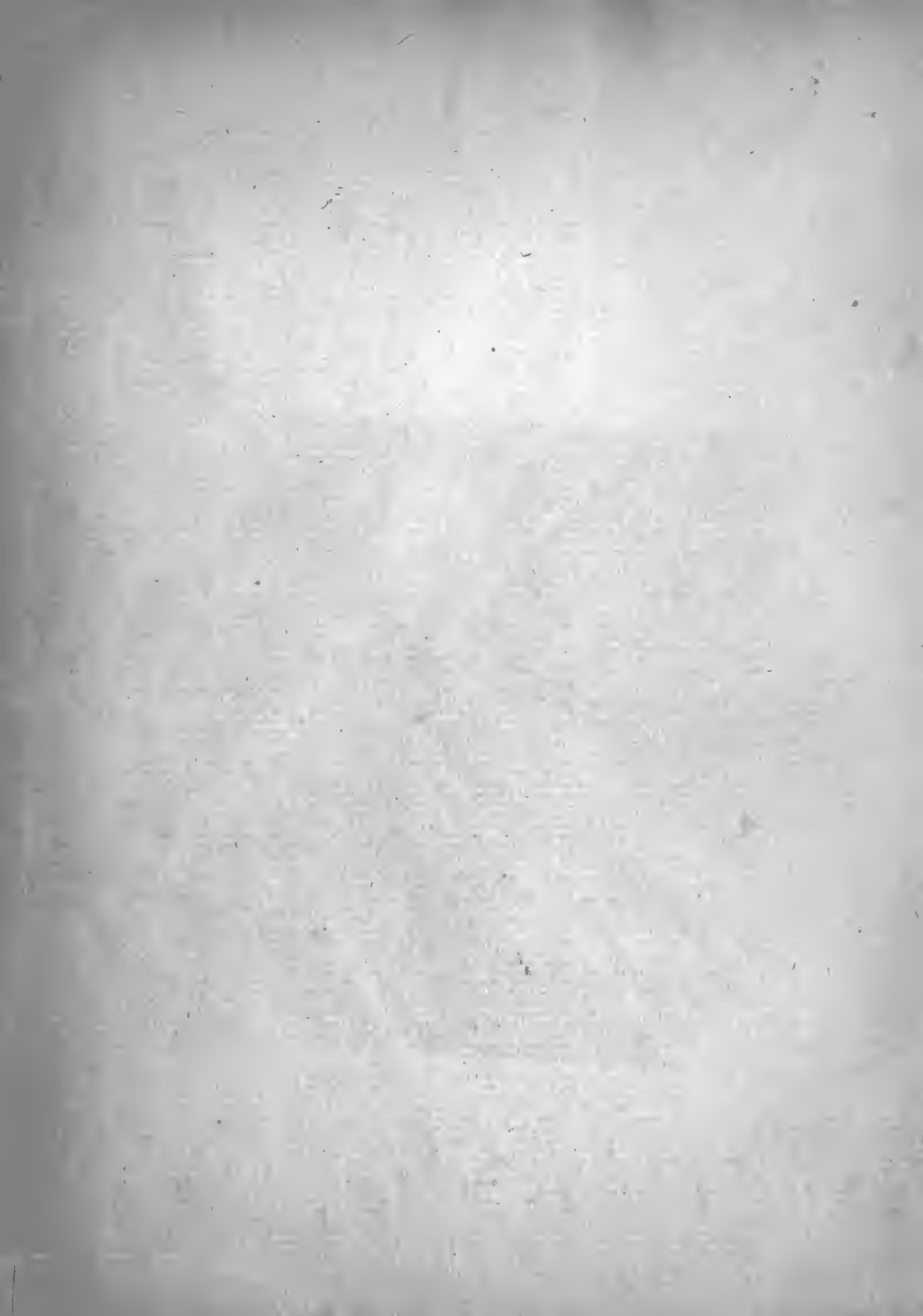


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Providence

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VOLUME VI.

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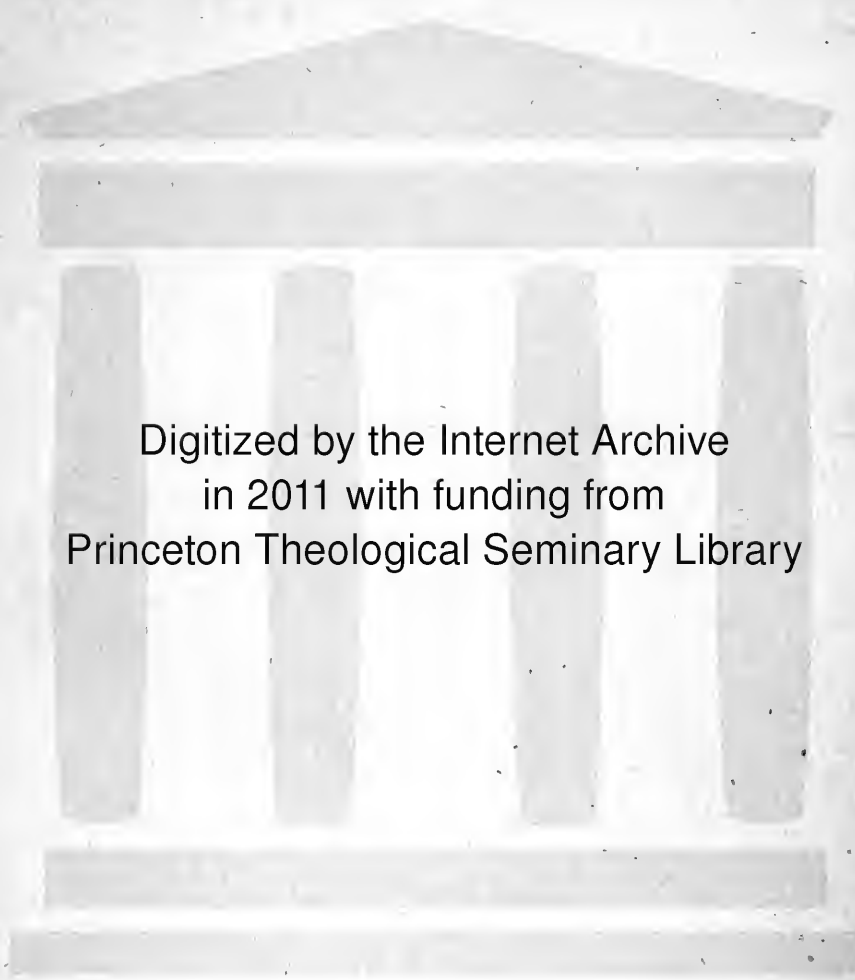
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THE
LETTERS OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

EDITED BY

JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.



LETTERS
OF
ROGER WILLIAMS.

1632-1682.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED.

EDITED BY

JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

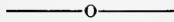


PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED FOR THE NARRAGANSETT CLUB.
1874.





EDITOR'S PREFACE.



In publishing for the first time, all the letters of Roger Williams, as far as they have come to the knowledge of the editor, it is proper to mention the sources from which they have been obtained.

With the exception of a very few letters, printed in various controversial books of the period when Williams lived and wrote, the first which appeared in print were in Backus's History of New England with reference to the Baptists, printed in 1777. A few isolated letters next appeared in the early volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a large number in Professor Knowles' Life of Williams, published at Boston in 1834, few of which had before appeared in print. But the most considerable accession was in the "Winthrop Papers." These letters were written by Williams to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, and to his son John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, and had remained in the possession of the Winthrop family until presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society. They were published by the Society at different times, as they came into its possession; hence, are not found in one volume, but in many; the larger number being in volume VI., of the fourth series of its "Collections."

Williams doubtless had other correspondents, but his letters to such were unknown to those who have written upon his life, or who have edited the recent republications of his several works. The editor of the present compilation of these letters has made further search in various Historical Collections and in other books, and he has also consulted gentlemen familiar with the writings of Williams; but only in a single instance has he been able to find a letter, not already in print. For this letter, which is an important one, the editor is indebted to Charles Deane, Esq., of Cambridge.

In presenting the letters of Williams, it was the desire of the editor to give them precisely as they were written, by preserving the language and the original orthography; a plan which was found to be impracticable. Had all been printed as those are in the later volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where the language

and orthography remain as originally written, this plan might have been carried out; but, unfortunately, in nearly one-half the letters, the language, as well as the spelling, had been modernized, so that it was impracticable to attempt a presentation of all the letters as originally written. Under these circumstances, the editor was compelled to modernize the whole, in order to preserve a uniformity. In doing this, he has printed all the letters found in Backus's History of the Baptists; in Knowles' Memoir of Williams; in Elton's Life of Williams, and in some of the Historical Collections which had been modernized, precisely as they appear; no alteration being necessary. Those among the "Winthrop Papers" printed in the later volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, have been modernized in their spelling, but preserve the original language.

In spelling the Indian names, no system seems to have been followed either by Mr. Williams or other early New England writers. Thus we find Narragansett spelled *Naniganstck*, *Nanibiggonstck*, *Narrogonssett*, *Nariganstet*, and *Nanbiggonstet*.

For Connecticut, we have *Quinnibiticut*, *Qunnticut*.

For Nyantic, we have *Nayantakick*, *Nayantaquit*, *Nayantuquut*.

For Mohawks, *Mauquabogs*, *Mawquawogs*, *Mohowawogs*, *Mowbauogs*, and *Mawbauogs*.

For Uncas, we have *Okace*, *Owokace*, *Wocafe*, *Onkace*, *Onkas*, and *Oncas*.

For Mohegan, *Monabiganencks*, *Monabig*, *Monbiggin*, *Monabiggen*.

The spelling of these and other Indian names have been changed into the orthography of the present day.

Many of the letters of Williams are without dates; some only bear the day of the week, while a majority of them are dated in the manner following: (Nar. 16. 12. 49. so call'd) meaning Narragansett, the 16th of the 12th month, i. e. the 16th February, 1649-50; according to the Old Style, then in vogue, when March was the first month. Where the date is entirely wanting the editor has endeavored to fix upon the month and year, by the subject of the letter, or by the endorsement of Gov. Winthrop when the letter was received by him. The editors of the "Winthrop Papers" have labored to ascertain the dates of many, which dates in almost every instance have been adopted; but still some remain, the contents of which are of such a general character, that it has not been possible even to fix the probable year when they were written. The date of every letter, however obscure, if it bore any, is given as it appears in the original, while the probable or assumed date is given in brackets. But with every effort to arrive at the truth, it is possible that errors have been made.

The notes which have been added are necessarily numerous, and might have been extended, but it was deemed advisable not to enter into any of the controversies in which Mr. Williams was involved.

In the notes the source has been given whence all the letters in the volume were obtained. The larger number is from the "Winthrop Papers," which papers include letters from men prominent in New England during the seventeenth century, all being a portion of the correspondence of three generations of the Winthrops.

The public estimate of some men famous in history has been lessened by the reading of their letters; but no one can read these from the founder of Rhode Island in this volume without having his respect and admiration for him increased. Mr. Knowles was the first of Williams's biographers to introduce his letters. Even these tended to elevate his character; but their were periods, relating to which no letters from his pen were known to be in existence. The publication of the Winthrop papers brought letters to light, which tend to elucidate many events in Williams's life.

In speaking of the correspondence of the Winthrop's, Mr. Lowell in his charming essays ("*Among my Books*," p. 246) thus writes:—

"Let me premise that there are two men above all others, for whom our respect is heightened by their letters,—the elder John Winthrop and Roger Williams. Winthrop appears throughout as a truly magnanimous and noble man in an unobtrusive way,—a kind of greatness that makes less noise in the world, but is on the whole more solidly satisfying to most others." . . . "Charity and tolerance flow so noticeably from the pen of Williams that it is plain they were in his heart. He does not show himself a strong or very wise man, but a thoroughly gentle and good one. His affection for the two Winthrops is evidently of the warmest."

For the better understanding of certain letters of Mr. Williams's in this volume, it has been deemed advisable to include a few from other persons. Among these are the letters of Mrs. Sadlier, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, in reply to Williams's letters to that lady during his visit to England in 1653—and two from Sir Henry Vane.

J. R. B.

PROVIDENCE, October, 1874.





LETTERS OF ROGER WILLIAMS

PUBLISHED IN THIS VOLUME.

WITH THE PLACES FROM WHERE WRITTEN AND THE DATES.

	PAGE.
To John Winthrop, Gov. of Mafs. ; Plymouth, 1632,	1
The Church at Salem to the Elders of the Church of Christ at Boston, after July, 1635,	71
To John Winthrop, Dep. Gov. of Mafs. ; 1636,	3
To do. do. Gov. ; Providence, Oct. 24, do.	7
To do. do. Gov. ; New Providence, 1637,	14
To do. do. Governor ; May, do.	16
To do. do. New Providence, do. do.	20
To do. do. do. do.	21
To Gov. Henry Vane, or Dep. Gov. John Winthrop, May 3, 1637,	23
To John Winthrop, New Providence, June 2, do.	27
To do. do. do. do. do. 21, do.	32
To do. do. do. do. July, do.	35
To do. do. do. do. do. 10, do.	37
To do. do. do. do. do. 10, do.	40
To do. do. . . . do. 11, do.	45
To do. do. New Providence, do 15, do.	46
To do. do. do. do. do. 21, do.	49
To do. do. do. do. Aug. 20, do.	55
To do. do. . . . Oct. or Nov. do.	60

	PAGE.
To John Winthrop, New Providence, July 31, 1637,	52
To do. do. September 12, do.	59
To do. do. No date, do.	65
To do. do. October, do.	66
To do. do. do. 28, do.	70
To do. do. November 10, do.	78
To do. do. do. 20, do.	82
To do. do. Providence, January 10, 1638,	84
To do. do. do. February 28, do.	86
To do. do. do. April 16, do.	89
To do. do. do. May 22, do.	94
To do. do. do. do. 27, do.	96
To do. do. do. June, do.	99
To do. do. do. do.	101
To do. do. Providence, do. do.	106
To do. do. do. July 23, do.	108
To do. do. do. August, do.	110
To do. do. do. do. 14, do.	115
To do. do. do. do. Sept. 10, do.	117
To do. do. Sept. or Oct. do.	120
To do. do. September, do.	125
To do. do. Providence, December 30, do.	127
To do. do. do. (no date)	129
To do. do. do. May 3, 1639,	131
To do. do. do. do. 9, do.	133
To do. do. August, do.	135
To do. do. Providence, July 21, 1640,	137
To do. do. do. August 7, do.	140
To do. do. do. March 8, 1641,	141
To J. Winthrop, Jr., Narragansett, June 22, 1645,	143
To do. do. do. Providence, do. 25, do.	144
To do. do. do. Cawcawmsquuffick, May 28, 1647,	146

Contents.

xv.

	PAGE.
To J. Winthrop, Jr., Cawcaumfquffick, Aug. 20, 1647,	147
To Town of Providence ; Providence, Aug. 31, 1648,	149
To J. Winthrop, Jr., Cawcaumfquffick, Sept. 11, 1648,	152
To do. do. do. do. 23, do.	153
To do. do. do. do. Oct. 10, do.	155
To do. do. do. do. Nov. 7, do.	158
To do. do. Narraganfett, do.	159
To do. do. December, do.	161
To do. do. Narraganfett, Feb. 1649,	163
To do. do. Cawcaumfquffick, Jan. do.	166
To do. do. do. do. 29, do.	168
To do. do. do. do. March, do.	170
To do. do. do. do.	171
To do. do. Narraganfett, April 15, do.	173
To do. do. April or May, do.	174
To do. do. Narraganfett, April, do.	177
To do. do. do. do. May 9, do.	178
To do. do. do. 13, do.	179
To do. do. Narraganfett, do. 26, do.	180
To do. do. Cawcaumfquffick, June 13, do.	181
To do. do. Narraganfett, Aug. 26, do.	185
To do. do. do. do. Oct. 25, do.	186
To do. do. do. do. Dec. 10, do.	187
To do. do. do. do. Feb. 16, 1650,	190
To do. do. do. do. do. 24, do.	192
To do. do. [no place or date,] do.	193
To do. do. Narraganfett, March 20, do.	194
To do, do. [no place or date,] May, do.	195
To do. do. [no place or date,] June, do.	197
To do. do. Narraganfett, Oct. 9, do.	200
To do. do. do. do. 17, do.	203
To do. do. [no place or date,] do. do.	205

	PAGE.
To the General Court of Massachusetts Bay,	
Boston, May 17, 1656,	304
Testimony of Roger Williams relative to deed of	
Rhode Island, August 25, 1658,	305
John Winthrop, Gov. of Conn., Prov., Feb. 6, 1660,	306
do. do. do. do. do. Sept. 8, do.	310
do. do. do. do. Oct. 27, do.	314
Testimony relative to the purchase of lands in See-	
konk and Providence; Providence, Dec. 13, 1661,	316
To the Town of Providence,	1662, 318
J. Winthrop, Jr., Providence, May 28, 1664,	319
To the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Carr, do. March 1, 1665,	321
To the Inhabitants of Provid'ce, do. Feb. 10, 1668,	324
To the General Court of Massachusetts Bay,	
Providence, May 7, 1668,	326
To John Whipple, Jr., Providence, July 8, 1669,	327
To J. Winthrop, Gov. of Conn., do. Aug. 19, 1669,	331
To Major Mafon, do. June 22, 1670,	333
To John Cotton, do. Mar. 25, 1671,	351
To George Fox, do. July 15, 1672,	357
To Samuel Hubbard, do.	361
To J. Winthrop, Gov. of Conn., Mr. Smith's at	
Wakefield, June 13, 1675,	363
To J. Winthrop, Narragansett, do. 25, do.	366
To do. do. do. do. 27, do.	370
To Gov. Leverett at Boston; Provid'e, Oct. 11, do.	373
To J. Winthrop, Gov. of Conn., do. Dec. 18, do.	377
To Gov. Leverett, do. Jan. 14, 1675-6,	379
To Gov. Leverett and Gov. Winflow,	
Providence, Oct. 16, 1676,	385
To the Court of Commissioners of the United Colo-	
nies, Providence, Oct. 18, 1677,	387



LETTERS.





LETTERS OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

*For the right Worshipful John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of the English in the Massachusetts.*¹

PLYMOUTH.² [1632.]

MUCH HONORED AND BELOVED IN CHRIST JESU, — Your Christian acceptation of our cup of cold water is a blessed cup of wine, strong and pleasant to our wearied spirits. Only let me crave a word of explanation: among other pleas for a young councillor (which I fear will be too light in the balance of the Holy One) you argue from twenty-five in a Church Elder: 'tis a riddle as yet to me whether

¹ John Winthrop, the friend and correspondent of Roger Williams, came from England to Salem in 1630; but soon after removed to Charleston, and selected the site where the city of Boston stands. He was annually elected Governor of Massachusetts Bay until 1634; again in 1637-40, 1642-44, and from 1646 to his death, March 26, 1649. In 1636, when Sir Henry Vane was elected governor, Winthrop was chosen Deputy-governor. Vane and Winthrop were on opposite sides in the Hutchinson controversy. Winthrop was opposed to an unlimited democracy; and when the people of Connecticut were forming a government, he wrote them a letter, in

which he said that "the best part of a community is always the least, and of that least part the wiser are still less." His firm and decided management of affairs sometimes made him unpopular. His private character was most amiable. His eldest son John was the founder of the Saybrook colony, and governor of Connecticut. His valuable "Journal" of the public occurrences in the Massachusetts Colony from March 29, 1630 to January 11, 1649, was first printed in 1790, and again with notes by James Savage, in 1826 and 1853.

² 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 184.

Most of the letters of Roger Williams printed in this volume are without full

you mean any elder in these New English churches, or (which I believe not) old English,—disorderly functions, from whence our Jehovah of armies more and more redeemed his Israel,—or the Levites who served from twenty-five to fifty, Numb. 8., 24; or myself but a child in every thing, (though in Christ called, and persecuted even in and out of my father's house these 20 years), I am no Elder in any church, no more nor so much as your worthy self, nor ever shall be, if the Lord please to grant my desires that I may intend what I long after, the natives souls, and yet if I at present were, I should be in the days of my vanity nearer upwards of 30 than 25;¹ or whether Timothy or Titus be in thought, &c., at your leisure I crave interpretation. Sorry I am since Rationals so much circumround and trouble you, that *bestiale quid* (and mine especially) should come near you: but since the Lord of heaven is Lord of earth also, and you follow him as a dear child, I thankfully acknowledge your care and love

dates. Some give only the day of the week, and others only the day of the month. In many, the year is omitted; while some have neither the month or year. In most of them the editor has been able to assign dates which have been adopted by historians, or by the biographers of Williams.

This letter was probably written between June and October, 1632. The question arose in the "Congregation at Boston" whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time. Nowell assigns his position as ruling elder, doubtless from that cause. Gov. Winthrop visited Plymouth in October, 1632. This letter was probably written between those dates.—DRAKE

Hist. of Boston, p. 140. WINTHROP, *Hist. of N. Eng.* vol. 1, p. 108-109,

¹ This, with other authorities, has given the year 1599 as the date of Williams' birth. See Roger Williams' testimony in favor of Richard Smith's title to his land at Narragansett, 1679. This date 1599 is now generally conceded as the year of Williams' birth.—ARNOLD, *Hist. R. I.* vol. 1, p. 50. GUILD, *Mem. of Williams*, Narr. Club, vol. 1, pp. 5 and 6.

The order for Williams's banishment was passed Sept. 3, 1635. He is supposed to have left Salem about January, 1635-6; and to established himself at Providence in the following June.

about the cattle, and further entreat if you may (as you give me encouragement) procure the whole of that second, and let me know how, and how much payment will be here accepted, or in money in England. The Lord Jesus be with your Spirit, and your dearest one, and mine, in their extremities. To you both and all the Saints our due remembrances.

Yours in all unfeigned and brotherly affections,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The brethren salute you.

You lately sent music to our ears, when we heard you persuaded (and that effectually and successfully) our beloved Mr. Nowell to surrender up one sword: and that you were preparing to seek the Lord further; a duty not so frequent with Plymouth as formerly: but *Spero meliora*.

For his much honored, Mr. John Winthrop, Deputy Governor thereof.

[1636 or 1637].¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—The frequent experience of your loving ear, ready and open toward me (in what your conscience hath permitted) as also of that excellent spirit of wisdom and prudence wherewith the Father of Lights

¹4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 186.

This letter, which is without date, is addressed to Winthrop, as Deputy Governor, which office he held for the po-

litical year ending May 17, 1637. It was evidently written shortly after the settlement at Providence, which it is believed was in June, 1636. The letter

hath endued you, embolden me to request a word of private advise with the soonest convenience, if it may be, by this messenger.

The condition of myself and those few families here planting with me, you know full well: we have no Patent: nor doth the face of Magistracy suit with our present condition. Hitherto, the masters of families have ordinarily met once a fortnight and consulted about our common peace, watch, and planting; and mutual consent have finished all matters with speed and peace.

Now of late some young men, single persons (of whom we had much need) being admitted to freedom of inhabitation, and promising to be subject to the orders made by the consent of the householders, are discontented with their estate, and seek the freedom of vote also, and equality, &c.

Beside, our dangers (in the midst of these dens of lions) now especially, call upon us to be compact in a civil way and power.

I have therefore had thoughts of propounding to my neighbors a double subscription, concerning which I shall humbly crave your help.

The first concerning ourselves, the masters of families: thus,

refers to preparations against the Pequots, probably to Endicott's expedition which failed from Boston the last of August of that year. After destroying the Indian settlement on Block Island, it sailed for Thames River. Endicott reached Boston on his return on the 14th of September.—WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.* p. 231-233. DRAKE, *Hist. Boston*, p. 201. The letter, therefore, was probably written in August or September. Winthrop

refers to letters received by him from Williams, July 26th and 30th, and Aug. 26th, but neither allude to the matters spoken of in the letter in question. (vol. i. p. 227-230.) The letter is interesting, inasmuch as it is the earliest account extant relating to the settlement at Providence and of the manner in which the civil affairs of the little community there were conducted.

We whose names are hereunder written, late inhabitants of the Massachusetts, (upon occasion of some difference of conscience,) being permitted to depart from the limits of that Patent, under the which we came over into these parts, and being cast by the Providence of the God of Heaven, remote from others of our countrymen amongst the barbarians in this town of New Providence, do with free and joint consent promise each unto other, that, for our common peace and welfare (until we hear further of the King's royal pleasure concerning ourselves) we will from time to time subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements, as shall be made by the greater number of the present householders, and such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same privilege and covenant in our ordinary meeting. In witness whereof we hereunto subscribe, &c.

Concerning those few young men, and any who shall hereafter (by your favorable connivance) desire to plant with us, this,—

We whose names are hereunder written, being desirous to inhabit in this Town of New Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements as shall be made from time to time, by the greater number of the present householders of this Town, and such whom they shall admit into the same fellowship and privilege. In witness whereof, &c.¹

Hitherto we choose one, (named the officer,) to call the

¹ This agreement was afterwards adopted by the people of Providence, in much the same language, bearing thirteen signatures, among which, however, the name of Williams does not ap-

pear.—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 14. See also "Confirmatory Deed" of Roger Williams and his wife of lands transferred by him to his associates in the year 1638. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 22.

meeting at the appointed time: now it is desired by some of us that the householders by course perform that work, as also gather votes and see the watch go on, &c.

I have not yet mentioned these things to my neighbors, but shall as I see cause upon your loving counsel.

As also since the place I have purchased, secondly, at mine own charge and engagements, the inhabitants paying (by consent thirty shillings a piece as they come, until my charge be out for their particular lots: and thirdly, that I never made any other covenant with any person, but that if I got a place he should plant there with me: my query is this,—

Whither I may not lawfully desire this of my neighbors, that as I freely subject myself to common consent, and shall not bring in any person into the town without their consent: so also that against my consent no person be violently brought in and received.

I desire not to sleep in security and dream of a nest which no hand can reach. I cannot but expect changes, and the change of the last enemy death, yet dare I not despise a liberty, which the Lord seemeth to offer me, if for mine own or others peace: and therefore have I been thus bold to present my thoughts unto you.

The Pequots hear of your preparations, &c., and comfort themselves in this, that a witch amongst them will sink the pinnaces, by diving under water and making holes, &c., as also that they shall now enrich themselves with store of guns, but I hope their dreams (through the mercy of the Lord) shall vanish, and the devil and his lying forcerers shall be confounded.

You may please, Sir, to take notice that it is of main consequence to take some course with the Wunnashowa-

tuckoogs¹ and Wusquowhananawkits,² who are the furthestmost Neeppet men, for the Pequots driven from the sea coast with ease, yet there secure and strengthen themselves, and are then brought down so much the nearer to you. Thus with my best respects to your loving self and Mrs. Winthrop, I rest,

Your Worships unfeigned, praying to meet you in this vale of tears or hills of mercy above.

R. WILLIAMS.

PROVIDENCE the 24th of the 8th.

SIR, WORTHY AND WELL BELOVED,—I was abroad about the Pequot business when your letter arrived, and since messengers have not fitted, &c.

I therefore now thankfully acknowledge your wisdom and gentleness in receiving so lovingly my late rude and foolish lines: you bear with fools gladly because you are wife.

I still wait upon your love and faithfulness for those poor papers, and cannot but believe that your heart, tongue, and pen should be one, if I were Turk or Jew, &c.

Your six queries I welcome, my love forbidding me to surmise that a Pharisee, a Sadducee, an Herodian, &c.,

¹Or *Showatucks*. Persons going by land from Massachusetts Bay Colony to Connecticut, passed through the country of this tribe.

²*Wusquowhanan-awk-it* "the pigeon country." The place "where these

fowl breed abundantly."—WILLIAMS' *Key*, p. 176. This was in the northern part of the Nipmuck country, in what is now Worcester County, Mass.—TRUMBULL'S notes to WILLIAMS'S *Key*, *Narr. Club*, vol. i. p. 116.

wrote them; but rather that your love and pity framed them as a physician to the sick, &c.

He that made us these souls and searcheth them, that made the ear and eye, and therefore sees and hears I lie not, but in his presence have sadly sequestered myself to his holy tribunal, and your interrogatories, begging from his throne those seven fiery lamps and eyes, his holy Spirit, to help the scrutiny, desirous to suspect myself above the old serpent himself, and remembering that he that trusteth in his own heart is a fool. Prov. 28.

While I answer let me importune from your loving breast that good opinion that you deal with one (however so and so, in your judgment yet) serious, and desirous in the matters of God's Sanctuary to use (as the double weights of the Sanctuary teach us) double diligence.

Your first Querie then is this.

What have you gained by your new-found practices? &c.

I confess my gains cast up in man's exchange are loss of friends, esteem, maintenance, &c., but what was gain in that respect I desire to count loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: &c. To His all glorious Name I know I have gained the honor of one of his poor witnesses, though in sackcloth.

To your beloved selves and others of God's people yet asleep, this witness in the Lord's season at your waking shall be prosperous, and the seed sown shall arise to the greater purity of the kingdom and ordinances of the Prince of the kings of the earth.

To myself (through his rich grace) my tribulation hath brought some consolation and more evidence of his love, singing Moses his song and the Lambs, in that weak victory which (through His help) I have gotten over the beast, his

picture, his mark, and number of his name, Revel. 15. 2. 3.

If you ask for numbers, the witnesses are but two: Revel. 11., and how many millions of Christians in name, and thousands of Christians in heart, do call the truths (wherein yourself and I agree in witnessing' new found practices?

Gideon's army was thirty-two thousand; but cowardice returned twenty-two thousand back, and nine thousand seven hundred worldlings sent but three hundred to the battle.

I will not by prophecy exasperate, but wish (in the black and stormy day) your company be not less than Gideon's, to fight (I mean with the Blood of the Lamb and Word of Witness) for what you profess to see.

To your second, viz.: Is your spirit as even as it was seven years since?

I will not follow the fashion either in commending or condemning of myself. You and I stand at one dreadful, dreadful tribunal: yet what is past I desire to forget, and to press forward towards the mark for the price of the high calling of God in Christ.

And for the evenness of my spirit.

Toward the Lord, I hope I more long to know and do His holy pleasure only, and to be ready not only to be banished, but to die in New England for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Towards yourselves, I have hitherto begged of the Lord an even spirit, and I hope ever shall, as

First, reverently to esteem of, and tenderly to respect the persons of many hundreds of you, &c.

Secondly, To rejoice to spend and be spent in any service, (according to my conscience) for your welfares.

Thirdly, To rejoice to find out the least swerving in judgment or practice from the help of any, even the least of you.

Lastly, to mourn daily, heavily, unceasingly, till the Lord look down from Heaven, and bring all his precious living stones into one New Jerusalem.

To your third, viz.: Are you not grieved that you have grieved so many?

I say with Paul, I vehemently sorrow for the sorrow of any of Zion's daughters, who should ever rejoice in her King, &c., yet I must (and O that I had not cause) grieve because so many of Zion's daughters see not and grieve not for their souls defilements, and that so few bear John company in weeping after the unfolding of the seals, which only weepers are acquainted with.

You thereupon propound a fourth, Do you think the Lord hath utterly forsaken us?

I answer Jehovah will not forsake His people for His great name's sake 1. Sam. 12. That is, the fire of His love towards those whom once He loves is eternal, like Himself: and thus far be it from me to question His eternal love towards you, &c. Yet if you grant that ever you were as Abraham among the Chaldees, Lot among the Sodomites, the Kenites among the Amalekites, as Israel in Egypt or Babel, and that under pain of their plagues and judgments you were bound to leave them, depart, fly out, (not from the places as in the type,) but from the filthiness, of their sins, &c., and if it prove, as I know assuredly it shall, that though you have come far, yet you never came out of the wilderness to this day: then, I beseech you, remember that yourselves, and so also many thousands of God's people must yet mournfully read the 74, 79, 80, and 89

Pfalms, the Lamentations, Daniel 11th, and Revel. 11th, 12th, 13th, and this, Sir, I beseech you do more seriously then ever, and abstract yourself with a holy violence from the dung heap of this earth, the credit and comfort of it, and cry to Heaven to remove the stumbling blocks, such idols, after which sometimes the Lord will give His own Israel an answer.

Sir, You request me to be free with you, and therefore blame me not if I answer your request, desiring the like payment from your own dear hand, at any time, in any thing.

And let me add, that amongst all the people of God, wheresoever scattered about Babel's banks, either in Rome or England, &c., your case is the worst by far, because while others of God's Israel tenderly respect such as desire to fear the Lord, your very judgment and conscience leads you to smite and beat your fellow servants, expel them your coats, &c., and therefore, though I know the elect shall never finally be forsaken, yet Sodom's, Egypt's, Amalek's, Babel's judgments ought to drive us out, to make our calling out of this world to Christ, and our election sure in him.

Sir, Your fifth is, From what spirit, and to what end do you drive?

Concerning my spirit, as I said before, I could declaim against it, but whether the spirit of Christ Jesus, for whose visible kingdom and ordinances I witness, &c, or the spirit of Antichrist (1 John 4) against whom only I contest, do drive me, let the Father of Spirits be pleased to search, and (worthy Sir) be you also pleased by the word to search: and I hope you will find that as you say you do, I also seek Jesus who was nailed to the gallows, I ask the

way to loft Zion, I witness what I believe I see patiently (the Lord assisting) in sackcloth, I long for the bright appearance of the Lord Jesus to consume the man of sin: I long for the appearance of the Lamb's wife also, New Jerusalem: I wish heartily prosperity to you all, Governor and people, in your civil way, and mourn that you see not your poverty, nakedness, &c., in spirituals, and yet I rejoice in the hopes that as the way of the Lord to Apollo, so within a few years (through, I fear though, many tribulations) the way of the Lord Jesus, the first and most ancient path, shall be more plainly discovered to you and me.

Lastly, You ask whether my former condition would not have stood with a gracious heart, &c. ?

At this Query, Sir, I wonder much, because you know what sins, yea all manner of sins, (the sin unto death excepted,) a child of God may lie in, instance I need not.

Secondly, When it comes to matter of conscience that the stroke lies upon the very judgment, that the thing practiced is lawful, &c., as the polygamy of the Saints, the building of the Temple, (if David had gone on,) the many false ministries and ministrations (like the ark upon the new cart) which from Luther's times to this day, God's children have conscientiously practiced. Who then can wonder (and yet indeed who can not but wonder) how a gracious heart, before the Lord's awakening, and calling, and drawing out, may lie in many abominations ?

Two instances I shall be bold to present you with. First, do you not hope Bishop Usher hath a gracious heart ? and secondly, Do you not judge that your own heart was gracious even when (with the poisoned shirt on your back) you, &c. ?

But while another judgeth the condition fair, the soul that fears, doubts, and feels a guilt hath broken bones, &c. Now, worthy Sir, I must call up your wisdom, your love, your patience, your promise and faithfulness, candid ingenuity, &c. My heart's desire is abundant, and exceeds my pen. My head and actions willing to live (as the Apostle Paul) *καλῶς ἐν πᾶσι*. Where I err, Christ be pleased to restore me, where I stand, to establish. If you please I have also a few Queries to yourself, without your leave I will not: but will ever mourn, (the Lord assisting,) that I am no more (though I hope ever) yours, R: WILL:

Sir, Concerning natives: the Pequots and Nayantaquits resolve to live and die together, and not to yield up one. Last night tidings came that the Mohawks, (the cannibals,) have slain some of our countrymen at Connecticut. I hope it is not true.¹



To John Winthrop, Governor, &c.

¹ The editor of the "*Winthrop Papers*," (4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi.) does not assign any date for this letter and the one that follows. This one is dated "the 24th of the 8th month," (or October 24th.) Williams begins by simply alluding to the "Pequot business." We infer from this that the Pequot war had not begun. With the exception of this paragraph, the letter relates wholly to religious affairs: with replies to queries put to him by Winthrop, about his "new found practices." May not this refer to his entire freedom in the exercise of his religious opinions in his new abode?

In the letter which follows, Williams begins by speaking of reports of a league

between the Pequots and Mohawks, that the Pequots had "slain both English and natives at Connecticut Plantations." This must have been before the destruction of the fort at Mystic, which occurred on the 26th of May, 1637, for the Pequots were so completely annihilated in that fight, that there could have been no chance of making a league with the Mohawks; and it is known that, from fear of the English, the Mohawks destroyed such of the Pequots as sought shelter among them. We think, therefore, that the first letter was written in October, 1636, and the second soon after; or, at any rate, before the attack on the Pequot fort.

To John Winthrop.¹

NEW PROVIDENCE, 2^{ndo} 7^{manæ}, instantis.² [1637.]

SIR,—I have nothing certain to acquaint you with at present: there have been reports these ten days, that the Pequots are entered league by the hire of three or four bushels of beads, (black and white,) with the Mauquawogs or Mohawks which signifies men-eaters in their language; These cannibals have been all the talk these ten days, and the Narragansetts are much troubled at them.

Two days since came tidings that these Mohawks and Pequots have slain many, both English and natives, at Connecticut Plantations. As yet I believe it not, and hope in the Lord's mercy it is false, yet since you please to make such good use of (poison) bad and lying news, (which for that end to awaken people I confess) I sent the last: I would not conceal this: I hope to send better in like manner after this; yet I sadly fear if the Lord please to let loose these mad dogs, their practice will render the Pequots cannibals too, and secondly (at the least) cut off all hopes of safe residence at Connecticut, and yet they are one hundred miles to the westward of Connecticut Plantations. I hope it will please the Most High to put his hook into their nose, &c., as also to give wisdom in the managing of the war, that if it be possible a league may rather be firmly struck with them: they are most savage, their weapons more dangerous and their cruelty dreadful, roasting alive, &c.

Sir, I hear of the danger of the innovation of your Government. The God of Heaven be pleased to give you faithfulness and courage in his fear: I fear not so much

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 239.

² *Secundo septima.* i. e. the 2d day of the present week.

iron and steel as the cutting of our throats with golden knives. I mean that under the pleasing baits of execution of justice to the eastward, and enlargement of authority, beyond all question, lies hid the hook to catch your invaluable liberties. Better an honorable death than a slave's life.

Sir, I may not forget due thanks for your intended requitals of my poor endeavors towards the barbarous: if it please the Lord to use (with any good success) so dull a tool, *satis superque*, &c.

One kindness (yet according to true justice) let me be bold to request. I have not yet got a penny of those two unfaithful ones, James and Thomas Haukins, of Boston, concerning whom myself and wife have formerly troubled you. Mr. Coxall hath long had their bills: agreement of mitigation hath been made since by arbitrators but to no purpose. Their great earnings (if I had not lovingly released them) were mine own: my own debts lie unpaid, daily called for, and I hear for certain (though they can flatter and lie) they have spent lavishly and fared daintily of my purse, while myself would have been glad of a crust of their leavings, though yet I have not wanted, through his love that feeds the ravens, &c. John Throckmorton hath often demanded but in vain, he will now attend your loving helpfulness, and He who is most holy and blessed, all mercy and all pity, help you mercifully to steer (by his holy compass and also with his own most holy hand) in the ocean of troubles and trials wherein we sail. It is no small favor that once again (though the occasions are sad) we may sail and speak together, but the Harbor (safe and large) will pay for all. Thus praying for our

meeting, with best salutes to Mrs. Winthrop and all yours,
and my true respects to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and
other loving friends, I rest,

Your worship's unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*For his much honored Mr. Governor, and Mr. WINTHROP,
Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts, these.*

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 2d of the week.¹ [May, 1637.]

Sir,—The latter end of the last week I gave notice to our
neighbor princes of your intentions and preparations against
the common enemy, the Pequots. At my first coming to
them *Canonicus (morofus æque ac barbaræ senex)* was very

¹3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 159.

R. I. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. p. 137.

Written probably a few days before
the attack on the Pequot fort, May 26,
1637. On the 10th of April, the au-
thorities at Boston concluded to send
Captain Underhill with twenty men to
aid Connecticut Colony, in her attack
against the Pequots. To this Williams
probably refers in his opening paragraph,
and possibly to the expedition under
Captain Patrick. The Narragansetts
concluded a treaty at Boston, in October
1636, making the Pequots a common
enemy. In the third of Williams' "ob-
servations" in this letter, he recommends
Niantic as a place of rendezvous. This
was apparently adopted, as Mason, Un-
derhill and Gardiner, the leaders of the
expedition, arrived there May 25, (by
way of Narragansett Bay, May 23,) and

on the next day taking "Wequash" for
their guide, the Pequot fort at "Mis-
tick" was reached.—DRAKE, *Hist. of
Boston*, p. 205-209. *Book of the Indians*,
p. 105-106. WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.*
vol. 1. p. 268.

Capt. Daniel Patrick in a letter of
May 23, 1637, writes Gov. Winthrop,
that "Mr. Williams informs your wor-
ship at large" about the expedition against
the Pequot fort,—possibly referring to
this letter. We are disposed to believe
that the date of this letter is May 22,
which was Monday, from the apparent
reference to it in Capt. Patrick's letter
above quoted of same date, and that the
"rude view" was a copy of the above
description, having been probably ex-
plained to R. W. at the date of the
previous letter.

four, and accused the English and myself for sending the plague amongst them, and threatening to kill him especially.

Such tidings (it seems) were lately brought to his ears by some of his flatterers and our ill-willers. I discerned cause of bestirring myself, and staid the longer, and at last (through the mercy of the Most High) I not only sweetened his spirit, but possessed him, that the plague and other sicknesses were alone in the hand of the one God, who made him and us, who being displeased with the English for lying, stealing, idleness and uncleanness, (the natives' epidemical sins,) smote many thousands of us ourselves with general and late mortalities.

Miantunnomu kept his barbarous court lately at my house, and with him I have far better dealing. He takes some pleasure to visit me, and sent me word of his coming over again some eight days hence.

They pass not a week without some skirmishings, though hitherto little loss on either side. They were glad of your preparations, and in much conference with themselves and others, (fishing de industria for instructions from them,) I gathered these observations, which you may please (as cause may be) to consider and take notice of:

1. They conceive that to do execution to purpose on the Pequots, will require not two or three days and away, but a riding by it and following of the work to and again the space of three weeks or a month, that there be a falling off and a retreat, as if you were departed, and a falling on again within three or four days, when they are returned again to their houses securely from their flight.

2. That if any pinnaces come in ken, they presently prepare for flight, women and old men and children, to a swamp some three or four miles on the back of them, a

marvellous great and secure swamp, which they called Ohomowauke,¹ which signifies owl's nest, and by another name, Cuppacommock,² which signifies a refuge or hiding place, as I conceive.

3. That therefore Nayantaquit,³ (which is Miantunno-mue's place of rendezvous,) to be thought on for the riding and retiring to of vessel or vessels, which place is faithful to the Narragansetts and at present enmity with the Pequots.

4. They also conceive it easy for the English, that the provisions and munitions first arrive at Aquedneck, called by us Rhode Island, at the Narragansett's mouth, and then a messenger may be despatched hither, and so to the bay, for the soldiers to march up by land to the vessels, who otherwise might spend long time about the cape and fill more vessels than needs.

5. That the assault would be in the night, when they are commonly more secure and at home, by which advantage the English, being armed, may enter the houses and do what execution they please.

6. That before the assault be given, an ambush be laid behind them, between them and the swamp, to prevent their flight, &c.

7. That to that purpose such guides as shall be best liked of to be taken along to direct, especially two Pequots, viz. : Wequash⁴ and Wuttackquiackommin, valiant men, especi-

¹ Koko'kehom, Oho'mous, An Owle. WILLIAMS' *Key*, vol. i. p. 174.

² Afterwards known as the Pine or Malt Swamp of Groton, Ct.—CAULKINS' *Hist. of New London*, note, p. 376.

³ The Niantics were a tribe subsidiary to the Narragansetts. They occupied

the southernmost portion of Rhode Island, being separated from the Pequots by the Pawcatuck River. Their principal residence was at Wekapaug near Westerly, R. I.—DRAKE, *Book of Indians*, p. 67.

⁴ Wequash died previous to 1643. He was a renegade Pequot sachem and as a

ally the latter, who have lived these three or four years with the Narragansetts, and know every pass and passage amongst them, who desire armor to enter their houses.

8. That it would be pleasing to all natives, that women and children be spared, &c.

9. That if there be any more land travel to Connecticut, some course would also be taken with the Wunhowatuckoogs, who are confederates with and a refuge to the Pequots.

Sir, if any thing be sent to the princes, I find that Canonicus would gladly accept of a box of eight or ten pounds of sugar, and indeed he told me he would thank Mr. Governor for a box full.

Sir, you may please to take notice of a rude view, how the Pequots lie :

River Connecticut.

○ a fort of the Nayantic men, confederate with the Pequots.

Mobigadic

River.

Wein ○ sbauks, where
Sassaicus the chief Sachem is.

Obom | | | owauke, the swamp,
three or four miles from—

Mis ○ tick, where is Mamobo, another chief sachim.

River.

Nayantic, ○ where is Wepiteammock and our friends.

River.

Thus, with my best salutes to your worthy selves

guide did good service to the English. They attempted to convert him to christi-
anity, and according to some authorities
were evidently successful, but Roger

Williams was not so hopeful. Wequash
is the Indian name for Swan.—WIL-
LIAMS' Key, p. 175. Mr. TRUMBULL'S
notes to Key, pp. 26-27.

and loving friends with you, and daily cries to the Father of mercies for a merciful issue to all these enterprises, I rest

Your worship's unfeignedly respective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*To John Winthrop Governor of the Massachusetts.*¹

NEW PROVIDENCE, this last of the week.² [May, 1637.]

SIR, — I am much desired by Yotaash (the bearer hereof, Miantunnomue's brother) to interpret his message to you, viz.: that Miantunnomu requests you to bestow a Pequot squaw upon him.

I object, he had his share sent him, he answers that Canonicus received but a few women and keeps them: and yet he saith his brother hath more right: for, himself and his brother's men first laid hold upon that company.

I object that all are disposed of, he answers, if so, he desires to buy one or two of some Englishman.

I object that here are many run away, which I have desired himself might convey home to you: he replies, they have been this fortnight busy (that is keeping of a kind of Christmas): and secondly, at present Miantunnomue's father-in-law lies a dying: as also that some of the runaways perished in the woods; three are at the Narragansett, and three within ten miles of this place; which I think

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 241. were written just before the attack on

² This letter and the one that follows the Pequot fort.

may best be fetched by two or three Massachusetts Indians who may here get some one or two more to accompany and help.

Sir, you were pleased some while since to intimate some breach of league in Miantunnomu. I would not dishearten this man (from coming by my speech any way: but I could wish you would please to intimate your mind fully to him, as also that if there be any just exception which they cannot well answer, that use be made of it, (if it may be with the safety of the common peace,) to get the bits into their mouths,¹ especially if their be good assurance from the Mohawks. So with my best salutes and earnest sighs to heaven, I rest

Your worship's unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his much honored, Mr. Governor of the Massachusetts, these.²

[May, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I was bold to present you with two letters by Thomas Holyway, some weeks since. I am occasioned again at present to write a word by this bearer Wequash: whom (being a Pequot himself,) I commended for a guide in the Pequot expedition.

I presume he may say something to yourself, or to such other of my loving friends as may report unto your worship, what befel him at Coweset.³

¹ "I mean the bit of awful respect, that they fall not into mutinies at home."
Note by Williams.

² *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 242.

³ East Greenwich. *Cowawesuck*, a pine tree.

He hath been five or six days now at my house, in which time I have had much opportunity to search into particulars, and am able to present you with naked truth.

He came from Monahiganick to Coweset within night and lodged with his friend called Pananawokshin. At Coweset, an old man (Weeokamin,) hath made great lamentation for the death of two sons in the Pequot wars. This Weeokamin with divers of his comforts in the night time laid hold upon Wequash, intending to bind him, charging him with the death of his two sons. Much bickering there was between them, but no hurt done, only Weeokamin struggling with one of Wequash his company was fore bitten on the hand, and also bit the young man's fingers which are well again. So that their host kept peace in Canonicus his name, and brought them safe to me the next day: yet in the fray they lost a coat and other small things, which (coming forth before day) they left behind them.

I sent up a messenger to the Sachims to demand a reason of such usage and their goods. Canonicus sent his son, and Miantunnomu his brother (Yotaash) who went to Coweset and demanded the reason of such usage, and the goods, and so came to my house, causing the goods to be restored, professing the Sachim's ignorance and sorrow for such passages, and given charge to all natives for their safe travel.

Having those messengers and Wequash at my house, I caused them solemnly to parley of what I knew was grievance betwixt them, and what else I could any way pick out from either of them, concerning ourselves the English, or the Pequots, or themselves. All which I carefully writ down the particulars, and shall readily, at your wor-

ship's pleasure, acquaint you with them : either concerning some squaws which Wequash acknowledgeth he parted with (and justly) to Canonicus and Miantunnomu, or other brablings which I thought not fit to trouble your worship with, without commiffion.

Dear Sir, (notwithstanding our differences concerning the worship of God and the ordinances ministred by Antichrist's power) you have been always pleased lovingly to answer my boldness in civil things : let me once more find favor in your eyes to gratify myself, Mr. James, and many or most of the townsmen combined, in advising what to say or do to one unruly person who openly in town meeting more then once, professeth to hope for and long for a better government then the country hath yet, and lets not to particularize, by a general Governor, &c. The white which such a speech or person levels at can be no other then the raising of the fundamental liberties of the country, which ought to be dearer to us then our right eyes. But I am always too bold in prolixity, &c., therefore at present with humble respect remembered and cries to Heaven for mercy to you and yours, root and branches, and the whole country by your blessing, I rest

Your worship's most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his much honored Mr. Governor [Henry Vane,] or Mr. Deputy Governor, [John Winthrop,] these with speed.

This last of the present week in the morning.¹ [May 13, 1637.]

SIR, — Miantunnomu with a great train arrived the same

¹ 4 *Mas. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 189. vol. vi., gives the date of this letter, as The editors of 3 *Mas. Hist. Coll.* perhaps May, 1637, and probably be-

day that Anthony Dike¹ departed hence with his sad tidings, and confirmeth with the most the report of Anthony. The Narragansetts are at present doubtful of reality in all our promises: I have alledged the best arguments I have heard or could invent, to persuade reality of purpose and speedy performance, as also reasons of delay. Miantunnomu and his best Council here with him, have requested me earnestly to make this proffer to you. The Pequots are scarce of provision, and therefore (as usually so now especially) they are in some numbers come down to the seaside (and two Islands, by name Munnawtawkit² and

fore the 17th of that month. We think the date of the letter is previous to the attacks on the Pequot fort, or rather prior to the march of the Narragansetts to Niantic, May 22. The letter gives information of the Indians (Pequots,) having gone down to the islands to fish. Winthrop, under date of May 17, speaks (p. 265,) of having "received intelligence from Miantunnomo, that the Pequots had sent their women and children to an island for their safety," &c. Roger Williams, under probable date of May —, says, "Miantunomolately at my house held his barbarous court.—DRAKE, (*Hist. of Boston*, p. 212,) says, May 22, a company of forty men under Capt. Patrick was hastened away *because of intelligence received from Miantunnomo about the Indians having "sent their women to an island."* A mistake in its date, as Patrick must have been at Providence on that day.—See 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vii. p. 328.

The letter was probably written Saturday, May 13, the bearer in accordance with Puritan customs not leaving until Monday 15, would possibly not reach Winthrop until after the 17th, on which

day the election took place, promoting Winthrop from Deputy Governor to Governor. As this election was very important it probably had been thoroughly canvassed, and Williams conversant with the fact addresses Winthrop.

¹ Anthony Dike or Dick, came to Boston in 1623, and was lost on Cape Cod in a very cold storm December 15, 1638. WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 345. "Anthony Dike master of a bark, having his bark at Rhode Island in the winter, was sent for by Mr. Vane, then Governor. Anthony came to Rhode Island by land, and from thence he came with his bark to me with a letter, wherein was desired that I should consider the best way I could to quell these Pequots, which I also did, and with my letter sent the man's rib as a token." GARDINER'S *Pequot Warres*, 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 144. The news brought by Dike was probably the attacks by the Indians on the settlements at Saybrook and Weathersfield, on the Connecticut River.—4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* p. 7-398.

² *Munawtawkit*, Montauk Point, formerly Montauket, Montacut, and by

Manittuwond especially) to take sturgeon and other fish, as also to make new fields of corn, in case the English should destroy their fields at home.

Miantunnomu desires to go himself with one Wequash^r here at present with him, in this pinnace here left by Anthony, or any other that shall take him in at the Narragansett.

He will put in forty or fifty or more as the vessel will stow.

He will put in victuals himself for his men. He will direct the pinnace to the places, and in the night land his men, despoil them of their canoes, cut off the men he finds, (the greatest number being women and children, which for the most of them he would cut off,) as also spoil their fields: and this he proffers to do without landing an Englishman, with whom he will remain on board in English clothes which he desires for himself.

John, a seaman aboard, calls the Island, Plum Island, and is very willing to go on the design, and thinks, as also Miantunnomu doth, that if within two or three days they went forth, they would be here again within four or five or less.

Sir, for myself I dare not advise: but if my thoughts be asked I shall (with all due submission) say this:—

It will at present wedge them in from any starting aside until your forces shall follow.

If they speed it will weaken the enemy and distress them, being put by their hopes: as also much enrage the Pequots for ever against them, a thing much desirable.

Roger Williams Munnawtawkit, is probably from *Manati, auke*, and *it* locative; in the Island country, or country

of the Islanders.—*Conn. Hist. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 23.

¹ “The Pequot of whom I have formerly wrote.”—*Williams' note.*

Beside, the charge or danger of the English will be none, unless Miantunnomue's coarse clothes and a large coat for Wequash, the Pequot guide, a man of great use. The Most Holy and only Wife be pleased to smile upon the face of the English that be his: (we have all, if ever, cause to examine ourselves, our errands and work) in the face of Jesus Christ.

While I write, a Messenger is come to Miantunnomu from Neepemut, reporting a far greater slaughter than that Anthony brought word of, and since the former a great number at the Plantations, and some persons are mentioned, but I will not name either, but hope and long to hear it countermanded.

In case that Anthony or other seamen cannot be gotten suddenly, here is one with us willing to make up a third man, (to the other two left with the pinnace,) to carry the vessel, though I judge Anthony himself the fittest.

Sir, Miantunnomu desired me to give you a hint that the six fathom of beads which he gave for the slaying of Audsah¹ be repaid him, and sent now if it may be; his wars keep him bare.

Your worship's unfeignedly respective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For any gratuities or tokens Canonicus desires sugar; Miantunnomu powder. My humble respects to all my loving friends.

Sar, Miantunnomu is close in this his project, and therefore I think the messenger is sent only for the beads: it is very convenient that Miantunnomue's clothes and Wequash his coat be sent by him.

¹ "Audsah the chiefe murtherer" of Oldham.—4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 208, 214, 216.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.¹

NEW PROVIDENCE,
this 6th of the present week, towards midnight. [June 2, 1637.]²

SIR,—By John Throckmorton³ I was bold to advertise of the late merciful success it hath pleased the Father of Mercies to vouchsafe to the first attempts of our countrymen against these barbarians.

After his departure toward you, I went over to the Narragansett, partly for intelligence and partly to encourage the Narragansetts in case the sad news of all their men and yours defeated were true.

I found the first news of the cutting off the whole Fort of the Pequots at Mystic to be certain and unquestionably true, as I sent, with little or no variation, of which hereafter.

The news of the cutting off three hundred Narragansetts and all the English held still for current and confirmed that they were oppressed with multitudes, their provision being spent and the English wanting powder and shot and the Narragansetts arrows.⁴

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 191.

² Probably Friday, June 2, 1637, just one week after the destruction of the Pequot fort, May 26, 1637.—WINTHROP, *Hist. of N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 268.

³ Probably Mr. Williams sent by John Throckmorton news of the capture of the fort at Mystic, and the subsequent tidings of the "cutting off three hundred Narragansetts and all the English." This letter is to correct the last "sad news." John Throckmorton came to America with Roger Williams in 1630, was excommunicated at Salem at the same

time and for the same offences as Williams, and was one of the original thirteen first settlers of Providence. Removed to Monmouth, N. J., and died before 1687. SAVAGE, *Genealog. Dic.* vol. iv. p. 294. *R. I. Col. Rec.* vol. i. pp. 17-22 and 299.

⁴ "Presently upon this came news from Narragansett, that all the English, and two hundred of the Indians were cut off in their retreat, for want of powder and victuals. Three days after, this was confirmed by a post from Plymouth, with such probable circumstances, as it was gen-

I gave the best reasons I could to persuade that they were all either gone together to Connecticut for provision, or upon some second assault upon the other of the Pequot Forts.

As also I was bold to promise (in Mr. Governor's name) that although all these or more were cut off, yet there should be fresh supplies of the English who would never sheathe their swords, &c.

This fifth day past toward night I have received tidings (blessed for ever be the Lord of Hosts,) that the Narragansetts are all came safe home yesternight, (at noon I came from thence,) and brought word that the English were all safe, but the three first slain at the Fort with two of their own.

As also that indeed they fought thrice that day of their first victory with no loss of their side, and with the loss of two Pequots more.

That themselves and the English prepared next day after for their other Forts, found all fled, made themselves lords of one, in which both English and Narragansetts now keep.

That Maumanadtuck¹ one of their biggest, with great troops, (as before he gave out he could) is gone to Wunnashowatuckqu^t (the further Neepmucks.)

erally believed. But three days after, Mr. Williams having gone to the Narragansetts to discover the truth, found them mourning as being confident of it; but that night some came from the army, and assured them all was well, and that all the Pequots were fled and had forsaken their forts."—WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 269.

¹ In a letter from Capt. Stoughton to Gov. Winthrop, he writes: "We shall

the next week join in seeing what we can do against Sassaicus, and another great Sagamore, Momorrattuck."—DRAKE, *Hist. of Boston*, p. 215. This is probably the same, Indian names being variously written by different persons. Capt. Daniel Patrick, writes July 6, 1637 to Increase Nowell, "Mamenatucke is at Quenepi-age, or lately gone to the Mohawks."—4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vii. p. 326.

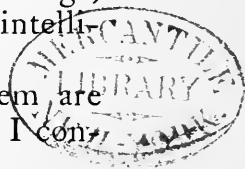
That Safacus¹ said he would go to Long Island, and thither is gone or hid in the swamps, but not a Pequot is to be found.

That Miantunnomu is come from Pequot to Nayantauquit, and was resolved homeward to send out to Wunnashowatuckqut where the enemy shelters and have Forts.

Now Sir, considering the work is effected (through the mercy of the Most High) in these parts, and that the Connecticut English, together with Capt. Patrick² and his, are sufficient to maintain what they have gotten, and pursue Safacus in all his motions thereabouts: I conceived (with submission) that it might save the country no small charge, and hazard, and loss, timely to advertise and give intelligence.

The Wunnashowatuckoogs and Pequots with them are about the distance from you that we are: on them I conceive and understand the Narragansetts next fall.

If you see cause and grounds to make a stop for a day or two, if the Lord please, the second day or third of the next week I hope to acquaint you with Miantunnomues and Caunonicus their advice and desire, which it may be well to meet his companions at the hither Nipmucks and none to come this way, or some the one way and some



¹ "Saffacuse chief sachem of the Pequots." "This Saffacuse, (the Pequots chief sachem) having fled to the Mohawks, they cutt off his head, with some other of ye chiefs of them, whether to satisfy the English, or rather the Narragansetts (who as I have since heard, hired them to do it,) or for their own advantage I now know not; but it was thus this war took end."—BRADFORD, *Hist. of Plymouth Plantations*, p. 361.

² Capt. Daniel Patrick came to Ameri-

ca in 1630, and settled in Watertown, and was there admitted a freeman. His manner of life was very unpuritanic, and he therefore removed to "within twenty miles of the Dutch and put himself under their protection." His death in 1643 was occasioned by being shot by a Dutchman; who had charged him with treacherous dealings between the Dutch and Indians.—WINTHROP, vol. ii. p. 182. 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vol. vii. p. 412.

the other. This morning, I go over (if the Lord please) to consult with them, hoping to be at home (if possible) to-morrow evening, and so to dispatch some messenger the second in the morning.

Sir, your late message to the Nipmucks (through the Lord's mercy) have wrought this effect, that whereas they staggered as neuters, they brought this present week divers baskets of their nokehick and chestnuts to Canonicus towards his wars.

Sir, I understand that the cause why the English hurt so many of the Narragansetts, was want of signs or marks. You may please therefore to provide some yellow or red for their heads: The Connecticut English had yellow but not enough.¹

Thus beseeching the God of Peace to be at peace with us, that all the fruit may be the taking away of our sin, (which if not removed will unstop worse vials) to guide your consultations and prosper your expeditions to the praise of His own most holy name, I rest

Your worship's faithful and affectionate in all civil bonds,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, for the young man that accompanies my man, the country may please to recompense his time, or I shall.

Our best respects to Mrs. Winthrop and all your and our loving friends.

¹ Divers of the Indian friends were hurt by the English, because they had not some mark to distinguish them from the Pequods as some of them had.—WINTHROP, *Hist. N. England*, vol. i. p. 268.

NOTE ON THE PEQUOT WAR. Without entering into the particulars of the causes which led to the war between the English and the Pequots, it is sufficient to state, that, in consequence of the many murders of the colonists, committed by

this tribe. the Governor and Council of Massachusetts declared war against the Indians on Manisses, (Block Island). and late in September, 1636, sent Capt. John Endecott there with a force to subdue them. The Pequots now commenced more serious depredations, so that the Connecticut government determined to send a force against them. In May, 1637, Capt. John Mason, with a command of ninety men; and Uncas, the Mohigan chief, with a body of Indians sailed down the Connecticut. The latter encountered the Pequots near Saybrook fort and defeated them. They were now joined by Capt. John Underhill with nineteen men, when the two Captains at once resolved to make an attack upon one of the forts of Sassaclus, the Pequot chief, situate in or near the present town of Mystic. The English, with their Indian allies, about five hundred in number, arrived in the vicinity of the fort on the 25th of May, where they were joined by a party of Narragansetts. Before daylight the following morning they had completely invested the fort. Both the Mohegans and Narragansetts manifested great alarm in attacking this stronghold of the Pequots and their superior force; and the English had reason to fear that they would be abandoned by their Indian allies.

The English having sent a portion of their force from Saybrook back to Hartford, were now reduced to seventy-seven men. These were divided into two companies, one led by Capt. Mason, the other by Capt. Underhill. The fort had two entrances on opposite sides, into which each party were led, sword in hand. The enemy being asleep were aroused by the barking of a dog, and were heard to cry out *Owanux* (Englishmen.) Their wigwams were now set on fire, while the poor creatures with

their simple weapons, could make little defense, and in vain, attempted to escape. They were pursued from wigwam to wigwam, and slaughtered in every secret place. Men, women and children were alike cut to pieces or consumed by the flames, which soon enveloped the entire enclosure. Such as succeeded in getting outside the palisade were shot down by the soldiers posted there. "And thus" writes Mason "in a little more than one hour's space was their impregnable Fort, with themselves, utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive and about seven escaped."—*Hist. of the Pequot War*, p. 10.

Of the English, two were killed and about twenty wounded. "All our Indians" says Mason, "except Uncas, deserted us." Sassaclus was in another fort, and hearing of the success of the English, destroyed his fort, and, with about eighty of his followers, escaped to the Mohawks, who beheaded him and sent his scalp to the English.

The Pequot war was a memorable event in the early history of New England, resulting in the annihilation of this powerful tribe. Besides what is said by Winthrop and other historians, there are four separate works in relation to it as follows:

1. JOHN UNDERHILL'S *News from America; or a New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England, containing a True relation of their warlike proceedings these two yeares last past, with a figure of the Indian Fort or Palazado.* LONDON, 1638.

2. P. VINCENT. *A True Relation of the late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Pequot Salvages. In which were slaine and taken prisoners about 700 of the Salvages, and*

For his much honored Mr. Governor these. Mr. Stoughton or Capt. Traske, on their way, may please to read this.

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 4th of the week. [June 21, 1637.]¹

SIR,— John Gallop (blessed be the Lord) is safely arrived at our doors, and hath brought from the Lord and you a merciful refreshing to us. He be graciously pleased to recompense it a thousand fold to the whole land and yourselves especially.

those which escaped had their heads cut off by the Mobocks: with the present state of things there. LONDON, 1638.

3. MAJOR JOHN MASON. *A Brief History of the Pequot War; especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick, in Connecticut in 1637.* BOSTON, 1736.

4. LEIFT LYON GARDINER. *His Relation of the Pequot Warres.* (1660.) A manuscript. Printed in 3d series *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii.

Underhill, Mason and Gardiner were prominent actors in the war. Of Vincent nothing is known.

¹ *4 Maff. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 194.

This letter must be of later date than June 19, 1637, as Capt. Daniel Patrick writing to Winthrop from Providence on that day, says "William Quicke has been here this ten days, but none but he has yet come." Probably written in the latter part of June, 1637, either 21st or 28th; more likely 21st, as Drake, (p. 214) concludes that Stoughton must have arrived at the mouth of the river before June 26. Trumbull, (pp. 1-35) says "the party arrived at Pequot harbor the latter part of June. Mason, says "About a fortnight after our return home which was about one month after the fight at Mistick, there arrived in Pequot River

several vessels from the Massachusetts, Captain Israel Stoughton being Commander-in-Chief, and with him about one hundred and twenty men; being sent by that colony to pursue the war against the Pequots.— *Hist. of Pequot War*, p. 14.

John Gallup was with his pinnace at the Pequot River at the time when Stoughton's force was there. Hubbard, (p. 127) says of the capture of some hundred Pequots, "The men among them to the number of thirty were turned presently into Charon's Ferry, but under the command of Skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbor." Probably Gallop was on his way to join Stoughton, or possibly he was in command of one of the vessels of Stoughton's squadron. Stoughton having "failed" from Boston, this letter was probably sent by water conveyance to Winthrop.

John Gallop was of Dorchester, in 1630, and afterwards removed to Boston. He was a fisherman and pilot, and also an Indian trader. On one of his expeditions he discovered the murder of John Oldham by the Indians and bravely captured Oldham's boat and all the murderers. A storm coming up, he was obliged to let them go, taking only one

He relates that there is now riding below three pinnaces, (the names of the masters, Quick,¹ Jigles and Robinfon,) and the two Shallops, as also that the other, whereof — Jackson² of Salem, is master, was in company with them the night before, and weighed anchor together, but being not able to turn about was fain to chop to an anchor again, but they hope is in by this time.

Sir, I hear our loving friends, Mr. Stoughton,³ Mr. Traske,⁴ &c., are on their way, and one hundred and sixty (the intended number) with them. I hope the continuance of the number will be seasonable, if not for pursuit of Sasacous and the Pequots, (of whom it is said that they are gone far and finally,) yet for the quelling of their con-

Indian to Boston. He and his son John rendered valuable services during the Pequot wars, and after the death of the father in 1650, the son received "with respect unto such services," grants of land amounting to four hundred and fifty acres. Gallop's Island and Gallop's Point in Massachusetts Bay were probably named for those men.—CAULKINS' *Hist. of New London*. SAVAGE, *Genealog. Dic.*

¹ William Quick, mariner, was of Charlestown in 1636, and afterwards removed to Newport, where he was admitted a freeman, Dec. 27, 1638.—SAVAGE, *Genealog. Dic.* vol. iii. p. 499.

² John Jackson, of Salem, who came to New England in 1635, from London. His house was destroyed by fire October, 1636; he died June, 1656.—SAVAGE, *Genealog. Dic.* vol. ii. p. 529. WINTHROP, vol. i. p. 239. "a goodly man and experienced seaman."—vol. ii. p. 23.

³ "We also provided to send one hundred and sixty more men after them

to prosecute the war; and Mr. Stoughton, one of the magistrates, was sent with them."—WINTHROP, *New Eng.* vol. i. p. 263.

Col. Israel Stoughton, an early settler of Dorchester. Member of the first General Court convened 1634, and again in 1635, 1636 and 1637; disabled from holding office for three years for publishing a pamphlet denying to the Governor and Assistants some of the powers they claimed, but was restored in 1636. He returned to England and there died 1645.—DRAKE'S *Dic. Am. Biog.*

⁴ William Trask one of the early settlers of Salem, and a representative from that town a number of years. He was an important man in the colony, and one on whom Gov. Endicott greatly relied. In this expedition he commanded the Essex men, having Richard Davenport as his Lieutenant. He died in 1666, aged 77

federates the Wunnashowatuckoogs and Monashackotoogs, &c., who live nearer to you on the westward, &c. Some two hundred of these (since the slaughter at the Fort) came in revenge upon the Narragansetts: which the Narragansetts themselves knew not until three Pequots (now fallen to them) related it: for it pleased the Lord to send a great mist that morning that they durst not fight, and so returned: so that there is cause to take some course with them, and especially if it be possible for the clearing of land passage to Connecticut.

I understand it would be very grateful to our neighbors, that such Pequots as fall to them be not enslaved, like those which are taken in war: but (as they say is their general custom) be used kindly, have houses, and goods, and fields given them: because they voluntarily choose to come into them, and if not received, will go to the enemy or turn wild Irish themselves: but of this more as I shall understand; thus in haste with best salutations to Mrs. Winthrop and all yours, with my poor desires to the Lord for yours, I rest

Your worship's unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My best respects to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, theirs, and other loving friends.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, [*John Wintthrop.*]

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 6th instantis. [July, 1637.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—It having again pleased the Most High to put into your hands another miserable drone of Adam's degenerate seed, and our brethren by nature, I am bold (if I may not offend in it) to request the keeping and bringing up of one of the children. I have fixed mine eye on this little one with the red about his neck, but I will not be peremptory in my choice, but will rest in your loving pleasure for him or any, &c.

Sir, Capt. Patrick gives me a hint of the likely return of most of your forces (Safacous and about a score of men with him and other companies, four score in one, surviving,) I shall humbly propound whether it be not considerable, that better now then hereafter the pursuit be continued.

1st, Because it may stop a conglomeration between them and the Mohawks, which longer time is like to make.

2ndly, Longer time will put many opportunities of occasional revenge into their hand, as we see in the three last cut off upon the Connecticut river, after the fort cut off.²

Capt. Patrick also informs me of a great itch upon the soldiers to fall foul upon our neighbors. Little sparks

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 195, DRAKE says, it appears by a letter from Capt. Stoughton received in Boston, July 6, that Mr. Haynes and Mr. Ludlow were at Pequot River with the colonial forces. The letter was probably carried by Jiglies, (previously mentioned) whose pinnace arrived at Boston, on the sixth of July, with forty-eight Indian prisoners. Possibly Williams may have received his letter from Capt. Patrick by this pinnace and then selected the "little one with the red about his neck."—*Hist. of Boston*, p. 214.

