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WINSLOW

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HYPOCRISIE UNMASKED

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1646



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Book 1





Hypocrisie Unmasked

by

Edward Winslow

1646

The Sixth Publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints  
of Providence, Rhode Island

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ONE HUNDRED COPIES

*No. 84.*

# Hypocrisie Unmasked

## A True Relation

Of the Proceedings of the  
Governor and Company of the *Massachusetts*  
Against  
Samuel Gorton of *Rhode Island*

By  
EDWARD WINSLOW, *Governor*  
of the *Plymouth* Colony

Reprinted from the Original Edition  
issued at London in 1646  
With an Introduction by  
HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN



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Providence, 1916

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# Introduction

By

Howard Millar Chapin





AMUEL GORTON, styling himself variously, Gentleman, Citizen of London, Clothier, and Professor of the Mysteries of Christ, landed at Boston in the spring of 1637. He soon settled at Plymouth, where he defied those in authority with vituperative condemnations. His chief complaints were that the magistrates disregarded the common law of England, and administered injustice by means of trials before packed juries which mocked at legal forms. His enthusiasm and his freedom of speech brought him into the power of the magistrates, by whom, on Tuesday, December 4, 1638, he was tried and banished from Plymouth Colony. He departed, with his family, to the newly-settled town of Pocasset upon the island of Aquidneck, now called Portsmouth upon Rhode Island. Here, already, the rivalry and animosity between the factions of William Coddington and of Anne Hutchinson had almost reached the danger-point, and was soon to break forth in an embittered controversy, which under various leaders was to rack and stunt for years the colony about Narragansett Bay.

Gorton joined the liberal Hutchinsonians, who for the nonce obtained the upper hand. By a coup d'état Gorton and Mrs. Hutchinson brought about the election of William Hutchinson, "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife," as judge in place of Coddington. In describing this conspiracy to his friend, Governor Winthrop, Coddington wrote: "It was hatched when I was last in the Baye, & the Lord, I hope, will shortly putt an esaw to it." Realizing that he was worsted, Coddington and his followers withdrew from Pocasset to the southern end of the island, where they founded Newport. Those who remained at Pocasset changed the name to Portsmouth, and drew up a new Civil Compact. In this document the hand of Gorton is evident, for its signers acknowledged themselves not only subjects of the King, but also obedient to his laws, or in other words subject to the common law of England.

Coddington was elected Governor by the Newport men, and immediately endeavored to extend his authority over the whole island. He had kept possession of the official records, and held in himself the title to the land, which latter advantage largely enabled him to regain the ascendancy. Gorton was tried, as at Plymouth, by an indigenous court, which had been sanctioned neither by the King nor by Parliament, and which did not show any particular regard for the forms and practices of English law. Gorton, convinced that the proceedings of the Court were extra-legal, and that he had as much right to try these self-appointed judges as they had to try him, yet feeling powerless against their superior physical force, lost his temper and tersely described various persons present by such expressive terms as "Just Asses," "saucy boys," and "Jack-an-Apes,"; called the Deputy Governor, William Brenton, "an Abetter of Riot, Assault, and Battery," and upon being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open proclamation, saying, "Take away Coddington, and carry him to prison." Then the Governor said again, "All you that owne the King, take away Gorton and carry him to prison." Gorton replied, "All you that owne the King, take away Coddington, and carry him to prison."

The increase in Coddington's power made Gorton's residence at Portsmouth no longer possible, and in the winter of 1640/41 he removed to Providence. His familistic religious mysticism fascinated many, both at Plymouth and Portsmouth, and six or seven of his disciples with their families accompanied him to Providence.

On March 8, 1640/41, Roger Williams wrote: "Master Gorton having foully abused both high and low at Aquedneck, is now bewiching and bemadding poor Providence." His mysticism and his attacks upon the unchartered government evidently caused a considerable stir in Providence. On May 25, 1641, William Arnold wrote to the board of disposers, who governed Providence, and gave many reasons why the "said Gorton nor

his company are not fitt persons to be received in and made members of the town fellowship."

His opposition to the autogenous township inspired his followers to a riot on Monday, November 15, 1641, which led to the formation of three parties at Providence. Gorton and his friends openly defied the unchartered government. Roger Williams, at the head of the law and order party, endeavored to maintain the independent self-government of the town and to conciliate the hostile factions. The third party was led by the ambitious Arnolds, William and his son Benedict, who feared Gorton and were jealous of Williams. This last group of related families had built houses at Pawtuxet, some five miles south of Providence, on the west shore of the Bay. Holding Pawtuxet, they finally seceded from their neighbors and submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on September 8, 1642. This union, so clearly hostile to Gorton, led the Gortonoges, as he and his followers were called by the Indians, to move from Providence to the less accessible wilds and marshes of Shawomet, where they purchased land of the sachem Miantonomi, on the 12th of January, 1642/43.

Here, about ten miles south of Providence, on the coves which indent the western shores of Narragansett Bay, Gorton and his followers began to plant and build. The quarrels between the Gortonoges at Shawomet and their neighbors, the Arnolds at Pawtuxet, increased in intensity. The Arnolds complained, as Winslow relates, to their newly-adopted rulers, the magistrates of Massachusetts Bay, who thereupon summoned the Gortonoges to appear at the Boston Court. The latter, claiming subjection only to the English crown, refused to recognize the authority of Massachusetts Bay, and replied with a warrant for the Arnolds to appear for trial at Shawomet. The Massachusetts officials, seeing an opportunity to obtain the much-coveted "outlet into Narragansett Bay," forthwith sent an expeditionary army of forty men against Shawomet in

September, 1643. A battle ensued in which the Massachusetts Bay soldiery shot to pieces the English flag, which Gorton had raised upon his house. Happily, no one was killed. After a siege of several days the opposing commanders suspended hostilities and met in conference. By violating this truce, the Massachusetts' commander, Captain George Cooke, captured Gorton and his chief men, and then led them in a triumphal procession through Providence to Boston, where they were sentenced "to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg and not to depart the limits of the town," during the pleasure of the court. Their property was confiscated to pay the expenses of the expedition, while their religious views were used to salve the consciences of the members of the court. Their families, left destitute, fled for refuge to Providence and Portsmouth.

Finding that Gorton and his company spread heretical doctrines where they were confined, the court, "not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty" in March, 1644. Upon regaining their freedom, the Gortonoges returned to Portsmouth, and appointed commissioners, who joined with those of the other towns in acting under the recently-received Charter of 1643. Coddington refused to recognize this Charter, which Roger Williams had secured by personal application in London, and with his faction endeavored to "maintain the government as before," as he wrote to Winthrop in 1646. He continued his intrigues with Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, until his usurpation of power in 1651.

On Friday, April 19, 1644, soon after his release by Massachusetts Bay, Gorton obtained from the Narragansett sachems an act of submission and allegiance to the English crown. Armed with this and a fluent pen, he sailed for England in the autumn of 1645. Upon arriving in London, Gorton, on behalf of himself and his friends, petitioned the King and Parliament for redress and for reinstatement at Shawomet. He also published, in 1646, as a part of his campaign against his enemies: "Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or a true

complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English in New England, made unto the state of Old England, against cruell persecutors United in Church-Government;" a narrative of 111 closely printed pages recounting the unlawful and wicked actions of Massachusetts Bay in persecuting him and his followers.

The leaders of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, fearing the effect of Gorton's pen and tongue, commissioned Edward Winslow on December 4, 1646, to hasten to England and use his influence to counteract the work of the troublesome Gorton, and to further the ambitious territorial designs of these two colonies. As Governor Winthrop wrote: "Mr. Winslow's instructions were of two sorts; the one (which he might publish, etc. . . . The other were more secret, . . ."

The envoy, whom Roger Williams describes as "That great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow," was the scion of a landed family of Worcestershire. He was born at Droitwich, on Saturday, October 18, 1595. He traveled on the continent, when a young man, and became acquainted with the Rev. John Robinson in Holland. In 1617 he joined the separatist church at Leyden, and on May 16, 1618, was married there to Elizabeth Barker. The twenty-fifth anniversary of his birthday he celebrated, or at least passed, on board the *Mayflower*, during her famous voyage. His wife died March 29, 1620/21, and within two months he was married again, on May 12th, to the widow, Susanna White, whose six-months-old son, Peregrine, was the first English child born in New England.

Winslow took a leading part in the negotiations with Ousamequin, alias Massasoit, which resulted in the understanding between the Wampanoags and Plymouth. He explored Boston Harbor, traded with the Dutch, and remained on terms of the closest friendship with Massasoit. In 1623, he returned to England with Robert Cushman, as agent for the Colony, and in the next year issued his "Good Newes from New England: or A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of

*Plymoth* in NEW-ENGLAND. Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*" He returned to Plymouth in the spring of 1624, but in the summer again went to England on behalf of the Colony. In this year, 1624, he was elected a member of the Court of Assistants, the governing board of the Colony, which office he held, except when he was Governor, until his departure for England in 1646.

In 1633, Winslow was elected Governor of the Colony. He had from the first been the leader in managing the commercial affairs of this Colony, which was a business venture as well as a religious settlement, with financial backers who expected monetary returns. During the following year, when returning from a trading expedition, he stopped at Sowams to visit his old friend Massasoit. The humorous Indian sent a messenger to Plymouth announcing the sad tidings of Winslow's death, thus throwing the Colonists into mourning and lamentations. The next morning Massasoit, accompanied by Winslow himself, arrived at Plymouth to the stupefaction and delight of the Colonists. The Sachem explained that he had sent the false message in order to make their arrival more welcome.

In 1635, he again visited England on a diplomatic mission for Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth. He was accused by Archbishop Laud, a political opponent, of having solemnized marriages, although a layman, and upon being convicted of this, he was committed to the Fleet prison and kept there for seventeen weeks. After his return to Plymouth, he was again chosen Governor, in 1636. In 1643, Winslow represented Plymouth at the meetings of the Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; in 1644, was again chosen Governor; and in 1645 he was President of the Council of War at Plymouth.

In December, 1646, he was sent to England once more, this time to oppose the efforts of Samuel Gorton and of the Hingham petitioners, who from within, as Gorton from without, were agitating the question of the repeated violation of English law



by the theocratic despots of Boston. Winthrop described Winslow at this time as "a fit man to be employed in our affairs in England, both in regard to his abilities of presence, speech, courage and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners," who directed colonial affairs at this time.

Upon reaching England, Winslow was confronted with Gorton's book describing the wickedness of the theocratic politicians of Plymouth and the Bay, and so in an unsuccessful attempt to discredit Gorton and his book, immediately wrote and issued "Hypocrisie Unmasked By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton (and his Accomplices) a notorious disturber of the Peace and quiet of the severall Governments wherein he lived . . ." It is this work which, in the following pages, is printed for the first time in America.

A manuscript copy of what appears to have been a variant of part of Winslow's original draft was printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for 1850, with notes by Charles Deane.

A portion of Winslow's tract, that which deals with "the true grounds or cause of the first planting of New England," was printed by Alexander Young, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," in 1841, pp. 379-408.

The complete text of each of the other tracts of this controversial series is accessible in nineteenth-century editions. Gorton's "Simplicities Defence" forms the second volume of the Rhode Island Historical Society's Collections, Providence, 1835, with notes by William R. Staples. It was printed again at Washington, D. C., in 1846, as No. 6 in the fourth volume of Peter Force's "Tracts."

Child's "New England's Jonas" was reprinted in 1816 in Vol. IV of the second series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, pp. 107-120. It also made No. 3 in the fourth volume of Force's Tracts, Washington, 1846.

It was again reprinted, with an introduction by W. T. R. Marvin, by Wm. Parsons Lunt, at Boston in 1869.

Winslow's reply to Child, "New-England's Salamander," was reprinted at Boston in 1830 in Vol. II of the third series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, pp. 110-145.

"Hypocrisie Unmasked" was reissued in England in 1649, the dedication being omitted and replaced by a table of contents, and the title being changed to "The Danger of tolerating Levellers in a Civill State; or an Historicall Narration of the dangerous, pernicious practices and opinions, wherewith Samuel Gorton and his levelling accomplices so much disturbed and molested the several Plantations in New England . . ." The body of the book is made up of the same sheets as those which had appeared with the original title-page. The omission of the dedication to the Earl of Warwick was doubtless due to the fact that by that time Warwick had shown himself opposed to Winslow's petition, and the change in the title seems to have been made in order to lift the book from the sphere of local political interest to the then broader field of theological discussion, and so enable the bookseller to dispose of the copies remaining on his shelves.

In refuting the more serious of Gorton's charges, Winslow admits many which he considered of less importance, and so inadvertently gives a not very pleasing picture of New England's more powerful colonies.

The present reprint has been made from the copy of "Hypocrisie Unmasked" which is preserved at the *Library of Congress*. The copy of "The Danger of Tolerating Levellers," which is preserved in the Lenox Collection of the *New York Public Library*, has been followed for the table of contents. The title pages are reproduced from the copies at the *Boston Public Library*.

## The Reprint

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The title-page, *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers*,  
and the two pages of *Contents* are from the reissue  
of 1649, in which they replace the title-  
page and dedication of 1646.

# Hypocrisie Unmasked

BY

A true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusetts* against SAMVEL GORTON (and his Accomplices) a notorious disturber of the Peace and quiet of the severall Governments wherein he lived: With the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at *Boston* in *New-England* in *November* last, 1646.

Together with a particular Answer to the manifold slanders, and abominable falsehoods which are contained in a Book written by the said GORTON, and entituled, *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed Policy, &c.*

DISCOVERING

To the view of all whose eyes are open, his manifold Blasphemies; As also the dangerous agreement which he and his Accomplices made with ambitious and treacherous *Indians*, who at the same time were deeply engaged in a desperate Conspiracy to cut off all the rest of the *English* in the other Plantations.

Whereunto is added a briefe Narration (occasioned by certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of *New-England*; the President of their Churches in the way and Worship of God; their Communion with the *Reformed Churches*; and their practise towards those that dissent from them in matters of Religion and Church-Government.

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By *Edw. Winslow.*

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*Psal. 120. 3. What shall be given unto thee, or what shall be done unto thee thou false tongue?*

*Verf. 4. Sharpe arrows of the Mighty, with coales of Juniper.*

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*Published by Authority.*

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*London, Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three Golden Lions in Cornhill, neare the Royall Exchange, 1646.*

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THE  
Danger of Tolerating  
LEVELLERS  
In a Civill State :

OR,  
An Historicall Narration of the dangerous pernicious practices and opinions, where-  
with *SAMUEL GORTON* and his  
Levelling Accomplices so much disturbed and mo-  
lested the severall Plantations in *NEW-ENGLAND*;  
(Parallel to the positions and proceedings of the present  
Levellers in *OLD-ENGLAND*.)

Wherein their severall Errors dangerous and  
very destructive to the peace both of Church and State,  
their cariage and reviling language against Magistracy  
and all Civill power, and their blasphemous speeches  
against the holy things of God:

*TOGETHER,*

With the Course that was there taken for suppressing them,  
are fully set forth ;

With a Satisfactory Answer to their Complaints made  
to the *PARLIAMENT* :

By *Edm. Winslow* of *Plymouth* in *New-England*:

*London*, Printed by *Rich. Cotes* for *John Eellany* at the three Golden  
Lions in *Corn-hill*, neare the Royall Exchange, 1649.





TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
ROBERT

Earl of *Warwick*, Governour in Chiefe,  
and Lord High Admirall of all those Islands and  
other Plantations of the *English* in AMERICA;  
Together with the rest of those truly Honorable  
Members of both Houses of Parliament joyned in  
Commission with him for ordering the  
affaires of the said *Plantations*.

Right Honourable,



*Ere not your Wisdome and experience in the great and weighty affaires of State so well known, and were yee not so much accustomed to the unjust complaints of clamorous persons, I might be discouraged to appeare in the righteous cause of the United Colonies of New-England, and more especially in the behalf of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts, to render a reason of their just and righteous proceedings against Samuel Gorton and his Companions, who however (where they are unknown) they goe here under the garbe of a peaceable people; yet if your Honours, and the rest of the Honourable Committee shall be pleased (when more weighty employments shall give way) to peruse our just defence against his clamorous complaints, and scandalous Treatise, called, Simplicities defence against*

## The Epistle DEDICATORY.

Seven-headed Policy, &c. *I make no question but yee will receive full satisfaction in what we have done, and be ready to justifie our proceedings against them as godly, and righteous.*

*The reason wherefore I am forced to appeare in Print before I give a particular answer to your Honours, and the rest of the Honourable Committee, is, because I find a more grosse deformatory asperſion caſt upon the Countrey to the publick view of our Nation: which as it is deare in our eyes (witneſſe our frequent publick ſolemn dayes of prayer to the Throne of grace for it, together with our private ſupplications, which the Searcher of the heart beſt knows, ſympathizing with it in every condition, to the loſſe of Ships, Goods, &c. to the great weakening of our eſtates) ſo wee deſire to remove whatſoever may ſadden the thoughts of our Nation againſt us; eſpecially your Honours, and all that are godly in Chriſt Jeſus.*

*What greater wrong can bee done a poore persecuted people that went into the wilderneſſe to avoid the tyrannicall Government of the late Hierarchy, and to enjoy the Liberties Chriſt Jeſus hath left unto his Churches (which theſe blaſphemous Adverſaries of ours, ſo much ſleight and caſt off) then to be accounted persecutors of Chriſt in his Saints, yea, to go thither to that end, to become outragiouſly cruell, barbarouſly inhumane, uniting together to ſuck the blood of our Country-men, &c. And yet Right Honorable, it will and doth appear in the following Treatiſe, that Samuel Gorton was proſecuted againſt, Firſt, at Plymouth as a groſſe diſturber of the Civill peace and quiet of that Government, in an open factious and ſeditious manner. Secondly, hee was no leſſe troubleſome, but much more at Roade Iſland, having gotten a ſtrong party to adhere unto him, affronting that Government (as Plymouth) in their publique adminiſtration of Juſtice ſo foully and groſſely, as mine eares never heard the like of any; to which Relation in the following Diſcourſe I referre*



### The Epistle DEDICATORY.

*referre your Honours, being compiled as briefly as may bee. Gorton being there whipt in his person, and thence banished with some of his principall adherents, they went next to Providence, where Mr. Williams, and some others have built a small Towne. This people receiving them with all humanity in a cold season, when the former places could no longer beare his insolencies; hee soone undermined their Government, gained a strong party amongst them to his owne, to the great distraction of Mr. Williams, and the better party there, contending against their Laws, and the execution of Justice, to the effusion of bloud, which made Mr. Williams and the rest sadly complaine to the Government of the Maffachufets, and divers of them take the protection of that Government, to defend their persons and estates. But when they saw Mr. Williams resolve rather to lose the benefit of his labours, then to live with such ill-affected people, and the neighbour Governments become affected with Gortons mis-rule there also, hee (and his Companions in evill) began then to thinke of buying a place of a great aspiring Sachim, or Indian Prince, to the wrong of the proper Owners, (two inferiour Sachims) who also, as well as divers English of Providence, submitted their persons and lands to the Government of the Maffachufets, and desired their protection not onely against the oppressing tyranny of Myantonimo the foresaid Great Sachim, but against Gorton and his Companions, who intruded into their proper right, by unwarrantable meanes, &c. Now the Government of the Maffachufets having used all due meanes and none prevailing, but their gentleness answered with the greatest contempt that might bee: At the next Meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies they complained of Gorton and his irregular Companions, which the said Commissioners tooke into serious consideration, and the more because*

## The Epistle DEDICATORY.

of Gortons, &c. extraordinary familiarity with Myantonomo, and the rest of the Nanohigganfet Sachims, who were knowne to bee in a deepe Conspiracy against all the English in the Land at the same time. And therefore by a solemne Act gave liberty to the Government of the Massachusetts to call them to account, and proceed with them so farre as might stand with righteousnesse and justice, which they accordingly did.

Now these Right Honourable, &c. are the true causes of all the Censures and punishments that befell Gorton in the Countrey; onely needlesly in his and their contemptuous answers to the modest and well-ordered Writings of the said Government of the Massachusetts, they belched forth such horrid blasphemies, not onely against them in particular, and Civill Government in the generall, but against the received Christian Religion of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, as well as our selves; Insomuch as many tender Consciences, both Ministers and others, thought the Government did not well in giving him such liberty, whereby hee may and doth (as is reported) poyson other persons and places with his corrupt opinions, to the great dishonour of God, and ruine of the soules of his followers, who reject the meanes of grace God hath sanctified to strengthen and build up his people in faith and holinesse.

But that I may not bee tedious, I shall presume to pre-ferre these following requests to your Honours and the rest of the honoured Committee this Renowned Parliament hath betrusted with the affaires of the Forraigne Plantations of our Nation: The first is to strengthen the Censure of the Massachusetts by your favourable approbation, so farre as it shall appeare to bee just and righteous; and then shall the Countrey bee the more preserved from their feares of the Gortonians desperate close with so dangerous enemies as their  
malig-

## The Epistle DEDICATORY.

*malignant neighbours the Nanohiggansets; which I perswade my selfe, if your leisures will suffer you to read the following Discourse, you will easily condescend unto; there being nothing (I thanke God in it) affirmed by mee, but as it is affirmed hereunto I may safely depose. A second thing is, that yee will never suffer Samuel Gorton this pestilent disturber of our Societies, any more to goe to New-England to disquiet the peace thereof. My third request is, that yee will be pleased to suffer New-Plymouth, to enjoy their former liberty in the line of their Government, which includeth their very seat, even Shawamet it selfe, where Gorton and his Company dwelt. My fourth request is, to take into your serious consideration, how destructive it will prove to the well-being of our Plantations and proceedings there, (who by Gods blessing are growing up into a Nation) here to answer to the complaints of such malignant spirits as shall there bee censured by Authority, It being three thousand miles distant, so far as will undoe any to come for Justice, utterly disabling them to prove the equity of their cause, unlesse their estate bee very great. My fifth and last request is, that your Honours, and the rest of the Honoured Committee will be pleased to patronize the weake labours of your humble servant, in the just defence hee hath made for New-England, and the severall Governments of it (especially the Maffachusets) against the grosse calumnies of the fore-mentioned scandalous Treatise published by the said Gorton: And herein yee shall not onely oblige our Plantations of New-England to continue their daily request to the God of all mercies for a blessing upon this Renowned Parliament, and your Honours, and the rest of this Honoured Committee in especiall, but to engage with, and for them and you, against all opposers of the State, to the last drop of blood in our veines; yea, hereby shall you sweeten the tedious travels, great charges and labours of me their unworthy Agent, who doe*  
and

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

*and shall daily pray to God to recompense your vast hazzards, expenses, studies, and cares, (to advance the Weale Publike of this distressed Kingdome, and the severall limbs thereof) with all the blefsings of Heaven and earth to you and yours to succeeding Generations.*

Yours Honours humble devoted fervant,

EDVV. WINSLOVV.



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A

# TRUE RELATION

OF THE

Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusetts* in *New-England*, against *Samuel Gorton* and his Accomplices; with the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at *Boston* in *November*, 1646.



*SAMUEL GORTON* lived sometime at *Plymouth*, where his behaviour was so turbulent and offensive both to the Magistrates and others, as they were necessitated to drive him out of their Jurisdiction. From thence hee went to *Road-Island*, where hee began to raise sedition, and to make a party against the Authority there; for which hee was apprehended and whipped, and so sent away. From thence (with some others whom hee had gathered to his part) hee removed to *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams* then lived. Hee (with some others) opposed his sitting down there as an Inhabitant, onely in regard of his present distresse, they gave way for his abode for a time. But being once housed, hee soon drew so great a party to him, as it was beyond the power of Mr. *Williams* and his party to drive them out, or to rule them there; so as both parties came armed into the field each against other, and had fought it out, had not Mr. *Williams* used meanes for pacification.

B

Hereupon

Hereupon many of the chiefe of *Providence* sent messengers with a Letter to the Governour and Councill of the *Maffachusetts*, desiring aide against *Gorton* and his company; but they were answered, that not being within our Jurisdiction nor confederation we had no ground to interpose in their quarrells. Soone after some of those men tendred themselves and their lands to come under our Government, and were received.

There live neere to *Providence* two small Indian *Sachims* called *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, who though they are as free as the great *Sachim* of the *Nanohigganset*: Yet *Myantonimo* the then *Sachim* of of *Nanohigganset* (being a very proud and sterne man) kept them in great awe. This poore *Sachim Pumham* had a large parcell of land neer *Providence*, very convenient for plantation, which *Gorton* and his company (being now about 13, or 14. ) taking notice of, and fearing they should not be able to keep their power long where they were, dealt with *Myantonimo* for this parcell of land, promising him a good parcell of *Wampam* for it. And because they knew that *Pumham* was the true owner of it, they dealt with him also; but he refusing to sell it (for hee dwelt upon it, or very neare to it) they caused *Myantonimo* to fend for him, and having drawn a Writing purporting the sale thereof for a certaine consideration to bee given to both of them, *Myantonimo* signed it, and hee for feare of *Myantonimo* set his mark to it also, not knowing what it was. But when *Gorton* tendred him the consideration for it, hee utterly refused it, it being the Indians manner not to account any thing sold, till the party have received the thing it is sold for.

