gave into the court, as also to that confession of our faith lately set forth by our brethren in Old-England, which confession we own in every particular.* 2. Our continual prayer to God for them, according to 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, will witness against this charge 3. Our constant subjection and obedience to their laws, both actively, as far as we can with a good conscience, and where we could not actively, there have we been passively obedient; in suffering what they inflicted on us, without seeking any revenge in the least. 4. In paying all due demands whatsoever; not being desirous to withhold from Cæsar at any time, any of his dues. In a word, both our persons and estates are always ready at command to be serviceable in the defence of the country; yea and have been voluntarily offered on the high places of the field, in the time of the country's greatest extremity.—Among whom was William Turner, whom they pleased to make Captain of that company, who had been one of the greatest sufferers among us, for the profession of religion. He was a very worthy man for soldiery; and Edward Drinker, who had been another sufferer, whom they pleased to make Lieutenant; and by the

* The confession published in London, in 1677, and revised in 1689.

the presence of the Lord with them, they were made instruments of the preservation of one town from the rage of the heathen, who violently broke into it, but they being there beat them out. And after that by Capt. Turner, who was then commander in chief, as an instrument in the hand of the Lord, was the greatest blow struck to the Indians of any they had received; for after this they were broken and scattered, so that they were overcome and suddued with ease. Here it is to be observed that those who had suffered so much from the country, and scandalized as enemies to the country, and their privileges, freely offering themselves in their service have been (through the Lord's presence with them) some of the principal instruments to subdue the barbarous heathen, and to deliver the country from its greatest distress; which may stand as a witness of our fidelity to the government to the world's end. We have been vilified and greatly reproached, and are at this day, it being without any just reason laid to us, that we are one chief cause of all the judgments of God on the land. We do not excuse ourselves, as not having a share or part in many of the sins that have provoked the Lord against poor New-England; neither have we been freed from having part with others in the general calamities that God hath brought on this poor place. Yet it is observable how graciously the Lord hath dealt with us; that in the time of great mortallity by the small-pox, when so many hundreds died, though many of us were visited with that visitation, yet not one of our society was removed by it; but it was not for any thing in us, that the Lord spared us, but for his names sake, that the mouth of our

adversaries

adverſaries might be ſilent." * But in anſwer to this Mr. Willard ſaid,

"THE German anabaptiſts were enemies to civil government, we hope theſe (though they have ſhown too much contempt of authority) are not ſo far gone. But for his ſo gloriouſly emblazoning their ſervice in the late wars, it is neither to the purpoſe, nor of much moment. That they did join againſt the common enemy is true. Swanzey (a place chiefly conſiſting of anabaptiſts, and where they had a church) was the place where the enemy made the firſt onſet.—Beſides, any man would fight, rather than have his throat cut; it was not for religion, nor civil government, but for lives and eſtates.—Nor did the Indians receive the greateſt blow at that time; nor is it the anabaptiſts true, but vain glory, to ſet ſuch an encomium upon their own deeds.—We have diſmiſſed the charge, now comes a ſtrong argument of their orthodoxy, a witneſs from Heaven, viz. their happy preſervation in the time of the ſmallpox. Let it be remembered, that one of their perſwation died of it at Woborn, (where John Ruſſell lived, and ſhould have obſerved it) and many of their children. But be it ſo; their ſociety is ſmall, and ſcattered from Dan to Beerſheba. And who knows, but God might ſpare them in judgment, to harden them? Theſe are too high things for us; only when God comes to chaſten his people, thoſe that are not chaſtened, may aſk whether they are not baſtards?" He had before ſaid, "As the honored magiſtrates here are chriſtians, ſo have they judged it their duty to maintain the ways of Chriſt, and ſtrengthen them by *civil laws*, which hath not only been the practice

* Ruſſell's narrative, p. 11, 12.

tice of reformers of old, but the constant judgement of the church of Christ ever since the apostles.—On this principal our wortl y rulers have made laws against many sects and intruders, and among the rest the anabaptists. That in quelling the anabaptists they do not oppose the truth, but suppress error, they are fully perswaded; and although they never pretended to a lordship over men's consciences, yet they account the outward man is subject to them: and if they must tarry till all men are agreed about what is truth, before we oppose error, we shall stay till there is no need of it." *

According to this, we are not to imagine that those ministers ever intended to lord it over Thomas Gould's conscience, when they censured him for not standing up, and looking on when they sprinkled infants in the sacred name. He might have thought what he pleased of it inwardly, if he would but have *honored them before the people*; † and though for refusing so to do, they excluded him from the ordinance of the supper for seven years, and then for taking another method to enjoy it, they moved the rulers to disfranchize, fine, imprison and banish him, yet all this was for error in his *outward man*, not in his *conscience*! neither must it be supposed, that *vain glory* had any influence in the emblazoning of things on their side; for all these things were done by orthodox ministers, and christian rulers. But let the anabaptists offer themselves ever so willingly, and at a time when the main of the enemy were remote from their churches, both of Boston and Swanzey; and let them do ever so great public service, yet it must not be thought that they were moved thereto,

* *Ne sutor.* p. 23, 24.

† 1 Sam. xv, 30.

thereto, either by religion or loyalty. No, all proceeded either from love to the world, or else fear of having their throats cut by the Indians in Boston, if they had not gone a hundred miles into the country to meet them! Which is spoken, not in contempt to any man's person, but to expose and detect that *self-flattery* which so often deceives mankind. The above is all the mention I ever saw, in any publication from that party, that shews the chief commander in the fall-fight to have been a baptist. Most of their histories of that war mention his name, but not a word of his being the man who had before suffered in the baptists cause. And lest it should detect the slanders they still were casting upon our denomination, they having gained his son to their party, intirely concealed this fact from his numerous posterity. For though his grandson, Capt. William Turner of Swanzey embraced our principals, which he continued in after he removed to Newport, where he died in 1759, bequeathing, among other legacies in his will, his lands in Fall-town, adjoining to the place where his grandfather was slain; yet in June 1774, I was conversing with one of his daughters, together with her son, William Turner Miller, Esq; both members of the baptist church in Warren, and they told me, they had often heard of their ancestors exploits and death in Philip's war, but never a word before of his being a baptist, or of his sufferings in that cause. Neither have any of their historians ever ventured to publish a particular account of the baptist sufferings, as they have of the Quakers. For which I can give no better reason than, because they could find incroachments upon their rights in the latter to found a plea upon, which they could not

in

in the former. And the author of the Magnalia plainly expreſt his unwillingneſs, that the *records* thereof ſhould be kept any where.

CAPTAIN Benjamin Church of Duxbury near Plymouth, who had made ſome beginning at Sokonet, now Little-Compton, eaſt of Rhode-Iſland, the year before the war, carried his family on that Iſland after it began, as a place in his opinion of greater ſafety than Duxbury or Plymouth; and he was an active and ſucceſsful commander through the war. As he knew that Philip had forced the Sokonet Indians into the war, contrary to the minds of the leading part of them, he againſt his friends advice, went over in a canoe, and adventered himſelf among them in June this year, and gained them over to our ſide, by whoſe help he took great numbers of the enemy from day to day, who had now loſt all their courage. At length returning to viſit his wife, whoſe anxious mind fainted to ſee him again well; he was immediately informed by Major Sanford and Capt. Golding, that one of Philip's men had fled from him (then at the foot of Mount-Hope) and was come over to the Iſland. Hereupon they all put ſpurs to their horſes, and having heard the Indian's account, croſſed the ferry in the night with a few men, and after Capt. Church had ſtationed his ambuſh, of the Rhode-Iſland gentlemen, beat up Philip's head-quarters, upon which he ſet out to flee through a little ſwamp, but after an Engliſh man had ſnapt his gun at him without effect, Alderman, an Indian, fired a bullet through his heart on Auguſt 12, 1676, a little before the break of day; after which the war was ſoon brought to a cloſe.

THIS ſummary of that bloody war I have care-

ſully

fully collected from a great variety of hiſtories and accounts. And upon the whole, it was ſaid, that in this war were ſlain, twelve Captains and about ſix hundred men. That about one thouſand, two hundred houſes were burnt, eight thouſand head of cattle, and many thouſand buſhels of grain deſtroyed; and alſo three thouſand Indians. The loſs to the Engliſh colonies, was computed at £150,000 ſterling, and Capt. Tom, with another chief of the chriſtian Indians at Natick, were taken and hanged at Boſton, for being active inſtruments of thoſe miſchiefs. * Though many others were faithful. Of thoſe twelve Captains, Gallop, Seily and Marſhall, (who were ſlain at the Narraganſet fort) were of Connecticut; Hutchinſon, Beers, Lothrop, Devenport, Gardner, Johnſon, Wadſworth and Turner, were of the Maſſachuſetts, and Peirce was of Scituate in Plymouth colony; from whence one baptiſt elder of that name, and many members of the baptiſt churches of Swanzey, Rehoboth and other places have ſprung.

On November 29, this year Mr. Samuel Hubbard wrote to Mr. Edward Stennett, in England, † and after what is recited in the beginning of this Chapter, he further ſaid of the Indians, "They have done much harm in our bordering towns, as Warwick, deſtroyed by fires; only moſt of the people are here and their goods, and ſome of their cattle; and the like at Pawtuxet and Providence, though not altogether deſtroyed, for a garriſon remaineth there to this day. And for the other ſide over againſt us on the main, which

 once

* Maſſ. hiſtory, vol. 3, p. 493.

† Whoſe ſon and grandſon, named Joſeph, and great-grandſon named Samuel, have been noted baptiſt miniſters in London, the two latter, Doctor's of divinity.

once was ours, and is I judge by charter, many are killed by the Indians, the reſt came to us with what they could bring. Connecticut army, Plymouth and Bay armies being there, waſted very much; when they left it, the Indians burnt near all that was left. In Plymouth the wars began, and are ſore waſted; the Bay loſt very many men. Connecticut did moſt ſervice, and I have not heard of one town deſtroyed or fired in that colony In the beginning of theſe troubles of the wars, Lieutenant Joſeph Tory, elder of Mr. Clarke's church, having but one daughter living at Squamicot [Weſterly] and his wife being there, he ſaid unto me, come let us ſend a boat to Squamicot, my all is there and part of yours. We ſent a boat ſo as his wife, his daughter, and ſon-in-law, and all their children, and my two daughters and their children (one had eight, the other three, with an apprentice boy) all came, and brother John Crandal and his family, with as many others as could poſſibly come. My ſon Clarke came afterwards before winter, and my other daughter's huſband came in the ſpring, and they all have been at my houſe to this day. Now dear brother, although we are not deſtroyed by the Indians, God hath viſited this land by taking away many by death; and in this place, of all ſorts. Of the old church, firſt Mr. Joſeph Tory, then my dear brother John Crandal, then Mr. John Clarke, then William Weeden, a deacon, then John Salmon: a ſad ſtroke in very deed; young men and maids to this day, I never knew or heard the like in New-England. Laſt week four or five were buried in this town—Brother Turner went to war, and God proſpered him for a time, but he is now killed by the Indians; the reſt are well and enjoy

their

their liberty. Mr. Miles that was at Swanzey, is now with them. Brother William Gibson, who came from Old-England with brother Mumford, is now gone to New-London to visit our brethren there." Mr. Mumford had been over to London, and he with Mr. Gibson returned to Boston, in October 1675; who afterward succeeded elder Hilcox in the pastoral office at Newport.

THE above account of the preservation of Connecticut, as well as the other articles expressed are just, as far as I can learn. The Mohegan Indians, under Uncas, did the English great service in that war. I have seen scarce any account of any other damages in Swanzey and Rehoboth, beside what have been recited, except the Indians killing Capt. Willet's son near the garrison in Swanzey this year. Middleborough and Dartmouth were but just begun before the war, and when it came on, the English and part of the Indians therein, removed to Plymouth and other places of greater safety; and the large body of natives near to and upon Cape Cod, continued in amity with the English, as those on the Islands south of it also did; and of the latter I have met with the following entertaining account.

THOMAS MAYHEW, Esq; obtained a grant of Martha's-Vineyard, with the islands adjacent, and began a settlement at Edgarton on the east part of the Vineyard, in 1642, where he was their chief ruler, and his son their minister. In 1646, the son began to preach to the Indians with success; to promote which cause his father told them, "That by order from the crown of England, he was to govern the English who should inhabit those Islands; that his royal master was in power far above any of the Indian monarchs; but that as he was great and powerful, so he was a lover of justice;

justice; and that therefore he would in no measure invade their jurisdictions, but on the contrary assist them if need required; that religion and government were *distinct things*, and their sachems might retain their just authority, though their subjects were christians." And he practised according to his profession; "for he would not suffer any to injure them, either in their goods, lands or persons. They always found a father and protector in him; and he was so far from introducing any form of government among them *against their wills*, that he first convinced them of the advantage of it, and even brought them to desire him to introduce and settle it." This wise conduct and the gospel means that were used with them, produced such happy effects, that a christian church was formed and organized among them five years before this war. And now in the time of it, the government furnished those christian Indians with arms and ammunition, and employed them to defend the Islands against the enemy. "And so faithful were they, that they not only resolutely rejected the strong sollicitations of the natives on the neighbouring Main, but, in observance of the general orders given them, when any landed to sollicit them, though some were nearly related by marraige, and others by blood, yet the Island Indians would immediately bring them before the governor to attend his pleasure." By the divine blessing on these means, though the Indians there were twenty to one of the English, yet through this extensive and bloody war, "These Islands enjoyed a perfect calm of peace; and the people wrought and dwell secure and quiet." *

NINEGRET

* *Prince's appendix to Mayhew's Indian converts*, p. 293—296. In that performance I find that Mr. Peter Fouldger was early

NINEGRET and his Nyantick subjects, who dwelt from Point-Judith up to Westerly, on the shore south of the Narraganfets, did not join in that war; and a considerable number of their descendants

early employed as a "school-master among those Indians, and when young Mr. Mayhew went for England, in 1967, Mr. Prince says, they had not only several Indian teachers on the Island, but also "an able, godly Englishman named Peter Foulger, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing and the principles of religion by catechizing; being well learned likewise in the scripture, and capable of helping them in religious matters." p. 291. I find by Mr. Samuel Hubbard, that Mr. Foulger became a baptist, and joined Mr. Clarke's church about the time of this war; as Thomas West an English man, and some Indians from thence did to Mr. Hiscox's church, in 1680. And Mr. Foulger promoted the baptist principles among the Indians. Though one of them named Japeth, who had been his scholar, and now was got to be a noted teacher, reminded him that he had formerly warned them against false teachers that would come, and said he, "Now sir, I find your prediction true, for you yourself are become one of these teachers, you cautioned us against; I am therefore *fully resolved* to take your good counsel, and not believe you, but *will* continue stedfast in the truths wherein you formerly instructed me." Mayhew, p. 49. 50. However he found others not to be so *resolute*, for by the time that their governor Mayhew died, in 1681, the baptist principles had prevailed considerably among them; and by the year 1694, they had one baptist church on the Vineyard among the christian Indians, and another on Nantucket. Magnalia, b. 6, p. 56. The first Indian pastor over those baptists on the Vineyard, that I have seen any account of, was Stephen Tackamason. He first joined to a church of the other denomination, in or about 1690. Mr. Mayhew informs us, that he was *rebaptized* some years after, and became a member and a teacher of that church, but says, "However, he appeared to be so serious a man, that I cannot but judge, that he acted according to the dictates of his conscience in what he did, and not out of any base or sordid ends." He died in Chilmark, in 1708; and our author says, "I had frequent conversation with him while he was in health, and sometimes—in the time of that long sickness whereof he died: and never from first to last saw any thing by him, that made me any ways suspect the integrity of his heart, but did ever think him to be a godly and discreet man. The last

dants now live there in Charlestown; and in 1741 a great reformation took place among them; a baptist church was formed there some years after, over whom James Simons was ordained; and since

last time I went to see him, he professed his good opinion of those people and churches, from whom he differed in his apprehensions about the subjects and mode of baptism, and blamed some of his brethren for being too uncharitable and censorious towards them; and he on other subjects, discoursed like a good christian.—He seemed not to be at all terrified at the approaches of death towards him, of which he was very sensible, but appeared to enjoy that peace in his soul which passeth understanding." P. 42——44. These are the words of Mr. Experience Mayhew, in his *Indian converts*, published in 1727. His worthy son who succeeds him in the ministry among the Indians on the Island, treated one of my brethren in the ministery, very friendly when he was over and preached among those baptists, near three years ago. I had requested my friend to collect some account of those baptists, and he applied to Mr. Mayhew for that purpose; who promised he would get the best intelligence he could concerning them, from an aged Aunt of his, who retained her mental powers remarkably and others. And he sent the same in the following letter.

"REVEREND SIR,

IN compliance with your request I have got the best information I could, with respect to the origin of antipedobaptists at Martha's-Vineyard. My aged Aunt informs me, that the first baptist minister among the Indians on the Island, that she knew or heard of, was one Isaac Decamy, who came from the Main-land with his family, and preached and administered the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's-supper, a number of years: she is uncertain what year he came, but according to the best of her memory the said Decamy died near sixty years agone: she saith further, that he was a man of a sober life and conversation. The next Indian minister of this denomination, by the best intelligence I can get, was Jonas Horswet, who preached and administered the ordinances to a small society of baptists at Gayhead. The next was Ephraim Abraham, originally of Chappaquidick, at the east end of the Island, who had the charge of the society at Gayhead, as also of one, which about this time was formed at said Chappaquidick. The next ordained minister was Samuel Kakenehew, whom I had a personal acquaintance with: he lived at Chappaquidick, was esteemed by such as knew him, to be a man

ſince that Samuel Niles, both of their own nation; and a conſiderable number of them have given laſting evidence of their being pious chriſtians.

It may be proper to take ſome particular notice here of Mr. Clarke, who left as ſpotleſs a character as any man I knew of, that ever acted in any public ſtation in this country. * The Maſſachuſett writers

man of ſenſe, and of a regular and chriſtian life and converſation. There were ſeveral other preachers among them, but not ordained; except Silas Paul, who is now living, and is an ordained paſtor of the baptiſt church at Gayhead, and who alſo takes upon him the care of the ſmall ſociety of that denomination at Chappaquidick; preaching occaſionally and adminiſtering the ordinances to them. He is the only Indian miniſter of this denomination now upon this Iſland.

This is the beſt information that can be obtained by your friend and fellow-labourer in the work of the miniſtery.

ZECHARIAH MAYHEW."

Chilmark, 27 Auguſt, 1774.

This was directed to elder Hunt, who ſays the ſaid Paul informed him, that he was then 34 years old, was baptized in 1758, ordained in 1763; that the church at Gayhead had 13 members, and the other 16.

* He was born October 8, 1909; married Elizabeth, daughter of John Harges, Eſq; of Bedfordſhire. In a power of attorney ſigned by them, May 12, 1656, he ſtiles himſelf John Clarke, phyſician of London. It was for the recovery of a legacy of £ 20 per annum during her life, that was given her by her father out of the mannor of Wreſlingworth Bedfordſhire. Where he had his education I know not; but the following clauſe in his will may give ſome idea of his learning, viz. "Item, unto my loving friend Richard Baily, I give and bequeath, my concordance and lexicon to it belonging, written by myſelf, being the fruit of ſeveral years ſtudy; my Hebrew Bibles, Buxtorff's and Paſſor's lexicon, Cotton's concordance, and all the reſt of my books." His firſt wife died at Newport without an iſſue, and Feb. 1, 1671, he married Mrs. Jane Fletcher, by whom Feb 14, 1672, he had a daughter born; but the mother died the 19th of April following, and the daughter May 18, 1673. His third wife was the widow Sarah Davis, who ſurvived him, he gave ſome legacies, both to her and to the children ſhe had by her former huſband, Mr. Baily came from London with him, in 1664.

writers have been so watchful and careful, to publish whatever they could find, which might seem to countenance the severities, they used towards dissenters from their way, that I expected to find some thing of that nature against Mr. Clarke; but have happily been disappointed. Though he was disarmed by them, in 1637, and imprisoned and fined at Boston, in 1651, and he exposed their injustice and cruelty, to him and his brethren, in print the next year, and continued in England, to oppose and defeat all their attempts at the court there against his colony, till he obtained their present charter; yet among all their authors or records, that I have searched, I have not met with a single reflection cast upon him by any one; which I think is very extraordinary. There was doubtless enough said against him, for his principles of believers baptism, and liberty of conscience, to secure him from the wo, of being spoken well of by all men; yet, like Daniel, it seems as if his enemies could find no fault in him in matter of the kingdom, but only concerning the law of his God.

Few men ever merited the title of a Patriot more than he did; for he was a principal procurer of Rhode-Island, for sufferers and exiles. And when their rights and liberties were grossly invaded, he crossed the boistrous ocean, and exerted all his influence, in twelve years watchful and diligent labours, for his colony at the British court, till he obtained a new charter for them, of great and distinguishing privileges; for the accomplishment of which, he mortgaged his own estate in Newport, willing to venture his all, in so good a cause, though he was not insensable of the covetousness and ingratitude of some great pretenders

tenders to liberty in that colony; whose influence had caused a great deal of trouble and expence to Mr. Williams, without any suitable recompence. * The inventions of men are scarce ever more fruit-

* Six years after Mr. Williams obtained their first charter, viz.—On March 22, 1650, he presented a paper to the deputies and inhabitants of Providence, which contained four requests for others, and a fifth for himself; wherein he says, "I cannot be so unthankful to you, and so insensible of my own families comfort, as not to take notice of your continued and constant love and care, in your many public and solemn orders for the payment of that money due unto me about the charter: It is true, I have never demanded it; yea, I have been truly desirous, that it might have been laid out for some further public benefit in each town; but observing your loving resolution to the contrary, I have at last resolved to write unto you (as I have also lately done to Portsmouth and Newport) about the better ordering of it to my advantage. I have here, through God's providence, conveniency of improving some goats; my request is therefore that, if it may be without much trouble, you would please to order the payment of it in cattle of that kind. I have been sollicited, and have promised my help about iron works, when the matter is ripe; earnestly desirous every way to further the good of the town of Providence, to which I am so much engaged, and to yourselves the loving inhabitants thereof, to whom I desire to be your truly loving and ever faithful ROGER WILLIAMS."

YET he never received all his pay for that first charter. And though the first assembly that met after they received the second, voted Mr. Clarke the reward that has been mentioned, yet they were very backward about fulfilling their promise. Their general assemblies from year to year, wrote to stir up the towns thereto; but at the assembly of April 2, 1672, an account was exhibited, examined, approved and attested by governor Arnold and three assistants, which is now extant under their own hands, wherein it appears, that when Mr. Clarke obtained said charter, he had received but £. 221 3/ though the charter with his time and pains, cost £. 651, 17/ 10d. an 100l. of which was then due to him, and was ordered to be paid in provision pay, two pounds for one; but he never received any of it in his life-time. By his papers I find that he mortgaged his estate in Newport, to Capt. Richard Deane of London, the same month that he procured the charter, and that it was not taken up till Sept. 1, 1699, when the last payment of £115, was made to Capt. Deane's heirs.

ful, than in finding out ways to get money, and excuses to keep it; but how few have parted with it for public good, so freely as Mr. Williams and Mr. Clarke did?