"There were sent to Boston, forty-

eight women and children. There were eighty taken as before is expressed. They were disposed of to particular persons in the country."—WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 278.

² "Saffachus, flying towards Conetticot plantations, quartered by the river side; there he met with a shallop sent down to Seabrooke fort, which had in it three men; they let fly upon them, shot many arrows into them. Courageous were the English, and died in their hands, but with a great deal of valor."—UNDERHILL, *News from America*. London: 1638.

prove great fires. The God of Peace who is only wise be pleased to guide us. Capt. Patrick confeffeth that they were the chief actors in the laft captives, and had taken all by a wile and flain two before the Englifh came. I hear no fpeech at prefent about inequality, but content and affection towards us.

I much rejoice that (as he fayeth) fome of the chiefs at Connecticut (Mr. Heynes¹ and Mr. Ludlow,²) are almoft adverfe from killing women and children. Mercy outfhines all the works and attributes of him who is the Father of Mercies, unto whom with earneft fupplications for you and yours, I reft

Your worfhip's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My beft refpects to good Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs.

¹ John Haynes came to New England in 1633 with the Rev. Mr. Hooker. He was one of the beft educated of the early fettlers of the country, and during his life was always in prominent official pofitions. Affiftant in 1634 and 1636, he was in 1635 Governor of Mafs. In 1637 he removed to Connecticut, was elected Governor in 1639, and was re-elected every alternate year until his death in 1654.

² Roger Ludlow, Deputy Governor of Maffachufetts and Connecticut, emigrated from England in 1630 and was one of the firft fettlers of Dorchefter. He was an affiftant judge for four years, having received his appointment in England. Failing to be elected Governor in 1634, he complained of the election as having been a fraud. He removed to Windfor, Connecticut, in 1635, where he was, for nineteen years one of the moft ufeul

and diftinguifhed men. He was every year elected either a magiftrate or Deputy Governor, and was alfo one of the Commiffioners of the United Colonies. In 1653, the Commiffioners, in confequence of an alleged plot of the Dutch, voted to make war againft them; but Maffachufetts refufed to concur. At this period the inhabitants of Fairfield determined to make war upon Manhadoes, and chofe Mr. Ludlow commander-in-chief. The General Court of New Haven, difcountenanced the proceedings and punifhed his officers for attempting to create an infurrection. In confequence of this affair he removed to Virginia with his family in 1654. He compiled the firft code of laws adopted in Connecticut, which was printed in 1672. Ludlow was brother-in-law of John Endecott.—BLAKE, *Biog. Dic.*

For his much honored John Winthrop, Governor of the
Massachusetts.

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 2d 7 mæ. [July 10, 1637.]¹

SIR, — Concerning your prisoners taken at Block Island, I have informed the Sachems of your care not to injure them and desire to have them cleared; accordingly Cutshamaquene² (now come from pursuing Sassacous who is fled Southerly, far out of reach,) I say he hath received testimony from the Sachems Princes that they are Nyan-taquit men, (Wepiteammocks³ men) and so all are Narragansett men, and so indeed Sir, I had thought to send you word at this present, had I not received your letter, for it was continually affirmed to me for truth by all the Narragansett men occasionally being here.

Sir, the last messenger that carried letters from you to Pequot, related to the Sachems at Narragansett, that you were displeased that the captives brought to the Bay lately, were taken by the English from the Narragansetts, as also the

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 197.
2d Septimanae; or second day of the week. Probably Monday, July 10.

² "A pinnace returning (from Capt. Stoughton's expedition) took a canoe with four Indians near Block Island. We sent to Miantonomoh to know what they were, and after we discharged all save one, who was a Pequot, whom we gave Mr. Cutting to carry into England.—WINTHROP, vol. 1. p. 277.

³ "Kuchamakin, Cutshamoquin, who was the first sachem, and his people to whom Mr. Elliot preached."—1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 166.

"In 1636, Kutshamakin sold to the

people of Dorchester, Uncatquiffet, being the part of that town, since called Milton. This it appears was at some period his residence."—DRAKE, *Book of Indians*, p. 52.

"The Bay Men killed not a man, save that one Kichomiquin, an Indian Sachem of the Bay, killed a Pequit; and thus began the war between the Indians and us in these parts."—GARDINER. *Pequot Warres*, 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 140. This man was often employed as an interpreter, he being "acquainted with the English language," and also as a guide in the various expeditions of the colonists.

spoil upon them, which was given to the English soldiers.¹ I have answered that I think it was not so, but I shall understand the truth shortly; and therefore, Sir, be pleased in your next to intimate a word, that I may satisfy them, for though I would not fear a jar with them yet I would send off from being foul, and deal with them wisely as with wolves endowed with men's brains.

The last week is a battle fought between the hither Neepmucks and the further, the Wunnashowatuckoogs, &c., the success is not yet known: it will be of consequence, for it is said they fortify, joining with scattered Pequots.

Sir, The last day of the week Wequash the Pequot guide, near hand, slew his countryman Saslawwaw, a Pequot, also Miantunnomue's special darling,² and a kind of General

Wepiteamock, was Miantunnomu's brother-in-law. The "Eastern Niantics" were located about Westerly, R. I., and were tributary to the Narragansetts. The "Western Niantics" were located between the Connecticut and Niantic Rivers, and were allies or tributaries of the Pequots. Early in the seventeenth century before the English came to New England, the Pequots migrated from the North to the country about New London, separating the Niantics, who until that time had probably been one tribe. The consanguinity of the tribes was well known to the English at the time.

² Saslawwaw, otherwise known as Sofoa or Socho. He did not die at this time but was living in 1662. In 1660, he sold a tract of land called Misquamicoke, what is now known as Westerly,

R. I., to some Newport parties, which land having been claimed by Ninigret, a number of depositions were taken to prove Sofoa the rightful owner. All these testimonies proved that before the English "had any warr with the Pequots, the Pequots, crossing the Pawcatuck, seated themselves on the neck called Misquamicook, which were the Narragansett lands and territories: whereupon the Narragansett Sachims, Canonicus and Miantonomy, employed a captain of those parts, their subject, to destroy or beat off those intruding Pequots, and in case he so did, they gave to him and his forever the said land Misquamicook."—"and that the aforesaid Sachim was named Sofoa; and is still living."—TRUMBULL, note to *Williams' Key*, p. 79. POTTER'S *Narragansett*, p. 243.

of his forces. There was yesterday some tumult about it, because Wequash lives with Canonicus, and Miantunnomu pursues the revenge and justice, &c.

By the way, although Wequash it may be have treacherously almost slain him, yet I see the righteous hand of the most High Judge, thus: Saffawwaw turned to the Narragansetts and again pretends a return to the Pequots, gets them forth the last year against the Narragansetts and spying advantage, slew the chief Pequot Captain and whips off his head, and so again to the Narragansett: their treacheries exceeds Machiavelli's, &c.

Sir, Captain Stoughton, left sick at my house one soldier, a Boston man, Thomas Roberts,¹ his master is absent, and Mr. Harding hath charge of him. I have sent to him, &c. The man was near death. Through the Lord's mercy my wife hath got him upon his legs, though very weak, only his hearing is quite gone, and I should be glad to receive any help for him in that great loss. So with my respective salutations to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, yours and theirs, and other loving friends and my poor sighs to heaven to meet you there if not here below, I rest

Your Worship's unworthy yet unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹Thomas Roberts was afterwards a freeman of Providence, holding honorable positions. He married a sister of William Harris, and died 1676. Possibly he may have been the same, although a Thomas Roberts died in Boston, 1654.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop, these.

NEW PROVIDENCE, 2^{do} Septimanæ. [July 10, 1637.]¹

SIR,—In the morning I wrote to John Throckmorton, what I heard and thought in general. It hath pleased the Lord now this afternoon to send this messenger, (Assotemuit)² with variety and plenty, and strangeness of news and tidings, I hope true, and for ought I can discern, true, blessed be the holy name of the most High, who breaks the bow and cuts the spear, &c. Psal. 46.

This man was sent this morning from Miantunnomu and Canonicus (as I conceive also from all their chiefs in council) with charge to bring relation to myself of what hath lately happened amongst the Pequots: as also that with my letter he should make speed to yourself with tidings.

He relates that a Pequot man and some five Pequot women came two days since to the Narragansett,³ and with their ordinary submission begged their lives, and liberty to declare in the name of many others what had happened amongst them: before that Pequot came one squaw, and a second came, but was questioned much for their truth; but upon the coming and report of the old Pequot, he saith, they all take his report for true.

This man himself, Assotemuit, is a noted messenger from

¹ 4 *Mas. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 198.

Probably written on the same day as the preceding letter.

² I find no other notice of this man, except that his name appears as witness to Deed of Canonicus and Miantunnomue of Acquedneck lands to William Coddington and others.—*R. I. Col. Rec.* vol. i. p. 46.

³In a deposition made in 1682, Mr. Williams said, "that being inquisitive of what root the title or denomination *Nabigan-set* should come," he heard that it was "so named from a little island, between Puttiquomsett and Musquomacuk, on the sea and fresh water side." For further remarks on this name see Mr. TRUMBULL's note to *WILLIAMS' Key to the Language of America, Narr. Clus Pub.* vol. i. p. 22.

the Sachems, and one whom Miantunnomu hath commended to me for an especial messenger from him.

This Pequot and the women report that (as I also heard before) all the Pequots were assembled some ten days since with Safacous in council: some persuaded to fight and fall first upon the Narragansetts, (this also I heard before) the greater part dissented and were for removal: Safacous and about four score¹ resolved for Mauquowkit, alias Waukheggannick, where the men eaters are; a hundred more for Long Island; another company, the least, for Connecticut, some part of it, with purpose to take final leave of their country. Seventy men, women, and children, (of men between twenty and thirty,) resolved for the Narragansetts to beg their lives, &c.

Safacous and his company were wroth with these resolved for the Narragansett, and a skirmish past between them where some were wounded, but away they got, and each company packed up and departed their intended journeys.²

¹“The Pequots having received so terrible a blow and being much affrighted with the destruction of so many, the next day fell into consultation. Assembling their most ablest men together, propounded these three things: First, whether they would set upon a sudden revenge upon the Narragansetts, or attempt an enterprise upon the English, or fly. They were in great dispute, one amongst another. Safachus, their chief commander, was all for blood; the rest for flight, alledging these arguments: We are a people bereaved of courage, our hearts are saddened with the death of so many of our dear friends; we see upon what advantage the English lie; what

sudden and deadly blows they strike; what advantage they have of their pieces to us, which are not able to reach them with our arrows at distance. They are supplied with everything necessary; they are stout and heartened in their victory. To what end shall we stand it out with them? We are not able; therefore let us rather save some than lose all. This prevailed. Suddenly after, they spoiled all those goods they could not carry with them, broke up their tents and wigwams and betook themselves to flight.”—UN-
DERHILL, *News from America*, Lond. 1638.

²“The news of the flight of Safachus, their sagamore is confirmed. He went with forty men to the Mohocks,

Miantunnomu sent word to this company remaining in the midway between Pequatit and Nayantakick, that he was in league with Mr. Governor, and therefore of himself would say nothing, but desired them there to rest (at Cuppunaugunnit) in the midway, until he sent to Mr. Governor, and what he said that he would assent unto.

They told Miantunnomu that they had brought three guns with them. He sent the women for the guns, who fetched them from that place, Cuppunaugunnit, and there they are with him. Only he claims a promise of one to himself, which he desires may be out of these three, as also some powder and shot to it, as indeed was promised.¹ I have much labored with this man to find, if it were possible, any deceit or falsehood, but as he himself and the Sachems question not the Pequot man and women, so I cannot question him.

I ask him (in discourse) what he thinks were best to be done, he answereth that as Miantunnomu himself when he sent to Canonicus to speak his mind, and Canonicus refusing, sent him to speak first, Miantunnomu would say nothing, but would say as Mr. Governor said so himself would likewise say nothing. Yet in discourse I fished out divers hints of their own desire and good liking.

As first, that there is not amongst these any Sachem or

which are cruel, bloody canibals." — VINCENT, *Pequot War*, 3 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 40. "This Saffachus, (the Pequots chiefe sachem) being fled to the Mowhakes, they cutt off his head, with some other of ye chiefe of them, whether to satisfie the English, or rather the Narragansetts, (who I have since heard hired them to do it,) or for their

own advantage, I well know not; but this their warr tooke end." — BRADFORD, *Hist. Plymouth Plantations*, p. 361.

¹"When Mr. Vane was Governor." WILLIAMS' note. Probably at the time of the treaty when Miantonomy, at the request of the authorities, Oct. 21, 1636, went to Boston.

any of those who were murderers of the English; if there were they should die.

2. That if Mr. Governor were so minded, they incline to mercy and to give them their lives: and I doubt not but your own breasts are far more tender, like the merciful Kings of Israel.

3. That divers more beside these remain in the woods, and resolve to come in and submit if these be accepted.

4. For the disposing of them, I propounded what if Mr. Governor did desire to send for some of them into the Bay; leave some at the Narragansett and so scatter and disperse them: this he liked well, that they should live with the English and themselves as slaves. I then propounded that if they lived amongst the English or themselves, they might hereafter be false to the English, &c., and what if therefore they were appointed and limited to live upon Nayantacawnick or some other Island: and this he thought also well of, if not best, because they were most of them families.

5. That they desire you would please to send some English to take possession of the Pequot country and there to inhabit.¹

6. That for their own hunting sake, Miantunnomu desires that the English would inhabit that part nearest Connecticut, and that Mystic² and thereabout might be free

¹“Captain Stoughton and his Company having pursued the Pequots beyond Connecticut, and missing of them, returned to Pequot River, where they were advertized, that one hundred of them were newly come back to a place some twelve miles off. So they marched thither by night and surprised them all. They put to death twenty-two men, and

reserved two Sachems, hoping by them to get Sassachus, (which they promised.) All the rest were women and children, of whom they gave the Narragansetts thirty, and our Massachusetts Indians three, and the rest they sent hither.”—WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 277.

²“Which is nearest, and where the slaughter was.”—WILLIAMS’ note.

for them. I told him that they might hunt in the woods as they do at Massachusetts and here, notwithstanding the English did generally inhabit: and this satisfied [him].¹

7. That they desire the Pequot's corn might be enjoyed by the English and themselves, as Mr. Governor please.

8. That the Wunnashowatuckoogs are also afraid and fled, so that there is hope of a safe passage to Connecticut by land.

9. That there is no hope that the Mohawks or any other people will ever assist Sasacous, or any of the Pequots, against the English, because he is now, as it were, turned slave to beg his life.

If all this be true (as I hope it is) we may all see the God of Heaven delights in mercy, and to draw by love and pity than by fury and wrath. I hope Sir, now that troubles may arise from other parts, his holy Majesty is pleased to quench these nearer fires. He be pleased to confirm this news, and tune all hearts to his prayers in the ordering of our conversation aright. So I rest praying

Your worship's unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This man relates that yesterday, the Lord's day in the morning, a Pinnace arrived, but he knows not yet what she is.

I pray Sir, forget not to reward this messenger with a coat, as also some powder for Miantunnomu.

My loving respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs, &c.

¹These propositions met with favor with the English, and the lands of the Pequots were divided among the soldiers and fai-

lors. Pequot town was subsequently settled and called London, but afterwards changed to New London.

To his much honored John Winthrop, Governor of the
Massachusetts.¹

THIS 3rd. 7æ. [July 11, 1637.]²

SIR,—Yesterday by our neighbor Throckmorton I wrote concerning those Nayantaquit men your pinnace took. This bearer, Juanemo,³ (one of the chief Sachems of that place and chief soldier) came last night with near a score of his men to enquire after them. He was

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 202.

² The third day of the week; probably July 11, 1637.

³ Alias "Ninigret," Sachem of Niantick. A portrait of this chief is in possession of the Winthrop Family, from a copy of which (made for the late Lieut. Gov. Winthrop) an engraving was made for Drake's History of Boston. There is an interesting tradition that the life of John Winthrop, Jr., was once saved by him. Winthrop records the arrival of "Ayanemo" at Boston, on the 12th July, with seventeen men. This was Wednesday. Williams's letter was written on Tuesday, "3rd 7æ" (that is, 3d septimanæ): probably the day before, or July 11. It appears by the letter which follows, that the bearer had returned to Williams by the next "Lord's day;" which fell on the 16th.—Note, 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 202.

Winthrop under date of July 12th, 1637, says "Ayanemo, the sachem of Niantick, came to Boston with seventeen men. He made divers propositions, which we promised to give answer unto the next day; and then, understanding he had received many of the Pequots, submitting to him since the former defeat, we first demanded the delivery of

them, which he sticking at, we refused further conference with him; but the next morning, he came and offered what we desired. So the Governor referred him to treat with our captains at the Pequots, and wrote instructions to them how to deal with him, and received his present of ten fathom of wampum. He was lovingly dismissed with some small things given him."—*Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 278. He returned to Williams on the next Lord's day, July 17. See succeeding letter.

This Indian is better known as Ninigret. He was cousin to Miantunnomo, and his residence was at Wekapaug, now Westerly, R. I. Having visited the Western Indians and the Dutch Governor, Stuyvesant, he was suspected of plotting with them for the destruction of the English; and Sept. 1653, the Commissioners for the United Colonies declared war with him, but owing to opposition from Massachusetts it was not prosecuted. War was afterwards (1654) again declared, Major Willard leading the expedition, who captured one hundred Pequots; but Ninigret had fled. He joined in the war known as "King Philip's War," and died prior to 1680.

very desirous of a letter to you : I told him I hoped he would find his men at liberty. He hath brought a musket and a barrel of a leve [lever?] piece which his men took from the Pequots.

There was a speech that three of these men were Nantakoogs, and one a Pequot : it seems he is a Pequot born, but hath long since been theirs, fallen to them, and done good service in their wars against the Pequots.

Sir, this Juanemo is a notable instrument amongst them, &c., your wisdom, I know therefore, will lay hold of this his visit, to engage him the more to you.

Thus humbly begging mercies from the God of heaven for you and yours in all affairs, I rest, in haste,

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All due respects and salutations, &c.

To John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts.

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 15th of the 5th. [July 15, 1637.]¹

SIR,—For the captives and booty, I never heard any of these Natives question the Acts of the English, only that Native who brought letters to you from Capt. Patrick, and was twice at Boston, related so much as I wrote of in my former, at his return to the Narragansett, viz. : that yourself should be angry with the English, &c. I met

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 203.

since with him, and he saith he had it not from yourself, but an English man at Roxbury. I thought good to clear your name, and remove suspensions from Mr. Stoughton, &c.

Wequash is alive, so is also the other like to recover of his wound: I never heard that Miantunnomu was displeas'd with Wequash, for any service to the English, but that Wequash was suspected to deal falsely when he went to hunt for the Pequots at the rivers mouth. 'Tis true there is no fear of God before their eyes, and all the cords that ever bound the Barbarians to Foreigners were made of self and covetousness: yet, if I mistake not, I observe in Miantunnomu some sparks of true friendship, could it be deeply imprinted into him that the English never intended to despoil him of the country, I probably conjecture his friendship would appear in attending of us with 500 men (in case [he is wanted]) against any foreign enemy.

The Neepmucks are returned with three heads of the Wunnashoatuckoogs, they slew six, wounded many, and brought home twenty captives.

Those Inlanders are fled up toward the Mohawks: so they say is Safacous: our friends at Connecticut are to cast a jealous eye at that people; they say (unless they are belied) that they are to war with the English, &c.

Truely Sir, to speak my thoughts in your ear freely, I bless the Lord for your merciful dealing, &c., but fear that some innocent blood cries at Connecticut. Many things may be spoken to prove the Lord's perpetual war with Amalek extraordinary and mystical; but the 2 Kings, xiv. 5. 6. is a bright light discovering the ordinary path wherein to walk and please him. If the Pequots were murderers (though pretending revenge for Safacous his father's death, which the Dutch affirmed was from Mr. Governor)

yet not comparable to those treacherous servants that slew their lord and king, Joshua, King of Judah, and type of Jesus, yet the fathers only perish in their sin, in the place quoted, &c. The blessed Lamb of God wash away iniquity and receive us graciously.

Thus with best salutes to your loving self and yours, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and other loving friends with them, and daily cries to the Father of Mercies for you,

I rest your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Postscript. — Sir, to yours brought by Juanemo on the Lord's day I could have little speech with him; but concerning Miantunnomu I have not heard as yet of any unfaithfulness towards us; I know they belie each other; and I observe our countrymen have almost quite forgotten our great pretences to King and State, and all the world, concerning their souls, &c. I shall desire to attend with my poor help to discover any perfidious dealing, and shall desire the revenge of it for a common good and peace, though myself and mine should perish by it: yet I fear the Lord's quarrel is not ended for which the war began, viz.: the little sense, (I speak for the general that I can hear of) of their soul's condition, and our large protestations that way, &c. The general speech is, all must be rooted out, &c. The body of the Pequot men yet live, and are only removed from their dens. The good Lord grant, that the Mohawks and they and the whole at the last unite not. For mine own part I cannot be without suspicions of it.

Sir, I thankfully expect a little of your help (in a way of justice and equity) concerning another unjust debtor of

mine, Mr. Ludlow,¹ from whom also (in mine absence) I have much suffered. The good Lord smile upon you and yours in the face of his anointed.

Your worship's unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

NEW PROVIDENCE, 21 of 5th monthe.² [July 21, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—My unfeigned love and respect to your soul's eternal comfort, and firm persuasion of your leveling at the highest white,³ have emboldened me once more to tell you of some poor thoughts of mine own, penned and sent to some friends amongst you; which happily, (if the good Lord so please) may some way conduce to your soul's satisfaction in the midst of all your troubles.

¹ George Ludlow is supposed to have been a kinsman of Roger Ludlow, as before appears. He applied to be admitted a freeman of Massachusetts Colony in 1630; but does not appear to have settled in New England. Roger Williams complains frequently of him as will be seen by several subsequent letters. In 5 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 250, is printed a letter from Ludlow to Roger Williams, to which is appended a note by Williams, which is as follows: "Mr. Coxall hath a letter of particulars, but in this Mr. Ludlow acknowledgeth 1st an heifer, which was mine 4 years since, the

increase of her is mine. 2^{ndly}. Upwards of 4 score weight of tobacco. 3^{rdly}. consideration above 8^{li} for 3 goats due to me when they were almost 2 years since, about 4^{li} a goat; as also their increase. 4^{thly}. an house watch. 5^{thly}. Another new gown of my wives, new come forth of England, and cost between 40 and 50 shillings." By *Coxall*, is doubtless meant the name of *Coggeshall*.

² 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 205.

³ "Highest white." Mark at which an arrow is shot, which used to be painted white.

I have been long requested to write my grounds against the English preaching, &c., and especially my answers to some reasons of Mr. Robinson's¹ for hearing.

In the midst of a multitude of barbarous distractions, I have fitted something to that purpose: and being not able at present to transcribe the whole; yet having been long solicited by Mr. Buckley² (from whom I received some objections,) and by many others, and of late by my worthy friend Mr. Peters,³ who had sight of them, I have

¹Rev. John Robinson of Leyden, born in England, 1575, was educated at Cambridge. Removed to Holland shortly after 1608, was pastor of the church at Leyden, remaining there until his death in 1625. He was very active in promoting the emigration in the Mayflower in 1620, intending shortly to follow, but died before the consent of the association of English merchants who controlled the enterprise could be obtained. His widow and children came out in 1630. He published a number of his writings, but the one to which this probably refers is "A treatise of the lawfulness of hearing of the ministers in the Church of England," was not printed until 1634, nine years after his death and three years prior to the date of this letter. A complete edition of his writings was published at Boston, in 1851 in 3 vols.

²Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, Mass., one of its founders in 1636. He was a nonconformist in England and was therefore removed by Archbishop Land. He was the author of some Latin poems contained in Cotton Mather's *History of New England*, and also of "The Gospel Covenant Opened." London: 1646.

³"Hugh Peters, born in 1599, arrived in America in August, 1635, with Richard Mather; and in the following

year, took charge of the church in Salem, as successor of Roger Williams. Such was his success as a preacher, that during the five years of his ministry in this place, one hundred and sixty persons joined his communion. He was, at the same time, occupied in mercantile pursuits, also engaged in political matters, and was one of the most distinguished citizens of that period in America. In 1641 he sailed for England, with a view of procuring some alteration in the laws of excise and trade; but he did not again return to America. During the civil wars in England he advocated the cause of Parliament, and contributed much to its aid by his preaching. He was accused of great violence in urging the King's condemnation, but he affirmed that he was opposed to it. Be that as it may, Cromwell appointed him to several public trusts. After the restoration he was tried for conspiring with Cromwell, and compassing the King's death. His trial terminated in his condemnation; and he was executed on December 16, 1660, at the age of 61 years. His eloquence was of a peculiar and striking character, was calculated to gain the attention of the lower class. He had thousands of hearers in London."—*DRAKE, Biog. Dictionary.*

thought good to send so much as I have transcribed, to the hand of my loving friend, Mr. Buckley.

Sir, I am bold to give you this intimation, because in these first loose leaves, handling the state of a National church, from the thirty-eight page I have enlarged the differences between Israel and all other states. I know and am persuaded that your misguidings are great and lamentable, and the further you pass in your way, the further you wander, and have the further to come back, and the end of one vexation will be but the beginning of another, till conscience be permitted (though erroneous) to be free amongst you.

I am sorry my straits are such that I cannot transcribe the remainder, and especially what concerns the matter most concerning your dear self, and therein especially the overthrowing of some objections, but if the Lord please I live I shall endeavor the rest, and thankfully receive any intimation from yourself, yea from the least, whereby I might myself return from any wanderings. The Lord Jesus be to you and me the Way, the Truth, and he will be the Life also. So prays

Your worship's most unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I have no news, but from Connecticut, the receiving of Sasacus, his present and company by the Mohawks, and some promises of theirs to him to settle him again at Pequot. This week Souwonckquawfir,¹ old Sequin's² son,

¹ William Pynchon of Springfield, in 1648, spells this name Sowoquaffe.—
WINTHROP, vol. ii. Appendix P.

² "Sequin (in 1635) gave the English land there, (Weathersfield,) upon contract that he might sit down by them,

cut off twenty Pequot women and children in their passage to the Mohawks, also one Sachem who three years ago was with you in the Bay with a present.¹

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 2nd of present weeke.² [July 31, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I am bold to interpose (in all humble respect) a word or two concerning the bearer, Mr. Greene.³ Being at Salem this last week to take order

and be protected, etc. When he came to Weathersfield and had set down his wigwams, they drove him away by force.”—WINTHROP, vol. i. p. 312. This chief was otherwise known as Sowheag.

¹ Under date of Nov. 6, 1634, WINTHROP, vol. i. p. 176, writes “There came to the Deputy Governor about fourteen days since, a messenger from the Pequot sachem, to desire our friendship He brought a small present with him, which the deputy received.”

² 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 212.

³ August 1, 1637, “Mr. John Greene, of New Providence, having spoken against the magistrates contemptuously, stands bound in 100 marks to appear at next quarter court to be held the first Tuesday of the 7th month ensuing.”—*Mafs. Col. Rec.* vol. i. p. 200. “The quarter court was adjourned from September 5 to September 19, because of the Synod meeting at Newtown,” at that time.—*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 202. September 19, 1637, “Mr. John Greene, of New

Providence, was fined 20 pounds, and committed until the fine of £20, be payed, and enjoined not to come into this jurisdiction upon paine of fine or imprisonment at the pleasure of the court, for speaking contemptuously of the magistrates.—*Mafs. Col. Rec.* vol. i. p. 203.

We differ from the editors of the Williams’ letters (*4th Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vi. 212, note,) as to the date of this letter. It cannot be of Sept. 18th as there stated, as the General Court, as appears by the Massachusetts Records, was held Tuesday, August 1. As Greene, doubtless attended the court, the letter is probably of the Monday previous, or July 31st.

“One of the inhabitants of Warwick, was John Green, surgeon, a native of Salisbury, England, who coming over in the next company after Roger Williams, with his wife and five children, had followed Williams to Providence, and Gorton to Shawomet, thus becoming an original proprietor in both places.—GEO. W. GREENE, *Life of Gen’l Natb’l Greene*, vol. i. p. 4.

about the sale of his house, and coming away an ancient acquaintance meets him (Ed. Batter) and questions whether he would come and live there again, unto which he answered, how could he unless he might enjoy the freedom of his soul and conscience. Ed. Batter¹ replied, he might so, to which he again replied he knew that could not be, for the power of the Lord Jesus was in the hand of civil authority; upon this came by Mr. Endecott,² calls Ed. Batter and questions him (as himself related to Mr. Greene) what was their conference: the sum whereof being told, Mr. Endecott warned Mr. Greene to appear at this General Court.

Sir, for myself I have no partial respect to Mr. Greene nor relation, but of neighbors together: only for the better following of peace, (even when it flies from us), I am bold to acquaint with passages of truth (as I cannot but hope) before hand: I shall grieve much that any molestation or trouble should arise unto you from hence, or that there be the appearance of any further jar. Sir, I know to whom I speak. Mr. Endecott had need have a true

¹ Edmund Batter, maltster, came from same place and in same vessel with John Greene.

² John Endecott, Governor of Massachusetts, who was sent to America by a company in England, as their agent, to superintend the plantation of Naumkeag, or Salem, arrived in September, 1628, and there laid the foundation of the first permanent town in within the limits of Massachusetts patent. In April, 1629, the company chose him the Governor of "London's Plantation"; but in August it was determined to transfer the charter and

the government of the colony to New England; and John Winthrop, who arrived in the following year was appointed Governor. In 1636 Mr. Endecott was sent on an expedition against the Indians on Block Island and in the Pequot country. He continued at Salem until 1644, when he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and removed to Boston. He was also Governor from 1649 to 1664, excepting in 1650, and from 1655 to 1665. He died in 1665, in his 77th year.—BLAKE, *Biog. Dictionary*.

compass for he makes great way, &c.: the Father of Lights and Spirits merciful be pleased to guide all our steerings.

Mr. Greene here is peaceable, a peacemaker, and a lover of all English that visits us. I conceive he would not disturb peace in relating his judgment to his friend, (if I may so call him) demanding it first also of him, or else I presume he should not have heard a word of such matters, if I know Mr. Greene.

Sir, I hear yet nothing of any of the runaway captives amongst our neighbors. Yesterday I heard that two escaped from them to the Pequots. If any be or do come amongst them I suppose they shall be speedily returned, or I shall certify where the default is.

Sir, I desire to be truly thankful for the boy intended: his father was of Sasquankit, where the last fight was: and fought not with the English, as his mother (who is with you and two children more) certified me: I shall endeavor his good and the common, in him. I shall appoint some to fetch him, only I request that you would please to give a name to him.

Sir, concerning captives (pardon my wonted boldness) the Scripture is full of mystery and the old Testament of types.

If they have deserved death 'tis sin to spare:

If they have not deserved death then what punishments? Whether perpetual slavery.

I doubt not but the enemy may lawfully be weakened and despoiled of all comfort of wife and children, &c., but I beseech you well weigh it after a due time of training up to labor, and restraint, they ought not to be set

free: yet so as without danger of adjoining to the enemy. Thus earnestly looking up to heaven for you and all yours, I rest

Your worship's unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My best respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c.

To his much honored Governor, John Winthrop.

NEW PROVIDENCE, 20th of the 6th.¹ [August 20, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Yours by Yotaash² (Miantunnomue's brother) received, I accompanied him to the Narragansetts, and having got Canonicus and Miantunnuomu with their council together, I acquainted them faithfully with the contents of your letter, both grievances and threatenings; and to demonstrate, I produced the copy of the league, (which Mr. Vane sent me,) and with breaking of a straw in two or three places, I showed them what they had done.³

¹ 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 162. KNOWLES. *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 134.

² Otherwise Otash and Yotesh. This chief and Roger Williams were witnesses to the deed of the island of Rhode Island to William Coddington and others, March, 1636-7.

³ October 21, 1636, Winthrop "notices the arrival of Miantunnomoh and other indians at Boston, and the conclu-

sion of a treaty of peace,"—which the Governor subscribed, and they also subscribed with their marks, and Outshamkins also. But because we could not make them understand the articles perfectly, we agreed to send a copy to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret it to them.—WINTHROP, *Hist. of N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 237.

In some their answer was, that they thought they should prove themselves honest and faithful, when Mr. Governor understood their answers; and that (although they would not contend with their friends) yet they could relate many particulars, wherein the English had broken (since these wars) their promises, &c.

First then, concerning the Pequot squaws, Canonicus answered, that he never saw any, but heard of some that came into these parts, and he bade carry them back to Mr. Governor, but since he never heard of them 'till I came, and now he would have the country searched for them. Miantunnomu answered, that he never heard of but six, and four he saw which were brought to him, at which he was angry, and asked why they did not carry them to me, that I might convey them home again. Then he bid the natives that brought them to carry them to me, who departing brought him word, that the squaws were lame, and they could not travel. Whereupon he sent me word, that I should send for them. This I must acknowledge, that this message I received from him, and sent him word, that we were but few here, and could not fetch them, nor convey them, and therefore desired him to send men with them and to seek out the rest. Then, saith he, we were busy ten or twelve days together, as indeed they were in a strange kind of solemnity, wherein the Sachems eat nothing but at night, and all the natives round about the country were feasted. In which time, saith he, I wished some to look to them, which notwithstanding, in this time, they escaped; and now he would employ men instantly to search all places for them, and within two or three days to convey them home. Besides, he professed that he desired them not, and was sorry the Governor

should think he did. I objected, that he sent to beg one. He answered, that Saffamun, being sent by the Governor with letters to Pequot, fell lame, and, lying at his house, told him of a squaw he saw, which was a Sachem's daughter, who while he lived was his, Miantunnomue's great friend. He therefore desired, in kindness to his dead friend, to beg her, or redeem her.

Concerning his departure from the English, and leaving them without guides, he answered, first, that they had been faithful, many hundreds of them, (though they were solicited to the contrary,) that they stuck to the English in life or death, without which they were persuaded that Uncas and the Mohigans had proved false, (as he fears they will yet,) as also that they never had found a Pequot, and therefore, saith he, sure there was some cause. I desired to know it. He replied in these words, *Chenock eiuſe wetompatinucks?* that is, Did ever friends deal so with friends? I urging wherein, he told me this tale: that his brother, Yotaash, had seized upon Puttaquppunck, Quame and twenty Pequots and three-score squaws, they killed three and bound the rest, watching them all night, and sending for the English, delivered them to them in the morning. Miantunnomu (who, according to promise came by land with two hundred men, killing ten Pequots in their march) was desirous to see the great Sachem, whom his brother had taken, being now in the English houses, but (saith he) I was thrust at with a pike many times, that I durst not come near the door. I objected, he was not known. He and others affirmed, he was, and asked, if they should have dealt so with Mr. Governor. I still denied, that he was known, &c. Upon this, he saith, all my company were disheartened, and they all and Cutshamo-

quene desired to be gone ; and yet, faith he, two of my men (Wagonckwhut and Maunamoh) were their guides to Sesquankit from the river's mouth.

Sir, I dare not stir coals, but I saw them to be much disregarded by many, which their ignorance imputed to all, and thence came the misprison, and blessed be the Lord, things were not worfe.

I objected, they received Pequots and wampum without Mr. Governor's consent. Canonicus replied, that although he and Miantunnomu had paid many hundred fathom of wampum to their soldiers, as Mr. Governor did, yet he had not received one yard of beads nor a Pequot. Nor, faith Miantunnomu, did I but one small present from four women of Long Island, which were no Pequots, but of that isle, being afraid, desired to put themselves under my protection.¹

By the next I shall add something more of consequence, and which must cause our loving friends at Connecticut to be very watchful, as also, if you please, their grievances, which I have labored already to answer, to preserve the English name ; but now end abruptly with best salutes and earnest prayers for your peace with the God of peace and all men. So praying, I rest

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All loving respects to Mrs. Winthrop and yours, as also to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, theirs, and Mr. Wilson, &c.

¹ Under date of July 26, 1637, Winthrop (vol. i. p. 283) writes "and Miantunnomoh sent here some Pequot squaws which had run from us."

To his kind friend, Mr. Richard Collicutt, these.¹

This 12th of the 7th mon. (commonly called) 1637. [September 12.]

KIND FRIEND,—I lately wrote unto you: once when I sent home your boy, and again when I sent the girl: concerning either of them, if you be minded to put either of them away, I desire to give you your desire: otherwise I wish you much comfort in the keeping of them.

As I am many ways indebted, so I have many debts coming to me. I take it very lovingly that you please to help me concerning Mr. Ludlow.² I have accordingly sent you power to deal in it. In three respects I request you to be serious and punctual.

1st. It is now an old debt, especially my cow was mine, left behind four years ago, for me in Virginia, and some goats.³

2ndly. I have requested the last year divers to help me and gave them power, but all failed me, so that I shall have cause to be thankful to you above others.

3rdly, If his payment like you, I shall request you first to satisfy yourself, and shall remain

Yours most unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I shall gladly satisfy not only your charge, but also your time and pains in dealing with M. Ludlow.

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 211.

² Richard Collicott or Colcott, settled in Dorchester before 1633, and was a sergeant in the Pequot war. He was one of the twenty-three original or charter members of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston, whi-

ther he removed before 1656. He died in 1686, aged 83. Winthrop, who apparently believed in the doctrine of special Providence, reports (vol. ii. p. 336,) his preservation from drowning by the influence of prayer in 1648.

³ See note to Letter of July 15th.

[POWER OF ATTORNEY FROM ROGER WILLIAMS TO RICHARD COLLICUT.]

MEMORAND: that I, Roger Williams of New Providence, doe constitute & ordaine Richard Collicut of Dorchester my true & lawfull Attorney, for me and in my name to aske or demaund, sue or arrest, acquit or release George Ludlow of all such summes of money or goods as are due unto me from him.

per me ROGER WILLIAMS.

To his much honored John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts.¹

[No date; probably October or November, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I was fearful that those dead hands were no pleasing sight (otherwise than a remarkable vengeance had seized upon the first murderer of the English, Wauphanck,)² yet I was willing to permit what I could not approve, least if I had buried the present myself, I should have incurred suspicion of pride and wronged my betters, in the natives and others eyes: I have always shown dislike to such dismembering the dead, and now the more, (according to your desire) in your name.

I was also fearful that mine own hand (having no commission from my heart (which is not in mine hand but in

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 207. of those who murdered Capt. Stone,"

² "The Narraganetts sent us the August 31, 1637.—WINTHROP, vol. i. hands of three Pequots; one the chief p. 283.

the hand of its Maker, the Most High) to write you ought of mine own return in (spirituals,) I say fearful that mine own might not be so grateful and pleasing to you: but being called upon by your message and your love, (your paper), I am emboldened.

Concerning the Pequots, the soldiers here¹ related to me that Uncas² the Mohiganie Sachem had about three hundred men with him on the Pequot river,³ some sixteen miles from the house, which I believe are most of them Pequots and their confederates the Wunnashowatuckoogs and their Inlanders (whom he charged under pain of death not to come to Canonicus) and with whom he hath made himself great. This man is but a little Sachem, and hath not above forty or fifty Mohigans, which as the English told me were all he could make.

It is generally confirmed that Thomas Stanton,⁴ (as himself also confessed to me at my house) was grossly con-

¹ Winthrop under date of Aug. 26, records "The captain and soldiers returned all from Pequot," (vol. i. p. 283:) Oct. 12, "A day of thanksgiving kept in all the churches for our victories against the Pequods."—*Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 290.

² *Uncas*, was originally a Pequot. He revolted from Saffacous in 1634, became friendly to the English, and was made chief of the Mohegans. His authority being so recent, perhaps is the occasion for the slighting remark of Williams at the close of the paragraph. He has been characterized as treacherous, vicious and "an old and wicked wilful man." He died in 1683 at a great age.

DRAKE, in his *Book of the Indians*, (p. 149,) gives the following epitaph from a tombstone of one of *Uncas*' sons:

Here lies the body of *Sunsecto*
Own son to *Uncas* grandson to *Oneko*
Who were the famous sachems of Mohegan
But now they're all dead, I think it is *Wewehagan*.

³ "The rest of the Pequots were wholly driven from this place, and some of them submitted themselves to the Narriganetts and lived under them: others of them betooke themselves to the Monhiggs under *Uncas* their sachem, with the approbation of the English at Conighteescutt, under whose protection *Uncas* lived."—BRADFORD, *Hist. Plymouth Plant.* Boston: 1856. p. 361.

⁴ Thomas Stanton at the age of 20, emigrated in 1635 from London to Virginia. He afterwards removed to Connecticut, and was one of the original pro-



fened and deluded by one Wequashcuck¹ (a Nayantaquit Sachem) who sheltered four Pequot Sachems and sixty Pequots at Long Island, where now they are, where peace was made with promise from the natives not to permit one Pequot; yet Wequashcuck marrying Saffacous his mother hath thus deceived you. This Wequashcuck was the man (to my knowledge) that sheltered Audsah, the murderer of Mr. Oldham, and kept his head so upon his shoulders: yet to this man Thomas Stanton (as it appears) did too much listen, slighting I fear, too much the Narragansetts.

I find our Neighbors very eager to pursue these four Sachems and the sixty Pequots there, I pressed them to patience till Mr. Governor's mind be known, and Miantunnomu (to my knowledge) doth all he can to restrain them, or else long since they had been there. They plead that Mr. Governor may please to accompany, or send himself against them, but cannot by any article in the league bind them to suffer so many of their enemies in a knot so near them.

I press them to humane consideration of so much blood spilt, they answer if they have the Sachems heads they will make the rest Narragansetts, and for the Long Islanders themselves and Wequashcuck, they will not meddle with them, because of the peace Mr. Stoughton made with them.

Concerning the kettles: Miantunnomu answers, that he

prietors of Hartford, and in later years was of Stonington, where he died in 1678. He is many times mentioned in these letters, and was constantly employed during his life as an indian interpreter.

¹ This man has often been confounded

with Wequash. Winthrop in speaking of the death of the latter, calls him Wequash Cook; Williams is more accurate. He was living in 1648, while Wequash died prior to 1643.

hath been much wronged by the reports of enemies and false friends to whom some of us (as he saith) hath hearkened before himself.

He saith he never knew of more than two, one of which the English used at the house, and the other as he hears is at the Fort still: he saith, he hath many of his own, and indeed when I came first hither I saw near ten or twelve which himself or Canonicus had.

He repaid me with a grievance about a Pequot canoe which he desired might be ordered by your own hearing, but it was denied him: his plea seems very fair: thus this brother Yoteash having taken the great Sachem (Puttaquappuonckquame who was kept in the pinnace alive sometime) took his canoe, which, saith he, the English Captains sitting all together were very willing unto: this canoe Mr. Stoughton afterwards brought about homeward: Miantunnomu and his brother claim it: 'twas denied: he requested that it might be left at my house till Mr. Governor's mind was known. Capt. Stoughton would not yield, but desired him to go along to me, but saith he, I would not trust myself with him, seeing he would not stand to Mr. Governor's determination about the canoe: I would not have mentioned this least it might provoke Mr. Stoughton or any: but I know to whom I intimate it: and I have pretty well appeased the matter already.

He answers, all I can object to him with this: let Mr. Governor have the hearing of it: I will rest in his word, and objecting to him in the particular before divers, that the English complain he was proud, he desired that I would present to Mr. Governor these particulars, that he had cause to maintain his right, because the Connecticut English equalled Uncas and the Mohigans with himself and his men

Whereas faith he, these Mohigans are but as a twig, we are as a great tree.

They fell to the English but last year, we have been ever friends, &c.

Uncas and his men had a hand in the death of all the English and fought against the Rivers mouth (at Connecticut) we never killed nor consented to the death of an English man.

When the Dutchmen and we fought with the Pequots the Mohigans joined against us.

When Capt. Endicott came against the Pequots the Mohigans received the Pequot women and children and kept them, while the men fought with him, &c.

Uncas brought presents to Canonicus, and Miantunnumu, yet at the same time killed two of his women treacherously.

They fell to the English this year in fear or other policy, and we, (faith he) have continued friendship and love ever since they landed. Thus he pleaded, &c., and yet proud and covetous and filthy they are, &c., only I was willing to gratify him in this, because as I know your own heart studies peace, and their soul's good, so your wisdom may make use of it unto others who happily take some more pleasure in wars: The blessed God of Peace be pleased to give you peace within, at home, and round about you abroad, So prays

Your worship's unfeignedly respective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., all respective salutations.

I have at present returned Richard Collicut's Pequot girl which Miantunnomu found out, and desired me to send home, with promise of further enquiring.

*To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.*¹

[No date.]²

SIR, — Having used many means and many Attornies (in my absence) to recover a debt of Mr. George Ludlow, and failed by all, and now last of all by Richard Collicut who undertook seriously, but comes off weakly in it: let me humbly beg what help in a righteous way may be afforded (now in his departure) to cause him to deal honestly with me who have many years and in many wants been patient toward him. The debt was for mine own and wife's better apparel put off to him at Plymouth. My bills are lost, but his own hand which the bearer will deliver is testimony sufficient. He hath used so many slights and told so many falsehoods, that Sir, if you believe more than you see, I must patiently give my debt for desperate: however with my best respects to your kind self and Mrs. Winthrop, and sighs to heaven for you, I rest

Your worship's unfeignedly faithful till death,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 212.

² This letter is of later date than the one preceding, as it evidently refers to it. It probably enclosed a letter received from George Ludlow, and which is printed in full in *5 Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 250. To this R. W. has added a note. (See previous letter.)

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.¹

[No date; probably October, 1637.]

SIR, — Some while since you were pleased to desire me to signify to the Sachems, the promise of the Block Islanders to yourselves, and therefore their exemption from all other submission and tribute. Their answer was, that as they had left them to Mr. Governor formerly upon Mr. Oldames death, so have they done since, and have had no other dealing with them then for the getting of the head of Audsah the chief murderer: as also that they understand the one hundred fathom of beads to be yearly paid to Mr. Governor, in which respect they have been far from desiring a bead from them, and do acknowledge them to be wholly Mr. Governor's subjects.

Sir, I hear that there is now at Pequot with the Mohegans,² one William (Baker³ I think his name is) who was

¹ *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 214.

In this letter Roger Williams mentions the probability of Miantonomo going to Boston in a day or two. The letter of November 10th, reports the return of this "big indian." WINTHROP, (vol. i. p. 291) records under date of November 1st, "Miantonomo the Narragansett Sachem came to Boston." He also reports that Miantonomo acknowledged that "all the Pequot country and Block Island were ours." He was also given "leave to right himself for the wrongs which Janemoh and Wequash Cook had done him." The letter is probably of a date not later than October 28, and perhaps not much earlier.

² Monahiganeucks — Mohegans. By the revolt of Uncas, the Pequot territories became divided, and that part called

Moheag or Mohegan, fell generally under his dominion, and extended from near the Connecticut River on the south, to a place of disputed country on the north, next the Narragansetts.

³ "William Baker, Plymouth, 1643, may I think, have been first of Rhode Island, as early as 1638, and probably went thither again, being counted among the freemen 1655 at Portsmouth." SAVAGE, vol. i. p. 100. *R. I. Col. Rec.* vol. i. Williams in subsequent letters speaks of him as of Plymouth, and that he was whipped at Hartford in the same year. The next year November 12th, 1638, he was admitted an inhabitant of Newport. There was in Plymouth in 1632 a William Baker an apprentice to Richard Church, and possibly this was the man to whom Roger Williams refers.

purfued, as is faid by the Englifh of Connecticut for uncleannefs with an Indian fquaw, who is now with child by him. He hath there gotten another fquaw and lies clofe, unknown to the Englifh. They fay he came from a trading houfe which Plymouth men have at Connecticut, and can fpeak much Indian. If it be he, when I lived at Plymouth, I heard the Plymouth men fpeak much of his evil courfe that way with the natives.

The occafion that our neighbors know of him was this: fome eight days fince, fix Narraganfett men were coming from Connecticut, and by the way fell upon fome Pequots, who were refcued out of their hands by the Mohegans, who alfo bound thofe fix Narraganfetts many days together at Monahiganick (upon Pequot river, where this William was) and fpoiled them of their coats and what elfe they had.

The Sachems and the men are greatly incenfed, affirming that they can not but revenge this abufe offered to their men; yet I have got this promife that they will not do ought without Mr. Governor's advice.

Sir, I have long heard, and thefe fix men affirm, that there are many of the fcattered Pequots rendezvoufed with Uncas the Mohegan Sachem and Wequafh the Pequot, who being employed as one of the guides to the Englifh in their late wars, is grown rich, and a Sachem with the Pequots: and hath five or fix runaways. There are all the Runaways harbored (which upon long and diligent inquiry) I am certain and confident of, and can give good affurance that there is not one amongft all the Narraganfetts.

Mr. Stoughton hath been long affured that Meikfah, Canonicus' eldeft fon hath his fquaw, but having enquired it out, I find fhe was never at the Narraganfetts, but is mar-

ried to one Meiksomp a Sachem of Nayantick, which being nearer to Pequot is more friendly to the Pequots: and where as I hear that Wequashcuck (who long sheltered Audfah and so grossly deluded Tho: Stanton in the late wars) hath filled many baskets with beads from Pequots Sachems and one hundred and twenty Pequots which he sheltereth now at Nayantick.

Uncas the Mohegan and Wequashcuck were lately at Long Island, from whence some few days since, Uncas carried away forty Pequots to Monahiganick, and Wequashcuck thirty to Nayantick.

While I write, Miantunnomu is come to my house and affirmeth the same; professing if I would advise him, he would go over to Mr. Governor to acquaint the Governor that Canonicus^t and himself hath no hand in these passages. He asks me often if he may safely go, and I assure him if he have an honest heart he need not fear any deceit or treachery amongst the English; so I think within a day or two he will be coming towards you.

He tells me what I had not heard that of those Pequots to whom at the first by my hand you were pleased to give

^t "Canonicus, a Narragansett chief, uncle of Miantonomoh, was born about 1565; died June 4, 1647; was the firm friend of the English, especially of Roger Williams. From him Williams obtained, March 24, 1638, the grant of land for his settlement of the future State of Rhode Island. In 1622, two years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Canonicus sent as a challenge a bundle of arrows tied with a snake-skin. The skin was returned filled with powder and ball; but the peace was unbroken. In 1632-35, there was a war between

the Pequots and Narragansetts, about the ownership of lands lying between Pawcatuck River and Wecapang Brook. Canonicus, after losing his son, burned his own residence and all his goods in it. Roger Williams calls him "A wife and peaceful prince." During his life, the Narragansetts, though engaged in war with other Indians, remained at peace with the whites. Many years after his death, however, under the famous King Philip, they made war on the English and were exterminated."—DRAKE. *Dic. American Biography.*

life, but seven came to them, of which five also long since are gone to Monahiganick.

Sir, I forget not your loving remembrance of me concerning Mr. Ludlow's debt. I yet know not where that tobacco is : but desire if Mr. Craddock's agent, Mr. Jolly would accept it, that it may be delivered to him in part of some payments for which I have made over my house to Mr. Mayhew.

Sir, your servant Reprieve lodged here two nights, and Miantunnomu¹ tells me that five days since he lay a night with him and is gone to Block Island. He is very hopefully improved since I first saw him : and am bold to wish that he might now take his last farewell of his friends, to whom you would be rather pleased to give leave to visit him at Boston, for you cannot believe how hard it is for him to escape much evil, and especially uncleanness while he is with them. The good Lord be pleased to bless him to you and to make you a blessing to him and many others. . . . run headlong (without once hearing of it,) into everlasting burnings. So prays daily

Your worship's unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs, respective salutations.

¹ Miantonomo, Sachem of the Narragansetts, was the nephew and successor of Canonicus, and assumed the government in 1636. He was the friend and benefactor of the settlers in Rhode Island, to whom he gave their territory. In 1638 he entered into an agreement

with Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, not to make war upon one another without first appealing to the English. Cited in 1642, upon a mere rumor of intended hostilities to appear at Boston before the Governor and Council, he declared his innocence, and called upon the English

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop¹

The last of the week, I think the 28th of the 8th. [Oct. 28, 1637.]

SIR,—This bearer, Miantunnomu, resolving to go on his visit, I am bold to request a word of advice from you concerning a proposition made by Canonicus and himself to me some half year since. Canonicus gave an island in this bay to Mr. Oldham, by name Chibachuwese, upon condition as it should seem, that he would dwell there near unto them. The Lord (in whose hands all hearts are) turning their affections towards myself, they desired me to remove thither and dwell nearer to them. I have answered once and again, that for present I mind not to remove; but if I have it from them, I would give them

to produce his accusers. None appearing, he was dismissed with honor. Gov. Winthrop, in his Journal, testifies to the respect in which the ability of the great chief was held. The rivalry between the Mohegans and Narragansetts, which it was the policy of the English to foment, produced its inevitable results. Driven by the insults and injuries of the unprincipled Uncas, he attacked him, but was defeated and made prisoner; and by the advice and consent of the English magistrates and elders, was executed. Brave and magnanimous, he was doubtless the most able of the Indians of New England. *DRAKE. Biog. Dictionary.*

¹ 3d Ser. *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 165, assigns October 28, 1637, as the probable date of this letter; in which opinion ARNOLD, in his *History of Rhode Island* agrees. Vol. i. p. 105. KNOWLES, and *R. I. Col. Records* copy from the *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*

² The *R. I. Col. Records*, (vol. 1. p.

45) quotes the Deed from Canonicus and Miantonomo of the island of Aquedneck to William Coddington and others, under date of March 24, 1637, "excepting Chibachuwese, formerly sold unto Mr. Winthrop the now Governor of the Massachusetts and Mr. Williams of Providence."

We cannot reconcile the difference of dates, except that Winthrop's date refers possibly to the time Gov. Vane sent for Miantonomoh. Miantonomoh also was at Boston on Nov. 1, 1637, (WINTHROP, vol. i. p. 291.) If the date of the deed above mentioned is correct, and the formerly sold is the "*whole truth*" this letter is probably of 1636, if otherwise, probably 1637. We incline to the latter date. Winthrop retained his half of the island leaving it by will to his son Stephen. Williams sold his half with other lands to pay his expenses in England when on service for the colony.

fatisfaction for it, and build a little house and put in some swine, as understanding the place to have store of fish and good feeding for swine. Of late I have heard, that Mr. Gibbons, upon occasion, motioned your desire and his own of putting some swine on some of these islands, which hath made me since more desire to obtain it, because I might thereby not only benefit myself, but also pleasure yourself whom I more desire to pleasure and honor. I spake of it now to this Sachem, and he tells me, that because of the store of fish, Canonicus desires that I would accept half, (it being spectacle-wise, and between a mile or two in circuit, as I guess,) and he would reserve the other; but I think, if I go over, I shall obtain the whole. Your loving counsel, how far it may be inoffensive, because it was once (upon a condition not kept) Mr. Oldham's. So, with respective salutes to your kind self and Mrs. Winthrop, I rest

Your worship's unfeigned, in all I may,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[No date. Probably written soon after July, 1635.]

The Church of Jesus Christ at Salem, to our dearly beloved and much esteemed in Jesus, the Elders of the Church of Christ at Boston.

Your letters (dear and well beloved in Christ) dated the 22 of this 5th month, have been read openly before us, wherein we understand you see not your way clear before you, for delivering of our humble complaint unto the

Church of Christ with you ; as also your reasons why you dare not publish to the body our letters. Our dear Brethren, according to your loving and Christian desire, we dare not but gently and tenderly interpret this your delay as springing from your holy care and fear lest dishonor should redound to our Lord and King, in these weighty affairs of his holy government. We give you many and hearty thanks for your loving and faithful dealing in returning us a reason of your holy fears and jealousies. And we beseech you [in the bow]els of Christian tenderness to bear with us while we first add a word unto your selves, and afterwards to your reasons. We have not yet apprehended it to be the choice of the officers of a Church, when public letters are sent from sister Churches, to deliver or not to deliver the letters unto the body ; we acknowledge it their liberty and duty to order wisely for convenience and due season of presenting the Church with them, but wholly to conceal or suppress the letters of the Church, we yet see not. Our reasons are, amongst others, these two: 1st, because they are the Church's, not the officers'. The Church hath the right which the officers may not assume unto themselves, and therefore it hath been questioned whether public letters sent to [a Church of] Christ, ought not to be delivered publicly to the elders in the face of the Church met together according to what is written, [Acts] 15. 30, when they had gathered the multitude (that is, the Church) together, then they [deliv]ered the letters. If this be the power and liberty of the officers, for ought we see [if there] be but one elder in the Church that he may privately put up the public letters of the whole. Our 2d reason is, because the presence of our Lord Jesus is most especially promised and to the whole body

met together in his name, than to one or all the elders; and therefore in solemn seeking of God's face by the whole Church (his spouse and wife) we conceive a more clear and distinct apprehension of the mind of Christ concerning an answer to be returned back doth ordinarily arise, than from the officers apart from [the Church.] For however it hath been the Prelate[']s plea, the people are weak giddy and rash, and therefore should not enjoy such liberties, we conceive persons truly gathered in his name shall find a wisdom greater than theirs] in the midst amongst them even Jesus Christ, who himself is made their wisdom] . . . 1 Cor. i. 30. [Your reasons of not reading are three; two against reading at all, the third,] against reading on the Lord's day. The first, more expressly concerning . . .

. . . our admonition, you say is a gift which should not be offered up [until we have] reconciled ourselves to our much honored and beloved the magistrates [who are] against us.

Now we beseech you humbly, our dear brethren, consider . . . a gift; our prayers and thanks and offerings, are also gifts, Mat. v. [23, 24.], and then if no gift may be offered while a case of offence dependeth, then surely] 1. a brother, yea, a whole Church must intermit their holy meet[ings, and] for a while the ordinances, yea, for the present, be un-churched. 2. And so secondly, if we should meet together to consider about, and find out the offence, we should not] offer up the incense of our prayers to the Lord for the discovery of the offence unto [our brethren.] 3. Further, for ought we see we should not at all come together, for the presence of our souls and bodies together in the presence of the Lord is a gift. 4. Nay more, by that rule no Church in her members might have fellowship with us, nor ourselves with them, in case we have not pow-

er to offer up a gift while a matter of offence dependeth, though ourselves are ready to receive light from our brethren concerning the offence. 5thly. If this rule be absolute ye have failed so far to communicate with us as to send us these your letters, if [we cannot] meet together to read them and consider and seek the face of our God in Christ for answer. 6th. Since that some times brethren may be offended at a good and righteous act, pleasing to Christ, as some were, Acts xi. [17, 18], by this ground it will follow that the Churches shall offer up no gift to God nor man until they have repented of their duties and confessed them as sin, both to God and man, in case others be offended.

Lastly, be you pleased to remember that hitherto in a church way (the way of Christ for Church failings) we have not heard of any one brother offended with us, which should have been in might any way have held forth argument unto us; our reason is . . . [gre]at difference between a Church way, and the proceeding of a Commonweal.

Your second argument seems to be, the act of the magistrates gave . . . [pub]lic offence, and beside that, a public action offensive may be but private offence: unto this with all due submission we conceive the Court of Justice is as public [as the gate of the city.] Amos. v. 12: "They turn aside the poor from their right in the gate." 2dly, we acknowledge in some obscure and dark passages, one or two may spy a blemish where thousands do not; this is a secret, and we desire to walk by the rule, Prov. xxv. 9., "debate the cause with thy neighbor himself, and discover not a secret to another;" *but to [punish befor]e she hath been convey[n]ted, to deal with a church out of a church way,*

[to] punish two or three hundred of our town for the conceived failing of the Church, we see [not] how any cloud of obscurity can hide this evil from the eyes of all; and therefore not two or three of ourselves, but many of the present court, and many others, and ourselves [of the] Church of Christ who cry to the Lord for mercy to ex . . . see a failing, yea some hundreds of the whole town smarting in their . . . and the whole land may, and other lands hearing of it cannot choose [but be bli]nded, weakened, stumbled; and therefore we conceive as the sun [cannot] be shut up in a chamber, public sinings must be openly [complained] of: 1 Tim. v. 20. "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others may fear." [Yo]u say you cannot judge of our right and title, for our matters are only [st]ayed; we signify thus much to your selves and humbly request if there be cause you will signify so much to the brethren, that we are far from arguing our right with any in a church way. We hoped the proof that was desired by the court would have given satisfaction might they have had leave to speak; and furthermore the delay of a petition in cases of present necessity (as ye well know) may be as grievous by the delay of a few months (such stood the present state of the town) as if it was a whole year; and therefore the Lord provides against delays of a poor man's wages, Deut. xxiv. 14 15, not only because of his present need, but also because of the grief of his spirit, which will make him cry unto God for redress against the injurious. We doubt not but a petition may be both delayed and rejected, but we must needs profess our exceeding grief that a Church of Christ shall undergo a punishment before convicted, be punished (if there were due cause) before exhorted to repentance in a rule of Christ, and hundreds of

innocents punished of the town as the conceived nocents of the Church. This, to our apprehension, is such an evil as which (whether we respect the persons, or the public nature of the evil, as) God is not wont to expiate without some public stroke of jealousy and displeasure. We hope we shall ever be with the foremost in all humble respect and service to all higher powers, according to God. We speak now of our much honored brethren as brethren, whose souls are dear and precious to us in holy covenant, and therein conceive the only way to honor them in the Lord, is to beseech them to wash away the dishonor of the most high, by true, godly sorrow and repentance; and in this your service we conceive in the e[nd] you will find that most true which the spirit of G[od] writes, "open rebuke is better than secret love."

Your 3d argument is, that you dare not upon the Lord's day deal in a wordly business, no[r bring a] civil business in the Church. First, please you to remember (our dear and well beloved in Christ) that for any civil matter we open not our mouth. We speak of a spiritual offence against our Lord Jesus, and against the holy covenant of brethren, and so we do]ubt not though unclean oppression be offences against the c[ivil st]ate which the Church meddles [not] with, yet the Church deals with members lawfully for their breach [of cove]nant, and disobedience against the Lord Jesus.

Again, we are not bold to limit you (our beloved) to the Lord's day; we leave [it to your] wisdom and the wisdom of the Church, when to consider of the matter: yet hither[to] we have conceived that the kingly office of our Lord Jesus ought to be as well administered on the Lord's day, as his Priestly and Prophetic [office,] and [also] that he

is as much honored in the [act of] censuring or pardoning of finners from his throne, Zach. vi. 13, in case of transgression against his crown, as against the administration of other his sweet and blessed ordinances.

Now our blessed C[hrist Jef]us, who holdeth his stars in his right hand, and out of whose mouth goes a sh[arp two-] edged sword, and whose countenance shines as the sun in his strength, Rev., shine mercifully and clearly upon your souls in all holy . . . consolations and . . . lva-tions.

Your most unworthy brethren, unfeignedly respectful and affectionate in Christ Jesus.

ROGER WILLIAMS. SAMUEL SHARPE.

This letter for which we are indebted to CHARLES DEANE, Esq., of Cambridge, was not received in time to insert it in its proper place, according to its date. It was accompanied by the following note from that gentleman :

NOTE.—I copied this letter some years ago from the original, in Roger Williams's hand, belonging to the Prince collection in the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The letter was considerably imperfect, many of the words quite obliterated and gone, so that the meaning is in many places quite obscure. Enough however is preserved to shew the general thought of the writer, and to indicate the occasion on which it was written. It bears no date, but must have been written in 1635, and was a reply to a letter from the elders of the Church of Boston, dated "ye 22 of this 5th month"—i.e. the 22d July. I apprehend the occasion on which the letter was written was this: We learn from Winthrop, under date

July, 1635, that the "Salem men had preferred a petition, at the last General Court, for some land in Marblehead Neck, which they did challenge as belonging to their town; but because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher, while he stood under question of authority, and so offered contempt to the magistrates, &c., their petition was refused, till &c. Upon this, the Church of Salem wrote to other Churches, to admonish the magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the deputies; for which at the next General Court, their deputies were not received until they should give satisfaction about the letter." (Vol. i p. 164.) It would appear that the letter sent to the Boston Church was retained by the elders and not laid before the

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

10th of 9th. [November 10, 1637.]¹

SIR,—I acquainted this Indian Miantunnomu,² with the contents of your letter sent by him, who rests well persuaded that if it break not first with them, the league is firm and lasting, and the English are unfeigned.

I have bought and paid for the Island,³ and because I desired the best confirmation of the purchase to yourself that I could, I was bold to insert your name in the original here enclosed.

The ten fathom of beads and one coat you may please at leisure to deliver to Mr. Throckmorton: who will also be serviceable in the conveyance of swine this way.

Your native, Reprive,⁴ requests me to write a word for himself and another for the Sachem of Block Island, Jacquontu.

For himself he tells me when he departed hence, being alone, he wandered toward Neepmuck: At Nayantick, Juanemo said he was a spy from Mr. Governor, and threatened to kill him, denied that there were Pequots, saying

Church, they giving their reasons for so doing in their reply to the Salem Church. The letter from the Boston elders called forth, as I suppose, this letter from Williams, signed by himself as teacher, and Samuel Sharp, as ruling elder, of Salem Church. Sharpe was soon afterward called to account by the General Court for his hand in this business. In copying this letter of Williams, I have indicated the omissions by . . . I have modernized the orthography in this copy. c. d.

² See previous letters. This letter was probably written shortly after Miantunnomoh's visit, Nov. 1, to Boston.—WINTHROP, vol. i. p. 291.

³ The deed of Prudence Island, is dated Nov. 10, 1637, the same day of this letter. (See *R. I. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 29.) The consideration paid Miantunnomoh and Canonicus was twenty fathom of wampum and two coats, which Williams paid, and now asks to be reimbursed one-half.

⁴ *Reprive*, an Indian servant of Gov. Winthrop. See letter of October.

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 217.

though Reprive saw many himself) that they were all gone to Monahiganick. So he came back in fear of his life to Wepiteammock (Miantunnomue's brother-in-law) who lent him a canoe to Block Island where he staid but six days.

From Jacquauntu,¹ Block Island Sachem, that he is preparing thirteen fathom of white, and two of blue to present you with about the first month.

That they are greatly in fear of the Nayantick men who threaten them, in case the English fall upon Nayantick.

I am glad to see this poor fellow Reprive careful to please you, for he said you gave him leave for twenty-eight days and though he could stay but six days where he desired to stay longest, yet he will not lie.

He says his brother goes along with him to stay some while, till the spring.

Sir, There are two Pequot squaws, brought by the Narragansetts, almost starved; viz.: Mr. Coles his native, and one girl from Winifimmit: there was a third (I think Mr. Blackstone's²) who had escaped before to Nayantick. I promised these, if they would stay at my house and not run away, I would write that they might be used kindly. The biggest, Mr. Cole his native, complains that she of all

¹ Referring to the tribute as required by treaty made by Jaquauntu, the Block Island Sachem.

² His name in some of the records of the period is spelled *Blaxton*. William Blackstone or Blaxton, first settled on the peninsula, now the city of Boston; removed to Rehoboth in 1633, and

thence to Cumberland, R. I., near the river since called Blackstone River, in reference to his name. He died just before King Philip's war, when his residence and his fine library were consumed. See note to letter of June 13, 1675.

natives in Boston is the worſe uſed: is beaten with fireſticks, and eſpecially by ſome of the ſervants.

The little one makes no complaint of uſage, but ſays ſhe was enticed by that other ſquaw, which I think was Mr. Blackſtone's. I aſked the biggeſt, who burnt her and why, ſhe told me Mr. Penn¹ becauſe a fellow lay with her, but ſhe ſaid, for her part ſhe reſuſed.

My humble deſire is that all that have thoſe poor wretches might be exhorted as to walk wiſely and juſtly towards them, ſo as to make mercy eminent, for in that attribute the Father of mercy moſt ſhines to Adam's miſerable offspring.

Sir, I fear I am tedious, yet muſt I crave leave for a line more: I received a letter from ſome in Charleſtown, (in ſpecial from one Benjamin Hubbard)² intimating his and others deſire (with my help and furtherance) to be my neighbors in ſome place near adjoining: Mr. James³ hath not declared himſelf to be one, but I gueſs he is inclining to accompany them. On the Narraganſett ſide the natives are populous, on the ſide to Maſſachuſetward Plymouth men challenge, ſo that I preſume if they come to the place where firſt I was, Plymouth will call them theirs.⁴ I

¹ James Penn who at this time was one of the overſeers or magiſtrates of the town of Boſton.

² Benjamin Hubbard came to Charleſtown in 1633, was a prominent man, poſſibly removed, ſays SAVAGE, to Boſton, but he is known to have returned to England, and probably never returned to America.

³ Thomas James, probably one of the thirteen original proprietors of Providence, being firſt mentioned in the "initial deed," ſo called in 1638, and then

more fully in the confirmatory deed of 1666 which bears his name. BRADFORD, calls him "a phifitian."—*Hiſt. of Plymouth*, p. 364.

⁴ No deed has ever been diſcovered, we think, of the lands of Seekonk and Rehoboth; but a depoſition of John Haſell, taken in 1642, confirms ſuch a purchaſe. "John Haſell affirmeth that Aſſamequime choſe out ten fathom of beads at Mr. Williams's and put them in a baſket, and affirmed that he was fully ſatiſfied therewith for his land at Seacunck ;

know not the persons, yet in general could wish (if it be either with countenance or connivance) that these ways might be more trod into these inland parts, and that amongst the multitudes of the barbarous, the neighborhood of some English Plantation (especially of men desiring to fear God) might help and strengthen. I shall be thankful for a word of advice, and beseeching the Most Holy and only Wife in mercy and goodness to know and guide the souls of his in this remote wilderness, and in this material desert, to discover graciously the mystical where twelve hundred and three score days his saints are hid. Revel. 12. I rest

Your Worship's, sorry that I am not more yours and neither of us more the Lord's.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Winthrop all respective remembrance.