But upon this colourable title *Gorton* and his company enter upon the land, and build some houses, and withall much wrong the Indians with their cattle, and having *Myantonimo* their friend, behave themselves very insolently toward the poor Indians, who (having no friends or meanes to relieve themselves) came and tendred themselves and their lands to the government of the *Maffachusetts*, who (by order of the Court) gave notice thereof to *Myantonimo*, and appointed him to come or fend to the next Court at *Boston*, to shew his title or interest (if hee had any) to the said *Pumham* and *Socononoco* or their lands. At the time appointed hee came, and pretended that they were his vassalls, but it appeared clearly both by a writing from Mr. *Williams*, and the testimony of some other English in those parts, and of divers other Indians no way related to them,



them, that they were free *Sachims*; ſo as *Myantonimo* having nothing to reply, the Court received the two Indian *Sachims* with their ſubjects and lands under the government and protection of the *Maſſachuſetts*; and upon that writ to our neighbours of *Providence*, intimating the ſame to them, and adviſing *Gorton* and his company, that if they had any juſt title to the lands they poſſeſſed, they ſhould come, or ſend ſome for them to ſhew the ſame to the Court, and offered them ſafe conduct. This letter from the Court they tooke in great diſdain, and returned ſcornfull and menacing answers by word of mouth, and a good time after they wrote a letter to the Court full of reproach and blaſphemies, not onely againſt the Magiſtrates, but againſt the Churches and Ordinances, as by the Copy thereof hereafter following will appear. Notwithſtanding theſe provocations and daily wrongs offered to thoſe few Engliſh their neighbours ( who had formerly ſubmitted themſelves to our Government) we ſate ſtill neare halfe a yeare, and before we attempted anything againſt them, we adviſed with the Commiſſioners of the united Colonies, who (upon teſtimony of their insolent and injurious courſes, and peruſſal of the letter they ſent to us) left them to us to proceed according to Juſtice. Whereupon the Court ſent againe to them by two of their members, who carryed letters (to require and perſwade them to come and give ſatiſfaction,) and a ſafe Conduct withall; but they entertained thoſe Meſſengers as they had done the former, threatening to whip one, whom they tooke along with them; and ſent us word, that if we had any thing to ſay to them, we ſhould come to them, and we ſhould have juſtice there, and that if we came with force, they would meet us half the way. Our meſſengers returning with theſe ſcornfull answers, the Court reſolved to ſend ſome force to fetch them in; and in the mean time there came a ſecond letter from them; (the Copy whereof is hereafter alſo ſet downe) but before we ſent forth our ſouldiers, we wrote to them to this effect: *Viz.* That although the injuries and provocations we had indured from them were very grievous, yet that our Juſtice and moderation might appear to all men, we had condeſcended ſo farre to their owne propoſition, as we would ſend ſome Commiſſioners to them, to heare their answers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us ſuch ſatiſfaction as ſhould bee juſt, we would leave them in peace; if otherwiſe, we would right our ſelves by force of Armes: And ſignified withall,

that wee would send a sufficient guard with our Commissioners; for seeing they would not trust themselves with us upon our safe conduct, wee had no reason to trust any of ours with them upon their bare curtesie. Accordingly about a week after wee sent three Commissioners, and 40 Musqueteers with them, with instructions, first to speak and treat with them, and to require satisfaction according to Justice, and if it were denyed, then to take them by force, and bring them prisoners to *Boston*; and to take withall so much of their substance as should satisfy our charges. By the way as they went they met with another letter from them, letting them know, that they feared them not, but were prepared for them: And accordingly they had fortified themselves in one house (some 12 of them) and had lined the walls with earth (Musket prooffe) and had made Flanckers, and provided victualls, &c. to indure a siege. So that when our Commissioners came to the place, they would admit no parly. But after a while, by the mediation of some of their neighbours, they were content to parley, and offered to referre the cause to Arbitrators, so as some of them might bee of *Providence*, or of *Roade Island*. Our Commissioners were content to send to us to know our minds about it, and in the meane time sat still. Such of the Court as could meet, returned answer that their Proposition was neither feasonable nor reasonable, nor could it bee safe or honourable for us to accept thereof: 1 Because they would never offer nor hearken to any termes of agreement before our souldiers had them in their power. 2 Because the ground of their Proposition was false, for wee were not parties (as they pretended) but equall Judges between the *Indians* and others who were complainants, and themselves, (and yet in a case of warre, parties may bee Judges.) 3 They were no State, or Body politique, but a few fugitives living without Law or Government, and so not honourable for us to joyne with them in such a way of reference. 4 The parties whom they would referre it unto, were such as had been rejected by us, and all the Governments in the Country, and so not likely to bee equall to us, nor able to judge of the cause: and their blasphemous and reproachfull writings, &c. were not matters fit to bee composed by Arbitrement, (being deeply criminall) but either to bee purged away by repentance and publique satisfaction, or else by publique punishment. For these and other reasons, the Commissioners were required to proceed according to their Instructions.

ctions. And thereupon they intrenched themſelves about the houſe, and in few dayes forced them to yeeld, and ſo brought them to *Bofton*, where they were kept in priſon till the Court ſate, and had their dyet from the Cookes (as good meat and drinke as the Towne afforded.) The next Lords day they refuſed to goe to the Church aſſembly, except they might have liberty to ſpeake there, as occaſion ſhould be. They were answered by ſome of the Magiſtrates that it appertained to the Elders to order the affairs of the Church, but they might preſuppoſe they ſhould not bee denyed ſuch liberty, ſpeaking words of truth and ſoberneſſe. So in the afternoon they came, and were placed in a convenient ſeate before the Elders. Mr. *Cotton* the Teacher taught then (in his ordinary courſe) out of *Acts* 19. of *Demetrius* ſpeech for *Diana* her ſilver ſhrine. After Sermon *Gorton* deſired leave to ſpeake, which being granted, hee tooke occaſion from the Sermon to ſpeake to this effect, That in the Church now there was nothing but Chriſt, ſo that all our Ordinances, Miniſters, and Sacraments, &c. were but mens inventions, for ſhew and pomp, and no other then thoſe ſilver ſhrines of *Diana*. He ſaid alſo, that if Chriſt lives eternally, then he died eternally, and other ſpeeches of like kinde. And indeed it appeareth both by his ſpeeches and letters, that it was his opinion, that Chriſt was incarnate in *Adam*, and was that image of God, wherein *Adam* was created; and that the chiefe worke and merit lay in his *Inanition*, when he became ſuch a thing, ſo meane, &c. and that his being borne after of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffering, &c. was but a manifeſtation of his ſuffering, &c. in *Adam*. Another of them ſaid that the Sabbath was Chriſt, and ſo was borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They called Magiſtracy among Chriſtians an Idol; yet they did acknowledge a Magiſtracy in the world to bee ſubjected to as an Ordinance of God, but onely as naturall; as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary Prince over his ſubjects.

Their firſt appearance before the Court was upon the Lecture day at *Bofton*, before a very great Aſſembly, where firſt the Governour declared the cauſe and manner of all the proceedings againſt them, and their Letters were openly read, and they had liberty to object, and answers were given, as followeth:

Firſt, to their plea, That they were not within our Jurisdiction; it was answered: 1 If they were not within ours, yet they were within the Jurisdiction of one of our confederates, who had refer-

red them to us. 2 If they were within no Jurisdiction, then was there none to complaine to for redresse of our injuries in way of ordinary Justice, and then we had no way of relief but by force of Armes.

Secondly, to their plea *Of persecution for their Conscience, &c.* It was answered, that wee did not meddle with them for their opinions, otherwise then they had given us occasion, by their owne Letters and free speeches amongst us, for wee wrote to them about civill Controversies onely, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemies and revilings against the Ordinances of Religion set up with us.

Thirdly, for their title to the *Indians* lands: wee had divers times desired them to make it appeare; but they alwayes refused, even to our Commisioners, whom (according to their owne motion) wee sent last to them: and since they were in prison, wee offered them to send for any witnesses they would name to us for that end, but this also they refused. So that our title (by the *Indians* surrender) appeareth good, and having regained possession, we need not question them any further about that.

Their Letters being read and their Subscriptions acknowledged, they were demanded severally if they would maintaine those things which were contained therein. Their answer was, that they would, in that sense they wrote them, and so were returned to prison. The next day they were brought before the Court severally to be examined upon particulars, (many of the Elders being desired to be present) because they had said they could give a good interpretation of every part of their Letters. But the interpretation they gave being contrary to the words, they were demanded if they would then retract those words, so plainly different from their pretended meanings. But this they refused to doe, saying, that then they should deny the Truth; for instance in one or two. Their Letters were directed, one of them, *To their Neighbours of the Massachusetts*: and the other, *To the great honoured Idoll Generall of the Massachusetts*, and by a messenger of their owne delivered to our Governour, and many passages in both Letters particularly applied to our Courts, our Magistrates, our Elders, &c. and yet upon their examinations about their meanings in their reproachfull passages, they answered that they meant them, of the corrupt estate of man-  
kinde

kinde in generall, and not of us. So, whereas in their Letter they charged it upon us, as an error that we teach, *That Chriſt dyed Actually onely*, when he ſuffered under *Pontius Pilate*; and before, onely in *Types*, &c. upon their examination they ſaid, that their meaning was, that his death was actuall to the faith of the Fathers under the Law, (which is in effect the ſame which we hold:) Yet they would not retract their words they had written. The Elders conferred many houres with them before the Court, and by occaſion thereof they diſcovered divers blaſphemous opinions, which they maintained, we will inſtance one which was mentioned before, delivered by *Gorton*, viz. that the Image of God wherein *Adam* was created, was Chriſt; and *Adams* looſing that Image was the death of Chriſt, and the reſtoring of that Image in the Regeneration, was the reſurrection of Chriſt: and ſo the death of him that was borne of the Virgin *Mary* was but a manifeſtation of the former. Maſter *William Tompſon* one of the Elders had ſpent ſome time with them before in the priſon about the opinions which they held forth, and they had profeſſed their agreement with him (for ſubſtance) in every point, ſo as he came to the Court with a purpoſe to ſpeak in their behalf, but when he heard themſelves diſcover thus upon their publique examinations, he ſhewed how he had bene deluded by them. For they excell the *Jefuites* in the art of equivocation, and regard not how falſe they ſpeake, to all other mens apprehenſions, ſo they keepe to the rules of their owne ſecret intentions. Being asked why they ſpake againſt the Ordinances of the Miniſtery, Sacraments, &c. ſeeing the Scripture allowes them? They answered that they were ordained onely for the time of Nonage, but after the Revelation was written, they were to ceaſe, becauſe we finde no mention of them in that booke.

They were unlearned men, the ableſt of them could not write true engliſh, no not in common words, yet they would take upon them to interpret the moſt difficult places of Scripture, and wreſt them any way to ſerve their owne turne. As for inſtance, Mr. *Cotton* preſſing *Gorton* with that in *Act. 10*. Who can forbid water, why theſe ſhould not be baptiſed, &c. He interpreted thus, who can deny but theſe have bene baptiſed, ſeeing they have received the Holy Ghoſt, &c. ſo he allowed them to have bene baptiſed. This ſhift he was put to, that he might maintaine his opinion, viz: that ſuch as have bene baptiſed with the Holy Ghoſt, need not the baptiſme  
of

of water. Divers dayes were spent both by the Court and the Elders in labouring to bring them to repentance, but all in vaine. They continued obstinate. Whereupon they agreed to sentence them, but first they brought them in publique before a great Assembly, and there (out of their Letters and Speeches) they laid upon them this charge, *viz.* they were found to be blasphemous enemies of the true Religion, *viz.* they were found to be blasphemous enemies of the true Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy Ordinances, and likewise of all Civill Government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded, if they did acknowledge this charge to be just, and would submit to it, or what exception they had against it? They answered, they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they fell into some cavilling speeches, so they were returned unto prison againe. Being in prison they behaved themselves insolently towards their keeper, and spoke evil of the Magistrates, so as the keeper was forced to threaten them with Irons, to keepe them quiet.

After all meanes used to reclaim them, and not prevailing, they were brought before the Court to receive their sentence, which was this. *Gorton* and six more of them, were to be sent to severall townes, there to bee kept to worke for their livings, and to weare an Iron chaine upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the Towne, nor by word or writing to maintaine any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon paine of death, except in conference with any of the Elders, or any other allowed by some Magistrate to conferre with them; and this to continue during the pleasure of the Court. Three of the Company (because they had not their hands to the Letters) were set at libertie, two of them upon a small ranome as prisoners taken in warre, and the other, freely, for that he was amongst them in his Masters house, where they were taken; a fourth being found to be a plaine ignorant young man was discharged also, onely enjoyned to abide a time in one of our Townes, but hee went away and returned no more, contrary to his promise. There were two other who were brought in after; (but not by force) the one of them disclaiming to have any hand in the Letters, was discharged presently; the other was kept a while in prison, and after upon his submission &c. was released.

*Gorton* and the other six remained in the severall Townes all that Winter; and then in regard of their wives and children (who were like to be much distressed by their husbands absence) they were set at liberty,

liberty, and banished upon paine of death if they were found in any part of our jurisdiction.

After the Court had passed sentence upon them for their confinement, we sent to fetch so many of their Cattle, as might defray the charges they had put us to, which amounted to about one hundred and sixty pounds, but the Cattle came not to so much, for we left every of them a part for the support of their families, and some of them had no Cattle at all.

The Letters follow,

*Mooshawset Novemb: 20. 1642.*

*To our Neighbours of the Massachusetts.*

**V**Whereas we lately received an irregular note, professing its forme from the Massachusetts, with four mens names subscribed thereunto, as principall authors of it, of the chiefe amongst you; We could not easily give credit to the truth thereof, not onely because the conveyers of it unto us, are knowne to be men, whose constant and professed acts are worfe, then the counterfeiting of mens hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession, would never have prostrated their wisdom to such an act. But considering that causelesse enmity you have against us; the prooffe whereof, every occasion brings forth; Wee cannot but conclude, that no act so ill which that ancient mother will not bring forth her seed unto. For wee know very well, that it is the name of Christ called upon us, which you strive against; Thence it is that you stand on tip-toe, to stretch yourselves beyond your bounds; to seeke occasion against us; (So) as you might hide your sinne with *Adam*, bearing the world in hand; it is not your desire to contend with us; But some civill breach in our courses, which you onely seeke to redresse. Whereas neither you, nor any (in way of truth) can finde wherewith, to bring us under the Censure of a disorderly course of walking amongst men: And as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren, we weigh it not, knowing him to be a lyer, (or in the abstract, a lye) from the beginning, yea and the father of it also; which thing you cannot know, though it were told unto you.

Whereas you say, *Robert Cole*, *William Arnauld* with others, have put themselves under the Government and protection of your Jurisdiction

riſdiction, which is the occaſion you have now got to contend; we wiſh your words were verified, that they were not elſewhere to be found, being nothing but the flame of Religion, Diſquiet, and Diſturbance of the place where they are. For, we know neither the one nor the other, with all their affiliates and Confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by Kinge *Charles* limited unto you.

Behold therefore in this your act, a Map of your ſpiritual eſtate, (to uſe your owne phraſe) for we know that the Spirituality of your Churches, is the Civility of your Commonweale, and the Civility of your Comonwealth, is the ſpirituality of your Churches, the wiſdome of man, being the whole accompliſhment of them both; of which Tree, you delight dayly to eate (finding it faire and beautifull) to gaine Conformity with your maker. In theſe your Diffembling ſubjects; groſly profane amongſt us, but full of the ſpirit of your purity, when they are with you, you may remember the brand your ſelves have ſet upon ſome of them, the Cauſe whereof was never yet removed, though it abide not upon their backe; Nor yet the Cauſe of your Commitment of them unto *Sathan* according unto your Law, for if that were removed, you ſhould doe them wrong, in not reſuming your vomit into its former Concoction againe; Nor are we ignorant of thoſe diſgracefull tearmes they uſe, and give out againſt you, behind your backes, their ſubmiſſion therefore can bee to no other end, but to ſatiſfie their owne luſts, not onely conceived, but in violent motion, againſt their Neighbours, who never offered the leaſt wrong unto them, only the propoſition of Amity, is object ſufficient, for theſe mens enmitie.

Even ſo the paſſions of ſin, which are by the Law, having force in your Members; you going about with great labour and induſtry to ſatiſfie them by your ſubmiſſion unto the word of God, in your Faſting, and feaſting, in Contributing, and treaſuring, in retiredneſſe for Study, and bowing of the backes of the poore, going forth in labour to maintaine it, and in the ſpirit of that hireling, raiſing up, your whole ſtructure and edifice, in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death, ſome labouring for a price to give for the keeping of their foules, in peace and ſafe eſtate and Condition, and ſome to have their bodies furniſhed with riches, honour and eaſe, and further then the Lord Jeſus agrees with theſe, you mind him not, nay you renounce and reje&ct him, and with theſe



these (according to your Acceptation and practice) he holds no Correspondency at all, being the Consultation and operation of that his onely aduersarie, man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, Crying out in way of Elevation, and applauding his ministers, when in the meane time, you know not what, nor who they are, professing them under a mediate Call of Christ, though formerly, they have beene Called immediately by him, hereby showing your selves to be those, that destroy the Sacred ordinance of God: For if you make Christ to be that to day, in stating his ministers; which he was not yesterday, and that in the tyme of the Gospell also, (to speake according to your Law) to be found in them both, you therein affirm, that he hath beene that to his ministers, which now he is not, and to make the Son of God to have beene that which now he is not, is to make a Nullitie of him, not to be at all, for he is the Lord that changeth not, no not a shadow thereof is found in him, so that you plainly Crucifie unto your selves, the Lord of glory, and put him to an open flame; So that as you know not, how Christ, conversing with his father in heaven, is found on the earth, amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know, how in his conversing with *Nicodemus* on the earth, he concludes himselfe to be in heaven, with his father. On this foundation hangeth the whole building of your Doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you Annihilate the Crofs, then the which, the Saints have no other Consolation: and prepare no better a place then Purgatory, for the honourable fathers of our Lord: For you conclude, that Christ dyed in the Decree, and purpose God, in the time of the Law, but actually onely when he hanged on the Croffe in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, that hee was crucified in the types and shadowes of the law, but in the truth, and substance, when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: So must you also conclude that the fathers under the law, were only faved, in purpose and Decree, in Type and shadow, but actually and substantially onely at the Comming of Christ in the flesh: therefore deale plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction (as your Ancestours in the papacie have don) and proclaime a place of purgatorie, provided for them in the meane, without which, your Doctrine hath no foundation. For if you raise up a shadow, without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light, without a shadow, you play the part of Wifards, or

[Errata: read *Massachusetts* instead of *Boston* in the headlines to page 37.]

[Errata, l. 27, read purpose of God.]

Necromancers, not the part of true Naturalists, in the things of the Kingdome of god.

So that as farre as these men are from beinge honourable and loyall subjects, so farre are you from being voluntaries in the Day of Gods power, and from yeelding subjection unto the Beauties of holines. Such also is your professed Rule, and Government, in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond, and out of the Reach of that Spirit which is gone out amongst you, the Capacity whereof can no wayes comprehend, the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, nor entrench it within the Vale, Therefore it cannot know those Cherubims of glory, neither can it heare the voice of that lively Oracle, speaking onely from off the covering Mercy-seate, and not elsewhere to be heard; We speake not but what wee know, these things are out of its Jurisdiction; Therefore dumb in telling Justice, nor speakes it any of that Righteousnesse and glory, comprised in another circuit, then ever you were yet made Lords of: Long therefore may you boast, of your Jurisdiction before ever you attaine unto a *Jurisprudentia*, in these things.

In that you tell us wee offer you wrong, by a pretended purchase: you are as much mistaken in the purchase, as in the wrong, For it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but precedentially, not onely in this Civill respect, but may also admonish all men, to take heed, how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision, are ignorant of the Contract, and Covenant of God. Thence it is, that you teach, that the spouse of Christ, upon Contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortalitie, and bring forth fruit unto God, when as yet the day of mariage, that great Feastivitic, and solemnization, of the Consolations of God, is not yet comne, witnesse your prorogation thereof, if not to the Descension of Christ from heaven unto the earth, to Raigne certaine years, yet to the Calling of the Jewes, whom yee your selves are, according to the flesh, and to the destruction of that Man of sinne whom yee so stoutly maintain, What is this, but to proclaime unto all the world, that Audacious spirit of whoredoms, professing Conception and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day?

In that you conclude your Clyents Right to arise out of foure years possession, wee have no such order, if you meane the Right  
of

of Conquest, (onely held in that tenure) the true owners were never yet subdued, for that is the right they expect to enjoy by you, for some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was, that they might have help, to enjoy the rest; But when they saw, wee would not be Abettors unto them without, much lesse contrary unto Covenant, then they flye unto you for help, Their possession, beeing a meere intrusion, as all the Natives know and ever exclaymed against them for the same, And so may our Countrymen also, whose eyes are not dazled with envie, and eares open to Lyes, as we know yours are, else you had heard both sydes speake, before you had Judged.

But wee profess right held, according to no such interest, but upon the ground of Covenant onely, knowne in its nature; In the parties 'twixt whom it is plight, In the possessor, and the possessed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrence, together with their Distinct, Harmonicall, Reciprocall, and Joint properties, and operations of them both: Such is the tenure wee hold, and maintain, before men and Angels, and oppose it against man and Divell, Not in taking up unto our selves, certaine offices and officers which wee can teach children to bee, and to perform, and from thence presently to conclude, the possession of the Kingdome, Crying out our peace offerings are upon us, this Day we have payd our vowes. But when that Dark cloud descended upon the Tabernacle, becomes the light, and glory of all Israell (there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence) then, and then only, are the orders, as also the men of Israell, derived from the true fountaine, which no tongue can confesse, but it is salvation, and then, not else, is the heritage of our Lord in possession, yea, even the waylesse wilderneck knowes, how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountaines were borne: which men begin to flye unto for refuge, to hide them from the presence of the Lamb: this is a possession, which no man can intrude himselfe into: it is onely Covenanted with him, thorow an inlightned eye, and boared eare, which man performeth not, nor can it be received from him.

For wee know that Cloud of thick darknesse, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabrick of the work of God, to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof: yea to us,

it is even that cloud of witness, which testifies unto us, the like workes to appeare, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us.

Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day, but in the one, and the other, the only glory and fastie of all the tribes: but how, you know not, nor can you with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wilderness, and accordingly, have made the whole way, and will of our Lord, the oldnesse of the letter, both to your selves, and to all that have an care to listen unto you; Thence it is that the day of Lord, is a day of Darknes and Gloomines unto you, but of Joy and gladnes unto us; yea, it lifts up our head onely, and then is our salvation neere; For wee know the worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all feare in the night, handling the sword with success, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feede upon, so that the tyme of your feares is the time of our Courage and Conquest, for when you feare error, schisme, Rents and Confusions in Church and state, then do wee know the Messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom wee seek is speeding his passage into his holy temple: For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his Coming, hee being like a refiners fire, and Fullers sope?

In that you invite us unto your Courts to fetch your equall balanced justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that, both in what they have, and what they are, and wee know them to bee such, as profess the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now, if wee have our opponant, to prefer his action against us, and not only so, but to bee our Counsell, our Jurie, and our Judg, for so it must bee, if you bee one with them (as you affirm) wee know before hand, how our Cause will bee ended, and see the scale of your equall Justice turned alreadie, before wee have layd our Cause therein, and cannot but admire, to see you carried so contrarie to your owne received principles: For you know not how to finde Christ as a Ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therefore he is not Complete amongst you by your owne law, except in severall persons, and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to finde both a king and a priest in him, and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us you know how to become one with our adversaries (so) as  
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[Errata: l. 11,  
read. day of  
the Lord.]

if wee deale with them, wee deale with you, and if wee have to doe with you, wee have to doe with them also, yea further, wee know, that the chiefe amongst you, have professed wee are not worthy to live; and that if some of us were amongst you, wee should hardly see the place of our abode any more; Now that they have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they must much more bring it up, in taking away all means of life, Witness our prohibition, that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not thinke your selves safe, in all your owne, self provision and worldly furniture, except you disarmed a company of poor Indians, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made Naked, as hee doth all those which triumph in a Calf, though the most costly and beautifull, that the Jewells and care-rings of Learning, either in Language, or art, can possibly bring forth: your owne amazements upon meer Rumors, may testifie the truth hereof; so then; wee are Judged by your law before our Cause bee hard, or our selves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing unto us, to have our Condition conformed unto *Moses* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaohs* account, before he was brought forth, and so it was with Christ our lord, in the dayes of *Herod* also, who is our life ( at which you strike ) and makes all things, yea, Death it self, lively, and advantagious unto us.

Wee cannot but wonder, that you should read the Scripture, and not finde them fulfilled, in, and amongst your selves, when as they appeare so apparantly, that he that runs may read them: what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of prison, and released him of those bonds, and brought him from that thralldom, which he had so Cruelly imposed upon him, to gaine the favour of the Jewes, and that by a power supereminent, transcending the bounds of his authoritie, and by a wisdom surpassing the Depth of his Counsell, and policie, to fynd out, together with his souldiers and Champions, he presently goes downe to *Cesarea*, and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus & Sidon*, (*thumomachou*) a heavie Friend, or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind, manifested in an outreaching, and circumventing policie, to subdue them unto himself, that he might Rule over them: Finding himself fall short of power and policie, to subject the word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfy his owne lusts, in his lordship over it, he pursues with all egarneffe to make himself a god, by Raigning over the bodies

dies and estates of men; yea, though they be but such, as *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, can afford unto him, to make subjects of, and when they come unto him with one accord to make offer of themselves, in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he fitting upon the Judgment seate, in his Royall apparell, making his oration, of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and Counsell, to minister Justice and righteoufness unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord) the people with a shout crying out, the voice of god and not of man, the truth and substance of which Cry is, this is the ordinance of god and not of man, immediately the angel of the Lord smites him, and hee that ever acknowledged himself, to bee a worme, and no man upon the earth, Consumes and eates up all his pomp and glory, even as those, whom you account the Shame and Contempt of the people, shall (thorow that angell of the Covenant) waste and bring to nought all those Rhetoricall, (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you, by your so Learned, studious, and experienced Clarkes: take for illustration of your estate as above, the speech of your alderman *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Hutchinson* to prison; one of your Church-members wondering that brother *Winthrop* would do it before the Church had dealt with him, Brother, faith hee, why; hee is thy god man.

Lend your eye yet farther, to parallell your practise personated in *Pylate* and the people, when *Pylate* offereth *Jesus* unto the people to be judged, they profess, they have such a law, as puts no man to Death: they are all for mercy and forgiveness, when they are out of the Judgment hall, but let *Pylate* enter in thither; and then, nothing but Crucifie him, Crucifie him; be their accusations, and witnesses, never so false: even so, in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercie, to Redress, reform, and for preservation, both of soule and bodie; Do but enter into the Common hall, and then, as *Pylate* asked (am I a Jew?) so do you, Doe I fit, or speake here, as a brother? I tro not, I am now in a higher sphere, then that (though they be acknowledged coheirs with Christ) can ataine unto, therefore if witness be brought in, and Oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute payd unto it, so far as mens Names, to bee branded with infamie, estates, depriving women and children of things neccessarie, and precious lives of men  
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can extend themselves, to contribute any thing thereunto; so that the professed mercie, and Clemencie of your law, to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recoverie, comes unto this issue, as much as in you lies, to send both soule and body downe unto hell for ever without redresse, and all hope of recovery.