After Mr. Clarke's return, he was improved in various public offices; was elected deputy governor three years successively, in two of which he accepted the office; but all the concern of the state did not prevail with him, as it has done with many, to neglect the affairs of religion. His church records and other writings prove, the continuance of his pastoral relation to the first church in Newport, and his care and labours to uphold gospel worship, and discipline therein. And the instrument by which he settled his last concerns in this world, shews what his faith and hope were, as to that which is to come; for therein he says, "Whereas I John Clarke of Newport, in the colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence plantations in New-England, physician, am at this present, through the abundant goodness and mercy of my God, though weak in my body, yet sound in my memory and understanding, and being sensible of the inconveniences that may ensue in case I should not set my house in order, before this spirit of mine be called by the Lord to remove out of this tabernacle, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament, in manner following; willing and readily resigning up my soul unto my merciful Redeemer, through faith in whose death I firmly hope and believe, to escape from that second hurting death, and through his resurrection and life, to be glorified with him in life eternal. And my spirit being returned out of this frail body, in which it hath conversed for about sixty-six years my will is, that it be decent-

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ly intered, without any vain oſtentation, between my loving wives Elizabeth and Jane, already deceaſed, in hopeful expectation, that the ſame Redeemer who hath laid down a price both for my ſoul and body, will raiſe it up at the laſt day a ſpiritual one, that they may together be ſinging hallelujah unto him to all eternity." * Oh! what miſerable

* Copied from the original will, dated April 20, 1676; and he quitted our world the ſame day. As he left no child, he gave many legacies to his relations and friends, both in that colony and the Maſſachuſetts. His brother Joſeph Clarke was early a member of the church in Newport with him, and was often a magiſtrate of the Colony; whoſe ſon Joſeph was alſo a member of that church, and then of the church in Weſterly, where his poſterity are numerous and reſpectable to this day. Elder Clarke, gave a particular lot of land in Newport, to his brother's ſon John, whoſe poſterity have alſo been reſpectable among the baptiſts ever ſince, one of whom is Mr. Edward Clarke, now a goſpel preacher near Providence. Then after giving a ſmall lot in town to his church, and giving his wife the uſe of his houſe and farm, containing more than a 150 acres, of upland and marſhes, together with ten acres in a part of Newport, called the neck, during her life, he gave ſaid farm and neck to his friends, William Weeden, Philip Smith and Richard Baily, and to their aſſigns, "qualified and choſen in manner following forever; that is to ſay, that when it ſhall happen that either of them three deceaſe, the two ſurviving ſhall make choice of an underſtanding perſon, fearing the Lord, to ſucceed in the place of him ſo deceaſed; and in caſe the two ſurviving differ in their choice of the perſon to ſucceed in the room of him ſo deceaſed, that then the choice ſhall be decided by lot; which perſon ſo choſen ſhall be the aſſignees of the ſaid perſons above-mentioned, and ſhall have equal power to act with them in all matters relating to the diſpoſal of the profit or rent of the ſaid land and farm, from time to time; and ſo all perſons choſen as aboveſaid to make good the ſaid number of three, ſhall be deemed and taken to be the aſſigns of the ſaid William Weeden, Philip Smith and Richard Baily, and none other; which ſaid perſons and their aſſigns, from time to time, choſen and ſucceeding as above ſaid, ſhall be ſeized of the ſaid farm and land called the neck, to the uſe and uſes following forever; that is to ſay faithfully and truly to diſtribute and diſpoſe of the rent and profit of my ſaid farm and land, for the

miserable things are all earthly pleasures or glories, when compared with such a life, and such a death! *Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.*

It has often been observed, that when one heavy affliction comes upon a person or people, others soon follow; which observation was remarkaly verefied this year. For beside those already named, Mr. Mark Luker, an ancient member, and a ruling elder of Mr. Clarke's church, died the December after him, leaving the character of a very worthy walker.

About the relief of the poor, or bringing up children unto learning, from time to time forever, according to such instructions as I shall give unto them; bearing even date with these presents." Which instructions are in these words, viz. "That in the disposal of that which the Lord hath bestowed on me, and I have now betrusted you with, and you and your successors, shall have special regard and care, to provide for those that fear the Lord; and in all things, and at all times, so to discharge the trust which I have reposed in you, as may be most for the glory of the Most High, and the good and benefit of those for whom it is by me expressly designed.

JOHN CLARKE."

His estate was appraised at 1680l. 12s. by James Barker, Thomas Ward, and Philip Edes, who made oath to the inventory May 17, 1676. Said farm and neck they appraised at 530l, and its late annual income has been 220 dollars, as the honorable Josias Lyndon, Esq; one of the assigns, informs me; who says the first assigns being Mr. Clarke's intimate friends, were informed by him, that his intent was to provide for religious as well as civil instruction, though he did not insert the word ministry, left the national clergy should lay claim to it. Therefore part of said profits have been improved to maintain religious teaching in that church ever since. Complaint was made in 1721, that one of these assigns was unfaithful in his trust, which caused the assembly to take the case in hand; who at length made a law to impower the town-council in each town to enquire how all charitable donations therein were managed, and by a jury of twelve men, upon oath, to assess damages upon delinquents; to whom therefore the assigns abovesaid have annually been accountable ever since.

About the begining of 1677, came out Mr. Williams's account of his dispute with the Quakers, upon which M. Cordington wrote over to his friend Fox and said, "Here is a lying scandalous book of Roger Williams of Providence, printed at Cambridge in New-England—I have known him about fifty years a meer weathercock, constant only in inconstancy; poor man! that doth not know what should become of his soul, if this night it should be taken from him. He was for the priests, and took up their principles to fight against the truth, and to gratify them and bad magistrates, that licked up his vomit, and wrote the said scurrilous book; and so hath transgressed for a *piece of bread*. And so are all joined with the *red dragon* to pour out their flood against the *man-child*. Into their secrets let not my soul come; my honor be not thou united. Dear G. F. I may yet more prove what I have said. One while he is a separatest at New-Plymouth, joining with them till they are weary of him (as from Morton's memorial in print doth appear;) another time you may have him a teacher or a member of the church at Salem. O! then a great deal of devotion is pleaded in women wearing of vails in their assemblies, as if the power of godliness was in it; and to have the cross out of the colours; and then to be against the King's patent and authority, and writeth a large book in quarto against it. And another time he is hired for money, and gets a patent from the long parliament, so that it is not long, but he is off and on it again. One time for mens wearing caps, and not hats for covering their faces; and again, hats and no caps; one time for water baptism, men and women must be plunged into the water; and then throw it all down again:

so

so that Cotton (who in his day did know the *power of God to salvation*) said of him, that he was a *barberdasher of small questions against the power.* So they ought to have feared God and the King, that is to punish evil-doers; and therefore not to meddle to their hurt, with him that is *given to change.*" And goes on to say he was credibly informed that governor Leveret said he would give 20l and governor Winslow 5l. rather than that book should not be printed. Scott's letter which is mentioned in p. 108, was also wrote on this occasion, wherein after accusing Mr. Williams of acting contrary to his own principle of liberty of conscience, he says, "Witness his presenting of it to the court at Newport; and when this would not take effect, afterwards when the commissioners were two of them at Providence, being in the house of Thomas Olney, senior, Roger Williams propounded this question to them; we have a people here among us, who will not act in our government with us, what course shall we take with them? George Cartwright, one of the commissioners, asked him what manner of persons they were? do they live quietly and peaceably amongst you? This they could not deny; then he made this answer, if they can govern themselves, they have no need of your government; at which they were silent. This was told again by a women of the the house where the speech was spoken, to another women, whom the complaint with the rest was made against, who related it to me; but they are both dead, and cannot bear witness with me, to what was spoken there." *

THESE letters being sent over with the book to Fox, he with John Burnyeat published them, with an

* Fox, part second, p. 245, 248.

an answer to Williams, in 1678, which they intitled, *A New-England firebrand quenched.* Fox's former book in folio Williams says was wrote against about six score authors and papers, to which Edward Burroughs wrote a preface; and some things that they said in the dispute, turned his thoughts so, as from those names he called his work, *George Fox digged out of his Burroughs.* Such titles were more common in that day than ours, but I have nothing to say to justify them, nor a great deal of the language that was used on both sides. What I am concerned with is fact and not dialect. As Mr. Williams had occasion to vindicate many things in the writings of Mr. Richard Baxter, Dr. John Owen, and others that Fox had written against, whom Williams call *pious and learned men*; he prefixed a particular address to them, in which he says, "As to matters in difference between your selves and me, I have willingly omitted them as knowing that many able and honest seamen in their observations of the sun (one picture of Christ Jesus) differ sometimes in their reckings, though uprightly aiming at, and bound for one port and harbour. I humbly beg of you, 1. That you will more and more earnestly, candidly and christianly study the things that differ without reflecting upon credit, *maintenance*, liberty, and life itself remembering who it was that said, *He that loves his life shall lose it.* 2. More and more study the prophesies and the signs of the times: you know when it was that five bishops, twenty-two ministers, and almost three hundred other precious believers in the true Lord Jesus, were sacrificed in the flames, for his ever blessed sake, against that monstrous man of sin and bloody whore of Rome. These Foxians fancy is but a feather to those high

Pico's

Pico's and Tenariffs, the Pope and Mahomet, whom some of you may live to see flung into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone." To this they answer and say,

"HERE you may see, though there is, and hath been great difference betwixt R. W. R. B. and J. O. yet all these have written against God's people, that are *in the truth*.—But it is well if they come to repentance for what they have done, for imprisoning and persecuting *us*, when they had both the *sword* and the *bag*. And so R. W. and the rest of the New-England priests, have been *one* with them in the *spirit of envy and malice* against the people of God, like the wily foxes, *whose blood lyeth at all your doors*.—All may see what a *devilish* and unchristian mind is in this R. W. whose desires are to R. B. and J. O. that they may see Mahomet, and the Turk, and the whore of Rome, and *us* (that he joins with them) flung into the lake of fire."* And in answer to his attempt to prove that *pride* about spiritual matters was the root and branch of their religion they say, "Roger, this is their condition, and the New England priests and professors. Oh! that your eyes were open that you might see it! and so what thou measurest to others, it will be measured to thee again, pressed down and running over; and the god of the world will fail thee in thy proofs, and hath failed thee; as he did *thy* mother Eve, and *thy* father Adam. † For this is the mouth of the pit, that thou speakest of, and Lucifers boast in thee against the children of the Lord, that are daily in jeopardy of their lives, and some of them have lost their lives amongst you in New-England, in obedience to the command of Christ their saviour. And we know

* Fox, p. 11, 12.

† Why not *mine*?

know, they hated Christ our Lord and Master without a cause, and *so you do as*. But R. W. may say, he doth not persecute with his hands, but let him read p. 200 of his book, wherein he declares himself, that *a due and moderate restraint he would have inflicted upon us*, yea, through pretending *conscience*; and he would not have this called *persecution*. But would R. W. be so served himself? No; but now he lives in a peaceable government, where he cannot exercise his cruelty, and he hath not the sword in his hand, but is in a restless spirit, who grudgeth at the liberty of others, and cannot be content with his own." Again they mention his plea for liberty against the bloody tenet in 1652, and says, "But R. W. is *fallen from that plea*, who now desireth the magistrates to persecute us, &c. and it must not be called persecution neither, as in p. 200; and many things we would bring out of his former books, which would render him very *uncertain*; but we shall forbear at the present, and leave him to the Lord, for his books declare themselves, what he said then, and what he saith now: but the reader may see how R. W. hath *invented*, and *forged* many words against us, the people of God in scorn called Quakers, which we never spoke nor wrote." *

THEY refer to that page, from one end to the other of their book, to prove him a persecutor; and when the Magnalia came out in 1702, John Whiting wrote an answer the next year, wherein he said of the author, "He compares Roger Williams to a wind-mill, that by his rapid motion was like to set the whole country on fire—yet

*See p. 10, 11. *Part second*, p. 212, In p. 241, and 242 they repeat their reference to that page, in like manner.

commends him, though such a wind-mill, for his opposition against the Quakers—but that haberdasher of small questions against the *power of godliness*, as their *great Cotton* called him, was answered by George Fox and John Burnyeat, in another book intitled, *A New-England fire-brand quenched.*"* Joseph Grove published his abridgment of bishop with notes, the same year. And against where bishop had mentioned Mr. Norton, Grove says, "This is that priest Norton, whom Cotton Mather, in his late history of New-England, so much commends, and with his brother in iniquity, John Wilson, ranks with John Cotton, a man of a *better spirit in his day.*" †

THUS both parties could extol Mr. Cotton, while they vented their resentment against Mr. Williams at a high rate; and by these means, and by some connection with the Coddington family, Mr. Callender in his century sermon scrupled to own him for a baptist, and in the dedication of it, set Mr. Coddington up as the main founder and supporter of that colony. Though by his papers, I find he was afterwards convinced of his error herein; and let us now examine the evidences refered to, to prove those dreadful charges against Mr. Williams.

1. MORTON does not represent that the people were weary of him at Plymouth, but that they were backward to grant his request of a dismission to Salem, though their elder prevailed with them to do it; and governor Bradford blessed God for the good effects of his ministry many years after he was banished, p. 54. 2. Like those he calls New-England priests, Coddington tries to draw womens vails, and mens hats and caps over people's eyes, to

* Whiting against Mather, p. 55, 56.

† Bishop, p. 124.

to prevent a just view of those affairs; Mr. Hubbard speaks of those vails, as the first article in his account of the causes of Mr. Williams's banishment, though he is so honest as to let us know, that it was Mr. Skelton who introduced the custom at Salem, which Mr. Williams only concurred with; and governor Hutchinson shews, that Mr. Cotton had spoken in favor of that mode of dress in England; but now he went to Salem, and preached the people out of conceit of it. And among all Mr. Williams's numerous writings, I have not met with any thing about it; no, nor about his hat or cap though in the Massachusett records, I find that the year before they banished him, when Coddington was both a magistrate and their treasurer, they made a law against *superfluous* and *expensive fashions*, wherein they prohibited the making or wearing of *beaver hats* upon penalty of forfeiting of them if they did. 3. As to the *cross* in the military colours, which Hutchinson also names as a sufficient ground for the authority to take hold of Mr. Williams, it is certain from Winthrop Hubbard, and the colony records, that the assembly took hold of Endicot and not Williams for that act, and put him out of all office for one year therefor; and the Magnalia assures us, that the scruple about that Popish sign prevailed in their colony, after Mr. Williams was gone out of it.* 4. Upon the affairs of the patent, Coddington artfully slips in the word *authority*, willing with his friend Cotton, to have Williams appear as a rebel against the king. We learn from governor Winthrop, that Mr. Williams first wrote upon that subject at Plymouth, and after he came to Salem, the court called for a copy of it, which he granted them, and then near the

* Book 7, p. 11.

the close of 1633, they had him before them; but he gave them such satisfaction about it, that they dismissed him; yet they afterward brought in and *re-examined* that matter, as one cause of his banishment.* 5. By the foregoing history, the reader may see with what grace the Quakers could accuse Mr. Williams, of being mercinary or *hired for money*, in procuring their first charter. And I find that when he was setting off upon his second agency to get Mr. Coddington's commission revoked, he, on Sept. 3, 1651. sold his trading house and interest in Narragansset, for 50l. to Mr. Richard Smith. † His great crime therefore, was his advancing such questions as he did, *against the power*; which in plain terms, was a power to frame to themselves a gospel and a Christ without the cross. A power to suspend obedience to what they looked upon to be truth in England, and to compel others to their judgments, when they had got out of the prelates reach. Yea, a power to confirm and support such corruptions by oaths, both there and here. p. 71.

Mr. Williams says, "cases have befallen myself in the *chancery* in England, &c. of the loss of great sums, which I chose to bear through the Lord's help, rather than yield to the *formality* (then and still in use) in God's worship, though I offered to swear in weighty cases, by the name of God, as in the presence of God, and to attest or call God to witness; and the judges told me they would rest in my testimony, and way of swearing, but they could not dispense with me without an act of parliament."‡ And in the face of all their reproaches, I am bold in it, that I know not of one Pedobaptist

* Williams's reply to Cotton, p. 277.

† Newport Records.

‡ Against the Quakers, appendix p. 59, 60.

Pedobaptist or Quaker, that came to this country in that age, who acted so constantly and steadily upon right principles about government and liberty, as Mr. Williams did; neither do I think that they had, or have any cause to glory over him as to religion. Though Mr. Cotton represented it as a meer *pretence* for him to tell of church government, when he did not join fully with any church that was then extant, yet he replies and says, "The *institution* of any government and order is one thing, and the *administration* and *execution*, which may be interrupted and eclipsed, in another. Jeremiah could not rightly have been judged a pretender, when he mourned for, and lamented the desolations of the temple, priests, elders, altar and sacrifices; and neither he nor Daniel, nor any of God's servants, could, during the desolation and captivity, acknowledge either temple, altar or sacrifice aright, extant upon the face of the earth,—Although the discussor be not satisfied in the period of the *times*, and the *manner* of Christ's glorious appearing, yet his *soul uprightly desires* to see and adore, and to be thankful to master Cotton, yea to the least of the disciples of Christ, for any coal or spark of true light, among so many false and pretended candles and candle sticks." * Now as no man was permitted by Ezra, to officiate as a priest at God's altar, but those who would *find their register* of a lawful descent from Aaron, and the church had been through a more terrible captivity in mystical Babylon, between the apostolic age and that we are upon, than the Jews had in Chaldea; how could a man, so *honest* as Mr. Williams was, receive any man to administer the ordinance of the supper to him, who could not produce

* Reply to Cotton, p. 106, 107.

produce a *register* of his succession from the apostles? p. 110. I know of no other consistant way, to get over this difficulty but this; that as the lawful seed of Aaron were to govern in the Jewish church, so are the spiritual seed of Christ to govern in his church, into which none ought to be admitted, without gospel evidence of their being such; and it seems that Mr. Williams had not attained to a clear settlement in this point. But in my opinion his greatest mistake, when he first came to this country was, his blending the duties of natural and revealed religion too much together. The light of nature teaches the importance of *seeking* to God for what we need, and of *praising* him for what we receive; which duties ought to be inculcated upon all men, as much as love to God or our neighbours; while the revealed institutions of baptism and the supper, are tokens of fellowship with Christ, and therefore cannot be our duty to perform *before* we are united to him. Psalms, 107, Acts 17, 27. Rom. 1, 20, 21. and 6. 3—5. 2 Cor. 10, 16. But for a while, Mr. Williams seemed to limit these two kinds of duties alike to the regenerate. It is also well known, that the divine ruler is perfect, but that the best of men in this state are imperfect, and how far we are to exercise forbearance, and how not, has not been an easy question to the most enlightned saints; yet Mr. Williams's grand crime in the view of both of these parties, was because he would not yield to their power in this matter. And the passage the Quakers so often appealed to, as an evidence of his being a bloody persecutor, is as follows.

An author had said, *the Quakers spirit doth teach them to honor no man.* Upon which Fox said,

"That

"That is a *lie*; for it teacheth them to have all men in esteem and to honor all men in the Lord; yet they are convinced by the law as transgressors if they respect mens persons as you do. In reply to which Mr. W. says, "All men may see how truly they honor all in the Lord, and what Lord they mean, when his first word to his opposite is that most provoking term, *that is a lie*. It is true that Christ Jesus and his servants, used sharp reproofs, similitudes, &c. but thus suddenly at the first dash to give fire, *thou lyest, that is a lie*, &c. Shews neither religion nor civility, but a *barbarous spirit*, for they that know the *barbarians*, know how common that word is in all their mouth's—The most Holy and only Wise knows how proudly and simply, and barbarously they have run into uncivil and inhuman behaviour towards all their superiors, the eldest and highest, how they have declared by principle and practice, that there are no men to be respected in the world but themselves, as being God's and Christ's. It is true our English bibles and grammar (as Fox in his great learning often objects) makes thou to a single person, and thou in holy scripture is used in a grave and respective way unto superiors, unto kings and patents, and God himself. But 1. the Hebrew and Greek signify no more thou than you, and so may be truly turned. 2. Every nation, every shire, every calling have their particular properties or idioms of speech, which are improper and ridiculous with others. Hence these simple reformers are extreamly ridiculous in giving thou and thee to every body, which our nation commonly gives to *familiars* only; and they are insufferably proud and contemptuous unto all their *superiors* in using thou to every body, which our English idiom or

propriety

propriety of ſpeech, uſeth in a way of familiarity, or anger, ſcorn and contempt. I have therefore publicly declared myſelf, that a due and moderate reſtraint, and puniſhing of *theſe incivilities* (though pretending conſcience) is ſo far from perſecution, (properly ſo called) that it is a duty and command of God unto all mankind, firſt in families, and thence into all human ſocieties." *

THIS is all the paſſage in his whole book that ſpeaks in favour of puniſhing Quakers; and compared with the inſtance of Norton's *incivilities* to governor Prince and others, and obſerving that the empheſics lies upon their *manner* of uſing thoſe words, the reader will judge, whether a *moderate* puniſhing of the ſame, is any ways inconſiſtant with Mr. William's plea for liberty againſt Mr. Cotton. And as to his practice, we learn expreſſly that the inſtance Scott refers to at Newport, was that of Harris's at the election, in 1655. And though he and Mr. Coddington ſubmitted to Mr. William's government the next year, (a few months before the Quakers arrived) yet after that they and others became ſo ſpiritual as to refuſe to act therein. This it ſeems cauſed Mr. Williams to aſk Mr. Cartwright what they ſhould do with them, which in their view was another proof of his perſecuting diſpoſition. In 1665 their aſſembly framed an engagment to the government, which they hoped thoſe men would have taken, and ſo have come in to act with them again; but in March 1666 they pleaded that they could not in conſcience do it, and prevailed with the aſſembly to make a law, to allow thoſe who pleaded, that they could not in conſcience take either that engagment, nor the oath of alliegence in England, to make their ſubmiſſion

* Williams, p. 199, 200.

mission to the government, either before the court or before two magistrates, in their own words, instead of any that others could frame for them. And no sooner was this point gained, than at the election in May ensuing, they got in a Quaker deputy governor, and three magistrates; two of the latter being Coddington and Harris. Harris was in the same office in 1667, when on July 2, he procured an extraordinary meeting of the assembly, to try Mr. Fenner, (another magistrate) for a *rout* which Harris charged him with making in Providence on June 3. But the assembly acquited Fenner, and fined Harris 50 l. and put him out of office, choosing Stephen Arnold in his stead. The next fall he was fined 10s. for breach of peace, and bound to his good behaviour. Yet he had influence enough in May 1668, to get again into the magistracy, and in the fall to have his 50 l. remitted. He was likewise in the same office in 1669; and as Connecticut then revived their claim to the Narraganset country, he eagerly turned to assist them, hoping doubtless, to share largely therein, if they prevailed.

It seems that the agents who procured their charters, agreed that some persons living near Mr. Smith's trading house in Narraganset, should have liberty to choose which government they would be under; therefore from thence, and from the words of Connecticut charter, they set out afresh to grasp all that country to themselves. And for that end would come over from Stonington and knock Westerly people down, and carry them off to goal, and persisted long in those encroachments against the remonstrances of the authority of Rhode-Island colony; one of which they sent by Mr. John Crandal to Hartford, in May 1671.

The assembly at the same time made choice of Mr. Clarke as their agent, to go again to England upon the affair; though after repeated applications to Connecticut court, such a prospect appeared of having the matter settled by treaty, that they revoked that appointment the next year. But Harris, finding that the King's words in their charter had most explicitly fixed Paucatuck river as the bounds betwixt the two colonies, openly attacked the validity of the charter, because therein the King had granted *full religious liberty, notwithstanding the penal laws in England*: Upon which Harris declared, "That the King cannot dispence with the penal laws on the *consciences of his subjects*, Papists or Protestants, at home or *abroad*." Their rulers then were Benedict Arnold, governor John Clarke, deputy governor, John Cranston, John Coggshall, James Barker, William Carpenter, Thomas Harris, Roger Williams, William Baulston, John Albro, John Green, Benjamin Smith, assistants; John Sanford recorder, James Rogers, general Serjeant, and Joseph Tory, attorney general. And they committed Harris to prison for denying the King's authority and prerogative. And when the assembly met at Newport, April 2, 1672, he presented a petition to them by the hand of a Quaker, but, because not directed in those words which his majesty, in his gracious charter hath pleased to give the title unto the corporation," the assembly voted not to take cognizance of it. * At their election the next month they chose the first Quaker governor they ever had in that colony; and Mr. Williams says, *the Quakers prevailing, Harris, by their means gets loose.* † These facts I have carefully collected from their colony records,

* Colony Records. † Williams, p. 14, 206, 207.

records, compared with Mr. Williams's account; to which they return no better answer than to say, "It is like he doth *belie* W. H. as he hath done us; *and*, for thy story and anger against William Harris, he is of age and able enough to speak for himself." *

Fox and other noted teachers of theirs were now come over, and gained many proselytes; upon which Mr. Williams went to a general meeting they had at Newport, and began to present to them some considerations concerning the true Christ and the false, the true spirit and the false, but says, I was *cut off in the midst*, by the sudden prayer of one, and singing of another, &c. which is afterward explained thus, viz. "I was stopt by the sudden praying of the governor's wife, who also told me of her asking her husband at home, (meaning Christ which I had toucht upon) I rose and said, if a man had so alledged, I would have answered him; but I would not countenance the violation of God's order so much in making a reply to a woman in public. Hereupon J. Nicols stood up and said, *in Christ Jesus neither male nor female*. I was replying to him and to J. Burnyeats speech concerning their spirit, but was stopt by Burnyeats sudden falling into prayer, and dismissing the assembly. I resolved, with God's help, to be *patient* and *civil*, and so ceased, not seeing a willingness in them for me to proceed; which experience made me not trouble G. Fox and the assembly at Providence, but rather to make a fair and solemn offer of a dispute about these matters."† To which they answer and say, "So here thou mayest see, it was thy spirit that was *cut* by the spirit of

* Fox, p. 21, 229.