I shall beg (this winter in some leisure) your help with my bad debtors, James and Tho: Haukins, from whom as yet I get nought but words.

but he stood upon it that he would have a coat more, and left the beads with Mr. Williams, and wished him to keep them until Mr. Hubbard came up."—*Plymouth Col. Rec.* vol. ii. p. 87. Our impression is that the Charlestown men first pro-

posed to go to Seekonk, but afterwards gave it up, and the lands were then taken in 1641 by Rev. Samuel Newman and others of Weymouth and Hingham. We can trace no settlement near Providence to Charlestown men.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

20th of the 9th. [November 20, 1637.]¹

SIR,—I rest thankfully satisfied in your propounding of my motion to the Court, and the answer. (The earth is Jehovah's, and the plenitude of it.) I am not a little glad that the lot is fallen upon a branch of that root, in whose good (present and eternal both of root and branches) I rejoice. For his sake I wish it ground, and grass, and trees; yet what use so ever he please to make of it, I desire he would not spare to make use of me in any service towards the natives on it or about it.

Miantunnomu in his relations of passages in the Bay with you, thankfully acknowledges to myself and others your loving carriage to him, and promiseth to send forth word to all natives to cease from Prudence, trees, &c. Since your letter I travelled up to Nayantick by land where I heard Reprive was: there the Sachem (to whom he adheres, Wepiteammock) and the people related that he was gone to his wife at Mohegan: also that he, Wepiteammock, had sent to Uncas advising and urging their return, but he could not prevail, and that if Reprive come within his reach he will send him (though alone without his wife) however.

I traveled to Mohegan and understood that they were all at Pequot, Nayantick, but Uncas not being at home (but at New Haven) I could not do ought.

Sir, I have often called upon your debtor, Joshua,² but his ill adviseness of refusing my service and spending of his time upon a house and ground hath disabled him.

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 220.

² Probably Joshua Verin, whose grant

of land was adjoining Mr. Williams's.

Upon this occasion of your loving proffer of the half of the debt (*8/11*) to myself, I shall be urgent with him to seek some course of payment of the whole to yourself, from whom in recompense of any pains, &c., I desire no other satisfaction but your loving and wonted acceptance, yea, although the business had been effected. Sir, I had almost been bold to say my thoughts what I would do in this case, were the runaways^t mine, but I will not more at present. If you shall please to require account of what my observation hath taught me, I shall readily yield it in my next, ever begging mercy and truth to you and yours, and my loving friends with you. The Lord Jesus return us all (poor runaways) with weeping and supplications to seek him that was nailed to the gallows; in him I desire to be (and mourn I am not) more

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I received six fathom of beads from Mr. Throckmorton, which though I will not return, yet I account them yours in my keeping.

Sir, I pray my respective remembrance to Mrs. Winthrop.

^t Possibly refers to Reprive and other Indian servants, before mentioned.

To his much honored Governor John Wintthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 10th of the 11th month. [January 10, 1637-8.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—It having pleased the Most High to besiege us all with his white legions,² I rejoice at this occasion from Connecticut (these letters sent to me by Mr. Hooker)³ that I may hear of your welfare and health, which I wish and beg unfeignedly of the Lord.

Mr. Hooker intimates a report to me that they hear from the Monahiganeucks that Miantunnomu intends Tho: Stanton's death. I have taken some pains in it, and other passages sent me, finding them slanders: and since (for many good ends and) for keeping a passage open between yourselves and Connecticut by natives, summer and winter, a peace is much to be desired between the Mohegan and the Narragansett. I have proffered my pains in procuring a meeting of the adverse Sachems, if it please the Magistrates of Connecticut to order Owokace (the Mohegan Sachem) to touch in at the Narragansett mouth, where I hope to get the Narragansett Sachems aboard, and it may please the God of Peace to save much blood and evil, &c.

Only it behooves our friends of Connecticut, as I have writ to them, to look to the two or three hundred Pe-

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 221.

² SNOW. WINTHROP says, "This was a very hard winter. The snow lay from November 4 to March 23 half a yard deep about the Massachusetts," &c., vol. i. p. 317.

³ The Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, to whom Williams here alludes, was an eminent divine, and one of the founders of the colony of Connecticut. He arrived at Boston in company with John Cotton, September 3, 1633, and

the following month became pastor of the church in Newton. In 1636, with his whole congregation, he removed to the banks of the Connecticut river, where they founded Hartford. In this new colony, Hooker was very influential in establishing churches. He died in 1647, aged 61. He was the author of several volumes, the most celebrated of which is *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline*, printed at London, in 1648.

quots harbored by Wocase¹ the Mohegan, as also William Baker² of Plymouth, (of whom formerly I wrote) who is there hid, is turned Indian in nakedness and cutting of hair, and after many whoredoms, is there married: this fire-brand with those Pequots may fire whole towns: I have intimated how they may with ease take him.

Sir, let me be humbly bold to request a favor of you: I am at present destitute of a man servant, and much desire, if you light on one that desires to fear the Lord, remember me. I have a lusty canoe, and shall have occasion to run down often to your Island³ (near twenty miles from us) both with mine own and (I desire also freely) your worship's swine, so that my want is great. I would spare no charge, either out of those beads and coat in your own hand: the tobacco from Mr. Ludlow, and 8 or 10*li* in James and Tho: Hawkins hand of which I hear not yet.

Sir, if any letters from yourself or other friends are for Connecticut, I intreat you make haste and speed by this messenger, for I caused four natives who came from Connecticut to stay his coming: I have already paid him, so that his expectation is not great. Thus longing to hear of your healths, and with earnest and daily wishes for that peace which this world cannot give nor take from you, and my poor wife's and mine own best salutes to your dearest companion, I rest

Your worship's to my power faithful

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My due respects to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, theirs, and other loving friends, &c.

¹ Probably Uncas.

² See note to letter of October pre-

ceding, relative to William Baker.

³ Prudence Island.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 28th of the 12th. [February 28, 1637-8.]¹

SIR,—Some few days since I received letters from Mr. Hooker, who had safely received your packet with thanks, &c.

He intimated that according to Miantunnomue's information by myself, William Baker was hid at Mohegan, but they had made Uncas and Wequash to bring him in. Since which time (Sergeant Holmes bailing him) he is again escaped.

He also signified the desire of the Magistrates at Connecticut that there the meeting should be: as also that in the mean season they had charged the Mohegans not to molest any natives in their passage and travel, &c., requiring the same of the Narragansetts towards the Mohegans.

Accordingly I have been since at Narragansett² and find Miantunnomu willing to go to Connecticut by the time limited, the end of the next month; only first he desired to know Mr. Governor's mind: secondly, in case his father-in-law Canonicus his brother, (whom I saw near death with above a thousand men mourning and praying about him) in case he recover, otherwise it is unlawful for them (as they conceive,) to go far from home till toward midsummer. Thirdly, he desires earnestly my company, as being not so confident of the English at Connecticut, who have been (I fear) to full of threatnings: secondly, he cannot be confident of Tho: Stanton's faithfulness in point of

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 223.

² The Narragansett country which occupied much the same district as Washington County now embraces, except a

small portion lying east of Pawcatuck river; and extended a little north of the present line of Kent County.

interpretation. These things make me much desire (as I have written back) that you would both please by some deputed to make my poor house the centre where seems to be the fairest offer of convenience, and I hope no question of welcome.

Visiting Canonicus, lately recovered from the pit's brink this winter, he asked how Mr. Governor and the English did, requesting me to send him two words: first, that he would be thankful to Mr. Governor for some fugar (for I had sent him mine own in the depth of the winter and his sickness.) Secondly, he called for his sword, which said he, Mr. Governor did send me by you and others of the English, saying Mr. Governor protested he would not put up his sword, nor would he have us put up ours, till the Pequots were subdued, and yet saith he, at Mohegan there are near three hundred, who have bound and robbed our men (even of the very covering of their secret parts) as they have past from Connecticut hither: after much more to this purpose, I told him that Mr. Governor had promised him to set all in order this spring.

Sir, I understand that Uncas the Mohegan hath Safacous his sister to wife, and one of the wives of Safacous his father Tattoapaine, and that is one reason, beside his ambition and nearness, that he hath drawn all the scattered Pequots to himself and drawn much wealth from them: more I could trouble you with, &c.

Canonicus and Miantunnomu both desired that there might be a division made of these surviving Pequots (except the Sachems and murderers) and let their share be at your own wisdom.

I shall be humbly bold to present mine own thoughts concerning a division and disposal of them: since the Most High delights in mercy, and great revenge hath been

already taken, what if (the murderers being executed) the rest be divided and dispersed, (according to their numbers shall arise, and division be thought fit) to become subjects to yourselves in the Bay and at Connecticut, which they will more easily do in case they may be suffered to incorporate with the natives in either places: as also that as once Edgar the Peaceable did with the Welsh in North Wales, a tribute of wolves heads be imposed on them, &c., which (with submission) I conceive an incomparable way to save much cattle alive in the land.

Sir, I hope shortly to send you good news of great hopes the Lord hath sprung up in mine eye, of many a poor Indian soul enquiring after God. I have convinced hundreds at home and abroad that in point of religion they are all wandering, &c. I find what I could never hear before, that they have plenty of Gods or divine powers: the Sun, Moon, Fire, Water, Snow, Earth, the Deer, the Bear, &c., are divine powers. I brought home lately from the Narragansetts the names of thirty-eight of their Gods, all they could remember, and had I not with fear and caution withdrawn, they would have fallen to worship, O God, (as they speak) one day in seven, but I hope the time is not long that some shall truly bless the God of Heaven that ever they saw the face of English men. So waiting for your pleasure and advice to our neighbors concerning this intended meeting for the establishing of peace through all the bowels of the country, and beseeching the Most High to vouchsafe his peace and truth through all your quarters, with my due respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., I rest

Your worship's in all true respect and affection

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I heard no more as yet from Charlestown men coming this way. Mr. Coxall and Mr. Aspinwall¹ have sent to me about some of these parts, and in case for shelter for their wives and children.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Provisions to be sent by the Salem Bark to Mr. Williams and Mr. Throckmorton, Mr. Harlackenden knows more."

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 16th of this zd. [April 16, 1638.]²

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I kindly thank you for your loving inclination to receive my late protestation concerning myself, ignorant of Mr. Greene's letter,³ &c. I desire unfeignedly, to rest in my appeal to the Most High in what we differ, as I dare not but hope you do: it is no

¹ William Aspinwall, was one of the signers of the compact at Portsmouth in 1638, and was chosen Secretary. The following year he had lands assigned him in that town. SAVAGE, says he moved to New Haven and afterwards returned to Boston.—*Genealogical Dict.* vol. i. p. 71. It is to be inferred from this letter that some of the family were still in the colony of Rhode Island.

² *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 226.

³ March 12, 1638. "Whereas a letter was sent to this Court, subscribed by John Greene, dated from New Providence, wherein the Court is charged with usurping the power of Christ over the Churches and men's consciences, notwithstanding he had formerly acknowledged his fault in such speeches;

it is now ordered, that said John Greene shall not come into this jurisdiction upon paine of imprisonment and further censure: and because it appears to this Courte that some other of the same place are confident in the same corrupt judgment and practice; it is ordered, that if any other of the inhabitants of the said plantation of Providence shall come within this jurisdiction, they shall be apprehended and brought before some of the magistrates; and if they will not disclaime the said corrupt opinion and censure, they shall be commanded presently to depart," etc.—*Mafs. Col. Rec.* vol. i. p. 224; see also WINTHROP, *Journal*, vol. i. p. 307; see also note to letter of July 31, 1637.

small grief that I am otherwise persuaded, and that sometimes you say (and I can say no less) that we differ: the fire will try your works and mine: the Lord Jesus help us to make sure of our persons that we seek Jesus that was crucified: however it is and ever shall be (the Lord assisting) my endeavor to pacify and allay, where I meet with rigid and censorious spirits, who not only blame your actions but doom your persons: and indeed it was one of the first grounds of my dislike of John Smith¹ the miller, and especially of his wife, viz.: their judging of your persons as [devil's]² &c.

I also humbly thank you for that sad relation of the monster,³ &c. The Lord speaks once and twice: he be pleased to open all our ears to his discipline.

¹ John Smith one of the earliest settlers in Providence. He is on the list of those who received a "home lot" in 1638, and was one of the committee, with Roger Williams and others, appointed May 16, 1647, to organize a government.—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. pp. 24 and 42. He was one of the most prominent men in the colony for many years; but it seems that he incurred the dislike of Williams.

² The word in brackets is expunged in the original manuscript.

³ This "monster" was the deformed child of the wife of William Dyer, "a very proper and fair woman. The child was buried, (being still-born) and viewed of none but Mrs Hutchinson and the midwife." A particular account of this "monster" is given by Winthrop under date of March 27, 1638.—*Journal*, vol. i. p. 226.

Winthrop says that Dyer and his wife

"were notoriously infected with Mrs. Hutchinson's errors, (she being much addicted to revelations.)" Mrs. Hutchinson endeavored to conceal the fact of the birth of the child, by advice, as she said of Mr. Cotton. "The Governour, speaking with Mr. Cotton about it, told him the reason why he advised them to conceal it: 1. Because he saw a providence of God in it," etc., which apology was accepted.—*Hist. of N. Eng.* vol. i. p. 313.

This strange affair seems to have created a sensation in the colony, and the midwife suspected of being a witch, was obliged to leave the jurisdiction.

Gov. Bradford, of Plymouth, in a letter to Winthrop, says "I thank you for your letter touching Mrs. Hutchinson: I heard since of a monstrous and prodigious birth which she should shew amongst you.—*Winthrop Papers*, 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 156.

Mrs. Hutchinson¹ (with whom and others of them I have had much discourse) makes her apology for the concealment of the monster, that she did nothing in it without Mr. Cotton's² advice, though I cannot believe that he

¹ Anne Hutchinson, founder of the Antinomian party in New England. Being interested in the preachings of John Cotton, came to Boston in 1634. "She soon acquired esteem and influence. She instituted meetings of the women of the Church to discuss sermons and doctrines, in which she displayed great familiarity with scripture, but made enemies by her innovating theories. Two years after her arrival, the strife between her supporters and opponents broke out into public action. 'The dispute' says Bancroft, 'infused its spirit into every thing; it interfered with the levy of troops for the Pequot war; it influenced the respect shown to the magistrates, the distribution of town lots, the assessment of taxes, and at last the continued existence of the two opposing parties was considered inconsistent with the public peace.' Her peculiar tenets were condemned by the ecclesiastical synod in 1637, and after a two days trial before the General Court, she was sentenced to banishment. She joined her friends, who, under John Clarke and Wm. Coddington, settled in Rhode Island."—DRAKE, *Biog. Dict.*

Mrs. Hutchinson "was a woman of rare endowments of intellect, and brilliant qualities of both person and character. Her mind, tinged with a shade of fanaticism, was of that impassioned and fervid cast, which enabled her to clothe her peculiar doctrines in the charms of a fascinating eloquence, and

easily to subject to her sway the opinions of those, who were not entirely quiescent beneath the despotism of the prevailing theology of the times. . . . The questions at issue were, in most respects, the same as have perplexed the minds and divided the opinions of Christians in every age of the church, and about which uniformity of sentiment is never to be hoped for."—GAMMELL, *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 96.

In 1642, on the death of her husband, Mrs. Hutchinson removed to Westchester County, New York, and took up her residence near Hell Gate. The following year her house was attacked by the Indians, who set it on fire, and murdered her whole family, comprising sixteen persons, with the exception of one daughter who was carried away into an unknown captivity. "Her tragical death and the extinction of her family," writes Professor GAMMELL, "served but to confirm her enemies in Massachusetts in their convictions of her wickedness, and the justice of their proceedings against her. They were confidently regarded as a revelation of the judgment of God.

² John Cotton, with whom Williams afterwards had a controversy upon theological matters. For the voluminous writings of these eminent men, see the "*Bloody Tenent*" and other works, in the third and fourth volumes of the publications of the Narragansett Club.

subscribes to her applications of the parts of it. The Lord mercifully redeem them, and all of us from all our delusions, and pity the desolations of Zion and the stones thereof.

I find their longings great after Mr. Vane,¹ although they think he can not return this year: the eyes of some are so earnestly fixed upon him that Mrs. Hutchinson professeth if he come not to New, she must to Old England.

I have endeavored by many arguments to beat off their desires of Mr. Vane as G. G. and the chief are satisfied unless he come so for his life, but I have endeavored to discover the snare in that also.

Sir, concerning your intended meeting for reconciling of these natives our friends, and dividing of the Pequots our enemies, I have engaged your name, and mine own; and if no course be taken, the name of that God of Truth whom we all profess to honor will suffer not a little, it being an ordinary and common thing with our neighbors, if they apprehend any shew of breach of promise in myself, thus to object: do you know God, and will you lie? &c.

The Pequots are gathered into one, and plant their old fields, Wequash and Uncas carrying away the people and their treasure, which belong to yourselves: I should be bold to press my former motion, or else that with the next convenience they might be sent for other parts, &c.

¹ Sir Henry Vane, Governor of Massachusetts the previous year, had just returned to England. While in Boston, he had befriended Mrs. Hutchinson, having no sympathy with the clergy and

other Massachusetts people who were persecuting her. She and her followers, therefore, looked to him for protection. See an extended note to letter of October 25, 1649, on Sir Henry Vane.

I hope it will never be interpreted that I press this out of fear of any revenge upon myself by any of them. I ever yet (in point of reason to say no more) conceived this place the safest of the land, and can make it appear, &c., but out of desire to clear your names and the name of the most High, which will be ill reported of in case (according to so many promises) an honorable and peaceable issue of the Pequot war be not established.

Sir, the bearer hereof (not daring either to bring my letter or attend for an answer) I must request you to send your letter to Richard Collicut's, that so a native may convey it, or else to Nicholas Uphall's: and I should be bold humbly to propound to the country whether in case there be a necessity of keeping league with the natives, and so consequently many occasions incident, (and some which I will not write of) as also a conveniency of information this way, how matters may stand with you on the sea-shore, as I say,, whither it be not requisite so far to dispense with the late order of restraint as to permit a messenger freely.

'Tis true I may hire an Indian: yet not always, nor sure, for these two things I have found in them: sometimes long keeping of a letter: secondly, if a fear take them that the letter concerns themselves they suppress it, as they did with one of special information which I sent to Mr. Vane.

Sir, there will be new Heavens and a new Earth shortly but no more Sea. (Revel. 21. 2.) the most holy God be pleased to make us willing now to bear the tossings, dangers and calamities of this sea, and to seal up to use upon his own grounds, a great lot in the glorious state approaching. So craving pardon for prolixity, with mine

and wife's due respect to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., I rest

Your worship's desirous to be ever yours unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Endorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "2. 16. 1638."

*To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.*¹

PROVIDENCE, the 22 of 3d mon. [May 22, 1638.]

SIR, — Blessed be the Father of Spirits, in whose hand our breath and ways are, that once more I may be bold to salute you and congratulate your return from the brink of the pit of rottenness.²

What is man that thou shouldest visit him and try him? &c. Job 7th. You are put off to this tempestuous sea again, more storms await you, the good Lord repair our leaks, freshen up the gales of his blessed Spirit, steady our course by the compass of his own truth, rescue us from all our spiritual adversaries, not only men, but fiends of war, and assure us of an harbor at last, even the bosom of the Lord Jesus.

Sir, you have many an eye (I presume) lifted up to the hills of mercy for you: mine might seem superfluous: yet privately and publicly you have not been forgotten, and I hope shall not while these eyes have sight.

¹ 4 *Masr. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 244.

which brought him near death.—*Hist.*

² Alluding to the illness of Winthrop, *of New England*, vol. i. p. 318.

Sir, this last night Mr. Allen of Hartford, and Lieutenant Holmes lodged with me, and relate that Mr. Haynes¹ or some chief resolved to be with you this week. So that you may please a little stop till their coming. Lieutenant Holmes relates that William Baker, who lay hid so long among the Mohegans and Pequots, for whom he gave bail, &c., was hid again the second time among the same by Uncas, but the Lieutenant, by a Providence, heard of him and returned him to Hartford, where he hath suffered for his much uncleanness two several whippings. This fellow, notorious in villiany, and strongly affected by those wretches, both studying revenge, is worthy to be watched even by the whole country, and to be dispersed from the Pequots, and they each from other, according as I have been bold to motion formerly.

Sir, we have been long afflicted by a young man boisterous and desperate, Philip Verin's son of Salem,² who as he hath refused to hear the word with us (which we molested him not for) this twelve month, so because he could not draw his wife, a gracious and modest woman, to the same ungodliness with him, he hath trodden her under foot

¹ John Haynes, Governor of Connecticut. He came from England with Thomas Hooker in 1633. In 1637 he was prominent among the founders of Connecticut, and was chosen its first Governor in 1639, and every alternate year afterward till his death. He was one of the five who, in 1638, drew up a written constitution for the colony. BANCROFT speaks of him as a man "of large estate, and larger affections: of heavenly mind, and spotless life; of rare sagacity, and accurate but unassuming judgment;

by nature tolerant and a friend to freedom." He was one of the best educated of the early settlers of this country.—*DRAKE, Biog. Dictionary.*

² Philip Verin's son, of Salem. Probably one of the family of Joshua Verin, one of the first settlers of Providence, who accompanied Roger Williams when he paddled across Seekonk River in his log canoe, but who soon after removed to Salem. See letter following that of October 10th, for a note on Joshua Verin.

tyrannically and brutishly : which she and we long bearing, though with his furious blows she went in danger of life, at the last the major vote of us discard him from our civil freedom, or disfranchise, &c. : he will have justice (as he clamors) at other Courts : I wish he might, for a foul and slanderous and brutish carriage, which God hath delivered him up unto ; he will [haul] his wife with ropes to Salem, where she must needs be troubled and troublesome, as differences yet stand. She is willing to stay and live with him or elsewhere, where she may not offend, &c. I shall humbly request that this item be accepted, and he no way countenanced, until (if need be) I further trouble you : So with due respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., I rest,

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.*¹

PROVIDENCE, 27th of 3d. [May 27, 1638.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I have presumed to send this Narragansett man, to attend your pleasure concerning the Pequots, and Canonicus and Miantunnomue's complaint against them and their protectors.

The sum of their desire I lately acquainted you with, viz. : that you would please (even all the English) to sit still and let themselves alone with them according to con-

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 246.

sent, when Miantunnomu was last with you, who coming home, fell upon Nayantick men who sheltered the Pequots, but was stopped by our friends of Connecticut.

Or, secondly, that some other course (in consultation) might be taken for dispersion of them : even as far as Old England or elsewhere, as they speak.

Sir, I do conceive either course will be difficult, because our friends at Connecticut are strangely bewitched with the subjection of these Pequots to themselves, and are also as strangely resolved upon fighting and violent courses, (as I understand by letters, and otherwise by speech) unless Miantunnomu come over personally to them to answer for proud speeches which they hear of.

Miantunnomu hath long since promised, and still waits to go any whither you shall please to make answer, to meet, &c.

Some from Connecticut write me word, that Indians will testify such speeches to Miantunnomu's teeth : and it may be so whether true or false.

I also, in case I should listen to Indian reports, shall bring many who will affirm that Tho: Stanton hath received mighty bribes (whence *origo mali*) that Uncas the Mohegan hath received little less than a thousand fathom of beads, whence he carries out some present to our friends at Connecticut, but I say I will not believe it.

But this I know, that according to league in two articles, that the Pequots shall not be sheltered nor disposed of without mutual consent of the English and the two Narragansett Sachems.

Secondly, that if the Pequots be suffered in the land to congregate and unite into four or five hundred together (as Lieutenant Howe confessed to me) it will cost more blood

on all sides then yet hath been spilt; for on the one part, the Narragansetts can no more forbear them than a wolf his prey, and on the other side for the Pequots upon all advantage the English shall find, that *Vindicta levis vitâ incandior ipsâ est.*

Thirdly, that our friends at Connecticut are marvellously deluded by the Mohegans, as to be so confident of them, that Mr. Hooker writes no proof can be brought against them for word or deed: when it is clear they were Pequots, and lately hid, (once and the second time) William Baker from the English, and that upon pain of death to any that should reveal him, as Lieutenant Holmes told me. Sir, my desire is that it would therefore please the Lord to guide you all to make a prudent disposal and dispersion of the Pequots, which the Narragansetts will further by peace or war. So with all due salutations I humbly rest, unfeigned in all desire of your present and eternal peace.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mr. Allen told me that there were numbers of the Pequots at Narragansett, but I satisfied him that they were at Nayantick, (whence if themselves had not stopped) they had long since been removed.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, [JUNE, 1638.]¹

SIR,—I sometimes fear that my lines are as thick and over busy as the musketoes, &c., but your wisdom will connive, and your love will cover, &c.

Two things at present for information.

First in the affairs of the Most High; his late dreadful voice and hand: that audible and sensible voice, the Earthquake.²

All these parts felt it, (whether beyond the Narragansett I yet learn not), for myself I scarce perceived ought but a kind of thunder and a gentle moving, &c., and yet it was no more this way to many of our own and the natives apprehensions, and but one sudden short motion.

The younger natives are ignorant of the like: but the elder inform me that this is the fifth within these four score years in the land: the first about three score and ten years since: the second some three score and four years since, the third some fifty-four years since, the fourth some forty-six since: and they always observed either plague or pox or some other epidemical disease followed; three, four or five years after the Earthquake, (or Naunaumemoauke, as they speak).

He be mercifully pleased himself to interpret and open

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 229.

² WINTHROP, under date of June 1, thus records this event: "Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear, warm weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut,

at Narragansett, at Piscataquack, and all parts round about. It shook the ships, which rode in the harbour, and all the islands, etc. The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after, by times.—*Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 319.

his own riddles, and grant if it be pleasing in his eyes) it may not be for destruction, and but (as the Earthquake before the Jailor's conversion) a means of shaking and turning of all hearts, (which are his,) English or Indian, to him. To further this (if the Lord please) the Earthquake sensibly took about a thousand of the natives in a most solemn meeting for play, &c.

Secondly, a word in mine own particular, only for information. I owe between 50 and 60*li* to Mr. Cradock¹ for commodities received from Mr. Mayhew.² Mr. Mayhew will testify that (being Mr. Cradock's agent) he was content to take payment, what (and when) my house at Salem yielded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand, and he into Mr. Jollies',³ who beside my voluntary act and his attachment since, sues as I hear for damages, which I question: since I have not failed against contract and content of the first agent, but the holy pleasure of the Lord be done: unto whose merciful arms (with all due respects) I leave you, wishing heartily that mercy and goodness may ever follow you and yours.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, to your dear companion, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs, all respective salutes, &c.

¹ Mathew Cradock, Governor of the Massachusetts Company.

² Thomas Mayhew was a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, and probably a merchant. Others besides Williams seem to have had trouble with him, for Cradock, whose agent he was, in a letter to Winthrop, January 13th, 1636, says "The greaffe I have been put to by the most vyle bad dealing of

Thomas Mayhew hath and doth so much disquiet my mind, as I thank God never any thing did in the lyke manner. The Lord in mercy free me from this, I absolutely forbid charging moneys from thence, or buying any goods there."—*Winthrop Papers: 4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 122.

³ Jollies or, Joliffe, an agent of Mr. Cradock, see previous letter.

To his much honored Governor John Wintthrop.

[No date; June, 1638.]

SIR,—I perceive by these your last thoughts, that you have received many accusations and hard conceits of this poor native Miantunnomu, wherein I see the vain and empty puff of all terrene promotions, his barbarous birth or greatness being much honored, confirmed and augmented (in his own conceit) by the solemnity of his league with the English and his more than ordinary entertainment, &c., now all dashed in a moment in the frowns of such in whose friendship and love lay his chief advancement.

Sir, of the particulars, some concern him only, some Canonicus and the rest of the Sachems, some all the natives, some myself.

For the Sachems, I shall go over speedily, and acquaint them with particulars. At present, let me still find this favor in your eyes, as to obtain an hearing, for that your love hath never denied me, which way soever your judgment hath been (I hope and I know you will one day see it) and been carried.

Sir, let this barbarian be proud and angry and covetous and filthy, hating and hateful, (as we ourselves have been till kindness from heaven pitied us, &c.,) yet let me humbly beg relief, that for myself, I am not yet turned Indian, to believe all barbarians tell me, nor so basely presumptuous as to trouble the eyes and hands of such (and so honored and dear) with shadows and fables. I commonly guess shrewdly at what a native utters, and, to my remem-

¹ 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 166. KNOWLES'S *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 149.

brance, never wrote particular, but either I know the bottom of it, or else I am bold to give a hint of my suspense.

Sir, therefore in some things at present (begging your wonted gentleness toward my folly) give me leave to show you how I clear myself from such a lightness.

I wrote lately (for that you please to begin with) that some Pequots, (and some of them actual murderers of the English, and that also after the fort cut off) were now in your hands. Not only love, but conscience, forced me to send, and speedily, on purpose, by a native, mine own servant. I saw not, spake not with Miantunnomu, nor any from him. I write before the All-seeing Eye. But thus it was. A Narragansett man (Awetipimo) coming from the bay with cloth, turned in (as they used to do) to me for lodging. I questioned of Indian passages, &c. He tells me Uncas was come with near upon forty natives. I asked what present he brought. He told me, that Cutshamoquene had four fathom and odd¹ of him, and forty was for Mr. Governor. I asked him, how many Pequots. He told me six. I asked him, if they were known. He said Uncas denied that there were any Pequots, and said they were Mohegans all. I asked, if himself knew any of them. He answered, he did, and so did other Indians of Narragansett. I asked, if the murderer of whom I wrote, Pametefick, were there. He answered, he was, and (I further enquiring) he was confident it was he, for he knew him as well as me, &c.

All this news (by this providence) I knew before it came to Narragansett. Upon this I sent, indeed fearing guilt to

¹ "Four fathom and odd" of wampum, by the yard or fathom. See note on or peage, which in strings, was measured wampum.

mine own foul, both againſt the Lord and my countrymen. But ſee a ſtranger hand of the Moſt and Only Wife. Two days after, Uncas paſſeth by within a mile of me (though he ſhould have been kindly welcome) One of his company (Wequaumugs) having hurt his foot, and diſabled from travel, turns into me; whom lodging, I queſtioned, and find him by father a Narraganſett, by mother a Mohegan, and ſo freely entertained by both. I, further enquiring, he told me he went from Mohegan to the Bay with Uncas. He told me how he had preſented forty fathom to (my remembrance) to Mr. Governor, (four and upwards to Cutſhamoquenè,) who would not receive them, but asked twice for Pequots. At laſt, at Newtown, Mr. Governor received them, and was willing that the Pequots ſhould live, ſuch as were at Mohegan, ſubjeſt to the English Sachems at Connecticut, to whom they ſhould carry tribute, and ſuch Pequots as were at Narraganſett to Mr. Governor, and all the runaways at Mohegan to be ſent back. I asked him, how many Pequots were at Narraganſett. He ſaid, but two, who were Miantunnomue's captives, and that at Nayantick with Wequaſh Cook were about three ſcore. I asked, why he ſaid the Indians at Narraganſett were to be the Governor's ſubjeſts. He ſaid, becauſe Nayantick was ſometimes ſo called, although there had been of late no coming of Narraganſett men thither. I asked him, if he heard all this. He ſaid, that himſelf and the body of the company ſtaid about Cutſhamoquene's. I asked, how many Pequots were amongſt them. He ſaid ſix. I deſired him to name them, which he did thus: Pametefick, Wee-augonhick, (another of thoſe murderers) Makunnete, Kiſh-kontuckqua, Sauſawpona, Quſſaumpowan, which names I preſently wrote down, and (*pace veſtra dixerim*) I am as

confident of the truth, as that I breathe. Again, (not to be too bold in all the particulars at this time,) what a gross and monstrous untruth is that concerning myself, which your love and wisdom to myself a little espy, and I hope see malice and falsehood (far from the fear of God) whispering together? I have long held it will-worship to doff and don to the Most High in worship; and I wish also that, in civil worship, others were as far from such a vanity, though I hold it not utterly unlawful in some places. Yet surely, amongst the barbarians, (the highest in the world,) I would rather lose my head than so practice, because I judge it my duty to set them better copies, and should sin against mine own persuasions and resolutions.

Sir, concerning the islands Prudence and (Patmos, if some had not hindered) Aquednick,¹ be pleased to understand your great mistake: neither of them were sold properly, for a thousand fathom would not have bought either, by strangers. The truth is, not a penny was demanded for either, and what was paid was only gratuity, though I choose, for better assurance and form, to call it sale.

And, alas! (though I cannot conceive you can aim at the Sachems) they have ever conceived, that myself and Mr. Coddington² (whom they knew so many years a Sachem

¹ *Aquetneck, Aquidneck*, the Island of Rhode Island.

² William Coddington was a native of Lincolnshire, England, and was there appointed an assitant judge for the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1629. He came over with the Governor and the Charter in 1630, and was several times re-elected to that office. He was also, for some time, treasurer of that colony, as was also, says CALLENDER, "the chief-

est in all the public charges and a principal merchant in Boston, where he built the first brick house." He came to Rhode Island with a few friends, and his name stands first among those who incorporated themselves into a body politic in the year 1638. They choose him to be their judge, or chief ruler, and continued to elect him Governor until the patent was received, and the island incorporated with Providence Plantations. In

at Boston), were far from being rejected by yourselves, as you please to write, for if the Lord had not hid it from their eyes, I am sure you had not been thus troubled by myself at present. Yet the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. His infinite wisdom and pity be pleased to help you all, and all that desire to fear his name and tremble at his word in this country, to remember that we all are rejected of our native soil, and more to mind the many strong bands, with which we are all tied, than any particular distaste each against other, and to remember that excellent precept, Prov. 25, If thine enemy hunger, feed him, &c. ; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and Jehovah shall reward thee ; unto whose mercy and tender compassions I daily commend you, desirous to be more and ever.

Your worship's unfeigned and faithful

ROGER WILLIAMS.



his deposition he states that he was one of those who made a peace with Canonicus and Miantonomi in the colony's behalf with all the Narragansett Indians, and by order of Massachusetts Bay, before they made war with the Pequots. It was subsequent to this that he removed to Rhode Island.

In 1647 he assisted in framing the body of laws which has since been the basis of our constitution and government. In 1651 he had a commission from the supreme authority in England to be Governor of the Island, separate from the rest of the colony, pursuant to a power reserved in the patent, but the people being jealous that "the commission might affect their laws and liberties, as secured to them by the patent,"—"he readily laid it down" says CALLENDER,

"on the first notice from England that he might do so."

Many of the colonists embraced the sentiments of the Society of Friends, among whom was Governor Coddington. Their yearly meeting was held at his house until his death.

Coddington appears to have enjoyed a high reputation, and was ever active in promoting the welfare of the commonwealth which he had assisted in founding. He was a warm advocate for liberty of conscience, as was shown in his acts, and as may be seen from his writings. Two lay letters from him on religious matters as preserved in Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, London, 1753: 2 vols. folio; and in a tract entitled "*Demonstration of True Love unto You the rulers of the colony of Massachusetts*" in *New England*. London, 1674.

Sir, mine own and wife's respective salutes to your dear companion and all yours; as also to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and other loving friends.

I am bold to enclose this paper, although the passages may not be new, yet they may refresh your memories in these English-Scotch distractions,¹ &c.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, this 5th of the present weeke. [June, 1638.]²

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Blessed be the Father of mercies that once again I received your hand the last night by the messengers by whom I sent.

By them I understand that according as you please to intimate your expectation, Mr. Haynes is come: with Uncas, thirty-four Mohegans, and six Pequots.³

One of the six Pequots is Pametefick, who was one of the murderers that cut off the three English, going in

¹ "Scotch distractions." "The troubles which arose in Scotland about the book of Common Prayer, and the canons, which the King would have forced upon the Scotch churches, did so take up the King and council, that they had neither heart or leisure to look after the affairs of New England."—WINTHROP, *Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 320.

² *4 Maj's. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 230.

³ WINTHROP, under date of June 5, says "Unkas the Monahagan Sachem in the twist of Pequot River, came to Boston with thirty-seven men. He came from Connecticut with Mr. Haynes,

and tendered the Governor a present of twenty fathom of wampom. This was at the Court, and it was thought fit by the council to refuse it, till he had given satisfaction about the Pequods, etc. But two days after, having received good satisfaction of his innocency, etc., and he promising to submit to the order of the English touching the Pequods he had, and the differences between the Narragansetts and him, we accepted his presents. . . . The Governor gave him a red coat, and defrayed his and his men's diet, and a letter of protection to all men, etc., and he departed very joyful." *Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 319.

a boat for clay upon Connecticut river, after the Fort was cut off. They not only spilt their blood, but exercised inhuman and tormenting revenge upon two of them, which cries for vengeance to heaven.

So that I refer it humbly to your wisdom whether (although I desire not the destruction of the surviving Pequots, but a safe dispersion of them, yet) the actual murderers be not to be surrendered up, and this Pametefick (I am partly confident this is he) at present apprehended: Our loving friends of Connecticut reported that some Mohegan women were wronged (as their hair cut off, &c.,) by the Narragansetts: but Uncas knows it was done by Wequashcuck of Nayantick, to whom Uncas sent for a Pequot queen. They two have got in the Pequots (though Uncas have the harvest.) Against Wequashcuck, Canonicus or Miantunnomu had long since proceeded, but our loving friends of Connecticut interposed: I hope for the best to save blood. So beseeching the great Councillor and Prince of Peace to guide your councils, I rest your Worship's most unworthy yet unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All respective salutes, &c.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 23d, 5th. [July 23, 1638.]¹

Two days since I was bold to present you with a line, and still (so it pleaseth the most High,) I am occasioned again to be a constant trouble, &c.

These your Worship's servants visiting me in their travel, I enquire after your runaways. The man saith he hath much to relate to yourself, and wanting utterance, desires me to write. He saith he hath enquired much after the runaways, and understands for certain that they are all at Mohegan.

That the flight was long since plotted, for he hath now heard by a Pequot that came from Mohegan, that the ten Mohegans which came to your Worship in the spring to buy one of the maidens, and offered ten fathom of beads, came from Uncas, who intended that maid for his wife.

That he gave order to those ten men, that, (in case they could not buy her) they should leave one man there at your house, to persuade and work their escape.

That man was the Pequot Robin, who hath effected his business, for which (as he hears) Uncas promised him and hath given him the ten fathom of Wampum.²

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 231.

² Wampum. Strings, or strings of shells, used by the Indians as money. These, when united, formed a broad belt, which was worn as a ornament or girdle. It was sometimes called wampumpeage or peage.

"The Indians are ignorant of Europe's coin. Their own is of two sorts: one white, which they make of the stem or stock of the periwinkle, when all the

shell is broken off . . . The second is black, inclining to blue, which is made of the shell of a fish; and of this sort three make a penny. Their white money they call *wampam*, which signifies white; their black, *funkabock* signifying black."—WILLIAMS' *Key to the Indian Language*, London, 1643: Chap. xxvi.

"A Sagamore with a humbird in his ears for a pendant, a black hawk in his occipit for a plume, good store of *wam-*

Uncas hath taken the two daughters, Marie and Jane both to wife, and fayth that now he hath done sending of presents to Massachusetts.

Reprive was promised Joane by the Old Squaw for the furtherance of the business and hath her. He advised their escape by Neepmuck, because once before, escaping through the Narragansett country, himself was sent back by the Narragansett Sachems.

This man thinks also that no Indian means will be able to effect their return, but that the English must fetch them. It will be your worship's wisdom to forecast so much, and to prepare (Captain Patrick and many more may be occasioned to fetch theirs also.) Yet I request your Worship's patience a few days.

Sir, this young man who comes along, is this woman's nephew, an ingenious, sober fellow, one of my long acquaintance, whom I call Oldway, as his Indian name (Necaw-nimeyat) signifies; he tells me he hath a good mind to abide one year with these his friends in your worship's service. I encourage him and present him to your wisdom and pity, not knowing but that the purpose of the Only Wise and most pityful God may be toward him for good. Unto the everflowing streams of the most holy Fountain of living waters, (whose drops are able to refresh and save worlds of wandering souls), I heartily recommend your worship, your dearest companion, and all yours, grieving that I dare be no more your worship's

ROGER WILLIAMS.

pum-peage begirting his loins, his bow in hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked spatterlashes at his heels for his guard, thinks he is one with King Charles."—WOOD'S *New England*, London, 1634, p. 66.

"And there the fallen chief is laid,
In tassell'd garb of skins arrayed
And girdled with his *wampum*-braid."
WHITTIER, *The Funeral Tree*.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.¹

[PROVIDENCE, August, 1638.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—The bearer lodging with me, I am bold to write an hasty advertisement concerning late passages. For himself, it seems he was fearful to go farther than forty miles about us, especially considering that no natives are willing to accompany him to Pequot or Mohegan, being told by two Pequots (the all of Miantunnomu's captives which are not run from him) what he might expect, &c.

Sir, Captain Mason² and Thomas Stanton landing at Narragansett, and at Miantunnomu's announcing war within six days against Juanemo, for they say that Miantunnomu hath been fair in all the passages with them, Juanemo sent two messengers to myself, requesting counsel. I advised him to go over with beads to satisfy, &c.

He sent four Indians. By them Mr. Haynes writes me, that they confessed fifteen fathom there received at Long Island. Thereabout they confessed to me, (four being taken of Pequots by force, and restored again,) as also that

¹ *3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 170. KNOWLES' *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 153. *R. I. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 148, abridged.

² Capt. John Mason born in England about 1600, died at Norwich, Conn., 1672. He was one of the first settlers of Dorchester, Mass., in 1630, but removed to Windsor, Conn., in 1635. In the celebrated attack on the Pequot fort, (mentioned in previous letters) Mason led the force, the Indians being under the command of Uncas and Miantonomoh. Soon after this event he was appointed Major General of the Connec-

ticut forces, which office he held to his death. He was a magistrate from 1642 to 1648, and Deputy-Governor from 1660 to 1670. In 1659 he took up his residence in Norwich.—*Mason's Life by Geo. E. Ellis*, is in SPARKS' *Amer. Biography*, vol. iii. new series. Mason drew up a history of the Pequot war, which was printed in INCREASE MATHERS' *Relation of Troubles with the Indians*, 1677. Reprinted, with notes by T. Prince, Boston, 1736; again by J. Sabin, New York, 1869.

the islanders say fifty-one fathom, which sum he demanded, as also that the Nayantick messengers laid down twenty-six fathom and a half, which was received in part, with declaration that Juanemo should within ten days bring the rest himself, or else they were resolved for war, &c. I have therefore sent once and again to Juanemo, to persuade himself to venture, &c. Canonicus sent a principal man last night to me, in haste and secrecy, relating that Wequash had sent word that, if Juanemo went over, he should be killed, but I assure them the contrary, and persuade Canonicus to importune and hasten Juanemo within his time, ten days, withal hoping and writing back persuasions of better things to Mr. Haynes, proffering myself, (in case that Juanemo through fear or folly fail) to take a journey and negotiate their business, and save blood, whether the natives' or my countrymen's.

Sir, there hath been great hubbub in all these parts, as a general persuasion that the time was come of a general slaughter of natives, by reason of a murder committed upon a native within twelve miles of us, four days since, by four desperate English. I presume particulars have scarce as yet been presented to your hand. The last fifth day, toward evening, a native, passing through us, brought me word, that at Pawtuckqut, a river four miles from us toward the bay, four Englishmen were almost famished. I sent instantly provisions and strong water, with invitation, &c. The messengers brought word, that they were one Arthur Peach of Plymouth, an Irishman, John Barnes, his man, and two others come from Pascataquack, travelling to Connecticut; that they had been lost five days, and fell into our path but six miles. Whereas they were importuned to come home, &c., they pleaded foreness in travelling, and therefore their desire to rest there.

The next morning they came to me by break of day, relating that the old man at Pawtuckqut had put them forth the last night, because that some Indians said, that they had hurt an Englishmen, and therefore that they lay between us and Pawtuckqut.

I was busy in writing letters and getting them a guide to Connecticut, and enquired no more, they having told me, that they came from Plymouth on the last of the week in the evening, and lay still in the woods the Lord's day, and then lost their way to Weymouth, from whence they lost their way again towards us, and came in again six miles off Pawtuckqut.

After they were gone, an old native comes to me, and tells me; that the natives round about us were fled, relating that those four had slain a native, who had carried three beaver skins and beads for Canonicus' son, and came home with five fathom and three coats; that three natives which came after him found him groaning in the path; that he told them that four Englishmen had slain him. They came to Pawtuckqut, and enquired after the English, which when Arthur and his company heard, they got on horse and shoes and departed in the night.

I sent after them to Narragansett, and went myself with two or three more to the wounded in the woods. The natives at first were shy of us, conceiving a general slaughter, but (through the Lord's mercy) I assured them that Mr. Governor knew nothing, &c. and that I have sent to apprehend the men. So we found that he had been run through the leg and the belly with one thrust. We dressed him and got him to town next day, where Mr. James and Mr. Greene endeavored, all they could, to save his life; but his wound in the belly, and blood lost, and fever following, cut his life's thread.

Before he died, he told me that the four English had slain him, and that (being faint and not able to speak) he had related the truth to the natives who first came to him, viz. : that they, viz. : the English, saw him in the Bay and his beads: that sitting in the side of a swamp a little way out of the path, (I went to see the place, fit for an evil purpose,) Arthur called him to drink tobacco, who coming and taking the pipe of Arthur, Arthur run him through the leg into the belly, when, springing back, he, Arthur, made the second thrust, but missed him; that another of them struck at him, but missed him, and his weapon run into the ground; that getting from them a little way into the swamp, they pursued him, till he fell down, when they missed him, and getting up again, when he heard them close by him, he run to and again in the swamp, till he fell down again, when they lost him quite; afterwards, towards night, he came and lay in the path, that some passenger might help him as aforesaid.

Whereas they said, they wandered Plymouth-way, Arthur knew the path, having gone it twice; and beside, Mr. Throckmorton met them about Naponset River in the path, who, riding roundly upon a sudden by them, was glad he had past them, suspecting them. They denied that they met Mr. Throckmorton.

The messenger that I sent to Narragansett, pursuing after them, returned the next day, declaring that they showed Miantunnomu letters to Aquednick, (which were mine to Connecticut,) and so to Aquednick they past, whither I sent information of them, and so they were taken. Their sudden examination they sent me, a copy of which I am bold to send your worship enclosed.

The islanders (Mr. Coddington being absent) resolved to

send them to us, some thought, by us to Plymouth, from whence they came. Sir, I shall humbly crave your judgment, whether they ought not to be tried where they are taken. If they be sent any way, whether not to Plymouth.¹ In case Plymouth refuse, and the islanders send them to us, what answers we may give, if others unjustly shift them unto us. I know that every man, quatenus man, and son of Adam, is his brother's keeper or avenger; but I desire to do bonum bene, &c.

Thus, beseeching the God of heaven, most holy and only wise, to make the interpretation of his own holy meaning in all occurrences, to bring us all by these bloody passages to an higher price of the blood of the Son of God, yea of God, by which the chosen are redeemed, with all due respects to your dear self and dear companion, I cease.

Your worship's most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This native, Will, my servant, shall attend your worship for answer.

My due respect to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c.

¹ Governor Winthrop advised that the prisoners be sent to Plymouth; who being brought there and examined did all confess the murder, and that they did it to get the Wampum; but all the question was about the death of the Indian.—*Hist. of New Eng.*, SAVAGE'S ed. vol. i. p. 323.

"Conduct like this" observes Prof. GAMMELL, "in vindication of the rights

of the natives, and in promoting the peace and happiness of all the inhabitants of the country, did not fail to secure the abiding confidence of the Indian chiefs. In every question that arose between them and the English, Williams was made their adviser, and often became the mediator between the parties." *Life of Williams*, p. 106.

To his much honored and beloved Mr. Governor of Massachusetts.

PROVIDENCE, 14th of the 6th. [August 14th, 1638.]¹

SIR,—Since my last (unto which you were pleased to give answer with kind advice concerning the murder of the native) I have received divers letters from Connecticut: the sum of all is this; that it hath pleased the Lord to incline all hearts to peace. Juanemo was persuaded to go over in person and give that satisfaction which was demanded: only concerning a mare killed by some Nyan-ticks, (others say by Pequots,) but as yet no proof; our friends have taken his promise to inquire and inform, and so they dismissed him.

It hath pleased the Magistrates at Connecticut to invite Miantunnomu over to them to discover some Pequot passages and murderers, which are denied, and to enter upon some Articles with themselves:² denying themselves to be obliged in the Articles of the Bay.

I have conceived that all the English in the land were wrapped up in that Agreement (a copy of which you were pleased Sir, to send me,): nevertheless I persuade him to go over. His desire was (which Agowaun Sachem Mafquanominit had in charge to express to you) that Mr. Governor would please to spare four English from himself as witnesses of passages; as also myself with Cutshamoquene and Mafquanominit.

I have formerly engaged my promise to Miantunnomu: and resolve to take two or three English from hence, and

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. iv. p. 248.

² This has reference to a meeting to be held at Hartford, at which the Narragansetts and Mohegans were to appear

to settle their personal difficulties and to have an understanding regarding the Pequots.

hope (through the Lord's mercy) that the journey may be for peace.

Sir, unless any pass by accident to Connecticut (if so you shall see good) that desire of three or four English may be denied, and yet granted in effect by the going of some freely with myself.

Only sir, be pleased to give an hint of your pleasure in any matter considerable, which we shall endeavor to effect.

The natives, friends of the slain had consultation to kill an Englishman in revenge: Miantunnomu heard of it, and desired that the English would be careful on the highways, and sent himself express threatenings to them, &c., and informed them that Mr. Governor would see justice done. Ousamequin coming from Plymouth told me that the four men were all guilty; I answered, but one; he replied, true, one wounded him, but all lay in wait two days, and assisted. In conclusion: he told me that the principal must not die, for he was Mr. Winslow's man: and also that the man^t was by birth a Neepmuck man; so not worthy another man should die for him: I answered what I thought fit, but conceive there will be need of wisdom and zeal in some, and remembrance of that *Vox Cæli*: He that doth violence to the blood of any person, let him flee to the pit: let none deliver him. The Lord mercifully cleante the land from blood, and make the blood of his son Jesus more precious in all our eyes. So prays

Your Worship's most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputie and his, all yours, best respects, &c.

^t In reference to the Indian killed by the same Englishmen, of which mention is made in the preceding letter.

For the right Worshipful and his much honored friend Mr. Governor of the Massachusetts, these.

At NARRAGANSETT, the 10th of the 7th, early. [September 10, 1638.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—These Sachems with myself consulting the last Lord's day as soon as I here arrived; I dispatched a letter to meet our Connecticut friends at Mohegan: desiring a speedy word from Captain Mason (according as he found the business easy or difficult) to give direction for the course of the Narragansetts, either to Mohegan or Pequot. With all, the Messenger had charge to deal with Uncas, from us all, Canonicus, Miantonomu, &c., to be wife and faithful to us in what we should propose to him.²

The messenger returned the last night (and being a discreet man to observe passages) he related that coming near the town, viz.: to wit, Mohegan, he heard six guns, which persuaded him that English were come, but

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 250.

This letter chiefly relates to the difficulties between the Narragansetts and Mohegans, growing out of the dispersion of the Pequots.

² From the visit to Connecticut here alluded to, resulted "A Covenant and Agreement made between the English and the Indians;" Miantonomi representing the Narragansetts, and Uncas the Mohegans. These articles were signed at Hartford, on the 21st of September, 1638. They provide

1. That there shall be peace between the tribes and "all former injuries and wrongs offered each other remitted and buried."

2. That if further wrongs be committed by either party, they shall not re-

venge them, but shall appeal to the English, who shall decide between them. If either party refuse to abide by the decision, the English may compel them to do so.

3. The tribes mentioned agree to bring in the chief Sachem of the Pequots; and for the murderers known to have killed the English "they shall as soon as they can possibly take off their heads."

4. Provides for the division of the Pequot prisoners, who "shall no more be called Pequots, but Narragansetts and Mohegans."

The agreement bears the signatures of Miantonomi, Uncas, Gov. Haines, Roger Ludlow and Edward Hopkins.—POTTER'S *Hist. of Narragansett*, p. 177.

drawing nearer, he found they were the guns which formerly the Pequots had got from the English! Entering the court, he found the house mingled full of Mohegans and Pequots, who desired his news, but he silent! They told him that they heard that the English were coming against them, and they had sent up two chief men who found the English training. They were examined of two things, viz.: why they had lately let go two of the murderers at Nayantick, whom they had bound, and why they had seized upon all the corn at Pequot, belonging to hither Nayantick Pequots: so they were imprisoned and bound: word whereof coming to Uncas, forty men were sent up with their bead girdles to redeem them. The messenger got Uncas private, who would not be drawn to yield up any of his Pequots, but alledging that he had bought them with his money of the English (as the Nayantick Sachems said, for which purpose I am bold to enclose Mr. Haynes his answer) he said they found the English so false, that the last night in a general meeting they were resolved to fight it out, and for himself although the English bound him and killed him he would not yield. He related that Mr. Haynes had given him a letter of security to lie by him, in case that any English should injure him, but in this pursuing his Pequots and binding his men, he had thrown away his letter, &c. Sir, your wisdom (I know) catcheth at my request before I make it, viz.: that in case I am directed from our friends of Connecticut to send for aid, you would please to cause a readiness at little warning. I could make true relation of the brags of the chief of these wretches, viz.: that the Massachusetts English did but glean after the Connecticut men, &c., in the wars: but I am confident you desire their good,

with the safety of your own state: therefore I rest with a description brief of the Pequot towns, now again under Uncas and the Nayantick Sachems established: At Pequot Nayantick are upwards of twenty houses, up the river at Mangunckakuck eight, up still at Sauquonckackock ten, up still at Paupattokshick fifteen, up still at Tatuppequauog twenty, three or [] mile further with Uncas at his town Mohegan, a great number mingled, which are all under Uncas, besides those at Quinnipiuck,¹ and others of Long Island, and Sasacous his confederates. At Nayantaquit² the hither, upwards of twenty houses, all under Nayantaquit Sachems, except six or seven men unto whom your worship was pleased to give life, upon Miantunnomue's motion, by my letter, upon their submission. These are still Miantunnomue's subjects, yet refusing to live with him at Narragansett, he disclaims them, in case according to promise, they assist not in this business. The most High graciously sanctify all his holy pleasure to us, prosper these our present enterprises to his praise, but especially against those enemies (1. Pet. 2. 11.) lusts which fight against our souls: in him I desire to be

Your worship's more and to eternity,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ *Quinnepiuck.* New Haven.

² *Nayantaquit, Niantic.* Westerly and Charlestown.

To his much honored Governor John Wintthrop.

[September or October, 1638.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Through the mercy of the Most High, I am newly returned from a double journey to Connecticut and Plymouth. I shall presume on your wonted love and gentleness to present you with a short relation of what issue it pleased the Lord to produce out of them, especially since your worship's name was some way engaged in both.

I went up to Connecticut with Miantunnomu,² who had a guard of upwards of one hundred and fifty men, and many Sachems, and his wife and children, with him. By the way (lodging from his house three nights in the woods) we met divers Narragansett men complaining of robbery and violence, which they had sustained from the Pequots and Mohegans in their travel from Connecticut; as also some of the Wunnashowatuckoogs (subject to Canonicus) came to us and advertised, that two days before, about six hundred and sixty Pequots, Mohegans and their confederates had robbed them, and spoiled about twenty-three fields of corn, and rifled four Narragansett men amongst them; as also that they lay in way and wait to stop Miantunnomue's passage to Connecticut, and divers of them threatened to boil him in the kettle.

These tidings being many ways confirmed, my company,

¹ KNOWLES' *Mem. of Williams*, p. 157.
³ *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 173. PORTER'S *Hist. of Narragansett*, p. 145.

² It appears from this letter that Williams accompanied Miantonomo to Hartford, for the purpose of effecting a peace between the Narragansetts and Mohe-

gans, and was doubtless instrumental in effecting the "Covenant and Agreement" made on the 21st of September, before noticed. From Hartford, he went to Plymouth to attend the trial of the four Englishmen for killing the Indian before mentioned.

Mr. Scott (a Suffolk man) and Mr. Cope, advised our stop and turn back; unto which I also advised the whole company, to prevent bloodshed, resolving to get up to Connecticut by water, hoping there to stop such courses. But Miantunnomu and his council resolved (being then about fifty miles, half-way, on our journey) that not a man should turn back, resolving rather all to die, keeping strict watch by night, and in dangerous places a guard by day about the Sachems, Miantunnomu and his wife, who kept the path, myself and company always first, and on either side of the path forty or fifty men to prevent sudden surprisals. This was their Indian march.

But it pleased the Father of mercies, that (as we since heard) we came not by till two days after the time given out by Miantunnomu, (by reason of staying for me until the Lord's day was over,) as also the Lord sent a rumor of great numbers of the English in company with the Narragansetts, so that we came safe to Connecticut.

Being arrived, Uncas had sent messengers that he was lame, and could not come. Mr. Haynes said, it was a lame excuse, and sent earnestly for him, who at last came, and being charged by Mr. Haynes with the late outrages, one of his company said, they were but an hundred men. He said, he was with them, but did not see all that was done, and they did but roast corn, &c. So there being affirmations and negations concerning the numbers of men and the spoil, not having eye-witnesses of our own, that fell, as also many other mutual complaints of rifling each other, which were heard at large to give vent and breathing to both parts.

At last we drew them to shake hands, Miantunnomu and Uncas; and Miantunnomu invited (twice earnestly)

Uncas to sup and dine with him, he and all his company (his men having killed some venison;) but he would not yield, although the magistrates persuaded him also to it.

In a private conference, Miantunnomu, from Canonicus and himself, gave in the names of all the Pequots Sachems and murderers of the English. The names of the Sachems were acknowledged by Uncas, as also the places, which only I shall be bold to set down:

Naufipouck, Puttaquappuonckquame his son, now on Long Island.

Nanafquiouwut, Puttaquappuonckquame his brother, at Mohegan.

Puppompogs, Safacous his brother, at Mohegan.

Mausaumpous, at Nayantick.

Kithansh, at Mohegan.

Attayakitch, at Pequot or Mohegan.

These, with the murderers, the magistrates desired to cut off, the rest to divide, and to abolish their names. An inquisition was made; and it was affirmed from Canonicus, that he had not one. Miantunnomu gave in the names of ten or eleven, which were the remainders of near seventy, which at the first subjected themselves, of which I advertised your worship, but all again departed, or never came to him; so that two or three of these he had with him; the rest were at Mohegan and Pequot.

Uncas was desired to give in the names of his. He answered, that he knew not their names. He said there were forty on Long Island; and that Juanemo and three Nayantick Sachems had Pequots, and that he himself had but twenty. Thomas Stanton told him and the magistrates, that he dealt very falsely; and it was affirmed by others, that he fetched thirty or forty from Long Island at

one time. Then he acknowledged, that he had thirty, but the names he could not give. It pleased the magistrates to request me to send to Nayantick, that the names of their Pequots might be sent to Connecticut; as also to give Uncas ten days to bring in the number and names of his Pequots and their runaways, Mr. Haynes threatening also (in case of failing) to fetch them.

Sir, at Plymouth, it pleased the Lord to force the prisoners to confess, that they all conspired and intended murder; and they were, three of them, (the fourth having escaped, by a pinnace, from Aquedneck,) executed in the presence of the natives who went with me. Our friends confessed, that they received much quickening from your own hand. O that they might also in a case more weighty, wherein they need much, viz.: the standing to their present government and liberties, to which I find them weakly resolved.

They have requested me to enquire out a murder five years since committed upon a Plymouth man (as they now hear) by two Narragansett Indians, between Plymouth and Sowwams. I hope (if true) the Lord will discover it.

Sir, I understand that there hath been some Englishmen of late come over, who hath told much to Cutshamouquene's Indians (I think Auhaudin) of a great Sachem in England (using the King's name) to whom all the Sachems in this land are and shall be nothing, and where his ships ere long shall land; and this is much news at present amongst natives. I hope to enquire out the men.

Mr. Vane¹ hath also written to Mr. Coddington and

¹ Sir Henry Vane left Boston for England in 1637. It would appear by this remark of Williams's that Sir Henry

feared troubles in Boston, and advised Coddington's early removal. The latter purchased the Island of Aquidneck

others on the island of late, to remove from Boston as speedily as they might, because some evil was ripening, &c. The most holy and mighty One blast all mischievous buds and blossoms, and prepare us for tears in the valley of tears, help you and us to trample on the dunghill of this present world, and to set affections and cast anchor above these heavens and earth, which are reserved for burning.

Sir, I hear, that two malicious persons, one I was bold to trouble your worship with not long since,) Joshua Verin,¹ and another yet with us, William Arnold, have most falsely and slanderously (as I hope it shall appear) conspired together (even as Gardiner did against yourselves) many odious accusations in writing. It may be, they may some way come to your loving hand. I presume the end is, to render me odious both to the King's majesty, as also to yourselves. I shall request humbly your

in 1637, and in March 1638 the first covenant was entered into by the purchasers, and Coddington chosen Judge.

¹ Joshua Verin was one of the five who accompanied Williams to Providence in 1636, but removed soon after to Salem, in consequence of a vote of censure "for a breach of a covenant for restraining liberty of conscience."—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 16. He now seems to be giving Williams some trouble, as appears from this letter, which is thus mentioned by Winthrop:

"At Providence, also, the devil was not idle. For whereas at their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience, now men's wives and children, claiming to go to all religious meetings, though never so often, or though private, upon the week days; and because one Verin

refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams so oft as she was called for, they required to have him censured. But there stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own company and withstood it, telling them that, when he consented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands. Then one Greene replied, that if they should restrain their wives, all the women in the country would cry out of them, &c. . . . In conclusion, when they would have censured Verin, Arnold told them, that it was against their own order, for Verin did that he did out of conscience; and their order was, that no man should be censured for his conscience.—SAVAGE'S WINTHROP, *Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 340.

wonted love and gentleness (if it come to your worship's hand) to help me with the fight of it, and I am confident yourself shall be the judge of the notorious wickedness and malicious falsehoods therein, and that there hath not past aught from me, either concerning the maintaining of our liberties in this land, or any difference with yourselves, which shall not manifest loyalty's reverence, modesty and tender affection.

The Lord Jesus the Son of righteousness, shine brightly and eternally on you and yours, and all that seek him that was crucified. In him, I desire ever to be

Yours worship's most unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All respective salutations to kind Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

[September, 1638.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Some while since I wrote to you a short narration² of the issue of my voyage to Connecticut and Plymouth. I desire only to know whether it came to hand. I have been carefully searching into that rumor of the Plymouth man slain four years since. The persons to whom I was directed by our Plymouth friends for information are yet absent on hunting: and Miantunnomu is but new returned from Connecticut, yet with what instruction I have already gotten I am this morning taking a journey to the Sachems about it.

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 252. may be seen in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i.

² The communication here referred to p. 173; of date about September, 1638.

I hear of three Coweset¹ men in hold about Mr. Hathorne's² cow. The Sachems affirm they cannot discover the party. These three were three of six then there hunting, yet they say two things: First, that many Northern and Saugust³ Indians hunt there; also and secondly, it may be that some adverse person might, out of subtle envy, shoot the beast, to render them odious to the English, and to cause their deserting of the place, which they would have done but that English were very desirous (especially Mr. Endicott) that they should kill and sell venison, &c.

For myself, I shall faithfully enquire and disclose: although divers understanding persons of Salem have affirmed that the cow dying about three months after, when so many head of cattle died, it is very questionable whether the arrow occasioned the death, &c.

Sir, this is the occasion of this enclosed: I understand that a servant of yours, Joshua — is some trouble to yourself, as also to others, and consequently cannot (if he desire to fear the Lord) but himself be troubled and grieved in his condition, though otherwise I know not where under Heaven he could be better.

If it may seem good in your eyes (wanting a servant) I shall desire him (not simply from you) but for your peace and his. I shall desire your best and full satisfaction in payment, and what sum you pitch on, to accept it either from this bill, or if you better like from that debt of Mr. Ludlow, for which he promised your worship to pay me eight hundred weight of tobacco but did not, and I presume your worship may with ease procure it; but I sub-

¹ Coweset. East Greenwich.

² Mr. Hathorne, of Salem.

³ Saugus. Lynn, Massachusetts.

scribe *ex animo* to your choice, and with respective salutations and continued sighs to Heaven for you and yours, rest desirous to be

Your worship's unfeigned though unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I am loath, but I presume once more to trouble you with that deceitful man James Hawkings, craving that you would please to lend a hand that by yourself or the Court at Boston, I may find mercy against such injustice.

Sir, my wife (together with her best respects) to Mrs. Winthrop, requests her acceptance of an handfull of chestnuts, intending her (if Mrs. Winthrop love them) a bigger basket of them at the return of Jigles.

For his much honored and beloved Mr. John Winthrop at his house at Boston.

PROVIDENCE, 10th, 30. [December 30, 1638.]¹

SIR,— Hoping of your health this dead season, with respective salutations: I am bold to request a little help, and I hope the last, concerning mine old and bad debtor about whom I have formerly troubled your worship, Mr. George Ludlow.

I hear of a pinnace to put into Newport, bound for Virginia, and I understand that if you please to testify what you remember in the case, I may have some hope at last to get something.

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol v: p. 256.

You were pleased, after dealing with him at Boston, to certify me that he had promised to discharge unto me 800*li* of tobacco, which you afterwards thought to have been discharged: but he failing, although my due came to much more, I request if you can remember in a line or two to testify: and I shall desire to bless the Lord for you, and to beg of him a merciful requital into your bosom, even from his holy left and right hand especially: my writings are (from hand to hand about the business) lost; so that all my evidence will be from your hand, of his acknowledgment and promise. Sir, I rest incessantly mourning that I am no more

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I may not omit my thankful acknowledgment of that counsel of peace you were pleased to give to a young man who (when I was at Block Island) repaired to your worship for advice in some jar between him and his neighbors: your counsel was prosperous, and I desire you may have the joy of it. For so saith the Lord, to the counselors of peace and joy.

Sir, I purpose within twenty days (if God will) to travel up to Mohegan: at my return I shall trouble you with a line from Uncas, if I can speak with him about your Pequots.

Sir, I pray let your servant direct the native with this letter to Mr. David Yale,¹ Mrs. Eaton's son.

¹ David Yale of Boston, son-in-law of Governor Eaton of New Haven, mentioned in the will of Edward Hopkins. *land*, vol. i. p. 273. NOTE.—He was the ancestor of Elihu Yale from whom Yale College takes its name.—SAVAGE, *SAVAGE'S WINTHROP, Hist. of New Eng- Genealogical Dict.* vol. iv. p. 666.

For the right Worshipful and his much honored friend Mr. Governor of the Massachusetts, these.

PROVIDENCE. [No date.]¹

SIR,— Upon the receipt of your last (answering my queries) I have acquainted the Sachems with the business: I am not yet furnished with answer sufficient: what I have at present I shall humbly and faithfully submit to consideration: one from them, two from myself.

From them: upon solemn consultation with them about the 100*li* demanded of themselves, they say—

First, that they remember not that either in the first Agreement and League (in the beginning of the Pequot wars) or since, in any expression, that ever they undertook to answer in their own persons or purses what their subjects should fail in.

Second. Nor do they believe that the English Magistrates do so practice, and therefore they hope that what is righteous amongst ourselves we will accept of from them.

Third. Therefore they profess that what evil soever shall appear to be done by any (subject to them) against the bodies or goods of the English, satisfaction shall readily be made out of the bodies or goods of the delinquents.

For the 100*li* demanded, they say concerning the Salem cow, they have to this day enquired, and can discover no guilt either in the persons imprisoned or the rest, but do believe that it was falsely laid upon them by such northern natives whose traps they were, who themselves were guilty.

For the horses, they have sent for Wuttattaquegin who hath not been with them these three years, but keeps at

¹ 4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 254.

Massachusetts: they intend also to call a general meeting of the Country at his coming, within a few days, when I shall have further answer from them.

Sir, a word more from myself: I have long since believed that as it is with the Most High (Prov. 21. 3.) so with yourselves. To do judgment and justice is more acceptable then sacrifice. And therefore that it shall not be ungrateful in your eyes, that I humbly request leave to say that I see the business is ravelled, and needs a patient and gentle hand to rectify misunderstanding of each other and misprisons. The Sachems to prevent the fears of their men in hunting or traveling, &c., earnestly desired me to satisfy the English, that if the bearers of a writing from me should offend any ways, that they, the Sachems, would upon information from myself, cause the delinquents to make satisfaction out of their goods or bodies; to the end that the English might not imprison or transport away their persons, (which the natives suspect,) two of their men having been not long since carried away in an English ship from the Bay, and two of their women the last summer from Conanicut in this Bay.

In two particulars (as I conceive) neither the natives or myself were rightly understood. First, in the scope of the writing, which was not to ask leave to hunt as before. Secondly, in the promise, which was not to pay off themselves (I mean the Sachems) but to cause their men to deal justly and to give satisfaction for offences committed out of their goods or bodies.

I hope it will please the Lord to persuade your hearts to believe what I affirm, and again to review the writing. However, rather than any labor or pains of mine (well meant to preserve peace) shall cause or occasion dissention,

I resolve to be yet poorer, and out of my poverty to endeavor and further satisfaction. (The earth is the Lord's and the fullness of it.) To the Everlasting Arms of his mercy I daily recommend you and yours, and rest

Your Worship's most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My respective salutes to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c.

Sir, I have heretofore been bold to request your help in recovering an old debt from Mr. George Ludlow: and you were pleased after dealing with him, to signify that he had promised to deliver ashore for me eight hundred pounds weight of tobacco: I shall now humbly request that if Mr. Stratton desire it, or if he be again bound for Virginia, that you would please to testify so much as you remember in a line or two, which may be of great use for my recovering of the debt, and I shall desire to be thankful.

For his much honored and beloved Mr. Governor of the Massachusetts, these.

PROVIDENCE, 2d, 3d. [May 3, 1639.]¹

SIR,—In my last I gave intimation of another answer, which from the Sachems is this.

First, that although they remember not any agreements that have passed about the natives yielding up their hunting places, advantages, &c., within prescribed limits, &c., yet, because satisfactory agreements may have been unknown

¹ 4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 257.

to them, between yourselves and the natives about you, they have sent for this man, Wuttattaaguegin, (who keeps most at Massachusetts with Cutshamoquene,¹ and hath not been this three years with them.)

This man Wuttattaaguegin hath promised to satisfy in wampam, beaver and venison what it comes to.