But your houre, and the power of Darknesse, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration because of advantage; or else, to seek all occasions against them, to brand them with all manner of reproch, and ignominie, but for the truth, taught daily in the Temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand, or exercise your ministry against it, lest it become leprous, and you take it back again with losse, when it appears dried and withered.

And wherefore reason yee amongst your selves, saying, wee exercise the power of your ministrations against none but such as are Delinquents, whereby we clear the innocent, and establish peace in all our borders?

Wee demand, what think you of those two witnesses, prophesying in Sackcloth, a thousand two hundred and threescore Dayes: those two olive trees, and two candlestickes, standing before the God of the earth? are these guiltie and vile persons, out of whose hands (by the power of your ministries) you are delivering and releasing the world? then indeed are your wayes justifiable: But if these be the Just, Chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea such, as without which, his truth and Righteousnesse are not justified, his wisdom, and holinesse maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ, then are your wayes wicked, and to be abhorred; for in your professed Course, you are they, by whom these are slain, and put to Death, and all your glory is to keepe their Corpes unburied in your streets, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witnesses are, whom you are altogether ignorant of, for your Libraries never saw them, and you see not but by their eyes, for these are two, and never more, nor yet lesse, yea ever the same, they are olive trees, else no witnesses, and also Candlesticks, else both the former faile, yea, are not at all. Wee must tell you what these are, else wee cannot declare how you kill them, for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oyntment, nor the house of our armour, because you take all as

execrable, and put all to a profane use that commeth from us; but these two witnessess are the life and death of our Lord Jesus; or, in the true language of heaven also, the strength and the weaknesse of Christ, for hee was crucified through weaknesse, but hee liveth by the power of God: this is the word of the Lord in *Zerubbabel*, Not by an army, nor by power, and so deprives him of all strength, but by aspirit, that the greatest mountaine, or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plaine, which with facility and ease hee passeth upon; thence it is that hee doth not onely lay the top or the head stone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and then onely is the voice of shouting heard, Grace, grace in the house for ever; and then doth the day of small things become the day of joy and triumph, yea, of parting the rich spoiles and prey of all the world, for then hee that doth but turn and lift up his eyes he cannot looke besides that great flying book of the Curse that is gone forth over the whole earth.

Without these two witnessess jointly uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to be divulged by any, no evidence nor testimony of God is given, or brought in at all, but a meere refuge of lies for the foules of men to betake themselves unto; without these two pipes of the olive trees emptying themselves into the bowle of the candlesticks, no unctiō nor oyle at all is found in them, and that being wanting, the light of the Sanctuary is gone out; so that the light appearing amongst you is onely the light of *Balaam*, whose eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum* or *Sethum*, for that opening is nothing else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing you see not, but communicate onely in the light of that beast, who puts the witnessess to death, as *Balaam* did in the fight of that dumbe beast of his whose eyes were opened to see the angel before him; so that while you thinke it is our wisdom to stoop unto you for light, wee never come amongst you but see our selves in a regiment of grosse and palpable darknesse, and discern you very plainly, how you scrabble upon the wall to finde the doore of *Lots* house, and cannot. As also how you toil yourselves to climbe up into the sheep-fold, another, yea, so many other ways, and have no fight nor discerning of us the Door, at all, by the which whosoever entereth, becomes a true feeder of the flock of God; yea, none entereth in thereat, but the true Shepheard himself.

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Most impious it is to put to death two such Noble witnesses, that have power to shut heaven that it raine not in the dayes of their prophesying; to turne the waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wise, the life or power of the sonne of God, as above, which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or containment, for the heaven of heavens cannot containe him, yet have you not dared to graspe and inviron that power in the heavens, and therefore have resolved and concluded that hee onely rules upon the earth in these dayes by his Deputies, Lieutenants, and Vicegerents, whereby you limit, and so destroy the holy One of Israel; for give him that in one time, or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere you deny him, and you make a nullity of him unto your selves, and in so doing, you kill that other witness, namely, the death or weaknesse of the Lord Jesus: for you must have man to bee honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule among you; yea and these things are of man, and by man, as appeares, in that they onely officiate so, as man may disannull and take it away againe; witness your change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus have you slain also the death or the weaknesse of Christ, who professeth himselfe to bee a worm and no man, the shame and contempt of the people; and these faithfull and true witnesses thus slain, you must of necessity deny buriall, and keep them both in open view in your streets, or otherwise all your pompe and glory falls to the dust whence it came, and on which it feeds. Nor can you send your presents one to another of your acts of Justice, power to protect, wealth, honour, and friends wherewith you gratifie each other; and where these are thus slain, and their corps lie in open view, none of the gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds suffering their carcases to bee put in graves, there is that great City which spiritually is *Sodom* and *Egypt*, where our Lord is crucified; but after three dayes and an half, the spirit of life from God shall enter into them, and they shall stand up upon their feet to the terrour of you all: Nor doe you thinke that wee onely inveigh against the great ones of this world for thus doing, for wee know that the basest peasant hath the same spirit with the greatest Princes of this world, and the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spirit wherewith the basest peasant hath laid himselfe open in the view of all men: these

wee say, are the two witnesse if you can receive it, and what a dishonour is it to trade so much by meanes of witnesse, and yet not know what a true witnesse is? which if you did, you durst not attempt the things you doe, whereby you cast reproach upon all the world, in that you professe your selves a choice people pickt out of it, and yet goe on, in such practices as you doe, maintaining them as your onely glory. Our Lord gives you in charge not to sweare at all, but it is your dignity to bring men to your seates of Justice with nothing but oathes in their mouthes, why doe you not balance the scriptures in this point? *viz.*

It hath bene said of old, Thou shalt not committ adultery, but I say unto you, hee that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart already : so also it hath bene sayd of old, Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but I say unto you, sweare not at all: so that if it be adulterie, to looke to lust, it is also forswearing a mans self, to sweare at all; if the one be adultery, the other is perjury, if one be admitted in some cases, the other also, so that in preaching the toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea the duty of adulterie it self; So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all mens consciences, not onely the guilt but the folly and madnesse of the oath of man, shewing how farre it is, either from investing into place, or demonstrating Causes, so that hee that concludeth upon honour, and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge and bouldnes, to judge in a cause, from that testimony without the which he could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee should herupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of heaven, which is no lesse stable then the throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firme as his foot-stoole for ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Jerusalem*, that choice and peculiar City of the great King, whose institutions no mortall breath can intrench upon, or to professe his authority and skill to be such, whereby he can make a haire of his head blacke or white, cause his age to wax old as doth a garment, or renew it with the Eagle at his pleasure, hereby doth man (in this point of swearing) professe his folly to bee such, that hee is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but unto that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himselfe into the prerogative royall of his Maker.

So that however you boast of the Ordinances of God, yet he tels  
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you there is no more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, in them, for what is once nay, is ever nay in the Ordination of Christ, and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account how ever man reckoneth, whose account shall be called over againe, what is once curse, is ever the curse, and what is once the principality and power of Christ, is ever the principality and power of Christ, as that which is once the principality and power of Darknesse, is ever the same, what hands foever it cometh into for manifestation: measure your kingdome whether it bee eternall, and your Jurisdiction whether it bee illimited, for he hath given (him) the heathen for his inheritance, the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, and a kingdome of lesse extent hee professeth not, nor can hee approve or acknowledge any that doe, no more then light can approve of darknesse, or the Lord *Jehovah* of the Lord *Baal*.

Bee wise therefore, and bethinke your selves while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, as though you would make your selves *Meriba*, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord, rather kisse the sonne (if it bee possible) lest his wrath bee kindled and you perish from the way for ever, O blessed onelythey, that hope in him.

So that hee which professeth on this wise, it is yea, I am a pastour, but it was nay, at such a time I was none, hee renounceth that spirit of the true pastour, yet onely feeder of Israel, professing onely that spirit that pusheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God should drinke. Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceth that spirit of him that rules in righteousnesse, professing the spirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the Aire, who is now working so effectually in the children of disobedience. So also hee with whom it is yea, I am a Captaine, or chiefe slaughter-man, but it was nay, time was I was none at all, renounceth that victorie and slaughter made by the Captaine and High-priest of our profession, (who as hee is a Lambe slaine from the beginning, his victory and slaughter must bee of the same antiquity, ) professing himielfe to bee a chiefe slaughter-man, or superfluous Giant, made in that hoast of the Philistims, standing in readinesse to come out, to desie the hoast of the living God: yea, it is evident, that whatsoever is more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, not settlinge each upon its Base, whereon it standeth

deth for ever without controule, but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers at their pleasure, is of that evill, or not of Jesus, the salvation of his people, but of *Shedim* that wafter and destroyer of mankinde for ever: know therefore that it is the oath of God which confirms and makes good his Covenant and promise unto a thousand generations: and it is the oath of man, which is the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with death and hell for ever; bee yee assured it is not the tabernacle of witnes which you have amongst you, brought in by Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, but it is *Siccuth* your King, or the tabernacle of *Molock*, the starre of your God *Remphan*, figures which you have made unto your selves, which you have taken up, and are bearing so stoutly upon your shoulders. Now to tell you what an oath according to God is, that the scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or termes of certainty, where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discern or judge of it, therefore according to our word above, wee leave it as a parable unto you, as all the holy word of our God is, as your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declareth.

In a word, when wee have to doe in your jurisdiction, we know what it is to submit to the wise dispensations of our God, when you have to doe amongst us, in the liberties hee hath given unto us, wee doubt not, but you shall finde him judge amongst us, beyond and above any cause or thing you can propose unto us; And let that suffice you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a jurisdiction, but you must reject all inroades upon other mens priviledges, and so doe wee.

In the meane time, wee shall (as wee thinke good) bee calling over againe some matters that you have taken up and had the handling of them amongst you, to see what justice or equity wee finde hath bene exercised in them, and redresse them accordingly: for wee profess right unto all men, and not to doe any violence at all, as you in your prescript threaten to doe to us, for wee have learned how to discipline our children, or servants, without offering violence unto them, even so doe wee know how to deal with our debaist, rude, nay inhumane Neighbours, ( or if you will, Nabals ) without doing violence, but rather rendring unto them that which is their due.

Nor shall wee deprive a witnesse of his modest testimony for the outcries,

out-cries, and clamours of such a one as ill bred apostatized *Arnauld* that felonious Hog-killer, being the partie to be testified against, or for the oath of any interested in the cause, nor shall wee bee forward to come so farre, to finde your worke upon your request, till wee know you to beare another minde, then others of your Neighbours doe, with whom wee have had to doe in this country, whose pretended and devised Lawes wee have stooped under, to the robbing and spoiling of our goods, the livelyhood of our wives and children, thinking they had laboured, (though groping in great darknesse) to bring forth the truth, in the rights and equity of things, but finding them to be a company of grosse dissembling hypocrites, that under the pretence of Law and Religion, have done nothing else, but gone about to establish themselves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious lusts, wee renounce their Diabolicall practice, being such as have denyed in their publique Courts, that the lawes of our Native Country should be named amongst them, yea those ancient statute lawes, casting us into most base nastie and insufferable places of imprisonment for speaking according to the language of them, in the meane while, breaking open our houses in a violent way of hostilitie (abusing our wives and our little ones) to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved, thinking thereby to keepe us ignorant of the courses they are resolved to run, that so the viciousity of their owne wills might be a law unto them, yea they have endeavoured, and that in publique expressions, that a man being accused by them, should not have liberty to answer for himselfe in open Court. Dealings of like nature wee finde in the place whereof you stile us your neighbours, (on whose unbridled malice, wee finde a higher then you putting a curbe) and yet in your account and reckoning wee are the parties that still are doing the wrong, and must beare the guilt in your most mature sentence, in whomsoever the spot ariseth and abideth. But the God of vengeance (unto whom our cause is referred, never having our protector and Judge to seeke) will shew himselfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all, yea all the house of that *Ishboeth* and *Mephioeth*, nor will he faile us to utter and make knowne his strength (wherein wee stand) to serve in our age, and to minister in our Course, to day and to morrow, and on the third day, can none deprive us of perfection, for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following

following also, when a perishing estate cannot arise out of *Jerusalem*, though she be the onely one, (yea, none but she) that kills the Prophets and stones them that are sent unto her.

Behold yee that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the coming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine yeares, which some (you say) shall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, You blinde guides, as your fathers have ever done, so doe yee. Behold wee say, when ever hee appeareth, your house (which yee so glory in) shall bee left unto you defolate, it shall be turned into nothing but defolation and confusion, for *Babel* is its name; Nor shall you see him to your comfort in the glory of his kingdome, untill you can say, Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, when the authority and power of man appears to bee the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God onely, to bee that, wherein the blessing confists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach, in the eyes of all the world, that a King should ride into his chiefe City, so strangely furnished, upon an Ass borrowed, her furniture old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicated persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you, make full account they are not onely accursed by, but also destitute and void of all law, when you can finde *Hofanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt and shame, then, and then onely shall you sing unto him with comfort. In the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay your selves on the name of man, and in his beautie to delight and glory, which shall fade as a leafe, and like the grasse shall wither when it is fitting it self for the oven, such is man whose breath is in his nostrills, and the sonne of forrie man, in whom you delight to trust, his power and his policy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and heare in the Country from whence wee are brought. We are not ignorant of those shamefull lies and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominie and reproach; Neither of those straits & difficulties they have cast us upon, in the things which concerne this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto (as their owne confession hath witnessed,) doing  
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it in such a way of painted hypocrisie and false glosse unto the eye of the world, that wee might seeme unto it self-executioners. We RESOLVE therefore to follow our employments, and to carry and behave our selves as formerly wee have done (and no otherwise) for wee have wronged no man, unlesse with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffering of grosse, idle, and idoll droanes to take our labour out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us.

So that if any any shall goe about to disturbe or annoy us henceforth in our employments and liberties, which God hath, or shall put into our hands, that can claime no interest in us but by these courses; what their businesse is, wee know by prooffe sufficient, to bee nothing else but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his shall bee no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty, and dissembling way of hypocrisie, but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, wee will not bee dealt with as before, wee speake in the Name of our God, wee will not; For if any shall disturb us, as above, secret hypocrites shall become open Tyrants, and their lawes appeare to bee nothing else but meer lusts in the eyes of all the world.

And wherefore doe you murmure among your selves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expreffion? it is because you are ignorant of the croffe of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is: Therefore it is, that while you inveigh against such as set up a Statue of wood and stone, to bow downe unto it, and are so vaine, as to croffe the aire, (to use your owne expreffion) upon the face of infants, when they sprinkle them with water to as great purpose: And in the meane time you preach and set up *Seghnirim* for your croffe, whom you fall downe unto so willingly, and lest you let the word passe without exposition of it unto all, it signifies, Horrour and feare, which is the croffe you hold and teach, and by and thorow which you thinke to bee saved, which is a name given by our Lord unto the Devill himself, as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives name, as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named; so that if hee speake, I have said yee are gods, of any besides himselfe, it is to declare, that there is not onely the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore hee saith, they shall die, even as *Adam*, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even

as one of those princes of *Midian*, whose carkasses became dung for the earth; and hee that gives that title unto any but the true God (that made heaven and earth) in any other sense but as it declares a flat opposition against God, is re-acting that ancient spirit of the serpent, if yee eate, you shall bee as gods, to judge of good and evill, for which all men are set up in that kinde; even so, while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction, and anxiety, and trouble of minde, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ, out of which condition their comfort is to flow, is nothing else but to conclude the sonne of God to be Belial, yea, to affirme him to bee *Seghnirim* himself; this doth hee receive at your hands in your ministries, for all your fawning upon him with a kisse, so that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this parable, verily, as farre as the weaknes of God is stronger then man.

Country-men, for wee cannot but call you so, though wee finde your carriage towards us to bee so farre worfe then these Indians, wee advise you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put asunder: So that if you bee ashamed of the croffe in Baptisme, bee ashamed of the Baptisme also, for such as the croffe is, such is the Baptisme, therefore your ancestors goe beyond you in that, to joyne crossing of the aire, and sprinkling with the element of water together, but where ever Baptisme according to the word of Christ is, there is the croffe of Christ also, they can no more bee separated, then his scepter and kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also, and as they are coincident, so are they co-apparant; So that if ever you see the baptism of Christ truly in use, and exercised upon any, you do as truly see that party partaking and communicating with the croffe and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such estate, and to conclude that afterwards they may bee worthy of censure, yea possibly unto an *anathema maranatha*, is nothing else but to conclude a totall and finall falling away from the grace of God, as your fathers have done before you; for no grace greater then the croffe of our Lord Jesus.

Behold therefore you despisers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, how prejudiciall they are to the croffe of Christ: bee ashamed and return in time, or hee shall bee a swift witnesse against you for ever, when your repentance shall come too late:



late; but you thinke the crosse of Christ is not, but onely in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing and crouching unto the lust of every man, otherwise his *Shebett* is not fit, nor suiteth it at all with your Regiment, unlesse so servile, that every man may serve his owne lusts of him, to get wealth and honour, friends and allies, by setting bounds and limits unto the holy Word of God; some in the way of one device, and some according to another, and he that will not either walk as a dumbe beast, (worfe then *Balaams Affe*) and say nothing, or else give a sence of the holy writings to maintaine the deviled platforme, if mercy must bee used, not to hang and burn, yet banishment is ready waiting upon them; therefore shall you know by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, that hee will bee Ruler, even in the midst of his enemies.

*Per* us whom you stile your neighbours of *Providence*, you have said it, *Providence* is our Hold, the neighbourhood of the *Samaritan* wee profess. And for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either unction, or bowells of compassion, all those flaine and wounded in foule amongst you, finding no remedy, doe plainly testify unto all men the nature of your travailes and neighbourhood what it is, that neither the oyle of those two olive trees, nor the fatnesse of that vine, which maketh glad God and man, is convertant amongst you; your speech to us in generall, not using our names, whereas wee know, it is particulars you aime at, gives us plainly to see, the word *Elem* revived and living in you, as it stands with its coherence in *Pfalme 58*.

John Wickes  
 Randall Howldon  
 Robert Potter  
 Samuel Gorton  
 John Greene  
 Francis Weston  
 Richard Carder  
 Richard Waterman  
 Nicholas Power  
 John Warner  
 William Waddell

1733 27 23 15 17 18  
 1738  
 24 8 17 30  
 7 13 8

*From our Neck: Curo, September 15. 1643.*

**T**O the great and honoured Idol Generall, now fet up in the *Maffachusets*, whose pretended equity in distribution of Justice unto the foules and bodies of men, is nothing elfe but a meer device of man, according to the ancient customes & fleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of Light, to subject and make flaves of that species or kinde that God hath honoured with his owne Image, read *Dan. 3.* Chap. wherein (if it be not like *Lots* love unto the *Sodomites*) you may see, the visage or countenance of the State, for wee know the found of all the musick, from the highest note of wind-instruments, founding, or fet up by the breath or voices of men, (to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth but they, to doe right unto the sonnes of men) unto the lowest tones of the stringed instruments, subjecting themselves to hand or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God had made man to bee a vassall to his owne species or kinde, for hee may as well bee a slave to his belly, and make it his God, as to any thing that man can bring forth, yea, even in his best perfection, who can lay claime to no title or terme of honour but what the dust, rottenesse, and putrefaction can afford, for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Woe therefore unto the world, because of the Idols thereof; for Idols must needs be fet up, but woe unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of the abovesaid principles, which is the kindome of darknesse and of the devill; you have writ another Note unto us, to adde to your former pride and folly, telling us againe, you have taken *Pumham*, with others into your Jurisdiction and Government, and that upon good grounds (as you say:) you might have done well to have proved your selfe Christians, before you had mingled your selves with the heathen, that so your children might have knowne how to put a distinction betwixt yours and them in after times, but wee perceive that to bee too hard a worke for your selves to performe, even in time present. But if you will communicate Justice and Government with that Indian, wee advise you to keep him amongst your selves, where hee, and you may performe that worthy worke: Yet upon a better ground, wee can informe you that hee may not expect former curtesies from us, for now by  
your

your Note, wee are resolved of his breach of Covenant with us, in this his seeking and subjection unto you, which formerly hee hath alwayes denied; let him and you know therefore, that hee is to make other provision for his planting of corne hereafter, than upon *Mshawomet*, for wee will not harbour amongst us any such fawning, lying, and cadaverous person as hee is, after knowledge of him, as now in part you have given unto us, onely hee shall have liberty sufficient to take away his corne, habitation, or any of his implements, so be it hee passe away in peace and quiet, which might in no case bee admitted, if it were so that wee lived by blood, as you doe, either through incision of the nose, division of the eare from the head, stigmatize upon the back, suffocation of the veines, through extremity of cold, by your banishments in the winter, or strangled in the flesh with a halter. But we know our course, professing the kingdome of God and his righteousnesse, renouncing that of darknesse and the devill, wherein you delight to trust, for without the practise of these things, you cannot kisse your hand, blesse the Idol, nor professe your vowes and offerings to bee paid and performed. O yee generation of vipers, who hath fore-warned you, or fore-stalled your mindes with this, but Satan himselve, that the practise of these things is to fly from the wrath to come; Whereas the very exercise and performance of them, is nothing else but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already, in that mankind, so harmonically made in the Image of God, is in the exercises of the kingdome, become the torturer and tormentor, yea the executioner of it selfe, whilst those of you that are of the same stock and stem, worke out, yea, and that curiously, through the law of your mindes, the death and destruction of one another; when as, in the meane time, the same nature or substance, in the way of our Lord Jesus, saves both it selfe and others. You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjust dealings and injuries done unto them, why doe they not make them knowne to us, they never complained to us of any thing done unto this day, but they had satisfaction to the full, according to their owne minde, for oft wee know, in what they expresse unto us, although our wrongs insufferable done by them lie still in the deck, for wee know very well, wee have plenty of causelesse adversaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject, therefore wee suffer much, that in the perfection and heighth of their plots, they may receive the greater

rebuke and shame for their baseness, in the eyes of all the world.

To which end we have not only committed our condition unto writings, but them also into the hands and custody of such friends, from whom they shall not be taken by any, or by all the governments of this Country, as formerly they have beene, that for our wrongs might not appear; therefore never pick a quarrell against us in these things, for we know all your stiles and devices, that being you now want such as old malicious *Arnauld*, one of your low fringed instruments, to exercise his fiddle amongst us, and we are void of your benediction also, sprung out of the same stock to make rents and divisions for you to enter to gaine honour unto your selves in having patients to heale, though they lie never so long under your hands, your chirurgerie must be thought never the worse. Wanting these or such like of the English, to betray the liberties, God hath given us into your hands, now you worke by your coadjutors, these accursed Indians; but you are deceived in us, we are not a Cope fitted for your so eager appetite, no otherwise, then if you take it downe it shall prove unto you a Cope of trembling, either making you vomit out your owne eternall shame, or else to burst in funder with your fellow confessor for aire,

[Errata: l. 17  
& 18, read Cup  
for Cope.]

[Errata: l. 21,  
read as Judas.]

*Judas Iscariot.*

For Mr. *Winthrop* and his Copartner *Parker*, may not thinke to lay our purchased plantation to their Iland so neere adjoining, for they come too late in that point, though *Benedick* hath reported that *Myantonimo*, one of the *Sachims*, of whom we bought it, should lose his head for felling his right thereof to us.

As also a minister affirmed that Mr. *Winthrop* should say to him, that we should either be subjected unto you, or else removed hence, though it should cost *Bloud*. Know therefore, that our lives are set apart already for the case we have in hand, so we will lose nothing but what is put apart aforehand, bethinke your selves therefore what you should gaine by fetching of them, in case it were in your power, for our losse should be nothing at all.

For we are resolved, that according as you put forth your selves towards us, so shall you finde us transformed to answer you. If you put forth your hand to us as country-men, ours are in readiness for you: If you exercise the pen, accordingly doe we become a ready writer; If your sword be drawne, ours is girt upon our thigh; If you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire: for we  
are

are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuite of us, fill, to come your Courts, to receive your parcells of Justice, undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes that you see not our answer formerly given in that point, or else you are most audacious to urge it upon us againe; also you may take notice that wee take it in more disdaine then you could doe, in case we should importune you (yea) the chiefe amongst you, to come up to us, and bee employed according to our pleasure, in such workes as wee thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedome unto us to come downe to you, and returne in safety, wee cannot sufficiently vilifie this your verball and perfunctory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your owne conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst us since our comming into this Country, you have beene the violent agents, and wee the patients. To feare therefore to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the cause vanisheth in us, so must the effect also. And to feare to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant must necessarily implies, wee cannot, knowing that hee which is with us, is stronger then hee which is with you.

Also the earth is the Lords and the fullnesse thereof, and when, and where hee shall call wee will goe, but not at the will and lust of sorry men to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparant you desire to doe, for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kinde, you might well thinke that wee have better employments then to trot to the *Massachusetts* upon the report of a lying Indian, or English either, as your factors and ordinary hacknies doe.

But know this O yee—that so long as wee behave our selves as men, *walking in the name of our God*, where ever wee have occasion to come, if any mortall man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us into question, wee dare to give an answer to him, or them, nor shall wee faile through God, to give testimony even in his conscience of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concerne the rice or succession either of Priest or Peere. In the meantime we sit in safety under the cloudy pillar, while the Nations roare and make a noise about us, and though you may looke upon us with the unopened eye of *Eliahs* servant, thinking us as nothing to those that are against us, yet wherever the cloud rests, wee know the

Lords

Lords returne to the many thousands of Israel.

[Errata: l. 3,  
leave out to.]