† Williams, p. 2, 12.

of God, that lead them to pray and sing *in order*; and this thou call'st *confusion*; and thus thou judgest of things, *thou knowest not*, with thy doting spirit. For the true Christ *we know*, who is our shepherd; and the false spirit or Christ is easily favoured *in thee*, which was cut off by the spirit of prayer, and the spirit of singing, from the true spirit of Christ." *

THUS each party call their own way *order*; but the *order* and *decency* which the inspired apostle enjoined upon the church of Corinth, concerned the behaviour of *their women*, as distinguished from men; their women who had *husbands*, in the plural number, who had each a distinct part to act in divine worship, which they ought to know and attend unto. As all saints are one in Christ, there is but one husband and one bride; and viewing things in this distinct light, tends both to purity and peace; but the confounding of literal women with mystical husbands, has often produced the grapes of Sodom and clusters of Gomorrah. And among the many instances of the Quakers assuming a power to govern the scriptures, instead of being governed by them, take the following. The baptist churches in Wales, gathered by our Mr. Miles and others, published a confession of their faith, wherein they adopted the words of David in Psalm. 51, 5. To which Fox, in p. 214 of his former book said, "David doth not say, *you were conceived in sin*, but I. John was sanctified from the womb, and the scriptures speak of *children that are clean*. And so you do not speak as elders and messengers of true churches, or men dividing the word aright, but you are one against another, though you are all against them you call Quakers

* Fox, p. 17.

Quakers, that be in the truth" In which passage says Mr. Williams, he discovers *a strong presumption that he never felt what the woful estate of all mankind by nature is.* * To which they reply and say, "Paul saith, I am crucified with Christ (mark I AM) and Christ liveth in me: and the life that I live in the flesh, is by the faith of the son of God, &c. is not *the faith victory*? and thou falleſt a *railing*, and speaking of *our conditions*, which thou art ignorant of, and thy own, and haſt abuſed both the ſcriptures and us" †

IN July 1672, Mr. Williams drew up fourteen propoſitions, and incloſed them in a letter to deputy governor Cranſton, whom he ſtiles, *My kind friend*, for him to deliver them to Fox or his friends; in which Mr. Williams propoſed a fair diſpute upon thoſe points with any of them, ſeven propoſitions to be handled at Newport, and the other at Providence, on the days they ſhould appoint. By ſome means the matter was delayed till Fox had ſailed for England; after which John Stubs, John Burnyeat and William Edmundſon, engaged in the affair, and with them Williams held the diſpute at Newport, on the 9th, 10th and 12th of Auguſt, and at Providence the 17th. When they began at Newport, he publickly declared his motives to be theſe. "1. The vindicating HIS moſt holy name, which my ſoul ſaw trodden in the dirt by ſatan cloathed in Samuel's mantle, and the bright garment of an angel of light, which once he was, but pride deceived him. 2. I had in my eye the vindicating this colony for receiving ſuch perſons whom others would not; we ſuffer for their ſakes, and are accounted their abettors

* Appendix, p. 66, 67.

† Fox, ſecond part, p. 136.

abettors, that therefore together with the improvment of *our liberties* which the God of Heaven, and our King's majesty have graciously given us, I might give a public *testimony* against their *opinions* in such a way and exercise, I judged it incumbent upon my *spirit and conscience* to do (in some regards) more than most in the colony. I may also truly say, 3. That I had it in my eye, that this exercise might occasion some *soul-consideration* in many." * And as they dwelt so much upon the word light, and upon its coming into the world with all mankind, he asked them in public,.

"WHETHER it comes into them at the conception, or at the birth, or when else? whether it was in all mankind before the coming and death of Christ, or to those since his coming, or both? whether it be in the understanding, will, memory, affections, in any of them severally, or lodged in all of them jointly.?" † In answer to which they say, "As to his *unlearned questions*, whether the light cometh into mankind at the conception, or at the birth, or when else? we leave him to what is written John 1, 9. Christ is the true light, that lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world. So it is evident, ALL ARE LIGHTED that come into the world; and the believers witnessed it to shine in their hearts; and Abraham saw his light, or day; and in it David saw more light, which was before Christ came in the flesh, John saith, in the *word* which was in the beginning was *life*, and the *life* was the *light* of men." ‡ Mr. Williams says, "The hinge and pinch of the difference lies in the opposition which the Quakers make against the

* Williams, p. 25, 26.

† Williams, p. 35.

‡ Fox, p. 32.

the *manhood* of Christ Jesus to be yet extant — Who questions but Christ Jesus, as the sun in the Heavens, influenceth all parts of the world in several respects, and nothing is hid from his heat? He is felt in the bruised reed and smoaking flax; in the poor in spirit, in the hungry and thirsty after righteousness; sometimes in the hope of glory to come, yea, in present joy unutterable and glorious; sometimes the Lamb's wife is visibly asleep though her heart wakes; sometimes she is alarmed by his knocking and is slugishly unwilling to open to him; sometimes she rises and opens but he is gone, and she seeks for him by day and night and cannot find him." But says he, "The Papists, Arminians and Quakers are one, 1. As to the *power of nature and free will* in heavenly and spiritual matters. 2. As to the losing of true saving grace. 3. As to election and predestination *in time, upon obedience*, and rejection, and reprobation *upon rebellion and disobedience*.—4. The Quakers are brethren with the Socinians, in making Christ a *type* and *figure*, a *pattern* and *example* how christians ought to walk; not that the *blood* which he shed upon the cross at Jerusalem, was a sufficient *price* and *satisfaction* unto God for the sins of the whole world." * To which they say, "This is like the rest of thy false charges and comparisons; what dost thou talk of election and predestination, &c. when thou calleſt the light of Christ an idol? for these are *mystries to thee*, who art not come to take heed unto the light that shineth in a dark place." † See 2 Cor. 10, 1.

His last proposition was, that their spirit tended to arbitrary government and firery persecution; upon

* Williams, p. 137; Appendix, p. 56.
† Fox, p. 154.

upon which he said, "By an *arbitrary government* I do not intend a ruling by *force*, for there could be no government in the world without the *sword*, but *arbitrary*. I said came from *arbitrium*, which signifies *will* or *pleasure*: and so my argument is, that persons immediately speaking from God, it is impertinent and profane to clog and cumber them with laws, for the voice of God, the law of laws, proceeds out of their mouth, than which there could be none more just, wise or holy—I told them I must crave their patience while I must profess my fears, lest the spirit by which they were guided, might run them upon their own and others temporal destruction. I told them I thought they had no such thing in their eye at present; but if power of the sword came into their hands, it was easy to imagine, that whom the spirit (infaliable) decreed to death, pesant or prince if it were possible, he must be executed." * To this they say, "Where there is no *force* there is no fear of *slavery*, and such an arbitrary government no body was ever afraid of.—But Roger, dost thou not accuse the people called Quakers of holding, that they are acted by the spirit of God, and not by their own spirits? if so it is the arbitrium, or will and pleasure of their God, and not their own wills and spirits that they are acted by, and what harm is this to just government? or how doth this set up mens will and power? O thy blindness! thy darkness! and thy confusion!" †

He then refered them to the passage before recited about the magistrates *subjecting all into his light*; and closed that head with observing, that Christ says, *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh*, and asks if any professors of the christian

* Williams, p. 204. † Fox. p. 226.

christian name except Papists, were ever so sharp and cutting with their tongue, as they, even to knowing and conscientious persons? From whence he questions, what might be expected if whips, swords and halters were permitted to fall into their hands? To which they say, "The tongues of God's people have in all ages been as a *fire* and a *sword* to the wicked.—It may be as rationally questioned of the people of God in this age, as in former ages; and God will reckon with thee, thou ungodly, unjust man, that insinuatest these wicked things against a suffering, as well as harmless people! This spirit thou art lead by in writing against us, would BURN us, as it lead *thy* forefathers to *burn the martyers in Smithfield*; for ye are all of CAIN's race, and are found in his steps, and shall have Cain's reward, if you repent not." * This was their way of *quenching a fire-brand.*—

THE Quakers prevailed so far, that in 1675, Mr. Coddington was governor, and Mr. John Easton deputy governor; when finding that their *spiritual power* would not secure them against the Indians, they gave out *military commissions under their hands and seals* to *arm* both *vessels* and *garrisons* against them. † Harris was again chosen an assistant in the years 73, 74 and 76, in the last of which Mr. S. Hubbard said in a letter to Boston, "The Quakers are still upermost in government among us, I mean in outward rule, though we have put out the chief, Mr. John Easton, from being deputy, and now major John Cranston is deputy governor." Mr. Williams book came out soon after, and at their next election, May 2, 1677, the Quakers were left out of office; and on June 28,

* Fox, p. 231. † Callender, p. 80—Colony Records.

Mr. Coddington wrote the forecited letter to his friend Fox; which facts may enable us to account for the spirit of it. Mr. Williams was again chosen a magistrate, but excused himself from that service; yet he wrote thus to Providence, viz. "I pray the town that the place of meeting be certain, and some course settled for payment, that the clerk and serjeant be satisfied according to moderation, that the town business may go on cheerfully, that the business of the rate (paid by so many already) be finished, that the old custom of order be kept in our meetings, and those unruly be reproved, or upon obstanacy, cast out from sober and freemens company, that our ancient use of arbitration be brought into esteem again, that (it being constantly reported that Connecticut is upon the gaining his majesty's consent to *enslave us to their parish worship*) we consider what we ought to do"

A SPECIAL court of commissioners met at Providence, October 3, 1677, procured by Harris; who by a jury gave his party five verdicts for land, the first of which was against Gregory Dexter. Arthur Fenner, and the town of Providence, wherein they gave, "two pounds in money damage and cost of court; and also that the said defendants run the line equally between Pawtuxet river and Wenasquatucket river, till they meet with a thwart line from the head of Wenasquatucket river, directly runing to Pawtuxet river." The two next verdicts gave that party 30l. damages in each, with lands further southward; of which the town of Warwick, by the hands of Mr. Holden and Mr. Greene, gave an account two years after to the King, wherein they mention the former ill treatment they had

met

met with at Boston, and represent, that the late war was wholly caused by the arbitrary conduct of the neighbouring colonies, who after the Narraganset fight in December, 1675, they say, "withdrew their forces from us, leaving our unguarded towns to the destroyer, whereby the town of Warwick was wholly burnt, great part of our goods and cattle lost and consumed, but the lives of most of us reserved as a prey, supported with hope that yet in time of peace, we might be enabled to re-build and provide for our distressed families and succeeding generations—But William Warris of Pautuxet, came over in 1674, and claimed land in Narraganset by Indian purchase, and the King appointed the case to be heard by commissioners, chosen out of the several colonies of New-England. We attended time and place according to summons, but the major part of the commissioners, elected out of our professed and mortal enemies, out-voted those of Rhode-Island, granting and awarding to him the lands bought and improved by your petitioners, also giving him great damages, notwithstanding the testimony of one Mr. Williams, the first Indian purchaser of those lands, and other material witnesses in our behalf, whereby above 5000 acres of land and medows, belonging to the poor town of Warwick, and parts adjacent are taken away, and we prohibited to rebuild, or attempt any thing for the support of our dependances," and so went on to pray for relief, p. 299.

CONNECTICUT in the mean time had continued their encroachments upon the west part of that colony, till a letter was obtained from the King dated July 9, 1679, confirming Rhode-Island charter; upon which the assembly wrote to warn

them

them off their lands, and to charge their own people not to obey them. But at the same time Harris had procured an order from the King to the authority of the colony, to levy the aforesaid executions. In consequence whereof I have seen warrants issued to John Smith of Newport, appointing him magistrate to levy three of them, signed Nov. 24, 1679, by John Cranston, governor, Caleb Carr, Joseph Clarke, Arthur Fenner and John Sanford, assistants. But this not satisfying Harris, he soon set off again for England with new complaints. Mr. Samuel Hubbard wrote to his children at Westerly the 7th of February following, informing them of a rumor he heard of turning their governor out of his place, and of puting a Quaker into it and of seting Narraganset, which they called the King's province off by itself; and said he, "William Harris is gone for Old-England, displeased at our courts act, and will not accept, though offered it is said, to be Connecticut agent's attorney. God can have Ahithophel's counsel to fall, and to hang himself." Poor man! he was taken and carried into Turkish slavery, from whence he never returned. Thus ended the controversy with him, whose first title to any of those lands was a free gift from Mr. Williams.

Two considerations have moved me to be much larger and more particular upon these unhappy affairs, than I had any thoughts of at first. One is, that harrangues have often been made from pulpits, and in courts of justice, from that time to ours, upon the great disorders of Rhode-Island colony, to prove that an established religion by human laws is exceeding necessary in every government. I thought it duty, therefore to give the public a fair and full state of those facts, to

enable

enable them to judge righteoufly concerning fuch addreffes. The other is, that I might plainly detect and expofe the pernicious nature, of imagining that dominion is founded in grace, or that religon endows the fubjects of it with a right to act as lawgivers and judges over others. In the affembly that banithed Mrs. Hutchinfon, in 1637, Mr. Coddington faid, "I do not fee any clear witnefs againft her; and you know it is a rule of the court, that no man may be a judge and accufer too."* But where was that rule when he, in his letter to Fox, acted the part of an accufer, witnefs and judge againft Mr. Williams, even as to the inward ftate of his foul! with all their talk about light, Mr. Cotton formerly (p. 159) and the Quakers now, accufed Mr. Williams of counteracting his own principles about liberty of confcience, only for *examining* and *bringing to light* the nature of their principles and behaviour; and the word of truth tells us what light that is, Mat. 6. 23. John 3. 19, 21. The Quakers have had a fame among many for honefty and liberty, and far be it from me to detract in the leaft from what has truly been among them of that nature; and I readily grant that not only in thofe refpects, but alfo in their moderation in drefs, and folemnity in worfhip, (though not fingularity) and hofpitality to ftrangers they have merited high commendation, and more fo for their zeal againft the flave-trade. Yet what a bondage is it to be under fuch a power as their firft leaders affumed? What pope ever fpake more haughtily than to fay, "He lives in a peaceable government, but is in a reftlefs fpirit, grudgeth at the liberty of othrs, and cannot be content with his own," only because

* Maff. hift. vol. 2, p. 516.

cause he sought in a peaceable way to discharge his *conscience*, by bearing a plain *testimony* against what appeared to him to be very corrupt and dangerous? And what sentence was ever more unjust than that which is delivered in their martyrbook? Grove tells us the first part of it was published in 1661, the other in 1667, by that *zealous servant of the Lord, George Bishop.* He lived in the city of Bristol, and he intitled his work, "New-England judged, not by man's, but the spirit of the Lord." And after his account of the whipping of Humphrey Norton and Deborah Wilson, among the rest, he reads off his sentence thus—"Whether they will hear or forbear, they shall know that his *prophets* have been amongst them.—So, see where you are, and in what case, ye blood thirsty enemies of God; ye men of Boston, of Plymouth, patent, and New-Haven; ye rulers of Sodom, and inhabitants of Gomorrah, who are hardned against the hour of your visitation; whose day is over; who delight in blood, in the blood of the saints of the Most High God, to whom blood will be given, for ye are worthy; the Lord will come upon ye, you that put his day afar off, and say, he delays his coming; I say, *He will come upon you, in a day that ye think not of, and in an hour of which ye are not aware; and will cut you asunder, and appoint you your portion with hypocrites and sinners; and ye shall be cast into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, there to be tormented with the devil and his angels, which is the second death.*" And in 1703, in the margin against this sentence, Grove said, *This was fulfilled in the Indian wars, wherein many of them were cut to pieces.* *

Now, if in Fox's view Mr. Williams discovered

* Bishop, p. 206, 207.

a *devilish spirit*, in telling the ministers he wrote to, that perhaps some of them might live to see the Pope and Mahomet cast into that lake, what a *spirit* did this great writer of theirs discover? and what God did he worship, if this sentence came *immediately* from him! The evident reason of their favourable opinion of Mr. Cotton above his colleague, was his countenancing the *power*, by which Mrs. Hutchinson declared that she should be delivered, and the court ruined with their posterity." P. 103. A gentleman of that assembly said she told him in London, that she had never any great thing done about her, but it was *revealed to her before hand*: to which she, before the court, replied, "I say the same thing again."* And how was that revelation fulfilled? why Bishop says, "some of your patents endeavoured to get Rhode-Island under some of your governments, which occasioned some to remove under the Dutch, where Anne Hutchinson, and her son Francies, and W. Collin's her son in-law, with others, were *murdered* by the Indians; the guilt and weight of whose blood *lies upon you, as done by you*; who were people of an *honest life*, and *good behaviour*, only differing from you."† See p. 118. And the first legislator and captain that was slain in Philip's war was her son Edward, who, as Bishop tell's us, entered his protest at Boston, in 1658, against their making a law to banish Quakers on pain of death. Neither can I learn that any man who had ever been an assistant in either colony was then slain by the Indians, except Mr. John Wickes, of Warwick who had been a sufferer with Gorton; he was then killed in a very advanced age.‡ Put all these things together

* Mass. hist. vol. 2. p. 510. † Bishop, p. 225, 226.
‡ Callender, p. 93.

together and ſhall we not ſay with Solomon, *That which is crooked cannot be made ſtraight?*

Mr. Williams's zeal appeared to be directed, not againſt the perſon of any man, but only againſt their errors. In the preface to his reply to Mr. Cotton he ſays, "Since it pleaſed God to lay a command upon my conſcience, to come in as his poor witneſs in this great cauſe, I rejoice that it pleaſed him to appoint ſo able and excellent an inſtrument to bolt out the truth to the bran; though I can humbly ſay in God's holy preſence, it is my conſtant heavineſs and ſoul's grief to differ from any fearing God; much more from Mr. Cotton, whom I have ever deſired, and ſtill deſire highly to eſteem, and dearly to reſpect, for ſo great a portion of mercy and grace vouchſafed unto him, and ſo many truths of Chriſt maintained by him. Therefore (notwithſtanding ſome of no common judgment and reſpect to him, have ſaid, he wrote his waſhings of the bloody tenet in blood againſt Chriſt, and gall againſt me, yet) if upon ſo ſlippery and narrow a paſſage, I have ſlipt into any term or expreſſion unbeſeeming his perſon, or the cauſe of the Moſt High in hand, I humbly crave pardon of God, and Mr. Cotton alſo." And though he could not ſay the like of the chief teachers among the Quakers, yet he ſaid, "Many truly humble ſouls may be captivated among them.—And many of the Quakers I love and honor." And he ſaid, "He that ſhall ponder the fathers polligamy, the beſt kings of Judah ſuffering the high places, David's ſlaying Uriah, Aſa's impriſoning the prophet, Peter's raſh uſing the ſword, the diſciples calling for fire from Heaven, ſhall ſee cauſe to reprove the Quakers for their raſh damning of others from whom they have

ſuffered."

suffered."* But when they came to answer him, they were so far from regarding this admonition, that where he spake of the *matter* of the christian churches, viz. *true converts* (see p. 144) and said in the margin, "this was, and I hope is, the principle of the New-English churches;" they spent three pages full of capitals about their sufferings, to prove that it could not be so, and at last said, "So it is clear, you that have destroyed mens lives, are not of God, but the devil." † This was the temper of their teachers; but of others the two Easton's father and son, Walter Clarke, and Henry Bull, were all worthy governors of that denomination, and I find Mr. S. Hubbard expressing a considerable esteem also for Mr. Coddington after his death, in a letter to a friend. Neither have I found one reflection upon his person in all Mr. Williams's writings, unless a plain recital of facts may be so called.

A NEW sect came out from among the Baptists about this time, who have caused not a little trouble to themselves and others, of whom I have collected the following brief account, chiefly from the letters preserved by Mr. Samuel Hubbard. In the close of the year 1674, the family of Mr. James Rogers of New-London, called Mr. Crandal over from Westerly, who preached among them, and baptized his sons John and James, and an Indian named Japheth. This alarmed the other denomination and Mr. Bradstreet, minister at New-London, said he hoped the next court would take a course with them. They sent to Newport, and elder Hiscox, Mr. Hubbard and his son Clarke were sent to visit them in March 1675, when

* Williams, p. 3, 25, 71, 178.

† Fox, p. 63, 66.

Jonathan Rogers was alſo baptized, and all four of them were received as members of their church, by prayer and laying on of hands. Hereupon John Rogers's father-in-law, took his wife and children from him; and, upon her complaints againſt him, he was carried before their deputy governor, and committed to Hartford goal, from whence he wrote to Mr. Hubbard April 6, 1675. How long he continued there I do not find, only he viſited the church at Newport the next September. In September 18, 1676, thoſe four members went with a boat, and brought elder Hiſcox and Mr. Hubbard to New-London again, when old Mr. Rogers, his wife and daughter were all baptized and received into that church; whereupon they were called before the magiſtrate, but were ſoon releaſed; though from that time they began to impriſon the Rogers's for working on the firſt day of the week. And when Mr. Hiſcox and Mr. Hubbard viſited them again, and held worſhip with them two miles out of town on their ſabbath Nov. 23, 1677, and Joſeph Rogers's wife had next morning given them a ſatisfying account of her experiences, John muſt needs have them go up to town to baptize her there. Mr. Hubbard oppoſed it, but John carried the day; and while Mr. Hiſcox was preaching at town the conſtable came and took him, and they all went before the magiſtrate; where alſo was the miniſter, Mr. Bradſtreet, who had much to ſay, about the *good way that their fathers had ſet up*. Upon which Mr. Hubbard, obtaining leave to ſpeak, ſaid, "You are a young man, but I am an old planter of about forty years, a beginner of Connecticut, and have been perſecuted for my conſcience from this colony, and I can aſſure you, that the old beginners

were

were not for perſecution, but we had liberty at firſt." After further diſcourſe the magiſtrate ſaid, *Could you not do it elſe where?* "A good anſwer," ſays Mr. Hubbard; and ſo they were releaſed and went to Samuel Rogers's houſe, where his brother John put himſelf forward, prayed, and then went out to the water and baptized his ſiſter; upon which Mr. Hiſcox was ſeized again, as ſuppoſing he had done it, but John came before the magiſtrate, and was forward to make known his act therein; ſo the others were releaſed and returned home.

JONATHAN ROGERS, had married Naomi Burdick, grand-daughter, to Mr. Hubbard, and on March 2, 1678, elder Hiſcox baptized her at Weſterly, together with James Babcock, George Lamphere, and two others; and on the 5th of May following Joſeph Clarke wrote from thence to his father Hubbard, that John and James Rogers with their father were in priſon; having previouſly excommunicated Jonathan, chiefly becauſe he did not retain their judgment, of the unlawfulneſs of uſing medicines, nor accuſe himſelf before authority, for working on the firſt day of the week."[2] Hereupon the church at Newport, ſent meſſengers to New-London about this matter, who reported on their return that, "a practice was ſtarted up, (out of conſcience) that becauſe the world, yea, moſt profeſſors, pray in their families mornings and nights, and before meats and after, in a cuſtomary way, therefore to forbear prayer in their families or at meats publickly, except ſome are lead forth upon ſome ſpecial occaſion; ſaying, they find no command in the word of God for it."[3] About this time, elder Hiſcox's church received letters from Dr. Chamberlain, whereof one was

directed

directed to their church, he being of the same faith and order with them, the other was directed as follows.