But he believes not the damage can be so great, for thus he relates: having laid his traps, intending daily to tend them, Cutshamoquene sent for him to be a guide for him in a hunting match about the Bay, where other natives were ignorant. He went, yet sent a youth to view his traps, who saith that he saw the Englishmen loose three horses out of the traps, and rode away upon two of them, the third only was lamed.

Upon this he desired liberty to return to the Bay, to inquire more perfectly the damage: and being not come back as yet, they have this present sent again for him.

Yet because they see not that Wuttattaaguegin broke any known covenant in laying his traps in that place, nor willingly wrought evil against the English, they conceive it would be very fair and honorable in all natives eyes, that it would please the English to make known as well their moderation as their justice in the case.

And for themselves they resolve if this man should not be faithful or able to satisfy your demand, they promise (upon persuasions and some offers of mine to them) to contribute themselves out of their own, and to draw in help, that may in wampum, beaver, and venison make up the whole sum before the next hunting be over.

¹Cutshamoquene, Sagamore of Massachusetts.

So craving humbly your loving acceptation of my poor service herein, or whatever else you shall please to use me in, I rest

Your worship's most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My due respect to my honored friends Mr. Deputy and the rest of the Council.

For his much honored and beloved Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, these.

PROVIDENCE, this 9th of the 3rd. [May 9th, 1639.]¹

SIR,—I am requested by Canonicus and Miantunnomu to present you with their love and respect (which they also desire may be remembered to all the English Sachems) as also with this expression of the continuance of their love unto you, viz. : thirty fathom of beads, (ten from Canonicus, and twenty from Miantunnomu)² and the basket a present from Miantunnomu's wife to your dear companion Mrs. Winthrop : three things they request me to desire of you.

First, the continuance of your ancient and constant friendship toward them, and good opinion of their sincere affection to the English.

I objected against this, that I lately heard that two boats of English were cut off by Pequots, and that Miantunnomu knew of the act, &c.

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 259. annual tribute from the Indians of Block

² Winthrop in his Journal of May 2, Island.—*Hist. of New Eng.* vol. i. p. 355.
notices the reception of wampum, the

To this they answered, that they have not so much as heard of any miscarriage of the English this way of late, and that two days since a Narragansett man came from Long Island and brought no such tidings.

That they have always (and shall still) succor the English in any such distresses: and that if but a single Englishman, woman, or child be found in the woods by any of theirs, they should punish severely that man that should not safely conduct them and succor them, &c.

Secondly, That you would please to ratify that promise made to them after the wars, viz.: the free use of the Pequot country for their hunting, &c.

Thirdly, That since there are many Pequot Sachems and Captains surviving, many of whom have been actual murderers of the English, and (three of them) which have slain some of their Sachems.

And that since the Agreement the last year at Connecticut with Mr. Haynes and the Magistrates, you have not yet pleased come to action.¹

And that the Pequots being many hundreds of them may with these their Sachems do more mischief to us and them.

They therefore request that you would please to write by them at present to Mr. Haynes that so upon your joint Agreement they may themselves freely pursue those Pequot Princes and Captains, whom Mr. Haynes (who had the list of them from me the last year) shall name unto them.

I objected the report of great numbers of Pequots among themselves, &c.

¹ The "Covenant and Agreement" entered into at Hartford, September 21, 1638. See note to Letter of the 10th September, 1638.

They answer as formerly, that to clear themselves from that, and to make it appear how both the Mohegans and the Nayantick men have received the Pequots and their presents (when they refused them) and so have made presents to the English with the Pequot beads, which themselves never did nor could: they will now fall upon this service, and if the Mohegans and Nayantick men will not join with them in it, they will themselves pursue the persons that shall be named to them wheresoever they find them, although at Mohegan or Nayantick, without touching a Mohegan or Nayantick man further than you shall please to advise them.

More they say, but I should be tedious, and therefore with all due respect to your loving self, Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, &c., I rest

Yours worship's faithful and unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Canonicus begs of you a little sugar.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

[August, 1639.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—You were pleased some while since to refer me to Mr. Haynes for a list of such Pequots as were authors and chief actors in the late murders upon the English.

Accordingly I have sent up once and again to Mr.

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 261.

Haynes, and we are come to a period: the child is come to the birth: a little strength from your loving hand (the Lord so pleasing, and blessing) will bring it forth.

This list here enclosed (which I request may be returned) was drawn by my best enquiry and Tho. Stanton in the presence of the Magistrates at Connecticut the last year.

This list he was pleased to send me with the addition of seven more under his own hand.

Some queries I made upon some of the seven: as also [*torn*] Sasacus his brother Puppompogs (now upon Long Island) whom Mr. Haynes desired might be spared, and I applauded the desire in many respects, only I desired for many other respects that he might be sent to some other part of the world.

Also since that the Nayantick Sachems who harbor many of these, and Uncas, Canonicus and Miantunnomu requested that a pinnace might lie some few days at Pequot, to promote and countenance the work while Miantunnomu pursued them.

Unto all which Mr Haynes in this last is pleased to answer, so that we are come to a period. This week I went up to the Narragansett about other business: there I found a bar, which I thought good to request your worship to remove by a word or two.

Your captive (which was Maumanadtuck's wife) now at Pequot, presuming upon your experimented kindness toward her, informs all Pequots and Nayanticks that Mr. Governor's mind is, that no Pequot man should die, that her two sons shall ere long be Sachems there, &c. Your wisdom (now by a fresh line or two) declaring that none but these (who by the best of intelligence appear to be deeply guilty,) shall die, may facilitate the execution, to

the honor of your mercy and justice, and the clearing of the land from blood, either that of our countrymen already spilt, or that may be hazarded by these wretches. I might but will not trouble your worship with some presumptions that way: the Lord be pleased to further and bless: and help your precious soul and mine to remember that vengeance, and to long and expect for it upon the enemies of Jesus, when blood shall flow out of the wine press to the horse bridles by the space of sixteen hundred furlongs.

Your worship's unfeigned hitherto

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mine humble and true respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley,¹ Mr. Bellingham, &c.

The messenger is ignorant of the matter, and is satisfied.²

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 21. 5. [July 21, 1640.]³

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Your runaways (as I before surmised) are at Mohegan, and the Squa Sachem's daughter is married to the Sachem Uncas. I know the match hath been long desired (although the Sachem have five or six wives already) which makes me fear that all Indian means will not reach your just desires. May you please to rest a

¹ Mr. Dudley; see note to the following letter.

killed, (6), 1639." (i. e. August, the 6th mo.)

² Endorsed by Governor Winthrop, "Mr. Williams about the Pequods to be

³ ⁴ *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 263.

little, for Miantunnomu (as he pretends out of love and respect to your person) is very diligent about a peaceable return of them, that he may bring them with him, and as many more of the runaways as he can get. Uncas was gone to Connecticut, so that a little patience is requisite.

Sir, this you may please to signify to your much honored brother, Mr. Governor,¹ that this business only hinders Miantunnomu's coming. He is (not satisfied but) persuaded to trust to interpreters whom he fears to trust, and to come without myself.

As also may you please to understand that the Nayantick Sachems still refusing to yield up any of those Pequots to death to whom they had promised life; our friends of Connecticut (as I have heard by two letters from Tho. Stanton) intend present revenge upon them. Canonicus and Miantunnomu still persuade (to mine own knowledge) the Sachems at last to be wise, and yield up their Pequots, but in vain, for the Nayantick Sachems resolve that for so many lives as are taken away by the English, or the Mohigans and Pequots with them, they will take revenge upon Mr. Throckmorton at Prudence, or Mr. Coddington,² &c., or Providence, or elsewhere.

I have dealt with Canonicus and Miantunnuomu to desert the Nayanticks in this business. They answer they would if they had shed the blood of the English, but as they are their brethren, so they never hurt the English, but joined with them against the Pequots, &c., only they have been greedy upon the prey against the English mind: and lastly

¹Dudley, who was brother to Winthrop by the marriage of their children, was Governor in 1640; and did not hold the office again till after the death of Mi-

antonomo, who is mentioned in this letter.—Eds. *Winthrop Papers*.

²William Coddington, of Newport.

they say the English partiality to all the Pequots at Mohegan is so great, and the consequences so grievous upon the abuse of the English love, that all their arguments return back (which they use to the Nayantick Sachems) as arrows from a stone wall.

Tho. Stanton informs me of another cause of war upon the Nayanticks, viz.: Wequash¹ affirms that one of the petty Sachems of Nayantick was aboard Mr. Oldham's pinnace, and that some goods and gold are at Nayantick. Gold I never heard of, but the pinnace, skiff and other luggage and small particulars I had word of at first, which were (by reason of distance) let alone: and in case that any one of the Sachems or more knew of Mr. Oldham's death, and that due evidence be found, I yet doubt (now since the coming of the Lord Jesus and the period of the National Church,) whether any other use of war and arms be lawful to the professors of the Lord Jesus, but in execution of justice upon malefactors at home: or preserving of life and lives in defensive war, as was upon the Pequots, &c. Ifai. 2. Mic. 4.

If the sword rage in Old or New England: I know who gives out the commission, and can arm frogs, flies, lice, &c. He be pleased to give us peace which earth neither gives nor takes. In him I ever desire to be more unfeigned and faithfull

Your Worship's

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹This is the last time the name of *Wequash* appears in Williams's letters. He died in the summer of 1642. "Two days before his death" says Williams, "as I passed up Connecticut River, it pleased my worthy friend Mr. Fenwick, to tell me that my old friend *Wequash*

lay very sick: I desired to see him, and himselfe was pleased to be my guide two mile where *Wequash* lay."—*Key, Introduction.*

Wequashcuck or *Wequash Cook*, was another Indian, who lived many years after the death of *Wequash*.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 7. 6. (so called) 40. [August 7, 1640.]¹

SIR,—About (from Portsmouth) I received yours. As I lately advertised to Mr. Governor, [Dudley]² the hurries of the natives thoughts and consultations so continue, about the three Nayanticks, prisoners with our friends at Connecticut; that your runaways are longer secure in their escape then otherwise they should be.

The Mohegan Sachem, Uncas, refuseth to part with his prey: And whereas Miantunnomu was going up to Mohegan himself with a sufficient company for the runaways, Uncas sent word that it was your worship's plot to bring him into the snare at Mohegan, that there the Connecticut English might fall upon him.

Miantunnomu still promiseth me to come over to you, and his purpose (to his utmost) to bring them with him. My occasions lead me within these four or five days to Connecticut, when (the Lord so permitting) I purpose to go up to Mohegan and try the utmost myself. The issue of all is in that Everlasting Hand, in which is our breath and our ways, in whom I desire to be still

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 265.

² Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts. He was a principal member of the Massachusetts Company which settled Boston and its vicinity. He came over in 1630

as Deputy Governor with his son-in-law Simon Bradstreet, and held that office twelve years, and the office of Governor in the years 1634, 1640, 1645 and 1650. He died in 1652.

I thank your worship for the Scotch intelligence:¹ The issue (I fear) will be general and grievous persecution of all Saints.

Mine and my poor wife's best salutes to Mrs. Winthrop and all yours.

To Mr. Winthrop concerning Samuel Gorton.

PROVIDENCE, 8th. 1st. 1646. [8th March.]²

Master Gorton³ having foully abused high and low at Aquidnick, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country, (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him), and also denying all visible and external Ordinances in depth of Familism, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High

¹ "Scotch intelligence." This doubtless alludes to the rebellion in Scotland, and the defeat of the royal army by the Scots which took place in the summer of 1640.

² WINSLOW, *Hypocrasie Unmasked*. London, 1646. pp. 55-56.

³ In this letter is the first mention by Williams of Samuel Gorton. It opens a controversy between the first settlers of Warwick, including Gordon, Williams and many others, both of the colonies of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. It got into the Courts, and agitated both the colonial governments. The historians of the time wrote much about it, but to enter fully into a history of the quarrel

would require more space than is given to all these letters. WINSLOW, in his Dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Warwick, prefixed to his book entitled *Hypocrasie Unmasked: by a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton, and his Accomplishes*; thus writes:

"And yet Right Honorable, it will and doth appear in the following Treatise, that Samuel Gorton was prosecuted against, First at Plymouth as a gross disturber of the Civill peace and quiet of that government, in an open, factious and seditious manner. Secondly, he was no lesse troublesome, but much more at

affenting,) to death. As Paul said of Asia, I, of Providence, (almost) all suck in his poison, as at first they did at Aquidnick. Some few and myself withstand his inhabitation, and town privileges, without confession and reformation of his uncivil and inhuman practices at Portsmouth: Yet the tide is too strong against us, and I fear (if the framer of Hearts help not) it will force me to little Patience, a little Isle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himself be pleased to be a sanctuary to all whose hearts are perfect with him; in him I desire unfeignedly to be

Your worship's true and affectionate

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Rhode 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. Gorton being there whipt in his person, and thence banished with some of his principal 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; he 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 blood, which made Mr.

Williams and the rest sadly complaine to the Government of the Massachusetts, and divers of them to take 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, than to live with such ill-affected people, and the neighbour governments become affected with Gorton's misrule there also, he (and his companions in evill) began to think of buying a place of a Sachem, or Indian Prince," &c.

See also GORTON'S *Simplicite's Defence against Seven-headed Policy*. London, 1646; also in *R. I. Hist. Coll.* vol. ii.; HUTCHINSON'S *Hist. Massachusetts Bay*; ARNOLD, *Hist. of Rhode Island*, vol. 1, ch. vi.; *R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i.; WINTHROP, *Hist. of New England*.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop,¹ at Pequot, these.

Nar. 22. 4. 45, (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, 22 JUNE, 1645.]²

SIR:—Best salutations, &c. William Chesbrough,³ now come in, shall be readily assisted, for yours and his owne sake. Major Bourne is come in. I have (by Providence,) seen divers papers, (returning now yours thankfully,) which are snatched from me againe. I have, therefore, been bold to send you the Medulla and the Magnalia Dei. Pardon me, if I request you, in my name, to transfer the paper to

¹ With the exception of the letter of June 25, 1645, which follows this, no others appear in this volume from Gov. Winthrop, Senior, of Massachusetts, to whom all the previous letters are addressed.

John Winthrop, Jr., son of Gov. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, followed his father to America in 1631; and in 1633 returned to England. In 1635 he returned to Boston, with authority to make a settlement in Connecticut, and soon after sent a party to build a fort at Saybrook. In 1646, he founded the city of New London; was chosen Governor in 1657; again in 1659, and annually from that period until his death which took place at Boston, in 1676. In 1661, he went to England and procured a charter, incorporating New Haven and Connecticut into one colony. He was an accomplished scholar, was particularly skilled in chemistry and physics, and was one of the founders of the Royal Society, of London. He was the author of a number of pa-

pers in the "*Philosophical Transactions.*"

It appears from one of the letters that Mr. Williams became acquainted with Winthrop in England, and the correspondence will show that the friendship between them was strong and mutual. The letters here printed, which are from the "Winthrop Papers" in the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, relate to politics, literature, agriculture and other topics, through which, like those to the elder Winthrop, runs a religious vein.

² KNOWLES, *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 207.

³ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 268.

⁸ William Chesbrough occupied certain lands in Southerntown, east of Pawcatuck River, over which Connecticut claimed jurisdiction, as a portion of the Pequot country, and about which serious troubles arose in 1661. Probably he may have been in trouble at the time this letter was written, and that Winthrop had asked the good offices of Williams in Chesbrough's behalf.

Captain Mafon, who faith he loves me. God is love; in Him only I desire to be yours ever,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Loving falutes to your dearest and kind sifter.

I have been very sick of cold and fever, but God hath been gracious to me. I am not yet resolved of a course for my daughter. If youre powder, with directions, might be sent without trouble, I should first wait upon God in that way: however 'tis best to wait upon Him. If the ingredients be costly, I shall thankfully account. I have books that prescribe powders, &c., but yours is probatum in this country.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 25th of 4th, 1645, (so called.) [June 25.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Though I should fear that all the sparks of former love are now extinct, &c., yet I am confident that your large talents of wisdom and experience of the affairs of men will not lightly condemn my endeavor to give information and satisfaction, as now I have done in this poor apology, with all due respects presented to your honor, and the hands of my worthy friends with you.

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol vi. p. 266.

This is the last letter of Williams, in the "Winthrop Papers," addressed to Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the only one preserved which was written after the return of

Williams from England, in September, 1644, whither he had gone in the summer of 1643. The fruits of his visit were the Charter of Rhode Island, bearing date of the 14th March, 1643-4. Eds. *Winthrop Papers*..

Sir, for tidings concerning the public, three days since I received a letter from the Dutch Governor reporting some new hopes of peace. For ourselves, the flame of war rageth next door unto us. The Narragansetts and Mohegans, with their respective confederates, have deeply implunged themselves in barbarous slaughters. For myself I have (to my utmost) dissuaded our neighbors, high and low, from arms, &c., but there is a spirit of desperation fallen upon them, resolved to revenge the death of their prince, and recover their ransom for his life, &c., or to perish with him. Sir, I was requested by both parties, yourselves and the Narragansetts, to keep the subscribed league between yourselves and them, and yours and their posterity. Sir, that, and the common bonds of humanity move me to pray yourselves and our friends of Connecticut to improve all interests and opportunities to quench these flames. My humble requests are to the God of Peace that no English blood be further spilt in America: it is one way to prevent it by loving mediation or prudent neutrality. Sir, (excepting the matters of my soul and conscience to God, the Father of Spirits) you have not a truer friend and servant to your worthy person and yours, nor to the peace and welfare of the whole country, then the most despised and most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his Worshipful, and his much honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Nameaug,¹ these.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK,² 28. 3. 47. (so called) [28 May, 1647.]³

WORTHY SIR,—Loving respects and salutations to your kind self and your kindest companion. Some while since, you desired a word of direction about the hay feed. I desired my brother to collect his own and other neighbors' observations about it, which (with his respects presented) amounts to this.

First. Usually three bushels of feed to one acre of land.

Second. It hath been known to spread, to mat, &c., the Indian hills being only scraped or levelled.

Third. This may be done at any time of the year, but the sooner the better.

Fourth. It is best to sow it upon a rain preceding.

Fifth. Some say let the ripe grass stand until it feed, and the wind disperse it (susque deque) up and down, for it is of that thriving and homogeneal nature with the earth, that the very dung of cattle that feeds on it will produce the grain.

¹*Nameaug*. New London. The tract was originally called Pequot, and comprised what is now known as New London and Groton. In 1658 the Assembly of Connecticut enacted that "This court, considering that there hath yet no place in any of the colonies, been named in memory of the city of London, there being a new plantation, in the Pequot country, with an excellent harbour, and the only place which the English in these parts have possessed by conquest . . . that therefore they might leave to posterity the memory of that renowned city of London, from whence we had our trans-

portation, have thought fit, to call the said plantation New London. The name of the river was also changed, and called the Thames."—TRUMBULL, *Hist. of Connecticut*.

²*Cawcawmsquiffick, Cocumscussuc*. The country around and west and northwest of Wickford. Williams about this time purchased an estate and built a trading house here, which he afterwards sold to Richard Smith in order to obtain money for his second visit to England.—KNOWLES.

³KNOWLES' *Mém. R. Williams*, p. 209.
³ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 268.

Sixth. The offs, which can hardly be severed from the feed, hath the same productive faculty.

Seventh. Sow it not in an orchard, near fruit trees, for it will steal and rob the trees, &c.

Sir: Concerning Indian affairs, reports are various; lies are frequent. Private interests, both with Indians and English, are many; yet these things you may and must do. First, kiss truth where you evidently, upon your soul, see it. 2. Advance justice, though upon a child's eyes. 3. Seek and make peace, if possible, with all men. 4. Secure your own life from a revengeful, malicious arrow or hatchet. I have been in danger of them, and delivered yet from them; blessed be His holy name, in whom I desire to be

Your worship's, in all unfeigned respects and love,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To John Winthrop, Jr. For the Governor I have sent these lines.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 20. 6. 47. (so call'd) [August 20, 1647.]¹

SIR,—Due respects presented, &c. I am importuned by Ninigret, in express words, to present his respects and love to your honored father, and to the honored President of the commissioners,² giving great thanks for the

¹KNOWLES' *Memoir of R. Williams*, p. 210. 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 269.

to the Commissioners by the Narragansetts, in accordance with the treaty.

²The Commissioners of the United Colonies.

This letter, probably, has reference to the collection of the wampum to be paid

great favor and kindness showed him. Withal, he prays you earnestly to present his humble suit, that since he, by reason of his travel and illness, can, as yet, get no further towards his own home, and finds he must have much work with the natives of these parts, before he repair home, and time to spend exceeding fast, it may be accounted no breach of faithfulness of his promise, if he finish the contribution he is now about, within a few days after the punctual time. The other Sachems, upon agitations, have promised their utmost concurrence, to finish all within a month from the day of his promise, which time he earnestly requests may be assented to, hoping to make payment before, but not questioning by the expiration of that time. By this bearer, he humbly prays a word of answer, that, with the more cheerful concurrence of the other Sachems, (who join with him in this request,) he may be the more cheerful in the work. Sir, I discern nothing but reality and reason in his request; otherwise, I should not dare to molest you, or those honored persons whom it concerns; to whom, with my humble respects, and to yourself presented, beseeching the Most High to be your portion, I rest,

Your worship's unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Pesickosh desired me to present his great thanks for his child.

Sir: Your man is with me at present writing, well, this last of the week, and will be going instantly. Humble thanks for the sight of papers from England. The sea will be the sea till it be no more. Revel. 21.

Respects to your dearest.

*To the Town of Providence.*August 31, 1648.¹

WORTHY FRIENDS, that ourselves and all men are apt and prone to differ, it is no new thing. In all former ages, in all parts of the world, in these parts, and in our dear native country and mournful state of England, that either part or party is most right in his own eyes, his cause right, his carriage right, his arguments right, his answers right, is as woefully and constantly true as the former. And experience tells us, that when the God of peace have taken peace from the earth, one spark of action, word or carriage is too powerful to kindle such a fire as burns up towns, cities, armies, navies, nations and kingdoms. And since, dear friends, it is an honor for men to cease from strife; since the life of love is sweet, and union is as strong as sweet and since you have been lately pleased to call me to some public service and my soul hath been long musing how I might bring water to quench, and not oil or fluid to the flame, I am now humbly bold to beseech you, by all those comforts of earth and heaven which a placable and peaceable spirit will bring to you, and by all those dreadful alarms and warnings, either amongst ourselves, in deaths and sicknesses, or abroad in the raging calamities of the sword, death and pestilence; I say, I humbly and earnestly beseech you to be willing to be pacifiable, willing to be reconcilable, willing to be sociable, and to listen to the (I hope not unreasonable) motion following: To try out matters by disputes and writings, is sometimes endless; to try out arguments by arms

¹ KNOWLES, *Memoir of Roger Williams, in New England.* Boston, 1777. vol. i. p. 214. BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists* p. 204.

and swords, is cruel and merciless; to trouble the state and Lords of England, is most unreasonable, most chargeable; to trouble our neighbors of other colonies, seems neither safe nor honorable. Methinks, dear friends, the colony now looks with the torn face of two parties, and that the greater number of Portsmouth, with other loving friends adhering to them, appear as one grieved party; the other three towns, or greater part of them, appear to be another: Let each party choose and nominate three; Portsmouth and friends adhering three, the other party three, one out of each town; let authority be given to them to examine every public difference, grievance and obstruction of justice, peace and common safety: let them, by one final sentence of all or the greater part of them, end all, and set the whole into an unanimous posture and order, and let them set a censure upon any that shall oppose their sentence. One log, without your gentle help, I cannot stir; it is this: How shall the minds of the towns be known? How shall the persons chosen be called? Time and place appointed in any expedition? For myself I can thankfully embrace the help of Mr. Coddington or Mr. Clarke,¹ joined or apart, but how many are there who will attend, (as our distempers are) to neither? It is, gentlemen, in the power of the body to require the help of any of her members, and both King and Parliament plead, that in extraordinary cases they have been forced to extraordinary ways for common safety. Let me be friendly construed, if (for expedition) I am bold to be too forward in this service, and to say, that if within twenty days of the date hereof, you please to send to my house, at Providence, the

¹ John Clarke of Rhode Island.

name of him whom you please to nominate, at your desire I will acquaint all the persons chosen with place and time, unto which in your name I shall desire their meeting within ten days, or thereabouts, after the receipt of your letter.¹ I am your mournful and unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ Owing to quarrels of the people of Warwick and Providence chiefly on account of Samuel Gorton, William Coddington and Alexander Partridge proposed to the Commissioners of the United Colonies that "the Islanders of Rhode Island may be received into a combination with all the United Colonies of New England, into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence," etc.

Thus under a pretence of promoting peace, these men would have separated the island from the rest of the colony. The Commissioners, unwilling to receive them as a distinct colony, proposed to have the island annexed to Plymouth, if the majority of its inhabitants would acknowledge its jurisdiction. In this dilemma, Williams came forward to endeavor to heal up the animosities with the propositions contained in this letter to the town of Providence. His kind offices had the desired effect; harmony was re-

stored and Williams was authorized to act as President until the election should take place in May, 1649.

At the General Assembly held at Newport, in May, 1650, a fresh order was sent to the towns, to collect and pay what they owed to Mr. Williams for the charter within twenty days. "William Arnold and William Carpenter, instead of submitting to the government of their own colony, went again and entered complaints against some of their neighbors to the Massachusetts rulers, and they sent a citation to them to come and answer the same in their courts, dated from Boston, June 20th, 1650, signed by Edward Rawson, Secretary. Such obstacles of good government were they who have made a great noise in the world about the disorders of Rhode Island Colony!"—BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists in N. E. Boston*, 1777: vol. i. p. 207.

For his much honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at his house, in Nameag, these.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 11. 7. 48, (so called.) [11 Sept. 1648.]¹

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,—Best salutations to you both and loving sister premised, wishing you eternal peace in the only Prince of it. I have longed to hear from you and to send to you since this storm arose. The report was (as most commonly all Indian reports are) absolutely false, of my removing my goods, or the least rag, &c. A fortnight since, I heard of the Mohawks coming to Pawcatuck, their rendezvous; that they were provoked by Uncas wronging and robbing some Pawcatuck Indians the last year, and that he had dared the Mohawks, threatening, if they came to set his grounds with gobbets of their flesh; that our neighbors had given them play, (as they do every year; yet withal I heard they were divided; some resolved to proceed, others pleaded their hunting season. We have here one Waupinhommin, a proud, desperate abuser of us, and a firebrand to stir up the natives against us, who makes it all his trade to run between the Mohawks and these, and (being a captain also himself) renders the Mohawks more terrible and powerful than the English. Between him and the chief Sachems hath been great consultations, and to my knowledge, he hath persuaded them to desert their country and become one rebellious body or rout with the Mohawk, and so to defy the English, &c.² I have sent also

¹ *3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 178.

² We find an explanation of this in Backus, who says "The Indians were far from being easy; and in August, 1648, about 1000 of them from various parts were collected in Connecticut, with 300 guns among them; and it was reported that they were hired by the Nar-

ragansetts to fight with Uncas." A deputation was sent from Plymouth to confer with the Narragansetts. Williams sent for the Sachems, who, upon meeting him, denied their hiring the Mohawks to war against Uncas.—*Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 194.

what I can inform to the commissioners. At present, (through mercy) we are in peace.

Sir, I desire to be ever

Yours in Christ Jesus,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The letter I have sent by Warwick, twenty miles nearer than by Seekonk.

For my much honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at his house, at Nameug, these.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 23. 7. 48, (so called.) [Sept. 23, 1648.]¹

KIND SIR,—Best salutations to your dear selves and loving sister. I am bold and yet glad to trouble you, that by this occasion I may hear of your welfare. Capt. Mason lately requested me to forbid the Narragansetts to hunt at Pequot, and to assure them of his visiting of them if they so did. I have written now an answer, which I am bold to request you to send at your next opportunity. Two days since I was at Providence, and then Mr. Brown was not returned, only he had wrote home some angry passage against the Narragansetts, who are now in expectation of some assault from the English. Sir, whether it please God to visit us with peace or war, in life and death I desire to be

Yours ever in Christ Jesus,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹KNOWLES, *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 215. 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 270.

Sir, our neighbors, Mr. Coddington and Capt. Partridge, ten days since, returned from Plymouth, with propositions for Rhode Island to subject to Plymouth;¹ to which himself and Portsmouth incline; our other three towns decline, and Mr. Holden and Mr. Warner, of Warwick,² came from thence also, and they say, gave satisfaction why they dare not (the other three towns) depart from the charter. Sir, in this division of our neighbors, I have kept myself unengaged, and presented motions of pacification, amongst which I was bold to propose a reference to your worthy self and some other friend to be chosen; our town yields to it, and Mr. Boston (though opposite) and possibly you may have the trouble and honor of a peace-maker.

Sir, please seal the enclosed.

¹ See note to previous letter for the proposition to subject the island of Rhode Island to Plymouth. Three years before the proposal was made by Coddington and Partridge, Massachusetts set up a title to Rhode Island, and claimed allegiance from its inhabitants. WINTHROP, under date of May—1645, says "The government of Plymouth sent one of their magistrates, Mr. Brown,* to Aquetneck island, to forbid Mr. Williams and others to exercise any of their pretended authority upon the island, claiming it to be within their jurisdiction. Our Court also sent to forbid them to exercise any authority within that part of our jurisdiction at Pawtuxet and Shawomet, and although they had boasted to do great matters there, by virtue of their charter, yet they dared not to attempt anything." SAVAGE's *Winthrop*, vol. ii. p. 270.

In August, 1645, Williams received

an official notice from Increase Nowell, Secretary, asserting that Massachusetts held "a charter whereby the Narragansett Bay, and a certain tract of land wherein Providence and the Island of Aquidnay are included," and giving him notice to "forbear any jurisdiction therein."—See *Mafs. Col. Records*, vol. iii. p. 49; also *R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 133.

² Randall Holden and John Warner two of the leading men of Warwick.

*"John Brown," here referred to, says SAVAGE, "is honorably mentioned in MORTON's *Memorial*, as having been acquainted with the desert of the pilgrims before they left Leyden. He became Assistant in 1636, and was afterwards a Commissioner of the United Colonies from 1644 to 1655, and died in 1662. A son, James, who lived at Swanzea, was an assistant in 1665."—*Note to Winthrop*, p. 270.

*For his much honored and beloved Mr. John Wintthrop, at
Nameug.*

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 10. 8. 48, (so called.) [10th Oct. 1648.]¹

SIR,—Best salutations to your dear selves and loving sifter. In my last I intimated a promise of presenting you with what here passeth. Captain Atherton,² Captain Pritchard, Richard Wood and Strong Tuchell, have been with me (as also Wm. Arnold, instead of his son Benedict, who withdrew himself, though sent unto,) these six or seven days. They were at Niantick two nights. Captain Atherton purposed to visit you, but they appointing their meeting with all the Sachems at my house, they came back; and this morning, (the fourth day of the week,) they are departed with good content toward the Bay. From the commissioners they brought several articles, but the main were three; concerning the Mohawks, &c.; 2d, the payment; 3d, Uncas' future safety. To the first, they sent answer (and that they confirmed with many assertions, and one of them voluntarily took the Englishmen's God to witness) that they gave not a penny to hire the Mohawks against the Mohegans, but that it was wholly wrought by Wussoonkquassin, (which they discovered as a secret) who being bound by Uncas, and Wuttouwuttoum, Uncas his cousin, having attempted to shoot a Mohawk Sachem at that time, resolved with the Mohawks (to

¹ 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 271. KNOWLES' *Mem. Roger Williams* p. 218.

² Humphrey Atherton, Major-General and a distinguished Massachusetts soldier. He was Speaker of the General Court in 1653, and was much employed in negotiations with the Indians. He

was killed by a fall from his horse in 1661. Atherton and Pritchard were the agents sent from Plymouth to Narragansett to enquire into the reported league with the Mohawks, mentioned in letter of September 11th.

whom he also gave peag) to take revenge upon Uncas; Wussoonkquassin sent them word and desired peag of them in the spring, but they profess they consented not, nor sent not a penny, afterwards they sent Waupinhommin up to inquire to Pawcatuck and however they have given some of the Mohegans peag this year, (as they have always done) yet they say they are clear from giving a penny in hire, &c. They confess their enmity against Uncas, and they (to the 2d) will not rest until they have finished their payments, that they may present their complaints against Uncas, who (they say) and other Indians, within these three years, have committed thirteen murders with impunity, being out of their reach in the English protection. This last year they pleaded they were near starved, and, therefore, sent but a small quantity. Now they promise, upon return of their men from hunting this winter, to make a contribution, the next spring another, and so according as they can draw the people to it, will not cease to furnish, and if they die, their children shall fulfil, and that it is their sore grief, &c., with much to this purpose. For Uncas they profess neither directly nor indirectly, to have to do with him, yet hope the English will not deal partially with him. They desired the English receipt of their peag; I produced the note you sent me, which, because it was not signed with your father's hand or the Treasurer's, &c., the messengers promised to send them one from the Bay, Ninigret, made great lamentation that you had entertained hard thoughts of him in this business, and all the Sachems here professed their sorrow and that you had hearkened to Wequashcook, who they say never contributed nor joined in the Pequot wars, and now flatters to draw his neck out of the payments to the English. They hope you will not

countenance him to rob Ninigret of those hunting places which the commissioners gave him leave to make use of, and he with the English had fought for with the expence of much treasure and hazard of his life. They desire that he may and Caufafenamon and the rest of the Pequots, be as your little dogs, but not as your confederates, which they say is unworthy yourself, &c. Sir, I perceive the English about the Bay enquire after new places. Captain Atherton prays me shortly to convey a letter to you. I forgot one passage that the Sachems discovered, that Wuffoonkquassin gave peag to the Mohawks to retreat. It seems they are (Switzer like) mercenary, and were hired on and off; these Sachems I believe desire cordially to hold friendship with both the English and the Mohawks together; I am confident (whether they lie or not, about Wuffoonkquassin) that they never intended hurt against the English nor yourself and yours especially, to whom they profess great respect, and jointly they desire that Wequash-cook may come back to Connecticut from whence he went, for if he join with Uncas they suspect he will secretly be a means of some of their deaths. Lastly, whereas they heard that the women with you were something fearful, Ninigret prays Mrs. Winthrop to be assured, that there never was, nor never shall be, to his knowledge, the least offence given to her or her neighbors, by any of his (though he hath learnt it partly by your just abhorring of Uncas his outrageous carriage among you, and of which I have not softly told these messengers and the admired partiality in the case.) For a token of his fidelity to Mrs. Winthrop, Ninigret, he prays me to write, that all the women of his town shall present Mrs. Winthrop with a present of corn at Pawcatuck, if she please to send in any conveyance to Pawcatuck for it.

Sir, to gratify them, I am thus bold with you, and desiring your eternal peace, I rest

Your worship's unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I formerly wrote to you and now still crave your help with Wequashcook, who keeps basely from me for five or six coats, and can neither get peag¹ or cloth.

For his much honored and beloved Mr. John Winthrop, at Nameug.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 7. 9. 48, (so called) [Nov. 7th, 1648.]²

KIND SIR,—Best salutations, &c. I am requested by letter of Capt. Atherton, to certify what I can advise about Block Island, whether it might be had of the natives, for divers of the English (it seems to my conjecture) upon some agitations at the last Court, have thoughts this way. Sir, because God hath pitched your tent these ways, and you know much among the natives of these parts, I judged it not unfit to pray you help me with a word of your information, before I write what otherwise I can, from the barbarians. The counsels of the Most High are deep con-

¹ *Peag*. Shells or strings of shells used by the Indians from New England to the Carolinas, as well as among the early settlers as money; also called *wampum*.

² "The Indians of Virginia had nothing which they reckoned riches before the

English went among them except *peak*, made out of the conch shell.—BEVERLY'S *Hist. of Virginia*, 1705.

³ KNOWLES, *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 221. *3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 274.

cerning us poor grafshoppers, hopping and skipping from branch to twig in this vale of tears. Wm. Peacock hath had a very heavy task in carrying Joseph with cattle from you; six or seven days and nights the poor fellow was seeking them (being lost and scattered from Niantick.) Then he brought six to my house, four being finally lost; I took what pains I could to get them sought again, and three I hear are found, after which Wm. Peacock is now out, and I look for him this night with those three: Ninigret did his part honestly, but the youths and boys thereabouts (by some occasion hallooing) the cattle thence took the woods. Joseph Wild hath written to me, and I acquaint him with the cause, that one man alone cannot well drive cattle amongst barbarians, especially without an Indian guide. It were exceeding well that three or four poles were enclosed at Niantick, to keep cattle there at night, for if God vouchsafe peace and plantations (prosperity) there is needs of it,

Sir, I desire to be your worship's unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For Mr. John Winthrop, at Naumeg.

NAR: 1

SIR,—Loving respects to yourself and dearest, and Mrs. Lake, premised. Two days since, Ninigret came to me and requested me to write two letters; the one, in answer

¹ *R. I. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 151; but it was evidently written to Mr. KNOWLES' *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 222; 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 275. Winthrop, not long after the preceding letter.

This letter has no date, nor direction;

to Captain Atherton's motion for some English planting on Block Island, and on a neck at Niantick: the other, to yourself, in which protesting his innocence as to the death of his son-in-law, with which Uncas and the Pequots charge him. He prays you (as of yourself) to signify (as much as you can) items to the Pequots, that they be quiet and attempt nothing (at least, treacherously,) against him, which he suspects, from words from Uncas, that it will be pleasing to the English. He prays you also to be mindful of endeavoring to remove Wequashcook, so constant a provocation before him; and, at present, he prays you to send for some skins, which lately, as lord of the place, he hath received. I hope the English Sachems, as I tell him, in the spring will hear and gratify him in his just desires, the want of which, I guess, is the cause that he is not free, as yet, for Block Island, &c.; but expresseth much, if the English do him justice against his enemies. Oh, sir, how far from nature if the spirit of Christ Jesus, that loves and pities, prays for and doth good to enemies? Sir, it is like he will request a line of answer, which, if you please to give, I pray, sir, write when either of those ships you write of are for England, and by which you write yourself; also where Mr. Throckmorton is, and whether he desires I should trouble you with the peag of which I wrote, which I propose, if God please, (unless countermanded by either of you) to send immediately upon hearing from you.

Sir, yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, since I wrote this, it pleased God to send a Dutchman for an old debt, and the same night Mr. Goodyear

also, to whom and his wife (for her former husband) I am indebted, and so was necessitated to make satisfaction to Mr. Goodyear also. These providences of God so falling will necessarily cause me to be preparing some few days more that peag for Mr. Throckmorton. But most certainly it, (God please I live,) notwithstanding ways and weather, shall be sent; this I write, that although Mr. Throckmorton should depart, or come home, yet he may presume on your faithfulness and love to dispose of it, as he requesteth.

Sir, your unworthy,

R. W.

Captain Underhill,¹ now here in a Dutch vessel, presents loving respects.

For the Worshipful Mr. John Winthrop, at Nameug, these.

[Probably December, 1648.]²

SIR,—Respective salutations to you both, and sister Lake. At this instant (the first of the week, toward noon,) I received yours, and shall be glad, (if God will,) you may gain a seasonable passage by us, before the hardest of winter, although I cannot advise you (but to pray against winter flights and journeys,) yet if the necessity of God's providence so cast it, I shall be glad that we might have you prisoner in these parts, yet once in a few days (though in deep snow) here is a beaten path, &c. Sir, Ninigret again

¹ Capt. Underhill, one of the prominent officers in the attack of the Pequot fort.

223; 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vol. xi. p. 276.

This letter has no date, but is endorsed by Mr. Winthrop, 'rec'd December.'

² KNOWLES' *Memoir of R. Williams*, p.

importunes me to write to your father and yourself, about his hunting at Pequot, and that you would also be pleased to write to your father. I have endeavored to satisfy him what I can, and shall, yet I am willing at present to write to you, not so much concerning that you can further gratify him at this time, but that I may by this opportunity, salute you with the tidings from the Bay the last night. Skipper Isaack and Moline, are come into the Bay with a Dutch ship, and (as it is said) have brought letters from the States to call home this present Dutch Governor,¹ to answer many complaints, both from Dutch and English, against him. In this ship are come English passengers, and they bring word of the great trials it pleaseth the Most High and Only Wise, to exercise both our native England and these parts also.

The Prince is said to be strong at sea, and among other mischiefs hath taken Mr. Trevice his ship which went from hence, and sent it for France, it seems their rendezvous.

It is said that after Cromwell had discomfited the Welch, with six thousand, he was forced to encounter nineteen thousand Scots, of whom he took nine hundred prisoners, &c. Great store of Scots and Welsh are sent and sold as slaves into other parts. Cromwell wrote to the Parliament that he hoped to be at Edinburgh in a few days. A commission was sent from the Parliament, to try the King in the Isle of Wight, lately prevented from escape.²

The Prince of Orange and the States are falling, if not

¹ The ship in which Governor Peter Kieft, of New Amsterdam, returned to Holland, was wrecked on the coast of Wales; and Kieft with about sixty others

were drowned.—HUBBARD. He was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant.

² After a series of disasters Charles I. threw himself into the hands of the Scot-

already fallen, into wars, which makes some of the States to tender Manhattoes,¹ as place of retreat.

Sir, to Him in whose favor is life, I leave you, desiring in Him to be

Your worship's unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

John prays you to be in earnest with Mr. Hollett about his house, hoping to be back in a fortnight.

[To Mr. John Wintthrop, at Naumeug.]

NAR: [NARRAGANSETT, probably February, 1648-9.]²

SIR,—Best salutations to your worthy self and yours, premised. I am glad for your sake, that it hath pleased God to prevent your winter travel; though I gladly, also, this last week, expected your passage, and being at Providence, hastened purposely to attend you here. Our candle burns out day and night, we need not hasten its end (by swaling) in unnecessary miseries, unless God call us for him to suffer, whose our breath is, and hath promised to such as hate life

tish army, which surrendered him to the Parliament's commissioners appointed to receive him. Attempting to make his escape to the continent, he was arrested by the Governor of the Isle of Wight, into whose hands he had placed himself, and by whom he was lodged in Carisbrook Castle. In the following month of January, 1648, he had his trial.

¹Manhattan. Manhadoes. New Amsterdam, now New York.

²KNOWLES, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 224; 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 280.

This letter has no date. Mr. Knowles thinks it was written towards the close of December, 1648; the editor of the *Wintthrop Papers* suggests February, or early in March of 1648-49.

for him, an eternal. Sir, this last week, I read an ordinance of both houses, (dated third month, May last,) decreeing death to some consciences, but imprisonment to far more, ever (upon the point) to all but Presbyterians.¹ We have a sound, that Fairfax and Cromwell are proclaimed traitors, but I rather credit that report, that Cromwell only was sent for by the Parliament, which, it seems, inclines with the King, and the city all against the army. The Earl of Warwick was gone for Holland with twenty-two ships pursuing the Prince. Mr. Foot and others went to Holland, (whither Mr. Trevice his ship was carried) and were offered the ship for two thousand pounds, but I cannot hear of their agreement. About forty from the Parliament went to the King, to the Isle of Wight, (who was lately and strangely prevented of escape,) to treat, but could not agree upon the first, viz. : that the King should acknowledge the beginning of the war to be his. Sir, this is the chief of matters told me few days since, by Mr. Throckmorton, who came ten days since from the Bay, and came well in a full laden vessel to anchor by Saconet rocks, but it pleased God his new cable was cut by the rocks, and he drove upon Rhode Island shore, where it is feared the vessel is spoiled, but (through God's mercy) he saved his goods. Sir, Mr. Brewster, (by letter) requests me to convey three letters and bags of metal to you. I wish they may have

¹ The Presbyterians of England and the Scots, who were always haunted by the idea that there was something sacred and inviolable in monarchy thought to rescue the King from the hands of the Independents, but were defeated, and all the Presbyterians were forcibly expelled from the English House of Commons, which now consisting only of about sixty members—the *Rump Parliament*—ap-

pointed a court, composed of persons from the army, the House of Commons and the city of London, to try the King. The court was opened at Westminster Hall, on the 20th of January, 1649; on the 27th, Charles was condemned to death, and on the 30th of the same month was beheaded in front of the palace at Whitehall.—HUME, *Hist. of Eng'd.*

worth in them, especially to draw us up to dig into the heavens for true treasure. Sir, (though Mr Brewster wrote me not word of it) yet in private, I am bold to tell you, that I hear it hath pleased God greatly to afflict him in the thorns of this life. He was intended for Virginia; his creditors in the Bay came to Portsmouth and unhung his rudder, carried him to the Bay, where he was forced to make over all, house, land, cattle, and part with all to his chest. Oh how sweet is a dry morsel and a handful, with quietness from earth and heaven. *Sane nescio de quo scribis furti suspecto.* John Jones is thought here to be false or faulty. He said he was your servant, that you gave him 10s. in peag to bear his charges, which being stolen out of his pocket, he borrowed so much of me here in your name, promising to pay me at his return, being to receive money for you in the Bay; he had, also, 10s. more, to buy, for me, two or three necessaries. He took 27s. 6d. of Valentine, Mr. Smith's man, my neighbor at the trading house, for a drum, which he said he left at my house at Providence, which drum cost him 48s. and he promised to send it by an Indian, but refused, and offered to sell it again at Providence; it is now attached.

Mr. Brewster requested me to pay the Bay carriers, which I have thus ordered, that six awl blades I pay to a native to carry to Ninigret, and pray you to pay six more to him that brings them to you. I am sorry you had no more corn from Ninigret, yet glad you had so much, for I am forced to pay 4s. the bushel for all I spend. Sir, I have not known the like of Indian madness. The Father of Lights cause us to bless him for and with our reason, remembering Nebuchadnezzar.

Sir, I desire to be yours ever in Christ Jesus,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his much honored, kind friend, Mr. John Wintthrop, at his house at Nameug, these.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, [probably January, 1648-49.]¹

SIR,—Best salutations presented to you both, with humble desires, that, since it pleaseth God to hinder your presence this way, he may please, for His infinite mercy's sake, in his Son's blood, to further our eternal meeting in the presence of Him that sits upon the throne, and the Lamb forever; and that the hope thereof may be living, and bring forth the fruits of love where it is possible, and of lamenting for instructions. Sir, the affairs of our country (Vaderland, as the Dutch speak) would have afforded us much conference. The merciful Lord help us to make up in prayer to his holy majesty, &c. Sir, for this land, our poor colony is in civil dissension.² Their last meetings, at which I have not been, have fallen into factions; Mr. Coddington and Captain Partridge, &c., are the heads of the one, and Captain Clarke, Mr. Easton, &c., the heads of the other faction. I receive letters from both, inviting me, &c., but I resolve (if the Lord please) not to engage,

¹KNOWLES' *Memoir of R. Williams*, p. 227; 3 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 278.

This letter is without date; but from its contents, was probably written shortly before that which follows.

²“One of the principal difficulties, which, at this time, disturbed the peace of the colony, arose from the extraordinary proceedings of Mr. Coddington, the leading inhabitant of the Island of Rhode Island. From the very organization of the government under the charter, he arrayed himself in the opposition and seems to have left no effort untried

to overturn and destroy it. Uniting with himself a faction composed probably of persons accustomed to take their opinions from him, he first petitioned the colony of Plymouth to take the island under its jurisdiction: and when this application failed, notwithstanding he had been elected President, in the meantime he went to England, to endeavor to set aside the charter which Mr. Williams had procured, and destroy the union of the towns which had been organized by its provisions.”—GAMMELL, *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 133.

unless with great hopes of peace-making. The peace makers are sons of God. Our neighbors, the Narragansetts, are now consulting, and making peag, to carry, within a few weeks, another payment. Sir, about a month since, one William Badger, a seaman, and now a planter at William Field's farm,¹ near Providence, passed by me, traveling to the Seabrook. I have received letters since from Captain Mason, to whom I wrote by him, and hear nothing of him. I fear he miscarried, for he was alone, without a guide. And, since I mention Captain Mason, worthy Sir, I humbly beg of the Father of Lights to guide you, in your converse and neighborhood with him. In his letters to me, he tells me of some extraordinary lifts against Uncas, and that he will favor him, but no more than religion and reason bid him. He promiseth to visit me, in his passage, this summer, eastward, (I guess he means towards Plymouth.) I shall then argue, if God will, many things, and how it stands with religion and reason, that such a monstrous hurry and affrightment should be offered to an English town, either by Indians or English, unpunished. Sir, you have seen many parts of this world's snowball, and never found aught but vanity and vexation. At Nameug shall you find no more, except in the fountain of living waters. Sir, heap coals of fire on Captain Mason's head; conquer evil and good, but be not cowardly, and overcome with any evil.

If you have by you the Trial of Wits,² at convenience,

¹The farm adjoining Field's Point, three miles from Providence.

²"*Triall of wits.*" We have sought in vain, for a book bearing this title, and think a work of humor or wit could not have been meant, such not being in cha-

rafter with the studies of Williams. With his practice of abbreviating words, Mr. Williams may have meant '*Trial of Witnesses,*' similar to a popular book of Bishop Shirley's entitled '*Trial of Witnesses, of the Resurrection.*'

spare it me a few days. However, study, as the Lord commands, your quietness, for which I shall ever pray and endeavor.

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Wintthrop, at Nameug.

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 29. 11. 48. (so called) [29th January, 1648-49.]¹

SIR,—Best salutations and wishes to the Father of mercies for your worthy self, yoke-fellow, sister, &c. It must be so in this world's sea. *Sicut fluctus fluctum, sic luctus luctum sequitur.* And every day hath his sufficiency or fullness of evil to all the children of the first sinful man; no persons, no places, exempted from the reach of the first curse. My humble desire is to the most righteous and only wise Judge, that the wood of Christ's gallows (as in Moses' act) may be cast into all your and our bitter waters, that they be sweet and wholesome instructors of the fruits of sin, the sorrows of others abroad, (in our England's Aceldama,) our own deservings to feel upon ourselves, bodies and souls, (wives and children also) not by barbarians, but devils, and that eternally, sorrows inexpressible, inconceivable, and yet, if Christ's religion be true, unavoidable, but by the blood of a Saviour, &c. Sir, pardon me, this is not the matter. Sir, your letters I speedily despatched by a messenger on purpose. For a place, I know indeed of one in Plymouth claim, and would specify, but

¹ KNOWLES' *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 228. 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 279.

that your spirit being troubled, countermanded it again, in your postscript concerning Elderkin, whom I will, if God will, effectually labor with, and write the issue with speed. All our neighbors, the barbarians, run up and down, and consult; partly suspecting like dealings; partly ready to fall upon the Mohegans, at your word, and a world of foolish agitations, I could trouble you with, but I told the chiefest yesterday, that it is not our manner to be rash, and that you will be silent till your father and other ancient Sachems speak first, &c. Sir, concerning the bags of ore, it is of Rhode Island, where it is certainly affirmed to be both gold and silver¹ ore, upon trial. Mr. Coddington went to the Bay, with his daughter, for England,² and left Captain Partridge in trust with all, the last week, at Newport. George Wright alias Captain Wright, stabbed with a pike, Walter Lettice at Newport, and is in prison; the other, if not dead, is not like to live.

Sir, yours ever, in all unfeigned respect, &c.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I want wax to seal, otherwise I would have expressed something, which I reserve till another season, if the Lord will.

¹ "The colony was thrown into great excitement, by the discovery of a gold mine on the Island. Mr. Williams sent some bags of the ore to Mr. Winthrop, and writes 'it is certainly affirmed to be both gold and silver ore, upon trial.' The Assembly passed an act, taking possession of the mine in the name of the State of England, and issued a proclamation forbidding all persons to intermeddle with any of the ore. This was published by William Dyre, appointed

for that purpose, for want of a Herald-at-arms, and the arms of England, and of the Lord High Admiral, were set up at the mine. Fortunately a more accurate examination dissipated the golden dreams of the colonists by proving the report unfounded."—STAPLES, *Annals of Providence*, p. 72.

² The purpose for which Coddington went to England is stated in a note to the preceding letter.

*For the worshipful, and kind friend, Mr. John Wintthrop, at
Nameug.*

Cawcawmsquissick, 1. 48. (so called.) [March, 1648-9.]¹

SIR,—Best respects and love presented, and thanks hearty for your letters, former and latter, all now received. I am again importuned by our neighbor Sachems, having heard of Wequashcook's carrying off peag to Captain Mafon, to pray you to inform them whether that peag be part of the payment; because Wequashcook and his company refuse to pay. They desire me also to write to the Bay about it, which I defer to do until their payments go, which are something delayed because of the death of Ninigret's wife's mother, which is the same you write of, Wequashcook's mother, and it is now *qunnantacaun*, that is, lamentation. Sir, since I wrote to you, our four towns met by deputies, six out of a town. This Court last week wrote to me information of their choice of myself as Deputy President,² in the absence of the President, who, whether they have fixed on yourself, or Mr. Coddington's faction prevail to keep his name in, now gone for England, I cannot yet learn, but I have excused myself for some reasons, and I hope they have chosen better. I wrote to them about an act of oblivion, which, blessed be the God of peace, they have past, and have appointed a Court of election in the third month, at Warwick. Sir, I am exceeding glad of your beginnings at Pawcatuck. I pray fail not to enquire whether from there, or from Mohegan or Connecticut, you can help me to one

¹ *3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 282; KNOWLES, *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 230.

² This appointment of Williams as

President of the colony was the result of his letter to the town of Providence. See note to Letter of August 31, preceding.

hundred bushels of Indian corn. To your dear yokefellow and sister respective salutation. The sun of righteousness graciously shine on you. I desire, unfeignedly, to be your worship's unfeigned in love.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The Sachems pray you to tell them whether their peag¹ will be sold at under rates, as Punhommin, coming two days since from the Bay, informs them, viz. : that they must pay great black at thirteen to the penny, and small black at fifteen, and white eight to the penny. I tell them the last year it was measured, and so word was sent to me they should pay it by measure.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

[Probably March or April, 1649.]²

SIR,—I am the more easily persuaded by this barbarian prince, Ninigret, to trouble you so often, that I may the oftener hear of your welfare, and at present how it pleased God to bring you home to yours again. Upon your word,

¹ Peag passed among the early settlers as money. There was a law of the colony regulating its value. "No one shall take any black peage of the Indians, but at four a penny; and if any shall take black peage under four a penny, he shall forfeit said peage, one-half to the informer, the other half to the State."—*Laws of Rhode Island*, 1648.

The frequent mention in these letters of peag carried to Boston by the Narra-

ganetts, Niantics and Mohegans, has reference to the debt or tribute, which, by an agreement entered into at Boston, they were required to deliver.

² *3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 283; KNOWLES' *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 231.

This letter is without date. It was probably written in March, or early in April, 1649.

Ninigret prays you to fend him word, whether within ten days, of this 5th of the week present, you will please to meet him at Wequatucket, so it be when Mr. Stanton is present. He would confer about Mr. Eliot's¹ letter and coat, about Wequashcook's usurping at Pawcatuck, about his present hunting, about the present disposal of the Pequot fields, about his letters to the Bay, which, in your name, I have almost persuaded to suspend until the meeting of the commissioners² at Boston. Here is now a great hurry made by Anquontis, one of those petty Sachems, of whom Mr. Eliot wrote to you and me. He hath offered great abuse to one of the chiefs, and Ninigret is now going to Conanicut about him. I persuade not to engage themselves, but to fend him to the Bay with my letter. Sir, loving respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mrs. Lake, whom God graciously, with your loving self and yours, bind up in the bundle of that life, which is eternal in Christ Jesus, in whom I desire to be,

Yours ever,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ John Eliot, commonly called the Apostle of the Indians; the translator of the Old and New Testament in the Indian language and of various works relating to the Indians.

² Mention has before been made of the "Commissioners of the United Colonies," some notice of which seems necessary. The colonies so united consisted of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Haven, and was the earliest confederacy among the New England colonies. "It was" says Professor GAMMELL, "a union of great importance

to the interests of those embraced in it, and may be regarded as in some sort, the germ of the subsequent confederations which have marked the history of the American people. The objects which were proposed in its formation were neutral protection against the depredations of the Indian tribes, who were now becoming more formidable by the acquisition of fire-arms, and against the encroachments of the Dutch and French, together with the preservation of the liberty and peace of the gospel, and the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ.

For my honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

NAR. 15. 2. 49. (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, April 15, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Best respects and love to you both. By this bearer (Nath. Waller) I received your book,² and had by the same returned it, but that I desire to read it over once more, finding it pleasant and profitable, and crave the sight of any other of that subject at your leisure, kindly thanking you for this enclosed. As yet no tidings further from England. Here the Dutch Governor threatens some trouble about the Dutch prize³ which Captain Clarke, Bened and others bought, which he desires to be restored, as being no prize, as taken contrary to the peace with Spain. If not restored he threatens to take all vessels from hence, to which end it may be it is, that Jacob Curlow (whom the Indians call Yaupuck) have lately bought of some of the Narragansett Sachems the little Island⁴ in the mouth of this Bay (called Aquedenesick and Dutch Island), intending to build and trade there, contrary to an order of this Colony against foreigners, as also against the agreement between the Commissioners and the Sachems, not to sell any land without their consent. We are borne to trouble

. . . The colony at Providence, formed as it had been, principally of the outcast and banished from the settlements of New England, was not invited to join the confederacy; and her subsequent application for admission, like that of the settlers on Rhode Island was sternly refused.—*Life of Roger Williams*, p. 114.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 267.

² Probably the book called "Triall of Wits" sent for in a preceding letter, page 167, see note.

³ The Dutch were, by law, forbidden to trade with the Indians within the jurisdiction of the colony upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods. Probably one of their vessels engaged in trade had been captured.

⁴ The small island west of the island of Conanicut at the entrance to Narragansett Bay, now under the jurisdiction of the government of the United States, and upon which a fortification has recently been erected.

as the sparks fly upward. Above the sun is our rest, in the Alpha and Omega of all blessedness, unto whose arms of everlasting mercy I commend you, desirous to be yours even in him.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My loving respect to your loving sister. I hope it will please God to send you a mill.

For the Worshipful his very loving friend Mr. John Winthrop, at Boston, or elsewhere.

[No date; probably April or May, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Best salutes, &c. I long to hear of your refreshing after so much fighting, &c. Our neighbor Sachems (having sent two natives this morning to my house instead of Caufafenamont, to attend your coming,) are importunate with me to write to you, and to pray you (if this messenger Sasepunnuit meet you on the way) to write a word to the Bay, concerning the late business of Uncas' pretended death at Mohegan. For preface, this Mr. Smith's pinnace (that rode here at your being with us) went forth the same morning to Newport, bound for Block Island, and Long Island, and Nayantick for corn: with them went a Narragansett man, Cuttaquene, an usual trader for Mr. Smith: the wind being (after three or four

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 268.

Probably written in the Spring of 1649, before May 10, at which time Governor Endicot was elected Gover-

nor of Massachusetts in place of Governor Winthrop, who died on the 26th of March of this year.—Note by SAVAGE to *Winthrop Papers.*

days stay at Newport,) northeast and strong, they put into your river and so to Mohegan. Uncas came aboard, *on a sudden groaned and cried out that the Narragansett had killed him: the Narragansett man denied it, and Uncas showed a wound on his breast which bled afresh, &c.*¹ Many circumstances passed. In fine Uncas caused the man's two fore-fingers to be cut off and sent to Capt. Mason, who being come, caused the man to be unbound, and took him along with himself to Hartford. Our neighbor Sachems now pray you and the Magistrates of the Bay, and of the whole country, that the matter may be thoroughly searched out with all diligence, for two causes: First, for the clearing of themselves, who all profess most solemnly to be altogether innocent, &c., and they say it had been childish, now they are so near finishing their payment, to have prevented the English justice against Uncas, which they are in great hopes of when matters shall be heard, &c. They hear that Cuttaquene, the man in hold, being threatened death by a hatchet over his head, to confess his complotters, authors, &c., he named (as they say) themselves to save his own life. The second cause, that Uncas might be discovered, for they suppose he (knowing how near he is to a trial (after the payment finished) according to the English Sachems promise,) projected this villainy, &c., to render the Narragansetts still odious to the English, and prevent his trial. I was bold to write your dearest for a word of English information; which I think will come by the English (who went to see your parts.) By natives I hear *that your James went to Uncas and charged him with project-*

¹“The complaint of Uncas against the United Colonies, at their session, at Boston, in July, 1649.”—See HAZARD, ii. p. 130. Note to *Wintthrop Papers*.

ing himself and acting himself a small stab on his breast in a safe place, &c. Many circumstances look earnestly toward a plot of Uncas, both at this time, and in the manner,¹ of the fact of which you will hear more. He that is the Father of Lights, and Judge of the whole world will shortly bring all secret things to light. At present two things make me (if all things else were clear) to suspend belief to Uncas' words: First, that the going forth of Cuttaquene in Mr. Smith's vessel was on an instant, and accidental, and never intended (that I can hear yet of) for Mohegan; however if the English had thoughts of it (which will be known upon their landing) yet they never mentioned it to the native, who, it is like, would never have consented, for this second consideration. This man Cuttaquene (without a miracle) could not attempt this thing, for I know him, and all men know him, to be of a gentle and peaceable spirit, and was never forth with them in their wars; and no way like to stop such a man at noonday, in the midst of his own, &c. Sir, I am sorry I have no horse, nor boat fit to serve you at this time. My canoe with a wind fair would quickly set you here with ease: I have writ to my wife that it may attend you: and I humble beg of the God of Heaven that his holy Angels may attend you in all his ways, in whom I desire to be your worship's respective and affectionate

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, if this meet you at Providence, I pray impart it to my brother and friends to whom I cannot now write.

¹This paragraph is somewhat obscured, by an attempted erasure, by an another hand. See note to *Wintthrop Papers*.

To Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr.

NARRAGANSETT, [no date, probably April, 1649.]¹

MRS. WINTHROP,—Loving respects to your kind self and dear sifter. I am importuned by our neighbor Sachems to write to your dear husband in the Bay, that whereas they hear that Uncas is hurt by a Narraganfett man, that went in Richard Smith's² pinnace, they pray him to be assured that whatever is done, more or less, they are ignorant of it, and will use no other means against him than the English justice in a legal way. They pray me also to write to you, that by yourself or some of our loving friends with you, this messenger may bring word of the truth of matters among them: I believe nothing of any of the barbarians on either side, but what I have eye sight for, or English testimony. I am the more willing to write, because I might hereby hear of your health, and of your children and neighbors, to whom I wish eternal peace in the Son of God, in whom I desire to be

Your loving friend,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I pray cause a line to be sent back by this bearer, what the matter is.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 270.

² "Richard Smith, sen'r," says Williams in his letter of 21st July, 1679, "for his conscience to God left fair possessions in Gloucestershire, and adventured with his relations and estate to New England, and was a most acceptable inhabitant, and a prime leading man in Taunton and Plymouth colony." He

was one of the party with Gov. Winthrop, of Connecticut, and others to whom the Narraganfett Sachem Coginaquon, granted the "Northern Tract" in the Narraganfett country. The title to this land was afterwards confirmed to Smith and his associates by an order from King Charles 2d.—*R. I. Col. Rec.* vol. i. pp. 464-466. Richard Smith, in

To the Worshipful Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

NARRAGANSETT, 9. 3. 49, (so called.) [May 9, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Best salutations and wishes presented to your dearest with yourself, &c. These enclosed came to my hand in two several letters from the Bay enclosed, your brother in a letter from him, requesting my help, &c. I have therefore, speeded them by the Sachems, who will, therefore, expect some word of tiding from the Bay, which you may please to signify, in one line to me. Whatever you hear, or can well collect, will be any word of tidings, &c., by which occasion (if you have occasion) you may well rescribe. Benedict was desired by the magistrates in the Bay to take special care to charge Wequashcook, concerning² . He hath requested this task from me, which this morning I purpose to do (with God's help) carefully. Sir, two days since, my boat not being fitted, coming from Providence, I was (in *articulo temporis*) snatched by a merciful, and, some say, a miraculous hand, from the jaws of death. The canoe being overset, some goods, to some value, were sunk, some whereof I hope, if God please, to recover. However, blessed be God, and blessed are such whom he correcteth and teacheth in him. Yours he graciously make me, though unworthy.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

the autumn of 1651, purchased of Roger Williams his estate at Cawcumquiffick, (now Wickford), from which place so many of these letters were written. In his testimony in favor of Smith's title to the Wickford lands, dated July 21, 1679, Williams says, that forty years from this date, Smith "put up in the thickest of

the barbarians the first English house among them." This would carry the settlement back to 1639.

¹ KNOWLES' *Mem. Roger Williams* p. 232; 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 284.

² "Concerning." Though the original of this letter is much torn, the blank following the above word is the only one

To my much respected friend Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

13. 3. 49, (so called.) [May 9th, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Salutations, &c. Your last letter, which you mention, I sent by way of the English, since I came hither from Providence. I know of no letter of yours, that came back, as you write. One of mine to yourself, when you were in the Bay, was met by the peag messengers from the Bay, and brought by them again to my hand, because, as they conceived, the whole about Uncas, his wounding, was not yet, as then, known, which, at your coming hither, by the English relation was perfected. Tidings from Uncas are, that the English come from the Bay to Hartford about Uncas, and are appointed to take this way, and to take Ninigret with them. Aquawoce (Wepiteammock) is at the point of death. *Expectat nos mors ubique; cur non nos mortem?* In life and death the Son of God shine on us. In him,

Yours I desire to be, ever unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

which I was not able satisfactorily to make out or supply. The fragments of a few letters look more like parts of the word "Nenekunat" (Ninigret) than any other. Between that Sachem and Wequashcook, as appears from another letter of Roger Williams, there was a misunderstanding.—*Note by Prof. Knowles.*

¹KNOWLES, *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 233;
³ *Masi Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 285.

"This letter is worthy of notice, as affording a slight intimation of that

deficiency of paper and other articles, which the exclusion from intercourse with Boston occasioned. This letter was written on the envelope, or blank side of one addressed to the writer, as is evident from the direction, which stood originally thus: "To my much respected friend, Mr. Roger Williams." Mr. Williams struck out his own name, and put in the place of it, "John Winthrop, at Pequot," in a blacker ink.—*Note by Prof. Knowles.*

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Wintthrop, at Nameug, these.

NAR. 26. 3. 49. (so called) [May 26th, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Loving respects to your dear self, and dearest, &c. This last of the week, in the morning, your man and all his charge are come just now to me in safety. I, myself, also came hither late last night, and wet, from Warwick, where this colony met and upon discharge of my service, we chose Mr. Joseph Smith,² of Warwick, (the merchant or shop-keeper that lived at Boston) for this year, President. Some were bold (though Captain Clarke was gone to the Bay and absent) to use your name, and generally applauded and earnestly desired, in case of any possible stretching our bounds to you, or your drawing near to us, though but to Pawcatuck. One law passed, that the natives should no longer abuse us, but that their black³ should go with us, as with themselves, at four per penny. All wines and strong waters forbidden the natives throughout the colony, only a privilege entrusted in my hand, to spare a little for necessities, &c.⁴

Sir, tidings are high from England; many ships from

¹ KNOWLES' *Mem. R. Williams*, p. 234; *3 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 286.

² In May, 1649, the General Assembly met at Warwick, when Mr. Williams having declined a reelection, Mr. Joseph Smith was chosen President. Among the assistants chosen was Samuel Gorton. Mr. Williams was chosen "to take a view of the records delivered unto the Court by William Dyre," referring, probably, to his complaints against Coddington. These complaints were again presented to the General Assembly, but

were deferred, probably, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Coddington.

³ Black, i. e. black peage.

⁴ The law regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors was as rigid at this period as it is now among the prohibitionists. At the May session of the General Assembly, 1650. a resolution was passed in which it was "granted unto Mr. Roger Williams to have leave to sell a little wine or strong water to the natives in their sickness."—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 219.

many parts say, and a Bristol ship, come to the Isle of Shoals within a few days, confirms, that the King and many great Lords and Parliament men are beheaded. London was shut up on the day of execution, not a door to be opened, &c. The States of Holland and the Prince of Orange (forced by them) consented to proceedings. It is said Mr. Peters¹ preached (after the fashion of England) the funeral sermon to the King, after sentence, out of the terrible denunciation to the King of Babylon. Esa. 14: 18, &c.

Your letter to your brother I delivered to Mr. Gold, (going to Boston;) this weather, I presume hinders. Mr. Andrews,² a gentleman of Warwick, told me, that he came from the Bay, where he heard that the Bay had proclaimed war with the Narragansetts. I hope it is but mistaken; and yet all under, and while we are under the sun, nothing but vanity and vexation.

The most glorious Sun of Righteousness shine graciously on us. In him I desire to be, Sir, ever yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To his honored friend, Mr. John Winthrop,

CAWCAWMSQUSSICK, 13. 4. 49, (so called) [June 13th, 1649.]³

SIR,—Best salutations, &c. The last night one of We-quashcook's Pequots brought me, very privately, letters from Capt. Mason, (and as he said, from Uncas and We-

¹ Hugh Peters; see note to letter of wick.—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 302. July 21, 1637. ³ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. xi. p. 287;

² Edward Andrews, a freeman of War- KNOWLES' *Memoir of R. Williams*, p. 235.



quashcook.) The letters are kind to myself, acknowledging loving letters (and tokens, which upon burning of his house,) he had received from me, &c. ; but terrible to all these natives, especially to the Sachems, and most of all, to Ninigret. The purport of the letters and concurrence of circumstances, seem to me to imply some present conclusions (from Connecticut) of hostility,¹ and I question whether or no present and speedy, before the meeting of commissioners, which I saw lately from the court, under Mr. Nowell's hand, was not to be till the seventh month. The murdering of Uncas is alleged by stabbing, and since attempted by witches, &c. The conclusion is therefore ruin. The words of the letter are: "If nothing but blood will satisfy them, I doubt not but they may have their fill; and again I perceive such an obstinate willfulness, joined with desperate malicious practices, that I think and believe *they are sealed to destruction.*" Sir, there are many devices in a man's heart, but the counsel of Jehovah shall stand. If he have

¹ "The hostile attitude of the Indians, occasioned by the determination of the United Colonies to protect Uncas at every hazard, from the punishment due to his crime at the hands of the Narragansetts, caused more serious alarm than ever before. The dissensions prevailing among them those of Shawomet and Pawtuxet owing allegiance to Massachusetts, and viewing as enemies all Englishmen whom she denounced, while the Niantics and Nipmucks remained true to their proper princes, made the situation of Rhode Island, surrounded as she was by these distracted and exasperated tribes extremely perilous. The inhabitants of Warwick suffered from this cause. They complained that the Indians had killed their

cattle, abused their servants, entered their houses by force, maltreating the occupants, and stealing their goods, and defied advice on the subject." * * * The Commissioners wrote a letter to the Sachems, advising them to abstain from such conduct in future, and telling them that, if they received any injury from the English, satisfaction should be given them, as the like would be expected from them. Scarcely had this missive been sent, when letters were received from Roger Williams and others, warning the United Colonies of preparations making by the Narragansetts to renew the war on Uncas."—ARNOLD, *Hist. of Rhode Island*, vol. i. p. 222-23.

a holy and righteous purpose to make us drink of our mother's cup, the holiness nor power, nor policy of New England, can stop his hand: He be pleased to prevent it, if not to sweeten it.