In that you say our freedome granted to come to you, takes away all excuse from us, wee freely retort it upon your selves to make excuses, whose Lawes and proceedings with the foules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued art (like the horse in the mill) of accusing and excusing, which you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as all the fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of the world, who are gone to their owne place and have their reward; But for the true nature, rise, and distribution of things as they are indeed and shall remaine and abide as a law firme and stable forever, wee say and can make it good, you know nothing at all, therefore such as can delight themselves in preaching, professing, and executing of such things, as must end as the brute beasts doe, may take them away for present and they have lost their honour, religion, as also their God; let such wee say, know themselves to bee that beast and false prophet, no man of God at all. In the meane time wee looke not on the things that are feene, but on the things that are not feene, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternall. Nor doe wee thinke the better of any man for being invested into places or things that will in time waxe old as doth a garment, neither judge we the worfe of any man for the want of them: for if we should we must condemne the Lord Chrif, as so many doe at this day.

Wee demand when wee may expect some of you to come to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of these foule and inhumane wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your country-men: not to bring in a Catalogue, as we might, take this one particular abuse you are now acting; in that you abet, and backe these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed *Pumham* is an aspiring person, as becomes a Prince of his profession, for having crept into one of our neighbours houses, in the absence of the people, and feloniously rifled the same, hee was taken comming out againe at the Chimney-top: *Soccononoco* also hath entred in like manner into one of our houses with divers of his companions, and breaking open a chest, did steale out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still to see to what good issue you will bring your proceedings with these persons, by whom you are so honourably attended in the Court generall, as you call it, and would honour

nour us also, to come three or fourescore miles to stand by you and them ; we could tell you also that it is nothing with these fellows to fend our cattle out of the woods with arrowes in their sides, as at this present it appears in one even now so come home, and it is well they come home at all, for sometimes their wigwams can receive them, and wee have nothing of them at all; yea they can domineere over our wives and children in our houses, when wee are abroad about our necessary occasions, sometimes throwing stones, to the endangering of their lives, and sometimes violently taking our goods, making us to runne for it if wee will have it, and if wee speake to them to amend their manners, they can presently vaunt it out, that the *Massachusetts* is all one with them, let the Villanie they doe bee what it will , they thinke themselves secure, for they looke to bee upheld by you in whatever they doe, if you bee stronger then them which they have to deale withall, and they looke with the same eye your selves doe, thinking the multitude will beare downe all, and perswade themselves (as well as they may) that you tolerate and maintaine them in other of their daily practices, as lying, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, grosse whoredomes, and fornications, so you will doe also, in their stealing, abusing of our Children, and the like, for you have your diligent ledgers amongst them that inculcate daily upon this, how hatefull wee are unto you, calling us by other names of their owne devising, bearing them in hand, wee are not English men, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us, and that if wee have any thing to doe with you, the very naming our persons shall cast our case bee it what it will, as it is too evident by the case depending betweene *William Arnauld* and *John Warner*, that no sooner was the name of Mr. *Gorton* mentioned amongst you, but Mr. *Dudley* disdainefully asking, is this one, joyned to *Gorton*, and Mr. *Winthrop* unjustly upon the same speech, refused the oath of the witnesse calling him knight of the post : are these the wayes and persons you trade by towards us? are these the people you honour your selves withall? the Lord shall lay such honour in the dust, and bow downe your backs with shame and sorrow to the grave, and declare such to bee Apostatifers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God onely to please men, and serve their owne lusts, that can give thanks in their publique Congregations for their unity with such grosse abominations as these. Wee must needs aske you another question from

a Sermon now preached amongst you, namely how that blood relieth you have sucked formerly from us, by casting us upon straits above our strength, that, have not beene exercised in such kinde of labours, no more then the best of you in former times in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of some of us, when you are about your dished up dainties, having turned the juice of a poore silly Grape that perisheth in the use of it, into the blood of our Lord Jesus by the cunning skill of your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke so many in the world, and yet a little fleepe makes them their owne men againe, so can it heale and pacifie the consciences at present, but the least hand of God returns the feares and terrour againe, let our blood wee say present it selfe together herewith, you hypocrites when will you answer such cases as these, and wee doe hereby promise unto you, that wee will never looke man in the face if you have not a fairer hearing then ever wee had amongst you, or can ever expect; And bee it knowne to you all, that weare your owne Country-men, whatever you report of us, though the Lord hath taught us a language you never spoake, neither can you heare it, and that is the cause of your alienation from us; for as you have mouthes and speake not, so have you eares & heare not; so we leave you to the judgement and arraignment of God Almighty. *The joynt act, not of the Court Generall, but of the peculiar fellowship, now abiding upon Mshawomet*  
*Randall Holden.*

*This they owned in Court though onely Holdens hand were to it.*

*Postscriptum.*

**W**EE need not put a seale unto this our warrant, no more then you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands, in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of blood, and horrible Maffacre, now made at the Dutch plantation, of our loving Country-men, women, and children, which is nothing else, but the compleate figure in a short epitomie of what wee have writ, fumm'd up in one entire act, and left you should make it part of your justification, as you do all such like acts, provided they bee not upon your owne backs, concluding them to be greater finners then your selves, wee tell you (nay) but except you repent, you shall likewise perish.

For



For wee aske you who was the cause of Mistrresse *Hutchinson* her departure from amongst you, was it voluntarie? No, shee changed her phrasas according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so shee might give you content to abide amongst you, yet did you expell her and cast her away; no lesse are you the originall of her removall from *Aquethneck*, for when shee saw her children could not come downe amongst you, no not to conferre with you in your own way of brotherhood; but be clapt up, and detained by so long imprisonment, rumors also being noised, that the Island should bee brought under your Government, which if it should, shee was fearefull of their lives, or else to act against the plaine verdict of their owne conscience, having had so great and apparant proofe of your dealings before, as also the Island being at such divisions within it selfe, some earnestly desiring it should bee delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you, others denyed it, professing their dissent and division from you, though for what themselves know not, but onely their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings having their originall in you, shee gathered unto her selfe and tooke up this fiction, (with the rest of her friends) that the Dutch plantation was the Citie of refuge, as shee had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some certaine glimpses or glances of light, more then appeared elfewhere whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might bee some hope to exalt the instruments thereof, higher then could bee expected from others, but you know very well you could never rest nor bee at quiet, till you had put it under a Bushell, *id est*, bounded and measured the infinite and immense word of God, according to your owne shallow, humane, and carnall capacities, which, howsoever may get the highest seats in your Synagogues, Synods, and Jewish Synedrions, yet shall it never enter into the kingdome of God to be a doore-keeper there. Do not therefore beguile your selves in crying out against the errours of those so miserably false, for they are no other things which they held but branches of the same roote your selves so stoutly stand upon, but know this that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part, and every tree that brings not forth fruit according to the law of that good things, which the father knowes, how to give to those that aske it, shall bee cut

downe, and cast it into the fire : Neither doe you fill up your speeches or tales , ( wee meane your Sermons ) but that wee affect not the Idolizing of words , no more then of persons or places. For your selves know the word is no more but a bruit or talke, as you know also your great and terrible word Magistrate, is no more in its originall, then Masterly, or Masterleffe, which hath no great lustre in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore wee looke to finde and enjoy the substance , and let the ceremony of these things , like vapours vanish away , though they gather themselves into clouds, without any water at all in them, the Lord is in the mean time a dew unto *Israel*, and makes him to grow like a lillie, casting out his roots and branches as *Lebanon*.

We say, fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying, that shee went out without ordinances , for God can raise up out of that stone, which you have already rejected, as children, so also ministers and ordinances unto *Abraham*: You may remember also, that every people and poore plantation, formerly fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your Levites , nor fetch in , one such Dove as you send abroad into our native Country, to carry and bring you news.

Nor can you charge them in that point, for it was for protection or government shee went; And however, hire, in other respects, yet the price of a wife, and safetie of his owne life adjoynd, carryed a Minister along with them of the same rife and breeding together with your owne, to adde unto the blood so savagely and causelessly spilt, with a company of such as you take pleasure to protect, for they are all of one spirit , if they have not hands in the same act; we say their death is causelesse, for wee have heard them affirm that shee would never heave up a hand , no nor move a tongue against any that persecuted or troubled them, but onely endeavour to save themselves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of perfection, neither of that antichristian opposition and tyrannie, the issue whereof declares it self in this so                      and lamentable.

Note, good Reader, that I had order to publish these two Letters of his, as well *litteratim* as *verbatim*, but because their Orthography was so bad, as it would scarce have been understood, I left it to bee corrected by the Printer, but no word to be changed: And the reason of the word here left out, is, because it was worne  
and

out, and so foyled in the originall as wee could not read it, and thought good rather to leave it a blanck, then to put in a word of our own that was not theirs.

In the next place, I present thee here with certaine Observations collected out of both their Letters, by a godly and reverend Divine, whereby the Reader may the better understand them, and indeed try the spirits of these men, whether they be of God or no. Now these his Observations are ranked into three Heads: *Viz.*

First, their reproachfull and reviling speeches of the Government and Magistrates of the *Maffachusetts*, which in *Gortons* Booke hee pretends so much to honour, because their Government is derived from the State of *England*; and therefore I desire thee to take the better notice of it.


The second Head of his Observations directs thee to their reviling language, not onely against that particular Government, and the Magistrates of it, but against Magistracy it selfe, and all Civill power.

And in his third Head, thou art directed to take notice of their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God. All which because they are of great concernment, I beseech the Reader to take a little paines to compare them with Mr. *Gortons* and his Companies Letters.



## Certaine Observations collected out of both their *LETTERS*.

### I. *Their reproachfull and reviling Speeches of the Government and Magistrates of the Massachusetts.*

- Pag. 9. 1.  Hey say our Magistrates did lay their Wisdome profrate, in sending Letters to them, which they scornfully call an irregular Note.
- 2 That they bare them causelesse enmity, the prooffe whereof every occasion brings forth.
- 3 They slyly call them the seed of the ancient mother; *i.* of the enmity of the Devill.
- 4 That they know it is the name of Christ call'd upon them, against which our Magistrates doe strive.
- 5 That they goe about to hide their sin, as *Adam*, bearing the world in hand, that they desire not to contend, but to redresse something in point of Civill peace.
- 6 That they stand on tip-toe to stretch themselves beyond their bounds, to seek occasion against them.
- 7 That those who accuse them, are accusers of the Brethren, Satan being a lyer, and the father of it; which thing our Magistrates cannot know though they be told of it.
- Pag. 10. 8 That this act of theirs to treat about their land, is a mappe of their spirituall estate.
- 9 That they delight daily to eate of the forbidden fruit (which they call mans wisdome) out of which our Churches and Common-wealth is formed ) to gaine conformity with their maker.
- 10 They scorn at their purity and godlinesse, telling them that *Cole* and *Arnold* their dissembling subjects, are full of the spirit of their purity.
- 11 They doe not say plainly that our Magistrates are dogs, but compare them to dogs in refusing their vomit into its former  
con-

concoction, by receiving *Cole* and *Arnold* under our jurisdiction.

12 That the whole ftructure and edifice among us (*i.* the Churches and Common-wealth) is raised up in the spirit of an hireling, and that by submission to the Word of God in fasting, feasting, retirednesse for study, contributing, treasuring (*i.* for Church uses in severall Churches) they doe nothing else but bring forth fruit unto death.

13 That farther then the Lord Jesus agrees with riches, honour and ease, our Magistrates minde him not, nay, renounce, and reject him.

14 That they plainly crucifie Christ, and put him to an open shame, which the Apostle, *Hebr. 6.* applies to the worst of men, who commit the unpardonable sin, and for whom men are not to pray. Pag. 11.

15 That our Magistrates are as farre from yeelding subjection to Christ, as *Cole* and *Arnold* from being honourable and loyall subjects, whom they call the shame of Religion, the disturbance and disquiet of the place, diffembling subjects, *pag. 10.* as also deboist, rude, inhumane *Nabals*, il-bred, apostatified persons, and felonious, *page 23.* with many such like speeches. Pag. 12.

16 That the things of Gods kingdome are infinitely beyond the reach of their spirit, nor can they heare the lively Oracle, and therefore are dumb in telling Justice.

17 That the Magistrates are Jewes according to the flesh, and stout maintainers of the man of Sin.

18 That they know our Magistrates eyes are dazled with envy, and their ears open to lyes. Pag. 13.

19 That they judge them before their cause be heard. Pag. 15.

20 That in inviting them to their Courts for their equal-ballanced Justice (as they scornfully call it) they thereby strike at Christ their life.

21 That our Magistrates are like *Herod*, whom God smote with wormes, for seeking by an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and like *Pontius Pilate*, and the people who out of the Judgement hall are all for mercy, but in it nothing but crucifie him, crucifie him, bee their accusations, and witneses never so false, so (*say they*) in your dealings with men in way of the Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, reforme, for preservation of soule and body, doe but enter into the Pag. 16.  
Com-

Common-hall, then if witneffes bee but brought in, and oath taken though never so untrue, your Consciencs are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid it, so far as to brand mens names with infamy, and deprive women and children of things necessary.

22 That the professed clemency and mercy of their law, is as much as in them lyes, to send both soule and body downe to *Sheol* (i. the grave and hell) forever, without redresse and all hope of recovery.

23 That their houre and power of darknesse is knowne, what it is either to have mens persons in admiration because of advantage, or else to feek all occasions against them, with all manner of reproach and ignominie.

Pag. 17.

24 That their wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred, because in their professed course the two witneffes are flaine by them, and put to death; and that all their glory is to keep their corpse unburied; and these two witneffes are the life and death of the Lord Jesus.

Pag. 18.

25 That the light appearing among them, is nothing but the light of *Balaam*, so that in seeing, they see not, but communicate onely in the light of that Beast who put the witneffes to death.

26 They tell our Magistrates, that they never come amongst them, but they see themselves in a regiment of grosse and palpable darknesse, and discern you to scrabble on the wall for the door of *Lots* house.

Pag. 19.

27 That they know not what a true witnesse is.

Pag. 22, 23.

28 That the whole Word of God is a parable to them, as their conversation in all points daily declare it.

29 That they will not come neare our Magistrates, untill they know they beare another minde from their neighbours, whom they call robbers, grosse diffembling hypocrites, who doe nothing but goe about to establish such wayes as may maintaine their owne vicious lusts, whose laws are pretended and devised, and whose practises (they say) they renounce as diabolicall.

Pag. 24.

30 Yee blind guides (say they to our Magistrates) as your fathers have ever done, so do you.

Pag. 25.

31 You set up *Segnirim* (i. as themselves interpret) feare and horror, or the devill, by, and for the which you hope to be saved.

Pag. 26.

32 That their carriage towards them, is farre worfe then that of the

the *Indians*, whom themselves cry out of to bee thieves and robbers; *pag.32.*

33 That they are despisers; Behold (say they) yee despisers, the vanity and abominations of all your baptismes.

34 Yee think (say they) that the crosse of Christ is nothing but bowing down the back to every burden, and cringing and crouching to the lust of every man.

35 They call the generall Court, the great Idol Generall, whose pretended equity in distributing Justice is a meer device of man according to the sleights of Satan. *Pag. 28.*

36 They tell the Court, that out of the kingdome of darknesse and the devill, they had writ another Note to adde to their former pride and folly.

37 For taking *Pumham* and *Sachanonoco* (*Indian Sachims*) under their protection; they tell the Court they might have done well to have proved themselves Christians before they had mixt themselves with the heathen; but this was too hard for them to doe.

38 They advise the Court (in scorn) to keep the *Indian* with them, where he and they might perform that worthy work of distributing Justice. *Pag. 29.*

39 They tell the Court that they live by blood.

40 They tell the Court, they renounce the kingdom of darknes, and the devill, wherein the Court delights to trust.

41 They call the Court, O ye generation of Vipers.

42 They tell the Court, they are not a cup fit for their appetite, *Pag. 30, 31.* but a cup of trembling either to make them vomit up their owne eternall flame, or else to make them burst afunder with their fellow confessor *Judas Iscariot.*

43 That the Court is either blind or audacious in desiring them to come for their parcells of Justice, and that they disdain to come to them.

44 They professe they cannot sufficiently vilifie the promise of the Court, that they shall come down to them and return in safety; which they call a verball and perfunctory offer.

45 They tell the Court, that if their lusts had not prevailed over them, they might thinke they had better employment then to trot to *Massachusetts* as their factors, and ordinary hackneys doe.

46 They tell the Court that their lawes and proceedings with *Pag. 32.*

the foules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued act of accusing and excusing (like the horse in the mill) which (say they) you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as also your fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of this world, who are gone to their owne place, and have their reward.

Pag. 33. 47 They accuse our Magistrates for maintaining *Indians* in their lying, sabbath-breaking, grosse whoredomes, stealing, &c.

Pag. 34. 48 That they are hypocrites, having eyes and see not, eares and hear not, mouths and speak not.

Now had these men returned a rationall answer, it might have been meet perhaps by a few marginall Notes to have returned some short Reply; but both their Letters being fraught with little else then meer raylings, and reproachfull language, it may be sufficient thus to present them in one view together, that so the wise and prudent may take a taste of their spirits, and learne from what fire it is that their tongues are thus highly inflamed. If our Courts and Magistrates had been in any thing to blame, what a faire and easie way had it been to have first convinced them, before they had thus bitterly reviled them; but thus to cut and shave, and cast all this filth in their faces without proof or reason, argues a bold and insolent spirit fitted to make combustions and confusions in the place where they live. If indeed the Magistrates had given them any fore provocations of returning ill language, there might have been some excuse, but alasse, all the cause that can be given of most of this ill language, is nothing but writing friendly unto them, to send some from themselves to clear up the differences between them and the *Indians*, and to shew their just title to the land they possessed: if they had kept this flood within their owne bankes, or been but moderate in revilings, it might have been winkt at; but to fly out into such extremity on so small provocation against their betters, so as to call them Idolls, blind-guides, despisers, generation of vipers, such as crucifie Christ, men that serve their owne lusts, hypocrites, the seed of the Devill, Necromancers, Judasses, men that live by blood, robbers and thieves, men without mercy, among whom Justice is dumbe, delighting in the kingdome of darknesse and the devill, like *Herod* and *Pilate* in administering Justice, whose eyes are dazled with envie, and eares open to lies, stout maintainers  
of



of the man of Sin, whose wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred; worfe then *Indians*, like dogs, &c. This language ſpeakes loud to what Countrey they belong, and of what race they come.

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I I. *Their reviling Language not onely againſt the Magiſtrates and Government here in particular, but alſo againſt Magistracy it ſelf, and all Civill power.*

**I**F any ſhall ſay for them (as themſelves now for their owne advantage doe) that this ill language is directed onely againſt our particular Government and Magiſtrates, but not againſt all Civill power it ſelf, the contrary may appear (notwithſtanding their dark language, under which ſome times they ſeek to conceale it) in theſe particulars.

“I They expreſſly affirm that the Office to miniſter Juſtice, be- Pag. 16.  
“longs onely to the Lord : and that therefore (from their inſtance  
“of *Herod*) men make themſelves Gods, (which themſelves inter-  
“pret to be onely from the God of this world, and to be in flat op-  
“poſition againſt God, pag. 26.) by ruling over the bodies and e-  
“ſtates of men; and that the people receiving *Herod* to Government,  
“& crying out that this was the ordinance of God, and not of man,  
“that he was immediately ſmitten of God for it: As alſo they tell  
“us, p. 26. that to ſet up men to Judge of good and evil, for which  
“all men are ſet up in that kinde ; that this is re-acting that  
“ancient ſpirit of the Serpent, If yee eate, yee ſhall bee as  
“Gods.

Now this ſtrikes at all Magiſtracy, for if the office of miniſtring juſtice and righteouſneſſe belongs to God onely, then not unto any man, for that is to make Gods of men; and if to judge betweene good and evil be to act over againe the ancient ſpirit of the Serpent, then 'tis not onely unlawfull, but diabolicall, to make Judges of what is right and wrong, good or evil by any man.

If it bee objected, is it poſſible that any men ſhould bee ſo groſſly blind and wicked, as to abolith all miniſtration of Juſtice and righteouſneſſe?

*Anſw. 1.* Theſe men ſeeme to acknowledge ſome way of miniſtring Juſtice, but the myſterie lies in that word *Office*, they would

have no man set up in the Office of Magistracy, distinguished from other men, but would have such a power common to the Brethren, so that a man may judge as a brother, but not as an Officer, and therefore they flily justify him, who called one of our chiefe Magistrates in the open face of the Court, *Brother*, and condemne all our Magistrates, because every man doth not fit there to judge as a Brother, *pag. 16.* and their reason seems to be drawne from this, because that to bee a Brother, and consequently a coheire with “Christ, is a higher sphere then to bee a Civill Officer, as their owne words intimate, *pag. 16.* Now the rule is evident *à quatenus ad omne*, that if ministration of Justice and judgement belongs to no officer, but to a man as a Brother, then to every Brother, and if to every Brother, whether rich or poore, ignorant or learned, then every Christian in a Common-wealth must bee King, and Judge, and Sheriffe, and Captaine, and Parliament man, and Ruler, and that not onely in *New-England*, but in *Old*, and not onely in *Old*, but in all the Christian world; downe with all Officers from their Rule, and set up every Brother for to Rule, which the godly-wife may easily discern to bee the establishment of all confusion, and the setting up of Anarchy worse then the greatest Tyranny.

2. Although these may beare the world in hand that they allow ministration of Justice and righteoufnesse by men as Brethren, yet some Cakes of these mens dough have been so farre leavened and fowred against all Civill power, as that in our Publike Courts, being demanded how murderers, theeves, and adulterers should bee punished if there should bee no Civill power coercive, they openly and roundly answered before many witnesse, that such persons must be left to the judgment of God, both which not long after God himselfe fate Judge upon, being suddenly and barbarouly flaine by the bloody *Indians* in the *Dutch* plantation.

*Pag. 18, 19.*

“First, they exclaime against us for choosing men that are honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, or else they may not rule among us, and this, they say, is of man, and by man, and putting the second witnesse to death, *viz.* the death or weaknesse of Christ, or in plaine English, ’tis a killing of Christ.

Now however the application is made unto our Civill State, yet it manifestly strikes at all Civill States in the world, who shall choose

choose any Officers for rule and government, and administering of Justice, although they bee never so honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, and consequently most fit for government; and that in so chusing them they doe put Christ himself to death. So that these men still harp on that siring to have every man judge as a Brother, whether honourable or not honourable, whether wise or foolish, whether of good report or evill report, otherwise Christs weaknesse is flaine.

3. "They affirme that they who can create, make void, and remove offices and officers at their pleasure, are of that evill one, (*i.* the devill) and not of Jesus Christ, but of *Shedim* that waster and destroyer of mankind for ever. Their prooffe is from that monstrous interpretation of Yea, yea, and Nay, nay, and they instance not only in Church-officers, but in Common-wealth-officers, whether Rulers or Captaines. Their words are these, *viz.* Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceth the spirit of him that rules in righteousnesse, professing the spirit of him that is Prince of the power of the aire, who is working now so effectually in the children of disobedience; so also hee with whom it is yea, I am captaine, or chief-slaughter-man, but it was nay, time was that I was none at all, renounceth the victory and slaughter made by the Captaine and High-priest of our profession, professing himselfe to bee a superfluous Giant made in the host of the *Philistims*, to defie the host of the living God.

By which speeches 'tis evident that they doe not onely oppose Civill officers chosen amongst us here, but all such as are chosen Rulers, Captaines, and Officers at any time, in any place, and were not so before; and such they say are of the Devill the destroyer of man.

4 "They say men limit, and so destroy the holy one of *Israel*, whose life is infinite, and without circumscription and containment (as they call it) if men acknowledge that Christ rules on earth onely by his Deputies, Litutenants, and Vicegerents, (*i.* by persons invested with Civill authority and office, for so they are called by Orthodox Divines) and therefore they say that his putting Christ to death, when onely wise, and honourable, and learned, and experienced, and men of good report, are chosen to rule, because they would have the Power to rule common to

all Christians, but as for the *office* of rule to bee peculiar to none, “and therefore *Pag. 24.* they tell us that none shall see Christ come “into his kingdome with comfort, untill the authority and power of man appears to be as the building of *Babel*, and the name and “authority of God onely to bee that wherein the blessing confists; meaning that ’tis Babylonish building which God misliked, and confounded, for any man in office to rule and governe, because this is to limit the power and life of Christ (which is in every brother as well as in any officer) and so to kill the life of Christ; so that if any of them say that although they distaste officers, as Kings and others by election, yet not such as are so by hereditary succession, they are but words to sute their owne ends for a time, and to delude others, for if it bee limiting the holy One of Israel, a circumscribing and so destroying the life of Christ which is infinite, for to make him rule by his Deputies and Vicegerents on earth, then not onely Kings and Princes, whether by election or no, but all other civill officers must bee abandoned, because the life and power of Christ is limited in successive as well as in elective Princes, in inferiour as well as in superiour governours, who are Christs Deputies, and Vicegerents, and therefore called *Rom. 13. 4.* the Ministers of God either for good or terrour.

*Pag. 28.*

5. They call our generall Court the Idoll generall, which is nothing else but a device of man by the sleight of Sathan to subject “and make slaves of that species or kinde which God hath honored with his owne Image, and they do not onely speake thus “of our Courts as Idols, but they cry out woe unto the world because of the Idols thereof, for Idols must needs bee set up, but “woe be unto them by whom they are erected, and their reason reacheth to all civill power, (for say they) a man may be as well a “slave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vassall to his owne “species, or kinde, or to any thing that man can bring forth even in “his best perfection.