"PETER CHAMBERLAIN, senior, Doctor of both universities, and first and eldest physician in ordinary to his majesty's person, according to the world, but according to grace, a servant of the word of God; to the excellent and noble governor of New-England; grace, mercy, peace and truth, from God our father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ; praying for you, that you may abound in heavenly graces and temporal comforts. I have always had a love to the intended purity, and unspotted doctrine of New-England; for Mr. Cotton was of the same college and university, of Emanuel in Cambridge, as I was, and so was Mr. Hooker and others with whom we were all contemporary; and I never knew them, but of a holy life and conversation. I also knew Colonel Humfrey, sir Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Peters, who were of note among you, and sir Henry Vane, who all had some share in the foundation of your government. But certainly the first intentions were never to debar the truths of scripture, and liberty of conscience guided thereby; but to suppress sin and idolatry, and prevent all the adulteries of Rome, to whom all things are lawful, especially lies in hipocrisy, to promote their most damnable doctrines, coveteous superstitions, and blasphemous supremacy. It is great wisdom to suppress sin, but not oppress the liberty of a good conscience; and whilst men grant liberty of conscience not to admit liberty of sin. All magistrates have not attained to this wisdom, else England had been long since freed from popery and perjury. Whatsoever is against the ten commandments

commandments is sin. Rom. 3, 20. 1. John 3, 4. and he that sinneth in one point is guilty of all, because he that spake one word of them spake all, and he added no more. Jam. 2, 10, 11. Exo. 20, 1. While Moses and Solomon caution men, so much against adding to, or taking from Deut. 4, 2. Prov. 30, 5, 6, and so doth the beloved apostle, Rev. 22, 18, 19. what shall we say of those that take away of those ten words, or those that make them void, and teach men so? Nay, they dare give the lie to JEHOVAH, and make Jesus Christ not only a breaker of the law, but the very author of sin in others, also causing them to break them. Hath not the little horn played his part lustily in this, and worn out the saints of the Most High, so that they become little horn men also! If you are pleased to enquire about these things, and to require any instances or informations, be pleased by your letters to command it from your humble servant in the Lord Jesus Christ.

PETER CHAMBERLAIN."

Most worthy Governor, Sep. 1, 1677.

COPIES hereof were sent to those whom it was directed to; and the church sent a letter therewith to Connecticut, from whence this answer was returned.

Hartford, 8, 8, 78.

"FRIENDS of Newport on Rhode-Island, William Hiscox, &c. yours of 9, 4, 78, was received the 7th instant, with one enclosed from another Peter Chamberlain, senior. The advice in both is readily complied withal and thankfully accepted. To be minded of any parts of the scriptures of truth is greatfully received, and were it not for a seducing devil, and a deceitful heart, they would be a rule of life unto all that have senses

exercised

exercised therein, and make due application thereof. What yourselves, or that worthy gentleman intend, or who or what he refers to, is not so easy to guess at. We have of late had to deal with Rogers and his of New-London, towards whom the authority have shewn all condescension imaginable to us; that if they would forbear to offend our consciences, we should indulge them in their persuasion, and give them no offence in the seventh day, in worshiping God by themselves. We may doubt (if they were governors in our stead) they would tell us, that their consciences would not suffer them to give us so much liberty; but that they must bear witness to the truth, and beat down idolatry, as the old good kings did in scripture; they judging so of our Lord's day worshiping. It may be that your counsel may be more taking with them, to make them forbear, than ours: which is all at present, with respects,

From your friend and servant in Christ.

WILLIAM LEETE"

THE church repeatedly sent and labored with them but to little effect. Mr. Gibson went and lived and preached a while among them at New-London; but Mr. Hubbard wrote to their aged brother Thorton (who had removed from Newport to Providence) on Nov. 8, 1679, informing him of his late visit to that people, when he found that old Mr. Rogers, had the wheel of a loaded cart went over his leg a little below his knee, bruising it much, and had been so six weeks, but now could move it: their judgment is not to use any means." And said he, "pray remember my respects to Mr. Roger Williams; I should be glad to hear of him and his wife;" a great respect to whom was shewn in all their letters as long as he lived.

lived. But on June 7, 1685, Mr. Hubbard wrote to Mr. Henry Reeve of Jamaica, and informed him that meſſengers were then gone from their church to New-London, "to declare againſt two or more of them that were of us, who are declined to Quakeriſm, I might ſay more; of whom be thou aware, for by their principles, they will travel by land and ſea to make diſciples, yea, ſorry ones too. Their names are John and James Rogers, and one Donham."

FROM this beginning proceeded a ſect which has continued to this day, who from their chief leader have been called ROGERENES. In their dialect, and many other things, they have been like the firſt Quakers in this country? though they have retained the external uſe of baptiſm and the ſupper, and have been ſingular in refuſing the uſe of means and medicines for their bodies. Their greateſt zeal has been diſcovered going from meeting to meeting, and from town to town, as far as Norwich and Lebanon, (the one 14, the other 24 miles) to teſtify againſt hireling teachers, and againſt keeping the firſt day of the week as a ſabbath, which they call the idol-ſabbath. And when the authority have taken them up and fined them therefor, and have ſometimes whipt them for refuſing to pay it, they have ſoon publiſhed accounts of all ſuch perſecutions, which has been the very means of keeping their ſect alive. When the ſmallpox was very terrible in Boſton, in 1721, and great fear of it was diſcovered in the country, John Rogers their founder, was confident he could go in where it was and not catch it; and to prove his faith, went 100 miles to Boſton, but catched the diſtemper, came home and died with it, and ſcattered it in his family: yet his ſucceſſors ſtill

kept

kept on in their way. So late down as 1763, some of them repeatedly came and clapped shingles and pieces of boards together around the meeting-house in Norwich town, as well as delivered messages to the worshippers, against their keeping of the Lord's day. But as the rulers had learned so much wisdom as only to remove them away from disturbing others without inflicting either fine, or corporal punishment upon them, they have ceased from such things since in a great measure, and as they never were a large society, there is hope of a true reformation among them. Besides these, there have been some sabbatarian baptists in that place from the beginning to the present time, though not a distinct church

We must now return to our baptist fathers at Boston. The liberty they had enjoyed, with a blessing upon the ministry of Mr. Miles and others, had caused such an increase of members, that in February 1677, they agreed to divide into two churches; but in January 1678, they revoked that act, and concluded to build them a meeting-house, in Boston, and to defer the affair of dividing, till they could obtain the settlement of an able sufficient ministry there. They first nominated Mr. Russell for that end, and then talked of his going to Swanzey in Mr. Miles's room; but in conclusion Mr. Miles returned to his old flock, and Mr. Russell was ordained their pastor in Boston, July 28, 1679, and removed there. Before which time governor Leveret was deceased, and Mr. Bradstreet chosen in his stead; in consequence of which this church wrote to their brethren at Newport the 25th of January this year, that several of their brethren and sisters had been called to court, censured, fined twenty shillings a piece, and to pay

court

court charges, and others only admonished and to pay court charges, which had not then been paid, and the constables were backward to make distress upon them if they could shift it off. Feb. 9, the church met, and purchased their meeting-house with the land it was built upon, of Philip Squire, and Ellis Callender, for 60l.; and they met in it for worship the 15th. They had built with so much caution as not openly to call it by that name till it was done. They had been often censured and reproached for meeting in *private houses*, but now say, "since we have for our convenience obtained a *public house* on purpose for that use, we are become more offensive than before."* The leaders of the society were convented before the general court of May 10, who not finding any old law to suit their turn then made a new one, in these words.

"It is ordered by the court and the authority thereof, that no person whatever, without the consent of the freemen of the town where they live, first orderly had, and obtained, at a public meeting assembled for that end, and licence of the county court, or in defeat of such consent, a licence by the special order of the general court, shall erect or *make use* of any house as aforesaid; and in case any person or persons shall be convicted of transgressing this law, every such house or houses wherein such persons shall so meet more than three times, with the land whereon such house or houses stand, and all private ways leading thereto, shall be forfeited to the use of the county, and disposed of by the county treasurer, by sale or demolishing, as the court that gives judgment in the case shall order."†

* Russell, p. 10.

†Mass. Records.

How different is this from the above language of governor Leete? But instead of seeking for persecution as Rogers did, this peaceable people refrained from meeting in their own house for the present, waiting to see what God would do for them. And he who has the hearts of kings in his hand, moved their king to write to the Massachusetts rulers on July 24, requiring that *liberty of conscience* should be allowed to all protestants, so as they might not be discountenanced from sharing in the government, much less that no such good subjects of his, for not agreeing in the congregational way, should by law, "be subjected to *fines* or *forfeitures*, or other incapacities for the same; which is a severity to be the more wondered at, whereas liberty of conscience was made a principle motive for your first transportation into those parts."* Deplorable indeed was their case at this time. Their all was in great danger, for doing so much of that which they thought Heaven frowned upon them for not doing more of; and it was evidently the two errors I have mentioned at the foot of p. 48, which brought them into this dilemma. Mr. William Hubbard, whom I have so often quoted, who was a minister at Ipswich, preached at their election in Boston May 3, 1676; and as the permission of quaker meetings had been declard by many ministers, to be one great cause of God's judgments then upon them, which had stirred up the court to severity against that people, he plainly gave his mind to the contrary; and that pride and worldlymindedness were the greatest evils then among them: yet least governor Leveret and his court should be too favorable to the baptists, he in his dedication of that sermon to them, p. 6, said

* Mass. hist. vol 3, p. 550.

ſaid, "If he were not much miſtaken who ſaid it is morally impoſſible to rivit the chriſtian religion into the body of a nation without infant baptiſm, by proportion it will as neceſſarily follow, that the neglect or diſuſe thereof, will as directly tend to root it out." And Dr. Increaſe Mather, who yielded to Mr. Mitchel's reaſonings about the halfway covenant, and took the lead among the Maſſachuſetts miniſters after his death, he in that capacity now moved the aſſembly to convene, what they called *The reforming ſynod.* Firſt they kept a general faſt in their churches, and then the ſynod met at Boſton, Sept. 10, 1679, to anſwer theſe two queſtions. 1ſt. *What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgements on New-England?* 2d. *What is to be done, that ſo theſe evils may be reformed?*

THEY had not gone far in their anſwer before they ſaid, "men have ſet up their threſholds by God's threſholds, and their poſt "by his poſt. Quakers are falſe worſhippers; and ſuch *anabaptiſts* as have riſen up among us, in oppoſition to the churches of the Lord Jeſus, receiving into their ſociety, thoſe that have been for ſcandal delivered unto ſatan; yea, and improving thoſe as adminiſtrators of holy things, who have been (as doth appear) juſtly under cenſure, do no better than ſet up altar againſt the Lord's altar. Wherefore it muſt needs be provoking to God, if theſe things be not duly and fully teſtifyed againſt, by every one in their ſeveral capacities." Their reſult was approved of by the general court on Oct. 15, who commended it to all their churches, "enjoining and requiring all perſons in their reſpective capacities to a careful and diligent reformation of all thoſe provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that ſo the anger and diſpleaſure of

God

God many ways manifested, might be averted; and his favour and blessing obtained."*

THIS dreadful charge, coming out from the whole power of the colony against one small society, put them upon a critical review of their past conduct; and they found that among about eighty members that they had received, there were but two who had been censured in those other churches (since Mr. Gould and Mr. Osborne, of whom we have before spoken) one of whom was Mr. Thomas Foster of Billerica, who for turning and going away, when infants were sprinkled, and for going at last and joining with the baptist, and refusing, after they had presented him to court, to return to the other church, was censure and excommunicated by them. The other was Mr. Farnum, who was the only one that the baptist had received, after others had cast him out; which was from the north church in Boston, where Mr. Mayo and Dr. Mather was ministers. The baptists now sent and obtained copies of the proceedings of that church against him, whereby it appeared, that they were in the height of their dealings with him, the same month that the assembly disfranchised Gould and Osborne for constituting that baptist church, viz. in October 1665; and that Farnum got his temper up, and in sundry instances spake and acted very unadvisedly;

* *Magnalia*, b, 5. p. 87. 89. I. Mather's life p. 84. Mr. Stoddard informs us, that in this Synod they had a dispute about persons giving, a relation of the work of God's spirit upon their hearts, in order to coming to communion.—The result was, that they blotted out that clause—and put in the room of it, the making a profession of their faith and repentance; and so I voted with the rest, and am of the same judgment still." That is a profession of a saving change should not be required before they come to communion. Stoddard's appeal, p. 94. Was this reformation? or was it not apostacy?

edly; for which the baptist now required him to offer satisfaction to that church, before they would commune with him again. This he soon after did. Mr. Willard owns that he offered a confession therefor both orally and in writing; but because he refused to return into their communion they judged it not to be sincere. The baptists say that some who had been baptized among them had afterward been refused communion by the other churches, when they had desired it. To which Mr. Willard says, "They know that our churches have received some that were *scrupelous* about infant baptism, who were willing to carry inoffensively: that we have refused such as were re-baptized among those excommunicate anabaptists, is true hypothetically, viz. except they would acknowledge and repent of *that act*; because *we judge* it scandalous." * Upon which I would only remark, that God says, *He that doubteth is damned if he eat*; but the Massachusetts were willing to admit persons to *eat with scruples*, but excommunicated such as put their *full persuasion* about baptism into practice, and judged those not to be sincere, who would not repent of *that act*! A letter at this time to their governor deserves notice, which is as follows.

Honored Sir,

"I HAVE often heard of your name by Col. Eyers, whose first wife's name was Bradstreet; and the character I have of you, if you were her son, relates you a wise and understanding man. But your report gives you as though some Laderdales counsel had possessed you, which set all Scotland in an uproar. God is wiser than man; more just and righteous: his counsel must stand. Be-

were

* Russell, p. 10. Willard, p. 22.

were of smiting your brethren, left the ecclesiastical power of England invade you. A parliament is near at hand, when just grievances will be previously resented: I hope there shall be none during your government. Sampson pluck'd a house on his head, and fell in it. If I can serve you in any honorable way, command your humble servant,

PETER CHAMBERLAIN,

His Majesty's physician in ordinary to his Royal Person."

September 2, 1679.

MR. Samuel Hubbard sometime after sent a letter, with a copy of this to governor Leete, to check their imprisoning the Rogers's at New-London. Notice being received by the baptists in Boston, of the king's letter in their favor, they met again in their house; but had not so done above four times before the court met, and issued a warrant to the constable of Boston, requiring him, "in his Majesty's name, forthwith to summons Philip Squire, Thomas Skinner and Mr. Drinker, to make their appearance before the court of assistants now sitting, having liberty to bring with them three or four more of their friends, to give an account of their breach of the law in erecting a meeting-house, and that they appear at three of the clock this instant, 5th March 1680." They appeared accordingly, and the court required a positive answer to the question, whether they would engage, either for the whole society, or for themselves in particular, to desist from meeting in said house till the next general court? They said they were not prepared to answer it, and desired time to consult their brethren. This was then denied them, but upon renewing the request next morning, they were allowed

lowed so much time as from Saturday till Monday. The church met on Monday, and presented the following address, viz.

"To the honorable the governor and magistrates now assembled at Boston, at the court of assistants the 8th of March 1680, the petition and declaration of the society of people commonly known or distinguished by the name of baptists, residing in and about Boston, humbly sheweth,

In primum, that whereas the only wise God, having by his providence led us into that order and way of the gospel of gathering into church fellowship, we do hereby confess, that what we did was not out of opposition to, or contempt of the churches of Christ in New-England, but in a holy imitation meerly for the better enjoyment of the liberty of our consciences, the great motive to their removal at first into this wilderness. 2. That the building a convenient place for our public church assembly, was not thought of affronting authority, there being no law in the country against any such practice at the erecting of this house, and did therefore think as the apostle saith, *where there is no law, there is no transgression.* The dictates of nature, or common prudence belonging to mankind, and the example or practice of the country throughout lead to the seeking of this convenience. 3. There being a law made in May last against meeting in the place built, we submitted to the same, until we fully understood by letters from several in London, that it was his majesty's pleasure and command (the common supersedus to all corporation laws in the English nation, that have not the royal assent *) that we should

* Their charter was originally designed for a corporation in England, to be executed only by a deputation in this country, as the king's observes in the letter referred to Mass. hist. vol. 3. p. 519.

ſhould enjoy liberty of our meetings in the manner as other of his proteſtant ſubjects; and the general court at their laſt meeting not having voted a non-concurrence. 4. As therefore the two tribes and half did humbly and meekly vindicate themſelves, upon the erecting of their altar, when challanged for it by Eleazer, and the meſſengers of the ten tribes, ſo do we hereby confeſs in like manner, that we have not deſigned by this act any contempt of authority, nor any departing from the living God, or churches of his worſhip, *the Lord God of gods he knows it*, Joſhua xxii, 22. Though it be our lot, with the apoſtles, in the way that ſome call hereſy ſo to worſhip the God of our fathers. Your petitioners therefore, having no deſign againſt the peace of this place, but being ſtill as ready as ever to hazard our lives for the defence of the people of God here, do humbly requeſt that this our profeſſion and declaration may find acceptance with this honorable court, as that of the two tribes did with Eleazer; and that we may ſtill, through your allowance and protection, enjoy the liberty of God's worſhip, in ſuch places as God hath afforded us, which will greatly oblige your petitioners, as in duty bound, humbly to pray.

Signed by us in the name and with the conſent of the church.

Iſaac Hull,
John Ruſſell,
Edward Drinker,
Thomas Skinner,"

BUT inſtead of having any ears to hear this loyal and chriſtian addreſs, their marſhal was ſent, and finding their gate locked, forced his way through Mr. Squire's ground, and nailed up their meeting-houſe

house doors, putting a paper thereon which said, "All persons are to take notice, that by order of the court the doors of this house are shut up, and that they are inhibited to hold any meeting therein, or to open the doors thereof, without license from authority, till the general court take further order, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

Dated in Boston, 8th March, 1680.

By order of the council,

EDWARD RAWSON, sec'ry."

THE Baptists required a copy of the Marshal's warrant, but he refused it; they then went to the secretary for one, who plainly told them, "he was not to let them have any." They met the next Lord's-day in their yard, and in the week ensuing prepared a shed therein for the purpose; but when they came together the second Lord's-day, they found the doors open; and considering say they, "that the court had not done it legally, and that we were denied a copy of the constables order and Marshal's warrant, we concluded to go into our house, it being our own, having a civil right to it." And they met therein till the assembly sat, before whom they were convented on May 11. When they gave in these pleas, "1. The house was our own, 2. It was built before the law was made, therefore no transgression. 3. The express will and pleasure of the king, that we should enjoy our liberty. After some debate of the matter (in which we met with some hard and reviling speeches from some of them) we were dismissed for that time. Next morning we put up a humble petition, (being blamed by some in the court that we had not done it before) that there might be a suspension of any proceedings

 against

against us." These accounts I have taken from their church records and papers. On the colony records under May 19, I find it thus written, viz.

"AFTER the court had heard their answer and plea, perused, their petition and what else was produced, the parties were called in, the courts sentence in the name of the court was published to them; that the court in answer to their petition judged it meet and ordered, that the petitioners be admonished by the present honored governor for their offence, and so granted them their petition, so far as to forgive them their offence past, but still prohibited them as a society of themselves, or joined with others, to meet in that public place they have built, or any public house except such as are allowed by lawful authority: and accordingly the governor in open court gave them their admonition."

DR. Mather had published a piece the proceeding March, intitled *The divine right of infant baptism*, containing some injurious reflections upon this people; which, with others, were briefly answered in Mr. Russell's narrative, dated from Boston, the 20th of this month, *with the consent of the whole church*, and sent to London, where Mess'rs William Kiffens Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Hanserd Knollys, John Harris and Nehemiah Cox, noted baptist minister, wrote a preface to it, in which they say; "As for our brethren of the congregational way in Old-England, both their principles and practice do equally plead for our liberties as for their own; and it seems strange that such of the same way in New-England, yea, even such (a generation not yet extinct, or the very next successors of them) who with liberal estates chose rather to depart from their native

solid

ſoil into a wilderneſs, than be under the impoſition and laſh of thoſe, who upon religious pretences took delight to ſmite their fellow-ſervants, ſhould exerciſe towards others the like ſeverity that themſelves with ſo great hazard and hardſhip ſought to avoid; eſpecially conſidering that it is againſt their brethren, who avowedly profeſs and appeal to the ſame rule with themſelves for their guidance in, and deciſion of all matters relating to the worſhip of God, and the ordering of their whole converſation—For one proteſtant congregation to perſecute another, where there is no pretence to infallibility in the deciſion of all controverſies, ſeems much more unreaſonable than the cruelties of the church of Rome towards them that depart from their ſuperſtitions; and if prejudices were removed and oppertunities of *power* not abuſed, but the golden rule of our Saviour were duly attended unto and rightly applied in the preſent caſe, certainly more moderation, yea, even compaſſion would be exerciſed towards theſe our chriſtian friends by ſuch as now give them trouble." They cloſe with obſerving That Dr. Stillingſtreet had already declared, in his *Miſchief of ſeparation*, that their rigorous courſe againſt congregationaliſts in England, was juſtified by the proceſs of the rulers here, againſt diſſenters from themſelves; and pray that the governors of New-England would regard their brethren there, ſo much as to remit theſe proceedings. What was ſaid in anſwer thereto, we ſhall ſee preſently, after I have obſerved, that elder Ruſſell was taken from his beloved flock by death, Dec. 21, 1680; Upon which the church met the next day, and agreed that their brother Callender, ſhould be helpful in carrying on their worſhip in Boſton, on Lord's-

days

days in the forenoon, and brother Drinker in the afternoon, in the absence of elder Hull. It is evident, that the gifts and graces of elder Russell were not small; and his memory is precious. His grand-daughter Brooks, married into Swanzey, whose sons, Job, * Russell, and John Mason have been, and the two latter still are useful gospel preachers in the second Baptist church in that town; Also Mess'rs Joseph, William and Jonathan Russell, now noted traders in Providence, are of his posterity.

In 1681, a minister of the church in Boston, which was formed in a schismatical way, in 1669, published an answer to the Baptist's narrative; and though it's author was deceased, yet he intitled it, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*: † or brief animadversions upon the New-England anabaptists late *fallacious* narrative; wherein the notorious mistakes and falshoods by them published, are detected; by Samuel Willard, &c." To which he adds as a motto, Rom. 16, 17, 18. Dr. Increase Mather, wrote a preface to this work, wherein he says, "Many are of the mind, that it is not worth the while, to take notice of what is emitted, by men so obscure and inconsiderable.—It seems to me, that the reverend author of the following animadversions, hath shewed much humility, in condescending to take persons in hand, between whom and himself there is such an *impar congressus*.—As for the brethren, that have thought good to prefix an epistle to such a narrative, and therein declare, that molestation is given and severity is exercised towards antipedobaptists in New-England, meerly for a supposed error about the subject of baptism, controverted

* Elder Job Mason died, since this history was in the press aged 80.