Sir, I pray, if you have aught, signify in a line, and you shall not fail of my poor papers and prayers.

Your unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Your letters and friends were here some days with me. This last choice at Warwick (according to my soul's wish and endeavor) hath given me rest. Others are chosen, Mr. John Clarke,¹ at Newport, to whom, and all my friends on the island, I wrote effectually. Thither they went. I have heard nothing since. If power had been with me, such a work of mercy, (although to strangers) I hope, by the Lord's assistance, shall not escape me; and I

¹ John Clarke, the founder and pastor of the first Baptist Church in Newport, was one of the most prominent men in the colony. In 1651, he was sent to England with Roger Williams, to promote the interests of the colony. He remained there, until he procured the charter of 1663. After his return, he was elected three years, successively, Deputy Governor. He died April 26, 1676, in the 67th year of his age. Having no children, he gave most of his property to charitable purposes.—While in London, he published a book, entitled, "*All News from New England, or a narrative of New England's Persecution; wherein it is declared, that while*

Old England is becoming New, New England is becoming Old; &c., &c. London, 1652. To no man, except Roger Williams, is Rhode Island more indebted than to him. He was the original projector of the settlement on the Island, and one of its ablest legislators. Dr. Elton, in speaking of Clarke, says "He was a faithful and useful minister, courteous and amiable in all relations of life, and an ornament to his profession and to the several offices which he sustained. His memory is deserving of lasting honor for his efforts towards establishing the first government in the world which gave to all equal, civil and religious liberty." Note to CALLENDER'S *Hist. Dial.* p. 212.

have promised my assistance to Mr. Clarke and others, at Newport, if any blame or damage befall them from the colony or elsewhere.

Sir, I forgot to thank you for the pamphlets, although (not having been lately at Providence) I have them not; but I have sent for them. I have here now with me, my eldest daughter, of seventeen. Her younger sister of fifteen, hath had nature's course before her, which she wanting, a flux of rheum hath much affected her head and right eye; she hath taken much physic, and been let blood, but yet no change. She is advised by some to the Bay. I pray advise me to whom you judge fittest to address unto of the Bay physicians.

Sir, I hear a smith of your town hath left you, and saith I sent for him. It is most untrue, though we want one at Providence, yet I should condemn in myself, or any, to invite any convenience or commodity from our friends. I know him not, nor ever spake (to my knowledge) about him. Mr. Throckmorton hath lately brought in some corn from Hemstead and those parts, but extraordinary dear. I pay him 6s. for Indian, and 8s. for wheat. These rains if God please to give peace, promise hopes of plenty.

Two days since, letters from my brother. He saith a ship was come to the Bay from England. She was not come yet in the river. A lighter went aboard, and brought the confirmation of the King's death, but no other particulars. The everlasting King of kings shine on us, &c.

*To the Worshipful his kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, Esq.,
at Pequot.*

NAR. 26, 6, 49. (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, August 26th, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Best respects to you both, with hearty desires of your peace and ours, if the God of Peace so mercifully please. Upon this late hubbub, (of an assault upon the Pequots by the Mohegans, and one of those Mohegans pursued and slain by the Pequots,) the Sachems have sent to me for my thoughts, their men being impatient of making an assault also upon the Mohegans. I tell them the English will not regard their complaints until the debt is paid. But that (at this time) will not stop them: I tell them the Mohegans have now killed but an old woman (if dead): they have killed a Captain, that makes them consider. Further, whereas they desire I would write to the Bay, I answer, it is better first that I write to you to pray you to send to Hartford, to know whether the Magistrates and English have set on Uncas, and what their resolution is, then upon receipt of their mind shall yourself and I know better what to write to the Bay for them. With this I have satisfied them, and conceive it very requisite that (if you have not already) you would please to request a word from honored friends of Hartford. If God please, this fire may yet be quenched, which humbly desires

Your worship's unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I pray seal and send this to Esq. Mason.

¹ 4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 271.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

NAR: 25, 8, 49, (so called,) [October 25, 1649.]¹

LOVING SIR,—To yourself and your dear companion best salutation and desires of your hearts desire, and more then your hearts can desire in the knowledge and love of the Son of the living God: This passing hand calls for this line only of neighborly salutation and information. Our neighbors messengers are gone to (not returned from) Massachusetts, with about 20*li* or upwards of peag. I had promised to write for them, but the peag being brought me, and so little, and they quarrelling amongst themselves, and foolishly charging inferior Sachems of non-payment, I was not free. I advised them (according to your advice) to compell Wequashcook to contribute, as also the Block Islanders and some petty Sachems about the great pond (who follow Wequashcook to save their money) but they say it is a new thing so to do, &c., and they desire rather the English would do it, which discovery of their weakness, Sir, in my poor thoughts, holds out a great Providence of God for the oneness and security of the English (while the barbarians are in their factions) and some door of hope to me of some preparations to draw them nearer to civility, and that according to your own dear father's opinion and desire. Our natives say the Mauquawogs have desired the English to stay from going to war against the Dutch Indians, but a Dutchman tells me he heard (at Munnadoes) of five hundred English coming against them. If the Father of Mercies mercifully prevent not, it may prove a devouring fire. Bluefield is come to Newport and is carrying the ship (his prize) to Munna-

¹ 4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 272.

does, having promised the Governour to answer it to the Spaniard if demanded, because she is taken against the Treves.¹ Only the seamen (being of several nations) are divided and quarrel, and will hardly be pacified but by the weak power of the Island, where a General Court is suddenly called this next (2d) day at Portsmouth. If you have any printed relations from England, I shall thank you for the sight. I have received a large and pious letter from the Lady Vane, (which I will shortly present you with). Sir Henry's opinion is, persecution approaching. Tis the portion of Christ Jesus and his to pass through suffering to Glory: In Him desirous to be ever yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For Mr. John Winthrop, these.

NAR. 9, 10, 49, (so called,) [NARRAGANSETT, DEC. 10, 1649.]²

SIR,—Praised be God for your healths and peace, which I humbly desire he may please to continue and sanctify to Himself. These letters Mr. Arnold importuned me to send, although by an hired messenger. This bearer (although a thief and must be looked to) is careful, and I have promised, upon a note received from you, a pair of

¹ *Trewe*, a "truce," or "armistice." It may be conjectured that the writer refers to the Treaty of Munster, concluded between Spain and the States-General in 1648. This Bluefield is probably the Capt. "Blauvelt," a Dutchman, mentioned in O'Callaghan's *Histo-*

ry of New Netherland, i. 296, as commander of a privateer upon our coast a few years before. See also Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, i. 397-399.—Ed. *Winthrop Papers*.

² *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 273.

breeches. We have here notice of conclusions for the war from Boston, and preparations of a set number in each town. Truly, Sir, I have heard little concerning those murders by English or natives, but fear that the Lord is kindling fires amongst us. I humbly conceive the case of a man murdered need not hazard the English in winter hostilities, nor the plantations, by the certain and experienced revenges of those Dutch Indians, and am confident that within a year's compass, &c., by silent and watchful courses, the murderer or murderers may be taken in English towns. However, David would rather wink at murderous Joab all his days, then hazard the loss of more blood for the revenging of some. At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new Baptism, and the manner by dipping: and Mr. John Clarke hath been there lately (and Mr. Lucar) and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great Founder Christ Jesus, then other practices of religion do, and yet I have not satisfaction neither in the authority by which it is done, nor in the manner; nor in the prophecies concerning the rising of Christ's Kingdom after the desolations by Rome, &c. It is here said that the Bay hath lately decreed to prosecute such, and hath writ to Plymouth to prosecute at Seekonk, with overtures that if Plymouth do not, &c. Here hath been great bickerings about Bluefield's ship at Newport, there arrested by some of his company, and ordered to be sold and payments made, although he stand deeply bound to repay all to the Spaniard upon demand, because taken against the Treves. This ship and other vessels, and great and small ordinance going off, caused high reports (almost to my belief as I wrote to

you) of some Irish pirates, whom we have cause to fear, and (seeking to God) prepare also for. I have heard of a book from England importing another high case on foot touching a more equal division of lands among brethren, and provision for the younger brethren. I thankfully acknowledge your love concerning my daughter.¹ My wife (here with me) informs me of a course of physic she has entered into with Mr. Clarke² of Boston, where she hath been lately, and is better. We are encompassed with motions about her; but neither I nor she can entertain thoughts of so early a marriage. She, as my wife tells me, desires to spend some time in service, and liked much Mrs. Brenton, (who wanted); but I trouble you with such passages, &c. My wife prays a little of your powder for Mrs. Weekes' daughter, of Warwick, who is every winter greatly afflicted by occasion of such obstructions, and breaks forth to lamentable effects. The condition (although the parents offer payment with thanks,) I question not but will prevail with your loving breast, wherein God graciously dwell, as in a palace of his delights. In him I desire to be

Ever yours unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Your servant, Post, lay with me two nights, earnestly importuning me to send his thankful remembrance and service.

I am troubled about Nenekunat's hunting, to whom

¹ Probably his daughter Mary, who is said to have been born at Plymouth, in August, in 1633, now sixteen years of age.—Eds. *Wintthrop Papers*.

² Dr. John Clarke, physician of New-

bury and Boston, who died in January, 1664-5. A good portrait of him is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.—Eds. *Wintthrop Papers*.

Wequashcook sends threatening of Captain Mafon's visit. They have importuned me to write to Captain Mafon, which I have done.

On the last first day was a great fray between Warwick men and those Indians, and blood spilt, and many cuts and hurts on both sides: who both on the third day sent for me, who went, and (by God's mercy) composed not only the present, but have begun a treaty of full agreement with the natives about their land, if the Bay please.

Sir, my love to Mr. Brewster,¹ to whom I thought now to write; but by the next if God please.

*For the Worshipful his kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, Esq.
at Pequot.*

NAR. 16, 12, 49, (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, 16th February, 1649-50.]²

SIR,—I rejoiced exceedingly from your own loving hand (by Robin Causafenamont) to receive tidings of your healths after this sharp time. Blessed be God, who hath provided warm lodging, food, and clothing, and so seasonable and admirable an element of fire for his poor creatures against such times; the same blessed Lord make us learn of his little ants, (Prov. 6.) to provide timely against eternal bitterness. *Hoc momentum unde pendet æternitas.* For expedition I advised Robin to get over to Rhode Island himself, which I think he did, but I have not since heard

¹ Jonathan Brewster, was the eldest son of Elder William Brewster, the distinguished Puritan, who came over in

the Mayflower, in 1620.

² 4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 276.

of him. I am sorry for this affliction to Mr. Smith in his daughter's husband, and we fear Richard Smith his son, also, but hope it will please God to give us tidings of deliverance: however, it is not safe for dust and ashes to tempt the Most High in fighting with his winter storms without necessity. I grieve that my dear countrymen of Connecticut are so troubled with that filthy devil of whorish practices, and more that yet they are persuaded of such courses to cast him out. Adultery is a fire which will root out, but the gentiles, the nations of the world, will never be proved capable of such laws and punishments as that holy nation, bred up and fed with miraculous dispensations, were fit for. Sir, I humbly bless God that hath vouchsafed you light and power to witness against many evils of your countrymen, to His Honor and yours. As yet we have not tidings from our mother. God mercifully fit us for his holy pleasure in hearing, doing, suffering, living, dying: He graciously guide you and your dearest by his counsel to his glory: So prays

Your unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mr. Throckmorton is preparing and waiting daily for a reason to visit you.

Roger Williams to John Wintthrop, Jr.

NAR. 24, 12, 49, (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, 24th FEBRUARY, 1649-50.]¹

KIND SIR,—Best salutations, &c. In my last, by Consider, I forgot a passage about that letter to the Commissioners which you were pleased to take from me. Mr. Browne lately told me that he cannot call to mind that ever it was produced; he conceives, if you forgot not, that the President did, or that it was suppressed. I crave one line about it. Mr. Browne hath often professed liberty of conscience, but now the way of new baptism spreads at Seekonk as well as at Providence and the Island. I have been so bold as to tell him that he persecutes his son and the people, and on the other side Mr. Newman² also. Sir, if you have Carpenter's Geography,³ or other discourse about the Earth's diurnal motion, spare it a little to

Yours most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I pray if the Long Island man be not gone, ask for a book I lent him.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 277.

² Samuel Newman, born in England in 1600, and educated at Oxford. Emigrated to Massachusetts in 1638, and after spending several years at Dorchester and Weymouth, settled at Rehoboth, where he resided till his death in 1663, greatly esteemed for his talents and piety. He compiled a Concordance of the Bible, which was superior to any that

had before appeared. It was printed in London in 1643.—BLAKE, *Biog. Diet.*

His descendants are still found in Rehoboth and Seekonk.

³ "Carpenter's Geography." Nathaniel Carpenter born 1588 died 1635, was an English clergyman. He wrote several volumes consisting of sermons, philosophical works and a *Geography Delineated*, Oxford, 1625. 4to. 2d edition, 1635.—WATTS, *Bio. Britannica*.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.¹

SIR,—Yours received and sent. I pray in your next a word about Earle's paper; a word of the war against the natives. I cannot yet get particulars touching Cromwell in Ireland,² yet hope still that God will honor him, whom I hope he truly desires to honor. I grieve to understand from your former that Moses is not understood in New England, touching what he did to that one nonetuch typical and miraculous people of Israel; yet surely, licentiousness of all sorts needs a sharpe [toin] though too sharp, and more then God requires or ever did in all nations equal to Israel, is destructive, &c. Sir, in haste

Yours ever unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, if you have occasion to deal with Thomas Stanton, or any up to Connecticut for corn of any sort, I pray remember me if it were 500*ll*: I purpose to write to my old friend Pynchon,³ and pray you if you have occasion, intimate a word to him.

¹*Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 279.

²This letter has no date; but the writer, although he had not yet got the "particulars touching Cromwell in Ireland," possibly had heard rumors of his

doings at Drogheda and Wexford, in September and October of 1649.—Eds. *Winthrop Papers.*

³William Pynchon. See note to letter of October 17, 1650.

*For the worshipful, his kind friend, Mr. John Wintthrop, at
Nameug.*

NAR. 20, 1, 49. (so called.) [20th March, 1649.]¹

SIR,—Loving respects and best wishes to you both, &c. By Nenekunat I received your last, relating a sound of more bloody showers about Old, and said trials at our doors in New. 'Tis mercy that we have not our personal shares in them, 'tis mercy we are not consumed. The Father of Lights vouchsafe us sympathising hearts and prepared to follow the Lamb through all tribulations into Glory. Nenekunat now with me importunes me to write this to you, to pray you to take notice of a message that Kaufa Senamon (your Robin lately brought to him from Connecticut, viz.: that he should discharge and send to Long Island that young Sachem Taufaquonawhut, who hath lately married his eldest daughter, because as Captain Mason and the Magistrates say, he is a Pequot. He presents this answer to yourself, and prays you to present it to the English Sachems as you find occasion. He saith that this Taufaquonawhut was sought to by Uncas to marry his daughter, but he not affecting her (because of her sore eyes) came to his daughter, who falling in love, he, and the mother, and daughter, and himself (Nenekunat) desire they might live near together, which they do a small distance off. He says some bring him word that the English will divorce them: others that his daughter may follow him to Long Island if she will.

He says that the young man was a child when the Pequot wars were, and had no hand in opposition, &c. That he was not the son of any of those Sachems who fought

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 277.

against the English, but of Tattaopame, whom the Dutch flew. That his mother also is Wequashcook's wife. That there is no other color of his being hurtful to the English, but by showing them kindness as they travel by his house: which to my knowledge he is free to.

He prays you not to lose your right, but send for a skin of a moose which was killed upon one of your hummocks by Fisher's Island, lately, and carried to Wequashcook, as the lord.

Sir, I gladly expect your book, and one of the Parliament's Declarations which I lent the Long Island Englishman who past hereby in winter.

Sir, I desire to be ever yours unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*For the worshipful kind friend Mr. Wintthrop, at Pequot.*¹

[No date; probably May, 1650.]

SIR,—Loving respects, &c. These inclosed Mr. Throckmorton yesterday delivered to Mr. He: and Thomas Doxey, two days since put forth from Newport, but Mr. Throckmorton being a league the foremost, met upon Point Judith with a gust from the southwest, which brought

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 279.

The following note from John Elderkin is written upon the same page, and preceding this letter of Williams, in the original.—Eds. *Wintthrop Papers*.

MR. WILLIAMS,—After my love remembered to you, being thankful to you for your kindness to me, when I was

with you, this is to entreat you to send me this letter to Pequot, as speedily as you can, and if you be at charges about the sending of it, I willingly will pay you. Your servant to my power.

JOHN ELDERKIN.

Prov. 12th May, 1650.

him on backstays, laid his vessel on one side, in much danger, his canoe fell over from him, and was lost, his oars, &c., but God brought him mercifully safe in hither, and Thomas Doxey back to Newport, whither he hath now sent for his wife and Mrs. Arnold: Benedict¹ having now bought house and land at Newport, proposing thither to remove. Sir, Thomas Doxey told me of your thoughts for England: this bearer, Mr. Thatcher, tells me he spake with some of the Bristol ships, which say that twenty to one are for the Prince throughout the land, and wait for a change of wind, which (if God please to alter) is doubtless like to be very dreadful, yet would I not discourage you from listening to any evident call of that God who is able to carry whom he sends, through men and devils. Our Colonies General Court is now at Newport, where (upon a fresh report of wars with France) our English is in demur of suffering the Frenchmen (who came in Bluefield's prize, flushed with blood, and have bought a Frigate of Capt. Clarke,) to go out upon their voyage to the West Indies, lest they practice their trade upon their own coast. Yet one of them having lain with Mr. Amies' daughter, (of Portsmouth,) is like now to marry her. The parents of the English are troubled greatly. God mercifully bring good out of these evils.

Sir, it hath pleased God to quicken (by a Dutchman

¹ Benedict Arnold, one of the founders of Providence. His name appears in the town records under date of August, 1636. The following year he was associated with William Coddington in the purchase of the Island of Conanicut, and signed the first compact in 1640. He removed to Newport in 1653, and the following year was chosen an "Assistant."

At the General Election in 1657, he was chosen President, and in 1663 Governor of the Colony, to which office he was annually elected to 1666; again from 1669 to 1672, and from 1677 to 1678. He died on the 20th of June of the latter year. He filled many offices of trust at various periods, and was one of the most prominent men in the colony.

skipper, Lorence, now following fishing here about us,) some English that way, and Bened:¹ desires to buy my shallop and further that work, which I heartily desire (if God so please to favor us) may prosper with you and us. The Natives have taken abundance of sturgeon, and cod, and bass this year. Nawset English (where Mr. Prince is) putting forth seven or eight boats to fish this Spring, by the oversetting of one boat, and loss of two men in the going out of the harbor's mouth, were for the present discouraged. The Lord useth to temper great desires and hopes with such sharps, I hope they will on again. Sir, I want paper, rest yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

There is a found of the Narragansetts warring upon Rhode Island (which thereupon keep watch,) but it is founded on a lie, as I shall inform you.

To Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

[No date. June, 1650.]²

SIR,—Dear respects to your dear selves and loving sister, rejoicing in your peace, which may well with us (after the Hebrew idiom) comprise the rest, &c. The messenger tells me you have that tidings about Prince Rupert,³ whose

¹ Probably, Benedict Arnold.

² *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 281.

³ Prince Rupert, nephew of Charles I., having been unsuccessful as an officer in the Royal Army, was appointed to the command of the fleet, in which capacity

for three years he acquitted himself with honor. In 1651, the great parliamentary Admiral Blake, attacked the Prince's squadron and sunk or destroyed it. It is doubtless to this reverse in the fortunes of Prince Rupert that Williams refers.

name in these parts found as a north-east storm of snow. The Father of Mercies graciously avert, or (if he sees good for us to bring it) shelter us under the wings of his mercies, and gather us under them by true humiliation. Our peace here this last night sounds very uncertain. Indian news have doubtless something in it, of a hundred English from the Bay coming to Warwick and the Narragansett: to Warwick about controversies between Warwick men and Mr. Arnold: to Narragansett for peag. They tell of their instant approach. Mr. Throckmorton last night from Providence writes that Plymouth men were lately in great and hot debates about yielding their claim of these parts to the Bay, which, after much heat in voting, was by a committee cast to the Bay, whence I conjecture they now act.¹ God graciously turn it to his praise however, whatever becomes of our peace. Sir, we have great cause to sigh at the filthiness in this land, and also at the unchristian ways of punishments. You may please to remember that I have been large (in the *Bloodie Tenent*),² in the difference between that land of Israel and all others. It is in discussing of the model. Mr. Cotton refers the answer to the rest of the elders, whose answer or reply I yet hear not of, and pray you if you do, to intimate. 'Tis a controversy wherein I am deeply engaged, of which you will (if God please) see more. For your-

¹ At the General Court held at Boston, June 10th, 1650, the commissioners on the controversy concerning the title to and jurisdiction of lands on Shawomet, (Warwick) and Pawtuxet made their report. The result was, that Plymouth relinquished to Massachusetts all claims to the jurisdiction of these lands.—*Plymouth Records*, vol. ii. p. 158-159.

² Williams's well-known book entitled "*The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for the cause of Conscience, discussed, in a conference betweene Truth and Peace*, etc., London, 1644:" and COTTON'S "*Reply to Williams's Examination*," etc.—*Pub. Narragansett Club*, vols. ii. and iii.

self, dear sir, you do I presume (as in conscience to God and man, you can no less) propose your queries to your friends, of note for authority and ability: whose answers I should thank you to see. Newton's case is imminent: poor man. God graciously arm him against the last great trial approaching, where millions of men and devils numberless would joy eternally to swone without returning. God graciously fit him and us for that battle by these slight visitations, &c. For Saybroke, sir, you know I rejoice and mourn: rejoice that the Lord Jesus his name is more founded, and mourn that not after the first pattern, in which I find no Churches extant framed, but all (by a dreadful fate) opposing, dissolving, &c., and Perez Uzzah, the breaches and divisions wonderful. The Portraiture,¹ I guess is Bishop Hall's, the style is pious and acute, very like his, and J. H. subscribes the Epitaph: probably he presented these passages to the King in the times of his restraint, for he was truly the Bishop's King and breathed from first to last absolute Monarchy and Episcopacy. Doubtless (*viis* and *modis*) he was guilty of much blood. All that seems weighty in my eye are the popular tumults

¹*Eikon Baslike. The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty, King Charles I. in his Solitudes and Sufferings.* London, 1648. This remarkable book caused a great sensation at the time it was published, no less than fifty editions, according to Lowndes, having appeared in 1648-9; and it has been asserted that if it had appeared a week sooner, it might have saved the life of the King. Bishop Hall was not the author, as Williams surmises; this honor has been awarded alike to Charles I. and to Bishop Gauden. Mr. Wordsworth wrote an elabo-

rate work to prove that the King wrote it; while Sir James Mackintosh makes equal efforts to show that Dr. Gauden was its author. Mr. Hallam, in speaking of the *Eikon Baslike* says, "If we could trust its panegyrist, few books in our language have done it more credit by dignity of sentiment and beauty of style. It can hardly be necessary for me to express my unhesitating conviction that it was solely written by Bishop Gauden, who, after the Restoration claimed it as his own."—*Literature of Europe.* London: vol. iii. p. 152.

alleged as the artifice of the Parliament: 'Tis true it is a dangerous remedy, yet that which God used against Baal's priests. The people as well as King, were stirred up for their death. The people for Jonathan against King Saul. The people held the Pharisees in awe, thirsting after Christ's and the Apostle's blood. Sir, pardon my paper in all its defects, and let me truly mourn that I am not more

Yours unfeigned in Christ Jesus,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I am bold to add my mite, &c., these enclosed.

Sir, hearing want of pins, I crave Mrs. Winthrop's acceptance of two small papers, that if she want not herself, yet she may pleasure a neighbor.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

NAR. 9. 8. 50, (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, 9th October, 1650.]¹

SIR,—Best respects and love presented to yourself and dearest. My house is now filled with soldiers and therefore in haste I write in an Indian house: It hath pleased God to give me, and the English, and the Natives that were met together and the whole land I believe a gracious deliverance from the plague of war: On the last day last came to my house Capt. Atherton with above twenty soldiers and three horses: The Captain requested me presently to travel to the Sachems (met together in mourning for Wepiteam-mock's dead son within three or four miles of my house)

¹ 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 289.

and to demand the rest of the pay three hundred and eight fathom :¹ and two hundred more for these charges, &c. I went alone and drew them out of the mourning house, who answered they were ever resolved to pay, but they were distracted by that peace broke by the Mohegans in that Hostility begun upon them at Pequot which they answered not because of the English ; but expected satisfaction, but receive none, &c. Yet they refused not to pay : I returned and the Captain with me went to them and two or three soldiers as was agreed, and after a little discourse we agreed in the same place to meet on the second day : We did and all day till night, the Captain demanded the peag or two Sachems, the natives promised peag within a little time : the Captain would have one or two present, and in the evening drew up his men (unknown to me sent for) round about the Sachems in a hole, and the Indians (twenty for one of us) armed and ready with guns and bows about us, the Captain desired me to tell the Sachems he would take by force Nenekunat and Peficcosh ; then I protested to the Captain before Indians and English, I was betrayed for first I would not have hazarded life or blood for a little money ; second, if my cause and call were right, I would not be desperate with so few men to assault Kings in the midst of such guards about us, and I had not so much as knife or stick about me : After long Agitations upon the ticklish point of a great slaughter (as all the soldiers now confess,) the God of mercy appeared. I persuaded the Captain to stay at my house four days, and the natives within four days to bring in the peag and I would lay down ten fathom : (as formerly I had done twenty (God knows beyond my ability.)

¹Fathoms of peage.

Sir, to-morrow the peag is to come, I hope such a quantity as will stop proceedings: I told the Captain he had desperately betrayed me and himself: he tells me he will give me good satisfaction before he depart: I presume he fears God in the main, but fear he can never satisfy me nor his own conscience, which I hope the Lord will show him, and show the Country what dangerous Councils the Commissioners produce: which makes me fear God is preparing a War in the Country. Just now a letter from Rhode Island comes for my voyage for England: but as yet I resolve not. God graciously be pleased to fet our affections on another Country and himself above in his dear Son.

Sir, yours in him I desire to be unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Roger Williams, in reply to the foregoing.

PEQUOT, November 10, 1650.

SIR,—I received your letter this morning, and must write back in haste, the messengers being hastily to return, thanking you for the intelligence of this matter, which neither from the Commissioners or from any of the Government or any other way I have had the least intimation either by message, or letter. I thank you chiefly for your endeavors of bringing the Indians to a peaceable conclusion of matters. The whole country are much obliged to you for your care herein, as formerly for your labors and travails in this kind which they cannot be so sensible of, who do not fully understand the nature and manner of the Indians who are brought to a right [*cet. defunt.*]

[This fragment seems to be the answer of Governor Winthrop to the preceding letter. Upon the back in Governor's W.'s hand,—“Copy of my letter to Mr. Williams in answer to his of 8. 9. 49.”]

Gov. Winthrop makes a mistake in the year, which should be 1650.—*Ed. Winthrop Papers.*

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

NAR. 17. 8. 50. (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, October 17, 1650.]¹

KIND SIR,—Loving respects, &c. The Captain's demand was three hundred and eight fathom for the debt, and two hundred for this expedition. They paid one hundred and forty, and said it was the whole, and that the difference was made by the measure. They also brought two hundred and forty for this Expedition: and upon the Captain's motion I prevailed with them to send two natives, with a petition writ by myself to have all cancelled. The Captain promised to second the petition, which they said your loving self and Captain Gibbons and Mr. Stanton had formerly presented in their behalf.

I was (if not too) warm, insisting on the partiality against the Narragansetts and towards Uncas, and affirmed that Uncas might better steal many horses than Wenekunat look over the hedge. I urged Uncas his villainous dealing against your poor town, yourself, &c. There is a mystery in it, of which formerly, Sir, yourself and I had some hints, and may, if it please the Lord to bring us together before winter. The Captain told me the business was designed by the Commissioners, and that (as he perceived) they were resolved to hazard a war upon it, &c. But praised be the most holy, gracious, and only wife, who not only watched over you and us; but if I mistake not over the whole country, while the watchmen slept; for to me it is certain, a war between the English and the Mauquawogs, or between the English and the Narragansetts, will, if not dispossess many a planter and displant plantations; yet haz-

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 283.

ard much blood, and slaughter, and ruin to both English and Indian; and when soever this sore plague of God comes, though upon never so just a cause in the last way of remedy and extremity, yet it is one of his three most dreadful earthly and temporal judgments upon the children of men.

Sir, Thomas Doxie came in almost three weeks since, he had no mind for Providence, but stood away for Martin's Vineyard, and left a letter for his wife here to meet him, who came here this day, some few hours since from Providence, but we hear not of Thomas; so that the poor woman is much disconsolate, for to get from Providence she was forced to promise to come back, if Thomas would not come up; yet Benedict writes to me and to her here exceeding lovingly. I fear he has gone to Munnadoes to finish this voyage with the two Dutchmen with him. Katherine presents service and prays advice. The Father of mercies graciously bless these trials to her, that it may be for her good in the latter end, which I shall (through his grace) endeavor to further.

Sir, I am your unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his honored kind friend Mr. Winthrop, at Pequot, these.

[No date; October, 1650.]¹

SIR,—Best salutation, &c. Yours by Elderkin (who predicates your just praise in many respects, &c.,) common, philosophical modern virtue, *laudata crescit*,—how much more should true, heavenly, and eternal? I wrote you largely the issue of things, and hope you have received, &c. In sum, that the Captain had one hundred and forty fathom for the debt, (which was all, say the Indians, but three hundred and eight say the English) also two hundred and forty for this charge. A petition I wrote to the Court for the Natives touching the difference, and this bearer, Mr. Caukin, tells me it was accepted in the Court of Deputies (of which he was one). He tells me of a book lately come over in Mr. Pynchon's name,² wherein is some derogation to the blood of Christ. The book was therefore burnt in the Market place at Boston, and Mr. Pynchon to be cited to the Court. If it come to your hand, I may hope to see it; however the Most High and only Wiise will by this case discover what liberty conscience hath in this land. Sir, as I wrote, Katherine came in hither the day I wrote to seek Thomas Doxey, and he came in the next day after, and the next day to Providence together. She tells me (to give Benedi³ content) she let Bened:

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 284.

This letter is without date; but from Mr. Winthrop's endorsement of "Octo. 23," it may be inferred that it was written a few days before.

² William Pynchon settled at Roxbury, Mass., in 1630; at Springfield, about 1637, and returned to England in 1652. He was the author of several

books. The one here alluded to is probably "*The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption*, etc. London: 1650. It was received in Boston during the session of the General Court in October following, which body ordered the book to be burnt the next day "after the Lecture." A second edition was printed in 1655.

³ Benedi³ Arnold.

write to her uncle: but she herself writ privately that if anything were sent, it might be in household stuff. I hope (yet fear) those trials may take off Thomas from company, spending, &c., unto which your help will not be wanting. I think he will bring her to Pequot or Long Island. Your tidings of God's renewed mercy again to Cromwell is confirmed: Sir, in his mercy rest you and yours, and in him I desire to be ever yours

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Endorsed by John Winthrop, jr., "Mr. Williams, Octo: 23:"

For my well-beloved and much respected, the inhabitants of the Town of Providence.

To Mr. Robert Williams and Mr. Thomas Harris, or either of them.

NAR. 22, 11, 50. (so called.) [NARRAGANSETT, 22d February, 1651.]¹

WELL BELOVED FRIENDS,—Loving respects to each of you presented, with hearty desires of your present and eternal peace. I am sorry that I am occasioned to trouble you in the midst of many your other troubles, yet upon the experience of your wanted loving-kindness and gentleness toward all men and myself also, I pray you hear me patiently. I had proposed to have personally attended this Court, and to have presented, myself, these few requests following, but being much lamed and broken with such

¹KNOWLES, *Mem. R. Williams*, v. 402.

travels, I am forced to present you in writing these five requests. The first four concern others living and dead amongst us; the fifth, concerns myself.

First, then, I pray be pleased to review the propositions between us and our dead friend, John Smith; and since it hath pleased the God of all mercies, to vouchsafe this town and others such a mercy, by his means, I beseech you to show how to put an end to that controversy depending between us and him, (as I may so speak) and his; 'tis true, you have referred that business to some of our loving neighbors amongst you; but since there are some obstructions, I beseech you put forth your wisdoms, who know more ways to the wood than one. Ease the first, and appoint others, or some other course, than the dead clamor not from his grave against us, but that the country about us may say, that Providence is not only a wise, but a grateful people to the God of mercies, and all his instruments of mercy towards us.

My second request concerns the dead still. I understand, that one of the orphans of our dead friend, Daniel Abbott,¹ is likely (as she herself told me) to be disposed of in marriage. 'Tis true she is now come to some years, but who knows not what need the poor maid hath of your fatherly care, counsel and direction. I would not disparage the young man (for I hear he hath been laborious) yet with your leave, I might say, I doubt not you will not give your daughters in marriage to such, whose lives have been in such a course, without some good assurance and certificate of his not being engaged to other women, or other-

¹ Daniel Abbott, one of the early settlers of Providence, whose name is found among those who received a town lot in

the first division of lands purchased by Williams from Canonicus and Miantonomi.

ways criminous, as also of his resolution to forsake his former course, left (this enquiry being neglected) the maid and ourselves repent when misery hath befallen her, and a just reproof and charges befall ourselves, of which we have no need.

For, thirdly, I crave your consideration of that lamentable object (what shall I say, of all our censure or pity, I am sure) of all our wonder and astonishment, Mrs. Weston.¹ My experience of the distempers of persons elsewhere, makes me confident, that although not in all things, yet in a great measure, she is a distracted woman. My request is, that you would be pleased to take what is left of hers into your own hands, and appoint some to order it for her supply, and if it may be, let some public act of mercy to her necessities, stand upon record amongst the merciful acts of a merciful town, that hath received many mercies from heaven, and remember that we know not how soon our wives may be widows, and our children orphans, yea, and ourselves be deprived of all or most of our reason, before we go from hence, except mercy from the God of mercies prevent it.

Fourthly. Let me crave your patience, while once more I lead your consideration to the grave, amongst the dead, the widows and the fatherless. From some neighbors and the widow Mann² herself, I understand, that notwithstanding her motherly affection, which will make all burthens lighter for her children's good, yet she is not without fears, that if the town be not favorable to her in after times, some

¹Mrs. Weston, probably the widow of Francis or Mathew Weston, both of whom received original town lots as above.

²Widow Man, whose husband William Man received one of the original town lots.

hard measure and pressures may befall her. My request is, therefore, that it would please you to appoint some of yourselves to review the will, and to consider whether the pains of the father, deceased, or want of time, hath not occasioned him to leave some of his purposes and desires imperfect, as also to propose to the town wherein, according to the rules of justice and mercy, what the deceased intended, may be perfected, for the greater comfort both of his widow and orphans.

Fifth. My last request concerns myself. I cannot be so unthankful to you, and so insensible of mine own and family's comfort, as not to take notice of your continued and constant love and care in your many public and solemn orders for the payment of that money due unto me about the charter: 'tis true I have never demanded it; yea, I have been truly desirous that it might have been laid out for some further public benefit in each town, but observing your loving resolution to the contrary, I have at last resolved to write unto you (as I have also lately done to Portsmouth and Newport) about the better ordering it to my advantage. I have here (through God's providence) convenience of improving some goats; my request is, therefore, that if it may be without much trouble, you would please to order the payment of it in cattle of that kind. I have been solicited and have promised my help, about iron works, when the matter is ripe, earnestly desirous every way to further the good of the town of Providence, to which I am so much engaged, and to yourselves the loving inhabitants thereof, to whom I desire to be

Your truly loving and ever faithful,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

by the ears; yet no blood spilt. The Chaubatick Indians send to the Bay; they say Auguontis is sent for and Ninigret, but I know no certain other than messengers passing to and again from Chaubatick to the Bay. Here was last week Mr. Sellick, of Boston, and Mr. Gardiner, a young merchant, to fetch my corn, and more, from Mr. Paine, of Seekonk; they are bound to the French, unless diverted. They tell me of a ship of three hundred, come from Barbadoes. Mr. Wall, the master, stood upon his guard while he staid there; he brought some passengers, former inhabitants from London, whose case was sad there, because of the posture of the island (where as I have by letter from a godly friend there) they force all to swear to religion and laws. This Mr. Wall hath a new and great design, viz.: from hence to the East Indies. The frigates designed for Barbadoes were ordered for Scilly, which they assaulted, and took forts and ordnance and frigates, and drove the Governor into his last fort. It hath pleased God to bring your ancient acquaintance and mine, Mr. Coddington, in Mr. Carwithy his ship of five hundred; he is made Governor of this colony for his life. General Cromwell was not wounded nor defeated, (as is said) but sick of flux and fever, and mending, and had a victory over the Scots. Sir, this world passeth away and
 "the (*σχημα*) fashion, shape and form of it, only the word of Jehovah remains. That word literal is sweet, as it is the field where the mystical word or treasure, Christ Jesus, lies hid.

In im I hope to be yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, to Mr. Blindman loving salutations.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

[No date; probably August 1651.]¹

SIR,—Loving respects, &c. Yours received and the 10s. from your neighbor Elderkin, and letters, which shall carefully be sent. I came from Providence last night, and was able, by God's merciful providence, so to order it, that I was their pilot to my house here, from whence I have provided a native, who, with Joseph Fosseker, I hope will bring them safe to you. The merciful Lord help you and me to say, as Solomon, all that comes is vanity: all cattle, all goods, all friends, all children, &c. I met Mr. John Clarke, at Providence, *recens e carcere*. There was great hammering about the disputation, but they could not hit, and although (my much lamented friend) the Governor told him, that he was worthy to be hanged, &c., yet he was as good as thrust out without pay or whipping, &c.; but Obadiah Holmes remains. Mr. Carwithy is gone with his ship to the eastward for masts, and returns, three weeks hence, to set sail for England, Sir, I have a great suit to you, that at your leisure you would fit and send something that you find suitable to these Indian bodies, in way of purge or vomit; as also, some drawing plaster, and if the charge rise to one or two crowns, I shall thankfully send it; and commending you and yours to the only great and good Physician,² do fire, Sir, to be ever

Yours in Him,

ROGER WILLIAMS.



¹KNOWLES' *Mem. Roger Williams*, p. 243; 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. xi. 293.

²Mr. Winthrop had considerable skill

in medicine. The benevolent zeal of Mr. Williams for the welfare of the Indians, shows itself on all occasions.

The copy of a letter of Roger Williams, of Providence, in New England, to Major Endicot, Governor of the Massachusetts, upon occasion of the late persecution against Mr. Clarke and Obadiab Holmes, and others, at Boston, the chief town of the Massachusetts in New England.

August, 1651.¹

SIR,—Having done with our transitory earthly affairs (as touching the English and the Indians) which in comparison of heavenly and eternal, you will say are but as dung and dross, &c. Let me now be humbly bold to remember that humanity and piety, which I and others have formerly observed in you, and in that hopeful remembrance to crave your gentle audience with patience and mildness, with ingenuity, equanimity and candor, to him that ever truly and deeply loved you and yours, and as in the awful presence of His holy eye, whose dreadful hand hath formed us to the praise of His mercy or justice to all eternity.

Sir, I have often feared and said within my soul, have I so deeply loved and respected? Was I also so well beloved? Or was all counterfeit, and but gilded o'er with earthly respects, wordly ends, &c. Why am I silent? my letters are not banished! may be welcome, may be seen and heard, and if neither, yet will back again (together with my prayers and cries) into my bosom.

Thus while I have sometimes mused and resolved! objections, obstructions, and a thousand hindrances (I fear from Satan as Paul said) hath pressed in, held my hand, &c.

Sir, it hath pleased the Father of Spirits at this present

¹ ROGER WILLIAMS. *The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody.* London, 1652, p. 303.

to smite my heart in the very breaking up of your letter : This Death's Head^r tells that loving hand that sealed it, and mine that opens your letter, that our eyes, our hands, our tongues, our brains are flying hence to the hole or pit of rottenness: Why should not therefore such our letters, such our speeches, such our a^ctings be, as may become our last minutes, our death-beds, &c.

If so, how meek and humble, how plain and serious, how faithful and zealous, and yet how tender and loving should the spirits and speeches be of dying and departing men?

Sir, while something of this nature I muse over your Death's head, I meet (in the entrance of your letter) with this passage, "*Were I as free in my spirit as formerly I have been to write unto you, you should have received another manner of Salutation then now with a good Conscience I can Express; However God knoweth who are his, and what he is pleased to bide from sinful man in this life, shall in that great Day be manifested to All.*"

Sir, at the reading of this line, (I cannot but hope I have your leave to tell you.) The speech of that wise woman of Tekoah unto David came fresh unto my thoughts: Speaks not the King this thing as one that is guilty? For will my honored and beloved friend not know me for fear of being disowned by his conscience? Shall the goodness and integrity of his conscience to God cause him to forget me? Doth he quiet his mind with this; [*God knoweth who are his? God hides from sinful man, God will reveal before All?*] Oh how comes it then that

^r Endicott's seal was a death's head and cross-bones, with the name of John Garvad in a circle around it. A fac-simile

is given in 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vi. Appendix ii.

I have heard ſo often, and heard ſo lately, and heard ſo much, that he that ſpeaks ſo tenderly for his own, hath yet ſo little reſpect, mercy or pity to the like conſcientious perſuaſions of other men? Are all the thouſands of millions of millions of conſciences, at home and abroad, fuel only for a priſon, for a whip, for a ſtake, for a gallows? Are no conſciences to breathe the air, but ſuch as ſuit and ſample his? May not the moſt High be pleaſed to hide from his as well as from the eyes of his fellow-ſervants, fellow-mankind, fellow-Engliſh? And if God hide from his, from any, who can diſcover? Who can ſhut when he will open? and who can open when he that hath the key of David will ſhut? All this and more (honored Sir) your words will warrant me to ſay, without any juſt offence or ſtraining.

Object. But what makes this to Heretics, Blaſphemers, Seducers, to make them that ſin againſt their conſcience (as Mr. Cotton ſayth) after conviction? What makes this to ſtabbers of Kings and Princes, to blowers up of Parliaments out of conſcience?

Fiſt, I anſwer, He was a tyrant that put an innocent man into a bear's ſkin, and ſo cauſed him as a wild beaſt to be baited to death.

Secondly, I ſay this is the common cry of Hunters or perſecutors [heretics, heretics, blaſphemers, &c.,] and why, but for croſſing the perſecutors conſciences, (it may be but their ſuperſtitious, &c.,) whether Turkiſh, Popiſh, Proteſtant, &c.

This is the outcry of the Pope and Prelates, and of the Scotch Preſbyterians, who would fire all the world, to be avenged on the ſectarian Heretics, the blaſphemous Heretics, the ſeducing Heretics, &c., had it not pleaſed the

God of Heaven who bounds the insolent rage of the furious ocean, to raise up a second Cromwell (like a mighty and merciful wall or bulwark) to stay the fury of the oppressor, whether English, Scottish, Popish, Presbyterian, Independent, &c.

Lastly, I have said much and lately, and given particular answers to all such pleas, in my Second Reply or Answer to Mr. Cotton's washing of the Bloody Tenent in the Lamb's blood, which it may be is not yet come to your sight and hand.

'Tis true, I have to say elsewhere about the causes of my banishment: as to the calling of natural men to the exercise of those holy Ordinances of prayers, oaths, &c. As to the frequenting of Parish Churches, under the pretence of hearing some Ministers: As to the matter of the Patent, and King James his Christianity and Title to these parts, and bestowing it on his subjects by virtue of his being a Christian King, &c.

At present, let it not be offensive in your eyes, that I single out another, a fourth point, a cause of my banishment also, wherein I greatly fear one or two sad evils, which hath befallen your Soul and Conscience.¹

The point is that of the civil Magistrates dealing in matters of Conscience and Religion, as also of persecuting and hunting any for any matter merely Spiritual and Religious.

¹ Mr. Cotton's Letter examined and answered, pp. 4, 5. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i: 40, 41. Cotton gives his version of the causes of Williams' banishment in his Answer 27-31. *Pub. Narr. Club*, ii. 44-52. He says, "It is evident the two latter causes which he giveth of his Banish-

ment," the second and fourth named above, "were no causes at all, as he expresseth them. There are many knowne to hold both these opinions, and yet they are tolerated not only to live in the Commonwealth, but also in the fellowship of the Churches."

The two evils intimated are these: First, I fear you can not after so much Light, and so much profession to the contrary (not only to myself, and so often in private, but) before so many witnesses; I say, I fear you cannot say and act so much, against so many several Consciences, former and later, but with great checks, great threatenings, great blows and throws of inward conscience.

Secondly, If you shall thank God, that it is not so with you, but that you do what Conscience bids you in God's presence, upon God's warrant, I must then be humbly faithful to tell you, that I fear your underprizing of holy Light, hath put out the candle, and the eye of conscience in these particulars, and that delusions, strong delusions, and that from God (by Satan's subtleties) hath seized upon your very Soul's belief, because you prized not, loved not the endangered persecuted Son of God in his despised truths and servants.

Sir, with man (as the Lord Jesus said of the rich man) I know it is impossible for the (otherwise piercing eye) of your understanding to see into these things, for it is discolored, as in some diseases and glasses. It is impossible for your Will to be willing to see, for that's in a thousand chains resolved (as once you spake heroically and heavenly in a better way) to spend your dearest heart's blood in your way, &c. Yet with God all things are possible, and they that laughed the Lord Jesus to scorn when he said, the Damsel is not dead but sleepeth, were afterwards confounded, when they saw her raised by his heavenly voice.

His holy pleasure I know not, nor do I know which way the Glory of his great Name will more appear, either in finally suffering so great a fall and ruin of so strong a

pillar, that flesh may not Glory, but that his strength and glory only may be seen in weakness. Or else in your holy rising and reviving from the bed of so much spiritual filthiness, and from so bloody a mind, and lip, and hand, against all withstanders or disturbers in it. That so the short remainder of your candle may hold out to the world, the riches of His mercy, at whose word the holiest of his servants ought to tremble, and to work out their salvation with fear and trembling: I say, I desire to say it, tremblingly and mournfully (I know not which way He will please to raise His glory) only I know my duty, my conscience, my love, all which enforce me to knock to call, to cry at the Gate of Heaven, and at yours, and to present you with this loving, though loud and faithful noise and found of a few grounds of deeper examination of both our Souls and Consciences uprightly and impartially at the holy and dreadful tribunal of Him that is appointed the Judge of all the Living and the Dead.

Be pleased then (honored Sir) to remember that, that thing which we call Conscience is of such a nature, (especially in Englishmen) as once a Pope of Rome at the suffering of an Englishman in Rome, himself observed) that although it be groundless, false, and deluded, yet it is not by any arguments or torments easily removed.

I speak not of the stream of the multitude of all nations, which have their ebbings and flowings in religion, (as the longest sword, and strongest arm of flesh carries it.) But I speak of Conscience, a persuasion fixed in the mind and heart of a man, which enforceth him to judge (as Paul said of himself a persecutor) and to do so and so, with respect to God, his worship, &c.

This Conscience is found in all mankind, more or less,

in Jews, Turks, Papiſts, Proteſtants, Pagans, &c. And to this purpoſe let me freely without offence remember you (as I did Mr. Clarke newly come up from his ſufferings amongſt you) I ſay, remember you of the ſame ſtory I did him, 'twas that of William Hartley,¹ in Queen Elizabeth her days, who receiving the ſentence of hanging, drawing, &c., ſpake confidently (as afterward he ſuffered) what tell you me of hanging, &c. If I had ten thouſand millions of lives, I would ſpend them all for the Faith of Rome, &c.

Sir, I am far from glancing the leaſt countenance on the Conſciences of Papiſts, yea or on ſome Scotch and Engliſh Proteſtants too, who turn up all roots, and lay all level and in blood, for exaltation of their own way and Conſcience. All that I obſerve is, that boldneſs and confidence, zeal and reſolution, as it is commendable in a kind when it ſeriously reſpects a Deity, ſo alſo, the greateſt confidence hath ſometimes need of the greateſt ſearch and examination.

I confeſs, that for confidence no Romiſh Prieſt, hath ever exceeded the martyrs or witneſſes of Jeſus: Witneſs (amongſt ſo many) that holy Engliſh woman, who cried out, that if every hair of her head were a life or man, they ſhould burn for the name of the Lord Jeſus: But Sir, your principles and conſcience, not to reſpect Romiſh or Engliſh, ſaints or ſinners: William Hartley, and that Woman, with all their lives, you are bound by your Con-

¹ William Hartley was of St. John's College, Oxford, and a Roman Catholic Prieſt. When Champian, the Jeſuit emiſſary, came to England in 1580, Hartley engaged in diſtributing one of his

books. He was imprifoned, and being releaſed in 1584, left the Kingdom.—WOOD, *Athenæ Oxoniensſis*, i. p. 474. Note by Dr. CALDWELL, *Pub. Narr. Club*, iv. p. 509.

science to punish (and it may be) to hang or burn, if they transgress against your Conscience, and that because (according to Mr. Cotton's monstrous distinction (as some of his chief brethren to my knowledge hath called it) not because they sin in matters of Conscience, (which he denies the Magistrate to deal in,) but because they sin against their Conscience.

Secondly, It is so notoriously known, that the Consciences of the most holy men, zealous for God and his Christ to death and admiration, yea, even in our own country, and in Queen Mary's days especially, have been so grossly misled by mistaken Consciences in matters concerning the worship of God, the coming out of the Antichristian Babel, and the rebuilding of the spiritual Jerusalem that I need but hint who were they that penned the Common Prayer (in its time, as glorious an idol, and as much adored by Godly persons, as any invention now extant.) I say who they were that lived and died (five in the flames) zealous for their Bishopricks, yea, and some too too zealous for their Popish ceremonies, against the doubting Consciences of their Brethren: At which and more, we that now have risen in our Father's stead, wonder and admire how such piercing eyes could be deceived, such Watchmen blinded and deluded. But

Thirdly, We shall not so much wonder when we lift up our trembling eyes to Heaven, and remember ourselves (poor dust) that our thoughts are not as the thoughts of our Maker, that, that which in the eyes of man (as the Lord Jesus tells us, Luc. 16.) is of high and sweet esteem, it stinks and is abomination with God: Hence such Worship, such Churches, such glorious professions and practices may be, as may ravish themselves and the beholders,

when with the piercing eyes of the most High, they may look counterfeit and ugly, and be found but (spiritually) Whores and Abominations.

Fourthly, Wise men used to enquire, what Motives, what Occasions, what Snares, what Temptations were there, which moved, which drew, which allured, &c. This is the Apology which the five Apologists (Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, &c.,) made to the Parliament, to wit, That they were not tempted with the moulding of New Commonwealths, after which they might be moved to frame their religion, &c.¹

Surely, Sir, the baits, the temptations, the snares laid to catch you, were not few, nor common, nor laid to every foot. Saul pretended zeal to the name of God, and love to Israel in persecuting the poor Gibeonites to death, but honor me before the people, was the main engine that turned the wheels of all his actions and devotions. What set Jeroboam's brains to consult and plot the invention of a new Religion, Worship, Priests, &c., but honor, and the fear of the loss of his gained honor? What moved Jehu to be false and halting with God after so much glorious zeal in the Reformation? Yea, I had almost said, what moved David to stab Uriah (the fire of God) with his pen, but the fear of dishonor in the discovery of his sin, though doubtless there was some mixtures of the fear of his God's displeasure and dishonor, also?

Sir, it is no small offer, the choice and applause and rule

¹ The five apologists, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Bridge, prepared *An Apologetical Narration* to Parliament in 1643. In 1644, Williams

published his *Queries of Highest Consideration*, proposed to these persons and to the Scotch Commissioners in the Westminster Assembly.—Note by Dr. CALDWELL, *Pub. Narr. Club*, iv. p. 511.

over so many towns, so many holy, of many wife, in such a holy way as you believe you are in : To say nothing of strong drinks and wines, the fat and sweet of this and other lands : These and others are snares which without abundant strength from God will catch and hold the strongest feet : Sir, I have known you strong, in repelling strong temptations, but I cannot but fear and lament, that some of these and others have been too strong and potent for you.

Fifthly, We not only used to say proverbially, but the Spirit of God expressly tells us, that there is a mind-bewitching, a bewitching of the very consciences and spirits of men. That as in witchcraft, a stronger and supernatural power lays hold upon the powers of Nature, with a suppressing or elevating of those powers beneath or above themselves : So is it with the very Spirits and Consciences of the most intelligent and conscientious, when the Father of Spirits is pleased in his righteous displeasure and jealousy, so to suffer it to be with ours.

Sir, I from my Soul honor and love the persons of such, whom I, you, and themselves may see have been instrumental in your bewitching. Why should it be thought inconsistent with the holy wisdom of God, to permit wise and holy and learned persons to wander themselves and mislead others ; when the holy Scripture and experience tells us of the dangerous counsels and ways of as wise and learned and holy as now breathe in either Old or New English air ?

Sir, I had thought to have named one or two, who may justly be suspected (though otherwise worthily beloved) but I have chose rather to present an hint, for that is enough for so intelligent a breast, if but willing to make an impartial review and examination of passages between the most High and your inmost Soul in secret.

Therefore, sixthly, for a fixed ground of suspecting your Soul and Spirit and Conscience in this particular of perfecution, which I now instance in, may you please, Sir, without offence to remember, that as it is in such as have exceeded in Wine, their speech will betray them: So is it in Spiritual cups and intoxications.

The Maker and Searcher of our hearts knows with what bitterness I write, as with bitterness of Soul I have heard such language as to proceed from yourself and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against persecutors! [you will say, this is your conscience: You will say, you are persecuted, and you are persecuted for your Conscience: No you are Conventiclers, Heretics, Blasphemers, Seducers: You deserve to be hanged, rather than one shall be wanting to hang him I will hang him myself: I am resolved not to leave an heretic in the country; I had rather so many whores and whoremongers and thieves came amongst us:] Oh Sir, you cannot forget what language and dialect this is, whether not the same unfavored, and ungodly, blasphemous and bloody, which the Gardiner's and Bonner's both former and latter used to all that bowed not to the State golden Image of what Conscience soever they were. And indeed, Sir, if the most High be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy Majesty his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted Confessions and Supplications, you will then proclaim to all the world, that what profession soever you made of the Lamb, yet these expressions could not proceed from the Dragon's mouth.

Oh remember, and the most holy Lord, bring it to your remembrance, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great Glory to his holy Name, great rejoicing to so gracious a Redeemer (in whom you profess is all

your healing and Salvation) great rejoicing to the holy Spirit of all true consolation, whom yet so long you who have grieved and sadded, great rejoicing to those blessed Spirits (attending upon the Lamb, and all his, and terrible to his persecutors) great rejoicing and instruction to all that love the true Lord Jesus (notwithstanding their wanderings among so many false Christs) mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the world where his name is founded: Your Talents are great, your Fall hath been so: Your Eminence is great, the Glory of the most High in mercy or justice toward you will be great also.

Oh remember it is a dangerous combat for the pottheards of the earth to fight with their dreadful Potter: It is a dismal battle for poor naked feet to kick against the Pricks; It is a dreadful voice from the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: Endicot, Endicot, why huntest thou me? why imprisonest thou me? why finest, why so bloodily whippest, why wouldest thou (did not I hold thy bloody hands) hang and burn me? Yea, Sir, I beseech you remember that it a dangerous thing to put this to the may be, to the venture or hazard, to the possibility. If it possible (may you well say) that since I hunt, I hunt not the life of my Saviour, and the blood of the Lamb of God. I have fought against many several sorts of Consciences, is it beyond all possibility and hazard, that I have not fought against God, that I have not persecuted Jesus in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by their sword, and to worship a true Christ! to fight against all Consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the

true Lord Jesus Christ. Oh remember whether your Principles and Consciences must in time and opportunity force you. 'Tis but worldly policy and compliance with men and times (God's mercy overruling) that holds your hands from murdering of thousands and ten thousands were your power and command as great as once the bloody Roman Emperors was.

The truth is (and yourself and others have said it) by your principles such whom you count Heretics, Blasphemers, Seducers, to be put to death; you cannot be faithful to your principles and Consciences, if you satisfy them with but imprisonment, fining, whipping and banishing the Heretics, and by saying that banishing is a kind of death, as some chief with you (in my case formerly) have said it.

Sir, 'Tis like you knew or have heard of the man that said he would never conform publicly, although he did subscribe in private for his liberty sake of Preaching: That, although he did conform in some things, yet in all he never would: That, although he did himself yield, yet he would not molest and enforce others: That although he yielded, that others did molest them, yet himself would never persecute, and yet did all.

But oh poor dust and ashes, like stones once rolling down the Alps, like the Indian canoes or English boats loose and adrift, where stop we until infinite mercy stop us, especially when a false fire of zeal and Confidence drives us, though against the most Holy and eternal himself?)

Oh remember the black Catalogues it hath pleased the most jealous and righteous God to make of his fiery Judgments and most dreadful strokes on eminent and remarkable persecutors even in this life. It hath been his way and course in all countries, in Germany, France and England,

(especially) whatever their pretences have been against Heretics, Rebels, Schismatics, Blasphemers, Seducers, &c. How hath he left them to be their own Accusers, Judges, Executioners, some by hanging, some by stabbing, some by drowning and poisoning themselves, some by running mad, and some by drinking in the very same cup which they had filled to others?

Some may say, such persecutors hunted God and Christ, but I, but we, &c. I answer, the Lord Jesus Christ foretold how wonderfully the wisest of the world, should be mistaken in the things of Christ, and a true visible Christ Jesus! When did we see thee naked, hungry, thirsty, sick, in prison, &c. How easy, how common, how dreadful these mistakes?

Oh remember once again (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray hair now on both our heads, is a Boanerges, a son of Thunder, and a warning piece to prepare us, for the weighing of our last anchors, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

'Twas mercy infinite, that stopped provoked Justice from blowing out our Candles in our youths, but now the feeding Substance of the Candles gone, and 'tis impossible without repentance,) to recall our actions! nay with repentance, to recall our minutes past us.

Sir, I know I have much presumed upon your many weighty affairs and thoughts, I end with an humble cry to the Father of mercies, that you may take David's counsel, and silently commune with your own heart upon your bed, reflect upon your own spirit, and believe Him that said it to his over zealous disciples, You know not what spirit you are of: That, no sleep may seize upon your eyes, nor slumber upon your eyelids, until your serious thoughts have

true Lord Jesus Christ. Oh remember whether your Principles and Consciences must in time and opportunity force you. 'Tis but worldly policy and compliance with men and times (God's mercy overruling) that holds your hands from murdering of thousands and ten thousands were your power and command as great as once the bloody Roman Emperors was.

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seriously, calmly, and unchangeably (through help from Christ Jesus) fixed.

First, On a moderation towards the Spirits and Consciences of all mankind, merely differing from or opposing yours with only Religious and Spiritual opposition.

Secondly, A deep and cordial resolution (in these wonderful searching, disputing and dissenting times) to search, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearfully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy pleasure, and the holy mysteries of the most Holy are; in whom I humbly desire to be

Your poor fellow-servant, unfeignedly,
respective and faithful,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot.

NARRAGANSETT, 6. 8. 51. (so called.) [6th October, 1651.]¹

SIR,—Once more my loving and dear respects presented to you both, and Mrs. Lake. Being now bound, resolvedly, (if the Lord please) for our native country, I am not certain whether by the way of the English, (you know the reason)² or by way of the Dutch. My neighbors of Providence and Warwick, (whom I also lately denied) with importunities, have overcome me to endeavor the renewing of their liberties, upon the occasion of Mr. Coddington's late grant.³

¹KNOWLES, *Mem. R. Williams*, v. 247;
³ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. p. 293.

² This reason was his banishment from Massachusetts. There was much delicacy in thus slightly referring to a measure, in which Mr Winthrop's father was, from his official relations, concerned.

³ Mr. Coddington's late grant was the charter which he had succeeded in obtaining of Rhode Island and Canonicut Island to himself. Information of these designs were at once sent by William Arnold to the Governor of Massachusetts, as appears by the following letter :

Upon this occasion, I have been advised to sell, and have sold this house to Mr. Smith, my neighbor, who also may possibly be yours, for I hear he like to have Mrs. Chester.

“FROM PAWTUCKET, this 1st day of the 7th month, 1651.

MUCH HONORED,—I thought it my duty to give intelligence unto the much honored Court, of that which I understand is now working here in these parts; so that if it be the will of God, an evil may be prevented, before it comes to too great a head, viz.:

Whereas, Mr. Coddington has gotten a charter of Rhode Island and Canonicut Island to himself, he has thereby broken the force of their charter, that went under the name of Providence, because he has gotten away the greater part of that colony.

Now these company of the Gortonists, that live at Shawomet, and that company of Providence, are gathering of £200, to send Mr. Roger Williams unto the Parliament, to get them a charter of these parts. they of Shawomet have given £100 already, and there be some men of Providence that hath given £10 and £20 a man, to help it forward with speed; they say here is a fair inlet, and I hear they have said, that if the Parliament do take displeasure against Massachusetts, or the rest of the colonies, as they have done against Barbadoes and other places, then this will serve for an inroad to let in forces to overrun the whole country.

It is great pity, and very unfit, that such a company as these are, they all stand professed enemies against all the united colonies, that they should get a charter for so small a quantity of land as lieth in and about Providence, Shawomet, Pawtucket, and Coweset, all which, now Rhode Island is taken out from it, is but a strip of land lying in between the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, by which means, if they should get them a charter, of it there may come some mischief and trouble upon the whole country, if their project be not prevented in time, for under the pretence of liberty of conscience about these parts, there comes to live all the scum, the runaways of the country, which, in time, for want of better order, may bring a heavy burthen upon the land, &c This I humbly commend unto the serious consideration of the much honored Court, and rest your humble servant to command,

WILLIAM ARNOLD.

They are making haste to send Mr. Williams away. We that live here near them, and do know the place and hear their words, and do take notice of their proceeding, do know more and can speak more of what may come to the country by their means, than the Court do yet consider of. We humbly desire God their purpose may be frustrated, for the country's peace.

I humbly desire my name may be concealed, lest they, hearing of what I have herein written, they will be enraged against me, and so will revenge themselves upon me.

Some of them of Shawomet that crieth out much against them which putteth

Sir, I humbly thank you for all your loving kindneses to me and mine unworthy. The Father of Mercies graciously reward you, guide you, preserve you, save, sanctify and glorify you in the blood of his dear Son, in whom I mourn I am no more, and desire to be yours, unfeignedly and eternally,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This bearer, coming now from England, will acquaint you, &c.

To all yours, and all my friends, my loving salutations. Mr. Sands, of Boston, and John Hazel,¹ of Seekonk, are gone before us.

people to death for witches; for, say they, there be neither witches upon earth, nor devils, but your own pastors and ministers, and such as they are, &c.

I understand that there liveth a man amongst them that broke prison, either at Connecticut or New Haven; he was apprehended for adultery; the woman, I hear, was put to death, but the man is kept here in safety, in the midst of the united colonies. It is time there were some better order taken for these parts, &c.

I have hired this messenger on purpose. I humbly desire to hear if this letter come safe to your hands."—*Hutchinson Papers*, Boston, 1769, p. 237.

[It was these proceedings of Coddington that aroused the people of the colony and induced them to send agents to England, to represent their case to the government, for even all the inhabitants of the islands of which Coddington had been made Governor, did not approve his course. Many of the inhabitants of Newport and Portsmouth, therefore joined in requesting John Clarke to proceed to England as their agent. Mr. Williams and Mr. Clarke sailed together from Boston, in November. The objects of their respective commissions were different.

Clarke's object was to procure a repeal of Coddington's commission: while Williams was the sole agent of Providence and Warwick, to procure a new charter for these two towns. It seems to have been admitted that the commission of Coddington, vacated the previous charter.—STAPLES. *Annals of Providence*, p. 82.]

¹John Hazel, was the old man who was imprisoned in Boston, for expressing sympathy for John Clarke and his associates, and who died before he had reached his home.

*To the honored General Court of the Massachusetts Colony now
assembled at Boston.*

October, 1651.¹

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

Although it be true yet it pleased this honored Government, now many years since to pass a sentence of banishment upon me, which sentence and the consequences (bitter afflictions and miseries, losses, sorrows and hardships) I have humbly desired (through the help of the most High) to endure with a quiet and patient mind.

Yet, may it please you favorably to remember, that at my last arrival from my native country, I presented this honored Government with letters from many of your noble and honorable friends, then of the Parliament of England, lamenting differences and persuading moderation, if not reconcilment and pacification.

Please you to remember that ever since the time of my exile I have been (through God's help) a professed and known servant to this colony and all the colonies of the English in peace and war, so that scarce a week hath passed but some way or other I have been used as instrumental to the peace and spreading of the English plantings in this country.

In the Pequot troubles, receiving letters from this Government, I hazarded my life into extreme dangers, by laboring to prevent the league between the Pequots and the Narragansetts, and to work a league between the English and the Narragansetts, which work as an agent from this colony and all the English in the land, I (through help

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. iv. 471.

Probably written shortly before Mr. Williams embarked for England, which was in November, 1651.

from God) effected. The fruit thereof (as our much honored Mr. Winthrop, deceased, wrote to me) hath been peace to the English ever since.

At present let me not offend you in saying that I pass not only as a private passenger, but as a messenger and agent to the high Court of the Parliament of England in the name of my neighbors, the English, occasioned by the late grant obtained by Mr. Coddington for Rhode Island.

In all which respects I humbly pray, yet (notwithstanding the former sentence) I may find yet civility and courtesy from the English of the Massachusetts colony, yet I (inoffensively behaving myself) may inoffensively and without molestation, pass through your jurisdiction¹ as a stranger for a night, to the ship, and so (if God so please) may land again, from the land of our nativity.

But some may say, you are an opposite to the way or worship, and beside you go as an adversary, with complaints against us for the town of Warwick.

To the first, I humbly pray it may be remembered, that not only I, but the many millions of millions of our Father Adam's children, (which are as the sand upon the seashore) are not of your persuasion, yea and many thousands of the poor remnant of God's children abroad, are at lamentable difference with you and themselves as to the

¹ It was not without considerable molestation and embarrassment from the authorities and people of Massachusetts, that Mr. Williams was allowed to pass through their territory for the purpose of taking ship for England. He alludes to these in his subsequent letters, though he furnishes us with no means of judging of their nature or operation. Though no longer in any degree able either to

harm the orthodoxy or disturb the peace of the colony, yet the authorities were opposed to the objects of his mission, and it may be, dreaded the representations, which the envoys from Rhode Island had it in their power to make to the government of the mother country of the condition of New England."—GAMMELL, *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 143.

worship of God in Christ Jesus. I add, who knows but upon humble and Christian debatements and agitations, not only I, but your honored selves, may yet see cause to put our mouths in the dust together, as touching the present controversies about the Christian worship.

To the second, I humbly and truly answer, yet if it please this honored Court to depute two or three of yourselves to receive and debate mine answer to this objection, I hope (through God's assistance) to make it apparent, yet I go not as an enemy to the Massachusetts, but as a professed instrument of a peaceable and honorable end of the sad controversy, and as an humble servant, rather than an enemy, to this honored Government of the Massachusetts.

I am unworthy, yet desire to be your humble servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The Deputies think meet to grant this petition, viz.: liberty to Mr. Williams to pass through our jurisdiction to England, provided he carry himself inoffensively according to his promise, with reference to the consent of our honored magistrates.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Clerk.*

*For my honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, at his house
at Pequot, in New England.*

From Sir Henry Vane's at Whitehall,
20. 2. 52. (to called,) [20th April, 1652.]¹

KIND SIR,—'Tis near two in the morning, yet a line of my dearest remembrance to your loving self and yours, from whom I have received so many loving lines continually. Our old friend Col. Humphries is gone, and lately also Col. Cooke: yet blessed be God we live, and through the jaws of death are landed safe, and behold the wonders, the *Magnalia* and *Miracula Dei* in England. I have sent a large narration, both concerning Old England affairs and New, to Providence. I hope and desire you may see it. Mr. Peters is well at Whitehall. I have often been with him, he tells me he hath but that 200*li* per year which the Parliament gave him, whereof he allows four score per annum to his wife. Your brother Stephen is a great man for soul liberty. I have mentioned you to Sir Henry Vane, who wishes you were in our colony; touching which you will see *Vestigia Dei* in my narration. At present I pray your acceptance of my poor papers, and tell you that I more and more desire to be ever

Yours, in Christ Jesus,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My kind love to Mr. Stanton and other loving friends.

¹ 4 *Majs. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi, p. 286.

At Mr. Davis's his house, at the Checkers, in St. Martin's, or at Sir Henry Vane's, at Whitehall. 8th, 7, 52. (so called.) [September 8, 1652.]¹

To my dear and faithful friend, Mr. Gregory Dexter, at Providence, in New England, these.

My dear and faithful friend, to whom, with the dearest, I humbly wish more and more of the light and love of Him who is invisible, God blessed for evermore in the face of Jesus Christ. It hath pleased God so to engage me in divers skirmishes against the priests, both of Old and New England, so that I have occasioned using the help of printer men, unknown to me, to long for my old friend. So it hath pleased God to hold open an open desire of preaching and printing wonderfully against Romish and English will-worship. At this present, the devil rageth and clamors in petitions and remonstrances from the stationers and others to the Parliament, and all cry, "shut up the press." The stationers and others have put forth "The Beacon Fired," and "The Second Beacon Fired;" and some friends of yours have put forth "The Beacon Quenched," not yet extant.