There are other evidences of their corrupt minde herein from other passages in their letters which they speake under more obscure cloudes and allegories, but these may bee a sufficient witness against them before men and angels, that they abandon all civill authority, although for to serve their owne turnes of others or their owne lusts, they say they do not: the Apostle *Jude* long since, tels us of such persons expressly who despise Dominion and speake evill of

Dignities

Dignities, 1. They doe not only deſpiſe theſe or thoſe particular perſons or ſtates that are inveſted with Dominion; but they deſpiſe Dominion it ſelfe and Dignities themſelves, and would have all that power abandoned, whom he calleth *v:8.* filthy dreamers, deſiling the fleſh, murmurers and complainers walking after their owne luſts, their mouthes ſpeaking great ſwelling words, *v. 16.* And that it may yet more fully appeare that theſe men doe abandon all civill authority, (although this ſecret they will not impart unto all, but rather profeſſe the contrary) there is extant to bee ſhewen if need were, the writings betweene a prudent man in this Country, and one of the chiefe, and moſt underſtanding of this peculiar fellowſhip (as they ſtile themſelves) wherein hee doth ſtoutly maintaine theſe three aſſertions, 1. That there are no Ordinances. 2. That there are no relations neither in the Common-wealth betweene rulers and ſubjects, nor in the Church between officers and brethren, nor in the families betweene husband and wife, maſter and ſervant, father and ſonne. 3. That there are no inherent graces in Chriſtians. By which principles the world may ſee what theſe men goe about, *viz.* as much as in them lies to bring in a diſorder and confuſion in all ſtates and families, and to open the fluce to all violence, injuſtice, and wickedneſſe, by not only abandoning, but reproaching and revilingall civill rule and authority upon earth, which they therefore ſcornefully call a meere device of man, Idols, to be of the Devill, “the deſtroyer of mankinde, and to bee a crucifying of Chriſt in “his life and death, and all this when honourable, wiſe, learned, experienced, well reported perſons are choſen and inveſted with Civill power, whom therefore they would not have maintained, and to whom it is as unlawfull to adminiſter any oath for the ending of civill differences, as to luſt after a woman to commit adultery, *Pag. 20.*

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### III. *Their blaſphemous ſpeeches againſt the holy things of God.*

1. **A**gainſt the Churches, they call them deviſed platformes *Pag. 26.*  
“*Pag. 26.* and that the wiſedome of men is the whole accompliſhment (or that which gives the whole being) of Churches and Common-wealth. *Pag. 10.*
2. “*Againſt*

*Pag. 11.* 2. "Against the calling of Ministers, they say, that to make their "calling mediate and not immediate, is to make a nullity of Christ, "and to crucifie Christ, and to put him to an open flame, and that "such Ministers are Magicians, *Pag. 34.*

Now this reflects upon all the Ordinances and ordinary Officers and Ministers of Christ, that either are or have beene in the Church at any time, for although the offices bee immediately from Christ, yet their call to exercise this office hath beene ever accounted mediate.

*Pag. 36.* 3. "Against the word of God, they call the Sermons of Gods "Ministers *tales*, or *lies* and *falsehoods*, now had they thus spoken upon prooffe against any particular Sermons, or persons, the accused might have spoken for themselves, but indifferently to revile all Sermons as tales or forgeries, the doctrine generally taught here amongst us, being no other then that which *Paul* preached at *Ephesus* for three yeares space and upwards, *viz.* repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus, *Act. 20.* being also no other then what agrees generally with the harmony of confessions of all reformed Churches: to call these tales is a word which the Lord Jesus will certainly remember, unlesse they repent; the Sermons of the Apostles of Christ, as well as the doctrine of all reformed Churches, being reproached hereby.

*Pag. 26.* 4. Against the Sacraments: as for baptisme they doe not onely make the baptizing of Infants as abominable as the crosse, but all our baptismes, "behold (say they) the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, and they doe not meane all those baptismes which are in use amongst us, but in any Churches of the world at this day; for they acknowledge no other baptisme then that which is spirituall, and hence they say, "that when ever you see the baptisme of Christ truly in use according to the word of God, you "doe as truly see that party partaking and communicating with "the crosse and sufferings of Christ, for these are coaparant, now communicating in Christs sufferings in their meaning is onely spirituall, and so is therefore all baptismes. 2. As for the Lords supper scarce a greater heape of blasphemies in fewer words can come from the mouth of man against that blessed Ordinance, wherein Christ is so manifestly and sweetly present, "for they call it your dist up "dainties, turning the juice of a fillie grape that perisheth in the use "of it, into the bloud of the Lord Jesus, by the cunning skill of "your

“your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke ſo many in  
“the world.

5. Againſt repentance and humiliation for ſinne, they ſpeake ſomewhat obſcurely, but they that know them may ſoone underſtand their meaning, which if it be this, that in a way of compuncti-  
on and forrow for ſinne, a Chriſtian is not to ſeeke for conſolation and comfort from Chriſt, and to affirme that this is to make the ſonne of God *Belial* and *Segnirim*, the Devill himſelfe, (as they interpret it) then tis moſt groſſe blaſphemy againſt not onely the preaching, but praſtiſe of repentance and godly forrow, for which the Apoſtle rejoiced to ſee in the Corinthians, *ch. 7 v. 9. 10.* and which *James* and *Peter* command and commend, *James 4. v. 9. 10.* *1 Peter 5. v. 6.* and which way not ſo much *Mofes* in the law but Chriſt in the Goſpell hath ſanctified to finde pardon of ſinne  
*1 John 1. 9.*

6. Againſt Chriſt Jeſus himſelfe: “they condemne our doctrine  
“for affirming that Jeſus Chriſt actually dyed and ſuffered onely in  
“the dayes of *Herod*, and *Pontius Pilate*, when hee hanged on the  
“Croſſe, and that hee was crucified in truth and ſubſtance onely  
“when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: and for this doctrine wee are condemned as Wifards and Necromancers.

Now what is this but to overthrow not onely the being of Chriſt in the fleſh, making him no other then ſuch an one as actually ſuffered from the beginning of the world, and ſhall doe to the end of it, but alſo overthrowing all faith and hope of ſalvation in that Meſſiah who was incarnate in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pilate*, and in his death and ſufferings, and that one perfect offering, then once for all  
*Heb. 10. 14.* The reader may therefore be pleaſed to take notice that being asked in open Court what was that Chriſt who was borne of the Virgin and ſuffered under *Pilate*? one of them answered that hee was a ſemblance, picture, or a ſhadow of what was and is done  
“actually and ſubſtancially in Chriſtians; and hence the meaning of the words may bee gathered *Pag. 11.* which otherwiſe the wife reader may thinke to bee non-ſence. *viz.* “that they are Wifards  
“and Necromancers who raiſe a ſhadow without a ſubſtance (*viz.* “to make Chriſt to bee ſlaine in types ſince the world began) or  
“who raiſe the ſubſtance of him who dwels in light without a ſhadow, (making no more of Chriſt but a ſemblance and ſhadow, as themſelves call it) for further explication of which they affirmed

*Pag. 26.*

*Ex 1. pag.*

They ſay out of the forbidden fruite i. e. mans wiſdom, our Churches and Commonwealth is formed. 2. That the whole edifice amongſt us is raiſed up in the ſpirit of an hireling. 3. That by ſubmiſſion to the word of God in faſting, feaſting, retiredneſſe for ſtudy, contributing, treaſuring, i. e. for Church uſes ſo much in ſeverall Churches, they doe nothing but bring forth fruite unto death.

*Pag. 11.*

in open Court that as the Image of God in *Adam* was Christ, ("for "God they said had but one Image) so the losse of this Image by "man was the death of Christ, and therefore 'tis no wonder if they deny Christ to dye actually onely when crucified under *Pontius Pilate* because man sinned actually (which they make to be Christs death) long before; meane while the reader may take notice with a holy astonishment and horreur of the heavy curse of God in blinding these bold men with such a palpable and grosse spirit of delusion and mad phrenies, who will make mans sinne and fall, which is the cause of perdition of men, to be the cause of the Salvation of man, for so Christs death is which they blasphemously make mans sinne to bee.

For further proofe that they make little use of Christ and his death, then as hath been said, their owne interpretation of the slaying of the two witnesses, *Pag. 17. 18.* seemeth to confirme, for they make these two witnesses the life and the death of Christ in men, the life of Christ they call his strength, and the death of Christ they call his weaknesse, *viz.* as it is, and appears in weake, foolish, ignorant, unexperienced, and ill-reported of men, and therefore they blameus for killing of Christs death (for it seemes it is such a death as may bee killed) in that wee chuse honourable, wise, learned men, and of good report to place of rule, excluding others.

Now some of these blasphemies might have bene the better borne if they had let Christ and his death alone, and his word alone, but to call the holy word and Sermons of Salvation *tales*, the Sacrament an abomination, madding and making drunke the world, to call the Ministers of Christ who dispense Word and Sacraments, Necromancers and Magicians, and they who hold and beleive him to bee the Messiah and Christ who suffered under *Pilate*, Wifards, and all this in coole blood, in the open face of the Court, obstinately refusing to alter a title of what they had writ, let the world judge if ever Antichrist that beast spoken of *Rev. 13. 5, 6.* did ever speake greater blasphemies against God, his name, and tabernacle, and whether such men deserve to live, that live thus to blaspheme; may not such civill states that tolerate such, feare that sentence of God against them as was pronounced against *Ahab* for letting blasphemous *Benhadab* escape with his life, *thy life for his life?* however mens charity may enlarge it selfe this way, yet let wisdom preserve us and make the wifehearted wary of such impostors, who want not their wiles to say  
and



and unfay, as may beft fute their advantage, for they can hold forth at fome time and to fome perfons, wholefome and orthodox truths and beare them in hand that this is all that they hold, but they have depths of abomination to give to drinke when they fee their feafons, in fuch golden cups; they have hidden fecrets, which their young Profelytes fhall not prefently fee, much leffe others; for fo they tell us *Pag. 17.* “that tis not their purpofe to open to every one the houfe “of their treafures, the filver and gold, and fpices, and precious “ointment, nor the houfe of their armour, becaufe they may take “them all as execrable and put them to a prophane ufe, nor can “every fpirit comprehend the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, (as “they call it *Pag. 12.*) nor know the Cherubims of glory, nor the “voice of the oracle from the Mercy-feate: and indeed their uncouth, tumorous and fwelling words (as *Jude* calls them *Jude 16.*) like fwellings, and tumours of the flefh, are the undoubted fignes of a fecret and feducing humour, whereby they are fit to deceive the fimple and infect the ftrong, if men bee not watchfull.

*The Publiſher to the Reader.*

**T**HE reason wherefore nothing is answered to the great charge in his voluminous Poſcript, is becauſe it hath beene answered already by a former treatiſe printed: but more eſpecially becauſe many of the friends, children and kindred of the dead are in good eſteeme with us, whom I am loath to grieve.

But ſince by courſe thou art next to caſt thine eye Gentle Reader upon the ſumme of a Prefentment which the Court at *Road Iland* received from their Grand Jewry being preſent when *Samuel Gorton* had ſo much abuſed their Government in the face of the Country, yea in open Court, their owne eyes and eares bearing witneſſe thereunto, they I ſay preſented theſe abuſes to the Court, as ſuch which they conceived ought not to bee borne without ruine to their Government, and therefore beſought the bench to thinke off ſome one puniſhment for examples ſake as well as otherwiſe to bee inflicted on the Delinquent.

And therefore that thou maiſt ſee the occaſion thereof, take notice that an ancient woman having a Cow going in the field where

*Samuel Gorton* had some land. This woman fetching out her Cow, *Gortons* fervant maid fell violently upon the woman beating and notoriously abusing her by tearing her haire about her, whereupon the old woman complaining to the Deputy Governour of the place, hee fendeth for the maid, and upon hearing the cause, bound her over to the Court. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* appears himselfe in the defence of his maid, and would not suffer his maid to appeare or make answer, but said expressly she should not appeare, and that if they had any thing against her they should proceed with him. And though hee was lovingly diffwaded by some of the Bench not to engage himselfe but let his maid appeare, yet hee refused: but when hee could not bee prevailed with, the action was called and witneses produced, sworne, and examined: which being done, hee moved for another witnesse to bee called, which hee perswaded himselfe and the Bench was an honest woman and would speake the truth. Now shee being sworne, said, Mr.*Gorton*, I can speake nothing will helpe your maid. And indeed her whole testimony was against her and for the old womans cause, whereupon hee openly said, Take heed thou wicked woman, the earth doth not open and swallow thee up. And then hee demanded of the Court if hee should have equity and justice in his cause or no? To which was answered, if he had either plea or evidence to produce in his maids cause it should be heard. Then hee nominated one *Weekes* who could say something to it. *Weekes* was called and required to take his oath before hee spake; at which *Gorton* and *Weekes* both of them jeered and laughed and told the Court they were skilled in Idols, and that was one, and stood stoutly a long time to make it good. Hereupon some of the Court put him in mind how they had forewarned him of such carriages fearing he would fall into some extreames. At length the Governour gathering up the summe of what was witnessed, commends it to the Jewry. At which time *Gorton* said, the Court had perverted Justice and wrested the witneses, with very many high and reproachfull termes; and in the midst of his violence throwing his hands about, hee touched the Deputy Governour with his handkerchiefe buttons about his eares (who it seemes fate at a Table with his backe towards him) whereupon the Deputy said, what will you fall about my eares? To which *Gorton* answered I know not whether you have any eares or no? and if you have, I know not where they stand; but I will not touch

touch them with a paire of Tongues. The Governour often calling upon the Jewry to attend the Cause, was as often interrupted by him. Whereupon many of their Freemen being present, desired the Court they would not suffer such insolencies, professing they were troubled the Court had borne with them so long. For which in briefe, hee was committed, but when the Governour bade the Marshall take him away; hee bade take away *Coddington*, which was their Governours name: a thing I thought meet to explaine, lest thou shouldst not understand it by the Heads of the Presentment here following, abusing all and every particular of the Magistrates with opprobrious terms. But note when hee was committed upon his mutinous and seditious speeches, *Weekes, Holden, &c.* his abettors, stopped the way with such insolency, as the Governour was forced to rise from the Bench, to helpe forward the Command with his person, in clearing the way, put *Weekes* in the stocks, and was forced to command a guard of armed men to preserve themselves and the peace of the place: And this they did because of some fore-going jealousies; and now taking occasion to search the houses of that party that adhered to him, they found many of their peeces laden with bullet: and by meanes hereof they were forced to continue their guard, whilst upon their banishment they were forced from the Island.

And however it were enough for a Book alone to relate all the particulars of his insolent carriage, yet take notice onely of two or three particulars: 1 When hee was censured to bee whipt and banished, he appealed to *England*; they asked to whom? Hee said with a loud voice, *To King Charles*. They told him, hee should first have his punishment, and then afterwards hee might complain. To which hee replied, take notice *I appeale to King Charles, Celo, or Selah*; the party who was present told mee hee could not tell which, but that word was spoken with an extraordinary high and loud voice.

A second thing to be observed, was, that after hee had been so deservedly whipt, some of his faction said, Now Christ Jesus had suffered.

And thirdly, although the weather was very cold, the Governour going away after execution of Justice upon him, yet he ran a good way after the Governour, drawing a chaine after one of his legs, the upper part of his body being still naked, and told him, He had

but lent him this, and hee should surely have it again. All this I had from a man of very good repute, who then lived with them, and was an eye and eare witnesse to all these proceedings.

In the next place take notice good Reader, that when hee went from hence well whipt, as before, and entred upon his banishment, the place hee went to (in a sharpe season) was a Town called *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams*, & divers others lived, who in regard of the season, entertained them with much humane curtesie, but the *Gortonians* answered all like *Æfops* Inake, as thou maist read by the severall Letters of the chief Inhabitants of that place, by a notorious faction there also by them raised, to the great distraction and amazement of the Inhabitants, as appeareth by their dolefull complaints in their own Letters, a true Copy whereof I present unto thee.

[Errata: l. 10,  
for by read in.]

*The sum of the Presentment of Samuel Gorton at Portsmouth in Roade-Island, by the Grand Jury.*

**F**irst, that *Samuel Gorton* certaine dayes before his appearance at this Court, said, the Government was such as was not to be subjected unto, forasmuch as it had not a true derivation, because it was altered from what it first was.

2 That *Samuel Gorton* contumeliously reproached the Magistrates calling them Just Affes.

3 That the said *Gorton* reproachfully called the Judges, or some of the Justices on the Bench ( corrupt Judges) in open Court.

4 That the said *Gorton* questioned the Court for making him to waite on them two dayes formerly, and that now hee would know whether hee should bee tryed in an hostile way, or by Law, or in fobriety.

5 The said *Gorton* alledged in open Court, that hee looked at the Magistates as Lawyers, and called Mr. *Easton*, Lawyer *Easton*.

6 The said *Gorton* charged the Deputy Governour to bee an Abetter of a Riot, Assault, or Battery, and professed that he would not touch him, no not with a paire of tongues: Moreover he said, I know not whether thou hast any eares, or no: as also, I think thou knowest

knowest not where thy ears stand, and charged him to be a man unfit to make a Warrant.

7 The said *Gorton* charged the Bench for wresting witnesse, in this expresseion, I professe you wrest witnesse.

8 The said *Gorton* called a Freeman in open Court (saucy Boy, and Jack-an-Apes;) and said, the woman that was upon her oath, would not speake against her mother, although she were damned where she stood.

9 The said *Gorton* affirmed that Mr. *Easton* behaved himselfe not like a Judge, and that himself was charged either basely or falsly.

10 The said *Gorton* said to the Bench, Ye intrude Oaths, and goe about to catch me.

11 The said *Gorton* being reproved for his miscarriage, held up his hand, and with extremity of speech shooke his hand at them, insomuch that the Freeman present said, Hee threatens the Court.

12 The said *Gorton* charged the Court with acting the second part of *Plymouth* Magistrates, who, as hee said, condemned him in the Chimney corner, ere they heard him speak.

13 The said *Gorton* in open Court did professe to maintaine the quarrell of another being his Maid-servant.

14 The said *Gorton* being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open Proclamation, saying, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to prison; the Governour said again, all you that owne the King, take away *Gorton* and carry him to prison; *Gorton* replied, all you that own the King, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to prison.

*William Dyre* Secretary.

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*Mr. Roger VWilliams his Letter unto Mr. VVinthrop,*  
*concerning Samuel Gorton.*

*Providence* 8. 1<sup>st</sup>. 1640.

**M**After *Gorton* having foully abused high and low at *Aquednick*, is now bewitching and bemadding poore *Providence*, both with his uncleane and foule censures of all the Ministers of this Country, (for which my self have in Christs name withstood him) and also denying all visible and externall Ordinances in depth of Familisme,

Familisme, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High afflicting) to death: As *Paul* said of *Asia*, I of *Providence* (almost) All suck in his poyson, as at first they did at *Aquednick*. Some few and my selfe withstand his Inhabitation, and Towne-priviledges, without confession and reformation of his uncivill and inhumane practises at *Portsmouth*: Yet the tyde is too strong against us, and I feare (if the framer of Hearts helpe not) it will force mee to little Patience, a little Isle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himselve bee pleased to bee a Sanctuary to all whose hearts are perfect with him; In him I desire unfainedly to be

*Your Worships true and affectionate*

Roger Williams.

*Providence this 17. of November, Anno 1641.*

*To the Honoured Governour of Massachusetts, together with the  
Worshipfull Assistants, and our loving Neighbours there.*

**W**EE the Inhabitants of the Town abovesaid, having faire occasions, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of *Samuel Gorton* and his company, which came from the Island of *Aquednick*; which continue still as sojourners amongst us; together with *John Greene*, and *Francis Weston*, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the fairest and most just and honest ways of proceedings in order and Government, that wee could rightly and truly use, for the peaceable preservation and quiet subsistence of our selves and families, or any that should have faire occasion to goe out or come in amongst us. Also six or seven of our Townsmen which were in peaceable Covenants with us, which now by their declamations doe cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed, to take party with the afore-named Companies, and so intend for ought wee can gather, to have no manner of honest order, or government either over them or amongst them, as their writings, words, and actions

actions doe most plainly shew. It would bee tedious to relate the numberlesse number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults, and threats, and violent kinde of carriage daily practised against all that either with care or counsell seek to prevent or withstand their lewd licentious courses. Yet in briefe to commit some few of them to your moderate Judgements, lest wee our selves should bee deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true Copy of their Writing inclosed, which *Francis Weston* gave us the 13. of this present Moneth, they having also set up a Copy of the same on a tree in the street, in stead of satisfaction for fiftene pounds, which by way of arbitration of eight men orderly chosen, and all causes and reasons that could bee found, daily and truly examined, and considered jointly together, when hee the said *Francis Weston* was found liable to pay, or make satisfaction in Cattle or Commodities, but on the 15. of this present moneth, when wee went orderly, openly, and in a warrantable way to attach some of the said *Francis Westons* Cattle, to drive them to the Pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction: which *Samuel Gorton* and his company getting notice of, came and quarrelled with us in the street, and made a tumultuous Hubbub; and although for our parts wee had before-hand most principally armed our selves with patience, peaceably to suffer as much injury, as could possibly bee born, to avoid all shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side: And after the tumult was partly appeased, and that we went on orderly into the Corne-field, to drive the said Cattle, the said *Francis Weston* came furiously running with a flayle in his hand, and cryed out, Helpe Sirs, helpe sirs, they are going to steale my cattle, and so continued crying till *Randall Holden*, *John Greene*, and some others came running and made a great outcry, and hollowing and crying, Theeves, theeves, stealing cattle, stealing cattle, and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered, they had made a rescue, and that such should bee their practise if any men at any time, in any case attach any thing that is theirs. And fully to relate the least part of their such like words and actions, the time and paper would scarce bee profitably spent, neither need wee to advise your discretions what is likely to bee the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents bee not either stopped,

or turned some other way. For it is plain to us, that if men should continue to resist all manner of order, and orderly answering one of another in different cases, they will suddenly practise, not only cunningly to detain things one from another, but, openly in public, justly or unjustly, according to their own wills disorderly take what they can come by; first pleading necessity, or to maintain wife and family; but afterwards boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts, they will put no manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives, blood, nor any thing will be precious in their eyes: If it may therefore please you of gentle curtesy, and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighbour-like helping hand, and send us such assistance (our necessity urging us to be troublesome unto you) to help us to bring them to satisfaction, and ease us of our burden of them, at your discretions; we shall evermore owe it as a deed of great charity, and take it very thankfully, and diligently labour in the best measure we can, and constantly practise to requite your loving kindness, if you should have occasion to command us, or any of us in any lawful design: And if it shall please you to send us any speedy answer, we shall take it very kindly, and be ready and willing to satisfy the Messengers, and ever remaine

*Your loving Neighbours, and respective Friends*

*Joshuah Winsor  
Benedict Arnold  
William Mean  
William Hawkings  
Robert West*

*William Field  
William Harris  
William Wickenden  
William Reinolds  
Thomas Harris  
Tho. Hopkins mark  
Hugh Bennit  
William Carpenter.*

*Providence*



Providence the 25. of the 3. month, 1641.

To the rest of the five Men appointed to manage the affaires of our Towne aforesaid, These are further to give you to understand; *VIZ.* That

I Doe not onely approve of what my neighbours before me have written and directed their Reasons to a serious consideration with us, concerning *Samuel Gorton* and his Company: but this much I say also, that it is evident and may easily bee proved, that the said *Samuel Gorton* nor his Company are not fit persons to bee received in, and made members of such a body, in so weake a state as our Town is in at present.

My Reasons are, *Viz.*

First, *Samuel Gorton* having shewed himselfe a railing and turbulent person, not onely in and against those states of Government from whence hee came, as is to bee proved; but also here in this Towne since hee have sojourned here; Witnesse his proud challenge, and his upbraiding accusations in his vilifying and opprobrious terms of, and against one of our Combination most wrathfully and shamelessly reviling him, and disturbing of him, and meddling with him, who was employed and busied in other private occasions, having no just cause so to revile and abuse him, saying also to him (and that of another state) in a base manner, they were like swine that held out their Nose to suck his blood, and that now hee and the rest of his Company would goe and wallow in it also; which are indeed words unfufferable; and also despitefully calling him Boy, as though hee would have challenged the field of him, in such an inhumane behaviour as becomes not a man that should bee thought to be fit by any reasonable men to be received into such a poor weak state as we are in at present.

Secondly, another of his Company, one who is much in esteem with him, who openly in a scornfull and deriding manner, seeing one of the five men that was chosen by the Towne, and betrusted in the Towne affaires, coming towards him in the street, hee asked of one that stood by him, who that was; the other answered him, it was one of the five men appointed for managing of our Towne

affaires, or the like: Yea, said hee, Hee lookes like one of the five, which words import not onely a scorning and deriding of his person ofwhom then hee spake, but also a despising and scorning of our Civill State, as it were trampling it under foot, as they had done by other States before they came hither, who were of greater strength then wee are; for which cause I cannot see such persons to be fit to be received into such a State as our Towne is.

Thirdly, I cannot finde these men to be reasonable men in their suite unto the Towne, to be received in as Townsmen, seeing they have already had a plaine denyall of their request, and that by the consent of the major part of the Towne, or very neare, &c. and are yet unanswerable; and also that they seeing that their coming to our Towne, hath brought the Towne into a hurry, almost the one halfe against the other, in which estate no Towne or City can well stand or subsist; which declareth plainly unto us, that their intent is not good, but that their abode so long here amongst us, is in hope to get the victory over one part of the Town, but specially of those that laid the first foundation of the place, and bought it even almost with the losse of their lives, and their whole estates, and afterwards to trample them under their feet, as some of their words hold forth, or else to drive them out into the same condition, to seek out a new *Providence*, and to buy it with the like hardnesse as they first bought this place; these, and many other like reasons that may be shewed, declare that they are not fit persons to be received into our meane and weake State.

Fourthly, and seeing hee who is so well knowne to be the ring-leader unto the breach of peace, that have been so notoriously evill to be a trouble of Civill States where hee hath lived, that are of farre greater force then wee are of, specially that State who have their Commission and Authority from the Higher Powers; what may wee then expect if he could get himself in with, and amongst many as wee see are daily ready to tread us under their feet, and his, whom he calls friends, &c. Surely, first a breach of our civill peace, and next a ruine of all such as are not of his side, as their daily practise doth declare; *Ergo*, they are not fit persons to be received into our Towne, &c.

*Object.* If it be objected, as some have blasphemously said, that wee are persecutors, and doe persecute the Saints, in not receiving

receiving of them into our Towne-fellowship, &c.

*Answe.* To this I answer, there cannot be proved the least shew of any perfection of those persons, either by us, or by any other amongst us to our knowledge. For 1 they have quiet abode amongst us, none molesting or troubling of them, nor any thing they have. 2 It cannot be proved but by their owne relation, the which hath been disproved; that they were sent out from those places from whence they came for Religion, neither are they meddled with here for any such matter, but rather that they themselves in their bravery are more ready to meddle with others. 3 They themselves and others of their followers, have rather been troublers and persecutors of the Saints of God that lived here before they came, and doe but waite their opportunity to make themselves manifest in that they intend; *Ergo*, it cannot be truly said of any, that any perfection is offered by us unto them, if it could possibly be said of them that they are Saints.