† *Cobler keep to your last.*

controverted amongst learned and holy men, they are marvelously deceived in that their supposition. Protestants ought not to persecute any, yet, that protestants may punish protestants; and as the case may be circumstanced, a congregation of such as call themselves protestants, cannot rationally be denied. Those of the congregational way, fully concur with the old puritan non-conformists, such as Cartwright, Rainold, Whitaker, Bains, Parker, &c. in whose writings congregational principles, about church government, are to be seen.* Now the old non-conformists (notwithstanding their sufferings from those that took delight to smite their fellow servants) did believe that disorders in whole congregations were liable to the civil magistrates censure.—Our famous Cotton was another Moses, in respect of meekness and christian forbearance, as to dissenters from his judgment in matters of a lesser concernment, yet would he sometimes make a zealous protestation, that if magistrates in New-England should tolerate transgressors against the rules of godliness (as well as offences contrary to what the rules of honesty require) he believed that God would not long tolerate them.—I would intreat the brethren that have

* These are the men refered to in our p. 12, 13, who opened a door for Mr. Robinson and his brethren, by which *themselves entered not*. Their first *admonition to the parliament*, was presented thereto by Mr. John Field and Mr. Wilcox; for which they were committed to Newgate prison, on Oct. 2, 1672. This caused Mr. Thomas Cartwright, to right the *second admonition to parliament*, quoted by Mr. Robinson, and also to answer what Dr. Whitgift had written against the first. And Mr. Neal says, the reason why they could not settle the controversy, was because Cartwright was for making his *bible the only standard* of doctrine, discipline and government; but Whitgift held the latter of these to be *changeable*, to accommodate the civil governments we live under. *History of the Puritans, vol.* 1, p. 190—197.

have subscribed the epistles seriously to consider; 1. That the place may sometimes make a great alteration as to indulgence to be expected. It is evident, that that toleration is in one place, not only lawful; but a necessary duty, which in another place would be destructive; and the expectation of it irrational. That which is needful to ballast a great ship, will sink a small boat.—2. Let them consider, that those of their persuasion in this place have acted with so much irregularity and prophanness, that should men of any persuasion whatsoever have done the like, the same severity would have been used towards them." This hard sentence his son has propogated to posterity. *

But, search through all they have said against those people, and I am confident that the greatest real disorder they have produced, was the churches receiving Farnum as they did; which when they had proper knowledge of, they rectified. But is this comparable to the disorders at Hingham, 20 years before: Where Lieut. Eames was regularly chosen their captain, and presented to the court for a commission; but soon upon it, a notion was started to choose another man, related to the minister, into that office, who accordingly was chosen and presented. And when the reason of it was asked for, they said Eames had resigned; but he said he had not. Hereupon the minister censured him for lying; and this cost three or four days tedious labors of a council, without being able to settle it; and occasioned the petition of Dr. Child and others, with much trouble to governor Winthrop and the assembly. See p. 139, 140. Yet the issue of all was, that the minister of Hingham excommunicated captain Eames, contrary to the minds

* Magnalia, B. 7. p. 28.

minds of other ministers, and by their advice, "Those that were without just cause cast out at Hingham, were received into the church of Weymouth, the next town, and the matter so continued through the *stiffness* of their minds, and their *selfwilled resolutions*."*

In the piece upon infant baptism, which Dr. Mather had published, he accused those baptists of the sin of Jeroboam, who made priests of the *lowest of the people*; in which says Mr. Russell, "we easily understand "what he means; our evil in this respect, is our calling to office those who have not been bread up in colleges, and taught in other languages, but have been bread to other callings. It is not because we are against learning, for we esteem it, and honor it in its place; and if we had such among us and that they were together with that, otherways duly qualified for the work of the ministry, we should readily chuse them. But we do not think the spirit of God is locked up so in the narrow limits of college learning, that none are to be called to office in a church but such, nor that all such are fit for that work, be they never so great schollars; neither do we think that all those who have not that learning, are to be accounted the lowest of the people. Indeed the priesthood was bounded to the tribe of Levi by divine institution, but we cannot find that the Lord hath, by divine institution, given the work of the ministry to men of such learning only. Whom he will he fits and quallifies for that work; neither are we left without a plain rule in the new testament

* *Winthrop—Hubbard—Neal, vol.* 1, p. 235. And how just also was it for both ministers and courts to accuse that baptists church, of having excommunicated officers in the plural when they never had but one?

teſtament to direct us in this matter * In theſe plain goſpel ſentements have the baptiſts, on both ſides of the Atlantic, perſevered to this day. But his apponent ſaid of the text refered to, " The Belgic and others read it, of *both ends of the people.* If a fit man would except it ſo; if not, to the other end, and take one unfit. The anabaptiſts would have a learned man if they could get one of their mind; if not, John Ruſſell the ſhoe-maker—. Truly, if goodman Ruſſell was a fit man for a miniſter, we have but fooled ourſelves in building colleges, and inſtructing children in learning." † Here is a plain ſpecimen of what many call learning, though the truly learned apoſtle Paul, *renounced* it with abhorrance. 2 Cor. 4, 2. Either thoſe who have a college education, are thereby made the head of the people, and the reſt are to be ranked to the other end, or elſe this is a handling the word of God *deceitfully*; and God ſays. *The prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.*

AGAIN, the baptiſts had ſaid in their confeſſion of faith, that thoſe who gladly receive the word and are baptized, are ſaints by calling, and fit matter of a viſible church. This Dr. Mather called a *pernicious principle.* But ſays Mr. Ruſſell, " who dare deny this to be a ſound truth? as for the concluſion he draws from thence, viz. that there are no viſible believers but thoſe that are baptized, is his own, not ours; the improvement he makes of it, not what we make of it. Far be it from us to judge all that are not baptized, not to be viſible ſaints, for we judge that the Lord hath many precious people in the world that are not baptized, according to, or in the manner we baptize; and further we judge they ſhould be viſible ſaints.

* Ruſſell, p. 14. † Willard, p. 26.

ſaints, before baptized, or elſe they have no right to baptiſm, for it is not baptiſm that can make ſaints. And as for looking upon infant baptiſm as nothing, or a nullity, that is true; and we can look on it no otherwiſe, till we ſee right to own it to be that which he thinks of it, viz. of *divine right*, which we cannot ſee grown from the word to do; and as for not owning their churches—we never yet denied them to be churches of Chriſt. It is enough for every one to prove his own work; but we have owned them as ſuch; for where there is true matter joined together in the bond of a holy covenant they may be looked at as a true church, though not in due order."* This was not enough for the other party, but their cry ſtill was, "they ſay baptized perſons are true matter of a viſible church, and they ſay thoſe that were only ſprinkled in their infancy, were never baptized; and will not this undermine the foundation of all the churches in the world but theirs? and what more pernicious! they had even as good cry with Edom's ſons, *raiſe it, raiſe it to the foundation!*—Experience tells us that ſuch a rough thing as a New-England anabaptiſt is not to be handled over-tenderly; the ſpirit which they have at all times diſcovered under the greateſt diſadvantages (and God grant that they may never have more advantage over us) eaſily tells us what they would have been if circumſtanced as thoſe whom they accuſe." †

Mr. Hubbard got the moſt out of temper upon this occaſion that he ever did in a whole volume in folio, and ſaid, "one John Ruſſell, a wedder-drop'd ſhoe-maker—ſtiched up a ſmall phamphet;

* Ruſſel, p. 14.

† Willard, p, 10, 27.

wherein he endeavors to clear the innocency of those, commonly (though falsly he says) called anabaptists. Surely he was not well aware of the old adage, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*,* or else he would not have made such botching work."—And goes on to recite what you may see of the *simple cobler*, in p, 183, 184, which he calls *honest stitches used to much better purpose*. But having taken the old round to Germany, he recovers his senses again, and then says, "To return to what was in hand, and give this gospel ordered church (as John Russell terms them) what is their due, from an historian; as for the persons of those seven [first males of the church] he apologizes for, it may be more easily granted that they were good in the main, than that it was a good work for God, they were engaged in—Good men may be found to be ill employed; as Peter was, when Christ rebukes and calls satan, and bids him get behind him. Whether any of them did absolutely deserve to be delivered to satan, for their obstinacy in their opinions, or other miscarriages, which either through weakness of their judgments, or strength of their passions, which in defence of their opinions or practices they run into; or whether there were not

* It was truly of some age; for after James I. had preached in the star-chamber, "That the mystery of the King's power, is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the Mystical reverence that belongs to those who sit in the THRONE OF GOD.—It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do—So is it presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do or say:" He, the year after our fathers first came to Plymouth, repremanded his parliament for petitioning against his taking a Popish wife for his son Charles, and said, "A small mistaking of matters of this nature, may produce more effects than can be imagined: therefore, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*." Rapin, vol. 2, p. 192, 211.

not more acrimony of the ſalt, than ſweetneſs of the goſpel ſpirit of peace, in thoſe that managed the diſcipline of the church againſt ſome or them, muſt not be here diſcuſſed—Yet that can give no colour to a few giddy ſectaries, that fondly conceit themſelves to be an orderly church, when their very conſtitution is explicitly, not only without, but againſt the conſent of all the reſt of the churches in the places, as well as the order of the civil authority."

I LOVE to ſee honeſty if perſons are erronious; for then we have an advantage to judge for ourſelves, and to know the better how to deal with them. And I muſt ſay that governor Winthrop, from whom Mr. Hubbard took many things, exceeded him in that noble quality; and that Mr. H. exceeded all the hiſtorians I have ſeen who have copied from him, except the pious Mr. Prince. Others have often given us hard names without explaining what they ment by them; but Mr. Hubbard plainly tells us ſoon after Mr. Cotton's arrival at Boſton, that the miniſters, "uſed to meet once a fortnight at one of their houſes in courſe, where ſome queſtion of momeant was debated: Mr. Skilton, paſtor of Salem, and Mr. Williams (as yet not ordained an officer there) out of a *rigid ſeperation-jealouſy*, took exception at; prognoſticating that it might in time bring forth a preſbytery, or ſuperintendancy, to the prejudice of the churches liberties. (A ſpirit of rigid ſeparation had it ſeems ſo early fly-blown their underſtandings)—the venum of which ſpirit had ſoon after infected ſo many of that church and people at Salem, as will appear in the next chapter. But this fear was without cauſe; nor did it ſpring from a godly jealouſy, but from the bitter root of

pride,

pride, that venteth itself above order, and against love and peace. No such spirit was ever observed to appear in Mr. Cotton's days, but a spirit of love and meekness, nor since his time, to the present year." And though the author of the Massachusetts history, approves of Mr. William's opinion about liberty of conscience, and fixes upon his moving Mr. Endicot to cut the cross out of the training colours, as the best plea he could make for their banishing of him; yet Mr. Hubbard honestly says, "This essay did but tick at some of the upper branches, whereas Mr. Williams laid his *ax at the very root of the magisterial power in matters of the first table*, which he drove on at such a rate, so as many agitations were occasioned thereby, that pulled down ruin upon himself, friends and his poor family." Now if the reader will look back to p. 156—175, and compare that with their actings down to this time, he will have a fair opportunity to know the meaning of the terms, rigid-separation, turbulent anabaptists, giddy sectaries, &c. as they were often used by that party.

Mr. Williams closed his second plea for religious liberty, with an address to the popish, prelatical presbyterian and independant clergy of the whole kingdom, wherein he makes use of the "fable or similitude of a wolf and a poor lamb coming down to drink at the same stream together: the wolf cruel and strong drinks above and aloft; the lamb innocent and weak, drinks upon the stream below: the wolf questions and quarrels the lamb for corrupting and defiling the waters: the lamb (not daring to plead how easily the wolf drinking higher might transfer defilement downward, but) pleads improbability and impossibility,

impossibility, that the waters descending could convey defilement upwards: this is the controversy, this the plea: but who shall judge? Be the lamb never so innocent, his plea never so just, his adversary the wolf, will be his judge, and being so cruel and so strong, soon tears the lamb in pieces. Thus the cruel *beast*, armed with the *power of the kings*. Rev. 17, sits judge in his own quarrels against the lamb, about the drinking at the waters. And thus (saith Mr. Cotton) the judgment ought to pass upon the heretic, not for matter of conscience but for sinning against his conscience."

"OBJECTION, methinks I hear, the great charge against the independent party to be great pleaders for liberty of conscience, &c. Answer, oh the horrible deceit of the hearts of the sons of men! And, what excellent physick can we prescribe to others, till, as Job said, our soul comes to be in their souls cases? What need have we to be more vile, with Job, before God, to walk in a holy sense of self-insufficiency, to cry for the blessed leadings of the holy spirit of God, to guide and lead our *heads* and *hearts uprightly*!" He then goes on to shew, that each of these denominations had been sufferers in their turns, and when so had always complained of it, and pleaded for liberty to their own consciences; and then says, "New-England laws, lately published in Mr. Clarke's narrative, tell *how free* it shall be for people together themselves into church-estate, how *free* to choose their ownministers, how *free* to enjoy all the ordinances of Christ: but yet, provided (so and so) upon the point, that the *civil state* must judge of the *spiritual*, to wit, whether persons be fit for church-estate, whether the gathering be right, whether the people's

ple's choice be right, doctrines right, and what is this in truth, but to swear that *blasphemous oath of supremacy* again, to the king's and queen's and magistrates of this and other nations, instead of the pope! Into these prisons and cages, do those, otherwise excellent men, the independents, put the children of God, and all the children of men, and then bid them fly and walk at liberty (to wit within the *conjured circle*) so far as they please." *

TOWARD the close of this year Mr. Miles came again and ministered a while to his brethren in Boston. And Mr. Sprague, who in those times joined to the baptist church in Providence, in writing to the Massachusetts many years afters says, "Why do you strive to persuade the rising generation, that you never persecuted nor hurt the baptists, which is so apparantly false?—Did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Baker in Cambridge, the chief mate of a London ship? where also you imprisoned Mr. Thomas Gould, John Russell and Benjamin Sweetser, and many others, and fined them 5ol. a man.—And did you not nail up the baptist meeting-house doors, and fine Mr. John Miles, Mr. James Brown and Mr. Nicholas Tanner?" &c. I find also that a number of people from Kittery on Piscataqua river, in the province of Maine, were baptized this year, and in the beginning of the next sent their most gifted brother to Boston with a letter of recommendation and request; in consequence of which the church there wrote thus on Jan. 11, 1682. "To all whom it may concern; these are to certify, that our beloved brother William Screven is a member in communion with us, and having had trial of his gifts among us, and finding him

* Reply to Cotton, p. 315—318.

him to be a man whom God hath qualified and furnished with the gifts of his holy spirit and grace, enabling him to open and apply the word of God, which through the blessing of the Lord Jesus may be useful in his hand, for the begeting and building up of souls in the knowledge of God, do therefore appoint, approve and encourage him, to exercise his gift in the place where he lives, or elsewhere as the providence of God may cast him; and so the Lord help him to eye his glory in all things, and to walk humbly in the fear of his name.

'Signed by us in behalf of the rest.

Isaac Hull,
John Farnum."

But no sooner was this design heard of in their town, than Mr. Woodbridge the minister, and Hucke the magistrate began to bestir themselves, and not only spread the slanders we have heard so much of against the baptists at Boston, but the magistrate repeatedly summoned those people before him who had been to the baptist meetings, and threatened them with a fine of five shillings for every such offence for the future. On Jan 23, he convented Humphrey Churchwood, a baptized member of Boston church, before him, where was the said minister, who after casting those old stories upon him, said, "Behold your great doctor, Mr. Miles of Swanzey, for he now leaves his profession and is come away, and will not teach his people any more, because he is like to perish for want, and his gathered church and people will not help him." Churchwood told them it was a great untruth; and directly wrote to Boston upon it, which letter is now before me. Several others from that place were baptized soon after, but to

hinder

hinder their proceedings, their general court took the matter in hand as follows, viz.

"WILLIAM SCREVEN, appearing before this court, and being convicted of the contempt of his majesty's authority, and refusing to submit himself to the sentence of the court, prohibiting his public preaching, and upon examination before the court, declaring his resolution still to persist therein, the court tendered him liberty to return home to his family, in case he would forbear such turbulent practices and amend for the future; but he refusing, the court sentanced him to give bond for his good behaviour, and to forbear such contentious behaviour for the future, and the delinquent to stand committed untill the judgment of this court be fullilled.

VERA *copia, transcribed, and with the records compared this 17th of August*, 1682.

per EDWARD RISHWORTH, recorder."

To this is added a copy of the same date by the same hand, of an act of their executive court which says, "This court having considered the offensive speeches of William Screven, viz. his rash and inconsiderate words tending to blasphemy do adjudge the delinquent, for his offence to pay ten pounds into the treasury of the county or province. And further, the court doth forbid and discharge the said Screven, under any pretence, to keep any private exercise at his own house or elsewhere, upon the Lord's-days, either in Kittery or any other place within the limits of this province, and is for the future enjoined to observe the public worship of God in our public assemblies upon the Lord's-days, according to the laws here established in this province, upon such penalties as the law requires upon such neglect of

the

the premises." But he was so far from yielding to such sentences, that on Sept. 13, he with the rest sent a request to Boston that elder Hull and others might visit and form them into a church, which was granted, so that a covenant was solemnly signed on Sept. 25, 1682, by William Screven, elder, Humphrey Churchwood, deacon, Robert Williams, John Morgandy, Richard Cutt, Timothy Davis, Leonard Drown, William Adams, Humphrey Azell, and George Litten, and a number of sisters. A baptist church was also formed this year from that of Boston, at Newbury, by William and John Sayer, Benjamin Morse, Edward Woodman and others, to whom I find elder Hull and elder Emblen writing as a sister church, on March 25, 1689; though how much longer they continued a distinct church I do not find.

Mr. Philip Edes, a member of the first baptist church in Newport, died this year on March, 16, of whom Mr. Samuel Hubbard says in a letter to governor Leete, "This friend of yours and mine, one in office in Oliver's house, was for liberty of conscience; a merchant, a precious man, of a holy life and conversation, beloved of all sorts of men, his death much bewailed by all." Mr. Thomas Olney, senior, also died this year. He was next to Mr. Williams in the pastoral office at Providence, and continued so to his death, over that part of the church who were called five principal baptists, in distinction from those who parted from their brethren about the year 1653, under the leading of elder Wickenden, holding to the *laying on of hands* upon every church member. The greatest fault that I find Mr. Olney charged with is, that he was for extending the first deed of Providence up to the head of the two great

rivers it lay between, or at least as far as their charter reached, from the words *without limits*, in p. 90. In this he was opposed by our elders, Wickenden and Dexter, the latter of whom informs us that Mr. Williams said, the only intent of the expression was to prevent the Indians hurting their cattle if they wandered far into the woods. Their writings on both sides are yet extant in their town-clerks office. They tell me at Swanzey that elder Miles permitted Mr. Brown's wife, who was not a baptist, to commune with their church, till by elder Olney's influence she was dismissed to Mr. Angier's church in Rehoboth. It is very evident that Mr. Olney was a capable and very useful man, both in church and state for forty-four years after he left the Massachusetts; as his son also was for many years; and his posterity are respectable in that town and state to this day. Mr. Holmes, of whom much has been said, who wrote the account of himself in 1675, that you have p. 208—212, 256, &c. and succeeded Mr. Clarke in the pastoral office at Newport, died there October 15, 1682, aged 76. He has a large posterity now remaining in New-England and New-Jersey.

The learned and pious Mr. Miles having returned to his flock in Swanzey, fell asleep in Jesus on Feb. 3, 1683; and his memory is still precious among us. We are told that being once brought before the magistrates he requested a bible, and upon obtaining it he turned to those words, *ye should say, Why persecute we him, seeing the root of the matter is found in me.* Job 19, 28. which having read he sat down; and the word had a good effect upon their minds, and moved them to treat him with moderation if not kindness. His son went

back

back to England, and his grandson Mr. Samuel Miles was an episcopal minister at our Boston in 1724. Though Mr. Willard, and the Magnalia from him, accused the baptists of Boston, of separating because they wanted to be teachers, yet that was so far from truth, that on June 27, 1681, they wrote to London for a minister, giving this as one reason for it that, "our minister is very aged and feeble, and often incapable of his ministerial work;" and as another motive they say, "We conceive there is a prospect of good encouragement for an able man to come over, in that there seems to be an apparant and general apostacy among the churches who have professed themselves congregational in this land; whereby many have their eyes opened, by seeing the declention and confusion that is among them." A kind answer hereto was retured by eleven baptist minsters, which is before me.

And now as some singular and curious things are generally expected from a new country, I shall relate the closing part of one of the greatest curiosities I have met with in modern history; the sum whereof is this. A large number of people fled out of the old world into this wilderness for religious liberty; but had not been here long before some put in high claims for power, under the name of orthodoxy; to whom others made fierce opposition professedly from the light within; and their clashings were so great that several lives were lost in the fray. This made a terrible noise on the other side of the water. But as self-defence is a natural principal, each party wrote volume after volume to clear themselves from blame; and they both conspired to cast a great part of it upon one singular man, whom they called a weather-cock,

and

and a wind-mill. Now let the curious find out if they can. First, how men of university-learning, or of divine inspiration, came to write great volumes against a wind mill and a weather-cock? Secondly, how such a strange creature came to be an over-match for them all, and to carry his point against the arts of priest-craft, the intrigues of court, the slights of enthusiasm and the power of factions, so as after he had pulled down ruin upon himself and his friends, yet to be able, in the midst of heathen savages, to erect the best form of civil government that the world had seen in 1600 years? Thirdly, how he and his ruined friends came to lie under those reproaches for a hundred years, and yet that their plan should then be adopted by thirteen colonies, to whom these dispised people could afford SENATORS of principal note, as well as COMMANDERS by sea and land? The excellency of this scene above those which many are bewitched with, consists in its being founded upon facts and not fictions; being not the creature of distempered brains, but of an unerring Providence.

ACCORDING to Mr. Williams's own testimony, (p. 143) his soul was renewed by divine grace when he was not more than ten or twelve years old. And the mystery of his being rigidly set in his way, and yet *given to change*, is to be explained thus. Neither frowns nor flatteries could move him to part with what he judged to be truth, or to assent to any thing contrary thereto. As he scrupled the exactness of the kalender then in use, so he discovered it in all his dates. Even when dedicating his quaker dispute to the King, he dated it March 10, 1672, 3, (*ut vulgo.*) On the other hand he was ever ready to change, when he

he could obtain light for it from any quarter. While he ministered to his brethren at Plymouth, he objected against their custom of giving their neighbours the tittle of *goodman*, if they were not judged to be godly persons. When governor Winthrop paid them a visit in 1632, (p, 56,) and his advice was asked upon it, he shewed them that they ought to distinguish betwixt theological and moral goodness, and observed that when trials by jury was first introduced in England, after the names of fit persons for the purpose were called over, the crier called them to attend, *good men and true*, from whence proceeded the custom then in question; and he thought it a pity to make a stir about a custom so innocently introduced. * Mr. Williams readily embraced this advice, and made a very good use of it afterward, in exposing the mischiefs that arose from a confounding of those two sorts of goodness together, as Mr. Cotton and many others had done. And because he was earnestly looking for a better church-establishment than he had then seen, they imposed the name of *seeker* upon him. The great Mr. Baxter calls him *The father of the seekers in London.* † When he went there in 1643, and published his testimony against the bloody tenet, Mr. Cotton, among other reflections said, "Thus men that have time and leisure at will, will set up images of clouts, and then shoot at them." ‡ In answer to which Mr. Williams appealed to the people of Plymouth, Salem and Providence, that he had not lead such a life in this country; and as to the other he says, "I can tell that when these

* Magnalia, b. 2, p. 14.

† Crosby, vol. 1. p. 118.

‡ Tenet washed, p. 31.

these discussions were prepared for the public in London, his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the parliament and city, for the supply of the poor of the city with wood, during the stop of coal from Newcastle, and the mutinies of the poor for fireing—these meditations were fitted for public view in change of rooms and corners, yea, in a variety of strange houses, sometimes in the fields in the midst of travel;—for which service, through the hurry of the times, and the necessity of his departure he lost his recompence to this day—Well, notwithstanding master Cotton's bitter censure, some persons of no contemptable note nor intelligence, have by letters from England, informed the discusser, that by these *images of clouts* it hath pleased God to stop no small *leaks of persecution*, that lately began to flow in upon *dissenting consciences*, and, among others, to master Cotton's own, and to the peace and quietness of the independants, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed."* See p. 155, 174, 175, 187, &c.

And as to his later services, he was so far from being meanly hired, as they said, *for a piece of bread*, to write against the quakers, that after he had done it, he wrote thus to Newport. "My dear friend Samuel Hubbard, to yourself and aged companion my loving respects in the Lord Jesus, who ought to be our hope of glory, begun in this life and enjoyed to all eternity. I have herein returned your little, yet great, remembrance of the hand of the Lord to yourself and your son late departed. I praise the Lord for your humble kissing of his holy rod, and acknowledging his just and righteous, together with his gracious and merciful

* Reply to Cotton, p. 38.

merciful dispensation to you. I rejoice also to read your heavenly desires and endeavours, that your trials may be gain to your own souls, and the souls of the youth of the place, and all of us. You are not unwilling I judge that I deal plainly and friendly with you —After all that I have seen and read and compared about the seventh day (and I have earnestly and carefully read and weighed all I could come at in God s holy presence.) I cannot be removed from Calvin's mind, and indeed Paul's mind, Col. 2. that all those sabbaths of seven days were figures, types and shadows, and forerunners of the Son of God, and that the change is made from the remembrance of the first creation, and that (figurative) rest on the seventh day, to the remembrance of the second creation on the first, on which our Lord arose conquerer from the dead. Accordingly I have read many, but see no satisfying answer to those three scriptures chiefly Acts 20, 1 Cor. 16. Rev. 1, in conscience to which I make some poor conscience to God as to the rest day.—As for thoughts for England, I humbly hope the Lord hath hewed me to write a large narrative of all those four days agitation between the quakers and myself: if it please God I cannot get it printed in New-England, I have great thoughts and purposes for old.—Mine age, lameness and many other weaknesses, and the dreadful hand of God at sea, calls for deep consideration. What God may please to bring forth in the spring his holy wisdom knows. If he please to bring to an absolute purpose I will send you word, and my dear friend Obediah Holmes, who sent me a message to the same purpose. At present I pray salute respectivly Mr. John Clarke and his brothers, Mr. Tory, Mr. Edes, Edward Smith,

Smith, William Hiſcox, Stephen Mumford and other friends, whoſe preſervation of the iſland, and this country, I humbly beg of the father of mercies, in whom I am yours unworthy.