Sir, many friends have frequently, with much love, inquired after you. Mr. Warner is not yet come with my letters: they put into Barnstable. She came by wagon by land, but he goes with the ship to Bristol, and, indeed, in this dangerous war with the Dutch, the only safe trading is to Bristol, or those parts, for up along the channel, in London way, is the greatest danger, for although our fleets be abroad, and take many French and Dutch, yet they sometimes catch up some of ours.

By my public letters, you will see how we wrestle, and

¹ KNOWLES' *Mem. Roger Williams*, p. 253.

how we are like yet to wrestle in the hopes of an end. Praised be the Lord, we are preserved, the nation is preserved, the Parliament sits, God's people are secure, too secure. A great opinion is, that the kingdom of Christ is risen, and (Rev. 11 :) "the kingdoms of the earth are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." Others have fear of the slaughter of the witnesses yet approaching. Divers friends, of all sorts, here, long to see you, and wonder you come not over. For myself, I had hopes to have got away by this ship, but I see now the mind of the Lord to hold me here one year longer. It is God's mercy, his very great mercy, that we have obtained this interim encouragement from the Council of State, that you may cheerfully go on in the name of a colony, until the controversy is determined. The determination of it, Sir, I fear, will be a work of time, I fear longer than we have yet been here, for our adversaries threaten to make a last appeal to the Parliament, in case we get the day before the Council.¹

Sir, in this regard, and when my public business is over, I am resolved to begin my old law-suit, so that I have no thought of return until spring come twelve months. My duty and affection hath compelled me to acquaint my poor companion with it. I consider our many children, the danger of the seas, and enemies, and therefore I write not

¹ The General Assembly which met in Providence, in October following, directed a letter to be sent to Mr. Williams, thanking him, "for his care and diligence, to watch all opportunities to promote their peace;" and if it was the pleasure of the government to renew their charter that they would "appoint and empower yourself to come

over as Governor of this colony, for the space of one year."—*R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 248.

On the 2d of October the Council of State gave an order and wrote letters to vacate Mr. Coddington's commission, and to confirm their former charter, which was sent over by William Dyre.—*Backus, Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 277.

positively for her, only I acquaint her with our affairs. I tell her, joyful I should be of her being here with me, until our state affairs were ended, and I freely leave her to wait upon the Lord for direction, and according as she finds her spirit free and cheerful, to come or stay. If it please the Lord to give her a free spirit to cast herself upon the Lord, I doubt not of your love and faithful care, in any thing she hath occasion to use your help, concerning our children and affairs, during our absence; but I conclude, whom have I in heaven or earth but thee, and so humbly and thankfully say in the Lord's pleasure, as only and infinitely best and sweetest.

Abundance of love remembered from abundance of friends to your dear self and your dearest.

My love to your cousin Clemence, and all desire love, especially our godly friends.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For my much honored kind friend, Mistress Sadleir, at Stondon, Puckridge, these.

From my lodgings near St. Martin's, at Mr. Davis his house, at the sign of the Swan.

[No date; London, 1652.]¹

MY MUCH HONORED FRIEND, MRS. SADLEIR,²—The never-dying honor and respect which I owe to that dear and honorable root and his branches, and, amongst the rest, to your much honored self, have emboldened me, once

¹ ELTON, *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 96.

²Amidst his engrossing and important occupations, while in England, Mr Williams did not forget the family of his former benefactor, Sir Edward Coke. The above letter and the two letters

which follow, to Mrs. Sadleir, the daughter of Sir Edward, were obtained by the late Rev. Dr. Elton while in England, and first appeared in his *Life of Roger Williams*.—PROVIDENCE, 1853, 12mo.

more, to enquire after your dear husband's and your life, and health, and welfare. This last winter I landed, once more, in my native country, being sent over from some parts of New England with some addresses to the Parliament.

My very great business, and my very great straits of time, and my very great journey homeward to my dear yoke-fellow and many children, I greatly fear will not permit me to present my ever-obliged duty and service to you, at Stondon, especially if it please God that I may despatch my affairs to depart with the ships within this fortnight. I am, therefore, humbly bold to crave your favorable consideration, and pardon, and acceptance, of these my humble respects and remembrances. It hath pleased the Most High to carry me on eagles' wings, through mighty labors, mighty hazards, mighty sufferings, and to vouchsafe to use, so base an instrument—as I humbly hope—to glorify himself, in many of my trials and sufferings, both amongst the English and barbarians.

I have been formerly, and since I landed, occasioned to take up the two-edged sword of God's Spirit, the word of God, and to appear in public in some contests against the ministers of Old and New England, as touching the true ministry of Christ and the soul freedoms of the people. Since I landed, I have published two or three things, and have a large discourse at the press, but 'tis controversial, with which I will not trouble your meditations; only I crave the boldness to send you a plain and peaceable discourse, of my own personal experiments, which, in a letter to my dear wife—upon the occasion of her great sickness near death—I sent her, being absent myself amongst the Indians. And being greatly obliged to Sir Henry Vane, junior—once Governor of New England—and his

lady, I was persuaded to publish it in her name, and humbly to present your honorable hands with one or two of them. I humbly pray you to cast a serious eye on the holy Scriptures, on which the examinations are grounded. I could have dressed forth the matter like some sermons which, formerly, I used to pen. But the Father of lights hath long since shown me the vanity and foul-deceit of such points and flourishes. I desire to know nothing, to profess nothing, but the Son of God, the King of souls and consciences; and I desire to be more thankful for a reproof for ought I affirm than for applause and commendation. I have been oft glad in the wilderness of America, to have been reprov'd for going in a wrong path, and to be directed by a naked Indian boy in my travels. How much more should we rejoice in the wounds of such as we hope love us in Christ Jesus, than in the deceitful kisses of soul-deceiving and soul-killing friends.

My much honored friend, that man of honor, and wisdom; and piety, your dear father, was often pleased to call me his son; and truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church and ceremonies, and bishops, beyond the conscience of your dear Father. I say it was as bitter as death to me, when I rode Windsor way, to take ship at Bristow, and saw Stoke House, where the blessed man was; and I then durst not acquaint him with my conscience, and my flight. But how many thousand times since have I had honorable and precious remembrance of his person, and the life, the writings, the speeches, and the examples of that glorious light. And I may truly say, that beside my natural inclination to study and activity, his example, instruction, and encouragement, have

spurred me on to a more than ordinary, industrious, and patient course in my whole course hitherto.

What I have done and suffered—and I hope for the truth of God according to my conscience—in Old and New England, I should be a fool in relating, for I desire to say, not to King David—as once Mephibosheth—but to King Jesus, ‘What is thy servant, that thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog?’ And I would not tell yourself of this, but that you may acknowledge some beams of his holy wisdom and goodness, who hath not suffered all your own and your dear father’s smiles to have been lost upon so poor and despicable an object. I confess I have many adversaries, and also many friends, and divers eminent. It hath pleased the general himself to send for me, and to entertain many discourses with me at several times; which, as it magnifies his christian nobleness and courtesy, so much more doth it magnify *His* infinite mercy and goodness, and wisdom, who hath helped me, poor worm, to sow that seed in doing and suffering—I hope for God—that as your honorable father was wont to say, he that shall harrow what I have sown, must rise early. And yet I am a worm and nothing, and desire only to find my all in the blood of an holy Savior, in whom I desire to be

Your honored,

Most thankful, and faithful servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.¹

My humble respects presented to Mr. Sadleir.

¹ “Mr. Williams,” writes Prof. GAMMELL, “spent a number of weeks at Belleau, the beautiful estate of Sir Henry Vane where he doubtless often mingled

in that company of kindred minds, who used so frequently to assemble to discuss with their illustrious leader, the deep questions of theology, or to devise plans

From Mrs. Sadleir to Roger Williams.

MR. WILLIAMS,—Since it hath pleased God to make the prophet David's complaint ours (Ps. lxxix.): "O God, the heathen," &c., and that the Apostle St. Peter has so long ago foretold, in his second epistle, the second chapter, by whom these things should be occasioned, I have given over reading many books, and, therefore, with thanks, have returned yours. Those that I now read, besides the Bible, are, first, the late King's book; Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; Reverend Bishop Andrew's Sermons, with his other divine meditations; Dr. Jer. Taylor's works; and Dr. Tho. Jackson upon the Creed. Some of these my dear father was a great admirer of, and would often call them the glorious lights of the church of England. These lights shall be my guide; I wish they may be yours: for your new lights that are so much cried up, I believe, in the conclusion, they will prove but dark lanterns: therefore I dare not meddle with them.

Your friend in the old way,

ANNE SADLEIR.

for the happiness and security of the perilled and distracted commonwealth. He was in habits of intimate association with Cromwell, who discussed with him the affairs of the State, and drew forth from him his views of the Indians, and his singular adventures among them, in the wilds of New England; with Har-

rison, the Major-General of the army; with Laurence, the Lord President of the Council of State; and with many others in Parliament, and at the helm of public affairs. He also formed an intimate acquaintance with Milton, who was then Latin Secretary of the Council."—*Life of Roger Williams*, p. 149.

*For his much honored, kind friend, Mrs. Anne Sadleir, at Stondon, in Hartfordshire, near Puckridge.*¹

[No date.]

MY MUCH HONORED, KIND FRIEND, MRS. SADLEIR,—My humble respects premised to your much honored self, and Mr. Sadleir, humbly wishing you the saving knowledge and assurance of that life which is eternal, when this poor minute's dream is over. In my poor span of time, I have been oft in the jaws of death, sickening at sea, shipwrecked on shore, in danger of arrows, swords and bullets: and yet, methinks, the most high and most holy God hath reserved me for some service to his most glorious and eternal majesty.

I think, sometimes, in this common shipwreck, of mankind, wherein we all are either floating or sinking, despairing or struggling for life, why should I ever faint in striving, as Paul saith, in hopes to save myself, to save others—to call, and cry, and ask, what hope of saving, what hope of life, and of the eternal shore of mercy? Your last letter, my honored friend, I received as a bitter sweetening—as all, that is under the sun, is—sweet in that I hear from you, and that you continue striving for life eternal; bitter, in that we differ about the way, in the midst of the dangers and distresses.

O blessed be the hour that ever we saw the light, and came into this vale of tears, if yet, at last, in any way, we may truly see our woeful loss and shipwreck, and gain the shore of life and mercy. You were pleased to direct me to divers books, for my satisfaction. I have carefully endeavoured to get them, and some I have gotten; and upon my

¹ELTON, *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 99.

reading, I purpose, with God's help, to render you an ingenious and candid account of my thoughts, result, &c. At present, I am humbly bold to pray your judicious and loving eye to one of mine.

'Tis true, I cannot but expect your distaste of it; and yet my cordial desire of your soul's peace here, and eternal, and of contributing the least mite toward it, and my humble respects to that blessed root of which you spring, force me to tender my acknowledgments, which if received or rejected, my cries shall never cease that one eternal life may give us meeting, since this present minute hath such bitter partings.

For the scope of this *rejoinder*, if it please the Most High to direct your eye to a glance on it, please you to know, that at my last being in England, I wrote a discourse entitled, "*The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience.*" I bent my charge against Mr. Cotton especially, your standard bearer of New English ministers. That discourse he since answered, and calls his book, "*The Bloody Tenent made white in the Blood of the Lamb.*"¹ This rejoinder of mine, as I humbly hope, unwasheth his washings, and proves that in soul matters no weapons but soul weapons are reaching and effectual.

I am your most unworthy servant, yet unfeignedly respectful,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹On a former occasion when in England, Mr. Williams found leisure to prepare for the press his rejoinder to Mr. Cotton's answer to his "*Bloody Tenent of Persecution,*" which he entitled "*The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, by Mr. Cotton's Endeavour to wash it white.*" About the same time he also published

"*Hireling Ministry none of Christ's; or, a Discourse touching the propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ,*" and his "*Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health, and their Preservatives.*" The former has been reprinted by the Narragansett Club, vol. iii; the latter by S. S. Rider, Providence, 1863.

Mrs. Sadleir in reply to Roger Williams.

SIR,—I thank God my blessed parents bred me up in the old and best religion, and it is my glory that I am a member of the Church of England, as it was when all the reformed churches gave her the right hand. When I cast mine eye upon the frontispiece of your book, and saw it entitled “The Bloody Tenent,” I durst not adventure to look into it, for fear it should bring into my memory the much blood that has of late been shed, and which I would fain forget; therefore I do, with thanks, return it. I cannot call to mind any blood shed for conscience:—some few that went about to make a rent in our once well-governed church were punished, but none suffered death. But this I know, that since it has been left to every man’s conscience to fancy what religion he list, there has more christian blood been shed than was in the ten persecutions. And some of that blood, will, I fear, cry till the day of judgment. But you know what the Scripture says, that when there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes,—but what became of that, the sacred story will tell you.

Thus entreating you to trouble me no more in this kind, and wishing you a good journey to your charge in New Providence, I rest

YOUR FRIEND IN THE OLD AND BEST WAY.

From Roger Williams to Mrs. Sadleir.

[No date. The winter of 1652-3.]¹

MY HONORED, KIND FRIEND, MRS. SADLEIR,—I greatly rejoice to hear from you, although now an opposite to me, even in the highest points of Heaven and eternity.

Two things your lines express:—First, your confidence in your own old way, &c.

Second. Civility and gentleness in that—not being pleased to accept my respects and labors presented—yet you gently, with thanks and your reason, return them. I shall not be so sorry you differ from me, if yet the Father of spirits please to vouchsafe you a spirit of christian searching and examination. In hope of which I shall humbly consider of the particulars of your letter.

1. That you think an heap of timber or pile of stones to be God's sanctuary now. (Ps. lxxix. 1.) In Christ's esteem, and in gospel language, that you think those to be false teachers and prophets (2 Pet. ii. 1.) who are not—after the old way—distinguished by the canonical colors of white, red, black, &c.

That you admire the king's book, and Bp. Andrews his sermons, and Hooker's Polity, &c., and profess them to be your lights and guides, and desire them mine, and believe the new lights will prove dark lanterns, &c. I am far from wondering at it, for all this have I done myself, until the Father of Spirits mercifully persuaded mine to swallow down no longer without chewing: to chew no longer without tasting; to taste no longer without begging the Holy Spirit of God to enlighten and enliven mine against

¹ ELTON, *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 102.

the fear of men, tradition of fathers, or the favor or custom of any men or times.

2. I now find that the church and sanctuary of Christ Jesus consists not of dead but of living stones. (1 Pet. ii. 3, 4.) Is not a parish or a national church forced—to the pretended bed of Christ's worship—by laws and swords? (Cant. i. 16.)

His true lovers are volunteers, born of his Spirit, the now only nation and royal priesthood (1 Pet. ii., Ps. cx.) I find that, in respect of ministerial function and office, such ministers, not only popish but protestant, not only episcopal but presbyterian, not only presbyterian but independent also, are all of them, one as well as another, false prophets and teachers, so far as they are hirelings, and make a trade and living of preaching (John x.), as I have lately opened in my "Discourse of the Hireling Ministry none of Christ's."

3. I have read those books you mention, and the king's book, which commends two of them, Bishop Andrews's and Hooker's—yea, and a third also, Bishop Laud's: and as for the king, I knew his person, vicious, a swearer from his youth, and an oppressor and persecutor of good men (to say nothing of his own father), and the blood of so many hundred thousands English, Irish, Scotch, French, lately charged upon him. Against his and his blasphemous father's cruelties, your own dear father, and many precious men, shall rise up shortly and cry for vengeance.

4. But for the book itself—if it be his—and theirs you please to mention, and thousands more, not only protestants of several sects, but of some papists and jesuits also—famous for wordly repute, &c.—I have found them sharp and witty, plausible and delightful, devout and pathetic. And I have

been amazed to see the whole world of our forefathers, wise and gallant, wondering after the glory of the Romish learning and worship. (Rev. xiii.) But amongst them all whom I have so diligently read and heard, how few express the simplicity, the plainness, the meekness, and true humility of the learning of the Son of God.

5. But, at last, it pleased the God and Father of mercies to persuade mine heart of the merely formal, customary, and traditional professions of Christ Jesus, with which the world is filled. I see that the Jews believe Christ Jesus was a deceiver, because he came not with external pomps and excellency.

The Turks—so many millions of them—prefer their Mahomet before Christ Jesus, even upon such carnal and wordly respects, and yet avouch themselves to be the only Muselmanni or true believers. The catholics account us heretics, diabolos, &c. ; and why? but because we worship not such a golden Christ and his glorious vicar and lieutenant. The several sects of common protestants content themselves with a traditional worship, and boast they are no Jews, no Turks, (Matt. vii. 21, 22.) nor catholics, and yet forget their own formal dead faith, (2 Tim. iii. 9.) dead hope, dead joys, and yet, *nescio vos*, I know you not, depart from me, which shall be thundered out to many gallant professors and confidants, who have held out a lamp and form of religion, yea, and possibly of godliness too, and yet have denied the power and life of it.

Therefore, my much-honored friend, while you believe the darkness of the new lights, and profess your confidence, and desire of my walking with you in the old way: I most humbly pray so much Berean civility at your ladyship's hands as to search and remember—

1. First, the Lord Christ's famous resolution of that question put to him, as touching the number that shall be saved (Luke xiii. 24), "Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many shall seek to enter, and shall not be able."

2ndly. There is an absolute necessity (not so of a true order of ministry, baptism, &c., but) of a true regeneration and new birth, without which it is impossible to enter into or to see the kingdom of God. (John iii. &c.)

3rdly. As to the religion and the worship of God, the common religion of the whole world, and the nations of it, it is but customary and traditional, from father to son, from which (old ways, &c.), traditions, Christ Jesus, delivers his, not with gold and silver, but with his precious blood. (1 Pet. i. 18, 19.)

4thly. Without spiritual and diligent examination of our hearts, it is impossible that we can attain true solid joy and comfort, either in point of regeneration or worship, or whatever we do. (2 Cor. xiii. 5; Rom. xiv. 23.)

5thly. In the examination of both these—personal regeneration and worship—the hearts of all the children of men are most apt to cheat, and cozen, and deceive themselves; yea, and the wiser a man is, the more apt and willing he is to be deceived. (Jer. xvii. ; Gal. vi. ; 1 Cor. iii. 18.)

6thly. It is impossible there should be a true search, without the Holy Spirit, who searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. (Rom. viii. ; Ps. cxliii. 10.)

Lastly. God's Spirit persuadeth the hearts of his true servants: First, to be willing to be searched by him, which they exceedingly beg of him, with holy fear of self-deceit and hypocrisy.

Second. To be led by him in the way everlasting: (Ps. cxxxix.), whether it seem old in respect of institution, or

new in respect of restoration. This I humbly pray for your precious soul, of the God and Father of mercies, even your eternal joy and salvation. Earnestly desirous to be in the old way, which is the narrow way, which leads to life, which few find.

Your most humble, though most unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

“My honored Friend, since you please not to read mine, let me pray leave to request your reading of one book of your own authors. I mean the “Liberty of Propheying,” penned by (so called) Dr. Jer. Taylor. In the which is excellently asserted the toleration of different religions, yea, in a respect, that of the papists themselves, which is a new way of soul freedom, and yet is the old way of Christ Jesus, as all his holy Testament declares.

I also humbly wish that you may please to read over impartially Mr. Milton’s¹ answer to the king’s book.

Mrs. Sadleir in reply to Roger Williams.

MR. WILLIAMS,—I thought my first letter would have given you so much satisfaction, that, in that kind, I should never have heard of you any more; but it seems you have a face of brass, so that you cannot blush. But since you press me to it, I must let you know, as I did before (Ps. lxxix.), that the Prophet David there complains that the heathen had defiled the holy temple, and made Jerusalem

¹ *Eikonoklastes (the Image Breaker), in Answer to Eikon Baslike.* London: 1649.

a heap of stones. And our blessed Saviour, when he whipped the buyers and sellers out of the temple, told them that they had made his Father's house a den of thieves. Those were but material temples, and commanded by God to be built, and his name there to be worshipped. The living temples are those that the same prophet, in the psalm before mentioned (verse the 2nd and 3rd), "The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to the fowls of the air, and the flesh of thy saints to the beasts of the land. Their blood have they shed like water," &c. And these were the living temples whose loss the prophet so much laments; and had he lived in these times, he would have doubled these lamentations, For the foul and false aspersions you have cast upon that king, of ever-blessed memory, Charles, the martyr, I protest I trembled when I read them, and none but such a villain as yourself would have wrote them.

Wise Solomon has taught me another lesson in his 24th of his Proverbs, at 21st verse, to fear God and the King, and not to meddle with them that are given to change. Mark well that. The 8th of Eccl., verse the 2nd, "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard to the oath of God." Verse the 20th of the 10th chap., "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought;" and, if I be not mistaken, the fifth commandment is the crown commandment. Rom. xiii., the 1st and 2nd verses, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for," &c.; with many more places to the same purpose. Thus, you see, I have the law, with the Old and New Testament, on my side.

But it has been the lot of the best kings to lie under the lash of ill tongues. Witness blessed David, who was a man after God's own heart, cursed by wicked Shimei, his

own subject, and called a man of blood; and good Hezekiah was railed on by a foul-mouthed Rabshakeh; but I do not remember that they were commended in any place of scripture, for so doing. For the blood you mention, which has been shed in these times, which you would father upon the late king, there is a book called the History of Independency—a book worth your reading—that will tell you by whom all this christian blood has been shed. If you cannot get that, there is a sermon in print of one Paul Knells, the text the first of Amos, verse the second, that will inform you.

For Milton's book, that you desire I should read, if I be not mistaken, that is he that has wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce; and, if report says true, he had, at that time, two or three wives living. This, perhaps, were good doctrine in New England; but it is most abominable in Old England. For his book that he wrote against the late king that you would have me read, you should have taken notice of God's judgment upon him, who stroke him with blindness, and, as I have heard, he was fain to have the help of one Andrew Marvell,¹ or else he could not have finished that most accursed libel. God has began his judgment upon him here—his punishment will be hereafter in hell. But have you seen the answer to it? If you can get it, I assure you it is worth your reading.

¹It has before been stated in a note that Milton was the Latin Secretary to Cromwell. Andrew Marvell, the poet, was assistant to Milton. He thereby enjoyed his intimate friendship, and was one of the first to recognize his genius. "When Paradise Lost was published, it was valued but by few, as no more than a lifeless piece, till Mr. Marvell and Dr. Barron publickly espoused it, each in a judicious

Poem."—COOKE'S *Life of Marvell*, 1726.

Milton, it is true, repudiated his wife, (Miss Powell) on the grounds of desertion, and in justification of his course, published four tracts, the first was entitled "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." The others appertained to the same subject. A reconciliation subsequently took place.

I have also read Taylor's book of the Liberty of Prophesying; though it please not me, yet I am sure it does you, or else I [know]* you [would]* not have wrote to me to have read it. I say, it and you would make a good fire. But have you seen his Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial? I assure that is both worth your reading and practice. Bishop Laud's book against Fisher I have read long since; which, if you have not done, let me tell you that he has deeply wounded the pope; and, I believe, howsoever he be slighted, he will rise a saint, when many seeming ones, such as you are, will rise devils.

I cannot conclude without putting you in mind how dear a lover and great an admirer my father was of the liturgy of the church of England, and would often say, no reform church had the like. He was constant to it, both in his life and at his death. I mean to walk in his steps; and, truly, when I consider who were the composers of it, and how they sealed the truth of it with their blood, I cannot but wonder why it should now of late be thus contemned. By what I have now writ, you know how I stand affected. I will walk as directly to heaven as I can, in which place, if you will turn from being a rebel, and fear God and obey the king, there is hope I may meet you there; howsoever, trouble me no more with your letters, for they are very troublesome to her that wishes you in the place from whence you came.¹

ANNE SADLEIR.

Near the direction, on the outside, of Williams's first letter, there is the following note by Mrs. Sadleir:—

“This Roger Williams, when he was a youth, would, in

* These words are not in the MS. ger Williams and Mrs. Sadleir, is copied
¹This correspondence, between Ro- from the original manuscripts in the li-

a short hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such liking to him that he sent him in to Sutton's Hospital, and he was the second that was placed there; full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the king, and his country. I leave his letters, that, if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome."¹



To the Towns of Providence and Warwick.

From Sir Henry Vane's, at Balleau in
Lincolnshire, April 1, '53. (so called.)² }

MY DEAR AND LOVING FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS OF PROVIDENCE AND WARWICK,—Our noble friend, Sir Henry Vane,³ having the navy of England mostly depending

brary of Trinity College, Cambridge. Like many of Williams's letters they are without date; but the allusions to his works, and other circumstances, clearly show that they were written during his second visit, in 1652-3. The writer has examined the originals of the letters; and for the knowledge of their existence he is indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. George Bancroft, author of the History of the United States, and late minister to Great Britain.—*Note by Dr. Elton.*

"These letters," writes Dr. ELTON, "present a lively picture of the influence of party spirit upon social intercourse, at that remarkable period. The gratitude and humility of Williams are finely contrasted with the cold repulsiveness, and, at last, rude insolence of his corre-

pondent, whose final letter pours forth as much venom as could well flow from a lady's pen. The concentrated essence of it, in her postscript, reminds us of the mutation in human affairs. The rebel she denounces has acquired a nobler fame than even that of the acute lawyer, her father; while, if her own name is rescued from oblivion, she owes it to her accidental connexion with the man she consigns to Tyburn."—*Life of Roger Williams*, p. 109.

²BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists in New England*, vol. i. p. 285; KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 258.

³Sir Henry Vane, son of Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State under James I., and Charles I. Joining the Puritans, he followed them to Boston, where he ar-

on his care, and going down to the navy at Portsmouth, I was invited by them both to accompany his lady to Lincolnshire, where I shall yet stay, as I fear, until the ship is gone. I must, therefore, pray your pardon, that by the post, I send this to London. I hope it may have pleased the Most High Lord of sea and land to bring Captain Christen's ship and dear Mr. Dyre unto you, and with him the council's letters, which answer the petition Sir Henry Vane and myself drew up, and the council, by Sir Henry's mediation granted us, for the confirmation of the charter, until the determination of the controversy. This determination you may please to understand, is hindered by two main obstructions. The first is, the mighty war with the Dutch, which makes England and Holland, and the nations tremble. This hath made the parliament set Sir Henry Vane and two or three more as commissioners to manage the war, which they have done, with much engaging the name of God with them, who hath appeared in helping sixty of ours against almost three hundred of their

rived in 1635 and the following year was chosen Governor. A bitter religious controversy sprang up during his term of office. He had a horror of all forms of bigotry, and had no sympathy with the attacks of the clergy on Mrs. Hutchinson. A strong opposition under the lead of Winthrop was organized against him, and at the next election he was defeated. In 1637, he returned to England and was elected to parliament. He was a zealous opponent of the royalists. In 1648 he led the minority in parliament which favored the rejection of the terms of settlement offered by the king. In 1649, he became a member of the council of State, under Cromwell, which

was entrusted with the executive government of the nation. The dissolution of the long parliament in 1653, brought Vane and Cromwell into open conflict. After the restoration he was arrested on the charge of high treason and committed to the Tower. His condemnation soon followed and he was executed on the 14th of June, 1662. His services to New England were important, and it was in a great measure due to him, that the charter for Rhode Island was procured. Roger Williams, declared that his name ought ever to be held in honored remembrance by her people.—*Life by UPHAM*, in *SPARKS' American Biography*, vol. iv.

men-of-war and, perchance, to the sinking and taking, about one hundred of theirs, and but one of ours, which was sunk by our own men.

Our second obstruction is the opposition of our adversaries, Sir Arthur Heselrig, and Colonel Fenwicke—who hath married his daughter—Mr. Winslow, and Mr. Hopkins, both in great place; and all the friends they can make in parliament and council, and all the priests, both presbyterian and independent; so that we stand as two armies, ready to engage, observing the motions and postures each of the other, and yet shy each of other. Under God, the sheet-anchor of our ship is Sir Henry, who will do as the eye of God leads him; and he faithfully promised me that he would observe the motion of our New England business, while I staid some ten weeks with his lady in Lincolnshire. Besides, here are great thoughts and preparation for a new parliament—some of our friends are apt to think another parliament will more favor us and our cause than this has done. You may please to put my condition into your soul's cases; remember I am a father and a husband. I have longed earnestly to return with the last ship, and with these; yet I have not been willing to withdraw my shoulders from the burthen, lest it pinch others, and may fall heavy upon all; except you are pleased to give me a discharge. If you conceive it necessary for me still to attend this service, pray you to consider if it be not convenient that my poor wife be encouraged to come over to me, and to wait together, on the good pleasure of God, for the end of this matter. You know my many weights hanging on me, how my own place stands, and how many reasons I have to cause me to make haste, yet I would not lose their estates, peace, and liberty, by leaving hastily. I write to

my dear wife, my great desire of her coming while I stay, yet left it to the freedom of her spirit, because of the many dangers. Truly, at present the seas are dangerous, but not comparably so much, nor likely to be, because of the late defeat of the Dutch, and their present sending to us offers of peace.

My dear friends, although it pleased God himself, by many favors, to encourage me, yet please you to remember, that no man can stay here as I do, having a present employment there, without much self-denial, which I beseech God for more, and for you also, that no private respects, or gains, or quarrels, may cause you to neglect the public and common safety, peace and liberties. I beseech the blessed God to keep fresh in your thoughts what he hath done for Providence Plantations.

My dear respects to yourselves, wives, and children. I beseech the eternal God to be seen amongst you ; so prays your most faithful and affectionate friend and servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

P. S. My love to all my Indian friends.

[Although the objects of Mr. Williams's mission to England, were not fully accomplished, he felt that his presence was needed at home, that he might, if possible, bring the discordant towns into harmonious co-operation. He accordingly left the remainder of his business in the hands of John Clarke, his friend and associate, and early in the following summer (1654), he returned. He landed at Boston, being furnished with an order from the Lord Protector's Council, requiring the government of Massachusetts to allow him in future to embark or land in their territories without molestation. Williams brought with him a letter from Sir Henry Vane, addressed to the inhabitants of the colony of Rhode Island, which, from the action of the town of Providence and the letters of Williams in relation to it is here inserted.]

From Sir Henry Vane, to the Inhabitants of the Colony of Rhode Island.

BELLEAU, the 8th of February, 1653-4.¹

LOVING AND CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—I could not refuse this bearer, Mr. Roger Williams, my kind friend and ancient acquaintance, to be accompanied with these few lines from myself to you, upon his return to Providence colony; though, perhaps, my private and retired condition, which the Lord, of his mercy, hath brought me into, might have argued strongly enough for my silence; but, indeed, something I hold myself bound to say to you, out of the Christian love I bear you, and for his sake whose name is called upon by you and engaged in your behalf. How is it that there are such divisions amongst you? Such headiness, tumults, disorders, injustice? The noise echoes into the ears of all, as well friends as enemies, by every return of ships from those parts. Is not the fear and awe of God amongst you to restrain? Is not the love of Christ in you, to fill you with yearning bowels, one towards another, and constrain you not to live to yourselves, but to him that died for you, yea, and is risen again? Are there no wise men amongst you? No public self-denying spirits, that at least, upon the grounds of public safety, equity and prudence, can find out some way or means of union and reconciliation for you amongst yourselves, before you become a prey to common enemies, especially since this state, by the last letter from the Council of State, give you your freedom, as supposing a better use would have been made of it than there hath been? Surely, when kind and simple remedies are applied and are ineffectual, it speaks loud and broadly the

¹*Rhode Island Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 285.

high and dangerous distempers of such a body, as if the wounds were incurable. But I hope better things from you, though I thus speak, and should be apt to think, that by commissioners agreed on and appointed on all parts, and on behalf of all interests, in a general meeting, such a union and common satisfaction might arise, as, through God's blessing, might put a stop to your growing breaches and distractions, silence your enemies, encourage your friends, honor the name of God, (which of late hath been much blasphemed, by reason of you,) and in particular, refresh and revive the sad heart of him who mourns over your present evils, as being your affectionate friend, to serve you in the Lord.

H. VANE.

*For my much honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at
Pequot.*

PROVIDENCE, July 12, 54. (so called,)¹

SIR,—I was humbly bold to salute you from our native country, and now, by the gracious hand of the Lord, once more saluting this wilderness, I crave your wonted patience to my wonted boldness, who ever honored and loved, and ever shall, the root and branches of your dear name. How joyful, therefore, was I to hear of your abode as a stake and pillar in these parts, and of your healths, your own, Mrs. Winthrop, and your branches, although some sad mixtures we have had from the sad tidings (if true) of the late loss and cutting off of one of them.

¹ KNOWLES' *Life of Roger Williams*, p. 261.

Sir, I was lately upon the wing to have waited on you at your house. I had disposed all for my journey, and my staff was in my hand, but it pleased the Lord to interpose some impediments, so that I am compelled to a suspension for a season, and choose at present thus to visit you. I had no letters for you, but yours were well. I was at the lodgings of Major Winthrop and Mr. Peters, but I missed them. Your brother flourisheth in good esteem, and is eminent for maintaining the freedom of the conscience as to matters of belief, religion and worship. Your father Peters² preacheth the same doctrine, though not so zealously as some years since, yet cries out against New-English rigidities and persecutions, their civil injuries and wrongs to himself, and their unchristian dealing with him, in excommunicating his distracted wife. All this he told me in his lodgings, at Whitehall, those lodgings which I was told were Canterbury's; but he himself told me, that that library wherein we were together, was Canterbury's, and given him by the Parliament. His wife lives from him not wholly, but much distracted. He tells me he had but two hundred a year, and he allowed her fourscore per annum of it. Surely, Sir, the most holy Lord is most wise in all the trials he exerciseth his people with. He told me that his affliction from his wife stirred him up to action abroad, and when success tempted him to pride, the bitterness in his bosom comforts was a cooler and a bridle to him.

Surely, Sir, your father, and all the people of God in England, formerly called *Puritanus*, *Anglicanus*, of late *Roundheads*, now the *Seſtarians*, (as more or less cut off from the parishes) are now in the saddle and at the helm, so high that *non datur descensus nisi cadendo*. Some cheer

² Mr. Winthrop had married a daughter of the Rev. Hugh Peters.

up their spirits with the impossibility of another fall or turn, so doth Major Gen. Harrison and Mr. Feake, and Mr. John Simson, now in Windsor Castle for preaching against this last change, and against the Protector, as an usurper, Richard III., &c. So did many think of the last Parliament, who were of the vote of fifty-six against priests and tithes, opposite to the vote of the fifty-four who were for them, at least for a while. Major Gen. Harrison was the second in the nation of late, when the loving General and himself joined against the former Long Parliament and dissolved them, but now being the head of the fifty-six party, he was confined by the Protector and Council, within five miles of his father's house, in Staffordshire. That sentence he not obeying, he told me (the day before my leaving London) he was to be sent prisoner into Harfordshire. Surely, Sir, he is a very gallant, most deserving, heavenly man, but most high flown for the kingdom of the saints, and the fifth monarchy now risen, and their sun never to set again, &c. Others, as to my knowledge, the Protector, Lord President Lawrence, and others at helm, with Sir Henry Vane, (retired into Lincolnshire, yet daily missed and courted for his assistance) are not so full of that faith of miracles, but still imagine changes and persecutions and the very slaughter of the witnesses, before that glorious morning so much desired of a worldly kingdom, if ever such a kingdom (as literally it is by so many expounded) be to arise in this present world and dispensation.

Sir, I know not how far your judgment hath concurred with the design against the Dutch. I must acknowledge my mourning for it, and when I heard of it, at Portsmouth, I confess I wrote letters to the Protector and President, from thence, as against a most uningenuous and unchristian

design, at such a time, when the world stood gazing at the so famous treaty for peace, which was then between the two States, and near finished when we set fail. Much I can tell you of the answer I had from Court, and I think of the answers I had from heaven, viz.: that the Lord would graciously retard us until the tidings of peace (from England) might quench the fire in the kindling of it.

Sir, I mourn that any of our parts were so madly injurious to trouble yours. I pity poor Sabando. I yet have hopes in God that we shall be more loving and peaceable neighbors. I had word from the Lord President to Portsmouth, that the Council had passed three letters as to our business. First, to encourage us; second, to our neighbor colonies not to molest us; third, in exposition of that word dominion, in the late frame of the government of England, viz.: that liberty of conscience should be maintained in all American plantations, &c.

Sir, a great man in America told me, that he thought New England would not bear it. I hope better, and that not only the necessity, but the equity, piety and Christianity of that freedom will more and more shine forth, not to licentiousness, (as all mercies are apt to be abused) but to the beauty of Christianity and the lustre of true faith in God and love to poor mankind, &c.

Sir, I have desires of keeping home. I have long had scruples of selling the natives aught but what may bring or tend to civilizing; I therefore neither brought, nor shall sell them, loose coats nor breeches. It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French and Dutch.¹

¹ It appears from this letter that Williams was used to practice the French and Dutch, and that he employed himself in the honorable office of an in-

The Secretary of the Council, (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages. Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a tyranny. I taught two young gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases and constant talk, &c. I have begun with mine own three boys, who labor besides; others are coming to me.

Sir, I shall rejoice to receive a word of your healths, of the Indian wars and to be ever yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I pray feal and fend the enclosed.

To the Town of Providence.

[PROVIDENCE, August, 1654.]¹

WELL-BELOVED FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS,—I am like a man in a great fog. I know not well how to steer. I

structor of youth. This occupation he doubtless resorted to for his own support. That he was pressed for money is evident from his letter to the town of Providence, written in August, 1654, in which he speaks of the straits he was put to for money to pay his expenses.

It is evident too, from the writings of Mr. Williams, that he was acquainted with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, as quotations from them are frequent in his letters. In the preface to his "Key," in speaking of the Indian languages, he says, "First others, (and myself) have conceived some of their words to hold affinity with the Hebrew." . . . "Yet

again, I have found a greater affinity of their language with the Greek tongue."

¹BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists of New England*, vol. i. p. 289. *R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 351.

Upon the return of Mr. Williams with the letter of Sir Henry Vane, he found matters in the colony in a very unfettled state, and was received with great coldness. He therefore wrote the above letter to the Town of Providence, in which he alludes in the most affecting terms to the sacrifices he had made in behalf of the colony, the people of which, he thought, had not appreciated his efforts.

fear to run upon the rocks at home, having had trials abroad. I fear to run quite backward, as men in a mist do, and undo all that I have been a long time undoing myself to do, viz. : to keep up the name of a people, a free people, not enslaved to the bondages and iron yokes of the great (both soul and body) oppressions of the English and barbarians about us, nor to the divisions and disorders within ourselves. Since I set the first step of any English foot into these wild parts, and have maintained a chargeable and hazardous correspondence with the barbarians, and spent almost five years' time with the state of England, to keep off the rage of the English against us, what have I reaped of the root of being the stepping-stone of so many families and towns about us, but grief, and sorrow, and bitterness? I have been charged with folly for that freedom and liberty which I have always stood for; I say liberty and equality, both in land and government. I have been blamed for parting with Moshassuck, and afterward Pawtuxet, (which were mine own as truly as any man's coat upon his back,) without reserving to myself a foot of land, or an inch of voice in any matter, more than to my servants and strangers. It hath been told me that I labored for a licentious and contentious people; that I have foolishly parted with town and colony advantages, by which I might have preserved both town and colony in as good order as any in the country about us. This, and ten times more, I have been censured for, and at this present am called a traitor by one party, against the state of England, for not maintaining the charter and the colony; and it is said I am as good as banished by yourselves, and that both sides wished that I might never have landed, that the fire of contention might have had no stop in burning. In-

deed, the words have been so sharp between myself and some lately, that at last I was forced to say, they might well silence all complaints if I once began to complain, who was unfortunately fetched and drawn from my employment, and sent to so vast distance from my family, to do your work of a high and costly nature, for so many days and weeks and months together, and there left to starve, or steal, or beg or borrow. But blessed be God, who gave me favor to borrow one while, and to work another, and thereby to pay your debts there, and to come over with your credit and honor, as an agent from you, who had, in your name, grappled with the agents and friends of all your enemies round about you. I am told that your opposites thought on me, and provided, as I may say, a sponge to wipe off your scores and debts in England, but that it was obstructed by yourselves, who rather meditated on means and new agents to be sent over, to cross what Mr. Clarke and I obtained. But, gentlemen, blessed be God, who faileth not, and blessed be his name for his wonderful PROVIDENCES, by which alone this town and colony, and that grand cause of TRUTH AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, hath been upheld to this day. And blessed be his name who hath again quenched so much of our fires hitherto, and hath brought your names and his own name thus far out of the dirt and scorn, reproach, &c. I find among yourselves and your opposites that of Solomon true, that the contentions of brethren (some that lately were so) are the bars of a castle, and not easily broken; and I have heard some of both sides zealously talking of undoing themselves by a trial in England. Truly, friends, I cannot but fear you lost a fair wind lately, when this town was sent to for its deputies, and you were not pleased to give an

overture unto the rest of the inhabitants about it ; yea, and when yourselves thought that I invited you to some conference tending to reconciliation, before the town should act in so fundamental a business, you were pleased to forestall that, so that being full of grief, shame and astonishment, yea, and fear that all that is now done, especially in our town of Providence, is but provoking the spirits of men to fury and desperation, I pray your leave to pray you to remember (that which I lately told your opposites) *only by pride cometh contention.* If there be humility on the one side, yet there is pride on the other, and certainly the eternal God will engage against the proud. I therefore pray you to examine, as I have done them, your proceedings in this first particular. Secondly, Love covereth a multitude of sins. Surely your charges and complaints each against other, have not hid nor covered any thing, as we use to cover the nakedness of those we love. If you will now profess not to have disfranchised humanity and love, but that, as David in another case, you will sacrifice to the common peace, and common safety, and common credit, that which may be said to cost you something, I pray your loving leave to tell you, that if I were in your foul's case, I would send unto your opposites such a line as this : "Neighbors, at the constant request, and upon the constant mediation which our neighbor Roger Williams, since his arrival, hath used to us, both for pacification and accommodation of our sad differences, and also upon the late endeavors in all the other towns for an union, we are persuaded to remove our obstruction, viz. : that paper of contention between us, and to deliver it into the hands of our aforesaid neighbor and to obliterate that order, which that paper did occasion. This removed, you may be pleased

to meet with, and debate freely, and vote in all matters with us, as if such grievances had not been amongst us. Secondly, if yet aught remain grievous, which we ourselves, by free debate and conference, cannot compose we offer to be judged and censured by four men, which out of any part of the colony you shall choose two, and we the other.¹

Gentlemen, I only add, that I crave your loving pardon to your bold but true friend.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*The Town of Providence to Sir Henry Vane.*²

[PREPARED BY ROGER WILLIAMS AT THE REQUEST OF THE TOWN.]

PROVIDENCE, August 27th, 1654.

SIR,—Although we are aggrieved at your late retirement from the helm of public affairs, yet we rejoice to reap the sweet fruits of your rest in your pious and loving lines, most seasonably sent unto us. Thus the sun, when he retires his brightness from the world, yet from under the very clouds we perceive his presence, and enjoy some light and heat and sweet refreshings. Sir, your letters were directed to all and every particular town of this Providence colony. Surely, Sir, among the many Providences of the

¹This letter is without date, but it was doubtless written just before the town meeting which took place late in August, 1654. It had the desired effect, and when the meeting took place, Mr. Williams had a full hearing of the case, when he was requested to write an answer to

Sir Henry Vane's letter. This letter, which follows, dated August 27th, 1654, is preserved among the records of the city of Providence. It is in Mr. Williams's hand writing and has all the characteristics of his style.

²*R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 235.

Most High, towards this town of Providence, and this Providence colony, we cannot but see apparently his gracious hand, providing your honorable self for so noble and true a friend to an outcast and despised people. From the first beginning of this Providence colony, occasioned by the banishment of some in this place from the Massachusetts, we say ever since to this very day, we have reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving kindness and favor towards us. Oh, Sir, whence, then, is it that you have bent your bow and shot your sharp and bitter arrows now against us? Whence is it that you charge us with divisions, disorders, &c.? Sir, we humbly pray your gentle acceptance of our two fold answer.

First, we have been greatly disturbed and distracted by the ambition and covetousness of some amongst us. Sir, we were in complete order, until Mr. Coddington, wanting that public, self-denying spirit which you commend to us in your letter, procured, by most untrue information, a monopoly of part of the colony, viz.: Rhode Island, to himself, and so occasioned our general disturbance and distractions. Secondly, Mr. Dyre, with no less want of a public spirit, being ruined by party contentions with Mr. Coddington, and being trusted to bring from England the letters from the Council of State for our reunitions, he hopes for a recruit to himself by other men's goods; and, contrary to the State's intentions and expressions, plungeth himself and some others in most unnecessary and unrighteous plundering, both of Dutch and French, and English also, to our great grief, who protested against such abuse of our power from England; and the end of it is to the shame and reproach of himself, and the very English name, as all these parts do witness.

Sir, our second answer is, (that we may not lay all the

load upon other men's backs,) that possibly a sweet cup hath rendered many of us wanton and too active, for we have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people that we can hear of under the whole heaven. We have not only been long free (together with all New England) from the iron yoke of wolfish bishops, and their popish ceremonies, (against whose cruel oppressions God raised up your noble spirit in Parliament,) but we have sitten quiet and dry from the streams of blood spilt by that war in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor in this colony have we been consumed with the over-zealous fire of the (so called) godly christian magistrates. Sir, we have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgotten what tithes are, yea, or taxes either, to church or commonwealth. We could name other special privileges, ingredients of our sweet cup, which your great wisdom knows to be very powerful (except more than ordinary watchfulness) to render the best of men wanton and forgetful. But, blessed be your love, and your loving heart and hand, awakening any of our sleepy spirits by your sweet alarm; and blessed be your noble family, root and branch, and all your pious and prudent engagements and retirements. We hope you shall no more complain of the saddening of your loving heart by the men of Providence town or of Providence colony, but that when we are gone and rotten, our posterity and children after us shall read in our town records your pious and favorable letters and loving kindness to us, and this our answer, and real endeavor after peace and righteousness; and to be found, Sir, your most obliged, and most humble servants, the town of Providence, in Providence colony, in New England.

GREGORY DEXTER, *Town Clerk.*

To the General Court of Massachusetts Bay.

PROVIDENCE, 5, 8, 54. (to called.) [October 5, 1654.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIRs,—I truly wish you peace, and pray your gentle acceptance of a word, I hope not unreasonable.

We have in these parts a sound of your meditations of war against these natives, amongst whom we dwell. I consider that war is one of those three great, sore plagues, with which it pleaseth God to affect the sons of men. I consider, also, that I refused, lately, many offers in my native country, out of a sincere desire to seek the good and peace of this.

I remember, that upon the express advice of your ever honored Mr. Winthrop, deceased, I first adventured to begin a plantation among the thickest of these barbarians.

That in the Pequot wars, it pleased your honored government to employ me in the hazardous and weighty service of negotiating a league between yourselves and the Narragansetts, when the Pequot messengers, who fought the Narragansetts' league against the English, had almost ended that my work and life together.

That at the subscribing of that solemn league, which, by the mercy of the Lord, I had procured with the Narragansetts, your government was pleased to send unto me the copy of it, subscribed by all hands there, which yet I keep as a monument and a testimony of peace and faithfulness between you both.

That, since that time, it hath pleased the Lord so to order it, that I have been more or less interested and used in

¹*Plymouth Records*, vol. x. p. 438; *R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 291.

all your great tranſactions of war or peace, between the Engliſh and the natives, and have not ſpared purſe, nor pains, nor hazards, (very many times,) that the whole land, Engliſh and natives, might ſleep in peace ſecurely.

That in my laſt negotiations in England, with the Parliament, Council of State, and his Highneſs,¹ I have been forced to be known ſo much, that if I ſhould be ſilent, I ſhould not only betray mine own peace and yours, but alſo ſhould be falſe to their honorable and princely names, whoſe loves and affections, as well as their ſupreme authority are not a little concerned in the peace or war of this country.

At my laſt departure for England, I was importuned by the Narraganſett Sachems, and eſpecially by Ninigret, to preſent their petition to the high Sachems of England, that they might not be forced from their religion, and, for not changing their religion, be invaded by war; for they ſaid they were daily viſited with threatenings by Indians that came from about the Maſſachuſetts, that if they would not pray, they ſhould be deſtroyed by war. With this their petition I acquainted, in private diſcourſes, divers of the chief of our nation, and eſpecially his Highneſs, who, in many diſcourſes I had with him, never expreſſed the leaſt tittle of diſpleaſure, as hath been here reported, but in the miſt of diſputes, ever expreſſed a high ſpirit of love and gentleneſs, and was often pleaſed to pleaſe himſelf with very many queſtions, and my anſwers, about the Indian affairs of this country; and, after all hearing of yourſelf and us, it hath pleaſed his Highneſs and his Council to grant, amongſt other favors to this colony, ſome expreſſly

¹ Oliver Cromwell.

concerning the very Indians, the native inhabitants of this jurisdiction.

I, therefore, humbly offer to your prudent and impartial view, first these two considerable terms, it pleased the Lord to use to all that profess his name (Rom. 12: 18,) if it be possible, and all men.

I never was against the righteous use of the civil sword of men or nations, but yet since all men of conscience or prudence ply to windward, to maintain their wars to be defensive, (as did both King and Scotch, and English and Irish too, in the late wars,) I humbly pray your consideration, whether it be not only possible, but very easy, to live and die in peace with all the natives of this country.

For, secondly, are not all the English of this land, generally, a persecuted people from their native soil? and hath not the God of peace and Father of mercies made these natives more friendly in this, than our native countrymen in our own land to us? Have they not entered leagues of love, and to this day continued peaceable commerce with us? Are not our families grown up in peace amongst them? Upon which I humbly ask, how it can suit with Christian ingenuity to take hold of some seeming occasions for their destructions, which, though the heads be only aimed at, yet, all experience tells us, falls on the body and the innocent.

Thirdly, I pray it may be remembered how greatly the name of God is concerned in this affair, for it cannot be hid, how all England and other nations ring with the glorious conversion of the Indians of New England. You know how many books are dispersed throughout the nation, of the subject, (in some of them the Narragansett chief Sachems are publicly branded, for refusing to pray

and be converted;) have all the pulpits in England been commanded to sound of this glorious work, (I speak not ironically, but only mention what all the printed books mention,) and that by the highest command and authority of Parliament, and churchwardens went from house to house, to gather supplies for this work.

Honored Sirs, Whether I have been and am a friend to the natives' turning to civility and Christianity, and whether I have been instrumental, and desire so to be, according to my light, I will not trouble you with; only I beseech you consider, how the name of the most holy and jealous God may be preserved between the clashings of these two, viz. : the glorious conversion of the Indians in New England, and the unnecessary wars and cruel destructions of the Indians in New England.

Fourthly, I beseech you forget not, that although we are apt to play with this plague of war more than with the other two, famine and pestilence, yet I beseech you consider how the present events of all wars that ever have been in the world, have been wonderful fickle, and the future calamities and revolutions, wonderful in the latter end.

Heretofore, not having liberty of taking ship in your jurisdiction, I was forced to repair unto the Dutch, where mine eyes did see that first breaking forth of that Indian war, which the Dutch begun, upon the slaughter of some Dutch by the Indians; and they questioned not to finish it in a few days, insomuch that the name of peace, which some offered to mediate, was foolish and odious to them. But before we weighed anchor, their bowries were in flames; Dutch and English were slain. Mine eyes saw their flames at their towns, and the flights and hurries of men, women and children, the present removal of all that

could for Holland; and after vast expences, and mutual slaughters of Dutch, English and Indians, about four years, the Dutch were forced, to save their plantation from ruin, to make up a most unworthy and dishonorable peace with the Indians.

How frequently is that saying in England, that both Scotch and English had better have borne loans, ship money, &c., than run upon such rocks, that even success and victory have proved, and are yet like to prove. Yea, this late war with Holland, however begun with zeal against God's enemies, as some in Parliament said, yet what fruits brought it forth, but the breach of the Parliament, the engaging of the nation by taxes, the ruin of thousands who depended on manufactures and merchandize, the loss of many thousand seamen, and others, many of whom many worlds are not worthy?

But, lastly, if any be yet zealous of kindling this fire for God, &c., I beseech that gentleman, whoever he be, to lay himself in the opposite scale, with one of the fairest buds that ever the sun of righteousness cherished, Josiah, that most zealous and melting-hearted reformer, who would to war, and against warnings, and fell in most untimely death and lamentations, and now stands, a pillar of salt to all succeeding generations.

Now, with your patience, a word to these nations at war, (occasion of yours,) the Narragansetts and Long Islanders, I know them both experimentally, and therefore pray you to remember,

First, that the Narragansetts and Mohawks are the two great bodies of Indians in this country, and they are confederates, and long have been, and they both yet are friendly and peaceable to the English. I do humbly con-

ceive, that if ever God calls us to a just war with either of them he calls us to make sure of the one to a friend. It is true some distaste was lately here amongst them, but they parted friends, and some of the Narragansetts went home with them, and I fear that both these and the Long Islanders and Mohegans, and all the natives of the land, may, upon a sound of the defeat of the English, be induced easily to join each with other against us.

2. The Narragansetts, as they were the first, so they have been long confederates with you; they have been true, in all the Pequot wars, to you. They occasioned the Mohegans to come in, too, and so occasioned the Pequots' downfall.

3. I cannot yet learn, that ever it pleased the Lord, to permit the Narragansetts to stain their hands with any English blood, neither in open hostilities nor secret murders, as both Pequots and Long Islanders did, and Mohegans also, in the Pequot wars. It is true, they are barbarians, but their greatest offences against the English have been matters of money, or petty revenging of themselves on some Indians, upon extreme provocations, but God kept them clear of our blood.

4. For the people, many hundred English have experimented them to be inclined to peace and love with the English nation.

Their late famous long-lived Canonicus so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity (in their way) as you laid to sleep your prudent peacemaker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this, their prudent and peaceable prince. His son, Mexham, inherits his spirit. Yea, through all their towns and countries, how frequently do many, and oft-times one Englishman, travel alone with safety and loving kindness!

The cause and root of all the present mischief, is the pride of two barbarians, Aſcaſſatic, the Long Island Sachem, and Ninigret, of the Narraganſett. The former is proud and fooliſh; the latter is proud and fierce. I have not ſeen him theſe many years, yet from their ſober men I hear he pleads,

First, that Aſcaſſatic, a very inferior Sachem, bearing himſelf upon the Engliſh, hath ſlain three or four of his people, and ſince that, ſent him challenges and darings to fight, and mend himſelf.

2. He, Ninigret, conſulted, by ſolemn meſſengers, with the chief of the Engliſh Governors, Major Endicott, then Governor of the Maſſachuſetts, who ſent him an implicit conſent to right himſelf, upon which they all plead that the Engliſh have juſt occaſion of diſpleaſure.

3. After he had taken revenge upon the Long Islanders, and brought away about fourteen captives, divers of their chief women, yet he reſtored them all again, upon the mediation and deſire of the Engliſh.

4. After this peace made, the Long Islanders pretending to viſit Ninigret, at Block Island, ſlaughtered of his Narraganſetts near thirty perſons, at midnight, two of them of great note, eſpecially Wepiteammoc's ſon, to whom Ninigret was uncle.

5. In the proſecution of this war, although he had drawn down the Islanders to his aſſiſtance, yet, upon proſtation of the Engliſh againſt his proceedings, he retreated and diſſolved his army.

Honored Sirs,

1. I know it is ſaid the Long Islanders are ſubjects; but I have heard this greatly queſtioned, and, indeed, I queſtion whether any Indians in this country, remaining bar-

barous and pagan, may with truth or honor be called the English subjects.

2. But grant them subjects, what capacity hath their late massacre of the Narragansetts, with whom they had made peace, without the English content, though still under the English name, put them into?

3. All Indians are extremely treacherous; and if to their own nation, for private ends, revolting to strangers, what will they do upon the sound of one defeat of the English, or the trade of killing English cattle, and persons, and plunder, which will, most certainly be the trade, if any considerable party escape alive, as mine eyes beheld in the Dutch war.

But I beseech you, say your thoughts and the thoughts of your wives and little ones, and the thoughts of all English, and of God's people in England, and the thoughts of his Highness and Council, (tender of these parts,) if, for the sake of a few inconsiderable pagans, and beasts, wallowing in idleness, stealing, lying, whoring, treacherous witchcrafts, blasphemies, and idolatries, all that the gracious hand of the Lord hath so wonderfully planted in the wilderness, should be destroyed.

How much nobler were it, and glorious to the name of God and your own, that no pagan should dare to use the name of an English subject, who comes not out in some degree from barbarism to civility, in forsaking their filthy nakedness, in keeping some kind of cattle, which yet your councils and commands may tend to, and, as pious and prudent deceased Mr. Winthrop said, that civility may be a leading step to Christianity, is the humble desire of your most unfeigned in all services of love,

ROGER WILLIAMS,
of Providence colony, President.

For his much honored, kind friend, Mr. Winthrop, at Pequot,
these.

PROVIDENCE, 9, 8, 54. (so called.) [O&A. 9, 1654.]¹

SIR,—I was lately fadded to hear of some barbarous dealings to your prejudice on your island. I am again fadded with the tidings of weakness in your family, and I hope you are fadded with me at this Fire which is now kindling, the fire of God's wrath and jealousy, which, if God graciously quench not, may burn to the foundations both of Indians and English together. I have (upon the first sound of this fire) presented considerations to the General Court of Massachusetts; Major Willard tells me, he saw them not, (the Court not yet setting,) therefore I have presented him with a copy of them, which upon opportunity and desire, I presume you may command the sight of. I have therein had occasion to mention your precious peacemaking farther.

Sir, some of the soldiers, said here that 'tis true the Narragansetts had yet killed no English, but they had killed two hundred of Mr. Winthrop's goats, and that it was read in the Boston meeting house, that Mr. Winthrop was robbed and undone, and was flying from the place unless succor was sent him. I hope to hear otherwise, and that notwithstanding any private loss, yet that noble spirit of your father still lives in you, and will still work (if possible) to quench this devouring fire in the kindling. I am not yet without hope but it may please the God of peace and Father of mercies to create peace for us, and by this time to inflame our

¹ 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. x p. 4.

hearts more with love to him and felicities in him, which neither sword, nor famine, nor pestilence can take from us, which (however otherwise he may deal with us) will abundantly compensate all their shaking below, though (seemingly) great and fundamental to us.

Sir, with very cordial respects to you both, I am yours in the service of love unfeigned.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[The letter of Mr. Williams to the Town of Providence, of August preceding had a salutary effect, and harmony was once more restored in the colony. At the General Election, which followed in September, 1654, Mr. Williams was chosen President. "Thus far" says Backus, "things appeared encouraging; but as tyranny and licentiousness are equally enemies, both to government and liberty, Mr. Williams often had both to contend with. Soon after this settlement, a person sent a seditious paper to the town of Providence," and also circulated it among the citizens. "That it was blood-guiltless, and against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public or private weal."—*Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 296. While such sentiments were propagated, Williams could not remain silent, and accordingly addressed the following letter to the town, in which he denies that he had ever given the slightest sanction to principles so hostile to civil peace and the dictates of reason and scripture.]

To the Town of Providence.

[PROVIDENCE, JANUARY, 1654-5.]¹

That ever I should speak or write a tittle, that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or

¹*Providence Records*; also, BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 297.

society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both papists and protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges—that none of the papists, protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety, be kept and practiced, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments;—I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes.

I remain studious of your common peace and liberty.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*Roger Williams to John Wintthrop, Jr.*15, 12, 54. (so called.) [15th February, 1654.]¹

SIR,—It hath not been this sharp and bitter season which could have frozen my pen from saluting you both (having received yours some weeks since,) but I could not get a meeting with Ninigret, and messengers effected nothing, which I sent to him. Your great trial, loss and hindrance I am exceedingly grieved at, and cordially wish it were in my hand to contribute to your abundant satisfaction and reparation. I have taken willingly any pains about it, and shall; and beg of God himself to please to make up these gaps and breaches, with the teachings and comfortings of his Eternal Spirit.

I have had a solemn debate with Ninigret and the rest of the Narragansett Sachems, in a late great meeting at Warwick, whither they came down with four score armed men, to demand satisfaction for the robbing of Peficush, his sister's grave, and mangling of her flesh; against John Garriard, a Dutchman, whose crew, and it is feared, himself, committed that ghastly and stinking villainy against them. In this meeting the Sachems were unanimous and (as union strengthens) they were so bold as to talk often of men's lives, and of fighting with us, and demanded an English child for hostage until satisfaction, because John Garriard had lived at Warwick, and had goods and debts there still remaining. At last it pleased the Lord to pacify all with our attaching of the Dutchman's goods and debts, until he have made satisfaction (in the Dutch jurisdiction or the English) to the Sachems charge against him. There was in his crew, one Samuel, a hat-

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 286.

ter, and one Jones, a seaman, and an Irishman, persons infamous, so that we fear John Garriard was drawn in by them, at least to consent to share with them in such a booty.

Sir, this troublesome occasion furnished me with full agitations about your wrong and demands also. And besides this I have had both former and later discouragements and searchings with divers Indians, and some that were present, and some that were disaffected to Ninigret, and all answers and agitations, &c., amount to, first, an absolute denial that either the Sachems or people know of any cattle of yours slain by themselves or the Inlanders, excepting three or four goats, which the Pawcomtuck Indians killed in their breaking up in displeasure, and departure from Ninigret, and in their march towards the Eastern end of your island homeward.¹

2. They affirm that such slaughters could not possibly be made by any of themselves or the strangers, but they should know of it, being intermingled with them in all their quarters: and whereas I said they were long there, and had spent provisions; they say they had three canoes continually going from your island to Pequot for provision; which though sometime the winds hindered some hours, yet by day or by night they always came and brought a supply.

¹ Troubles with Ninigret had been renewed during the past year. That chief had carried on a war with the Indians of Long Island, who had put themselves under the protection of the English. The Commissioners of the United Colonies ordered Ninigret to appear at Hartford; and upon his refusal to comply with their request, determined

on a war against him. An armed force was sent into the Narragansett country, when Ninigret fled, and about one hundred Pequots who had been left with the Narragansetts since the war, put themselves under the protection of the English. The armed force retired without attacking the enemy.—HOLMES, *Annals*, p. 301.

3. They say that some English whom you trusted there, not only gave Ninigret one goat, but they have known divers given or sold to English or Dutch pinnaces. I confess, Sir, this last came not within my thoughts to favor of truth, until conferring with some English further, I find it undeniable from many English witnesses, that many goats have been sold (and some at cheap prices,) by some whom you have trusted, to many vessels. Some of the vessels belong to our towns, and they name your kinsman Mr. Symons. The particulars are many : one I shall hint, that you may review whether you had account of it or no : Mr. Smith's vessel gave him an ell of holland for one goat, which in our parts would yield about 14s : so that I hear some vessels brought (more then for present spending) some live goats along with them.

Sir, this English work I believe is true, although I dare not absolve the barbarians from your charge, and therefore shall still continue my utmost care and search.

Sir, the tidings stirring amongst us is (as is said) from a ship (about four months since arrived from England,) reporting slaughters of Scotch and English in divers battles fought in Scotland ; but (as is said) the Lord was pleased to turn the scales to the English. It is said also that the Parliament (which was to begin the 3rd of September,) was broke up in discontent. It is said that a fleet was designed against Hispaniola, and that Mr. Winslow goes in chief command, or to be Governor.¹ Sir, I yet believe not this first sound of things, and yet I believe them to be very like to be true, and greater and greater Revolutions approach-

¹ Edward Winslow, was appointed by Cromwell, Commissioner to attend the expedition against Hispaniola in 1655 ; and died on the passage, between that island and Jamaica, May 8th, of that year. *Eds. Winthrop Papers.*

ing. The invifible and eternal Jehovah will make his juftice and mercy more and more vifibly glorious, in eternal fucceffive difcoveries of himfelf to his, and to the works and creatures of his mighty hand.

It hath pleafed God, Sir, to take away (fome few days fince) the wife of our Joshua Windfor (once a fervant to your dear father). She had made a paffionate wifh that God would part them, and take away him or her. It pleafed his Jealoufly to hear her, and to take away a child in her womb alfo, of which fhe could not be delivered.

We have had fome gufts amongft us as to our whole Colony and civil order. At my coming over our neighbors were run into divifions. By the good hand of the Lord they were perfuaded to choofe twenty-four Commiffioners (fix out of a town) to reconcile. They united and hailed me out (fore againft my fpirit) to public fervice: yet the fpirits of fome have not been fo reconcileable: Tho. Olney¹ and my brother in our town, (upon private grudges), Mr. Eafton and Mr. Dyer, at Newport, fearing Sabaudies pinnace muft be paid for, which cafe the Court at Maffachufetts lately would not determine, but left it to be tried in our own Colony, which was the late anfwer of the Court at Ipſwich to Mr. Ames, who fued Mr. Dyer in the Bay. What plots and diggings have been ufed to overturn all Courts, fo that there might be an eſcape, and therefore Newport is made to ſtand off (except ſome few) from the reſt of the Colony.

Sir, we have a found of a Gen: Governor, and that Ba-

¹ Thomas Olney was among the earlieft fettlers of Providence, and one of the committee in 1647 to form a government. He was a member of the Salem church, from which he was expelled for uniting in the errors of Williams. His name appears among the Affiftants in the Charter of 1663.

ron Rigby his son is the man : but it is time to excuse this prolixity, and to end with humble desires to the most Holy and Eternal King to protect, to direct, and comfort your spirits in all present and future trials. So prays, Sir,

Yours most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, these enclosed were sent to me from Mr. White, now wintering at Warwick. It is said he hath skill in most works; many of ours have thoughts of trying his skill about a new bridge at Providence, and he hath promised to come over to us to consult, but the weather hath hindered.

Mr. Foote hath once and again moved for Iron Works at Providence. He told me that you had speech with him about his getting of iron men to Pequot, but he thought yourself would be willing to promote the work as well here as there, and therefore promised me to write to you. If I had power in my hand I would venture to such a public good, and however would gladly contribute all assistance, especially if your loving spirit and experience be pleased to give encouragement.

Sir, I have not at present by me a copy (fair or foul) of my Considerations presented to the Gen. Court at Boston: something there is in them of passages between the Lord Protector and myself; otherways they are but known things (especially to yourself): however, if possible I can, I will present your desire with the sight of them.

Post S.—This letter hath long lain by expecting conveyance. Indeed Ninigret promised to send a messenger for them, but (whether the winter or other occasions hindered, sickness, death, &c.,) yet it hath stuck by me as

an arrow in my side, leaft I fhould feem to neglect fuch a friend and fuch a cafe.

For the fleet of which you pleafe a line (in this your welcome tidings of your healths) we hear of fixty or one hundred fail. I know the Protector had ftrong thoughts of Hispaniola and Cuba. Mr. Cotton's interpreting of Euphrates to be the Weft Indies: the fupply of gold, to take off taxes), and the provifion of a warmer *Diuerticulum* and *Receptaculum* then New England is, will make a footing into thofe parts very precious, and if it fhall pleafe God to vouchfafe fuccefs to this fleet, I look to hear of an invitation at leaft to thefe parts for removal, from his Highnefs, who looks on New England only with an eye of pity, as poor, cold and ufelefs.

And furely this nonefuch winter is like to fet any wheel a going for removals of very many.

Capt. Gibbons at beginning of this winter (as I prefume you have long fince heard) made this winter his laft, and is departed.

Mr. Dunfter¹ (as is faid) expected to be oufted about his judgment of children's baptifm, withdrew himfelf, and Mr. Chauncy,² who was shipped for England, is now mafter of the College.

¹ Henry Dunfter, firft Prefident of Harvard College, inducted into office Auguft 27, 1640. He was highly refpected for his learning, piety and manner of government; but having imbibed the principles of Antipedobaptifm, was induced to refign his office in 1654. He removed to Scituate, Mafs., where he paffed the remainder of his days in peace. He died in 1659.—BLAKE, *Biog. Diſt.*

² Rev. Charles Chauncy, fucceeded

Mr. Dunfter as Prefident of Harvard College. He was vicar of Ware, in England. Being fined and imprifoned for non-conformity, he determined to feek the enjoyment of the rights of confeience in New England, where he came in 1638. After living as a fettled minifter, chiefly at Scituate, for twelve years, he was invited to return to England. He went to Bofton to embark, but the prefidency of the College being then vacant,

We also hear that two of Mr. Dells¹ books were lately burnt at the Massachusetts, (possibly) containing some sharp things against the Presbyterians and Academians, of which I brought over one called the Trial of Spirits.

I pray you to read and return this Jew. I have also an answer to him by a good plain man, expounding all which the Jew takes literally, in a spiritual way: and I have (in a discourse of a Knight (L'Estrange)² proving Americans no Jews) another touch against him: however, I rejoiced to see such industrious spirits breathing in that people toward the Messiah or Christ of God.

Mr. Foot is said (at present) to resolve for the Dutch: upon occasion of my declaring against his man, Mr. Fowler's disorderly marriage in Mr. Foot's house, without any publication, and upon that occasion my refusing to promote the Iron Works as yet; he is displeas'd, and speaks of departure. I truly love and pity the man, yet surely from him have the Indians been furnished with store of liquors, from his house have the incivilities of our town been much encouraged, and much evil report he hath incurred about this marriage. He saith he knew not of it 'till over night. But (although the pretended marriage was not,) it may be resolved on before over night, yet I am sorry to hear such talk in the town of what he knew before. Sir, the truth is (as one said to Queen Elizabeth)

he was induced to accept office, and was inducted into it in 1654. He retained the place until his death in 1672, at the age of 81. He published several volumes of sermons and theological works.
BLAKE, *Biog. Diç.*

¹ William Dell, Rector of Yelden, and Master of Gonvil and Caius College; ejected 1662. He published in 1663

“*The Tryall of Spirits, both in Teachers and Hearers;*” “*The Stumbling Stone,*” together with Sermons and other Theological Treatises.—“*Select Works.*” London, 1773.

² Hamon L'Estrange was the author of a book entitled “*Americans no Jews, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that race.*”—London, 1652.

Profecto omnes sumus licentiâ deteriores. We enjoy liberties of soul and body, but it is license we desire, except the Most Holy help us: in whom, Sir, I desire to be ever

Yours, ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mine and my wife's true respects to Mrs. Winthrop, &c.