*Obj.* But if it be further objected, that we doe not give them the liberty of men, neither doe wee afford them the bowells of mercy, to give them the meanes of livelihood amongst us, as some have said.

*Answe.* To this I say; 1 there is no State but in the first place will seeke to preserve its owne safety and peace. 2 Wee cannot give land to any person by vertue of our combination, except wee first receive them into our state of combination, the which wee cannot doe with them for our owne and others peace-ake, &c. 3 Whereas their necessity have been so much pleaded, it is not knowne that ever they sought to finde out a place where they might accommodate themselves, and live by themselves, with their friends, and such as will follow after them, where they may use their liberty to live without order or controule, and not to trouble us, that have taken the same course as wee have done for our safety and peace, which they doe not approve nor like of, but rather like beasts in the shape of men to doe what they shall thinke fit in their owne eyes, and will not be governed by any State. And seeing they doe but here linger out the time in hope to get the day to make up their penny-worths in advantage upon us, we have just cause to heare the complaints of so many of our Neighbors that live in the Town orderly amongst us, and have brought in their complaints, with many reasons against them, and not to admit them, but answer them as unfit

persons to be received into our meane State, &c.

Now if these Reafons and much more which have been truly said of them, doe not satisfie you, and the rest of our neighbours, but that they must be received into our Towne-state, even unto our utter overthrow, &c. then according to the order agreed upon by the Towne, I doe first offer my house and land within the liberty of the Towne unto the Towne to buy it of mee, or else I may, and shall take liberty to sell it to whom I may for mine advantage, &c.

*William Arnold.*

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A  
PARTICULAR ANSWER  
TO THE

Manifold Slanders and abominable Falsehoods  
contained in a Book, called *Simplicities defence against  
Seven-headed Policy: Wherein Samuel Gorton*  
is proved a disturber of Civill Societies, despe-  
rately dangerous to his Country-men  
the English in *New-Engl.* and  
notoriously slanderous in what  
he hath Printed of them.



WHEN first I entertained the desires of the  
Country to come over to answer the com-  
plaints of *Samuel Gorton*, &c. and to render a  
reason of the just and righteous proceedings of  
the Country of *New-Engl.* in the severall parts  
of it, against him being a common disturber of  
the peace of all Societies where hee came, witness  
*New-Plymouth*, 2 *Road-Island*, 3 *Providence*, and lastly the *Maffa-  
chusets*, being the most eminent; I little thought then to have ap-  
peared in print: but comming into *England*, and finding a Booke  
written by Mr. *Gorton* called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed  
policy: or, A true complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English  
in New-Engl. made unto the State of Old-England, against cruell per-  
secutors united in Church-Government in those parts.* I then concei-  
ved my selfe bound in duty to take off the many grosse and publike  
scandalls held forth therein, to the great amazement of many ten-  
der consciences in the Kingdom, who are not acquainted with his  
proud

*Sam. Gorton* a  
common distur-  
ber of the Civil  
peace in all the  
Societies hee  
there lived in.

proud and turbulent carriage, nor see the Lion under his Lambeskinne coate of *simplicity and peace*. The Lord knowes how unwilling I was personally to engage: and I trust hee will also guide mee in answering his booke, as I shall bee farre from bitterneffe: tis true, time was when his person was precious in mine eyes, and therefore I hope and desire onely to make a righteous and just defence to the many unworthy things by him boldly, ignorantly, proudly, and falsly published to the great dishonour of God in wronging and scandalizing his Churches, which the Lord Jesus Christ will not leave unpunished.

I know the world is full of controversies and tis my great griefe to see my dearnative Country so engaged in them, especially one godly person against another. 'Tis my present comfort I come not to accuse any; but to defend *New-England* against the injurious complaints of *Samuel Gorton, &c.* but as it comes to passe oftentimes that men wound others unavoidably in defending their persons from the violent assaults of such as draw upon them, which otherwise they would never have done: so if Mr. *Gorton* receive any such hurt (which is unavoidable) hee becomes an accessary thereunto: by forcing mee to defend the Country, without which I should be unfaithfull.

I know the world is too full of bookes of this kinde, and therefore however I am unfitted of many things I have and could procure at home would well become a relation of the late and present state of *New England*, yet I shall now onely with as great brevity as may bee give answer to such injurious complaints as hee maketh of us. And however his Title, Preface, and every leafe of his booke may bee justly found fault with, I shall clearly answer to matters of fact, such as hee chargeth the severall Governments withall, so as any indifferent Reader may easily discern how grossly wee are abused, and how just and righteous censures were against him for disturbing the civill peace of all societies where hee came, in such a manner as no Government could possibly beare: and for the *blasphemies* for which hee was proceeded against at *Massachusetts*, they fell in occasionally by his owne meanes without any circumstance leading thereunto.

*Pag. 1.* And first whereas hee accuseth us in the first page of his booke to goe over to *suppresse hereticks*. 'Tis well knowne we went thither for no such end laid downe by us, but to enjoy those liberties the  
Lord

Lord Jesus Christ had left unto his Church to avoid the Episcopall tyranny, and the heavy burthens they imposed, to which sufferings the kingdome by this ever to bee honoured Parliament have and doe beare witnesse to, as religious and just. And that wee might also hold forth that truth and ancient way of God wherein wee walke, which Mr. *Gorton* calls heresie. Next in the same *Pag.* hee chargeth us with *affection of Titles, &c.* To which I answer, either we must live without Government, or if wee have Governours wee must give them wee call such Titles as are futable to their offices and places they beare in Church and Common-wealth, as Governours and Assistants, Pastors, Teachers, Rulers, Deacons, &c. these are our highest Titles we give.

In his second *pag.* hee chargeth the *Maffachusetts* to unite with other Colonies to the end they might bathe themselves in bloud and feed themselves fat with the lives of their brethren, &c. This is a notorious slander. 'Tis true that the *Maffachusetts* new *Plimouth*, *Conectacut*, and *New-haven*, I meane the severall Colonies there entred into a civill combination, and are called by the name of the *United Colonies*, and this was occasioned by a generall conspiracy of the Indians against the body of the English there seated, together with the distracted condition of *England*, from whom we could expect no helpe at that time. But Mr. *Gorton* and his company fell at that time into more then ordinary familiarity with the *Nanohigganset* Indians, who were the principal contrivers of the Villany; who where they could not draw others to them by force or flattery, they did it by large gifts, &c. as I could prove by many testimonies of the Indians, many hundred miles asunder from each other, in which designe had not the finger of God in much mercy prevented, I had bene the first had fallen; which I forbear to relate here, being what I now doe, is but an answer to his invective,

Next in the same *pag.* hee tels us at his landing *how hee found his Country men at great variance at Boston in point of Religion*; But had not hee holpen to blow the bellows the flame might never have bene so great. And whereas hee said that *Mr. Williams* was banished thence for differing from us being a man of good report, &c. In answer, I. take notice, I know that *Mr. Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times *the unlawfulnessse of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c. would not allow the *Colours of our Nation*, denied the *lawfulnessse*

*ness* of a publique oath as being needlesse to the Saints, and a profanation of Gods name to tender it to the wicked, &c. And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God calls mee at this time to take off these aspersions.

In *pag. 3.* hee mentions the proceedings of the *Maffachusets* against Mr. *John Wheelwright* &c. Had it beene the will of God I would those differences had never been: But the maine difference was about a Petition by way of Remonstrance, which the Government tooke very offensive: But Mr. *Wheelwright* and they are reconciled, hee having given satisfaction, &c. In the same *pag.* hee wrongs the doctrine of our Churches, which is well knowne to be found. But whereas hee tels us in the same *pag.* of denying *cohabitation*, and of *whippings*, *confinement*, *imprisonment*, *chaines*, *fines*, *banishment*. I confesse all these things befell him, and most justly: for hee was bound to the good behaviour at *Plimouth* and brooke his bonds in the face of the Court, whipt and banished at *Road Island* for mutinie and fedition in the open Court there: also at *Providence* as factious there though his party grew greater then Mr. *Williams* his better party, as appears by his and their sad letters to the Government of the *Maffachusets* for helpe and advice; and afterwards banished the *Maffachusets*: all which appears in another place of this booke, and the just causes of their proceedings annexed thereunto. Lastly in this *pag.* hee tels us of his hardship divers nights together, that himselve and the rest of his mutinous companions, as *Weekes*, *Holden*, &c. endured, which was just with God and man, for extreame evils must have extreame remedies, and yet tis well knowne tis not a full dayes journey from *Road Island* to *Providence*. And whereas a stranger would thinke hee was then forced to goe to *Nanhiganset-Bay* amongst the Indians, hee went not from *Providence* till they were as weary of these Mutineeres as either *Plimouth* or *Road Island* had beene before them.

And because hee often mentioneth the hard measure hee received at *Plimouth*, still carrying it on as if difference in Religion had beene the ground of it: I thought good here to give the Reader to understand what was the ground of his troubles there, that so all men may know what Religion this man is of: for the tree is best knowne by its fruite. The first complaint that came against him for which hee was brought before authority, was by Mr. *Ralph Smith* a Minister, who



who being of *Gortons* acquaintance received him with his family into his house, with much humanity and Christian respect, promising him as free use of it as himselfe, &c. but Mr. *Gorton* becoming troublesome, (after meanes used to remove the offences taken by Mr. *Smith*, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) Mr. *Smith* desired him to provide elsewhere for himselfe: but *Gorton* refused, saying, hee had as good interest in the house as Mr. *Smith* had. And when hee was brought before Authority, stood stoutly to maintaine it to our amasement. But was ordered to depart and provide other wayes by a time appointed. And not long after there comming a woman of his acquaintance to *Plimouth*, divers came to the Governour with complaints against her, being a stranger, for unworthy and offensive speeches and carriages used by her. Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her business, &c. and commanded her departure, and ordered the Sea-man that brought her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not goe, for hee had occasion to employ her, &c. Hereupon the Governour (it being in the time of a Court) sent for him, and because hee had hidde her, stood in justification of his practise and refused to obey the command of the Court (who seconded the Governours order.) He was committed till hee could procure sureties for his good behaviour till the next Court which was a generall Court, and there to answer to this contempt. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* was called; But the Governour being wearied with speech to other causes, requested one of his Assitants who was present at his commitment and privy to the whole cause to declare the same. This Assitant no sooner stood up to shew the Country the cause of his bonds in the great affront hee had given the Government, but *Gorton* stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice, *If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come downe from Jehoshuabs right hand and stand here,* And that done, in a seditious manner turned himselfe to the people and said, with his armes spread abroad; *Yee see good people how yee are abused! Stand for your liberty; And let them not bee parties and judges,* with many other opprobrious speeches of that kinde. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present, desiring leave of the Governour to speake, complaining of his seditious carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did

[Errata: l. 37, for complaining, read, complained.]

to him was but to take the forfeiture of his forefaid bonds for his good behaviour. Nay being but low and poore in his estate, wee tooke not above eight or ten pounds of it, lest it might lie too heavy upon his wife and children. But he must either get new sureties for the behaviour till the next generall Court, or such time as he departed the Government, or lie in prison till hee could: now hee knowing his outrageous passions which hee could not reſtraine, procured sureties, but immediately left *Plimouth* and went to *Roads Island*, where upon complaint of our persecutions hee found present reliefe there: yet soone afterward he abused them in a greater measure and had heavier yet too light a punishment inflicted on him, and all for breach of the civill peace and notorious contempt of Authority without the least mention of any points of Religion on the Governments part, but as before.

And whereas in *pag. 4.* Mr. *Gorton* further accuseth us that they were deprived and taken away from their quiet possessions, &c. Such was his carriage at *Plimouth* and *Providence* at his first settling as neither of the Governments durst admit or receive him into cohabitation, but refused him as a pest to all societies. Againe in the same *pag.* he accuseth *Massachusetts* and *Plimouth* to have denied them to be in our Government, but when wee perceived the place to be a refuge for such as were oppressed then, &c. 'Tis true that *Plimouth* gave way to Mr. *Williams* and his company to sit downe at *Providence* and have never molested them to this day, but refused *Gorton* and *Weekes*, &c. upon *Weekes* his sollicitation when I was at *Providence* for the reasons before mentioned, &c. And for those particular relations he makes of *Robert Cole*, *William Arnold*, and *Benedict* his sonne, I wave, as not being so well acquainted with their cases, but see hee writes with a venomous pen; onely take notice he would make it a great crime in them to trade on the Sabbath (as it is) when himselfe at that time denied the sanctification of it.

In *pag. 5.* hee complains that powder was traded to the Indians and denied to them. *Answe.* If it were traded to the Indians, for my part I approve it not, it being against the expresse law of the Country, and a large penalty annexed: but there was good reason to refuse it to them which held such familiarity with Malignant Indians especially during the time of their confederacy against us.

In *pag. 6.* he speaks as if hee had beene under some censure of the  
*Massachusetts*

*Maffachufets* at the time of the warrant there by him fpecified, how truly copied I know not: but am fure at this time he was perfonally under no cenfure of theirs.

In *pag. 7.* hee accufeth Magiftrates and Minifters for bringing in all the accufations that came in againft them. Who but publique perfons fhould take notice of publique infolencies? And as for Mr. *Collens* his ftory I am a ft ranger to, but believe it is mifreported as well as others.

In *pag. 8.* hee manifefts hee durft not live under a forraigne Prince, meaning the Dutch, having never been falfe to his King and Country, &c. with many ignorant fwelling words; as if it were treafon to ones Prince to live under a forraigne State though an Ally. And in the fame *pag.* hee would lay the death of Miftris *Hutchenfon* who was mother in law to Mr. *Collens*, on us: although they went from *Road Island* which is not under the *Maffachufets* where fhee had lived fome yeares after her remove from the *Bay*, and not from the *Maffachufets* to the Dutch of her owne accord where they were cut off by the Indians.

In *pag. 9.* he fhewes how they bought lands of *Myantonimo* Prince of thofe parts. *Anfw. 1.* Hee was not the Prince of that part as was proved publickly at *Maffachufets* himfelfe being prefent. *2.* He had no proper right in it, as is fhewed at large elfewhere.

In the fame *pag.* he beginneth a large letter full of railing blaſphemies which continueth to *pag. 31.* and however it bee not exactly fet downe as it was fent, yet I admire at Gods providence, for hee is falne into the fnare he laid, this being brought againft him to accufe him of blaſphemy, before a Committee of Parliament, who called in his book, and referred him to the Houfe, &c. but I forbear to fhew his folly here, which is referred to another place and his wickedneffe difcovered therein.

In *pag. 32.* hee faith the Government of the *Maffachufets* had no fhew of any thing againft them but Religion, and yet the whole carried on in his owne way as well as what wee now print, fhewes it was in the right of two Indian *Sachims*, namely *Pumham* and *Socoonoco*, who placing themfelves under the protection of the *Maffachufets* complained of violence offered them by Mr. *Gorton* and his company, it being our manner both in Capitals and Criminals to doe them the like juſtice wee doe one to another, wherein walking by the fame rules of righteoufneffe towards them, they

have the leffe caufe to take offence at us.

From *pag.* 33. forward, are many Letters which I cannot beleeve al is in them, and therefore remain jealous of his fincerity in Printing them.

In *pag.* 37. hee holds forth conversion to be the ground of the *Maffachufets* fending to them, now to that end, faith hee, they fent a Minifter. 'Tis true, there was a gracious young man one Mr. *Joh. Bulkley* then a Student, but in no miniftery, went to teach to the Company they fent to guard their owne Commiffioners, and to bring in *Gorton* if need required: but I dare not beleeve what hee affirms. And for the Copy of a Letter hee fathers upon the Commiffioners fent by the Government of the *Maffachufet*; I conclude 'tis rather fet downe upon memory then right, becaufe of fome atteftations I have by me to make ufe on elfewhere, which feeme to hold forth the contrary, and fo I doe not credit it.

In *pag.* 38, & 39. hee relates how their wives were frighted at mens prefenting their muskets at them, &c. and fuffering fuch hardfhips as occasioned death, &c. Which muft alfo bee falfe, for honeft men have depofed there was no fuch prefentment, and that their wives came freely and familiarly to them, both before and after they were taken. So alfo hee affirms our men would allow of no parley but private, or elfe they would difpatch them in a quarter of an houre, which I will never beleeve, becaufe I know the men to bee men fearing God, and durft not proceed as hee relateth it.

In *pag.* 40, & 41. he alfo taxeth the Commiffioners and fouldiers with breach of Covenants in time of treaty, as, *breaking open their houfes, desks, killing their cattle, &c.* All which is falfe, for oath is made to the contrary, which I fhall make ufe of before my Lord of *Warwick* Governour in chiefe, and the reft of the honourable Committee for foraign Plantations in due time and place, that whereas they were by agreement to have two houfes for their company being about 40 men, they made ufe of but one, nor did any of thefe things laid to their charge.

In *pag.* 45. he would make *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, the naturall fubjects of *Myantonimo* their Prince; but this was difproved. And in the fame page, he faith, the Magiftrates fuggedted to the people as though there were *fears of fome combination betweene the Indians and them.* *Anfw.* I dare not fay you had a hand in the depth of their confpiracy: but this I thinke you dare not deny, that *Weekes* one  
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of your stoutest Champions, lent *Myantonimo* an Armour, in which he was taken in battell against *Uncus*, who was under the protection of the English united Colonies: for which *Uncus* put him to death; and in your own book you hold forth more familiarity then becomes you.

But here it will be necessary for mee to shew you the ground of this warre. There was a people called by the name of the *Pecoats*, being a stout warlike people, who had been at warre with the *Nanohiggansets* many yeares, and were too strong for them; so also were they at some distance of affection with this *Uncus*, who was *Sachim* of a people called the *Mohegans*, neare the head of a River falleth into the sea at *Pecoat*. The chiefe *Sachim* of this people of *Pecoat*, was called *Tatobam*, a stout man. The *Nanohiggansets* and these strove who should be greatest. This *Tatobam* envied the English, and was the first stirrer and contriver of this general Plot, that they might all joyne together to destroy the English; but the *Nanohiggansets* refused to joyne with them, knowing if that were once done, the next ruine must be their owne. Afterward having subdued many small peoples, and one as great as themselves, and and some English planting more neare then the body of our Plantations, though without wrong to him, or any of them, hee cut off Captaine *Stone* his Barke and Company, and after this killed divers fragling English. This stirred up the English to take revenge: The *Nanohiggansets* and *Uncus*, *Sachim* of the *Moheges* seeing this, because it was against their comon Enemy, offered their service to joyne with the English: the *Nanohiggansets* did no considerable service in comparison of the *Moheges*, who did as much as could be expected, but the *Nanohiggansets* rather gathered up the spoile, to the great offence of the *English* and *Moheges*, seldom ingaging in any fight. The English killed and destroyed this people utterly, so that those that were left remaining utterly deserted the Countrey, and the English wonne it, and are now possessed of it. After this victory, *Myantonimo* *Sachim* or Lord of the *Nanohiggansets*, and *Uncus* Lord of the *Moheges*, manifested no good blood towards each other; the English at *Hartford* where the Government for *Conectacut* is held, hearing of it, got them together, and made a peace and threefold Covenant between the Government of *Conectacut*, *Nanohigganset*, and *Mohege*, which was signed by the Governour of *Conectacut*, *Myantonimo* *Sachim* of *Nanohigganset*, and *Uncus* *Sachim* of *Mohegan*. The Cove-

Covenants ran to this purpose, To confirme their League between the English and them, and either to other, and to hold forth a league of perpetuall peace between them. And in case any difference should arise between these two Indian *Sachims*, or their people, the party offended should complaine to the Governour of *Connetacut*, who was to mediate and to determine the controverfie between his two friends and their people: And in case the injury were great, and the party wronging would not stand to the foresaid award and determination, then it should not onely bee lawfull for the wronged to right himselfe by force of Armes, but for the English party also to assist the innocent in that kind. And to this they all firmed as before.

The *Nanohigganfet Sachim* never regarded this Covenant, the *Mohege Sachim* ever faithfully observed it. But *Myantonimo* of *Nanohigganfet* had thoughts now to profecute the *Pecoats* designe, and to destroy the English, (the *Pecoats* Nation being rooted out by Gods just judgement as before) and travels farre and neare to draw all the Indians in the Countrey into this horrid confederacy with him; but this *Uncus* would not bee wonne, though he would have taken his daughter in marriage, but ever acquainted the English with his working. At length an inferiour *Sachim*, subordinate to *Nanohigganfet* affronts him and his men, hee complains to the English, they send to this inferiour *Sachim*, hee fleights their admonition, goes on his course; whereupon the other demands leave to make warre upon him, not requiring any aide. Still the English forewarne the other party of the evill they were like to bring upon themselves; till at length they professe they have had peace enough, & now it is time to war. Whereupon the English give way to *Uncus* to revenge himselfe, he doth it; the other are beaten. Now *Myantonimo* he prepares an Army of above 1000 men, and comes upon a sudden upon *Uncus* without any respect to Covenants, and took *Uncus* at advantage, not with above 300 men; by which meanes they beset him every way in his Fort, which stands upon a point of Land between two Rivers. *Myantonimo* so disperfed his men to prevent their fight, as *Uncus* making a desperate salley with almost his full force, routed the other, flew neare upon an hundred, and forced them to fly: But Mr. *Weekes* one of *Samuel Gortons* company (as I am credibly informed) lending the Great *Sachim* a complete Armor; and having it on in the fight, was not able to fly so fast as his men,  
and

and was taken by this meanes. Yet such was *Uncus* respect still to the English, as hee kept him till hee sent to the English, viz. to the Right Worshipfull *George Fenwicke* Esquire, to know what he should doe with him, who lived next to him, Hee wished him to follow their owne Custome, and to deale with him, as if hee had not advised with him, or there were no English in the land to advise withall. Hereupon hee resolved to have killed him forthwith, according to their Custome. But no sooner were the *Nanohiggansets* got home, who had lost divers Sachims, Captaines, and chiefe men in this fight, but they send to Mr. *Gorton*, &c. who sent a Note to *Uncus*, with a command by the bearer, that they put him not to death, but use him kindly and returne him. This the Messenger either said or they supposed came from the *Maffachusets* Governour, and did much daunt *Uncus* and his men: but to cleare up all, they advised with the Gent. of *Coneetacut*, who wished him to keep him prisoner, and to advise with the Commissioners of the United Colonies whereof they were part, whose meeting would bee ere long by course at the *Maffachusets*: which counsell hee followed, and entreated the Governour of *Coneetacut* (*Myantonimo* also desiring it) to keep him safe for him till then, whereupon hee was brought to *Hartford*: And many gifts were sent to the prisoner; which hee bestowed like himselfe, some on him that took him, some on *Uncus*, some on his wife, some on *Uncus* brother being a great Captaine, and some on others where he had received kindnesse, and this was all the ranfome was paid, there being not so much as a ranfome proposed by the *Nanohiggansets*, nor set down by *Uncus*. But hee advising with the Commissioners, they considering how many ways besides open hostility he had sought the life of *Uncus*, by poyson, secret murder, witchcraft, &c. advised him to put him to death, there being no safety for him whilst hee lived, being so restlesse in his practice against his life; and therefore wished *Uncus* to proceed with him according to their owne Custome towards prisoners of Warre, which is to put them to death; according to which advice he proceeded, knowing now that none of the *Engl.* would intercede for him. And hereupon *Uncus* went to *Hartford* and demanded his prisoner, and led him to an house of his owne, out of the limits of the English, and there killed him, where was an English man or two by to prevent their accustomed cruelties, in cutting off not onely the head and hands of their prisoners when they are

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dead,

dead, and make bracelets of the fore-joints of their fingers,&c. but to torture them whilst living with most inhumane cruelties. After this, the *Nanohiggansets* would warre upon him in revenge of his death; wee forbade them, and at our next meeting of Commiffioners to confult about the Weale publike of the United Colonies, in regard the *Nanohiggansets* pleaded they had taken a ranfome for his life, and his life also, which the other denyed; Wee sent for *Uncus*, and sent to the great *Sachims* of *Nanohigganset* to come also, or appeare by Commiffioners; but they sent foure Commiffioners with full authority to treat, where we found neither ranfome, nor colour of ranfome in the leaft measure. And so a truce was agreed on, & if *Uncus* brake it, we were then freed from our engagement to defend him any further, for they desired no more: And if the *Nanohiggansets* broke it, then it should be lawfull for us the United Colonies to take part with him, &c. But the truth is, though before they had fo neare neighbours of the English, as *Gorton*, &c. and till *Myantonomo's* Government, as they were the most in number, and most peaceable of all the *Indians*, yet now they were changed, as if they had not been the people, and had their Tutors, Secretaries, and promptors to fuffegit their greatneffe and our weakneffe to them, as his Book witneffeth, in such manner as I am confident if the *Gortonians* (for I take the phrafe from his owne Book here, never hearing it before) bee suffered to live fo neare them, it will bee our ruine, or these *Indians* (which we desire not) in short time. I thought good to infert this Narration thus briefly, that the Reader might understand the ground of his many charges, calling God to witneffe I know not the leaft falshood related in it, but many things for brevities sake omitted worthy a history; but I am now about an answer, not an history, and therefore thus brieve. But to return.

In *pag. 47.* see how he scoffes at the Sabbath as if there were no other ground for our religious observation of it, then Mr. *Cottons* judgement. And in *pag. 48.* hee is full of many scoffs, as if hee and his *Gortonians* would not, nor did shoot at all, when as I have oath to prove they shot also at the other, but the truth is, I heard some say that their powder was so dampe and moist as they could not without great difficulty discharge a peece, which I well beleeve might bee the reason they shot no more then they did.