R. W."

If the reader reviews Dr. Chamberlain's firſt letter, and is informed that he with his brethren he wrote to, took the whole of the ten commendments to be moral and immutable, and held that it was the little horn that *changed the time* from the ſeventh to the firſt day: but that Mr. Olney and his church obſerved to their brethren, that Paul ſpeaks of a *glory which was done away* that was *written and engraven in ſtones*, 2 Cor. 3, 7, compared with this letter, he will then have a plain idea of the nature of that controverſy on both ſides, as it was managed in that day. And to go on; it is to be remembered, that ſome perſons in different parts of that colony had ſuch a conceit of liberty, as that officers ſhould manage the government without any reward from them; by which means Mr. Clarke received but part of his pay for procuring their charter as long as he lived; and occaſioned a remonſtrance from his executors to the aſſembly upon it ſoon after his death. And a clauſe from Mr. Williams upon it, I have already recited; to which I now add the following. In Auguſt 1678, he was appointed to aſſiſt Mr. Daniel Abbot in ſetting their town records in order; the latter being then choſen their clerk. Three years after Mr. Williams wrote to him thus. "My good friend, loving remembrance to you. It hath pleaſed the Moſt High and only wiſe, to ſtir up your ſpirit to be one of the chieſeſt ſtakes in our poor hedge. I therefore, not being well able to come to you, preſent you with a

few

few thoughts about the great ſtumbling block, to them that are willing to humble and trouble themſelves our rates. James Matſon had one copy of me, and Thomas Arnold another. This I ſend to yourſelf and the town (for it may be I ſhall not be able to be at meeting) I am grieved that you do ſo much ſervice for ſo bad recompence; but I am perſuaded you ſhall find cauſe to ſay, the Moſt High God of recompence, who was Abraham's great reward, hath paid me.

Conſiderations preſented, touching rates,

" 1 Government and order in families, towns, &c. is the ordinance of the Moſt High, Rom. 13, for the peace and good of mankind. 2. Six things are written in the hearts of all mankind, yea, even in Pagans. 1ſt. That there is a Deity. 2d. That ſome actions are naught. 3d. That the Deity will puniſh. 4th. That there is another life. 5th. That marriage is honorable. 6th. That mankind cannot keep together without ſome government. 3 There is no Engliſhman in his majeſty's dominions, or elſwhere, who is not forced to ſubmit to government. 4. There is not a man in the world, except robbers, pirates and rebels, but doth ſubmit to government. 5. Even robbers, pirates and rebels themſelves cannot hold together but by ſome law among themſelves, and government. 6. One of theſe two great laws in the world muſt prevail, either that of judges and juſtices of peace in courts of peace, or the law of arms, the ſword and blood. 7. If it comes from the courts of trials in peace, to the trial of the ſword and blood, the conquered is forced to ſeek law and government. 8. Till matters come to a ſettled government no man is ordinarily ſure of his houſe, goods, lands, cattle, wife, children or life. 9.

Hence is that ancient maxim, *It is better to live under a tyrant in peace, than under the sword, or where every man is a tyrant.* 10 His majesty sends governors to Barbados, Virginia, &c. but to us he shews greater favor in our charter, to choose whom we please. 11. No charters are obtained without great suit, favour or charges. Our first cost an hundred pounds (though I never received it all) our second about a thousand, Connecticut about six thousand, &c. 12. No government is maintained without tribute, custom, rates, taxes, &c. 13. Our charter excells all in New-England, or *in the world, as to the souls of men.* 14. It pleaseth God, Rom. 13, to command tribute, custom and consequently rates, not only for fear, but for conscience sake. 15. Our rates are the least by far of any colony in New-England 16. There is no man that hath a vote in town or colony, but he *hath a hand in makeing the rates by himself or his deputies.* 17. In our colony the general assembly, governor, magistrates, deputies, towns, town-clerks, raters, constables, &c. have done their duties, the failing lies upon particular persons. 18. It is but folly to resist, (one or more, and if one why not more ?) God hath stirred up the spirit of the governor, magistrates and officers, driven to it by necessity, to be unanimously resolved to see the matter finished; and it is the duty of every man to maintain, encourage and strengthen the hand of authority. 19. Black clouds (some years) have hung over Old and New-England heads. God hath been wonderfully patient and long-suffering to us; but who sees not changes and calamities hanging over us? 20. All men fear that this blazing herauld from heaven denounceth

nounceth from the Most High, wars, pestilence, famines: is it not then our wisdom to make and keep peace with God and man?

Your old unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS."*

Providence 15th Jan. 1680.1 (so called)

The last act that I have found upon record, performed by this eminent peace-maker, was on January 16, 1683, when he, with Mr. Carpenter, and the heirs or assigns of the other eleven original proprietors, signed a full settlement of the long-continued controversy about Pawtuxet lands. On the 10th of May following Mr. John Thorton, wrote to Mr. Hubbard and said, "Dear brother, you gave me an account of the death of divers of our ancient friends; since that time the Lord hath arrested by death our ancient and approved friend Mr. ROGER WILLIAMS, with divers others here. The good Lord grant that we may be stirred up, with the wise virgins, to be trimming our lamps, and getting them full of the spiritual oil, and standing with wise Habbakuk upon our watch-towers till our appointed change" Thus lived and thus died the first baptist minister in New-England, and the first founder and supporter of any truly free civil government upon earth, since the rise of antichrist; "and he was buried with all the solemnity the colony was able to shew."† This was in the 84th year of his age, being 52 years after his arrival in this country.

His

* These excellent observations are still extant in his own hand writing. The last article refers to a remarkable blazing star that appeared in those times.

† *Callendar*, p. 93. In 1686 Mr. S Hubbard wrote that Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Joseph Clarke, were all that were then living who were baptized in N. E. before him.

His wife, whose name was Mary, came with him from England; their children were 1 Mary, born at Plymouth the first week in August 1633. 2. Freeborn, at Salem in October 1635. 3. Providence, born at the place he so called in September 1638, said to be the first English male born there. 4. Marcy, born July 15, 1640. 5. Daniel, born Feb. 13, 1642. 6. Joseph, born in Dec. 1643. The last of these, and a grandson of the same name, were magistrates in that colony and some of great knowledge, compute his present posterity at near 2000. Thomas Ward, Esq; who was a baptist before he came out of Cromwell's army; and was a very useful man in this colony, was ancestor to two late governors, and to the present secretary of it, in the male line, as Mr. Williams was in the female; one of them was the honorable SAMUEL WARD, Esq; who died a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, on March 26, 1776, aged 52. The family of HOPKINS in Providence, which has afforded an honorable member of that assembly, and two commanders for the continental fleet, descended in the male line from Mr. Thomas Hopkins, who followed Mr. Williams from Plymouth, and in the female from Mr. Wickenden, an early member, and long a teacher of the baptist church there. The noted family of BROWN, in Providence, sprung from Mr. Chad Brown on the one side, and from Mr. Williams on the other. And our generals, GREENE and ARNOLD, sprang from two of the twelve first proprietors of those lands, which were given for a place of refuge for such as were DISTRESSED FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE ELSEWHERE; and may that great design never be forgotton by us or ours. Some have been ready to make those religious

contentions

contentions and oppressions an argument against all revealed religion, but if they duly consider the following things, compared with the forgoing, perhaps it may alter their minds. To guard against evil biases in our dealings, the great AUTHOR of our religion said, *With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.* And was not his word verified in the following instances?

1. The ruling party in the Massachusetts, had not only raked up the real faults of the baptists, and exposed them in their worst colours, but also slandered them in many particulars. And now Edward Randolph went eight voiages to England in nine years, and treated them in the same manner at the British court, on purpose to get away their charter,.* 2. By a plea from the kings grant in that charter, they had cruelly oppressed their brethren and neighbours in many instances: now in 1684 the charter was vacated by a decree in chauncery, without giving them opportunity to answer for themselves; "and those who were in condfederacy with Sir Edmund Andros, for the enriching themselves on the spoils of New England, did *invade* the property as well as liberty of the subject; and gave out, that now their charter was gone all their lands were the king's; that themselves did represent the king, and therefore men that would have any legal title to their lands must take patents of them, on such terms as they should see mete to impose. What people that had the spirits of Englishmen could endure this?"† 3. Their charter never gave them any right to establish

* Mass. hist. vol. 1, p. 329, 335, vol. 3, p. 480, 490, &c.

† Revolution in N. E. justified, printed 1691, and reprinted 1773, p. 17.

eſtabliſh their mode of worſhip by force; but in order to do it they preſumed to leave the word *lawful* out of their oaths, p. 61, 63; and Ipſwich gave an early example of ſeizing their neighbours property in that illegal way, againſt the weighty arguments of judge Symonds. Now the ſcale was turned, ſo that an arbitary governor and council made laws and impoſed taxes upon all, without any houſe of repreſentatives; and for refuſing to carry an order for ſuch a tax into execution in Ipſwich, Mr. John Wiſe a miniſter who ſpake upon it in their town-meeting was impriſoned, and denied the benefit of the Habus Corpus act; and when he upon his trial plead the Magna Charta, and laws of England, he was told by one of the judges, that "he muſt not think the laws of England followed them to the ends of the earth— Mr. Wiſe, you have no more privilege left you, than not to be ſold for ſlaves" The honorable John Appleton, Eſq; was treated in the ſame manner; and both were put from office, fined 50l. a piece, and ordered to give bonds of 1000l. each, for their good behavior for one year. Four other men of that town received like ſentences, only in leſs ſums.* Was not this a teaching by *cudgel inſtead of argument!* p. 100. To juſtify or excuſe their making the law againſt the baptiſts in 1644, Mr. Hubbard ſaid, "It were well if thoſe who cannot comply with the religion of the ſtate or place where they live, yet had ſo much *manners* as not to juſtle againſt, nor openly practice that that is inconſiſtant therewith, as if they would bid a kind of defiance thereunto. Moſes would not do that in Egypt, upon account of religious worſhip, that might ſeem a matter of abomination to them who

* Ibid, p. 16.

who were *lords* of the place." And Dr. Mather had lately said, "If a considerable number of antipedobaptists should (as our fathers here did) obtain liberty from the state, to transport themselves and families, into a waste American wilderness, that so they might be a peculiar people by themselves; practising all, and only the institutions of Christ: if now pedobaptists should come after them, and intrude themselves upon them—surely they would desire such persons, either to walk orderly with them, or to return to the place from whence they came. Let them then do as they would be done by."* Now John Palmer, one of Andros's council, to vindicate their conduct said, "It is a fundamental point, consented to by all *christian* nations, that the first discoverer of a country inhabited by *infidels*, gives right and dominion of that country to the prince in whose service the discoverers were sent." But the Massachusetts say, "we affirm that this fundamental point, as he calls it, is not a *christian*, but an *unchristian* principle"† Yes, and it was as much so when they banished Mr. Williams as it is now. 4. We have seen how Dr. Mather treated the characters of the baptists; now a letter is forged in his name, full of *ridiculous* and *treasonable* expressions, which being pretendedly detected in its way to Holland, was laid before the British ministry, and then was printed and spread through the nation to expose him. When he came to know it he said, "That which troubled me was, that I was like to suffer as an evil-doer, through the malice and falshood of wicked men. Might I have suffered for any truth which

* Preface to *Nesutar*, p. 5.

† Revolution justified, p. 45.

which I had born witnefs to, I could have rejoiced in it."* Yes; but his perfecutors were as little inclined to give him that honor, as he was the baptift. 5. Governor Bradftreet who helped to banifh Mr. Williams, for oppofing an oath that was contrary to his confcience, lived to feel and fee what fuch impofitions ment upon themfelves. For refufing to *fwear on the book*, many were not only put by from ferving on jurys, but were *fined* and *imprifoned*; and fays the Hiftorian, "the faithful of New-England chofe rather to fuffer affliction, than to ufe a *rite* in the worfhip of God, which they *fufpected finful*." † And Dr. Increafe Mather took pains to publifh a difcourfe upon "The unlawfulnefs of ufing common prayer; and of fwearing on the book." 6. Andros carried his epifcopal worfhip into Mr. Williard's meeting houfe, after their exercife was over, and threatened, "To fhut up their doors if he was refufed, and to punifh any man who gave two pence towards the fupport of nonconformift miniffers; and that public worfhip in the congregational way, fhould not be tolerated." This felt fo to them, that when king James fent over his proclamation, of indulgence and liberty, of confcience, "The miniffers of Boston propofed unto their congregations to keep a day of thangfgiving, to blefs God for what they enjoyed; [but the governor affured them] that if they did, he would clap a guard on their perfons and their churches too," and fo prevented it. Hereupon they thought proper to fend Dr. Mather as their agent to England. He had accufed Randolph or his brother, of forging the aforefaid letter to expofe him; upon which Randolph profecuted him for defamation: and though he was acquitted upon

* His life p. 93, 94: † Magnalia, B. 7 p. 8, 12, 13.

upon trial, yet to prevent his going to England Randolph designed by another writ to seize, and clap him up in prison; to avoid which, Dr. Mather escaped out of town in disguise, and was carried on board a ship in the night, April 7, 1688; and upon his arrival at London, he with others petitioned the king, "That there might be liberty of conscience in matters of religion,—and that all their meeting-houses may be left free to them, according to the intention of the builders thereof, but this application met with no success" *

Do not these things verify the truth of the christian reveration? They brought Dr. Mather over to acknowlege, that the parable of the *tares* was a declaration of our Saviour's will for a *toeration*; and that, a good neighbour and a good subject has a claim to all his temporal enjoyments before he is a christian; and he thought it very odd, that the man should lose his claim, from his embracing of christianity, because he does not happen to be a christian of the uppermost party among the subdivisions. For an uppermost party of christians, to punish men, in their temporal enjoyments, because in some religious opinions they dissent from them, or with an exclusion from the temporal enjoyments, which would justly belong unto them, is a *robbery*". † And how were the baptists treated after this?

THEIR church at Boston had received elder John Emblen from England, July 20, 1684. Mr. Richard Dingley was received a member there the same year, and soon after succeeded Mr. Holmes in the pastoral office at Newport, where he continued about ten years, and then went to Carolina.

* His life, p. 103,—111 Mass. hist. vol. i. p. 369.

† His Life, p. 58, 59. See Isai. 61, 8.

Mr. Samuel Luther succeeded Mr. Miles at Swanzey, where he was ordained by our elders, Hull and Emblen, on July 22, 1685, and he was continued a great blessing to them 32 years. But elder Emblen dying about 1699, that church remained in destitute circumstances for some years, and then chose Mr. Callender in his room; to whom the following letter was directed, the original of which is now before me.

16d. 1m. 1714.

Sir,

As in the distresses of the winter, we did with the solemnities of humiliation, call upon our gracious God, so, since he has graciously recovered us many of our people, and sent in such seasonable provisions for our necessities, it has been proposed among the ministers of the town, that our good people may acknowledge these favors of our prayer-hearing Lord, with the solemnity of a thanksgiving, in our several congregations; for which also we have had the encouragement of the government. The time we would propose for such a service is Thursday, the first of April, if the churches have no objection against it. And it was desired that you might be seasonably apprised of this proposal, because we are well assured of the welcome, which a motion of such a nature will find with you, and the people of God unto whom you stand nearly related: Having thus discharged the duty in this matter incumbant on me, I take leave to subscribe,

Sir, *your brother and servant*,
COTTON MATHER."

To my worthy friend, Mr. Ellis Callender, elder of a church of Christ in Boston.

HIS son Elisha had joined to that church the 10th of August preceeding, and he gave him an education at Cambridge; and Dr. Increase Mather having

having signified his willingness for such a thing, the church called him, his son, and Mr. John Webb to assist in ordaining the said Mr. Elisha Callender their pastor on May 21, 1718; and in the preface to that ordination Sermon the old gentlemen says, "It was a grateful surprise to me, when several of the brethren of the antipedobaptist persuasion came to me, desiring that I would give them the right-hand of fellowship in ordaining one whom they had chosen to be their pastor. I did (as I believe it was my duty) readily consent to what they proposed: considering the young man to be ordained is serious and pious, and of a candid spirit, and has been educated in the college at Cambridge; and that all of the brethren of that church with whom I have any acquaintance (I hope the like concerning others of them) are in the judgment of rational charity godly persons." Two of whom were old elder Callender and deacon Sweester, who were principal members when their meeting-house was formerly nailed up. Dr. Cotton Mather preached the Sermon, which he intitled *Good men united.* And after opening the nature and importance of such a union he says, "It is very sadly true, that many ecclesiastical communities, wherein *piety* has its votaries, yet are guilty of this evil, that they impose terms of communion which many that have the fear of God, are by just exceptions kept from complying withal. Now in this unhappy case what is to be done? do this, let good men go as far as they can *without sin* in holding communion with one another. But where sinful terms are imposed, there let them make their stops; there a *separation* becomes a duty; there the injunction of heaven upon them is, *Be ye separate saith the*

Lord,

Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you. The *imposers* are the *schismatics.*—The unity which beautifies the true people of God, is called *the unity of the spirit.* Eph. 4, 3. The right basis for an union among us, is the holy Spirit inclining us to glorify God, with an obedience to his will revealed in his word; and to glorify our Saviour with a dependance on him for all the blessings of goodness; and to love our neighbour as ourselves. There have been many attempts to unite people in *forms* and *terms*, that are not the pure maxims of living unto God; and so to build the tower of Zion, on a foundation which is not the *tried stone* and the precious, and so not the *sure foundation.* There has hitherto been a blast from heaven upon all those attempts; they have miscarried, as being rather calculated for the tower of Babel.—We are sometimes fearful of paying the respects which we really owe to a people of *true piety* (such a people as we this day meet withal) forsooth, lest we confirm them in what we take to be an error, or mislead others into it; I hope it is needless fear.—O you who cannot but own yourselves brethren to one another, and bound up in one *bundle of life*; how is it possible for you to require of one another submission to terms which you cannot but think, that men may be good men, and have the evident tokens of salvation upon them, without submitting to! And the terms which you have so pitched upon, how can you proceed so far, as not only to withdraw your fellowship from the good men to whom they do not appear so necessary, but also inflict uneasy circumstances upon them, under the wretched notion of *wholsome severities! Cursed the anger, for it is fierce; and the wrath, for it is cruel!* good for nothing but only to make *divisions* in Jacob, and

dispersions

dispersions in Israel. Good men, alas! goodmen have done such ill things as these; yea, few churches of the reformation have been wholly clear of these iniquities. New-England also has in some former times done something of this aspect, which would not now be so well approved of; in which, if the *brethren, in whose house* we are now convened, met with any thing too *unbrotherly*, they now with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of every thing that has looked like *persecution* in the days that have passed over us."*

I THOUGHT it best thus to collect these passages into one view, which may remind us of the apostles words, *Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.* After the vacation of the Massachusetts charter, Mr. Joseph Dudley was appointed president of the colony, till governor Andros arrived in December 1686, who had all New-England and New-York included in his commission. Randolph brought a quo warranto against Rhode-Island charter, June 22, 1686, upon which the freemen met, and gave their opinion to the general assembly, and then left the affair with them, who on June 29 concluded not to stand suit with his Majesty, but sent a humble address to him, "to continue their privileges according to charter." Andros's commission was published among them the 12th of January following, and he, with a few mandamous counsellers, tyrannised over all these colonies, till John Winslow brought a copy of King William's proclamation to Boston, and Andros imprisoned him therefor; upon which the people arose April 18, 1689, and seized him and his council, and resumed their former order of government; which being heard of in Rhode-Island colony, their freemen met at Newport

* Mather's sermon at Callender's ordination, p. 18, 25, 34 38, 39.

Newport May 1, and voted to resume their charter, and to have their former rulers take their places again. They met again Feb. 20. 1690, and elected new rulers in the place of some who declined serving, and they with Connecticut have enjoyed their privileges to the present times.

I SHALL close this chapter with a list of New-England rulers, and a few remarks thereon. Plymouth never had any charter but only from the council for New-England that was established at Plymouth in Devonshire. Their form of government was settled by voluntary agreement among themselves. At first they only chose a governor; the next year, one assistant with him; in 1624, they chose five, and in 1633, seven assistants, and kept to that number to the end of their colony. Mr. Bradford was always an assistant when he was not governor, as long as he lived: his son was assistant and then deputy governor till the revolution; and he and several of his posterity have been counsellors in this province; and one of his descendants is now deputy governor of the state of Rhode-Island. In 1639, they began to have a house of deputies in their general court; and about 1662, they agreed that their eldest assistant should have the power of a deputy governor, to act in the governor's place when he was absent. This continued till 1680, when by reason of Mr. Alden's age, though they continued him an assistant, they began to choose other deputy governors.

A list of PLYMOUTH GOVERNORS, the years they ruled, and the time of their deaths.

1 John Carver, 1620, died April 1621.

2 William Bradford, 1621—33, 35, 37 39,—43, 45—57 died, May 9, 1657, æt. 69.

3 Edward Winslow, 1633 36, 44, died May 8, 1655, æt. 61.

4 Thomas Prince, 1634,

38

38, 57—73, died Mar. 29, 1673, æt. 73.

5 Josiah Winslow, 1673, —80, died Dec. 18, 1680 æt. 52.

6 Thomas Hinckley, 1681 —86, 89—92, died 1705, æt. 74.

DEPUTY GOVERNORS

1 William Collier, 1662, —66.

2 John Alden, 1666—80.

3 Thomas Hinckley 1680,

4 James Cudworth, 1681 he sent their agent to England, and died there the same year.

5 William Bradford, 1682 —86, 89—92.

ASSISTANTS; the years when first chosen, as far as I can find from their records.

Isaac Allerton, 1621.
Edward Winslow,
Miles Standish,
John Howland,
John Alden,
John Doane,
Stephen Hopkins,
William Gilson, 1633
William Collier, 1634
Thomas Prince, 1635
Timothy Hatherly, 1636
John Brown, 1636
John Jenny, 1637
John Atwood, 1638
Edmund Freeman, 1640
William Thomas, 1642
Thomas Willet, 1651
Tho's Southworth, 1652
James Cudworth, 1656
Josiah Winslow, 1657
William Bradford, 1658
Thomas Hinckley, 1658
James Bawn, 1665
John Freeman, 1666
Nathaniel Bacon, 1667
Const. Southworth, 1670
Daniel Smith, 1 79
Barnabas Lothrop, 1681
John Thatcher, 1682
John Walley, 1684
John Cushing, 1690

Note, the Appendix to Morton mistakes in placing the first choice of Cudworth and Brown, after 1670; and the Magliana sets Smith too early.

Massachusetts GOVERNORS

1 Matthew Cradock, 1628

2 John Winthrop, 1629, —34, 37—40, 42—44, 46—49, died Mar. 26 1649, æt. 62.

3 Thomas Dudley, 1934 40, 45, 50, died July 31, 1653, æt. 77.

4 John

4 John Haines, 1635
5 Henry Vane, 1636 died, 1662, æt 50.
6 Richard Bellingham, 1641, 54, 65—72, died 1672, æt, 81.
7 John Endicot, 1644, 49, 51—53, 55—65. died March 23, 1665.
8 John Leveret, 1673—78 died March 16, 1678.
9 Simon Bradstreet, 1678—86, 89—92, died Mar. 27, 1697, æt, 94.

DEPUTY GOVERNORS.

1 Thomas Goff, 1628
2 John Humfrey, 1629
3 John Endicot, 1629 41—43, 50, 54.
4 Thomas Dudley, 1630—34, 37—40, 46—49, 51.
5 Roger Ludlow, 1634
6 Richard Bellingham, 1635, 40, 55—65.
7 John Winthrop, 1636, 44, 45.
8 Francis Willoughby, 1665—71.
9 John Leveret, 1671—73.
10 Samuel Symonds, 1673—77.
11 Simon Bradstreet, 1677, 78.
12 Thomas Danforth, 1678—86, 89—92.

ASSISTANTS, who came to this country.