For my honored, kind friend, Mr. Winthrop, at his house at Pequot. Leave this with Mr. White, of Warwick.

PROVIDENCE, 23, 1. [March 23,] 1655, (so called.)¹

SIR,—Cordial respects presented. Mr. White coming to you, cannot come without salutation. I have this last week many letters from England; but all dated the first week of the Parliament's sitting. The house consisted most of Presbyterian fautors.² All that are waived are ranked into Cavaliers and Levellers:³ upon the grand question of the Supreme Legislature, the Lord Bradshaw⁴ spake openly that if a Parliament were not supreme, then was he a murderer of King Charles. Sir Arthur Hazelrig spake high: but the report is double: some say a vote past that they would not dispute that point, some say they did dispute, and therefore a breach followed, and the imprison-

¹ *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 292.

² *Fauter*, a favourer, a supporter.

³ *Cavaliers*. The name given to the party which adhered to King Charles I. in opposition to the Roundheads or *Levellers*, who were the adherents of Parliament.

⁴ John Bradshaw was President of the

tribunal by which Charles I. was tried. In the contest between the king and the people, Bradshaw espoused the cause of the latter. Cromwell, to whose usurpation he was hostile, deprived him of office. He died in 1659; and at the Restoration, his remains were disinterred and hanged at Tyburn.

ment of Bradshaw and Hazelrig, &c., and it is said here (by Dutch news) two beheaded. The Protector in his speech told them he had settled the three Nations, had made peace with Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and entered far into a treaty with France, &c. The sea preparations of the English rendered others jealous: so that (and the troubles of the Dutch among themselves, which cause them to keep a guard of eight hundred at the Hague) that caused new orders to the Admiralty, for careful striking to the English: Gen. Blake¹ with his fleet was bound for the Southward: Gen. Pen² and Mr. Winflow with him for the West. It is feared that his poor wife will miss him. He writes to N. Plymouth that (except the Parliament prohibited) they were ready to set sail: he hath new fitted himself and sent over his former apparel. The Portugal ambassador³ hath been beheaded for a murder in the Exchange, and Mrs. Mohun and her maid stood in the pillory before the Exchange, for attempting his escape by women's apparel. Mr. Marshall, and

¹ Robert Blake a celebrated English Admiral. In the struggle between King Charles I. and his people, he espoused the cause of liberty. After distinguishing himself in the army, he was placed in command of the fleet, when he destroyed the Royal Squadron under Prince Rupert, at Malaga. In 1653 he defeated the Dutch fleet, under Van Tromp, and the following year gained a victory over the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean. He died in 1657 and was buried with great honors in Henry VIIIth's chapel. At the restoration his body was torn from its resting place and buried in a pit in St. Martin's Church yard.—*Biographia Britannica*.

² Admiral Wm. Penn, Commander of the English fleet in the destruction of Jamaica. He was a member of Parliament, and after the Restoration obtained a high command under the Duke of York. He was knighted by Charles II. for his services. Edward Winflow, of Plymouth, probably accompanied Admiral Penn, as it is stated in the previous letter that he had gone to the West Indies. He was one of the three Commissioners appointed by Cromwell to superintend the operations there.

³ Dom Pantaleon, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, was executed July 10, 1654, for the murder of Mr. Greenway, at the Exchange.

Viner, and Mr. Tho. Goodwin,¹ minister to the Parliament. Mr. Goodwin pressed the instance of Pharaoh and the letting of God's people free to worship, lest the Lord send new plagues and breaches. Sir, your messenger calls: I end.

Yours unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I shall be thankful for the Jesuits Maxims, of which I have heard, but saw them not.

We hear from the Bay that Capt. Leverett² took a Dutch ship lately upon the Act for Trade: whether it be for that or words, he is bound to appear at the General Court.

For my honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot, these.

[PROVIDENCE, 1, 1, 55. (so called.) [March 1, 1655.]]

SIR,—Loving respects and best wishes, &c. I lately presented you with a line by Mr. White: since I received more letters from England, confirming the tidings of two great fleets ready to set sail from England the beginning of

¹ Thomas Goodwin, a Puritan divine, born in 1600. In 1630, to avoid persecution he went to Arnheim, in Holland, where he settled. During the civil wars he returned to London and was appointed by Cromwell, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. He attended the Protector in his last illness, and was ejected from Oxford after the Restoration. He preached to an assembly of Independents

in London until his decease in 1679.—BLAKE, *Biog. Dictionary*.

² John Leverett, a Delegate to the General Court; afterwards Speaker, and from 1673 to 1679 Governor of Massachusetts.

³ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 294.

This letter was evidently written after that which next precedes it, and it is probable that the date should be 1, 2, 55, i. e. April 1, 1655.

September. The one with Gen. Blake for the Southward; the other with Gen. Pen for the West Indies. To him was joined Mr. Winslow, as Counsellor, designed Governor of what part should be conquered. The Parliament sat, and after three days debate about the last change of government, the Lord Protector sent for the Parliament into the Painted Chamber, and told them that there was a reciprocation, and that the same power which made him Protector had called the Parliament, and therefore before they should sit again, he must require a test or recognition by subscription to his negative voice, as to the present government by a Protector and a Parliament, as to the not fitting of the Parliament above five months, as to the militia, and as to persecution for religion. To this purpose a table was set near the Parliament door, whereon the recognition was presented in parchment, unto which Mr. Lenthall, the Speaker, and one hundred and forty subscribed presently and entered: some dissented, among whom were Bradshaw and Hazelrig,¹ who, (it is said) are in the Tower. The Portugal Embassador's brother was beheaded for a murder, and one Coll: whose name I yet know not. One Mrs. Mohun stood on the pillory, for attempting the Portugal's escape in woman's apparel.

The 3rd of September, the day of the Parliament's first sitting, was seen in the heavens over Hull, two armies fighting: the one from the northwest which worsted the other from the east, both red: then a black army from the north-

¹Sir Arthur Hazelrig. An English puritan who took a prominent part in the opposition to Charles I. He was a member of the Long Parliament, and one of the five members whom the king attempted to arrest in 1642 on a charge

of treason. During the Civil War he served in the army of Parliament as Colonel. He was created a peer by Cromwell, but preferred to retain his seat in Parliament. He died in 1660.—
THOMAS, *Dic. of Biography.*

west which worsted the red from the east, and remained victor. Some that saw it said they saw the like at the beginning of the late Long Parliament.

Holland had great trouble with Zealand, and the Oren-gian faction, so that the Hague and Amsterdam were strongly guarded. New orders were sent to their Admiralty for careful striking to the English.¹ Sir, with prayers for your health and eternal peace, I rest yours in all services of love.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*To my honored kind friend Mr. Wintthrop, at Pequot, these
present.*

PROVIDENCE, the 26, 2, 55. [April 26th, 1655.]²

SIR,—Loving respects to you both presented, wishing you a joyful spring after all your sad and gloomy, sharp and bitter winter blasts and snows. Sir, one of your friends among the Narragansett Sachems, Mexham, sends this messenger unto me and prays me to write to you for your help about a gun, which Kittatteash, Uncas his son, hath lately taken from this bearer, Ahauansquatuck, out of his house at Pawchauquet. He will not own any offence he gave him, but that he is subject to Mexham, though possibly Kittatteash may allege other causes, yea and true also. I doubt not of your loving eye on the matter, as God shall please

¹ In the treaty between Great Britain and the States-General, concluded at Westminster, April 5, 1654, it was agreed that the ships of the United Provinces, meeting any English ship-of-

war in the British seas, should strike the flag and lower the top-sail.

² KNOWLES' *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 281; 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. x. p. 10.

to give you opportunity. Sir, the last first day divers of Boston merchants were with me, (about Sergeant Holfey run from Boston hither, and a woman after him, who lays her great belly to him.) They tell me, that by a bark come from Virginia, they are informed of God's merciful hand in the safe arrival of Major Sedgwick and that fleet in the west of England, and that General Penn was not yet gone out, but riding (all things ready) in Torbay, waiting for the word; and by letters from good and great friends in England, I understand there are like to be great agitations in this country, if that fleet succeed.

Sir, a hue and cry came to my hand lately from the Governor at Boston, after two youths, one run from Captain Oliver, whom I lighted on and have returned; another from James Bill of Boston, who I hear past through our town, and said he was bound for Pequot. His name is James Pitnie; he hath on a blackish coat and hat, and a pair of greenish breeches and green knit stockings. I would now (with very many thanks) have returned you your Jesuit's Maxims, but I was loth to trust them in so wild a hand, nor some tidings which I have from England. These merchants tell me, that Blake was gone against the Duke of Leghorn,¹ and had sent for ten frigates more.

Sir, the God of peace fill your soul with that strange kind of peace which passeth all understanding.

So prays, Sir, your unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹Admiral Blake was at this time in the Mediteranean making great havoc among the Spanish vessels.

*To the General Court of Magistrates and Deputies Assembled
at Boston.*

PROVIDENCE, 15, 9 mo. 55. (so called.) [15th Nov. 1655.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIRs,—It is my humble and earnest petition unto God and you, that you may so be pleased to exercise command over your own spirits, that you may not mind myself nor the English of these parts (unworthy with myself of your eye) but only that face of equity (English and Christian) which I humbly hope may appear in these representations following.

First, may it please you to remember, that concerning the town of Warwick, (in this colony,) there lies a suit of £2000 damages against you before his Highness and the Lords of his Council; I doubt not, if you so please, but that (as Mr. Winslow and myself had well nigh ordered it) some gentlemen from yourselves and some from Warwick, deputed, may friendly and easily determine that affair between you.

Secondly, the Indians which pretend your name at Warwick and Pawtuxet, (and yet live as barbarously, if not more than any in the country) please you to know their insolencies upon ourselves and cattle (unto £20 damages per annum) are insufferable by English spirits; and please you to give credence, that to all these they pretend your name, and affirm that they dare not (for offending you) agree with us, nor come to rules of righteous neighborhood, only they know you favor us not and therefore sent us for redress unto you.

Thirdly, concerning four English families at Pawtuxet, may it please you to remember that two controversies they

¹Hutchinson *Papers*, Boston, 1769, p. 275.

have long (under your name) maintained with us, to a constant obstructing of all order and authority amongst us.

To our complaint about our lands, they lately have professed a willingness to arbitrate, but to obey his Highness' authority in this charter, they say, they dare not for your sakes, though they live not by your laws nor bear your common charges, nor ours, but evade both under color of your authority.¹

¹It appears by this letter that the quarrels and disorders were continued at Warwick and Pawtuxet, and that they were countenanced if not fomented by Massachusetts.

By a letter received by Mr. Williams from Cromwell, the Protector, it appears that he had been advised by the colony's agent in England, (John Clarke,) "of some particulars concerning the government" This letter being presented to the Assembly at its June session, at Portsmouth, it was enacted that "Whereas, we have been rent and torn with divisions, and his Highness has sent unto us an express command, to provide against internal commotions, by which his Highness noteth, that not only ourselves are dishonored and endangered, but also dishonor and detriment redounds to the commonwealth of England: It is ordered, that if any person be found by the examination of the General Court of Commissioners, to be a ringleader of factions or divisions among us, he shall be sent over at his own charges, as a prisoner, to receive his trial or sentence at the pleasure of his Highness and the Lords of the Council."—*R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 318.

This action of the General Assembly

had its effect, and appears to have resulted in a reconciliation between some of the prominent men of the Colony. In a volume of Records in the office of the Secretary of State, is the following memorandum in the handwriting of Mr. Williams:

"I, William Coddington do freely submit to the authority of his Highness in the colony as it is now united, and that with all my heart.

"Whereas there have been differences depending between William Coddington, Esq., and Mr. William Dyre, both of Newport, we declare joyfully for ourselves and heirs by this present record, that a full agreement and conclusion is made between us, by our worthy friends Mr. Baulston, Mr. Gorton, Mr. John Smith, of Warwick, Mr. John Greene, jun., of Warwick, and Mr. John Easton; and in witness whereof, we subscribe our hands, and desire this to be recorded, this present 14th of March, 1655-1656.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON,
WILLIAM DYRE.

In presence of
Roger Williams, *President*,
John Roome,
Benedict Arnold,
John Greene, jr.

Honored Sirs, I cordially profess it before the Most High, that I believe it, if not only they but ourselves and all the whole country, by joint consent, were subject to your government, it might be a rich mercy; but as things yet are, and since it pleased first the Parliament, and then the Lord Admiral and Committee for Foreign Plantations, and since the Council of State, and lastly the Lord Protector and his Council, to continue us as a distinct colony, yea, and since it hath pleased yourselves, by public letters and references to us from your public courts, to own the authority of his Highness amongst us; be pleased to consider how unsuitable it is for yourselves (if these families at Pawtuxet plead truth) to be the instructors of all orderly proceedings amongst us; for I humbly appeal to your own wisdom and experience, how unlikely it is for a people to be compelled to order and common charges, when others in their bosoms, are by such (seeming) partiality exempted from both.

And, therefore, (lastly) be pleased to know, that there are (upon the point) but two families which are so obstructive and destructive to an equal proceeding of civil order amongst us; for one of these four families, Stephen Arnold, desires to be uniform with us; a second, Zacharie Rhodes,¹ being in the way of dipping is (potentially) banished by you. Only William Arnold and William Carpenter, (very far, also in religion, from you, if you knew all) they have some color, yet in a late conference, they all plead that all the obstacle is their offending of yourselves.

¹ Stephen Arnold and Zacharie Rhodes were admitted freemen of Providence in 1658, but had, for some years previous, lived in Pawtuxet. The latter was the ancestor of the late Christopher and William Rhodes, and many others of the name in Pawtuxet; also of the late

James T. Rhodes of Providence. William Arnold and William Carpenter were among the earlier settlers at Providence, and in 1638 received from Mr. Williams a transfer of land bought by him from Miantonomo and Canonicus.

Fourthly, whereas, (I humbly conceive) with the people of this colony your commerce is as great as with any in the country, and our dangers (being a frontier people to the barbarians) are greater than those of other colonies, and the ill consequences to yourselves would be not a few nor small, and to the whole land, were we first massacred or mastered by them. I pray your equal and favorable reflection upon that your law, which prohibits us to buy of you all means of our necessary defence of our lives and families, (yea in this most bloody and massacreing time.)

We are informed that tickets have rarely been denied to any English of the country; yea, the barbarians (though notorious in lies) if they profess subjection, they are furnished; only ourselves, by former and later denial, seem to be devoted to the Indian shambles and massacres.

The barbarians all the land over, are filled with artillery and ammunition from the Dutch, openly and horribly, and from all the English over the country, (by stealth.) I know they abound so wonderfully, that their activity and insolence is grown so high that they daily consult, and hope, and threaten to render us slaves, as they long since (and now most horribly) have made the Dutch.

For myself (as through God's goodness) I have refused the gain of thousands by such a murderous trade, and think no law yet extant, among yourselves or us, secure enough against such villainy; so am I loth to see so many hundreds (if not some thousands) in this colony, destroyed like fools and beasts without resistance. I grieve that so much blood should cry against yourselves, yea, and I grieve that (at this instant by these ships) this cry and the premises should now trouble his Highness and his Council. For the seasonable preventing of which,

is this humble address presented to your wisdom, by him who desires to be

Your unfeigned and faithful servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS,

Of Providence Plantations, President.

Hon. Sirs, since my letter, it comes into my heart to pray your leave to add a word as to myself, viz. : at my last return from England I presented your then honored Governor, Mr. Bellingham, with an order of the Lords of the Council for my free taking ship or landing at your ports, unto which it pleased Mr. Bellingham to send me his assent in writing ; I humbly crave the recording of it by yourselves, lest forgetfulness hereafter, again put me upon such distresses as, God knows, I suffered when I last past through your colony to our native country.

For his much honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, at Pequot or elsewhere, these presents.

PROVIDENCE, 21, 12, 55, 56. (so called.) [February 21, 1656.]¹

SIR,—This opportunity makes me venture this salutation, though we hear question of your being at Pequot. These friends can say more of affairs than I can write. I have letters from England of proceedings there, which yet are not come ; some I have received, which tell me, that the Lord hath yet created peace, although the sword is yet

¹ KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 287 ; 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. x. p. 18.

forced (by garrifons) to enforce it. I cannot hear of open wars with France, but only with Spain, and that the prosecution of that West India expedition is still with all possible vigor on both sides intended. This diversion against the Spaniards hath turned the face and thoughts of many English, so that the saying of thousands now is, crown the Protector with gold, though the sullen yet cry, crown him with thorns. The former two or three years with plenty unthankfully received in England; the Lord sent abundance of waters this last summer, which spoiled their corn over most parts of the land. Sir Henry Vane being retired to his own private, in Lincolnshire, hath now published his observations as to religion;¹ he hath sent me one of his books, (though yet at Boston.) His father is dead, and the inheritance falls to him, and ten or twelve thousand more than should if his father had lived but a month longer; but though his father cast him off, yet he hath not lost in temporals, by being cast off for God. Our acquaintance Major Sedgwick, is said to be successor to unsuccessful Venables, cast into the tower. Your brother Stephen succeeds Major General Harrison.² The Pope endeavors the uni-

¹ Sir H. Vane was the author of "The Retired Man's Meditations," London, 1655. Two Treatises: I. On the Mystical Body of Christ on Earth. II. The Face of the Times. London: 1662; and others. "Sir Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed,—not inferior perhaps to Bacon. Milton has a fine sonnet addressed to him,—

"Vane, young in years, in sage experience old."
His works display astonishing powers. They are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of the liberty of

conscience. He was put to death in the most perfidious manner."—Sir J. МАСКІТОН: *Conversations with A. H. Everett. North American Review*, xxxv. p. 448, n.

²John Harrison, a republican general served in the parliamentary army, and was one of the judges of the court which tried Charles I. He became a member of the council of State in 1653. Cromwell endeavored to gain his support by the offer of an exalted position, but he refused to co-operate with the "usurper" as he called him. In 1657 he was de-

ting of all his slaves for his guard, fearing the heretics. The Lord knows whether Archer¹ (upon the reign of Christ) said true, 'that yet the Pope before his downfall, must recover England; and the protestant countries revolted from him.'" Sir, we are sure all flesh is grass, and only the word of the Lord endures forever. Sir, you once kindly intended to quench a fire between Mr. Coddington and others, but now it is come to public trial. We hear the Dutch fire is not quenched. I fear this year will be stormy; only may the most gracious Lord by all drive and draw us to himself, in whom, Sir, I desire to be ever

Yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To the General Court of Massachusetts.

PROVIDENCE, 12, 3, 56. (so called.) [May 12th, 1656.]²

May it please this much honored Assembly to remember, that, as an officer and in the name of Providence colony, I presented you with our humble requests before winter, unto which not receiving answer, I addressed myself this spring, to your much honored Governor, who was pleased to advise our sending of some of Providence to your Assembly.

prived of his command and imprisoned. Three years after he was executed for his share in the death of the king.— THOMAS, *Diã. of Biography*.

¹ John Archer, wrote a book on the *Personal Reign of Christ*. Lond: 1643.

² HUTCHINSON, *Massachusetts Papers*, Boston, 1769, p. 278; *R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 341.

The letter of November 15th, to the General Court of Massachusetts, did not produce any favorable change in her measures. Mr. Williams afterwards wrote to Governor Endicott, who invited him to visit Boston. In the present letter some of the same topics are again referred to.

Honored Sirs, our first request (in short) was and is, for your favorable consideration of the long and lamentable condition of the town of Warwick, which hath been thus : they are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the barbarians, that I have long admired the wonderful power of God in restraining and preventing very great fires of mutual slaughters, breaking forth between them.

Your wisdoms know the inhuman insultations of these wild creatures, and you may be pleased, also, to imagine, that they have not been sparing of your name as the patron of all their wickedness against our English men, women and children, and cattle to the yearly damage of sixty, eighty and one hundred pounds.

The remedy is (under God) only your pleasure, that Pumham shall come to an agreement with the town or colony, and that some convenient way and time be set for their removal.¹

And that your wisdom may see just grounds for such your willingness, be pleased to be informed of a reality of a solemn covenant between this town of Warwick and Pumham, unto which, notwithstanding that he pleads his being drawn to it by the awe of his superior Sachems, yet I humbly offer that what was done, was according to the law and tenor of the natives, (I take it) in all New England and America, viz. : that the inferior Sachems and sub-

¹ *Pumham*, a distinguished Narragansett chief "was a mighty man of valor." He was the Sachem of Shawomet, or Warwick, which town he claimed. He was thus brought into considerable difficulty with the English as early as 1635, which continued to this time. The people of Warwick now endeavored to bring

Pumham under their government. The journal of Winthrop shows, that before they received him and his people under their protection, the court made them promise to keep the sabbath, and to observe other religious rules.—BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 306.

jects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and supreme Sachems, and I humbly conceive that it pleaseth the Most High and Only Wise to make use of such a bond of authority over them, without which, they could not long subsist in human society, in this wild condition wherein they are.

Please you not to be insensible of the slippery and dangerous condition of this their intermingled cohabitation. I am humbly confident, that all the English towns and plantations in all New England, put together, suffer not such molestation from the natives, as this one town and people. It is so great and so oppressive, that I have daily feared the tidings of some public fire and mischief.

3. Be pleased to review this copy from the Lord Admiral, and that this English town of Warwick should proceed, also that if any of yours were there planted, they should, by your authority, be removed. And we humbly conceive, that if the English (whose removes are difficult and chargeable) how much more these wild ones, who remove with little more trouble and damage than the wild beasts of the wilderness.

4. Please you to be informed, that this small neck (wherein they keep and mingle fields with the English) is a very den of wickedness, where they not only practice the horrid barbarisms of all kinds of whoredoms, idolatries, conjurations, but living without all exercise of actual authority, and getting store of liquors (to our grief) there is a confluence and rendezvous of all the wildest and most licentious natives and practices of the whole country.

5. Beside satisfaction to Pumham and the former inhabitants of this neck, there is a competitor who must also be satisfied; another Sachem, one Nawwushawfuck, who



(living with Oufamaquin) lays claim to this place, and are at daily feud with Pumham (to my knowledge) about the title and lordship of it.¹ Hostility is daily threatened.

Our second request concerns two or three English families at Pawtuxet, who before our charter subjected themselves unto your jurisdiction.² It is true there are many grievances between many of the town of Providence and them, and these I humbly conceive, may best be ordered to be composed by reference.

But secondly, we have formerly made our addresses and now do, for your prudent removal of this great and long obstruction to all due order and regular proceedings among us, viz.: the refusal of these families (pretending your name) to conform with us unto his Highness' authority amongst us.

3. Your wisdom experimentally knows how apt men are to stumble at such an exemption from all duties and services, from all rates and charges, either with yourselves or us.

4. This obstruction is so great and constant, that (without your prudent removal of it, it is impossible that either his Highness or yourselves can expect such satisfaction and observance from us as we desire to render.

Lastly, as before, we promised satisfaction to the natives at Warwick, (and shall all possible ways endeavor their content) so we humbly offer, as to these our countrymen, First, as to grievances depending, that references may settle them. Secondly, for the future, the way will be open for their enjoyment of votes and privileges of choosing or being chosen, to any office in town or colony.

¹"The Plymouth people had their share in the Warwick controversy, having caused *Oufamequin* to lay claim to the same place, or a Sachem, who lived with

him, named *Nawwasbawfuk*."—DRAKE, *Book of the Indians*, p. 258.

²William Arnold and William Carpenter, mentioned in previous letters.

Our third request is, for your favorable leave to us to buy of your merchants, four or more barrels of powder yearly, with some convenient proportion of artillery, considering our hazardous frontier situation to these barbarians, who, from their abundant supply of arms from the Dutch, (and perfidious English, all the land over) are full of our artillery, which hath rendered them exceedingly insolent, provoking and threatening, especially the inlanders, which have their supply from the Fort of Aurania.¹ We have been esteemed by some of you, as your thorny hedge on this side of you; If so, yet a hedge to be maintained; if as out sentinels, yet not to be discouraged. And if there be a jealousy of the ill use of such a favor, please you to be assured that a credible person in each town shall have the disposal and managing of such supplies, according to the true intent and purpose.

For the obtaining of these, our just and necessary petitions, we have no inducement or hope from ourselves, only we pray you to remember, that the matters prayed, are no way dishonorable to yourselves, and we humbly conceive, do greatly promote the honor and pleasure of his Highness, yea, of the Most High, also; and lastly, such kindnesses will be obligations on us to study to declare ourselves, upon all occasions.

Your most humble and faithful servants,

ROGER WILLIAMS, *President.*

In the name, and by the appointment, of Providence Colony.

¹ Newport, on a former occasion, applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for leave to purchase powder and ammunition at Boston, which request had been refused. Gov. Winthrop, in speaking of it says "it was an error, in

HONORED GENTLEMEN,—I pray your patience to one word relating to myself, only. Whereas, upon an order from the Lords of his Highness' Council, for my future security in taking ships and landing in your ports, it pleased your honored then Governor, Mr. Bellingham, to obey that order under his own hand, I now pray the confirmation of it, from one word of this honored Court assembled.¹

To the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay.

BOSTON, 17, 3, 56, (so called.) [17th May, 1656.]²

MAY IT PLEASE THIS MUCH HONORED ASSEMBLY,—I do humbly hope, that your own breasts and the public, shall reap the fruit of your great gentleness and patience in these barbarous transactions, and I do cordially promise, for myself, (and all I can persuade with) to study gratitude and faithfulness to your service. I have debated with Pumham (and some of the natives helping with me) who shewed him the vexatious life he lives in, your great respect and care toward him, by which he may abundantly mend himself and be united in some convenience unto their neighborhood and your service. But I humbly con-

state policy at least, not to support them, for though they were deeply erroneous, and in such distractions among themselves as portended their ruin, yet if the Indians should prevail against them, it would danger the whole country."—*Hist. of New England*, vol. ii. p. 211.

¹ It appears by a postscript to letter of November 15th, page 297, that Mr. Williams met with "some distresses"

while passing through Boston, when about to embark for London, notwithstanding the order from Cromwell's Council for his protection; hence he now very properly, requires the General Court to confirm this order, before venturing again within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

² HUTCHINSON, *Massachusetts Papers*, p. 282.

ceive, in his case, that *dies et quies sanant hominem*, and he must have some longer breathing, for he tells me that the appearance of this competitor Nawwushawfuck, hath stabbed him. May you, therefore, please to grant him and me some longer time of conference, either until your next general assembling, or longer, at you pleasure.¹

My other requests, I shall not be importune to press on your great affairs, but shall make my address unto your Secretary, to receive, by him, your pleasure.

Honored gentlemen,

Your humble and thankful servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Testimony of Roger Williams relative to the deed of Rhode Island, dated Providence, 25, 6. [25th August,] 1658.²

I have acknowledged (and have and shall endeavor to maintain) the rights and property of every inhabitant of Rhode Island in peace; yet, since there is so much sound and noise of purchase and purchasers, I judge it not unreasonable to declare the rise and bottom of the planting of Rhode Island in the fountain of it: It was not price nor money that could have purchased Rhode Island. Rhode Island was purchased by love; by the love and favor which that honorable gentleman Sir Henry Vane and myself had

¹ As this letter was written but five days after the previous one, doubtless the request made by Mr. Williams for a guarantee of protection was given him.

² Providence Records in the handwriting of Mr. Williams.—BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. p. 91.

with that great Sachem, Miantonomo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English, &c., and the Narragansetts in the Pequod war. It is true I advised a gratuity to be presented to the Sachem and the natives, and because Mr. Coddington and the rest of my loving countrymen were to inhabit the place, and to be at the charge of the gratuities, I drew up a writing in Mr. Coddington's name, and in the names of such of my loving countrymen as came up with him, and put it into as sure a form as I could at that time (amongst the Indians) for the benefit and assurance of the present and future inhabitants of the island. This I mention, that as that truly noble Sir Henry Vane hath been so great an instrument in the hand of God for procuring of this island from the barbarians, as also for procuring and confirming of the charter, so it may by all due thankful acknowledgment be remembered and recorded of us and ours which reap and enjoy the sweet fruits of so great business, and such unheard of liberties amongst us.

*To my honored, kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, Governor,
at Hartford, on Connecticut.*

PROVIDENCE, 6, 12, 59-60. [6th February, 1660.]¹

SIR,—Loving respects to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, &c. Your loving lines in this cold, dead season, were as a cup of your Connecticut cider, which we are glad to hear abounds with you, or of that western metheglin, which

¹ 3 *Mafs. Hist. Col.*, vol. x. p. 26; KNOWLES, p. 309.

you and I have drunk at Bristol together, &c. Indeed, it is the wonderful power and goodness of God, that we are preserved in our dispersions among these wild, barbarous wretches. I hear not of their excursions this winter, and should rejoice if, as you hint, Uncas and his brother were removed to Long Island, or any where, or else, as I have sometimes motioned, a truce for some good term of years might be obtained amongst them. But how should we expect that the streams of blood should stop among the dregs of mankind when the bloody issues flow so fresh and fearfully among the finest and most refined sons of men and sons of God. We have not only heard of the four northern nations, Dania, Swedia, Anglia, and Belgium, all Protestants, (heretics and dogs, with the Pope, &c.,) last year tearing and devouring one another, in the narrow straits and eminent high passages and turns of the sea and world; but we also have a sound of the Presbyterians' rage new burst out into flames of war from Scotland, and the independent and sectarian army provoked again to new appeals to God, and engagements against them. Thus, while this last Pope hath plied with sails and oars, and brought all his popish sons to peace, except Portugal, and brought in his grand engineers, the Jesuits, again to Venice, after their long just banishment, we Protestants are woefully disposed to row backward, and bring our sails aback-stays, and provoke the holy, jealous Lord, who is a consuming fire, to kindle again those fires from Rome and hell, which formerly consumed (in Protestant countries) so many precious servants of God. The late renowned Oliver, confessed to me, in close discourse about the Protestants' affairs, &c., that he yet feared great persecutions to the Protestants from the Romanists, before the downfall

of the Papacy. The histories of our fathers before us, tell us what huge bowls of the blood of the saints that great whore hath been drunk with, in (now) Protestant dominions. Sure her judgment will ring through the world, and it is hoped it is not far from the door. Sir, you were, not long since, the son of two noble fathers, Mr. John Winthrop and Mr. H. Peters. It is said they are both extinguished. Surely, I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them even when their judgments led them to afflict me. Yet the Father of Spirits spares us breath, and I rejoice, Sir, that your name (amongst the New England magistrates printed, to the Parliament and army, by H. Nort. Rous, &c.) is not blurred, but rather honored, for your prudent and moderate hand in the late Quakers' trials amongst us. And it is said, that in the late Parliament, yourself were one of the three in nomination for General Governor over New England, which however that design ripened not, yet your name keeps up a high esteem, &c. I have seen your hand to a letter to this colony, as to your late purchase of some land at Narragansett. The sight of your hand hath quieted some jealousies amongst us, that the Bay, by this purchase, designed some prejudice to the liberty of conscience amongst us. We are in consultations how to answer that letter, and my endeavor shall be, with God's help, to welcome, with both our hands and arms, your interest in these parts, though we have no hope to enjoy your personal residence amongst us. I rejoice to hear that you gain, by new plantations, upon this wilderness. I fear that many precious souls will be glad to hide their heads, shortly, in these parts. Your candle and mine draws towards its end. The Lord graciously help us to shine in light and love universally, to all that fear his name, without that mo-

nopoly of the affection to such of our own persuasion only ; for the common enemy, the Romish wolf, is very high in resolution, and hope, and advantage to make a prey on all, of all sorts that desire to fear God. Divers of our neighbors thankfully re-salute you We have buried, this winter, Mr. Olney's son, whom, formerly, you heard to be afflicted with a lethargy. He lay two or three days wholly senseless, until his last groans. My youngest son, Joseph, was troubled with a spice of an epilepsy. We used some remedies, but it hath pleased God, by his taking of tobacco, perfectly, as we hope, to cure him. Good Mr. Parker, of Boston, passing from Prudence Island, at his coming on shore, on Seekonk land, trod awry upon a stone or stick, and fell down, and broke the small bone of his leg. He hath lain by of it all this winter, and the last week was carried to Boston in a horse litter. Some fears there was of a gangrene. But, Sir, I use too much boldness and prolixity. I shall now only subscribe myself

Your unworthy friend,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, my loving respects to Mr. Stone, Mr. Lord, Mr. Allen, Mr. Webster, and other loving friends.

To my honored, kind friend, Mr. Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, these presents.

PROVIDENCE, 8, 7, 1660. [September 8th, 1660.]¹

SIR,—A sudden warning gives me but time of this abrupt salutation to your kind self and Mrs. Winthrop, wishing you peace. I promised to a neighbor, a former servant of your father's, (Joshua Windsor,) to write a line, on his behalf, and at his desire, unto you. His prayer to you is, that when you travel toward Boston, you would please to come by Providence, and spare one hour to heal an old sore,—a controversy between him and most of his neighbors, in which, I am apt to think, he hath suffered some wrong. He hath promised to submit to your sentence. His opposite, one James Ashton, being desired by me to nominate also, he resolves also to submit to your sentence, which will concern more will and stomach than damage; for the matter only concerns a few poles of ground, wherein Joshua have cried out of wrong these many years. I hope, Sir, the blessed Lord will make you a blessed instrument of chiding the winds and seas; and I shall rejoice in your presence amongst us. There are greater ulcers in my thoughts at present, which, I fear, are incurable, and that it hath pleased the Most Wise and Most High to pass an irrevocable sentence of amputations and cauterizations upon the poor Protestant party. The clouds gather mightily fast and thick upon our heads from all the Popish quarters. It hath pleased the Lord to glad the Romish conclave with the departure of those two mighty

¹ KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 312; 3 *Majs. Hist. Coll.* vol. x. p. 39.

bulwarks of the Protestants, Oliver and Gustavus;¹ to unite, (I think by this time) all the Catholic kings and princes, for Portugal was like, very like, of late, to return to the yoke of Spain, whose treasure from the Indies it hath pleased God to send home, so wonderfully great and rich this year, that I cannot but fear the Lord hath some mighty work to effect with it. We know the Catholic King was in debt, but he now overflows with millions, which God is most like to expend against the Protestants or the Turks, the two great enemies, (the sword-fish and the thrasher) against the Popish leviathan. The Presbyterian party in England and Scotland is yet very likely to make some struggle against the Popish invasions; and yet in the end I fear (as long I have feared, and long since told Oliver, to which he much inclined,) the bloody whore is not yet drunk enough with the blood of the saints and witnesses of Jesus. One cordial is, (amongst so many the merciful Lord hath provided) that that whore will shortly appear so extremely loathsome, in her drunkenness, bestialities, &c., that her bewitched paramours will tear her flesh, and burn her with fire unquenchable. Here is a sound that Fairfax,² and about two hundred of the House with him, differ with the King. The merciful Lord fit us to hear and feel more. It is a very thick and dreadful mist

¹ Oliver Cromwell, who died in 1658; and Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, the great champion of protestanism, who died many years before.

² Thomas, Lord Fairfax, was a distinguished commander and leading character in the civil wars of England. When the disputes between Charles I. and the Parliament terminated in open rupture, Fairfax espoused the cause of

the latter. He sometimes differed from Cromwell and Parliament, yet adhered to their party and thus continued in employment, though more than suspected of disaffection, till being ordered to march against the revolted Scotch Presbyterians, he positively declined the command and retired awhile from public life.—*Biographia Britannica*.

and swamp, with which the Lord hath a great while suffered us to labor in, as hoping to wade out, break through, and escape shipwreck. In Richard Protector's Parliament, they fell into three factions presently: royalists, protecto-rians, (which were most Presbyterian, and earned it,) and commonwealth's men. The Presbyterians, when General Monk¹ brought in the secluded members, carried it again, of late, clearly, and so vigorously against the Papists, that stricter laws than ever. There must surely, then, be great flames, before the King can accomplish his engagements to the Popish party.

You know well, Sir, at sea, the first entertainment of a storm is with, down with top-sails. The Lord mercifully help us to lower, and make us truly more and more low, humble, contented, thankful for the least crumbs of mercy. But the storm increaseth, and trying with our mainsails and mizzens will not do. We must, therefore, humbly beg patience from the Father of Lights and God of all mercies, to lay at Hull, in hope. It was a motto in one of the late Parliaments: cornets under a shower of blood 'Transibit.'

Sir, my neighbor, Mrs. Scott,² is come from England; and, what the whip at Boston could not do, converse with friends in England, and their arguments, have, in a great

¹ Gen. George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, was distinguished for the part he took in the restoration of Charles II. During the Commonwealth he had been an adherent of Cromwell, whose authority he maintained in Scotland, where he was intimately connected with the Presbyterians. — GORTON, *Biographical Dictionary*.

² Mrs. Scott. This was doubtless the

wife of Richard Scott, one of the earliest settlers of the colony who received a lot in Providence in 1636. Richard Scott, who afterwards turned to the Quakers, says, "I walked with [Williams] in the Baptists way about three or four months, in which time he broke up the Society, and declared at large the reasons for it." — BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 108.

measure drawn her from the Quakers, and wholly from their meetings. Try the spirits. There are many abroad, and must be, but the Lord will be glorious, in plucking up whatever his holy hand hath not planted. My brother runs strongly to Origen's notion of universal mercy at last, against an eternal sentence.¹ Our times will call upon us for thorough discussions. The fire is like to try us. It is a wonderful mercy the barbarians are yet so quiet. A portion of our neighbors are just now come home, *re infecta*. The Mohegans would not fally, and the Narragansetts would not spoil the corn, for fear of offending the English. The Lord mercifully guide the councils of the commissioners. Mr. Arnold, Mr. Brenton, and others, struggle against your interest at Narragansett;² but I hope your presence might do much good amongst us in a few days.

Sir, I am, unworthy, yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ Origen, of Alexandria, one of the most eminent of the Christian Fathers who lived in the second and third centuries. He was deprived of his priestly office, and excommunicated, the principal charge against him being his denial of eternal punishment. Origen is called the father of Biblical criticism, and was a voluminous writer.

² Major Humphrey Atherton with others of Massachusetts, and John Winthrop, of Connecticut, had purchased lands in Narragansett. At the May session of the General Assembly, 1660, it was voted "that William Brenton, Benedict Arnold, and others, are chosen a committee to ripen the matter concerning the purchase made by the gentlemen of the Bay in Narragansett, and draw up their report thereon."

In October following, it was ordered

"that a committee be chosen to treat with those gentlemen that have made purchases of lands in Narragansett, with power to treat and fully agree with them in the present difference about their coming into our colony. . . . And that the commissioners take care to write unto the gentlemen, viz.: Major Atherton and his associates to desire them to appoint Commissioners to treat with the aforesaid Commissioners upon all the differences depending about their coming into, or possessing lands from the Indians within this colony's bounds."—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i., pages 429 and 435.

The lands purchased as above, known as the "Neck purchase" and "Boston Neck," in the Narragansett country, are fully described in POTTER'S *Narragansett*, p. 269.

For his much honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, at his house, in Nameag, these.

27, 8, 60. (so called.) [27th October, 1660.]¹

LOVING FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS,—Divers of yourselves have so cried out, of the contentions of your late meetings, that (studying my quietness) I thought fit to present you with these few lines. Two words I pray you to consider. First, as to this plantation of Providence: then as to some new plantation, if it shall please the same God of mercies who provided this, to provide another in mercy for us. 1. As to this town, although I have been called out, of late, to declare my understanding as to the bounds of Providence and Pawtuxet; and, although divers have lands and meadows in possession beyond these bounds, yet I hope that none of you think me so senseless as to put on any barbarian to molest an Englishman, or to demand a farthing of any of you.

2. If any do (as formerly some have done, and divers have given gratuities, as Mr. Field, about Notaquoncanot and others,) I promise, that as I have been assistant to satisfy and pacify the natives round about us, so I hope I shall still while I live be helpful to any of you that may have occasion to use me.

Now, as to some new plantation, I desire to propose that which may quench contention, may accommodate such who want, and may also return moneys unto such as have of late disbursed.

To this purpose, I desire that we be patient, and torment not ourselves and the natives, (Sachems and people,) put-

¹R. I. *Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 39; KNOWLES, *Memoirs Roger Williams*, p. 404.

ting them upon mischievous remedies, with the great noise of twenty miles new or old purchase.

Let us consider, if Niswofakit and Wayunckeke, and the land thereabout, may not afford a new and comfortable plantation, which we may go through with an effectual endeavor for true public good. To this end, I pray you consider, that the inhabitants of these parts, with most of the Coweset and Nipmucks, have long since forsaken the Narragansett Sachems and subjected themselves to the Massachusetts. And yet they are free to sell their lands to any whom the Massachusetts shall not protest against. To this end (observing their often flights, and to stop their running to the Massachusetts) I have parlied with them, and find that about thirty pounds will cause them to leave those parts, and yield peaceable possession. I suppose, then, that the town may do well to give leave to about twenty of your inhabitants (of which I offer to be one, and know others willing) to lay down thirty shillings a man toward the purchase. Let every one of this number have liberty to remove himself, or to place a child or friend there. Let every person who shall afterward be received into the purchase lay down thirty shillings, as hath been done in Providence, which may be paid (by some order agreed on) to such as lately have disbursed moneys unto the effecting of this. I offer, gratis, my time and pains, in hope that such as want may have a comfortable supply amongst us, and others made room for, who may be glad of shelter also.

Yours to serve you,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*Testimony of Roger Williams relative to the purchase of lands at Seekonk and Providence.*PROVIDENCE, 13, 10, 1661. [13th December.]¹

1. I testify and declare, in the holy presence of God, that when at my first coming into these parts, I obtained the lands of Seekonk of Ousamaquin, the then chief Sachem on that side, the Governor of Plymouth (Mr. Winslow) wrote to me, in the name of their government, their claim of Seekonk to be in their jurisdiction, as also their advice to remove but over the river unto this side, (where now, by God's merciful providence, we are,) and then I should be out of their claim, and be as free themselves, and loving neighbors together.²

2. After I had obtained this place, now called Providence, of Canonicus and Miantinomo, the chief Narragansett Sachems deceased, Ousamaquin, the Sachem aforesaid, also deceased, laid his claim to this place also. This forced me to repair to the Narragansett Sachems aforesaid, who declared that Ousamaquin was their subject, and had solemnly himself, in person, with ten men, subjected himself and his lands unto them at the Narragansett: only now he seemed to revolt from his loyalties under the shelter of the English at Plymouth.³

¹ BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 73. Backus says "copied from the original in his own handwriting."

²This shows a great difference between the temper of Plymouth and Massachusetts rulers, and of which we shall see more.—BACKUS, vol. i. p. 73.

³This perfectly agrees with the account we have of Massasoit or Ousamaquin's league made with the Plymouth

people, the spring after their first coming, and of the Narragansett's threatenings on that account.—PRINCE'S *Chronology*, pp. 102-116.

This statement, it will be perceived, was made twenty-five years after Williams crossed the Seekonk river, and established himself and his associates at Providence.

3. This I declared from the Narraganfett Sachems to Oufamaquin, who, without any stick, acknowledged it to be true that he had so subjected as the Narraganfett Sachems affirmed; but withal, he affirmed that he was not subdued by war, which himself and his father had maintained against the Narraganfetts, but God, he said, subdued me by a plague, which swept away my people, and forced me to yield.

4. This conviction and confession of his, together with gratuities to himself and brethren and followers, made him often profess, that he was pleased that I should here be his neighbor, and that rather because he and I had been great friends at Plymouth, and also because that his and my friends at Plymouth advised him to be at peace and friendship with me, and he hoped that our children after us would be good friends together.

5. And whereas, there hath been often speech of Providence falling within Plymouth jurisdiction, by virtue of Oufamaquin's claims, I add unto the testimony abovesaid, that the Governor, Mr. Bradford, and other of their magistrates, described unto me, both by conference and writing, that they and their government were satisfied, and resolved never to molest Providence, nor to claim beyond Seekonk, but to continue loving friends and neighbors (amongst the barbarians) together.

This is the true sum and substance of many passages between our countrymen of Plymouth and Oufamaquin and me.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To the Town of Providence.[No date.]¹

LOVING FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS,—I have again considered on these papers, and find many considerable things in both of them. My desire is, that after a friendly debate of particulars, every man may sit down and rest in quiet with the final sentence and determination of the town, for all experience tells us that public peace and love is better than abundance of corn and cattle, &c. I have one only motion and petition, which I earnestly pray the town to lay to heart, as ever they look for a blessing from God on the town, on your families, your corn and cattle, and your children after you; it is this, that after you have got over the black brook of some soul bondage yourselves, you tear not down the bridge after you, by leaving no small pittance for distressed souls that may come after you. What though your division or allotment be never so small, yet ourselves know that some men's distresses are such, that a piece of a dry crust and a dish of cold water, is sweet, which, if this town will give sincerely unto God, (setting aside some little portions for other distressed souls to get bread on) you know who hath engaged His heavenly word for your reward and recompense.

Yours,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ KNOWLES' *Mem. of Roger Williams*, p. 402.

This letter was copied for Mr. Backus, by the late Judge Howell, of Providence, and was accompanied by the following note in his handwriting: "This remonstrance was sent in to the town, upon their concluding to divide among

themselves certain common lands, out of which Roger Williams wanted some to remain still common, for the town afterwards to give occasionally to such as fled to them, or were banished for conscience sake, as he at first gave it all to them."—KNOWLES, p. 402.

To my honored kind friend Mr. Winthrop, Governor, at
Hartford, present.

PROVIDENCE, 28, 3, 64. (so called.) [May 28, 1664.]¹

SIR,—Meeting (this instant before sun-rise, as I went to my field, &c.,) an Indian running back for a glass, bound for your parts, I thought (since *nihil sine Providentia*) that an Higher Spirit than his own, might purposely (like Jonathan's boy) send him back for this hasty salutation to your kind self and your dear companion.

Sir, I waited for a gale to return you many cordial thanks for your many cordial expressions of ancient kindness to myself, and the public peace and welfare: I have since been occasioned and drawn (being nominated in the Charter to appear again upon the deck,) from my beloved privacy; my humble desires are to contribute my poor mite (as I have ever, and I hope ever shall) to preserve plantation and public interest of the whole New England and not interest of this or that town, colony, opinion, &c.

Sir, when we that have been the eldest, and are rotting, (to-morrow or next day) a generation will act, I fear, far unlike the first Winthrops and their Models of Love:² I fear that the common Trinity of the world, (Profit, Preferment, Pleasure) will here be the *Tria omnia*, as in all the world beside: that Prelacy and Papacy too will in this wilderiness predominate that God Land will be (as now it is) as great a God with us English as God Gold was with the Spaniards, &c. While we are here, noble Sir, let us *Viriliter hoc agere, rem agere humanam, divinam, Christianam*, which I believe is all of a most public genius.

¹ 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 295.

²This may be a reference to Gov. Winthrop's Model of Christian Charity, p. 33. Eds. *Winthrop Papers*.

a sermon written on board the "Arbella." See 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii.,

Sir, those words in our Charter concerning the Narragansett (notwithstanding a late grant to the colony of Connecticut,) &c., are so taking with my neighbors, that Resolutions were up (this last Court) of fetching old Mr. Smith presently, because of his new engagement to Connecticut: it pleased God to help me to stop that council, and to prevail that only a boat was sent, with a loving letter to invite him, and he came not, but said well, viz. : that when the Colonies were agreed, he would submit. Sir, three days hence Major Denison and Mr. Dampport meet from the Bay with Mr. Greene of Warwick, and Mr Torrey of Newport,¹ at Seekonk, to compose the strife between us; I hope your honored self and Major Mason, and some of the grave Elders, &c. will help on such work between yourselves and us, also unto which I hope the Father of mercies will help me to be your and the country's servant in all respect, and faithfulness.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Raptim.

On the outside in Williams' handwriting.

Just now I find this bearer to be Miantonomo's son.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, of Connecticut, "Mr. Rog: Williams rec: Saturday Jun: 25, 1664."

¹Massachusetts having appointed two agents to treat with Rhode Island in regard to Block Island and the Pequot country, John Greene and Joseph Torrey were commissioned to meet them at Rehoboth, on the last day of the month. Roger Williams was one of the committee to prepare the instructions for the commissioners. Richard Smith, jr., and Thomas Gould, of Narragansett, were

bound over in the sum of four hundred pounds each; and John Hicks and John Wood, of Newport, for two hundred pounds each, to appear when called for, upon the charge of seeking to bring in a foreign jurisdiction within the limits of the colony. These bonds were afterwards released. A warrant for the same offence was issued against John Greene, sen'r., who appeared and confessed his

To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Carr, one of His Majesty's
Honorable Commissioners for New England, present.

PROVIDENCE, 1 March, 1665.¹

SIR,—My humble and hearty respects presented, with humble and hearty desires of your present and eternal felicity.

Having headd of a late confederacy among great numbers of these barbarians to assist Pumham, &c., I thought it my duty to wait upon your Honor with these humble salutations, and appreciations of the safety of your person, not to be easily hazarded amongst such a barbarous scum and offscouring of mankind. Besides, Sir, this is an old ulcerous business, wherein I have been many years engaged, and have (in the behalf of my loving friends at Warwick) pleaded this cause with the whole General Court of the Massachusetts magistrates and deputies, and prevailed with them to yield, that if I and Pumham would agree, they would ratify an agreement. But Pumham would not part with that Neck² on any terms. I crave leave to add (for the excuse of this boldness,) that the natives in this Bay do (by promise to them at my first breaking of the ice in amongst them) expect my endeavors of preserving the public peace, which it hath pleased God, mercifully to help

fault. Upon petition he was pardoned, and received again under protection as a freeman of the colony. Richard Smith, sen'r., was written to, to appear before the court on a similar charge. He made no reply to the letter, but enclosed it to Capt. Hutchinson, desiring him to inform Connecticut of the affair, which he did. ARNOLD, *Hist. of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 307. For the letters written on the

occasion and the action of the General Assembly of Rhode Island on the subject, see the *R. I. Col. Records*, vol. ii., pp. 44-49.

¹J. CARTER BROWN'S *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, No. 72.

²Warwick Neck. Gorton and others of the early settlers called it "The Neck."

me to do many times (with my great hazard and charge), when all the colonies and the Massachusetts, in especial, have meditated, prepared and been (sometimes many hundreds) among the march for war against the natives in this colony. Of this my promise and duty, and constant practice, mine own heart and conscience before God; as also some natives put me in mind at present.

1. First then (although I know another claim laid to this land yet,) Pumham being the ancient possessor of this Lordship, I humbly query whether it will be just to dispossess him (not only without consent, which fear may extort, but without some satisfying consideration.) I had a commission from my friends at Warwick, to promise a good round value, and I know some of them have desired the natives, I thought it cost them some hundred pounds.¹

2. Your Honor will never effect by force a safe and lasting conclusion until you have first reduced the Massachusetts to the obedience of his Majesty, and then these appendants (towed at their stern) will easily (and not before) wind about also.

¹The Commissioners of the United Colonies visited Pettaquamscutt and Warwick for the purpose of settling the long existing controversies between the inhabitants and the Indians. Pumham, the subject of Massachusetts, who still refused to leave Warwick Neck, although the land had been fairly purchased of his superior Sachem many years before, was ordered by the Commissioners to remove within a year to some place to be provided for him either in Massachusetts or by Pessicus. Warwick was to pay him £20. but when he had received it, he refused to fulfil his contract or to

obey the order of the Commissioners, relying still upon the protection of Massachusetts.

John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, wrote to Sir Robert Carr in behalf of Pumham, who, he says, had "suffered much hard and ill dealings from some English," and begs him to "deal honorably by them." The correspondence, with other papers on this subject, are contained in the Rhode Island manuscripts, copied from the originals in the British State Paper Office, in the collection of John Carter Brown, Esq., vol. i., Nos. 64 to 73.

3. The business as circumstantiated will not be effected without bloodshed; barbarians are barbarians. There be old grudges betwixt our countrymen of Warwick and them. They are a melancholy people, and judge themselves (by the former Sachem and these English) oppressed and wronged; you may knock out their brains, and yet not make them peaceably to surrender, even as some oxen will die before they will rise; yet with patience, and gentle means will rise and draw, and do good service.

4. These barbarians know that it is but one party in Warwick, which claim this Neck; the greatest part of the town cry out against the other to my knowledge, and that of the natives also.

5. The natives know that this party in Warwick are not only destitute of help, from their own townsmen, but of the other towns of this colony also.

6. They know that it would please the Massachusetts, and most of the other colonies, that Mr. Gorton and his friends had been long ere this destroyed.

7. They know that Ninigret and Pessicus are barbarians, and if it come to blood, and that at the first, the worst be to the English (in any appearances,) they will join to further the prey. However, if King Philip keep his promise, they will be too great a party against the two Sachems.

8. Lastly, Sir, we profess Christianity, which commends a little with peace; a dinner of green herbs with quietness; and if it be possible, commands peace with all men. I therefore humbly offer, if it be not advisable (in this juncture of time) to lay all the blame on me, and on my intercession and mediation, for a little further breathing to

the barbarians until harvest, in which time a peaceable and loving agreement may be wrought, to mutual consent and satisfaction."

Sir, I humbly crave your Honor's gracious pardon to this great boldness.

Your most obedient and bounden servants,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To my much respected the Inhabitants of the Town of Providence.

PROVIDENCE, 10th February, 1667-8.]¹

LOVING FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS,—Unto this day, it pleased the town to adjourn for the answering of the bill for the bridge and others. I have conferred with Shadrach Manton and Nathaniel Waterman, about their proposal, and their result is, that they cannot obtain such a number as will join with them, to undertake the bridge upon the hopes of meadow. I am, therefore, bold, after so many anchors come home, and so much trouble and long debates and deliberations, to offer, that if you please, I will, with God's help, take this bridge unto my care, by that moderate toll of strangers of all sorts, which hath been mentioned; will maintain it so long that it pleaseth God that I live in this town.²

¹KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 330.

²The Town of Providence, in June, 1662, had ordered a bridge to be built on Moshassuck river, by Thomas Olney's

house, which order was not accomplished. To this contemplated bridge, the letter doubtless refers. The late John Howland was of opinion that this bridge was intended to be built somewhere between

2. The town shall be free from all toll, only I desire one day's work of one man in a year from every family, but from those that have teams, and have much use of the bridge, one day's work of a man and team, and of those that have less use, half a day.

3. I shall join with any of the town, more or few, who will venture their labor with me for the gaining of meadow.

4 I promise, if it please God, that I gain meadow in equal value to the town's yearly help, I shall then release that.

5. I desire if it please God to be with me, to go through such a charge and trouble as will be to bring this to a settled way, and then suddenly to take me from hence, I desire that before another, my wife and children, if they desire it, may engage in my stead to these conditions.

6. If the town please to consent, I desire that one of yourselves be nominated, to join with the clerk to draw up the writing.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

the present Great Bridge and Smith's Bridge, for the purpose of getting access to the natural meadows at the head of the Cove. Mr. Howland, in a note to Mr. Knowles, says, "I have frequently been told by Nathan Waterman, that teams and men on horseback used to cross the river (before his day) across the clam-

bed, opposite Angell's land, at low tide, and land on the western shore." The Thomas Olney lot was where the old Providence Hotel in North Main Street lately stood, and extended down to the Cove. In front of this was a shoal place, called the clam-bed.—KNOWLES, *Mem. of Roger Williams*, note p. 331.

*To the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay.*PROVIDENCE, 7th of May, 1668.¹

I humbly offer to consideration my long and constant experience, since it pleased God to bring me unto these parts, as to the Narragansett and Nipmuck people.

First, that all the Nipmucks were, unquestionably, subject to the Narragansett Sachems, and, in a special manner to Mexham, the son of Canonicus, and late husband to this old Squaw Sachem, now only surviving. I have abundant and daily proof of it, as plain and clear as that the inhabitants of Newbury or Ipswich, &c., are subject to the government of the Massachusetts colony.²

2. I was called by his Majesty's Commissioners to testify in a like case between Philip and the Plymouth Indians, on the one party, and the Narragansetts on the other, and it pleased the committee to declare, that the King had not given them any commission to alter the Indians' laws and customs, which they observed amongst themselves: most of which, although they are, like themselves barbarous, yet in the case of their mournings, they are more humane, and it seems to be more inhumane in those that professed

¹ POTTER'S *Hist. of Narragansett*, p. 159; KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 331.

This letter is without any address, but in the opinion of Mr. Knowles, was doubtless written to the government of Massachusetts.

² "Massachusetts, although her claims had been superseded by those of Connecticut, and her right to interfere, even with the Indians had been denied by the royal commissioners, embraced an opportunity presented by the Nipmucks,

who acknowledged her supremacy, to impose terms on the Narragansetts. The Nipmucks petitioned for redress for spoliations committed by the Narragansetts. The General Court took up the matter, as of right, and settled the difficulty. It was a measure of peace and therefore commendable, but it does not admit of rigid scrutiny into the claim of jurisdiction over the Nipmuck country upon which the interview was based."—ARNOLD, *Hist. of Rhode Island*, vol i., p. 333.

subjection to this the very last year, under some kind of feigned protection of the English, to be singing and dancing, drinking, &c., while the rest were lamenting their Sachems' deaths.¹

I abhor most of their customs; I know they are barbarous. I respect not one party more than the other, but I desire to witness truth; and as I desire to witness against oppression, so, also, against the slighting of civil, yea, of barbarous order and government, as respecting every shadow of God's gracious appointments.

This I humbly offer as in the holy presence of God.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For John Whipple, jun., these.

PROVIDENCE, 8th July, 1669. (so called.)¹

NEIGHBOR WHIPPLE,—I kindly thank you, that you so far have regarded my lines as to return me your thoughts, whether sweet or sour I desire not to mind. I humbly hope, that as you shall never find me self-conceited nor self-seeking, so, as to others, not pragmatical and a busy-body as you insinuate. My study is to be swift to hear, and slow to speak, and I could tell you of five or six grounds (it may be more) why I give this my testimony against this unrighteous and monstrous proceeding of Christian brethren helping to haul one another before the world, whose song was lately and loudly sung in my ears, viz.: the world would be quiet enough, were

¹ *Rhode Island Literary Repository*, vol. i., pp. 638-640; KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 332.

it not for those holy brethren, their divisions and contentions. The last night, Shadrach Manton told me that I had spoken bad words of Gregory Dexter,¹ (though Shadrach deals more ingenuously than yourself saying the same thing, for he tells me wherein,) viz. : that I said he makes a fool of his conscience. I told him I said so, and I think to our neighbor Dexter himself; for I believe he might as well be moderator or general deputy or general assistant, as go so far as he goes, in many particulars; but what if I or my conscience be a fool, yet it is commendable and admirable in him, that being a man of education, and of a noble calling, and versed in militaries, that his conscience forced him to be such a child in his own house, when W. Har. strained for the rate (which I approve of) with such imperious insulting over his conscience, which all conscientious men will abhor to hear of. However, I commend that man, whether Jew, or Turk, or Papist, or whoever, that steers no otherwise than his conscience dares, till his conscience tells him that God gives him a greater latitude. For, neighbor, you shall find it rare to meet with men of conscience, men that for fear and love of God dare

¹ Gregory Dexter was one of the earliest settlers of Providence. He received one of the home lots in 1637, and signed the first compact in 1640. Was subsequently one of the committee from Providence to form a government. For many years he was a commissioner for that town, and a deputy in the Assembly. The reference to Mr. Dexter's refusal to pay his taxes, from conscientious scruples shows that Mr. Williams accurately discriminated between the rights of conscience, and a perversion of those rights. It is worthy of notice, too, that Mr.

Williams condemned the conduct of Mr. Dexter, though an intimate friend; and approved, in part, at least, that of Mr. Harris, though a bitter hostility existed between them.

Mr. Dexter had been a printer and stationer in London, and was the publisher of *Williams' Key into the [Indian] Language of America*. London: 1643. As he was in Providence several years before, his printing business may have been carried on after he left. SAVAGE, says he died in 1700, at the age of ninety.—*Genealogical Dict.* vol. ii.

not lie, nor be drunk, nor be contentious, nor steal, nor be covetous, nor voluptuous, nor ambitious, nor lazy-bodies, nor busy-bodies, nor dare displease God by omitting either service or suffering, though of reproach, imprisonment, banishment and death, because of the fear and love of God.

If W. Wickenden¹ received a beaft of W. Field, for ground of the same hold, I knew it not, and so spake the truth, as I understood it. 2. Though I have not spoke with him, yet I hear it was not of that hold or tenure, for we have had four sorts of bounds at least.

First, the grant of as large accommodations as any English in New England had. This the Sachems always promised me, and they had cause, for I was as a right hand unto them, to my great cost and travail. Hence I was sure of the Tocekeunquinit meadows, and what could with any show of reason have been desired; but some, (that never did this town or colony good, and, it is feared, never will,) cried out, when Roger Williams had laid himself down as a stone in the dust, for after comers to step on in town and colony, "What is Roger Williams? We know the Indians and the Sachems as well as he. We will trust Roger Williams no longer. We will have our bounds confirmed us under the Sachems' hands before us."

2. Hence arose, to my soul cutting and grief, the second sort of bounds, viz.: the bounds set under the hands of those great Sachems Canonicus and Miantonomo, and were set so short (as to Mashapaug and Pawtucket, and at that

¹William Wickenden, removed to Providence from Salem, previous to August 20, 1637, and was a colleague with Chad Brown in the pastoral charge of

the Baptist Church.—He died February, 23, 1670.—STAPLES' note to GORTON'S *Simplicity's Defence*, p. 109.

time,) because they would not intrench upon the Indians inhabiting round about us, for the prevention of strife between us.

The third sort of bounds were of favor and grace, invented, as I think, and prosecuted by that noble spirit, now with God, Chad Brown.¹ Presuming upon the Sachems' grant to me, they exceeded the letter of the Sachem's deed, so far as reasonably they judged, and with this promise of satisfaction to any native who should reasonably desire it. In this third sort of bounds, lay this piece of meadow hard by Capt. Fenner's grounds, which, with two hogs, William Wickenden gave to W. Field for a small beast, &c.

Besides these three sorts of bounds, there arose a fourth, (like the fourth beast in Daniel) exceeding dreadful and terrible, unto which the Spirit of God gave no name nor bounds, nor can we in the first rise of ours, only boundless bounds, or a monstrous beast, above all other beasts or monsters. Now, as from this fourth wild beast in Daniel, in the greater world, have arisen all the storms and tempests, factions and divisions, in our little world amongst us, and what the tearing consequences it will be, is only known to the Most Holy and Only Wife.

¹Chad Brown was an associate of Roger Williams, and one of the founders of Providence, having come from Massachusetts in 1636. His name is among those who received a "home lot," and one of the four chosen in 1640 to prepare a form of government.—*Col. Records*, vol. i. pp. 14 and 27.

He was pastor of the Baptist Church in 1642. He had children, John, who married a Holmes, daughter of the Rev.

Obadiah Holmes; Daniel, who married a Herenden; James, Jeremiah, and Judah. The last two removed to Rhode Island.—STAPLES' note to GORTON'S *Simplicity's Defence*, p. 108.

The descendants of Chad Brown have ever been among the most enterprising and public spirited men of the State. They are equally distinguished for their liberal benefactions to the literary and charitable institutions in Providence.

You conclude with your innocence and patience under my clamorous tongue, but I pray you not to forget that there are two basins. David had one, Pilate another. David washed his hands in innocence, and so did Pilate, and so do all parties, all the world over. As to Innocence, my former paper saith something. As to patience, how can you say you are patient under my clamorous tongue, when that very speech is most impatient and unchristian? My clamor and crying shall be to God and men (I hope without revenge or wrath) but for a little ease, and that yourselves, and they that scorn and hate me most, may, (if the Eternal please,) find cooling in that hot, eternal day that is near approaching. This shall be the continual clamor or cry of

Your unworthy friend and neighbor,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To my honored friend, Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, &c., these, at Boston or elsewhere. Leave this at Major Leverett's.

PROVIDENCE, August 19th, 1669. (so called.)¹

SIR,—Loving respects to yourself and your dearest and other friends, &c. I have no tidings (upon my enquiry) of that poor dog, about which you sent to me. I fear he is run wild into the woods, though it is possible that English or Indians have him. Oh, Sir, what is that word that sparrows and hairs are provided for and numbered by

¹ 5 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 414.

God? then certainly your dog and all dogs and beafts. How much more mankind. (He faveth man and beaft.) How much more his fons and daughters, and heirs of his crown and kingdom.

Sir, I have encouraged Mr. Dexter to fend you a limestone, and to salute you with this enclosed. He is an intelligent man, a master printer of London, and conscionable (though a Baptist), therefore maligned and traduced by William Harris (a doleful generalist.) Sir, if there be any occasion of yourself (or others) to use any of this stone, Mr. Dexter hath a lusty team and lusty fons, and very willing heart, (being a sanguine, cheerful man) to do yourself or any (at your word especially,) service upon my honest and cheap considerations; and if there be any occasion, Sir, you may be confident of all ready service from your old unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

While you were at Mr. Smith's that bloody liquor trade (which Richard Smith¹ hath of old driven) fired the country about your lodging. The Indians would have more liquor, and it came to blows. The Indians complained to Richard Smith. He told them he was busy about your departure. Next day the English complained of some hurt and went with twenty-eight horse (and more men) to

¹ Richard Smith's name first appears among the "inhabitants of Newport, admitted since May 20, 1638," and previous to 1639.—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. i. p. 92. He and his son Richard Smith, jr., "traders, of Cocumcofuck," and Gov. Winthrop of Connecticut were among those to whom Coganiquant,

deeded the "Northern tract" in the Narragansett country in 1659. They had a large trading house in Wickford. Both father and son were among the prominent men of that part of the colony. It would appear from Mr. Williams's letter, that they dealt largely in spirituous liquors.

fetch in the Sachem. The Indians with a shout routed these horses, and caused their return, and are more insolent by this repulse; yet they are willing to be peaceable, were it not for that devil of liquor. I might have gained thousands (as much as any) by that trade, but God hath graciously given me rather to choose a dry morsel, &c.

Sir, since I saw you I have read Morton's Memorial,¹ and rejoice at the encomiums upon your father and other precious worthies, though I be a reprobate, *contemptâ vitior algâ*.
R. W.

PROVIDENCE, June 22, 1670, (*ut vulgo*).²

MAJOR MASON,—My honored, dear and ancient friend, my due respects and earnest desires to God, for your eternal peace, &c.

I crave your leave and patience to present you with some few considerations, occasioned by the late transactions between your colony and ours. The last year you were pleased, in one of your lines to me, to tell me that you longed to see my face once more before you died. I embraced your love, though I feared my old lame bones, and yours, had arrested traveling in this world, and therefore I was and am ready to lay hold on all occasions of writing, as I do at present.

The occasion, I confess, is sorrowful, because I see your-

¹ *New England's Memorial; or a Brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable passages in the Providence of God manifested in the Planters of New England in America, etc.*, CAMBRIDGE, 1669.

² *Majs. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. p. 275; KNOWLES, *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, p. 393.

elves, with others, embarked in a resolution to invade and despoil your poor countrymen, in a wilderness, and your ancient friends, of our temporal and soul liberties.¹

It is sorrowful, also, because mine eye beholds a black and doleful train of grievous, and, I fear, bloody consequences, at the heel of this business, both to you and us. The Lord is righteous in all our afflictions, that is a maxim; the Lord is gracious to all oppressed, that is another; he is most gracious to the soul that cries and waits on him; that is silver, tried in the fire seven times.

Sir, I am not out of hopes, but that while your aged eyes and mine are yet in their orbs, and not yet sunk down into their holes of rottenness, we shall leave our friends and countrymen, our children and relations, and this land, in peace, behind us. To this end, Sir, please you with a calm and steady and a Christian hand, to hold the balance and to weigh these few considerations, in much love and due respect presented :

¹The question of jurisdiction in the southwestern part of the colony led to the appointment of a committee by Connecticut, in May of this year, to confer with the authorities of Rhode Island, and if the latter refused to treat, they were authorized to reduce the people of Westerly and Narragansett to submission. A special session of the Assembly of Rhode Island was called, and a committee appointed to consider the subject. The two committees met at New London, but failed to agree upon terms of settlement. The Connecticut men, the following day, formally proclaimed the authority of their government over Westerly, and sent officers warning the inhabitants east of Pawcatuck river to appear at Stonington. The

officers were arrested and sent to Newport jail. To add to the troubles, Harvard College set up a claim to land in Westerly. Arrests were made on both sides, and another special session of the Assembly took place in June, when agents were appointed to proceed to England, there to defend the charter against the invasions of Connecticut. It was at this juncture that Mr. Williams wrote this letter to Major Mason, who enclosed it to the Connecticut Commissioners. Mr. Arnold in his *History of Rhode Island*, gives a lucid account of the controversy in question; vol. i. pp. 341-348; while the documentary history of it may be found at length in the *R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. ii. pp. 309-328.

First. When I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children, (in the midst of a New England winter, now about thirty-five years past,) at Salem, that ever honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to Narragansett Bay and Indians, for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me, from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a hint and voice from God, and waving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem (though in winter snow, which I feel yet) unto these parts, wherein I may say Peniel, that is, I have seen the face of God.

Second, I first pitched, and began to build and plant at Seekonk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loath to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and then, he said, I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together. These were the joint understandings of these two eminently wise and Christian Governors and others, in their day, together with their counsel and advice as to the freedom and vacancy of this place, which in this respect, and many other Providences of the Most Holy and Only Wife, I called *Providence*.¹

¹ Finding himself upon lands claimed by Massachusetts and Plymouth, Williams embarked from Seekonk in a canoe, with five others, viz.: William Harris; John Smith, miller; Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell and Francis Wickes. (*Moses Brown in R. I. Register* for 1828.) They are believed to have crossed See-

Third. Sometime after, the Plymouth great Sachem, (Oufamaquin,) upon occasion, affirming that Providence was his land, and therefore Plymouth's land, and some resenting it, the then prudent and godly Governor, Mr. Bradford,¹ and others of his godly council, answered, that if, after due examination, it should be found true what the barbarian said, yet having to my loss of a harvest that year, been now (though by their gentle advice) as good as banished from Plymouth as from the Massachusetts, and I had quietly and patiently departed from them, at their motion to the place where now I was, I should not be molested and tossed up and down again, while they had breath in their bodies; and surely, between those, my friends of the Bay and Plymouth, I was sorely tossed, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season,² not knowing what bread or bed did mean, beside the yearly loss of no small matter in my trading with English and natives, being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England.

konk river near where Central Bridge now crosses. As they approached the opposite shore, they were accosted by the Indians, with the friendly interrogation of "Whatcheer" a common English phrase, which they had learned from the colonists, equivalent to "How do you do." (KNOWLES, p. 102.) Others say this word meant "Welcome." They probably landed on the rock which here juts out into the river, and remained for a short time. They then passed round India Point and Fox Point, and proceeded up the river to a spot near the entrance of the Moshassuck river, where the party landed. Tradition says, the landing place was near the spring in the rear of the residence of the late Gov. Philip Allen.