In *pag. 49.* hee chargeth Captaine *Cooke* with breach of Articles: And yet I have it attested upon oath, that there were none agreed on;  
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only they desired they might not goe bound; which was easily assented to, they behaving themselves quietly. And for their cattle, I never heard the number to be so great by farre; but asking the Governour of the *Massachusetts* about them, hee professed they did not amount to halfe their charges. And if any aske by what authority they went out of their own Government to do such an act? Know that his former feditious and turbulent carriage in all parts where he came, as *Plymouth, Rhode-Island*, a place of greatest liberty, *Providence* that place which relieved him in that his so great extremity, and his so desperate close with so dangerous and potent enemies, and at such a time of Conspiracy by the same Indians, together with the wrongs done to the Indians, and English under the protection of that Government of the *Massachusetts*, who complained and desired reliefe; together with his notorious contempt of all Civill Government, as well as that particular, and his blasphemies against God needlessly manifested in his proud letters to them, one whereof hee hath printed, and the other I have herewith published for him. All these considered, you shall see hereby cause enough, why they proceeded against him as a common enemy of the Country. And as such an one, the said Commissioners being then met together at *Massachusetts* by course, for the Weale of the whole, upon just complaint ordered and thought meet that the Government of the *Massachusetts* should call them to account, and proceed with them so farre as stood with righteoufnesse and justice: And by their declaration thou maist easily see they went no further, for they refusing safe conduct to come to answer to the matters against them, forced them upon this charge needlessly, which they made them beare part of as before. So that here's cause enough besides blasphemy for their proceeding with them I suppose.

In pag. 51. he chargeth *New-Engl.* Ministers to pray in the streets: but take notice I have been there these 26 yeares, and better, but never heard of such a practise, till I now read it in his Book.

In pag. 52. he saith, the Governour to satisfie the people, said, *we were apprehended for divers grosse opinions*, &c. *Answer.* You may see in the last Section but one there was cause enough. And yet for Opinions, let mee tell you that you held, That that Image of God after which man was created was Christ; and that when *Adam* fell Christ was slaine, &c. And as for your opinion concerning Churches, Mr. *Williams* by way of sad complaint told me, you denied

any true Churches of Christ to bee in the world: also Baptisme it selfe, and the Lords Supper, Sabbath, Magistracy as it was an ordinance used amongst Christians. And for the Lords Supper, that it is but a spell, the Ministers Necromancers, and the Communicants drunke with the juice of the grape, &c. And for this last passage here mentioned, the Reader shall have it at large in a second Letter sent by him and his companions to the Government of the *Massachusetts*, concealed by himself in his Book, though he pretendeth to have printed all, &c.

In pag. 53. as he abuseth others, so Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Ward*, in affirming that Mr. *Ward* put himselfe into a passion, and stirred up *Carder* to recant, &c. as being no discredit to him, because Mr. *Cotton* ordinarily preached that publicly once a yeare, which the next yeare he recants, &c. But Mr. *Ward* being in Towne, a man well knowne and reputed, I shewed him the Booke, and hee gave mee thanks, and returned this answer to it *verbatim*: Samuel Gorton *having made mee a Margent note in the 53 page of his Booke, I hold my self called to make this answer to it; I cannot call to minde that ever I knew or spake with such a man as Richard Carder, nor that ever I had any speech with any prisoner at a window, nor should I need it in New-England, where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners in more free and convenient places. This I remember, that one Robert Potter who went in the same Ship with mee into New-England, and expressing by the way so much honesty and godlinesse as gained my good opinion and affection towards him: I hearing that hee was affected with Samuel Gortons blasphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now imprisoned with him, I went to visit him, and having free speech with him in the open prison yard, who shedding many teares might happily move me to expresse my affection to him, which Samuel Gorton calls passion: After some debate about his new opinions, I remember I used a speech to him to this effect: That hee should doe well and wisely to make such acknowledgement of his errours as his conscience would permit; telling him that Mr. Cotton whom hee had so much revered in Old England, and New, had given him a godly example in that kinde, by a publique acknowledgement upon a solemne Fast day with many teares; That in the time when errours were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spirituall slumber; and had it not been for the watchfulnesse of his brethren the Elders, &c. hee might have slept on; and blessed God very cordially for awaking him, and was very thankfull to his Brethren, for their*

S. Gortons *abuse of M. Cotton and M. Ward answered.* 77

*their watchfulnesse over him, and faithfulnesse towards him: wherein hee honoured God not a little, and greatly joyced the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would bee no shame for him to doe the like.*

*Concerning Mr. Cotton, were I worthy, I would presume to speake that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elsewhere, That I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christ, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace, learning, and industry in the worke of God.*

*For the Author Samuel Gorton, my self and others farre more judicious, take him to bee a man whose spirit is fiarke drunke with blasphemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever hee comes; I intreat him to read Titus 1. 13. with an humble heart, and that is the greatest harm I wish him.*

N. W.

Thus much of the Answer and testimony of that Reverend and Grave Divine, wherein the Reader may see how Mr. *Gorton* abuseth all men, by casting mire and dirt in the faces of our best deserving Instruments.

In page. 54. he accuseth Mr. *Wilson* and Mr. *Cotton* for stirring up the people against them, &c. *Answer.* What they pressed in their Sermons, I was not present to heare; but this I can affirme, that from the time of their liberty to my departure from *New England*, which is not much above two moneths, I have heard many precious godly men affirme, that *Sam. Gorton* and his company needlessly in their writings and conference belched out such blasphemy as they thought God was offended with the Country for giving them the liberty they had. And that you may the better see his carriage, (it being the manner of the Country to let their prisoners come to heare the Word preached) Mr. *Gorton*, &c. being there after Mr. *Cotton* had ended his Sermon on a Sabbath day, asked leave to speake, which Mr. *Cotton* assenting to, the Governour being present gave him leave, where with a loud voice before the whole Congregation being very great, hee declared, *That the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, Censures, and other Ordinances of Religion in the hands of Ministers, are like the silver Shrines of Diana in the hands of the craftsmen of Ephesus, &c.* And if the truth of this be questioned, I have testimony upon Oath to make it good.

In pag. 55, 56, 57. many things might bee excepted against, as

in *p.* 55. his great respect manifested to that government, because derived from the State of *England*, which what it was thou maist largely see in certaine Observations of a godly Divine annexed hereunto, upon his owne two contemptuous and blasphemous Letters, or rather Bookes, wherein are 48 severall aspersions cast on them. Secondly, his appealing, *pag.* 56. from their Justice when their Charter enjoynes none.

In *pag.* 56, & 57, the Questions as hee hath set them downe, and the relation about the time allowed him to give his answer; I question whether he have dealt fairely therein, because hee is so often found faulty.

To passe by his Answer, and his large explanation of himselfe, *pag.* 58. and come to 59. &c. and so the rest of his Answers to the Questions to 64. I answer, though I know not whether hee doe right as hee states things; yet this I know, being attested by reverend persons, That hee then maintained, *that God made man after his owne image; and that God hath but one image, and that is Christ; and this was the Incarnation of Christ, his exinanition by which we are saved.* And when it was objected, wee are not saved by the incarnation of Christ, but by the death of Christ. *True, saith hee, therefore Adam fell, and so destroyed Gods image, and that was the death of Christ.* When it was objected againe, *Adams* fall was not our salvation, but condemnation, but the death of Christ was our salvation: and therefore *Adams* fall could not be the death of Christ. Hee would by no meanes either revoke or explaine his speech (though much urged thereunto) to agree with the principles of Christian Religion. Being further demanded what he then thought of that Christ in whom we beleeve, borne of the *Virgin Mary*, and who suffered under *Pontius Pilate*? He answered, *That that Christ was a shadow, and but a resemblance of what is done in mee and every true Christian.* And now judge good Reader, whether this be like what hee mentioneth, or whether it were a trifle not worthy the mentioning: But if he will be so unfaithfull as to omit it, I dare not.

As for his censure, *pag.* 64, I know not whether it bee right set downe; and so the charge, *pag.* 65. wherein I dare say he wrongeth the Ministers, in saying; *They stirred up the people to famish them.*

As for his long and tedious Letter to Mr. *Green*, from *page* 66 to 74. I passe it by, as he saith Mr. *Green* did. But in 74. hee would make

make it an aspersion upon Mr. *Endecot* for saying that *God had stirred them up to goe out of their owne jurisdiction to fetch them from their owne places.* Take notice as it is literally within the line of *Plimouth* Government in their Grant, yet the Indians before mentioned having subjected themselves to the *Maffachufets*, the Commiffioners for *Plimouth* as well as thofe for *Conectacut*, and *New-Haven*, upon the manifold complaints and reafons before mentioned, being met together at their ordinary time and place appointed and ordered it fhould beefo, as appears by the copy of their act.

At a meeting of the Commiffioners for the United Colonies of *New-England* holden at *Boston* the feventh of *September* 1643.

*Whereas complaints have beene made againft Samuel Gorton and his company, and some of them weighty and of great confequence; And whereas the faid Gorton and the reft have beene formerly fent for, and now lately by the generall Court of the Maffachufets with a safe conduct both for their coming and returne, that they might give answer and fatisfaction where in they have done wrong. If yet they fhall ftubbornely refufe, the Commiffioners for the United Colonies think fit that the Magiftrates in the Maffachufets proceed againft them according to what they fhall finde juft; and the reft of the Jurifdictions will approve and concurre in what fhall beefo warrantably done, as if their Commiffioners had beene prefent at the conclufions, provided that this conclufion doe not prejudice the Government of Plimouth in any right they can juftly claime unto any Tract or Tracts, &c.*

By which Order it appears they were stirred up and allowed by *Plimouth* it felfe as well as the reft, as afore, to fend for and deale with as indeed the common disturbers of the peace of the Country.

And whereas in *pag. 76.* He complaineth of the Governours laft order for breaking the order of Court, yet take it as he relates it and any understanding man will eafily fee on the other fide the fame leafe that they fill were bound to the reft of the Articles at their confinement, which they were now in a high way to break. And for that little Ifland called *Roade Island* they were forced to fhelter in, take notice 'tis 30 miles about, very fruitfull, and plentifully abounding with all manner of food the Country affordeth, and

[Errata: l. 26. for with as indeed, read with them as indeed.]

hath two Townes besides many great Farmes well stocked in the fame.

In *pag. 79.* Hee complaines of us for calling them *Gortonians*, and fo the Indians calling them *Gortonoges* and not Englishmen, with many affected foppish vanities, phrafes and termes I never heard on before, and yet have lived in *New-England* from the beginning, being now above 26 yeares. I wifh hee ftudy not, nor affect thefe things, but I much feare it.

In *pag. 80.* Hee tels a tale of a tub, of *Myantonimo's* being flain as hee marched, which is falfe, for hee was put to death, and in an houfe, but not upon a march. And is it to bee wondered at, that two Englifh were prefent to fee the manner of their proceeding in fo weighty a caufe as one Prince putting another his perfidious enemy and captive to death, efpecially when they were required by the Commiffioners to forbear their accustomed torments and to give him honourable buriall, which they did and had thanks returned by the *Nanhigganfets* for thofe particulars. Now if any would know how it was done? It was onely at one blow with an hatchet on the fide of the heade as hee walked eafily in the roome (expecting no leffe) which fully difpatched him at once. And thus much for answer to this charge.

To let paffe *pag. 81.* what hee faith about *Myantonimo's* death as being answered before, and come to *pag. 82. &c.* where he mentioneth a confultation held amongft the Indians to put themfelves under the fubjection of the State of *England, &c.* *Anfw.* Wee heard indeed of this desperate plot by this unfaithfull people, who had bene in Covenant with the feverall Governments long before, but never obferved any one Article farther then it might further their owne defigne which was to bee abfolute Lords of the Country though with the ruine of us all. And truly had he not published this and the following difcourfe wee could never have proved it though wee heard of it both from Englifh and Indians. And however *Myantonimo* dyed, yet the plot liveth and continueth to this day. Now though I dare not fay, nor doe I thinke they joyne with them in aiming at the ruine of all the Englifh, yet they joyne with them in many of their Councils, contrive their fturdy answers by writings, and become their Secretaries. Who knowes not that they cannot write? and who knowes not their owne answers from thofe that come under your hands? And if the State of *England* (which God

God defend) ſhould eſtabliſh your and their joynt propoſitions: then were their plot accompliſhed: for they might and would worke freely our ruine when as wee might not take up armes againſt them, but by vertue of warrant or writ from hence procured upon our complaints here, which alſo would bee ſix months in ordinary courſe in procuring and returning, when as in one of theſe all our throates might bee cut, and thoſe hopefull beginnings ſo much favoured by our gracious God hitherto in a high way to bee overthrowne. Indeed wee heard further, and for my part I beleve it, that for the better accompliſhment hercof, *Samuel Gorton* and ſome of his company had perſwaded the *Nanohigganſets* to ſend the King a very large Prefent of Beaver and otter ſkins which they ſhould bring in, and accordingly did: but withall the Engliſh reporter faith, that if he could finde favour with the Parliament, then hee would reſt there: but if they frowned on him, hee doubted not to but obtaine what was meet from the King. But the times would not ſuffer him to publiſh this alſo, elſe I ſee wee ſhould have had all: and this take notice of, That (as the ſame report teſtified) at his departure hee wiſhed them by no meanes to warre with us the *United Colonies*, but compound though it coſt them never ſo deare, but affured them at his returne hee would come ſtrengthened with ſuch authority and ſo many of his friends as that the *Nanohigganſets* and themſelves ſhould not need to feare any thing the reſt of the Engliſh could doe. And that we heard theſe things from credible teſtimony and are not fained by mee, I take the ſearcher of the heart to witneſſe, yea ſay further that I beleve them to bee true.

His glorious ſeeming well-deſerving acts follow in *pag.* 82. &c. to 89. but note that *Weekes*, *Holden*, and *Warner*, (though I leaſt know the laſt, but am ſure for the other two) were his ſtrong Aſſiſtants in his former ſeditious and mutinous carriages both at *Roade Iſland* and *Providence*, and therefore fit Commiſſioners as he terms them, for the accompliſhing ſuch a deſigne. And in *pag.* 85. note firſt, their compliance with the *Nanohigganſets*, and his falſe relation in ſaying *Myantonimo's* ranſome was taken and his life alſo, which is moſt falſe, as I made appeare in my former relation. And for the Kings being our and their Judge, as in *pag.* 86. Know the Indians care no more for the King then they doe for us, whom they would deſtroy if they could.

And in *pag.* 88. take notice of the *Gortoniſts* complying and joyn-

ing with them, first, by calling them their *fellow-subjects*, and secondly, speaking of the *Mauquagges* (whom wee ordinarily call *Mo-whakes*) as being the *most fierce and warlike people in the Country, where (saith hee) wee are furnished with 3700 Guns, men expert in the use of them, &c.* Now these indeed as the Switzers serve for hire. And the *Nanohigganfets* being rich have hired them to assist them in their warre. But though the *Gortonists* it seemes are interested with the *Nanohigganfets* in their strength against us, yet are they neither so many men nor have so many arms, but have too many and are very expert in them; being continually supplied by the French and Dutch, whose aime is chiefly at the trade of Furs, and hereby not onely robbe us of that should helpe to maintaine our plantations which are growing up into a Nation, but furnish the Indians with all manner of armes, which I would to God, and humbly beseech this High Court of Parliament to take into serious consideration, and treat with their severall Ambassadors about it, as a thing unreasonable in it selfe, and such as hath bene pernicious to French and Dutch, and may bee destructive to them and us, if some due course bee not taken. But to returne from my humble request to the State, to my answer to *Samuel Gorton*; although this be a most unworthy vaunt of his, yet I trust the State will make such use of it as never to suffer this desperate crew to live so neere our malicious enemies the *Nanohiganf.* and that they will not only countenance the sentence of the *Maffachusf.* Government against them, but hinder the said *Gortons* returne thither, by forbidding him to set foot on that land of *New-England* he hath filled with so many troubles in all the parts where he hath bene.

In pag. 91. Hee taxeth *Plimouth* to joyne with the *Maffachusets* to frustrate their Government by vertue of their new Charter. 'Tis true, we would have had the *Maffachusets* to have then sent, and rendered a reason to the State of their proceedings, knowing as before that Mr. *Gortons* journey was for evill and not for good: but they being then taken up with more weighty concernments neglected it: but *Plimouth* did then petition the right honourable *Robert Earle of Warwicke* the Governour in chiefe of the English plantations in *America* and the rest of that honourable Committee joyned in Commission with him, that wee might enjoy our ancient limits of Government granted in our letters Patent, and withall shewed that their Charter for the limits of it now granted, was contained within



S.G.that Preached against Magiftracy,accepts it in his perfon. 83

within our line of Government: and trust I shall now receive answer. Tis true also that we sent Mr. *John Brown* furnished with these following instruction to signify to all that were interested in that new erected Government as followeth by Commission given at *New-Plimouth*, Nov. 8. 1644.

1. That a great part of their supposed Government is within the line of the Government of *New-Plimouth*.

2. That we assuredly knew that this ever to bee honoured House of Parliament would not, nor will when they shall know of it, take from us the most ancient Plantation, any part of the line of our Government formerly granted; it being contrary to their Principles.

3. To forbid them and all and every of them to exercise any authority or power of Government within the limits of our Letters Patents.

4. To certify them that Coweset is not onely within the said limits, but that the Sachim thereof and his sonnes have taken protection of this our Government. And therefore to forbid them to enter upon any part of his or their lands without due order and leave from our Government.

Now these instructions were signed by the Governour. And Mr. *Browne* going to *Roade Island* for this end came very seasonable when a publique meeting was appointed for your new Magistrates and people, (but as he reported, for a most vile end; viz. to take into consideration a new disposall of the lands formerly given out, as if some had too much and some too little, & for now respect of persons, and their estates was to bee laid aside.) And here note that Mr. *Coddington*, Mr. *Briuton*, &c. that we at *Plimouth* had speciall eye to, when we commended them thither, abhorred their course, abstained from their meetings, looked upon themselves as persons in great danger, and bemoaned their condition to divers their friends, being now overwhelmed with cares and feares what would bee the issue of things. And note that now also Mr. *Samuel Gorton* that before had suffered so much by authority for his evill doing, and was come to deny it and preach against it, being now by these Inhabitants called to place, accepts it, and became a Magistrate amongst them, &c. But whereas hee intimates, as if Mr. *Browne* had onely done his message (according to his instructions) in a private way from house to house, therein hee wrongs him: for hee did it publicly in the place of their Affembly, who were so daunted at it as they brake up, and did no act intended for that day, as hee related it: but some would have had him imprisoned, others punished,

[Errata: l. 24,  
for & put (.)]

others sent to the Dutch and so for England. Yea Mr. *Gorton* himselfe told Mr. *Brownes* sonne that his father had done that which he deserved to die for, and were hee in any other place it would cost him his life. So fit for Government were these men, as to judge a peaceable claime of right without any further disturbance or stirre made should thus deserve. Neither indeed have wee further stirred then as before, ever resolving to rest in the determination of the right honourable the Governour in chiefe and the rest of his honourable Assitants of that Committee bee trusted with the affaires of the Forraigne English Plantations, assuring our selves what ever might proceed either from misinformation or want of due knowledge what was formerly done, would bee rectified upon the first information and complaint made: Such were our thoughts of them, and the justice wee expected, and still hope to receive from them. And thus much for answer to that complaint.

In *pag. 92.* He layeth another grosse aspersion upon us, in saying, *There was distance and alienation of affection betweene Plymouth and the Massachusetts at their first coming, each thinking I am holier then thou: and as if wee were now united on purpose to scatter them.* The world knows this to bee most false. Never people agreed better, maintaining both religious and civill Communion with each other, and helping and being helpfull one to another upon all occasions: which is so well knowne, as if hee had not more then ordinary boldnesse hee durst not affirme it. Nor came the men of *Plymouth* from *Amsterdam* as hee reporteth but *Leyden*, a people that many of that Church of *Amsterdam* would hardly allow communion withall: but his pen is no flaunder, at least will not bee where this answer shall follow it. And for his relation of the manner of the Indians mourning for their Prince his death; Truly had hee dyed a naturall death, 'tis their manner not onely so to mourne for their great *Sachims* which are Princes, but for ordinary men, women and children as hee well knoweth or might know.

In *pag. 93.* He further complaines of *Plymouth* and *Massachusetts* for offering to goe out against the *Nanohiggansets* to cut them off by the sword. And so complaines also of Captaine *Standish &c.* *Answ.* I told you before how the Commissioners for the United Colonies meeting at *Hartford* by course, whose meeting alwayes begins the first Thursday in *Septemb.* sent for both the *Nanohiggansets* and *Uncus*, who appeared, and a league agreed on: but the *Nanohiggansets*

ganfets broke againe, and warred upon *Uncus* needlessly. The United Colonies admonished them againe and againe: and after no admonition nor perswasions would serve, wee were then forced to call the Commiffioners together at an extraordinary season on purpose, who finding it meet to take up Armes in the behalfe of *Vncus* our Confederate, whom by the agreement of the *Nanohigganfets* fundry times, at divers meetings wee were bound, and it was made lawfull to doe. Hereupon the Commiffioners agreeing as before, sent out their Warrants to their severall and speciall Governments, and accordingly Forces were raised at a dayes warning. But before this, in stead of hearkening to righteous Counsell, they threatened also the English, saying, they would make heapes of our dead bodies and cattle, as high as their houses, burne our habitations, make spoile of our goods, and used our Messengers very discourteously, &c. And for Captaine *Standish*, this I heard him relate, that being at the place of Rendezvouze, before the *Massachusetts* Forces came, observing that some of the Inhabitants of *Providence* received the *Indians* into their houses familiarly, who had put themselves also into a posture of Armes, and the place within a mile of *Secunck* or *Rheboth* where Captaine *Standish* lay; hee sent to *Providence*, and required them to lay aside their neutrality, and either declare themselves on the one side or other: For the warre being once begun, hee would not beare with their carriage in entertaining, furnishing, and relieving the common enemy, but would disarm them, &c. And whether necessity put him not upon this course, or no, let the Reader judge.

Errata: l. 6,  
for whom. read  
which.]

And for the five hundred pound, 'tis true their hearts fayled to see *Plymouth* Forces appeare, and *Massachus.* both Horfe and Foot upon their march on the one side their Country, under Mr. *Edw. Gibbons* who was chosen Generall of the United Colonies, with the help of *Woosamequin*, whose constancy to *Plymouth* is welknown, and *Pumham* and *Socononoco* with reference to *Massachusetts* with all their men, attending the English word of command. And on the other side their Country the forces of *Coneetacut* and *Newhaven*, with all the strenght of *Uncus*, waiting but for the word from the Commiffioners to fall on. Now I say they were daunted especially because it came so suddenly upon them, wanting Mr. *Gorton* and his friends who were not yet come; Hereupon they resolved to go to the

Commissioners to *Maffachus.* and compound, and did signe new Articles to observe the peace not onely with the United Colonies but with *Uncus, Woofamequin, Pumham*, and *Socononoco*, and o-ther our Confederates, including all the English in the land, to make fatisfaction for wrongs to *Vncus*, and to pay five hundred pounds to the united Colonies, for the charge they put us to, which indeed would not neare make it good, if they had paid it: but as at other times, so now, notwithstanding their Hoftages, they abused us grofly, first fending false perfons; fecondly, breaking all other their Covenants, and came at laft to a refolution, they would rather give the money (which is a Beade, as current as coin in all that part of *America*, of their owne making) to the *Mowhakes* at once, to cut us off, then to pay it according to Covenant.

And thus contrary to my refolution, I fee a neceffity of more large answers then I intended; and indeed otherwise I fhould fpeak riddles, and not fatisfie the Reader. Although were it an Hiftory, I have many remarkable paffages which here for brevity fake I muft omit. And if any think wee doe needlefly ingage in the troubles betweene the *Indians*? 1. Let them know if wee fhould not here and there keepe correpondency with fome of them; they would foone joyne all together againft us. 2. The quarrall betweene *Uncus* and *Nanohigganfet*, arofe upon his cleaving to us: For the great *Sachim Myantonimo* would have married *Uncus* daughter, and fince *Peffachus* that fucceeded him would have married *Woofamequins* daughter, and all in policy to take them off from us; fo that indeed wee are neceffitated to it. And 3. we are not out of hope in time to bring them to the knowledge of Jefus Chrif, as will appear by a fmall Treatife of that kinde. But this one thing I defire the Reader to take notice of, that when that great Prince *Myantonimo* hee fo much admires, had offered violence to *Woofamequin* (who was under the protection of *Plymouth*) and miffing his perfon, returned onely with the plunder of his goods: Upon *Woofamequins* complaint to *Plymouth*, that Government alone, it being before the Union, fent Captain *Standifh* with a few men, not above 20. who fent a meffage over the Bay of Salt water which parts *Woofamequin* from them, *Either to make refitution of his goods fo injurioufly taken, or elfe to expect him to fetch them with vengeance to their coft.* Hereupon they fent over every particular that could bee demanded, even to a wooden difh, and falved up all againe; but this was before  
 any

any malignant English fate down so neare them, and held counsell with them, before they had violated our persons to them, reported us to bee base and low, out of favour with the King and State, &c. things very unworthy, abominable to be named, but that in defending the abused Governments of the Country, I am forced to dang such strokes at these proud and turbulent enemies of the Country.

Next in *pag. 94.* that hee relateth of Mr. *Williams*; viz, the messengers taking him with them that were sent to the *Nanohiggansets*, in that troublefome time, viz. *being one cast out of the Church* (Mr. *Cotton* should preach) *It was all one to take counsell of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die.* Upon which Mr. *Wilbour* one of the messengers *was ready to die*, saith hee, *for feare hee should have been hanged.* This I cannot beleeve for these two Reasons: 1. Because all men that know Mr. *Cotton*, know his moderation, wisdom and piety to bee such, as such an expreffion was not like to drop from him. 2. The strictest Government in *New-Engl.* that I know, takes no advantage in the law at a mans person for being excommunicated; insofuch as if he have an office, he holds it neverthelesse, and this, I know practised, and therefore his relation unlike. But that the Messengers were directed to another for their interpreter I know, and that some took offence at their practise I know also, but upon different grounds, which I forbear to mention, being now to answer Mr. *Gorton*, and not Mr. *Williams*.