Sir Richard Saltonstall,
Isaac Johnson.
John Endicot.
Increase Nowel.
William Vassel.
William Pinchon.
Edward Rossiter.
Roger Ludlow.
Thomas Sharp.
John Revel.
William Coddington.
Simon Bradstreet. *
John Humfrey, 1632
John Winthrop, jun. 1632
John Haines, 1634
Atherton Hough, 1635
Richard Dummer, 1635
Rich. Bellingham, 1636
Roger Harlakenden 1636
Israel Stoughton, 1637
Richard Saltonstall, 1637
Thomas Flint, 1642
Samuel Symonds, 1643
Will Hibbens, 1643
Herbert Pelham, 1645
Robert Bridges 1647
Francis Willoughby 1650
Thomas Wiggan, 1650
Edward Gibbons, 1651
John

* These twelve were here in 1630, but Johnson and Rossiter died before the year was out, Saltonstall, Vassel, Sharp and Revel soon went back.

John Glover,	1652	John Hull,	1680
Daniel Gookin,	1652	B Gidney.	1680
Daniel Denison,	1653	Thomas Savage.	1680
Simon Willard,	1654	William Brown,	1680
H. Atherton,	1654	Samuel Appleton,	1681
Richard Russell,	1659	Robert Pike,	1682
Thomas Danforth,	1659	Daniel Fisher,	1683
William Hawthorn,	1662	John Woodbridge,	1683
Eleazar Lusher,	1662	Elisha Cooke,	1684
John Leveret,	1665	William Johnson,	1684
John Pinchon,	1665	John Hawthorn,	1684
Edward Tyng,	1668	Elisha Hutchinson,	1684
William Stoughton,	1671	Isaac Addington,	1686
Thomas Clark,	1673	John Smith,	1686
Joseph Dudley,	1676		
Peter Bulkley,	1677		
N. Saltonstall,	1679		
Humfrey Davy,	1679		
James Russell,	1680		
Samuel Nowel,	1680		
Peter Tilton,	1680		
John Richards,	1680		

THEIR charter appointed 18 assistants, but they had scarce ever chosen above half so many, till by the King's order they chose the full number in 1680.

RHODE-ISLAND *Rulers.*

ROGER WILLIAMS, was truly the founder of that Colony, and a principal ruler among them. as we have seen, from the beginning. Those who began upon the island had a different notion about government from him at first, and as their covenant p. 96, was printed from an imperfect copy, I shall here insert it exactly from their records as follows:

"WE whose names are under-written do here solemnly, in the presence of JEHOVAH, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and

Exod 34. 3, 4
2 Chron. 11. 3
2 Kings 11. 17

to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby." And they then appointed Mr. CODDINGTON as judge, and Mr. Aspinwall secret'y, to rule them according to this covenant; till on Jan. 2, 1639, an assembly of the freemen said, "By the consent of the body it is agreed, that such who shall be chosen to the place of *Eldership*, they are to assist the judge in the execution of justice and judgment, for the regulating and ordering of all offences and offenders, and for the drawing up and determining of all such rules and laws as shall be according to God, which may conduce to the good and welfare of the commonweal; and to them is committed by the body the whole care and charge of all the affairs thereof; and that the judge together with the elders, shall rule and govern according to the general rules of the word of God, when they have no particular rule from God's word, by the body prescribed as a direction unto them in the case. And further it is agreed and consented unto, that the judge and elders shall be accountable unto the body once every quarter of the year, (whenas the body shall be assembled) of all such cases, actions or rules which have passed through their hands, by them to be scanned and weighed by the word of Christ; and if by the body or any of them, the Lord shall be pleased to dispense light to the contrary of what by the judge or elders hath been determined formerly, that then and there it shall be repealed as the act of the body; and if it be otherwise, that then it shall stand (till further light concerning it) for the present to be according to God, and the tender care if indulging fathers.

William Dyre, clerk."

THEY

They then chose the elders named in p. 97, and went on as is there mentioned, till March 16, 1641, when they disfranchised Carder, Holden, Shatton and Potter, and suspended from voting George Parks, John Briggs, and Mr. Lenthal, who was gone for England; and then said, "It is ordered by the authority of this present court, that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the government and laws established." And in September following they said, "The law concerning liberty of conscience in point of doctrine is perpetuated." After they received their charter, their rulers were as follows:

Presidents or *Governors*
John Coggshall, 1647.
Roger Williams, 1648, 54—57, died 1683 æt. 84.
John Smith, 1649, 52.
Nicholas Easton, 1650, 51, 72, 73, died 1675.
Gregory Dexter, 1653 died æt. 91.
Benedict Arnold, 1657, —60, 62—65, 69—72, 77, 78, died June 19, 1678
William Brenton, 1660 —62, 66—69, died 1674
William Coddington, 1674 75, 78, died Nov. 1, 1678, æt 78.
Walter Clarke, 1676, 86, 96, 97, died June 1714.
John Cranston, 1678 —80, died Mar. 12, 1680
Peleg Sanford, 1680—82
William Coddington, 1683—85, died 1688,
Henry Bull, 1685, 90.
John Easton, 1690—95 died 1705, æt 85.
Caleb Carr, 1695
Samuel Cranston, 1698 —1727, died April 26, 1727.
Joseph Jencks, 1727—32, died June 15, 1740, aged 84.
Wm. Wanton, 1732—34.
John Wanton, 1734—48
Richard Ward, 1741—43
William Greene, 1743— —45, 46, 48—55, 57.
Gideon Wanton, 1745, 47
Stephen Hopkins, 1755 —57, 58—62, 64, 67 —69.

Samuel

Samuel Ward, 1762—64, 65—67.
Josias Lyndon, 1769
Joseph Wanton, 1770--75
Nich. Cooke, 1775—77.

DEPUTY GOVERNORS.

William Brenton, 1663—66.
Nicholas Easton, 1666—69, 70.
John Clarke, 1669, 71.
John Cranston, 1672, 76—78.
John Easton, 1675.
James Barker, 1678, 79.
Walter Clarke, 1679—85, 1701—14.
John Cogshall, 1668, 90.
John Greene 1690—1701
Henry Tew, 1714,
Joseph Jencks, 1715—20, 23—27.
John Wanton, 1721—23. 29—34.
Jonathan Nichols, 1727,
Thomas Fry, 1727—29.
Geo. Hazard, 1734—38.
Daniel Abbot, 1738—40.
Richard Ward, 1740.
Wm. Greene, 1741—43.
Joseph Whipple, 1743—45, 46, 52—54.
Wm. Robinson, 1745, 47.
Wm. Ellery, 1748—50.
Ro'rt Hazard, 1750—52.
J. Gardner, 1754, 56—64
Jonathan Nichols, 1755.
Joseph Wanton, jun. 1764, 67—69.
Elisha Brown, 1765—67
Nicholas Cooke, 1769, 75
Darius Sellion, 1770—75
Wm Bradford, 1775—77

ASISTANTS.

Roger Williams, 1647
John Sanford, 1647
W. Coddington. 1647
Randal Holden, 1647
Jeremiah Clarke, 1948
John Smith, 1648
Thomas Olney, 1649
John Clarke, 1649
Samuel Gorton, 1649
William Field, 1650
John Porter, 1650
John Wickes, 1650
John Sayles, 1653
Stukely Wescoat, 1653
Thomas Harris, 1654
John Roome, 1654
Benedict Arnold, 1654
William Baulston, 1656
John Coggshall, 1656
Arthur Venner, 1657
Richard Tew, 1657
Joseph Clarke, 1658
John Greene, 1660
James Barker, 1663*
Walter,

* The above named Missrs. Baulston, Porter, Williams, Olney, Smith, Greene, Cogshall, Barker, Field and Joseph Clarke, were the ten assistants appointed in their last charter.

Walter, Todd, 1664
John Gardner, 1665
Edward Smith, 1665
William Carpenter, 1665
John Brown, 1665
Samuel Wilbore, 1665
John Easton, 1666
William Harris, 1666
Richard Gardner, 1666
Benjamin Smith, 1666
Peleg Sanford, 1667
William Reape, 1667
Stephen Arnold, 1667
John Cranston, 1668
Thomas Olney, jun. 1669
Joshua Coggshall, 1669
John Tripp, 1670
James Greene, 1670
John Albro 1671
Richard Smith, 1672
Francis Brinley, 1672
Henry Brown, 1672
Walter Clarke, 1673
Daniel Gould, 1673
Job Almey, 1673
Henry Bull, 1674
Benjamin Barton, 1674
Edward Thurston, 1675
Thomas Barden, 1675
William Codman, 1676
Sam'l Gorton jun. 1676
John Whipple, 1677
Thomas Greene, 1678
Caleb Carr, 1679
Thomas Ward, 1679
Wm. Coddington, 1680
Joseph Jencks, 1680
George Lawton, 1680
Richard Arnold, 1681
John Potter, 1685
Walter Newbury, 1686
Benedict Arnold, 1690
Christo. Almey, 1690

Connecticut Governors.

Edward Hopkins, 1636
died in England 1657
John Haines,
George Wyllys,
Thomas Wells,
John Webster,
J. Winthrop, 1662—76
died April 5, 1676, æt. 71
William Leete,
Robert Treat,
J. Winthrop died 1707
G. Saltonstall, 1707—24
J. Talcot, 1724—41
died October 1741
Jona. Law, 1741—50
died 1750
R. Woolcot, 1750—54
Tho. Fitch, 1754—66
Wm. Pitkin, 1769—69
died 1766.
Jona. Trumbull 1769—77

New-Haven Governors.

Theo. Eaton, 1637—57
died 1657.
F. Newman, 1657—60
died 1660
Wm. Leete, 1660—62.

BRIEF

BRIEF REMARKS.

1 THESE facts may teach us what to think of the exclamations that have often been made against a free government, where each freeman may have a voice in choosing their chief rulers. Plymouth had this liberty in its full extent; having full power to lay the plan of their government as they pleased, and to elect whom they would into office. Each freeman in that colony had their equal vote in the annual choice of their governor; and had not governor Bradford requested them sometimes to elect others into that office, it is probable that in the whole 73 years of their continuance as a distinct colony, they would never have changed it into any more hands than death obliged them to; and in fact they never did but five times in all those years; and New-Haven made no such change while they remained a distinct government. And we have good evidence that even a sergant in Plymouth militia was treated with more honorable regards than captains have now been for these many years past. In Connecticut where their governors have always been elected annually, by votes of the freemen sent in from every town in the colony, they have chosen but 16 men in 140 years, and but ten in a hundred years, only two or three of whom were left out of office till they died. And the Massachusetts chose but eight governors in 63 years. But since this fickle popularity (as some call such government) was taken away, and the power was vested in a crowned head, to fix governors over us by a steady commission, in which the people had no voice, the province in 82 years has had a Phips, Stoughton, Bellamont, Dudley, Tailor, Shute, Dummer, Burnet, Belcher,

Shirley,

Shirley, Phips, Pownal, Bernard, Hutchinson, and Gage, for commanders in chief, who have each in their turns been invested with power, to negative our councellors when elected, and to negative any and every act that our assembly could pass, and to dissolve them when they pleased. All these in a space when Connecticut had but about half so many governors, and in 34 years of the time Rhode-Island had but two And the evil effects afterward of a depreciating currency, and of party influence in elections, all need to beware of at this day. Hence, 2 Learn the importance of viewing persons and actions in their *distinct light*, so as not to *confound* good and evil, truth and falshood together. God says, *only by pride cometh contention; but with the well-advised is wisdom* Pride caused a *contention* about *who should be greatest*, even among the apostles, and made them think of calling for *fire from heaven to consume such as would not receive them.* And Dr. Owen well says, "Gospel constitutions, in the case of heresy or error, seem not to favour any course of violence, I mean of civil penalties. Fortold it is, that heresies must be, 1 Cor. 11, 19, but this for the manifesting of those who are approved, not the destroying of those that are not.—Perhaps those who call for the sword on earth, are as unacquainted with their own spirits, as those that called for fire from heaven, Luk. 11. And perhaps the parable of the tares gives in a positive rule as to this whole business."* These sentiments were inculcated upon our Plymouth fathers before they came to this country, see p. 26—32. And governor Bradford was the owner of the book which contained them that I am now favoured with; and while he continued

* Collection of his tracts, 1721, p. 314.

tinued governor Mr. Williams could be comfortable at Plymouth; but when Mr. Winslow came into that office in 1633, he requested a submission to Salem. And the second time Mr. Winslow was governor he wrote to Mr. Williams to remove out of that jurisdiction, p. 72, and a law was made that year to forbid the gathering of any church therein without the rulers leave. He and Mr. Collier were the commissioners for Plymouth who on Sept. 7, 1643, signed the articles of confederation that the other three colonies had entered into the May before; and who then concured in the delivery of Miantinomo to Uncas to be slain (though without torture) and in advising the Massachusetts to send an armed force to Warwick. He was again a commissioner in their meeting at Hartford Sept. 1, 1644, when they wrote to each colony, to enter upon a method of *rating all persons by authority*, that refused or neglected to give what the rulers judged to be their meet proportion toward *ministers maintenance*; against which Mr. John Brown, the other Plymouth commissioner, entered his dissent. In October 1645, in a thin assembly at Plymouth, Mr. Winslow propounded, "and after a whole days agitation" got something of this nature allowed and entered upon their waste book: but when a full assembly met the next week Mr. Brown and other magistrates, "excepted against the entry of that order, as pernicious and destructive to the weal of the government, and tendered a proposition, to allow and maintain full and free tollerance of religion, to all men that would preserve the civil peace, and submit to government." But Mr. Winslow had influence enough to prevent the putting of that matter to vote. When the commissioners

met

met at New-Haven Sept. 9, 1646, they said, "upon information of what petitions have been lately put up in some of the colonies against the good and straight ways of Christ, both in the churches and in the common-wealth, the commissioners, remembering that these colonies, for themselves and their posterity, did unite into this form of perpetual league, as for other respects, so for mutual advice, that the truth and liberties of the gospel might be preserved and perpetuated, thought it their duty seriously to commend it to the care and jurisdiction of each general court within these united colonies, that as they have laid their foundations and measured the house of God, the worship and worshippers, by the rod God hath put into their hands, so they would walk on and build up (all discouragements and difficulties notwithstanding) with an undaunted heart and unwearied hand, according to the sure rules and patterns—That anabaptism, familism, antinomianism, and generally all errors of like nature, which oppose, undermine and slight either the scriptures, the sabbath or other ordinances of God and bring in and cry up unwarrantable revelations, *inventions of men*, or any *carnal liberty*, under a deceitful colour of *liberty of conscience*, may be seasonably and duly suppreſt; though they wish as much forbearance and respect may be had of tender consciences, seeking light, as may stand with the purity of religion and peace of the churches." The commissioners for Plymouth, Brown and Hatherly, did not concur with this.*

Mr. Winslow was then gone to England, from whence he never returned; and not having his

Yyy influence,

* Mass. hist. vol. 3, p. 153, 154—Records of the United Colonies.

influence, all the ministers in Plymouth colony, and the Massachusetts court to help them, could not prevail in 1650, with governor Bradford, and his court, to inflict so much as a fine upon Mr. Holmes; who was most cruelly whipt at Boston the next year, p. 213, &c. Said ministers were not of the original planters of Plymouth colony, and because their court would not be governed by them, the most of them left it, and carried their complaints to Boston, from whence fresh exertions were made, which then in a measure introduced a *state-worship*, and *state-way of maintenance* into Plymouth colony. Though the *bloody work* that followed at Boston, gave such a shock to it as turned them back again in a great measure. Mr. John Brown had been a magistrate 17 years, and a commissioner for his colony 11 years, even down to 1656. And we are told that he was, "well accomplished with abilities both civil and religious, and attained, through grace, unto a comfortable persuasion of the love and favour of God to him; he falling sick of a fever, with much serenity and spiritual comfort fell asleep in the Lord, at Wannamoisset near Rehoboth, in the spring of the year 1662." * His son James joined the next year informing a baptist church there, and both in 1665, and 1666, the freemen through the colony elected him for one of their magistrates, at the same time that the Massachusetts court disfranchised two of their ancient freemen, for no worse crime than Mr. Brown then lived in. And though he did not see cause then to accept of that office, yet being chosen again in 1673, he accepted it, and served his colony therein eleven years; in the midst of which time persecution was again revived at Boston, and Mr. Brown and his minister were fined

* Marton. p. 175, 176.

fined for visiting their afflicted brethren there. With what face then can any man reproach New-England in general, with the persecutions which its first founders, and many of its best members afterward abhorred! And of all men how inexcusable are episcopalians in so doing, when it was the errors the Massachusetts brought out of their church that produced all those mischiefs, of which they were then, and have been ever since, much more guilty than those they complain of here! In England and Scotland they in that day destroyed more hundreds of lives, in trying to establish their *supremacy over the consciences of men*, than the Massachusetts hanged persons. And they have not only always taxed dissenters to their ministers wherever they could get power to do it, but also in Virginia they have fined and imprisoned our ministers only for preaching without their licence; and continued this cruel trade till the present rapture put a stop to it. 3. Hence see the pernicious evil of using carnal weapons in religious affairs. Papists, episcopalians, presbyterians and congregationalists have all tried it in their turns; but instead of giving up the root of this mischief, they have each of them tried to cast all the reproach of it, upon the bad dispositions of their neighbours; and so it has been a constant source of raillarly and slander. But where can a better set of men be found upon earth, since Constantine first brought the carnal weapon into the church, who concured in using of it there, than the fathers of the Massachusetts? Look back to p. 138—141, and then tell me where you can find a more excellent ruler than governor Winthrop, that ever travelled in that path? And Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, who died five months af-

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ter him, said, "Surely all the persons, whose hearts the Lord stirred up in this business, were not rash, weak-spirited, inconsiderate of what they left behind, or what it was to go into a wilderness. But if we were able to recount the singular workings of divine providence, for the bringing on this work, to what it is come unto, it would stop the mouths of all. Whatever many may say or think, we believe after times will admire and adore the Lord herein, when all his holy ends, and the ways he has used to bring them about shall appear.—What shall we say of the singular providence of God, in bringing so many ship-load of his people through so many dangers, with so much safety from year to year? * The fatherly care of our God, in feeding and cloathing so many in a wilderness, giving such healthiness and great increase of posterity?—But above all we must acknowledge the singular pity and mercies of our God, that hath done all this, and much more, for a people so unworthy, so sinful, that by murmurings of many, *unfaithfulness in promises, oppressions*, and other evils that are found among us, have so dishonored his majesty, exposed his work here, to much scandal and obliquy, for which we have cause forever to be ashamed, that the Lord should yet own us, and rather correct us in measure, than cast us off in displeasure, and scatter

* It was computed that from 1628 to 1643 (when the times turned in England, and some went back) that the number of ships which brought them over were 298; the men, women and children who came in them 21.200 or thereabout. That the passage of the persons cost 95,000l. the live stock, 12,000l. beside the price of them in England; procuring food till they could raise it here, 45,000, nails, glass and other material for building, 18,000l, arms and ammunition. 12,000. in all 192,000, beside much more which the adventures laid out in England for their use. Johnson, p. 28—31.

ſcatter us in this wilderneſs."* We are informed that when governor Winthrop lay on his death bed, Dudley requeſted him to ſign a warrant to banish Mr. Mathews a Welch miniſter, but that he refuſed, ſaying, "I have had my hand too much in ſuch things already." †

CAPTAIN Roger Clap, one of the firſt planters of Dorcheſter, the commander of Caſtle-William for 20 years, and who bore ſeveral other offices in the ſtate with honor, and died in Boſton in 1691, in ſuch eſteem that the whole general aſſembly attend his funeral, wrote ſome memorials of thoſe early times, with his fatherly advice to his children. And obſerving that their *ſtraits* were ſometimes ſo great that the very cruſts of his father's table in England would have been as a dainty in this wilderneſs he ſays, "I took notice of it, as a great favour of God unto me, not only to preſerve my life, but to give me contentedneſs in all theſe ſtraits: inſomuch that I do not remember that I ever wiſhed in my heart that I had not come into this country, nor wiſhed myſelf back again. Yea, I was ſo far from that, that I wiſhed and adviſed ſome of my dear brethren to come hither alſo; which accordingly one of my brothers, and thoſe who married my two ſiſters, ſold their means, and came hither. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſo plainly held out in the preaching of the goſpel unto poor loſt ſinners, and the abſolute neceſſity of the new birth, and God's holy ſpirit in thoſe days accompanied the word with ſuch *efficacy* upon the hearts of many, that our hearts were taken off from Old-England, and ſet upon HEAVEN. Many were converted, and others eſtabliſhed in believing. Many joined unto the ſeveral churches where

* Magnalia, B. 3 p. 89. † Biſhop, p. 157.

where they lived, confessing their faith publickly, and shewing *before all the assembly, their experiences of the workings of God's spirit in their hearts, to bring them to Christ*; which many hearers found very much good by, to help them to try their own hearts, and to consider how it was with them;—Oh the many tears that have been shed in Dorchester meeting-house at such times, both by those that have declared God's work on their souls, and also by those who heard them! in those days God, even our own God, did bless New-England." *

ANOTHER of their Captains who came over in 1630, says, "Those honored persons who were now in place of government, having the propagation of the churches of Christ in their eye, labored by all means to make room for inhabitants, knowing well that where the carcass is, thither will the eagle resort. But herein they were opposed by certain persons, whose greedy desire for land, much hindred the work for a time; as indeed such persons do to this day; and let such take notice how these were cured of this distemper. Some were taken away by death, and then before they had land enough. Others fearing poverty and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves away, and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done for his people. But the valiant of the Lord waited with patience, and in the miss of beer, supplied themselves with water; even the most honored as well as others, contentedly rejoicing in a cup of cold water; blessing the Lord that had given them to taste of that living water, and that they had not the water that slakes the thirst of their natural bodies, given them

* Prince's Christian history, vol. 1, p. 70—72.

them by measure, but might drink to the full; as also in the absence of bread, they pleased themselves with fish. The women once a day, as the tide served, resorted to the muscles and clam-banks, where they daily gathered their families food, with much heavenly discourse of the provisions Christ formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness. Quoth one, my husband hath traveled as far as Plymouth, [about 40 miles] and hath with great toil brought a little corn home, and before that is spent the Lord will assuredly provide: quoth the other, Our last peck of meal is in the oven at home a baking, and many of our godly neighbours have quite spent all, and we owe one loaf of that little we have. Then spake a third, My husband hath ventered himself among the Indians for corn, and can get none, as also our honored governor hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store and all the rest; and yet methinks our children are cheerful, fat and lusty, with feeding upon these muscles, clams and other fish, as they were in England, with their fill of bread, which makes me cheerful in the Lord's providing for us; being further confirmed by the exortation of our pastor to trust in the Lord, whose is the earth, and the fulness thereof. As they were encouraging one another in Christ's careful providing for them, they lift up their eyes and saw two ships coming in, and presently this news comes to their ears, that they were come from Ireland full of victuals."*

Oh!

* In one of those ships came Mr. Roger Williams. *Johnson*, p. 48, 49 *Prince's annuals*. p. 18, 47. We are told that one of the fathers of that day, having dined with his friends on clams without bread, devotly returned thanks, that God had caused them to *suck of the abundance of the sea, and of treasures hid in the sand*. *Magnalia*, B. 1. p. 22.

Oh! how gloriously do they shine, and how manfully do they talk, when exercising themselves in the gospel armour, to what they do when they come down to the use of earthly weapons in heavenly concernments! In 1645 they compared the baptists opposition to such conduct, to what Amelek did to Israel *when they were weak.* And the erecting of a small baptist church in 1665, was called a *strong attempt* against them from the *spirit of anabaptism*; the permission of which among them they said, manifestly tended to the *destruction of their churches*, though they had above forty of them then in their colony, in joint communion with about as many more in neighbouring colonies.* And in 1681 they compared their ecclesiastical establishment to a *small boat*, and those few illetirate baptists to the ballast of a *great ship*, which was like to *sink it.* Hence it was their weakness, and not their strength, that caused them to treat the baptists so cruelly. The extending of the gospel ordinance of baptism to subjects who are in a state of nature; the limitting the church of Christ to human schools for ministers, and compelling all to support such and only such, are points which had but a weak bottom to stand upon in that day, when the *power of godliness* was so well known in the country.

* Christian hist. vol. 1, p. 64.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF SUMMARY

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

OF THIS COUNTRY,

DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FOUR principles have, in different ages and countries, been proposed to found government upon, viz. nature, grace, power and compact. James the first took much pains to persuade his people, that he was born to rule them; even so that the privileges he was pleased to allow them, were rather favours from him, than original rights in them. And his flattering courtiers, perceiving his humor, gave him the title of *sacred majesty*, which the kingdom was very little acquainted with before. His high claims occasioned perpetual troubles to himself, and cost his son his crown and the head that wore it. And when facts are examined it appears, that Henry VII, from whom came their hereditary title, had as little right by birth to the crown of England, as any man that had worn it in 500 years; and he made his way to it thro' blood and slaughter.* The Pope has been the most notable advocate for founding dominion in grace; and by *deceitful reasonings* from the jewish *hand-writing*, he has usurped the seat of HIM who is HEAD OF ALL PRINCIPALLITY AND POWER. Henry VIII took offence at the pope's conduct, and rejecting his power assumed it to himself

*Rapin, vol. 2, p. 160, 161.

himself; and many others, *not holding* THE HEAD, have subjected souls to *divine ordinances, after the doctrines and commandments of men.* Col. 2. Cromwell was a notable actor upon the third principle, who having gotten the power into his hands, pleaded that he ought to use it for the good of the nation: and his enemies acknowledge the excellency of his talents for government if he had but obtained his power in a righteous way. But he dying left the nation in great confusion; to get relief from which they restored the second Charles, with good words and fair speeches, without settling any fixed and certain conditions with him. Soon after which, priestcraft was used to stir up tumults in different parts of the country, and then to cry, *The church is in danger!* which moved the parliament to make laws to exclude all persons from teaching either in churches or schools, who refused an assent and consent to *their ordinances of men*, and also to declare it to be unlawful to take up arms against the king, *upon any pretence whatsoever.* And, as Dr. Calamy observes, passive obedience and non-resistance, was the doctrine that for 25 years made their pulpits ring and presses groan. Yet no sooner was this doctrine turned against the episcopalians than behold! they called in the prince of Orange, with an *armed force to drive their king from his throne!* And now the fourth principle is prefered, and a compact, containing a large BILL OF RIGHTS, is made with William before his coronation; and he and his queen were brought, "solemnly to promise and swear to govern the people of the kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same; and to

their

their power to cause law and justice to be executed in mercy, in all their judgements." And enacted that this oath should be taken by all their successors in that office.

Now the word of God plainly shews, that this way of mutual compact or covenant, is the only righteous foundation for civil government. For when Israel must needs have a king like the rest of the nations, and he indulged them in that request, yet neither Saul nor David, who were anointed by his immediate direction, ever assumed the regal power over the people, but by their free consent. And though the family of David had the clearest claim to hereditary succession, that any family on earth ever had, yet when ten of the twelve tribes revolted from his grandson, because he refused to comply with what they esteemed a reasonable proposal, and he had collected an army to bring them back by force, God warned him not to do it, and he obeyed him therein. Had these plain precedents been regarded in later times, what woes and miseries would they have prevented! But the history of all ages and nations shews, that when men have got the power into their hands, they often use it to gratify their own lusts, and recur to nature, religion or the constitution (as they think will best serve) to carry and yet cover their wretched designs; a lamentable proof of which is now before us.

Dr. Mather, as a capable and faithful friend to his country, laboured unweariedly to have the rights and privileges of it restored and enlarged; in order to which he prevailed with archbishop Tillotson to tell the king that, "it would by no means do well for him to take *any* of those privileges from the people of New-England, which

king

king Charles the first had granted them." And obtained a promise from bishop Burnet that, "On the first opportunity he would declare openly in the house of lords, that there was a greater SACREDNESS in the CHARTER of New-England, than in those of the corporations in England; because those were only *acts of grace*, whereas the charter of New-England was a CONTRACT between the king and the first parentees. They promised the king to enlarge his dominions on their own charges, provided they and their posterity might enjoy such and such privileges; they had performed their part, now for the king to deprive their posterity of the privileges therein granted unto them, would carry a face of injustice in it." This had some effect upon the king's mind, and caused a scruple whether he might *lawfully* take from us the privilege of choosing our chief rulers or not. To this some of his arbitary councellors said, "Whatever might be the merit of the cause, inasmuch as the charter of the Massachusetts stood vacated by a judgment against it, it was in *his power* to put them under what form of government he should think best for them."* This was so flattering and plausable that it took with William, who had often heard of ther persecutions here, and thought that by reserving to himself a power to negative all their acts, he should prevent the like for the future.

Accordingly a new charter was drawn dated Oct. 7, 1691 which included Plymouth colony, consisting of the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable and Bristol; the Massachusett colony, which contained the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire: the province

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* Mathers life, p. 126, 127, 132.

vince of Maine, viz. the counties of York and Cumberland; and Sagadehock, which, with lands annexed in the county of Lincoln, extends to Nova-Scotia. The islands also south of Cape-Cod were included in this charter of *The Province of the Massachusett's-Bay in New-England*, which reserved an arbitrary power in the crown, to appoint our governor, lieutenant governor and secretary; but that the people might choose a house of representatives annually, to meet upon the last Wednesday in May; when they were to elect 28 councellors, which was to be their legislature; the council and house to have a negative on each others acts, and after both were agreed therein, yet the governor, or in his absence the lieutenant governor, might negative any act they could pass, and also negative the election of as many councillors as he pleased. Upon all times except election day, he could call, adjourn, prorogue or dissolve the assembly at pleasure. He had the sole power of appointing military officers; and was to appoint all officers of the courts of justice with the consent of the council; other civil officers were elected by the two houses, where he had his negative; and no money could issue out of the treasury but by his warrant by the advice and consent of the council. And after all, the king in council could, at any time within three years, disannul any act or law that all three branches here could make. Now from whence came this arbitrary power in the crown of England over this country? Their plea founded upon the vacation of the former *contract*, would disannul any contract that could possibly be made with any distant people in the world; for a complaint against us was entered and judgment was passed, before we could possibly

have

have opportunity to anſwer for ourſelves. The charter of the city of London was vacated by the ſame court, where they had opportunity to anſwer; but they would not crown William and Mary, till that judgment was reverſed, and all the charters in England reſtored, and their privileges enlarged much beyond what they were when the contract was made with New-England. And in that the king engaged for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that we ſhould hold our lands, "in free and common ſoccage, and not in capite, nor by knights ſervice, we yielding and paying to him his heirs and ſucceſſors the *fifth part only* of all ore of gold and ſilver, which from time to time and at all times hereafter ſhall be gotten, had or obtained, for all ſervices, *exactions and demands whatſoever.*"* And let our oppreſſors ſhew if they can that we ever violated this contract.

And as to affairs here the charter declared, "Liberty of conſcience in the worſhip of God to all chriſtians, except papiſts, inhabiting or which ſhall inhabit or be reſident within our ſaid province or territory." But this moſt important article was conſtured by the miniſters as meaning, "That the general court might, by laws, encourage and *protect* that religion which is the general profeſſion of the inhabitants." †

And accordingly they in October this year began the practice, which a noted author deſcribed 34 years after, in the following manner. After reciting an old ſaying, *that miniſters of the goſpel would have a poor time of it, if they muſt rely on a fee contribution of the people for their maintenance*, he ſays, "The laws of the province having had the royal approbation to ratify them, they are the kings laws. By

* Maſſ. hiſt. vol. 3. p. 8, 9. † Maſſ. hiſt. vol. 2. p. 12.

By these laws it is enacted that there shall be a public worship of God in every plantation; that the person elected by the majority of the inhabitants to be so, shall be looked upon as the minister of the place; that the salary for him which they shall agree upon, shall be levied by a rate upon all the inhabitants. In consequence of this, the minister thus chosen by the people, is (not only Christ's but also) in reality, the King's minister; and the salary for him is raised in the King's name, and is the King's allowance unto him. If the most of the inhabitants in a plantation are episcopalians, they will have a minister of their own persuasion; and the *dissentors*, if there be any in the place, must pay their proportion of the tax for the support of this *legal minister*. In a few of the towns, a few of the people, in hope of being released from the tax for the legal minister, sometimes profess themselves episcopalians; but when they plead this for their exemption, their neighbours tell them, *they know in their consciences, they do not as they would be done unto.* And if a governor go by his arbitary power to superceed the execution of the law, and require the justices and constables to leave the episcopalians out of the tax, the people wonder he is not aware, that he is all this while forbidding that the King should have his dues paid unto him; and forbidding the King's minister to receive what the King has given him.—Sometimes the quakers also have given some occasion for uneasiness; but where quakerism is troublesome, some towns are so wise as to involve the salery for the ministry in a general rate for all town charges, and so the cavils of those, who would else refuse to pay the rate for the ministry, are obviated." *

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* Mather's *Ratio disciplinæ*, p. 20---22.

A FEW facts may help to explain this, and to ſhew how much greater liberty of conſcience we have enjoyed ſince the revolution than before. Before that memorable event, no man in the Maſſachuſett colony was allowed a vote, in chooſing either miniſter or ruler, but members in full communion in their churches. And the ſkill of knowing, that thoſe who diſſented from their judgments *ſinned againſt their own conſciences*, was then limitted to ſuch good men; but now, having forty pounds worth of perſonal eſtate, or a freehold worth forty ſhillings a year, intitles every inhabitant to a vote in all ſuch affairs, and to a power of judging that their neighbours ſin againſt the *golden rule*, if they will not *put into the mouths* of him whom the majority has declared to be the *legal miniſter*: And from that day to this, it is made a doubt among our lawyers and judges, whether a church of Chriſt be a *ſociety known in law*, ſo as to be capable of holding a meeting-houſe or other eſtates, without having other perſons to be truſtees or guardians for them. And the honorable Edward Goddard, Eſq; of Framingham, who had been a member, both of the lower and upper houſe in our legiſlature, deſcribed this matter to the life, in a piece he publiſhed in 1753, wherein he ſays.

Good conſcience men allow (they ſay)
But muſt be underſtood,
To ſay as they ſay themſelves do ſay,
Or elſe it can't be good.

FOR 36 years after the Maſſachuſetts received their laſt charter, they exerted all their power, both in their legiſlative and executive courts, with every art that miniſters could help them to, in attempts to compel every town to receive and ſupport ſuch miniſters as they called orthodox. They made two attempts of this nature upon Swanzey;

and

and in 1722, they added the sum of 172l. 11s. to the province taxes upon Dartmouth and Tiverton, for such ministers, intending that they should draw it out of the province treasury. And for refusing to assess the same, Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin (quakers) and Philip Tabor (a baptist minister) select-men of those towns, were seized and confined in Bristol goal, till the case was carried to England, and those taxes were disannulled by the king in council, and an express order was sent over to release them. And the first act that was made in our province, to exempt either baptists or quakers from taxes to pedobaptist ministers was in 1728; which says, "That from and after the publication of this act, none of the persons commonly called anabaptists, nor any of those called quakers, that are or shall be enrolled or entered in their several societies as members thereof, and who alledge a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes, as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of the churches established by the laws of this province, in the town or place where they dwell, shall have their polls taxed toward the support of such minister or ministers, nor shall their bodies be at any time taken in execution, to satisfy any such ministerial rate or tax, assessed upon their estates or faculty. Provided, that such persons do usually attend the meetings of their respective societies, assembling upon the Lord's-day for the worship of God, and that they live within *five miles* of the place of such meeting." Here we may see that tyranny is always the same. *Go ye serve the Lord; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed*; said Pharaoh. Let their bodies be exempt-

ted, but their eſtates and faculties be taxed ſaid the Maſſachuſetts. *I will let you go, that ye may ſacrifice to the Lord your God, in the wilderneſs; only you ſhall not go very far away*, ſaid Pharoah. Go but five miles, ſaid the Maſſachuſetts. Mr. Thomas Hollis of London, had received ſuch accounts of their catholic temper at Harvard-college, confirmed by the ordination of a pious youth in Boſton who was educated there, p. 523, that he became the greateſt benefactor to that college that they ever had. And I have a letter which he wrote to Mr. Ephraim Wheaton, paſtor of the firſt church in Swanzey, dated March 23, 1723, wherein he ſays, "you have heard, or may be informed by Mr. Callender, of my foundation in Harvard-college, and the proviſion I have made for baptiſt youth to be educated for the miniſtry, and equally regarded with pedobaptiſts. If you know any as may be duly qualified, inform me, and I ſhall be glad to recommend them for firſt vacancy." But what heart could he have to ſend any youths there, while a large number of his brethren, who, with himſelf, lived within the bounds of Rehoboth, were taxed from year to year to preſbyterian miniſters? And after the above exempting act was made, they were told by their county court, that it did not take place that year. And for refuſing to pay ſuch taxes any longer, elder Wheaton's ſon, and 27 more of his people were ſeized on March 3, 1729, and confined in Briſtol goal. And more or leſs of ſuch things, which by their eminent fathers are called *tyranny* and *robbery*, p. 311, 521, have been practiſed to this day under the maſk of religion.

And my dear country-men, I muſt here ſolemnly call you to review the text which has often been

been cast upon us; viz, *Mark them who cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them: for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.* The uppermost party in every state have always been ready to apply this word to those who refuse a submission and conformity to them in religious matters. But the mark is set upon them *who cause divisions*, not meerly upon such as *are* divided. Joseph was *separated* from his brethren, without his being the faulty cause of it. Again the mark is put upon such as cause divisions *contrary to Christ's doctrine*; otherwise he declares himself, that he came to send divisions upon earth, and even betwixt near relations. This matter is justly stated in p. 523—525. The inspired apostle commands us in the name of Christ to *withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly:—for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you, neither did we* EAT ANY MANS BREAD FOR NOUGHT. yet this great disorder has long been practised under *good words and fair speeches.* A PAGAN minister who *loved the wages of unrighteousness once cudgelled* his beast most cruelly for not carrying him forward against a *drawn sword*, whereby he would have been slain: and though the *dumb ass, speaking with mans voice, forbad the madness of the prophet*, yet the above practice which never had any better support than the *cudgel* (p. 100.) is *madley* persued by many who call themselvs *christians* to this day.

A convention of ministers published a discourse among us five years ago, entitled *Catholicism*; or *christian charity*; wherein after saying many excellent things about charity, they in p. 8, accuse those who separated from their constitution in

1744, of zeal, yea rather fury against "giving and receiving ministerial support;" and with a want of "consistancy and honesty," for now coming into that practice themselves. And it is well known that this censure is levelled against me and many of my brethren. I readily confess that I separated from their constitution about the close of that year; but positively deny that ever I appeared against *giving* and *receiving* ministerial support, and know not that any of my brethren in the ministry who separated from them ever did so. Had they said that we were zealous against *assessing* and *forcing* in such cases, they would not have wronged the truth, and their neighbours, as they have now done. The constitution that we separated from, was formed at Saybrook in 1708, which says, "That the churches which are neighbouring to each other *shall consociate* for mutual affording to each other such assistance, as may be requisite, UPON ALL OCCASIONS ECCLESIASTICAL." And their first proof to support this article is Psalm 122, 3,—5, which speaks of the *thrones of judgment* that were set in Jerusalem for the *house of David*. A crafty ministerial governor, son to a Massachusett magistrate, prevailed with Connecticut legislature to approbate this platform the next year. Another Cambridge schollar was then minister of Norwich, and was resolute to introduce the scheme there. The law whereby it was approbated said, "Provided, that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder any society or church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." Yet because Richard Bushnel and Joseph Backus Esq'rs representatives for Norwich (with other fathers of

the

the town) withdrew from the ministers party, rather than come under that yoke, they laid them under church censure, and by that means procured their expultion out of the next assembly when they met. About the same time Mr. Stoddard publicly advanced his scheme of the Lords-supper being a converting ordinance, p. 484, And tho with much labour Norwich got rid of said minister, and settled another upon their former principles, yet before I left this latter minister, he not only plainly discovered his fondness for Saybrook platform, but actually procured a vote of the church to receive members without so much as a written account of any inward change; and they practice so to this day. A few months before I separated Mr. Elisha Williams, a former president of Yale-college, published *a seasonable plea for the rights of conscience*, wherein he says, "The fountain and original of all civil power is *from the people*, and is certainly instituted for their sakes; the great end of civil government, is the preservation of their persons, their liberties, and their property. A christian is to receive his christianity FROM CHRIST ALONE; for what is it which is necessarily implied and supposed in the very notion of a CHRISTIAN but this, that he is a *follower and disciple of* CHRIST! As Christs officers have authority to teach men his mind in things pertaining to his kingdom; so they have no authority to teach men any thing but the mind and will of Christ. It is a truth that shines with a meridian brightness, that whatever is not contained in a commission, is out of it and excluded by it; and the teaching HIS LAWS ONLY being contained in the commission, what is not his law is out of it, and by that commission they are excluded from teaching it, or forbid by it."

BUT

BUT what can be more contrary hereto than for a civil legeſlature to form every town and pariſh into *religious ſocieties*, and to *force* every inhabitant therein either to ſupport the miniſter which the majority have choſen, or elſe to pay a yearly acknowledgment to that uſurped power over their conſciences! And which is as real a breach of public faith in our charter, as ever it was for the Britiſh court to take from us the right of chooſing our own governors, and then to burn our towns and cut our throats for not paying them as much money as they demanded. I have the expreſs teſtimony of the elders and brethren of ſeventeen of our baptiſt churches, who met laſt year at Grafton, that they intirely agree with the ſentiments and principles receited in our hiſtory, p. 14—32, excepting that of infant baptiſm; yet great numbers of them have been taxed to pedobaptiſts miniſters ſince that time, only becauſe we refuſe to pay any further acknowledgment to the aboveſaid uſurped power over our conſciences. And ſince it is abundantly evident that, our former ſufferings would have been greater from the ruling party here than they were, if it had not been for reſtraints from the Britiſh court; and as it is alſo certrin that attempts have been made from thence to prevent our uniting now with our country againſt their invaſions, how can thoſe who ſtill incline to oppreſs us ever expect to proſper, if they view the matter either in a natural, or a judicial light?—Conſidered in a natural light; when we know and can prove that ſeveral thouſand dollars worth of eſtates have been wraſted from us on religious accounts, ſince the preſent conteſt for civil liberty commenced, with what heart can we obey or ſupport the power which

ſtill

ſtill denies us equal liberty of conſcience with themſelves. And conſidering things judicially, let ſuch read the warnings their fathers had. with their effects, p. 261—265, 390—395, 517—521, and then venture on further in that way if they dare.

It is to be noted, that a very large number of our country-men of various denominations are for the equal liberty we ſpeak of; and I deſire all to act in the caſe by the rule Mr. Robinſon preſcribes p. 12, 13. and ſhall cloſe with the words of the aforeſaid Mr. Goddard, viz.

In ancient ages, when the Engliſh realm
And popiſh zelots, placed at the helm
To ſtabliſh that religion: tythes were fix'd
By cannon laws, with civil intermix'd.
Which form'd the Engliſh conſtitution ſo,
That after-ages can't the tythes forego:
And hence diſſenters are obliged there,
To pay incumbants, whom they never hear,
Which ſome condemn, as a prelatic game,
Who yet, by MAJOR VOTE would play the ſame;
And LORD MAJORITY would claim the purſe
For his incumbants: than which nothing worſe
LORDLY dioceſan, himſelf, can claim:
So theſe two LORDS do differ, but in name,
One pleading Engliſh laws, for his ſupport;
The other feigning acts of our own court;
Alledging law, in a preverted ſenſe
To render CHARTER grant, a meer pretence;
And as if law and charter both intend
To cruſh one church, another to befriend:
They'd make them mean, the ſame that Pharoh ſaid,
Go ſerve the Lord, but let your flocks be ſtay'd.
But if one church be tax'd, to ſerve another,
No matter whether, done by this or t'other.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 4, line 2, read ordinaries, *l.* 30, r. practice. p. 18 *l.* 31, r. excommunicate them. P. 31, *l.* 9, r. as entire. *l.* 23. r. Levites to. P. 44, *l.* 24, r. were. P. 53, *l.* 4, for Massachusetts, r. colonies. P. 55, *l.* 10, r. John. P. 62, *l.* 22, r. the. P. 81, marg. *l.* 13, r. 94 P. 85, marg. *l.* 11, r. north. P. 89, *l.* 22, r. nineteen. P. 96, correct by P. 529 P. 98, line ult. r. as, P. 107 *l.* 5. r. Thomas Olney and his wife. P. 110, *l.* 2 *into the church.* P. 145, *l.* 24, r. Reyner. P. 147, marg. *l.* , r. Maquas or. P. 159. *l.* 8, r. before the. P. 163, *l.* 31, r. p. 58. P. 165, *l.* 20, r. armories. P. 172, *l.* 10, r. peacably, *l.* 29, r. if his *l.* 33, r. these. P. 180, *l.* 20, r. to be. P. 214, *l.* 13. r Alden. P. 238 *l.* 17, r. give all. P. 246, *l.* 6, r. join with. P. 247, *l.* 4, r. fins, *l.* 9, r. he would. P. 273, *l.* 4. r to force of. P. 274, marg. *l.* 3, r. Robert Carr. P. 277, *l.* 27, r. charter. P. 281, marg. *l.* 12, r. that I, *l.* 14, r. side, and do promise loving carriage of myself. P. 285, *l.* 10, r. guilty of. P. 288, *l.* 32. r. noise whereof. P. 290, *l.* 24. r. or. P. 296 marg. *l.* 9, r. and Richard Townsend. P. 299, *l.* 16, r. dare not. P. 302, *l.* 13, r. assembled. *l.* 33, r. to this. P. 303, *l.* 11, r. *with the rest of the Providence plantations in the.* P. 307. *l.* 3. dele friends, *l.* 15, r. oneness with. P. 309, r. *l.* 23. in the. P. 311, *l.* 30, r. wronged P. 314, *l.* 15. r. of a. P. 321, marg. *l.* 2, against the. P. 323, *l.* 5, r. *rending the rocks. l.* 14, dele not. P. 328, marg. r. p. 9, 28. P. 324, *l.* 13, r. Mr. P. 349, *l.* 1, dele the. P. 351, *l.* 8, dele next. P. 353, *l.* 1, r. an act, *l.* 4. r. and consent. P. 359, marg. *l.* 2, dele says. P. 360, *l.* 20, r. he would come and they. P. 369, *l.* 15, r. sent some. P. 370, *l.* 28, r. a sin. P. 371, *l.* 25, dele and. P. 372, *l.* 8, r. a visible. P. 375, bult, r. of the. P. 378, *l.* 11, r. and that. P. 384, *l.* 6, r. greatest, *l.* 28, r. means to, *l.* 34, r. before them. P. 387, *l.* 3, r. of a, *l.* 28, r. and not. P. 389, *l.* 19 r. 3, 15. *l.* 24, r. 1. Chron. P. 393, *l.* 13, r. you can say against those. P. 397, *l.* 11, r. through. P. 398, *l.* 27, r. as is lost. P. 411 *l.* 34, r. much of. P. 413, *l.* 21, dele church assembled. P. 421, Marg. *l.* 15, r. thickest. P. 424. *l.* 15, r. retiring. P. 426. *l.* 1, r. May 18. *l.* 34, r. are not. P. 427, *l.* 11, dele *our* before *faith.* P. 432, *l.* 28, r. of. P. 437, marg. 2. 1657. P. 439, marg. *l.* 17, r. 1609, *l.* 36, r. and he gave. P. 444, marg. *l.* 6. dele and. P. 445, *l.* 25. r. placed. P. 448, *l.* 23. r. they. P. 449, *l.* 19, r. could. P. 452, *l.* 12, r. is. *l.* 29, r. could. P. 54, *l.* 25, r. rule. P. 455, *l.* 26, r. parents. P. 463. *l.* 28, r. and what. *l.* 32, r. 10, 12, P. 468, *l.* 7. r. marshal. P. 476, *l.* 8, r. governors. P. 477, *l.* 30 from one. P. 479, *l.* 19, r. in going. P. 481, *l.* 8, r. built it, *l.* 24. r. defect. P. 484, *l.* 20, r. were ministers. P. 487. *l.* 18, r. this removal. P. 493. marg. *l.* 5. l. r. 1572, 6, r. write. P. 496, *l.* 6, r. accept. P. 497, *l.* 5. r. light, *l.* 7. r. any grounds, from the word of God.