In *pag. 93.* which is the last *page* in his Booke that I shall need to make answer to, and the thing hee there brings against us is an answer to a doctrine one of their wives should heare delivered at *Masfachusets* when shee came to visit them, from *Matth. 24. 29. and alluding to Hebr. 12. 26, 27.* briefly this doctrine there delivered, *should make the doctrine of the Apostles and the Churches in their times to bee but darknesse. That the Ministry of the Apostles was and should be removed, &c.* which I desire the Reader to turne to; but bee assured through Gods mercy, by meanes of the late Bishop of *Canterburies* persecutions of the godly here, wee are so excellently furnished with shining Lights of the Gospel, as no such blasphemous trash as this could bee there delivered, and so many able hearers, as if it should have been delivered by any, the Lord with-drawing his presence from him, it would have been forthwith excepted against and published to the world. But I am confident if such a thing were there heard, it was either from one of their owne company,

pany, or disciples made by them. And therefore I will passe by the answer also, as not concerning any difference between him and us, and so the rest of his writings to that end, and could wish that *Narcissus*-like hee were not so much in love with his owne shadow, lest it prove his ruine; there needing no other matter against him then his owne words and writings to render him odious to the State here, as well as to *New-England* from whence he came.

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AND now that I have finished what I conceive necessary concerning Mr. *Gortons* scandalous and slanderous Bookes, let me briefly answer some objections that I often meet withall against the Country of *New-England*. The first that I meet with is, concerning the rise and foundation of our *New-England* Plantations; It being alledged (though upon a great mistake by a late Writer) that division or disagreement in the Church of *Leyden*, was the occasion, nay cause of the first Plantation in *New-England*; for saith the Author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to *New-England*, and began the Plantation at *Plymouth*, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the Churches, as if the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations had been laid upon division or separation, then which nothing is more untrue: For I perswade my selfe, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly then wee the Church at *Leyden* did, not rashly in a distracted humour, but upon joynt and serious deliberation, often seeking the minde of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence we not onely found with us, but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of our selves, to see such effects of our prayers and teares before our pilgrimage here bee ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'Tis true, that that poor persecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late Hierarchy were driven to *Leyden* in *Holland*, there to beare witnesse in their practise to the Kingly Office of Christ Jesus in his Church: and there lived together ten yeares under the United States, with much peace and liberty: But our Reverend Pastor Mr. *John Robinson* of late memory, and our grave Elder Mr. *William Brewster*, (now both at rest with the Lord) considering

sidering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for *England*; how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of *England*; how like wee were to lose our language, and our name of English; how little good wee did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as wee our selves had received, &c. They, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them conceived, if God would be pleased to discover some place unto us ( though in *America*) and give us so much favour with the King and State of *England*, as to have their protection there, where wee might enjoy the like liberty, and where the Lord favouring our endeavours by his blessing, wee might exemplarily shew our tender Country-men by our example (no lesse burthened then our selves) where they might live, and comfortably subsist and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from Antichristian bondage, keep their names and Nation, and not onely bee a meanes to enlarge the Dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the Natives whither hee should bring us, &c. Hereby in their grave Wisdomes they thought wee might more glorifie God, doe more good to our Country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours, then ever wee could doe in *Holland* where we were.

Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the Brethren of the Congregation, which after much private discussion came to publike agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly fought in the Congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the worke, wee sent some of good abilities over into *England* to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might finde with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir *Edwin Sands* a religious Gentleman then living, to stirre in it, who procured Sir *Robert Nawnton* then principall Secretary of State to King *James* of famous memory, to move his Majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the Government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of Conscience under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesties Domini-

ons, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due meanes. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part we intended (for our eye was upon the most Northern parts of *Virginia*) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which hee replied with his ordinary asseveration, *So God have my Soule 'tis an honest Trade, 'twas the Apostles owne calling, &c.* But afterwards he told Sir *Robert Navvnton*, (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*, &c. Whereupon we were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them-which caused our Agents to repair to the *Virginia* Company, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 300 *l. gratis* for three years, which was repaid.

Our Agents returning, we further fought the Lord by a publique and solemne Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon we came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to goe at first, and the other to stay, *viz.* the youngest and strongest part to goe. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the Pastor to goe with them; if not, the Elder onely. Fourthly, if the Lord should frowne upon our proceedings, then those that went to returne, and the Brethren that remained still there, to assist and bee helpfull to them, but if God should bee pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to helpe over such as were poore and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the Pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a very few, who had rather we would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. *Brewster* their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great;) And when the Ship was ready to carry us away, the Brethren that stayed having againe solemnly fought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging our selves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at *Leyden* feasted us that were to goe at our Pastors house being large, where we refreshed our selves after our teares, with singing of Psalmes, making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was  
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the sweetest melody that ever mine eares heard. After this they accompanied us to *Delphs Haven*, where wee were to imbarque, and there feasted us againe; and after prayer performed by our Pastor, where a flood of teares was poured out, they accompanied us to the Ship, but were not able to speake one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part: but wee onely going aboard (the Ship lying to the Key) and ready to set saile, the winde being faire) wee gave them a volley of small shot, and three peeces of Ordinance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits hee carryed us thorrow. And if any doubt this relation, the *Dutch*, as I heare, at *Delphs Haven* preserve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

But falling with *Cape Cod* which is in *New-England*, and standing to the Southward for the place wee intended, wee met with many dangers, and the Mariners put back into the Harbour of the *Cape*, which was the 11. of *November*, 1620. where considering Winter was come, the Seas dangerous, the season cold, the winds high, and being well furnished for a Plantation, we entered upon discovery, and settled at *Plymouth*, where God being pleased to preserve and enable us, wee that went, were at a Thousand pounds charge in sending for our Brethren that were behinde, and in providing there for them till they could reape a crop of their owne labours. And so good Reader, I have given thee a true and faithfull account, though very briefe, of our proceedings, wherein thou seest how a late Writer, and those that informed him, have wronged our enterprife. And truly what I have written, is far short of what it was, omitting for brevity sake many circumstances, as the large offers the *Dutch* offered us, either to have removed into *Zealand* and there lived with them: or if we would go on such adventures, to goe under them to *Hudsons River* (where they have since a great plantation, &c.) and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, &c. Also the English Merchants that joynd with us in this expedition, whom wee since bought out, which is fitter for an History, then an answer to such an Objection, (& I trust will be accomplished in good time.) By all which the Reader may see there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that stayed, but such love as indeed is feldome found on earth.

And for the many plantations that come over to us upon notice of Gods blessing upon us, whereas 'tis falsly said, they tooke *Plimouth* for their president as fast as they came. 'Tis true I confesse that some of the chiefe of them advised with us ( coming over to be freed from the burthenfome ceremonies then imposed in England ) how they should doe to fall upon a right platforme of worship, and desired to that end since God had honoured us to lay the foundation of a Common-weale, and to settle a Church in it, to shew them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly shewed them the Primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the severall Churches by the said Apostles together with the Commandements of Christ the Lord in the Gospell, and other our warrants for every particular wee did from the booke of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entred into Covenant with God and one with another to walke in all his wayes revealed, or as they should bee made knowne unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word onely, &c. So that here also thou maist see they set not the Church at *Plimouth* before them for example, but the Primitive Churches were and are their and our mutuall patternes and examples, which are onely worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them which were sent immediately by Christ himselfe and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a patterne fit to bee followed of all that feare God, and no man or men to bee followed further then they follow Christ and them.

Having thus briefly shewed that the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations was not laid upon Schisme, division, or Separation, but upon love, peace, and holinesse; yea, such love and mutuall care of the Church of *Leyden* for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldome found on earth: And having shewed also that the Primitive Churches are the onely pattern which the Churches of Christ in *New-England* have in their eye, not following *Luther, Calvin, Knoxe, Ainsworth, Robinson, Amies*, or any other, further then they follow Christ and his Apostles; I am earnestly requested to cleare up another grosse mistake which caused many, and still doth,  
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to judge the harder of *New-England*, and the Churches there, because (say they) *The Church of Plymouth which went first from Leyden, were Schismaticks, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c. having Mr. Robinson for their Pastor, who made, and to the last professed separation from other the Churches of Christ, &c. And the rest of the Churches in New-England holding communion with that Church, are to be reputed such as they are.*

For answer to this aspersion, First, he that knew Mr. Robinson, either by his Doctrine daily taught, or hath read his Apology published not long before his death, or knew the practise of that Church of Christ under his government, or was acquainted with the wholesome counsell he gave that part of the Church which went for *New-England* at their departure and afterward, might easily resolve the doubt, and take off the aspersion.

For his Doctrine, I living three yeares under his Ministry, before we began the worke of Plantation in *New-England*; It was always against separation from any the Churches of Christ, professing and holding communion both with the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, yea, tendering it to the *Scots* also, as I shall make appeare more particularly anon. Ever holding forth how wary persons ought to be in separating from a Church, and that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, onely to beare witnesse against the corruption that was in it. But if any object, he separated from the Church of *England*, and wrote largely against it; I acknowledge hee wrote largely against it, but yet let me tell you, hee allowed hearing the godly Ministers preach and pray in the publick Assemblies; yea, hee allowed private communion not onely with them, but all that were faithfull in Christ Jesus in the Kingdome and elsewhere upon all occasions; yea, honored them for the power of godlinesse above all other the professors of Religion in the world, nay, I may truly say, his spirit cleaved unto them, being so well acquainted with the integrity of their hearts, and care to walke blamelesse in their lives, which was no small motive to him to persuade us to remove from *Holland*, where wee might probably not onely continue *English*, but have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that Nation, as through Gods great mercy we enjoy this day.

'Tis true, I confesse he was more rigid in his course and way at first, then towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union

fo far as might agree with faith and a good confcience; and for fchifm and divifion, there was nothing in the world more hatefull to him: But for the government of the Church of *England*, as it was in the Epifcopall way, the Liturgy and fainted prayers of the Church then; yea, the conftitution of it as Nationall, and fo confequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lords Supper, thefe things were never approved of him, but witneffed againft to his death, and are by the Church over which he was to this day. And if the Lord would be pleafed to ftir up the hearts of thofe, in whom (under him) the power of Reformation lies, to reform that abufe, that a diftinction might once be put between the precious and the vile, particular Churches might be gathered by the powerfull preaching of the Word, thofe onely admitted into communion, whofe hearts the Lord perfwades to fubmit unto the Iron rod of the Gofpel; O how fweet then would the communion of the Churches be! How thorow the Reformation! How eafie would the differences be reconciled between the Presbyterian and Independent way! How would the God of peace which commandeth love and good agreement fmile upon this Nation! How would the fubtle underminers of it be difappointed, and the faithfull provoked to fing fongs of praife and thankfgiving! Nay, how would the God of order be glorified in fuch orderly walking of the Saints! And as they have fought together for the liberties of the Kingdome, Ecclefiaticall and Civill; fo may they joyn together in the prefervation of them (which otherwife, 'tis to be feared will not long continue) and in the praifes of our God who hath been fo good to his poore diftreffed ones, whom he hath delivered, and whom he will deliver out of all their troubles. But I have made too great a digreffion, and muft return.

In the next place I fhould fpeak of Mr. *Robinfons* Apology, wherein he maketh a brieve defence againft many adverfaries, &c. But becaufe it is both in Latine and Englifh, of fmall price, and eafie to be had, I fhall forbear to write of it, and onely refer the Reader to it, for the differences between his congregation, and other the Reformed Churches.

The next thing I would have the Reader take notice of, is, that however the church of *Leyden* differed in fome particulars, yet made no Schifme or feparation from the Reformed Churches, but held communion with them occasionally: For we ever placed a large difference

rence between those that grounded their practise upon the Word of God (tho differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it) and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did, who would not in deed and truth (whatever their pretences were) that Christ should rule over them. But as they often stretched out their hands against the faints; so God hath withered the Arm of their power, thrown them down from their high & lofty seats, and slain the chiefe of their persons, as well as the Hierarchy, that he might become an example to all those that rise against God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his Saints, in the purity of his Ordinances. And I heartily desire that others may heare and feare withall.

As for the *Dutch*, it was usuall for our Members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to *London*, to communicate with them, as one *John Jenny* a Brewer long did, his wife and family, &c. and without any offence to the Church: So also for any that had occasion to travell into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like: And our Pastor *Mr. Robinson* in the time when Arminianisme prevailed so much, at the request of the most Orthodox Divines, as *Poliander, Festus, Homlius, &c.* disputed daily against *Episcopius* (in the Academy, at *Leyden*) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines; Infomuch as when God took him away from them and us by death, the Univerfity, and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewayling the great losse that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Christ sustained a losse by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel. I could instance also divers of their members that understood the English tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our Church, went with us to *New-England*, as *Godbert Godbertson, &c.* Yea, at this very instant, another called *Moses Symonson*, because a child of one that was in communion with the *Dutch Church* at *Leyden*, is admitted into Church-fellowship at *Plymouth* in *New-England*, and his children also to Baptism, as wel as our own, and other *Dutch* also in communion at *Salem, &c.*

And for the *French Churches* that we held, and do hold communion

nion with them, take notice of our praetise at *Leyden*, viz. that one *Samuel Terry* was received from the *French Church* there, into communion with us; also the wife of *Francis Cooke* being a *Walloone*, holds communion with the Church at *Plymouth*, as she came from the *French*, to this day, by vertue of communion of Churches; There is also one *Philip Delanoy* born of *French* parents, came to us from *Leyden* to *New-Plymouth*, who comming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us, & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the *French Churches*, was here upon admitted by the Church of *Plymouth*; and after upon his removal of habitation to *Duxburrow* where *M. Ralph Partridge* is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at *Plymouth*, hee was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at *Duxburrow*, being six miles distant from *Plymouth*; and so I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may from Church to church throughout *New-England*. For the truth is, the *Dutch* and *French Churches* either of them being a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion, and not Nationall Churches, nay, so far from it, as I verily beleve the sixth person is not of the Church, the difference is so small (if moderately pondered, between them and us) as we dare not for the world deny communion with them.

And for the Church of *Scotland*, however wee have had least occasion offered to hold communion with them; yet thus much I can and doe affirme, that a godly Divine comming over to *Leyden* in *Holland*, where a Booke was printed, *Anno 1619*. as I take it, shewing the nullity of *Perth* Affembled, whom we judged to bee the Author of it, and hidden in *Holland* for a season to avoid the rage of those evill times (whose name I have forgotten;) This man being very conversant with our Pastor *Mr. Robinson*, and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath, after Sermon ended, the Church being to partake in the Lords Supper, this Minister stood up and desired hee might, without offence, stay and see the manner of his administration, and our participation in that Ordinance; To which our Pastor answered in these very words, or to this effect, *Reverend Sir, you may not onely stay to behold us, but partake with us, if you please, for wee acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ, &c.* The Minister also replied to this purpose, if not also in the same words; *That for his part hee could comfortably partake with the Church, and willingly would, but that it is possible some of his brethren of Scotland might*

might take offence at his act; which he desired to avoid in regard of the opinion the English Churches which they held communion withall had of us: However he rendered thanks to Mr. *Robinson*, and desired in that respect to be onely a spectator of us. These things I was earnestly requested to publish to the world by some of the godly Presbyterian party, who apprehend the world to bee ignorant of our proceedings, conceiving in charity that if they had been knowne, some late Writers and Preachers would never have written and spoke of us as they did, and still doe as they have occasion: But what they ignorantly judge, write, or speak of us, I trust the Lord in mercy wil passe by.

In the next place, for the wholsome counsell Mr. *Robinson* gave that part of the Church whercof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in *New-England*, amongst other wholsome Instructions and Exhortations, hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose; We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further then he followed Christ. And if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the instruments of their Reformation: As for example, the *Lutherans* they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* saw, for whatever part of Gods will he had further imparted and revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the *Calvinists*, they stick where he left them: A misery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what

we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist*, being a meer nick-name and brand to make Religion odious, and the professors of it to the Christian world; and to that end, saith hee, I should be glad if some godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my coming; For, saith hee, there will be no difference between the uncomformable Ministers and you, when they come to the practise of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And so advised us by all meanes to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdome of *England*, and rather to study union then division; *viz.* how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, saith hee, for that flock that hath two shepherds is not indangered, but secured by it. Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us, but these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of Church-government in the Kingdom of *England*) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of Christ now at *New-Plymouth in New-England*, but formerly at *Leyden in Holland*, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the Churches of *Christ*, especially those that are Reformed.

'Tis true, we professe and desire to practise a separation from the world, & the works of the world, which are works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaketh of, *Ephes. 5. 19, 20, 21. 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11. and Ephes. 2. 11, 12.* And as the Churches of Christ are all Saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth, (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, & to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the Saints may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joyning to us formerly, either when we lived at *Leyden in Holland*, or since we came to *New-England*, have with the manifestation of their  
faith



faith and profession of holiness held forth therewith separation from the Church of *England*, I have divers times, both in the one place, and the other, heard either *Mr. Robinſon* our Paſtor, or *Mr. Brewſter* our Elder ſtop them forthwith, ſhewing them that wee required no ſuch things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Chriſt Jeſus, holineſſe in the feare of God, and ſubmiſſion to every Ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of *England* to themſelves, and to the Lord before whom they ſhould ſtand or fall, and to whom wee ought to pray to reforme what was amiſſe amongſt them. Now this Reformation we have lived to ſee performed and brought about by the mighty power of God, this day in a good meaſure, and I hope the Lord Jeſus will perfect his work of Reformation, till all be according to the good pleaſure of his will. By all which I deſire the Reader to take notice of our former and preſent praſtiſe notwithstanding all the injurious and ſcandalous taunting reports are paſſed on us. And if theſe things will not ſatiſſie, but wee muſt ſtill ſuffer reproach, and others for our ſakes, becauſe they and wee thus walke, our praſtiſe being for ought wee know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or humane invention knowne to us, taking our patterne from the Primitive Churches, as they were regulated by the bleſſed Apoſtles in their owne dayes, who were taught and inſtructed by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and had the unerring and all-knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard: I ſay, if wee muſt ſtill ſuffer ſuch reproach, notwithstanding our charity towards them who will not be in charity with us; Gods will be done.

The next aſperſion caſt upon us, is, that we will not ſuffer any that differ from us never ſo little to reſide or cohabite with us; no not the Presbyterian Government which differeth ſo little from us. To which I anſwer, our praſtiſe witneſſeth the contrary. For 'tis well knowne that *Mr. Parker* and *Mr. Noyce* who are Miniſters of the Church at *Newberry* are in that way and ſo knowne ſo farre as a ſingle Congregation can be exerciſed in it; yet never had the leaſt moleſtation or diſturbance, and have and finde as good reſpect from Magiſtrates and people as other Elders in the Congregationall or Primitive way. 'Tis knowne alſo that *Mr. Hubbard* the Miniſter at *Hengam* hath declared himſelfe for that way: nay which is more then ever I heard of the other two, hee reſuſeth to

baptize no children that are tendred to him (although this liberty stands not upon a Presbyterian bottome) and yet the Civill State never molested him for it: onely comming to a Synod held in the Country the last yeare, which the Magistrates called, requesting the Churches to send their Elders and such other as might bee able to hold forth the light of God from his written word in case of some doubts which did arise in the Country: I say hee comming the last fitting of the Affembly which was adjourned to the eighth of *June* next, was in all meeknesse and love requested to bee present and hold forth his light hee went by in baptizing all that were brought to him, hereby waving the practise of the Churches, which he promising to take into consideration they rested in his answer. So also 'tis well known, that before these unhappy troubles arose in *England* and *Scotland*, there were divers Gentlemen of *Scotland* that groaned under the heavy preffaries of those times, wrote to *New-England* to know whether they might freely be suffered to exercise their Presbyteriall government amongst us. And it was answered affirmatively they might: and they sending over a Gentleman to take a view of some fit place; A River called *Meromeck* neare *Ipswich* and *Newberry* aforesaid, was shewed their Agent, which he well liked, and where wee have since four townes settled, and more may bee for ought I know, so that there they might have had a compleate Presbytery and whither they intended to have come: but meeting with manifold crosses being halfe Seas thorow they gave over their intendments, and as I have heard these were many of the Gentlemen that first fell upon the late Covenant in *Scotland*: by all which will easily appeare how wee are here wronged by many; and the harder measure as wee heare imposed upon our brethren for our sakes, nay pretending our example for their president. And last of all, not long before I came away certaine discontented persons in open Court of the *Maffachusetts*, demanding that liberty, it was freely and as openly tendred to them; shewing their former practices by mee mentioned: but willed not to expect that wee should provide them Ministers &c. for the same, but getting such themselves they might exercise the Presbyterian Government at their libertie, walking peaceably towards us as wee trusted we should doe towards them. So that if our brethren here shall bee restrained they walking peaceably, the example must not be taken from us, but arise from some other principle.

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But it will not bee objected though you deale thus with the Prefbyterian way, yet you have a fevere law againft Anabaptifts, yea one was whipt at *Maffachufets* for his Religion? and your law banifheth them? *Anfw.* 'Tis true, the *Maffachufets* Governement have fuch a law as to banifh, but not to whip in that kinde. And certaine men defiring fome mitigation of it; It was answered in my hearing. 'Tis true, we have a fevere law, but wee never did or will execute the rigour of it upon any, and have men living amongft us, nay fome in our Churches of that judgement, and as long as they carry themfelves peaceably as hitherto they doe, wee will leave them to God, our felves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas there was one whipt amongft us; 'tis true wee knew his judgement what it was: but had hee not carried himfelfe fo contemptuously towards the Authority God hath betrufted us with in an high exemplary meafure, wee had never fo censored him: and therefore he may thank himfelf who fuffered as an evill doer in that refpect. But the reason wherefore wee are loath either to repeale or alter the law, is, Becaufe wee would have it remaine in force to beare witneffe againft their judgement and practife which we conceive them to bee erroneous.

And yet nevertheleffe faid the Governour to thofe preferred the request, you may tel our friends in *England*, whither yee are fome of you going, fince the motion proceedeth from fuch as wee know move it in love to us, wee will ferioufly take it into confideration at our next Generall Court. So that thou maift perceive good Reader that the worft is fpoken of things in that kinde.

Furthermore in the Government of *Plimouth*, to our great grieve, not onely the Paftor of a Congregation waveth the adminiftration of baptifme to Infants, but divers of his Congregation are fallen with him, and yet all the meanes the civill power hath taken againft him and them, is to firre up our Elders to give meeting and fee if by godly conference they may bee able to convince and reclaime him, as in mercy once before they had done by Gods bleffing upon their labours. Onely at the foresaid Synod, two were ordered to writeto him in the name of the Affembly, and to request his prefence at their next meeting aforefaid to hold forth his light hee goeth by in waving the practife of the Churches; with promife if it be light, to walke by it: but if it appeare otherwife, then they trust hee will returne againe to the unity of practice with them. And for the o-

ther two Governments of *Conectacut* and *Newhaven*, if either have any law in force against them, or so much as need of a law in that kinde, 'tis more then I have heard on.

For our parts (I mean the Churches of *New-Engl.*) we are confident through Gods mercy, the way of God in which we walke, and according to which wee perform our Worship and service to Him, concurrith with those Rules our blessed Saviour hath left upon record by the Evangelists and Apostles, and is agreeable with the practise of those Primitive Churches mentioned in the *Acts*, and regulated by the same Apostles, as appeareth not onely in that Evangelicall History, but in their Epistles to the severall Churches there mentioned; yet neverthelesse if any thorow tenderneffe of Conscience be otherwise minded, to such wee never turn a deafe eare, nor become rigorous, though we have the fream of Authority on our sides. Nay, if in the use of all means we cannot reclaim them, knowing the *wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie, and the fruit of righteousness is sowne in peace, of them that make peace*, according to *James 3. 17, 18.* And if any differing from us bee answerable to this Rule in their lives and conversations, we do not exercise the Civill sword against them. But for such as *Gorton* and his company, whose wisdom seems not to be from above, as appeareth in that it is *full of envying, strife, confusion*, *Jam. 3. 15, 16.* being therein such as the Apostle *Jude* speaks on, *v. 8.* viz. *earthly, sensuall, devillish*; who *v. 16.* *despise dominion, and speak evill of dignities.* These *v. 12, 13.* are *murmurers, complainers, walkers after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, being clouds without water, carried about of winds, trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their owne shame, wandering starres, to whom* (without repentance, which I much desire to see, or hear of in him, if it may stand with the will of God) *is reserved the blacknesse of darknesse for ever.* These I say are to be proceeded with by another rule, and not to be borne: who suffer as evil doers, and are a shame to Religion which they professe in word, but deny in their lives and conversations. These every tender conscience abhors, and will justifie and assist the *higher Powers God hath ordained*, against such carnall Gopellers, *who beare not the sword in vaine, Rom. 13.* but execute Gods vengeance on such: for the Civill Magistrate is *the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil.* And there-

therefore a broad difference is to be put between such evill doers, and those tender consciences who follow the light of Gods Word in their owne perswasions, (though judged erroneously by the places where they live) so long as their walking is answerable to the rules of the Gospel, by preserving peace, and holding forth holiness in their conversations amongst men.

Thus much I thought good to signify, because we of *New-England* are said to be so often propounded for an example. And if any will take us for a president, I desire they may really know what wee doe, rather than what others ignorantly or maliciously report of us, assuring my self that none will ever be losers by following us so far as we follow Christ: Which that we may doe, and our posterities after us, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, & our Father, accept in Christ what is according to him, discover, pardon, and reform what is amiss amongst us; and guide us and them by the assistance of the holy Ghost for time to come, till time shall be no more; that the Lord our God may still delight to dwell amongst his Plantations and Churches there by his gracious presence, and may goe on blessing to bless them with heavenly blessings in these earthly places, that so by his blessing they may not onely grow up to a Nation, but become exemplary for good unto others. And let all that wish well to *Sion* say *Amen*.

## *FINIS.*

### *E R R A T A.*

In the title of p. 9, &c. to 37. in stead, of the Magistrates of *Boston* in *New-Engl.* r. of *Maffachufets* in *New England*; p. 11. l. 27. for purpose God, r. *purpose of God*; p. 14. for day of, r. *day of the*; p. 30 l. 17. for Cope, r. *cup*; also l. 18 for cope, r. *cup*; also l. 21. for Judas, r. *as Judas*; p. 32. l. 3. leave out *to*; p. 54. l. 10. for by, r. *in*; p. 67. l. 37. for complaining, r. *complained*; p. 79. l. 26. for with as indeed, r. *with them as*; p. 83. l. 23. for and, put ( p. 85. l. 6. for whom, r. *which*.















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