¹ William Bradford was the second Governor of Plymouth, John Carver, being the first. He was one of the "Mayflower" Pilgrims. Was elected Governor in 1621, and annually re-elected until his death in 1657, excepting five years, when he declined the offer. He wrote a history of Plymouth Colony from 1620 to 1647, which, after remaining in manuscript for more than two hundred years, was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, with notes by Charles Deane, in 1856.

² "Mr. Roger Williams," says Gov. Bradford, "(a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment) came over first to the Massachusetts, but upon some discontent left that place, and came hither,

God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay the very temporary losses I have sustained. It lies upon the Massachusetts and me, yea, and other colonies joining with them, to examine, with fear and trembling, before the eyes of flaming fire, the true cause of all my sorrows and sufferings. It pleased the Father of spirits to touch many hearts, dear to him, with some relentings; amongst which,

(where he was friendly entertained, according to their poor ability,) and exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was admitted a member of the church; and his teachings well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God. . . . He this year began to fall into strange opinions, and from opinions to practise, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end to some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly. Yet afterwards sued for his dismission to the church in Salem, which was granted. . . . But he soon fell into more things there, both to their and the governments trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name particulars, they are too well known to all. . . . But he is to be pitied, and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter, and desire the Lord to shew him his errors, and reduce him in the way of truth, and give him a settled judgment and constancy in the same; for I hope he belongs to the Lord and that he will show him mercy."—*Hist. of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 310.

In connection with this subject, and the remarks of Gov. Bradford, we quote an extract from a letter of Sir William Martin to Gov. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, enquiring about the state of the colony:

. . . "I am sorry to hear of Mr. Williams's separation from you. His former good affections to you and the Plantations, were well known unto me and make me wonder now at his proceedings. I have wrote to him effectually to submit to better judgments, especially to those whom he formerly revered and admired; at least to keep the bond of peace inviolable. This hath always been my advice; and nothing conduceth more to the good of plantations. I pray show him what lawful favor you can, which may stand with the common good. He is passionate and precipitate, which may transport him into error, but I hope his integrity and good intentions will bring him at last into the way of truth, and confirm him therein. In the meantime, I pray God to give him a right use of this affliction."—*Hutchinson Papers*, vol. i. p. 106.

There has been a question as to time when Williams left Salem; but it is now generally acknowledged that it was in January, 1636. He was fourteen weeks journeying through the wilderness, until he pitched his tent and began to plant at Seekonk. This was probably in May. The first entry in the Providence records is dated the 16th of the 4th month, i. e. June [1636.]

that great and pious soul, Mr. Winflow, melted, and kindly visited me, at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife, for our supply.

Fourth. When the next year after my banishment, the Lord drew the bow of the Pequod war against the country, in which, Sir, the Lord made yourself, with others, a blessed instrument of peace to all New England, I had my share of service to the whole land in that Pequod business, inferior to very few that acted, for,¹

1. Upon letters received from the Governor and Council at Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequods against the Mohegans, and Pequods against the English, (excusing the not sending of company and supplies, by the haste of the business,) the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house.

2. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also.

3. When God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequods' negotiation and design, and to make, and promote and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansetts and Mo-

¹ Gov. Bradford acknowledges the great service rendered by Mr. Williams in pacifying the Pequots at this time.—*History of Plymouth*, p. 364.

hegans against the Pequods, and that the English forces marched up to the Narragansett country against the Pequods, I gladly entertained, at my house in Providence, the General Stoughton[†] and his officers and used my utmost care that all his officers and soldiers should be well accommodated with us.

4. I marched up with them to the Narragansett Sachems, and brought my countrymen and the barbarians, Sachems and captains, to a mutual confidence and complacence, each in other.

5. Though I was ready to have marched further, yet, upon agreement that I should keep at Providence, as an agent between the Bay and the army, I returned, and was interpreter and intelligencer, constantly receiving and sending letters to the Governor and Council at Boston, &c., in which work I judge it no impertinent digression to recite (out of the many scores of letters, at times, from Mr. Winthrop,) this one pious and heavenly prophecy, touching all New England, of that gallant man, viz.: "If the Lord turn away his face from our sins, and bless our endeavors and yours, at this time against our bloody enemy, we and our children shall long enjoy peace, in this, our wilderness condition." And himself and some other of the Council motioned and it was debated, whether or no I had not merited, not only to be recalled from banishment, but also to be honored with some remark of favor. It is known who hindered, who never promoted the liberty of other men's consciences. These things, and ten times more, I could relate, to show that I am not a stranger to the Pe-

[†] Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, Mass., commanded the Massachusetts troops sent against the Pequots. Was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and a commissioner to administer

the government of New Hampshire. He was the father of Wm. Stoughton, the celebrated statesman, who was Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice of Mass.—DRAKE, *Biog. Dictionary*.

quod wars and lands, and possibly not far from the merit of a foot of land in either country, which I have not.

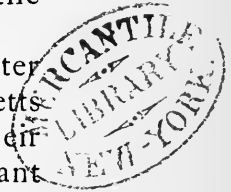
5. Considering (upon frequent exceptions against Providence men) that we had no authority for civil government, I went purposely to England, and upon my report and petition, the Parliament granted us a charter of government for these parts, so judged vacant on all hands. And upon this, the country about us was more friendly, and wrote to us, and treated us as an authorized colony; only the difference of our consciences much obstructed. The bounds of this, our first charter, I (having ocular knowledge of persons, places and transactions) did honestly and conscientiously, as in the holy presence of God, draw up from Pawcatuck river, which I then believed, and still do, is free from all English claims and conquests; for although there were some Pequods on this side the river, who, by reason of some Sachems' marriages with some on this side, lived in a kind of neutrality with both sides, yet, upon the breaking out of the war, they relinquished their land to the possession of their enemies, the Narragansetts and Niantics, and their land never came into the condition of the lands on the other side, which the English, by conquest, challenged; so that I must still affirm, as in God's holy presence, I tenderly waved to touch a foot of land in which I knew the Pequod wars were maintained and were properly Pequod, being a gallant country; and from Pawcatuck river hitherward, being but a patch of ground, full of troublesome inhabitants, I did, as I judged, inoffensively, draw our poor and inconsiderable line.

It is true, when at Portsmouth, on Rhode Island, some of ours, in a General Assembly, motioned their planting on this side Pawcatuck. I, hearing that some of the Massa-

chufetts reckoned this land theirs, by conquest, dissuaded from the motion, until the matter should be amicably debated and composed; for though I questioned not our right, &c., yet I feared it would be inexpedient and offensive, and procreative of these heats and fires, to the dishonoring of the King's Majesty, and the dishonoring and blaspheming of God and of religion in the eyes of the English and barbarians about us.

6. Some time after the Pequod war and our charter from the Parliament, the government of Massachusetts wrote to myself (then chief officer in this colony) of their receiving of a patent from the Parliament for these vacant lands, as an addition to the Massachusetts, &c., and thereupon requesting me to exercise no more authority, &c., for they wrote, their charter was granted some few weeks before ours. I returned, what I believed righteous and weighty, to the hands of my true friend, Mr. Winthrop, the first mover of my coming into these parts, and to that answer of mine I never received the least reply; only it is certain, that, at Mr. Gorton's complaint against the Massachusetts, the Lord High Admiral, President, said, openly, in a full meeting of the commissioners, that he knew no other charter for these parts than what Mr. Williams had obtained, and he was sure that charter, which the Massachusetts Englishmen pretended, had never passed the table.

7. Upon our humble address, by our agent, Mr. Clarke, to his Majesty, and his gracious promise of renewing our former charter, Mr. Winthrop, upon some mistake, had entrenched upon our line, and not only so, but, as it is said, upon the lines of other charters also. Upon Mr. Clarke's complaint, your grant was called in again, and it had never



been returned, but upon a report that the agents, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clarke, were agreed, by mediation of friends, (and it is true, they came to a solemn agreement, under hands and seals,) which agreement was never violated on our part.

8. But the King's Majesty sending his commissioners among other of his royal purposes) to reconcile the differences of, and to settle the bounds between the colonies, yourselves know how the King himself therefore hath given a decision to this controversy. Accordingly, the King's Majesty's aforefaid commissioners at Rhode Island, (where, as a commissioner for this colony, I transacted with them, as did also commissioners from Plymouth,) they composed a controversy between Plymouth and us, and settled the bounds between us, in which we rest.

9. However you satisfy yourselves with the Pequod conquest, with the sealing of your charter some weeks before ours; with the complaints of particular men to your colony; yet upon a due and serious examination of the matter, in the sight of God, you will find the business at bottom to be,

First, a depraved appetite after the great vanities, dreams and shadows of this vanishing life, great portions of land, land in this wilderness, as if men were in as great necessity and danger for want of great portions of land, as poor, hungry, thirstly seamen have, after a sick and stormy, a long and starving passage. This is one of the gods of New England, which the living and most high Eternal will destroy and famish.

2. An unneighborly and unchristian intrusion upon us, as being the weaker, contrary to your laws, as well as ours; concerning purchasing of lands without the consent of the

General Court. This I told Major Atherton, at his first going up to the Narragansett about this business. I refused all their proffers of land, and refused to interpret for them to the Sachems.

3. From these violations and intrusions arise the complaint of many privateers, not dealing as they would be dealt with, according to law of nature, the law of the prophets and Christ Jesus, complaining against others, in a delign, which they themselves are delinquents and wrong doers. I could aggravate this many ways with Scripture rhetoric and similitude, but I see need of anodynes, (as physicians speak,) and not of irritations. Only this I must crave leave to say, that it looks like a prodigy or monster, that countrymen among savages in a wilderness; that professors of God and one Mediator, of an eternal life, and that this is like a dream, should not be content with those vast and large tracts which all the other colonies have, (like platters and tables full of dainties,) but pull and snatch away their poor neighbors' bit or crust; and a crust it is, and a dry, hard one, too, because of the natives' continual troubles, trials and vexations.

10. Alas! Sir, in calm midnight thoughts, what are these leaves and flowers, and smoke and shadows, and dreams of earthly nothings, about which we poor fools and children, as David saith, disquiet ourselves in vain? Alas? what is all the scuffling of this world for, but, *come, will you smoke it?* What are all the contentions and wars of this world about, generally, but for greater dishes and bowls of porridge, of which, if we believe God's Spirit in Scripture, Esau and Jacob were types? Esau will part with the heavenly birthright for his supping, after his hunting, for god belly; and Jacob will part with por-

ridge for an eternal inheritance. O Lord, give me to make Jacob's and Mary's choice, which shall never be taken from me.

11. How much sweeter is the counsel of the Son of God, to mind first the matters of his kingdom; to take no care for to-morrow; to pluck out, cut off and fling away right eyes, hands and feet, rather than to be cast whole into hell-fire; to consider the ravens and the lilies, whom a heavenly Father so clothes and feeds; and the counsel of his servant Paul, to roll our cares, for this life also, upon the most high Lord, steward of his people, the eternal God; to be content with food and raiment; to mind not our own, but every man the things of another; yea, and to suffer wrong, and part with what we judge is right, yea, our lives, and (as poor women martyrs have said) as many as there be hairs upon our heads, for the name of God and the son of God his sake. This is humanity, yea, this is Christianity. The rest is but formality and picture, courteous idolatry and Jewish and Popish blasphemy against the Christian religion, the Father of spirits and his Son, the Lord Jesus. Besides, Sir, the matter with us is not about these children's toys of land, meadows, cattle, government, &c. But here, all over this colony, a great number of weak and distressed souls, scattered, are flying hither from Old and New England, the Most High and Only Wise hath, in his infinite wisdom, provided this country and this corner as a shelter for the poor and persecuted, according to their several persuasions. And thus that heavenly man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, though he pronounced the sentence of my long banishment against me, at Cambridge, then Newtown, yet said unto me, in his own house at Hartford, being then in some difference

with the Bay: "I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confess to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been, we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied."¹

Thus, Sir, the King's Majesty, though his father's and his own conscience favored Lord Bishops, which their father and grandfather King James, whom I have spoke with, fore against his will, also did, yet all the world may see, by his Majesty's declarations and engagements before his return, and his declarations and Parliament speeches since, and many suitable actings, how the Father of spirits hath mightily impressed and touched his royal spirit, though the Bishop's much disturbed him, with deep inclination of favor and gentleness to different consciences and apprehensions as to the invincible King and way of his worship. Hence he hath vouchsafed his royal promise under his hand and broad seal, that no person in this colony shall be molested or questioned for the matters of his conscience to God, so he be loyal and keep the civil peace.² Sir, we must part with lands and lives before we part with such a jewel. I judge you may yield some land and the govern-

¹ The Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, respecting whom see note on p. 84.

² The passage alluded to in the charter reads as follows: "That no person within the said colony, shall be anywise molested, punished or disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our

said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly," etc., etc.

ment of it to us, and we for peace sake, the like to you, as being but subjects to one king, &c., and I think the King's Majesty would thank us, for many reasons. But to part with this jewel, we may as soon do it as the Jews with the favor of Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes. Yourselves pretend liberty of conscience, but alas! it is but self, the great god self, only to yourselves. The King's Majesty winks at Barbadoes, where Jews and all sorts of Christian and Antichristian persuasions are free, but our grant, some few weeks after yours sealed, though granted as soon, if not before yours, is crowned with the King's extraordinary favor to this colony, as being a banished one, in which his Majesty declared himself that he would experiment, whether civil government could consist with such liberty of conscience. This his Majesty's grant was startled at by his Majesty's high officers of State, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but tearing the lion's roaring, they couched, against their wills, in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure.

Some of yours, as I heard lately, told tales to the Archbishop of Canterbury, viz. : that we are a profane people, and do not keep the Sabbath, but some do plough, &c. But, first, you told him not how we suffer freely all other persuasions, yea, the common prayer, which yourselves will not suffer. If you say you will, you confess you must suffer more, as we do.

2. You know this is but a color to your design, for, first, you know that all England itself (after the formality and superstition of morning and evening prayer) play away their Sabbath. 2d. You know yourselves do not keep the Sabbath, that is the seventh day, &c.

3. You know that famous Calvin and thousands more

held it but ceremonial and figurative from Colossians 2,¹ &c., and vanished; and that the day of worship was alterable at the churches' pleasure. Thus also all the Romanists confess, saying, viz.: that there is no express scripture, first, for infants' baptism; nor, second, for abolishing the seventh day, and instituting of the eighth day worship, but that it is at the churches' pleasure.

4. You know, that generally, all this whole colony observe the first day, only here and there one out of conscience, another out of covetousness, make no conscience of it.

5. You know the greatest part of the world make no conscience of a seventh day. The next part of the world, Turks, Jews and Christians, keep three different days, Friday, Saturday, Sunday for their Sabbath and day of worship, and every one maintains his own by the longest sword.

6. I have offered, and do, by these presents, to discuss by disputation, writing or printing, among other points of differences, these three positions; first, that forced worship stinks in God's nostrils. 2d. That it denies Christ Jesus yet to be come, and makes the church yet national, figurative and ceremonial. 3d. That in these flames about religion, as his Majesty, his father and grandfather have yielded, there is no other prudent, Christian way of preserving peace in the world, but by permission of differing consciences. Accordingly, I do now offer to dispute these points and other points of difference, if you please, at Hartford, Boston and Plymouth. For the manner of the dispute and the discussion, if you think fit, one whole day each month in summer, at each place, by course, I am

¹ "Let no man judge you in meat, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or days."—Colossians, ii. 16.

ready, if the Lord permit, and, as I humbly hope, assist me.

It is said, that you intend not to invade our spiritual or civil liberties, but only (under the advantage of first sealing your charter) to right the privateers that petition to you. It is said, also, that if you had but Mishquomacuck and Narragansett lands quietly yielded, you would stop at Coweset, &c.¹ Oh, Sir, what do these thoughts preach, but that private cabins rule all, whatever become of the ship of common safety and religion, which is so much pretended in New England? Sir, I have heard further, and by some that say they know, that something deeper than all which hath been mentioned lies in the three colonies' breasts and consultations. I judge it not fit to commit such matter to the trust of paper, &c., but only beseech the Father of spirits to guide our poor bewildered spirits, for his name and mercy sake.

15. Whereas our case seems to be the case of Paul appealing to Cæsar against the plots of his religious, zealous adversaries, I hear you pass not of our petitions and appeals to his Majesty, for partly you think the King will not own a profane people that do not keep the Sabbath; partly you think that the King is an incompetent judge, but you will force him to law also, to confirm your first born Esau, though Jacob had him by the heels, and in God's holy time must carry the birth-right and inheritance. I judge your surmise is a dangerous mistake, for patents, grants and charters, and such like royal favors, are not laws of England, and acts of Parliament, nor matters of propriety and *meum* and *tuum* between

¹ With Connecticut's claim to Coweset, i. e. to East Greenwich Bay, and Massachusetts and Plymouth clamoring for territory on the north, it was no easy matter for the little colony of Rhode

Island, to maintain a separate existence. Massachusetts also claimed a strip of territory east of Pawcatuck river, five or six miles wide as her share in the division of the Pequot territory.

the King and his subjects, which, as the times have been, have been sometimes triable in inferior Courts; but such kind of grants have been like high offices in England, of high honor, and ten, yea twenty thousand pounds gain per annum, yet revocable or curtable upon pleasure, according to the King's better information, or upon his Majesty's sight, or misbehavior, ingratefulness, or designs fraudulently plotted, private and distinct from him.

16. Sir, I lament that such designs should be carried on at such a time, while we are stripped and whipped, and are still under (the whole country) the dreadful rods of God, in our wheat, hay, corn, cattle, shipping, trading, bodies and lives; when on the other side of the water, all sorts of consciences (yours and ours) are frying in the Bishops' pan and furnace; when the French and Romish Jesuits, the firebrands of the world for their god belly sake, are kindling at our back, in this country, especially with the Mohawks and Mohegans, against us, of which I know and have daily information.¹

17. If any please to say, is there no medicine for this malady? Must the nakedness of New England, like some notorious strumpet, be prostituted to the blaspheming eyes of all nations? Must we be put to plead before his Majesty, and consequently the Lord Bishops, our common enemies, &c. I answer, the Father of mercies and God of all consolations hath graciously discovered to me, as I believe, a remedy, which, if taken, will quiet all minds, yours and ours, will keep yours and ours in quiet possession and enjoyment of their lands, which you all have so dearly

¹ This allusion is doubtless to the labors of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada and among the Mohawks and other Indian tribes in the northern parts of New England, and in what is now the State of New York.

bought and purchased in this barbarous country, and so long possessed amongst these wild savages; will preserve you both in the liberties and honors of your charters and governments, without the least impeachment of yielding one to another; with a strong curb also to those wild barbarians and all the barbarians of this country, without troubling of compromisers and arbitrators between you; without any delay, or long and chargeable and grievous address to our King's Majesty, whose gentle and serene soul must needs be afflicted to be troubled again with us. If you please to ask me what my prescription is, I will not put you off to Christian moderation or Christian humility, or Christian prudence, or Christian love, or Christian self-denial, or Christian contention or patience. For I design a civil, a humane and political medicine, which, if the God of Heaven please to bless, you will find it effectual to all the ends I have proposed. Only I must crave your pardon, both parties of you, if I judge it not fit to discover it at present. I know you are both of you hot; I fear myself, also. If both desire, in a loving and calm spirit, to enjoy your rights, I promise you, with God's help, to help you to them, in a fair, and sweet and easy way. My receipt will not please you all. If it should so please God to frown upon us that you should not like it, I can but humbly mourn, and say with the prophet, that which must perish must perish. And as to myself, in endeavoring after your temporal and spiritual peace, I humbly desire to say, if I perish, I perish. It is but a shadow vanished, a bubble broke, a dream finished. Eternity will pay for all.

Sir, I am your old and true friend and servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To my honored and ancient friend, Mr. Thomas Prince,¹ Governor of Plymouth Colony, these present. And by his honored hand this copy, sent to Connecticut, whom it most concerneth, I humbly present to the General Court of Plymouth, when next assembled.

Roger Williams to John Cotton, of Plymouth.

PROVIDENCE, 25 March, 1671. (so called.)³

SIR,—Loving respects premised. About three weeks since, I received yours, dated in December, and wonder not that prejudice, interest, and passion have lift up your feet thus to trample on me as on some Mahometan, Jew, or Papist; some common thief or swearer, drunkard or adulterer; imputing to me the odious crimes of blasphemies, reproaches, slanders, idolatries; to be in the Devil's kingdom; a graceless man, &c.; and all this without any Scripture, reason, or argument, which might enlighten my conscience as to any error or offence to God or your dear father. I have now much above fifty years humbly and earnestly begged of God to make me as vile as a dead dog in my own eye, so that I might not fear what men should falsely say or cruelly do against me; and I have had long

¹ Thomas Prince came to America in 1621; was elected Governor of Plymouth in 1644; was again elected in different years until 1657, and was then chosen without intermission until 1672. He died in 1673, aged 73 years.—BLAKE, *Biog. Diç.*

Rev. John Cotton with whom Roger Williams had had a controversy. He was minister at Plymouth, and was connected with the printing of ELIOT'S Indian Bible, at Cambridge, in 1685, which he revised and corrected.

³ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1858, p. 313.

² This John Cotton was the son of the

experience of his merciful answer to me in men's false charges and cruelties against me to this hour.

My great offence (you so often repeat) is my wrong to your dear father,—your glorified father, &c. But the truth is, the love and honor which I have always showed (in speech and writing) to that excellently learned and holy man, your father, have been so great, that I have been censured by divers for it. God knows, that, for God's sake, I tenderly loved and honored his person (as I did the persons of the magistrates, ministers, and members whom I knew in Old England, and knew their holy affections, and upright aims, and great self-denial, to enjoy more of God in this wilderness); and I have therefore desired to waive all personal failings, and rather mention their beauties, to prevent the insultings of the Papists or profane Protestants, who used to scoff at the weaknesses—yea, and at the divisions—of those they use to brand for Puritans. The holy eye of God hath seen this the cause why I have not said nor writ what abundantly I could have done, but have rather chose to bear all censures, losses, and hardships, &c.

This made that honored father of the Bay, Mr. Winthrop, to give me the testimony, not only of exemplary diligence in the ministry (when I was satisfied in it), but of patience also, in these words in a letter to me: "Sir, we have often tried your patience, but could never conquer it." My humble desire is still to bear, not only what you say, but, when power is added to your will, an hanging or burning from you, as you plainly intimate you would long since have served my book, had it been your own, as not being fit to be in the possession of any Christian, as you write.

Alas! Sir, what hath this book merited, above all the many thousands full of old Romish idols' names, &c., and new Popish idolatries, which are in Christians' libraries, and use to be alleged in testimony, argument, and confutation?

What is there in this book but presseth holiness of heart, holiness of life, holiness of worship, and pity to poor sinners, and patience toward them while they break not the civil peace? 'Tis true, my first book, the "Bloody Tenent," was burnt by the Presbyterian party (then prevailing); but this book whereof we now speak (being my Reply to your father's Answer)¹ was received with applause and thanks by the army, by the Parliament, professing that, of necessity,—yea, of Christian equity,—there could be no reconciliation, pacification, or living together, but by permitting of dissenting consciences to live amongst them; inasmuch that that excellent servant of God, Mr. John Owen² (called Dr. Owen), told me before the General (who sent for me about that very business), that before I landed, himself and many others had answered Mr. Cotton's book already. The first book, and the point of permitting Dissenters, his Majesty's royal father assented to; and how often hath the Son, our sovereign, declared himself indulgent toward Dissenters, notwithstanding the clamors and plottings of his self-seeking bishops! And, Sir,

¹ "The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody;" by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe: LONDON, 1652. Reprinted by Narragansett Club, vol. iv.

² Dr. Owen was the author of more than eighty publications, all theological. A collected edition of these was published in 1850-55 in twenty-four vols.

8vo. "His devotional and practical, and expository works are an invaluable treasure of divinity. . . . They are eminent-ly spiritual, devotional, edifying. He is full of Biblical learning, sound exposition of doctrine, acuteness and information." BICKERSTITH, *Chr. Student*, 1844, p. 268.

(as before and formerly), I add, if yourself, or any in public or private, show me any failing against God or your father in that book, you shall find me diligent and faithful in weighing and in confessing or replying in love and meekness.

Oh! you say, wrong to a father made a dumb child speak, &c. Sir, I pray forget not that your father was not God, but man,—sinful, and failing in many things, as we all do, saith the Holy Scripture. I presume you know the scheme of Mr. Cotton's Contradictions (about Church-discipline), presented to the world by Mr. Daniel Cawdrey,¹ a man of name and note. Also, Sir, take heed you prefer not the earthen pot (though your excellent father) before his most high eternal Maker and Potter. Blessed that you were born and proceeded from him, if you honor him more for his humility and holiness than for outward respect, which some (and none shall justly more than myself) put upon him.

Sir, you call my three proposals, &c., abominable, false, and wicked; but, as before, thousands (high and holy, too, some of them) will wonder at you. Captain Gookins,² from Cambridge, writes me word that he will not be my antagonist in them, being candidly understood. Your honored Governor tells me there is no foundation for any dispute with Plymouth about those proposals; for you

¹ Daniel Cawdry, a non-Conformist divine, ejected from his living in Northamptonshire. He was the author of several theological treatises.—ALLIBONE, *Dictionary*.

² Daniel Gookins came to Massachusetts in 1621, of which colony he became Major-General. He was Super-

intendent of the Massachusetts Indians, and stood forth as their friend and protector in all the wars and difficulties between them and the whites. He was the author of the *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*. He died in 1687, aged 75.

force no men's conscience. But, Sir, you have your liberty to prove them abominable, false, and wicked, and to disprove that which I have presented in the book concerning the New England churches to be but parochial and national, though sifted with a finer sieve, and painted with finer colors.

You are pleased to count me excommunicate; and therein you deal more cruelly with me than with all the profane, and Protestants and Papists too, with whom you hold communion in the parishes, to which (as you know) all are forced by the bishops. And yet you count me a slave to the Devil, because, in conscience to God, and love to God and you, I have told you of it. But, Sir, the truth is (I will not say I excommunicate you, but), I first withdrew communion from yourselves for halting between Christ and Antichrist,—the parish churches and Christian congregations. Long after, when you had consultations of killing me, but some rather advised a dry pit of banishment, Mr. Peters advised an excommunication to be sent me (after the manner of Popish bulls, &c.); but this same man, in London, embraced me, and told me he was for liberty of conscience, and preached it; and complained to me of Salem for excommunicating his distracted wife, and for wronging him in his goods which he left behind him.

Sir, you tell me my time is lost, &c., because (as I conceive you) not in the function of ministry. I confess the offices of Christ Jesus are the best callings; but generally they are the worst trades in the world, as they are practised only for a maintenance, a place, a living, a benefice, &c. God hath many employments for his servants. Moses forty years, and the Lord Jesus thirty years, were not idle, though little known what they did as to any ministry; and

the two prophets prophesy in sackcloth, and are Christ Jesus his ministers, though not owned by the public ordinations. God knows, I have much and long and conscientiously and mournfully weighed and digged into the differences of the Protestants themselves about the ministry. He knows what gains and preferments I have refused in universities, city, country, and court, in Old England, and something in New England, &c., to keep my soul undefiled in this point, and not to act with a doubting conscience, &c. God was pleased to show me much of this in Old England; and in New, being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston (before your dear father came, divers years), I conscientiously refused, and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as, upon examination and conference, I found them to be. At Plymouth, I spake on the Lord's days and week days, and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread (and so afterward at Salem), until I found them both professing to be a separated people in New England (not admitting the most godly to communion without a covenant), and yet communicating with the parishes in Old by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither.¹

Sir, I heartily thank you for your conclusion,—wishing my conversion and salvation; without which, surely vain are our privileges of being Abraham's sons, enjoying the

¹Dr. Palfrey in speaking of this letter says, "It is hard to suppose that, when Williams made this statement, (forty years after this transaction, and when he was sixty-five years old,) his memory was misled by his imagination. But on the opposite supposition, it is very extraordinary that the fact is not mentioned

in any record of the time. The records of the Bolton church cannot be appealed to in the case. The only entry they contain previous to October, 1632, is that of the covenant of church-members."—*Hist. of New England*, vol. i. p. 406, note.

covenant, holy education, holy worship, holy church or temple; of being adorned with deep understanding, miraculous faith, angelical parts and utterance; the titles of pastors or apostles; yea, of being sacrifices in the fire to God.

Sir, I am unworthy (though desirous to be),

Your friend and servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

PROVIDENCE, y^e 15th of the 5, [15 July,] 1672.¹

To George Fox or any other of my Countrymen at Newport, who say they are the Apostles and Messengers of Christ Jesus:—

In humble confidence of the help of the Most High, I offer to maintain in public, against all comers, these fourteen Propositions following, to wit: the first seven at Newport, and the other seven at Providence. For the time when, I refer it to G. Fox and his friends at Newport.

Only I desire

1. To have three days notice, before the day you fix on.

¹ *Hist. Mag.* New York, 1858, p. 56; *George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes*, 1676, p. 2.

The date of this letter is not given, where it appears in Williams's book, but is found in the original manuscript preserved among the archives of Connecticut, from which it was printed in the *Historical Magazine*.

As the subject matter of this letter and the discussion that grew out of it forms the principal subject of the celebrated book of Williams' called "*George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*," which was reprinted by the Narragansett Club, (vol. v.) accompanied by an Introduction and Notes by Professor Diman, it seems hardly necessary to enlarge upon

2. That without interruption (or many speaking at once) the Conference may continue from nine in the morning till about four in the afternoon; and

3. That if either of the seven Propositions be not finished in one day, the Conference may continue and go on some few hours the next day.

it here. We can add nothing to that which the Professor has so well said in his introduction.

It appears that the letter, which was enclosed to Deputy Governor Cranston, was not delivered to him until the 26th of July, several hours after George Fox had left. Williams charges Fox with having purposely avoided him, which Fox denies in the most emphatic language. Prof. DIMAN thinks there is no ground for the charge made by Williams that Fox "slyly departed." "No characteristic of Fox" he adds "was more marked than self-confidence. At no time did he ever shrink from meeting an adversary; he was now in the prime of life, and in the full flush of his career as prophet of a new sect. No reason can be conceived why he should be unwilling to measure his strength with Roger Williams, a man passed three score and ten, and wielding at this time but little influence."—*Introduction*, p. xvi.

The departure of Fox did not interfere with the proposed discussion. Stubbs, Burnyeat and other Quakers went to Providence, where they saw Williams and made an agreement to meet him at Newport, on the 9th of August, "and God," he says, "graciously assisted me in rowing all day with my old bones, so that I got to Newport toward the midnight before the morning appointed."

When Williams made his appear-

ance at the hour appointed, he found his three opponents sitting together on an high bench. The distinctive characteristics of these whom he terms "able and noted preachers" are sketched in a few words. He had heard that John Stubbs "was learned in Hebrew and Greek," and he found him so. Burnyeat he found "to be a moderate spirit, and very able speaker." But Edmundson seems to have aroused his special dislike. While Stubbs and Burnyeat were "civil and ingenious," Edmundson "was nothing but a bundle of Ignorance and Boisterousness," etc.—Prof. DIMAN, *Introduction*, p. xxx.

The debate which consumed three days on the first seven propositions drew together a great number of hearers, who eagerly watched the fortunes of the strife. The parties then adjourned to Providence, where the remaining propositions were discussed; ending in much the same way as those at Newport, each side apparently well satisfied with the result. Many accounts of the remarkable debate have been printed by contemporary writers; but those interested in it who will not undertake to wade through the five hundred pages of Williams's book "*George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*," will find a clear and condensed account of it in Prof. DIMAN's Introduction to that work in the fifth volume of the publications of the Narragansett Club.

4. That either of us disputing, shall have free uninterrupted liberty to speak (in Answers and Replies) as much and as long as we please, and thus give the opposite the same liberty.

That the whole may be managed with that ingenuity and humanity, as such an exercise, by such persons in such conditions, at such a time, ought to be managed and performed, the Propositions are these that follow :

First. That the people called Quakers, are not true Quakers according to the Holy Scriptures.

2. That the Christ they profess is not the true Lord Jesus Christ.

3. That the Spirit by which they are acted, is not the Spirit of God.

4. That they do not own the Holy Scriptures.

5. Their principles and professions, are full of contradictions and hypocrisies

6. That their religion is not only an heresy in the matters of worship, but also in the doctrines of Repentance, Faith, &c.

7. Their Religion is but a confused mixture of Popery, Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Judaisme, &c.

8. The people called Quakers (in effect) hold no God, no Christ, no Spirit, no Angel, no Devil, no Resurrection, no Judgment, no Heaven, no Hell, but what is in man.

9. All that their Religion requires (external and internal) to make converts and proselytes, amounts to no more than what a reprobate may easily attain unto, and perform.

10. That the Popes of Rome do not swell with, and exercise a greater pride, then the Quakers Spirit have expressed, and doth aspire unto, although many truly humble souls may be captivated amongst them, as may be in other Religions.

11. The Quakers' Religion is more obstructive and destructive to the conversion and salvation of the souls of people, then most of the Religions this day extant in the world.

12. The sufferings of the Quakers are no true evidence of the Truth of their Religion.

13. That their many books and writings are extremely poor, lame, naked, and swelled up only with high titles and words of boasting and vapor.

14. That the spirit of their Religion tends mainly,

1. To reduce persons from civility to barbarism.

2. To an arbitrary government, and the dictates and decrees of that sudden Spirit that acts them.

3. To a sudden cutting off of people, yea of Kings and Princes opposing them.

4. To as fiery persecutions for matters of Religion and Conscience, as hath been or can be practised by any Hunters or Persecutors in the world.

Under these forementioned heads (if the Spirit of the Quakers dare civilly to argue) will be opened many of the Popish, Protestant, Jewish and Quakers Positions, which cannot here be mentioned, in the Dispute (if God please) they must be alledged, and the examination left to every person's conscience, as they will answer to God, (at their own perils) in the great day approaching.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Roger Williams to Samuel Hubbard.¹

MY DEAR FRIEND, SAMUEL HUBBARD,—To yourself and aged companion, my loving respects in the Lord Jesus, who ought to be our hope of glory, begun in this life, and enjoyed to all eternity. I have herein returned your little, yet great remembrance of the hand of the Lord to yourself and your son, late departed. I praise the Lord for your humble kissing of his holy rod, and acknowledging his just and righteous, together with his gracious and merciful dispensation to you. I rejoice, also, to read your heavenly desires and endeavors, that your trials may be gain to your own souls and the souls of the youth of the place, and all of us. You are not unwilling, I judge, that I deal plainly and friendly with you. After all that I have seen and read and compared about the seventh day, (and I have earnestly and carefully read and weighed all I could come at in God's holy presence) I cannot be removed from Calvin's mind, and indeed Paul's mind, Col. ii. that all those sabbaths of seven days were figures, types and shadows, and forerunners of the Son of God, and that the change is made from the remembrance of the first creation, and that (figurative) rest on the seventh day, to the remembrance of the second creation on the first, on which

¹BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 510.

Samuel Hubbard came to Salem in 1633; removed to Springfield, and was one of the five founders of the Baptist Church there. His name appears in the roll of freemen of Newport, in 1655. In 1664 he was chosen "Solicitor." Backus says he was received in-

to the Baptist communion at Newport, in 1648, where he lived to a great age. His only son, Samuel, died late in 1671. SAVAGE, *Gen. Diss.* vol. ii. p. 485. As it is to the death of this son that Mr. Williams refers, we may place the date of this letter sometime in 1672, after the dispute with the Quakers at Newport, in August of that year.

our Lord arose conqueror from the dead. Accordingly, I have read many, but see no satisfying answer to those three Scriptures, chiefly Acts 20, 1 Cor. 16, Rev. 1, in conscience to which I make some poor conscience to God as to the rest day. As for thoughts for England, I humbly hope the Lord hath showed me to write a large narrative of all those four days' agitation between the Quakers¹ and myself; if it please God I cannot get it printed in New England, I have great thoughts and purposes for Old. My age, lameness, and many other weaknesses, and the dreadful hand of God at sea, calls for deep consideration. What God may please to bring forth in the spring, his holy wisdom knows. If he please to bring to an absolute purpose, I will send you word, and my dear friend, Obadiah Holmes, who sent me a message to the same purpose. At present, I pray salute respectively, Mr. John Clarke and his brothers, Mr. Torrey,² Mr. Edes, Edward Smith,³ William Hiscox,⁴ Stephen Mumford, and other friends, whose preservation, of the island, and this country, I humbly beg of the Father of Mercies, in whom I am yours unworthy,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ The discussion with the Quakers at Newport: see the two previous letters.

² Joseph Torrey, admitted a freeman of Newport, in 1653, was for many years a prominent man in the colony. He filled the offices of Deputy and Assistant in the General Assembly, General Recorder, Solicitor General, etc.

³ Edward Smith, admitted a freeman of Newport, in 1653, from which town he was several times chosen an Assistant and Deputy.

⁴ William Hiscox, admitted a freeman of Newport, in 1671: one of the Council of Advice in the Indian war, 1676.—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. ii. p. 557.

To my honored kind friend, Mr. John Wintthrop, Governor of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, present.

FROM MR. RICHARD SMITHS, June 13, 1675.¹

SIR,—Mr. Smith² being at Newport, I am occasioned to present my old and constant love and respects, as also Mrs. Smith's great thanks and service to you. Sir, Mr. Smith delivered me two letters, the one from Mr. Fitch, the other from Mr. John Mason, praying me (according to the contents of the letters) to enquire of Mawfup, (now called Canonicus),³ whether Uncas had stirred him up against the Wunnashowattuckowogs, to kill them, &c. Sir, a fortnight since I went to Canonicus his house, but he was gone twelve miles off: I sought him again yesterday, and found him five miles from his house: I shewed him the letters: I used also your honored name, and the names of your honored Assistants, both concerning the killing of the English cattle in these parts; as also concerning their carriage towards the Wunnashowattuckoogs who are respected by yourselves.

Sir, Canonicus and other Sachems and his Council profess they will be careful of the English and their cattle among them: also that they will show respect to those Showatuks for your sake, and in particular (which answers Mr. Fitch and Mr. Mason's letters) Canonicus utterly denies that Uncas ever solicited him to kill or molest those Showatuks. Withall he added two reasons. First, that it is not credible that since Uncas killed his brother Miantunnomu, he (Canonicus) should be solicited by Un-

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 297.

² Smith's residence was at Wickford,

where he established himself in 1639: see note to letter on page 177.

³ Better known by the name of *Peffacus*.

cas in such a business, or that he should gratify Uncas desires, &c. 2. Both himself, and Nananawtunu¹ (Miantunnomu's youngest, very hopeful spark) desired earnestly that Tatuphosuwut, Uncas his son, who hath killed a Wiyow (or Sachem) one of their cousins, may suffer impartially, as now the English have dealt with the three Indians which killed John Soffiman. Also they prayed me to add, that yourself are not ignorant of Uncas his many foul practices, and how he treacherously sent an head (or heads) of the Connecticut Indians to the Mawquawogs, and would send your heads also as presents if he would come at them. Sir, Nananawtinu added this argument for impartiality toward Tatuphosuit: I am (said he) my father Miantunnu's son, as Tatuphosuit is to Uncas: if there should partiality be showed to him, and that money should buy out men's lives, or that one of his men should die for him, then all we young Sachems shall have a temptation laid before us to kill and murder, &c., in the hope of the like impunity.

Sir, it is true that Philip fearing (apprehension) stood upon his guard with his armed barbarians.² Taunton, Swansey, Rehoboth, and Providence stood upon ours, but praised be God, the storm is over, Philip is strongly suspected, but the honored Court at Plymouth (as we hear) not having evidence sufficient, let matters sleep, and the country be in quiet, &c.

¹Alias *Canonchet*, at this time the acknowledged Sachem of the Narragansetts.

²Rumors of intended war on the part of Philip, or Metacom, son of Massasoit, had been prevalent for several years, and the Governor of Plymouth, had invited Philip to meet him at Taunton.

He refused to go there unless Mr. Williams was a mediator. Williams's agency in the matter was successful; the Governor and the Sachem met; the latter denied any hostile design and promised future fidelity. The war was thus delayed four years.—KNOWLES, p. 341.

Sir, I constantly think of you, and send up one remembrance to heaven for you, and a groan from myself for myself, when I pass Elizabeth's Spring.¹ Here is the spring say I (with a sigh) but where is Elizabeth?² My charity answers, she is gone to the Eternal Spring and Fountain of Living Waters: Oh, Sir, I beseech the Father of Mercies and Spirits to preserve your precious soul in life (long and long [*a portion of the letter and signature destroyed.*])

Sir, about a fortnight since your old acquaintance, Mr. Blackstone,³ departed this life in the fourscore year of his age; four days before his death he had a great pain in his breast, and back, and bowels: afterward he said he was well, had no pains, and should live, but he grew fainter, and yielded up his breath without a groan. The Lord make us wait (with Job) for that great change.

¹The spring so called from Governor Winthrop's lady, named Elizabeth, drinking at it as she passed to Boston.— Note probably by *John Winthrop*, F. R. S.

²Mrs. Elizabeth Winthrop, the wife of John Winthrop, Jr., died November 24, 1672.

³William Blackstone, an Episcopal minister, and the first inhabitant of Boston, settled there in 1625 or 1626, where he resided when Gov. Winthrop arrived in 1630. At a Court held in April, 1633, fifty acres of land, near his house in Boston, were granted him. The fol-

lowing year he sold this estate and removed to the banks of a beautiful river which now bears his name. The place is known as Study Hill, in Cumberland, about six miles from Providence. It has been said that Blackstone was driven from Boston, "aⁿ opinion" says Savage (note to *Winthrop's Journal*, i. 53,) "not to be entertained for a moment." His name is sometimes spelled *Blaxton*. Williams spells it *Blackstone*, which is undoubtedly correct. He died at his house on the 26th of May, 1675.

To my much honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, present.

FROM MR. SMITH'S AT NAHIGONSIK, JUNE 25, 1675.¹

SIR,—This inclosed of a former date comes to my hand again at Mr. Smith's. Mr. Smith is now absent at Long Island. Mrs. Smith, though too much favoring the Foxians (called Quakers) yet she is a notable spirit for courtesy toward strangers, and prays me to present her great thanks for your constant remembrance of her, and of late by Capt. Atherton.

Sir, this morning are departed from this house Capt. Hutchinson² and two more of Boston Commissioners from the Governor and Council of Boston to the Narragansett and Cowesit Indians. They came (three days since) to my house at Providence, with a letter to myself from the Governor and Council at Boston, praying my advice to their Commissioners and my assistance, &c., in their negotiations with the Narragansett Indians. I, within an half hour's warning) departed with them toward the Narragan-

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 299.

² "The Massachusetts government sent Capt. Hutchinson as their commissioner to treat with the Narragansetts. It was thought convenient to do it sword in hand, therefore all the forces marched into the Narragansett country. Connecticut afterwards sent two gentlemen [Maj. Wait Winthrop and Richard Smith] and on the 15th of July they came to an agreement with the Narragansett Indians, who favored Philip in their hearts, and waited only a convenient opportunity to declare openly for him, but whilst the army was in their country were obliged to submit to the

terms imposed upon them."—HUTCHINSON, *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. i. p. 288.

This agreement which is given at length by Hutchinson, (pp. 289-291,) bears the signatures of six Sachems of the Narragansetts. By it they were bound to seize and deliver to the English "any of Philip's subjects, living or dead; use all acts of hostility against Philip and his subjects; to search out and deliver all goods stolen or taken from the English, at any time; to cease from all manner of thefts and to be used as a guard about the Narragansett country for the security of the English."

fett. We had one meeting that night with Quaunoncku, Miantunnomu's youngest son, and upon the opening of the Governor's letters, he readily and gladly assented to all the Governor's desires, and sent post to Mausup, (now called Canonicus), to the Old Queen,¹ Ninicraft and Quawnipund, to give us a meeting at Mr. Smith's. They being uncivil and barbarous, and the Old Queen (especially timorous, we condescended to meet them all near the great pond, at least ten miles from Mr. Smith's house. We laid open the Governor's letter: and accordingly they professed to hold no agreement with Philip, in this his rising against the English. They professed (though Uncas had sent twenty to Philip, yet) they had not sent one nor would: that they had prohibited all their people from going on that side, that those of their people who had made marriages with them, should return or perish there: that if Philip or his men fled to them, yet they would not receive them, but deliver them up unto the English.

They questioned us why Plymouth pursued Philip. We answered: he broke all laws, and was in arms of rebellion against that Colony, his ancient friends and protectors, though it is believed that he was the author of murdering John Soffiman,² for revealing his plots to the Governor of Plymouth, and for which three actors were

¹ *Quiapen*, afterwards called the Sunke Squaw, or Old Queen of the Narragansetts. She was Ninigret's sister and had been the wife of Meika the son of Canonicus. She was taken prisoner by the Connecticut troops in July, 1676, and put to death.—POTTER'S *Hist. of Narragansett*, p. 172.

² "*Sanfaman*, a friendly Indian, having

given notice to the English of a plot which he had discovered amongst Philip's Indians against the English, was soon after murdered." "Three Indians, one a counsellor of Philip's, were convicted of the murder, at the Plymouth Court and executed."—HOLMES' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 369; HUBBARD, *Indian Wars*, p. 14.

two weeks since executed at Plymouth, (though one broke the rope, and is kept in prison until their Court in October.)

2. They demanded of us why the Massachusetts and Rhode Island rose, and joined with Plymouth against Philip, and left not Philip and Plymouth to fight it out. We answered that all the Colonies were subject to one King Charles, and it was his pleasure, and our duty and engagement, for one English man to stand to the death by each other, in all parts of the world.

Sir, two particulars the Most Holy and Only Wife made use of to engage (I hope and so do the Commissioners) in earnest to enter into those aforesaid engagements.

First, the sense of their own danger if they separate not from Plymouth Indians, and Philip their desperate head. This argument we set home upon them, and the Bay's resolution to pursue Philip (if need be) and his partakers with thousands of horse and foot, beside the other Colonies, &c.

3. Their great and vehement desire of justice upon Tatuphosit, for the late killing of a Narragansett young man [*sic*] of account with them, which point while we were discoursing of, and their instance with me to write to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts about it (which I have this morning done by their Commissioners) in comes (as from Heaven) your dear son Major Winthrop¹ to our assistance, who affirmed that he saw Tatuphosit sent bound to Hartford jail, and his father Uncas, taking boat with him. The Sachems said they knew it, and had written about it (by my letter inclosed) to yourself: but they were in-

¹ Major Wait Winthrop, a commissioner from Connecticut.

formed that he was fet free, and was keeping his Nicommo, or dance in triumph, &c. Your fon replied that either it was not fo, or if it were, it was according to your law of leaving Indians to Indian justice, which if neglected you would then act, &c. In fine, their earnest request was that either Tatuphofuit might have impartial justice, (for many reasons, or else they might be permitted to right themselves, which the Commissioners thought might be great prudence (in this juncture of affairs) that these two nations, the Narragansetts and Mohegans might be taken off from assisting Philip (which passionately he endeavors), and the English may more securely and effectually prosecute the quenching of this Philippian fire in the beginning of it.¹ The last night they have (as is this morning said) slain five English of Swansey, and brought their heads to Philip, and mortally wounded two more, with the death of one Indian. By letters from the Governor of Plymouth to Mr. Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island, we hear that the Plymouth forces (about two hundred) with Swansey and Rehoboth men, were this day to give battle to Philip. Sir, my old bones and eyes are weary with travel and writing to the Governors of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and now to yourselves. I end with humble cries to the Father of Mercies to extend his ancient and wonted mercies to New England, and am, Sir,

Your most unworthy Servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ These were the first open hostilities in the war. "The Indians having sent their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security, began to alarm the English at Swansey, by killing their cattle and rifling their houses." An Englishman fired at them when they instant-

ly attacked the people of Swansey, of which they slew nine. This took place on the 24th June. The alarm was now given and troops hastened forward from Boston and Plymouth, joining forces at Swansey on the 28th.—HUBBARD, *Indian Wars*; HOLMES' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 368.

Mrs. Smith earnestly desires your loving advice to her husband, to lay by his voyage to England: partly by reason of his inward grief, and also that his business may be transacted by delegation. She prays you also to consider your own age and weakness, and not to lay your precious bones in England.

Sir, my humble respects to your honored Council.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, jr.

From MR. SMITH'S, 27 June, 75, (so called.)¹

SIR,—Since my last (enclosed) the next day after the departure of Capt. Hutchinson and the messengers from Boston, a party of one hundred Narragansett Indians, armed, marched to Warwick, which, as it frightened Warwick, so did it also the inhabitants here; though since we hear that the party departed from Warwick without blood shedding: however, it occasioned the English here (and myself) to suspect that all the fine words from the Indian Sachems to us were but words of policy, falsehood and treachery: especially since now the English testify, that for divers weeks (if not months) canoes passed to and again (day and night between Philip and the Narragansetts)² and the Narragansett Indians have committed many robberies on the

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 302.

² Hubbard says "the Narragansetts promised to rise with 4000 men in the spring of the year 1676."—*Hist. of the Indian Wars*, p. 126. This large number is supposed to have included all the

Indians within the bounds of Rhode Island. Hutchinson says "at the beginning of Philip's War, it was generally agreed that the Narragansett tribe consisted of 2000 fighting men.—*Hist. of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 458.

English houses. Also, it is thought that Philip durst not have proceeded so far, had he not been assured to have been seconded and assisted by the Mohegans and Narragansetts.

Two days since, the Governor and Council of Rhode Island sent letters and messengers to Mausup (Canonicus) inviting him to come to them to Newport, and assuring him of safe conduct to come and depart in safety. His answer was, that he could not depart from his child which lay sick: but (as he had assured the Boston messengers) so he professed to these from Newport, that his heart affected and sorrowed for the English, that he could not rule the youth and common people, nor persuade others, chief amongst them, except his brother Miantunnomu's son, Nananautunu. He advised the English at Narragansett to stand upon their guard, to keep strict watch, and, if they could, to fortify one or more houses strongly, which if they could not do, then to fly. Yesterday, Mrs. Smith (after more, yea, most of the women and children gone) departed in a great shower, by land, for Newport, to take boat in a vessel four miles from her house. Sir, just now comes in Sam. Dier in a catch from Newport, to fetch over Jireh Bull's wife and children, and others of Puttaquomscutt¹ He brings word that last night Caleb Carr's boat (sent on purpose to Swansey for tidings) brought word that Philip had killed twelve English at Swansey, (the same Canonicus told us,) and that Philip sent three heads to them, but he advised a

¹Jireh Bull had a "garrison house" at Pettequomscut, which in December following was attacked by the Indians and burned. Ten English men and five women were killed.—HUBBARD, *Indian*

Wars, Boston, 1677: p. 50. Jireh Bull was "Conservator of the Peace for King's Province."—*R. I. Col. Records*, vol. ii. The garrison-house or fort was on Tower Hill, South Kingstown.

refusal of them, which some say was done, only the old Queen rewarded the bringers for their travel. Caleb Carr saith also, that one English sentinel was shot in the face and slain by an Indian that crept near unto him: that they have burnt about twelve houses, one new great one (Anthony Loes): that Philip had left his place, being a neck, and three hundred of Plymouth English, Swansey and others know not where he is, and therefore Capt. Oliver (being at Mr. Brown's) rode post to Boston for some hundreds of horse: that some hurt they did about Providence, and some say John Scot, at Pawtucket ferry, is slain. Indeed, Canonicus advised the English to take heed of remaining in lone out places, and of travelling in the common roads.

Sir, many wish that Plymouth had left the Indians alone, at least not to put to death the three Indians upon one Indian's testimony, a thing which Philip fears; and that yourselves (at this juncture) could leave the Mohegans and Narragansetts to themselves as to Tatuphusoit, if there could be any just way by your General Court found out for the preventing of their conjunction with Philip, which so much concerneth the peace of New England. Upon request of the Government of Plymouth, Rhode Island hath set out some sloops to attend Philip's motions by water and his canoes: it is thought he bends for an escape to the Islands. Sir, I fear the enclosed and this will be grievous to those visible spirits, which look out at your windows: mine, I am sure to complain, &c., yet I press them for your and the public sake, for why is our candle, yet burning, but to glorify our dreadful former, and in making our own calling and election sure, and serving God in serving the public in our generation.

Your unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Governor Leverett, at Boston.

PROVIDENCE, 11, 8, 75, so accounted. [October 11, 1675.]¹

SIR,—Yours of the 7th I gladly and thankfully received, and humbly desire to praise that Most High and Holy Hand, invisible and only wise, who casts you down, by so many public and personal trials, and lifts you up again with any (*lucida intervalla*) mitigations and refreshments. *Ab inferno nulla redemptio*: from the grave and hell no return. Here, like Noah's dove, we have our checker work, blacks and whites come out and go into the ark, out and in again till the last, whom we never see back again.

The business of the day in New England is not only to keep ourselves from murdering, our houses, barns, &c., from firing, to destroy and cut off the barbarians, or subdue and reduce them, but our main and principal *opus diei* is, to listen to what the Eternal speaketh to the whole ship, (the country, colonies, towns, &c.) and each private cabin, family, person, &c. He will speak peace to his people; therefore, saith David, "I will listen to what Jehovah speaketh." Oliver, in straits and defeats, especially at Hispaniola, desired all to speak and declare freely what they thought the mind of God was. H. Vane (then lain by) wrote his discourse, entitled "A Healing Question," but for touching upon (that *noli me tangere*) State sins, H. Vane went prisoner to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight. Oh, Sir, I humbly subscribe (*ex animo*) to your short and long prayer, in your letter. The Lord keep us from our own deceivings. I know there have been, and are, many precious and excellent spirits amongst you, if you take flight before me, I will then say you are one of them, with-

¹*Plymouth Records*, vol. x. p. 453; KNOWLES, *Life of Williams*, p. 342.

out daubing,) but *rebus sic stantibus*, as the wind blows, the united colonies dare not permit, *candida et bona fide*, two dangerous (supposed) enemies: 1. dissenting and non-conforming worshippers, and 2. liberty of free (really free) disputes, debates, writing, printing, &c. ; the Most High hath begun and given some taste of these two dainties in some parts, and will more and more advance them when (as Luther and Erasmus to the Emperor, Charles V., and the Duke of Saxony,) those two gods are famished, the Pope's crown and the Monks' bellies. The same Luther was wont to say, that every man had a pope in his belly, and Calvin expressly wrote to Melancthon, that Luther made himself another Pope; yet, which of us will not say, Jeremiah, thou liest, when he tells us (and from God) we must not go down to Egypt?

Sir, I use a bolder pen to your noble spirit than to many, because the Father of Lights hath shown your soul more of the mysteries of iniquity than other excellent heads and hearts dream of, and because, whatever you or I be in other respects, yet in this you will act a pope, and grant me your love, pardon and indulgence.

Sir, since the doleful news from Springfield, here it is said that Philip with a strong body of many hundred cutthroats, steers for Providence and Seekonk, some say for Norwich and Stonington, and some say your forces have had a loss by their cutting off some of your men, in their passing over a river. *Fiat voluntas Dei*, there I humbly rest, and let all go but himself. Yet, Sir, I am requested by our Capt. Fenner¹ to give you notice, that at his farm,

¹ Arthur Fenner first appears on the roll of freemen of Providence, in 1655. He was one of the most prominent of the inhabitants, and for many years represented the town as a Commissioner, Deputy or Assistant in the Assembly. He

in the woods, he had it from a native, that Philip's great design is among all other possible advantages and treacheries) to draw Capt. Mofely¹ and others, your forces, by training and drilling, and seeming flights, into such places as are full of long grass, flags, sedge, &c., and then environ them round with fire, smoke and bullets. Some say no wise soldier will so be caught; but as I told the young prince, on his return lately from you, all their war is commotion; they have commotioned our houses, our cattle, our heads, &c., and that not by their artillery, but our weapons; that yet they were so cowardly, that they have not taken one poor fort from us in all the country, nor won, nor scarce fought, one battle since the beginning. I told him and his men, being then in my canoe, with his men with him, that Philip was his cawkinnamuck, that is, looking glass. He was deaf to all advice, and now was

was a Captain in Philip's war, and was by the General Assembly appointed "Commander of the King's garrison at Providence, and of all other private garrisons or garrisons there, not eclipsing Captain Williams's power in the exercise of the Train Band there." His commission is printed at length in *Colonial Records*, vol. ii. p. 547.

Mr. Williams also held a commission as Captain, as appears by the Records, (vol. ii. p. 548,) notwithstanding his age. It certainly displayed great spirit and patriotism for a man of seventy-seven years to engage in a military campaign against the Indians. The following appears on the records of Providence: "I pray the town, in the sense of the bloody practices of the natives, to give leave to so many as can agree with William Field, to bestow some charge upon fortifying

his house, for security to women and children. Also to give me leave, and so many as shall agree, to put up some defence on the hill, between the mill and the highway, for the like safety of the women and children in that part of the town." Various sums were subscribed to defray the cost of this fortification, the largest of which was £2.6., except that of Mr. Williams which was £10. The proposed fort was probably to be placed at the head of what is now Constitution Hill.

¹ Samuel Mofely, of Dorchester, a captain in the war with Philip, showed gallant spirit and had great success in destroying the Indians. He was, by some, thought to take too great delight in that exercise.—SAVAGE, *Genealogical Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 179.

overfet, Cooshkowwawy, and caught at every part of the country to save himself, but he shall never get ashore, &c. He answered me in a consenting, considering kind of way, Philip Cooshkowwawy. I went with my great canoe to help him over from Seekonk (for to Providence no Indian comes) to Pawtuxet side. I told him I would not ask him news, for I knew matters were private; only I told him that if he were false to his engagements, we would pursue them with a winter's war, when they should not, as musketoes and rattlesnakes in warm weather, bite us, &c.

Sir, I carried him and Mr. Smith a glass of wine, but Mr. Smith not coming, I gave wine and glass to himself, and a bushel of apples to his men, and being therewith (as beasts are) caught, they gave me leave to say anything, acknowledged loudly your great kindness in Boston, and mine, and yet Capt. Fenner told me yesterday, that he thinks they will prove our worst enemies at last. I am between fear and hope, and humbly wait, making sure, as Haselrig's motto was, sure of my anchor in heaven, *Tantum in Coelis*, only in heaven. Sir, there I long to meet you.

Your most unworthy,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Leverett, and other honored and beloved friends, humble respects, &c.

Sir, I hope your men fire all the woods before them, &c.

Sir, I pray not a line to me, except on necessary business; only give me leave (as you do) to use my foolish boldness to visit yourself, as I have occasion. I would not add to your troubles.

For my honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut Colony, at Boston or elsewhere, present.
 Leave this at my loving friends Dan: Smith, at Rehoboth.

PROVIDENCE, 18, 10, 75, (*et vulgo.*) [December 18th, 1675.]¹

SIR,—If you are still in Boston (which owes you more and your precious name, then it is like to pay you) please you to pass by, that I have not troubled you with a late salutation. The present revolutions of the wonderful and all sighted wheels (Ezek. 1.) rouse up my sleepy spirits to muse and write, and to present yourself and others with what I believe to be the mind and voice of the Most High amongst us. Others think otherwise (and some clean contrary); unto whom I say at present, let them take the pains which God mercifully hath helped me to take, to find out where's the difference: let them suffer what (and so long) God hath helped me to bear for their belief and conscience: let them debate freely, calmly, &c., as I hope God hath helped me and will help me to do, (without the Pope's sword, which Christ commanded Peter to put up in his matters.)

Sir, I have heard that you have been in late consultations, *semper idem, semper pacificus*, and I hope therein *beatus*. You have always been noted for tenderness toward men's souls, especially for conscience sake to God. You have been noted for tenderness toward the bodies and infirmities of poor mortals. You have been tender too, toward the estates of men in your civil steerage of government, and toward the peace of the land, yea, of these wild savages. I presume you are satisfied in the necessity of these present hostilities, and that it is not possible at present to keep

¹ 4 *Mass. Hist. Col.* vol. vi. p. 305.

peace with these barbarous men of blood, who are as justly to be repelled and subdued as wolves that assault the sheep. It was . . . *in . . . est . . . rium*:¹ God hath helped yourself and other [*torn*] with wonderful self-denial and patience to keep off this necessity. But God (against whom only is no fighting) is pleased to put this iron yoke upon our necks, and (as he did with the Canaanites) to harden them against Joshua to their destruction. I fear the event of the justest war: but if it please God to deliver them into our hands, I know you will *antiquum obtinere*, and still endeavor that our sword may make a difference, and *parcere subjectis*, though we *debellare superbos*. God killeth, destroyeth, plagueth, damneth none but those that will perish, and say (as these barbarians now say) Nip-pitto; though I die for it, &c.

Sir, I hope the not approach of your dear son with his, (your forces of Connecticut,) &c., is only through the intercepting of the posts: for we have now no passing by Elizabeth's Spring without a strong foot. God will have it so. Dear Sir, if we cannot save our patients, nor relations, nor Indians, nor English, oh let us make sure to save the bird in our bosom, and to enter in that straight door and narrow way, which the Lord Jesus himself tells us, few there be that find it. Sir, your unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

¹ This sentence has been carefully erased.

To the much honored Governor Leverett at Boston, present.

PROVIDENCE, 14 Jan. 1675, (so called.)¹

SIR,—This night I was requested by Capt. Fenner and other officers of our town to take the examination and confession of an English man who hath been with the Indians before and since the fight: his name is Joshua Tift² and he was taken by Capt. Fenner this day at an Indian house half a mile from where Capt. Fenner's house (now burned) did stand. Capt. Fenner and others of us proposed several questions to him, which he answered, and I was requested to write, which I did, and thought fit having this bearer (Mr. Scott) brought by God's gracious hand of Providence to mine, to present you with an extract of the pith and substance of all he answered to us.

He was asked by Capt. Fenner, how long he had been with the Narragansetts. He answered about twenty-seven days, more or less.

He was demanded how he came amongst them. He said that he was at his farm a mile and a half from Puttuckquomscut, where he hired an Indian to keep his cattle, himself proposing to go to Rhode Island, but that day which he purposed and prepared to depart, there came to his house, Nananawtenu (the young Sachem) his elder brother Paupauquiwut, with their Captain Quaquackis and a party of men, and told them he must die. He said that he begged for his life, and promised that he would be servant to the Sachem while he lived. He said the Sachem

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 307.

² "Joshua Tift, a renegade Englishman of Providence, that upon some discontent had turned Indian, married a Squaw, renounced his religion, nation and natu-

ral parents, fighting against them. He was wounded in the knee, and taken prisoner. After examination he was condemned to die the death of a traitor."—HUBBARD, *Narrative*, p. 162.

then carried him along with him, having given him his life as his slave. He said that he brought him to their fort, where was about eight hundred fighting men and about two hundred houses. He said the Indians brought five of his cattle and killed them before his face: so he was forced to be silent, but prayed the Sachem to spare the rest: who answered him what will cattle now do you good; and the next day they sent for the rest and killed them all, whereof eight were his own.

Being asked whether he was in the Fort in the fight,¹

¹“The great Narragansett fight.”
“On the 2d of November, 1675, the Commissioners of the United Colonies declared the Narragansetts to be “deeply accessory in the present bloody outrages” of the Indians that were at open war, and determined that 1000 more soldiers be raised for the Narragansett expedition. These troops were accordingly raised. Those of Massachusetts consisting of six companies of foot and a troop of horse. Connecticut sent 300 soldiers and 150 Mohegan and Pequod Indians. Gov. Winslow of Plymouth, was commander-in-chief. Rhode Island took no part in the fight.

“On the 8th December, the Massachusetts forces marched from Boston, and were soon joined by those of Plymouth. The troops from Connecticut joined them on the 18th at Pettaquamscot. At break of day the next morning, they commenced their march through a deep snow, toward the enemy, who were about fifteen miles distant in a swamp, at the edge of which they arrived at one in the afternoon. The Indians, apprized of an armanent against them, had fortified themselves strongly

within the swamp. The English at once marched forward in quest of the enemy's camp. Some Indians appearing, were no sooner fired on by the English, than they returned the fire and fled. The whole army now entered the swamp and followed the Indians to their fortrefs. It stood on a rising ground in the midst of the swamp, and was composed of pallisades, encompassed by a hedge. It had but one practicable entrance which was over a log, four or five feet from the ground; and that aperture was guarded by a block-house. The English captains entered it at the head of their companies. The two first, with many of their men were shot dead at the entrance, and four other captains were also killed. When the troops had effected an entrance, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort. After a hard fought battle of three hours, the English became masters of the place, and set fire to the wigwams. The number of them was 500 or 600, and in the conflagration many Indian women and children perished. The survivors fled into a cedar swamp, at a short distance, and the Eng-

he said yes, and waited on his master the Sachem there, until he was wounded, (of which wound he lay nine days and died.) He said that all the Sachems were in the Fort and staid two vollies of shot, and then they fled with his master, and passed through a plain, and rested by the side of a spruce swamp, but he said himself had no arms at all. He said that if the Mohegans and Pequods had been true, they might have destroyed most of the Narragansetts: but the Narragansetts parlied with them in the beginning of the fight, so that they promised to shoot high, which they did, and killed not one Narragansett man, except against their wills.

He said that when it was duskish, word was brought to the Sachems that the English were retreated. Upon this they sent to the Fort to see what their loss was, where they found ninety-seven slain and forty-eight wounded, beside what slaughter was made in the houses and by the burning of the houses, all of which he said were burnt except five or six or thereabouts. He said the Indians never came to the Fort more, that he knows of. He said they found five or six English bodies, and from one of them a bag of about one pound and a half of powder was brought to the Sachems; and he said that abundance of corn, and provisions, and goods were burnt also. He said some powder belonging to the young Sachem, which was in a box, was blown up, but how much he cannot tell.

He said the Narragansett's powder is (generally) gone and spent, but Philip hath sent them word that he will

lish retired to their quarters. Of the English there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty; of which eighty-five were killed. Of the Indians, one

thousand are supposed to have perished." HOLMES, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 575-376.

The swamp where this battle took place is three or four miles west of the village of Kingston.

furnish them enough from the French. He said they have carried New England money to the French for ammunition, but the money he will not take, but beaver or wampum. He said that the French have sent Philip a present, viz.: a brass gun and bandoliers suitable. He said also that the Narragansetts have sent two baskets of wampum to the Mohawks (Mauquawogs) where the French are, for their favor and assistance.

He says that the Sachems and people were about ten miles northwest from Mr. Smith's, whether the Cowesets and Pumham and his men brought to the Sachems all the powder they could, but Canonicus said it was nothing, for they had four hundred guns (beside bows) and there was but enough for every gun a charge. The young Sachem said that had he known that they were no better furnished, he would have been elsewhere this winter.

He said that while they were in consultation, an Indian squaw came in with a letter from the General. Some advised to send to Philip for one of his counsellors to read it, but at last they agreed to send a councillor to the General, who brought word that the General said that there had been a small fight between them, and asked him how many Indians were slain, and how the Sachems liked it. That he desired the Sachems would show themselves men, and come and parley with him: that if they feared they might bring what guard they pleased, who might keep at a distance from ours who should not offer them any affront, while the Sachems were at the house with the General, from whom they should depart in peace, if they came to no agreement.

Their councillors said that the English did this only in policy to entrap the Sachems, as they had done Philip

many times, who, when he was in their hands, made him yield to what they pleased.

Nananawtenu (the young Sachem) said he would not go, but thought it best to use policy, and to send word to the General, that they would come to him three days after; but Canonicus said that he was old, and would not lie to the English now, and said if you will fight, fight; for tis a folly for me to fight any longer. The young prince said he might go to Mr. Smith's then, but there should never an Indian go with him. Their chief Captain also said that he would not yield to the English so long as an Indian would stand with him. He said he had fought with English, and French, and Dutch, and Mohawks, and feared none of them, and said that if they yielded to the English they should be dead men or slaves, and so work for the English. He said that this Quaquackis bears chief sway, and is a middling thickset man, of a very stout, fierce countenance.

Being asked whether he was present at this consultation, he said no; but that Quaquackis acquainted the people what the sum of the consultation was.

He said that Philip is about Quawpaug, amongst a great many rocks, by a swampside: that the Narragansetts have been these three days on their march and flight to Philip: that he knows not what number Philip hath with him, and that this day the last and the rear of the company departed: that they heard the General was pursuing after them, and therefore several parties, to the number of four hundred, were ordered to lie in ambuscadoes: that several parties were left behind, to get and drive cattle after them: that the young prince and chief captain were in a house four miles from Providence, where Captain Fenner (with

fifteen or sixteen of Providence, seeking after cattle) took this Joshua Tift, who saith that the rest of the party (about forty-one) were not far off, and toward Pawtuxet.

Being asked what was the English child which was brought into the General: he said that Pumham's men had taken it at Warwick. Also he said that there is an English youth amongst them (his name he forgot:) one that speaks good Indian, and was wounded and taken in the fight, whom they spake of killing with torture, but he was yet with Quawnepund.

Sir, you may suppose it now to be past midnight, and I am to write forth the copy of this, to go to-morrow to the General, and therefore I dare not add my foolish comment, but humbly beg to the Father of Mercies for his mercy sake to guide you by his counsel (Psal. 73.) and afterward receive you unto Glory.

Your most unworthy,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My humble respects presented to such honored friends to whom your wisdom may think fit to communicate, &c.

Sir, Joshua Tift added that this company intend to stay with Philip till the snow melt, and then to divide into companies.

Also that many of Ninicraft's men fought the English in the Fort, and four of the Mohegans are now marched away with the Narragansetts.

Sir, since I am oft occasioned to write upon the public business, I shall be thankful for a little paper upon the public account, being now near destitute.

Sir, I pray present my humble respects to the Governor Winthrop, and my thanks for his loving letters, to which I cannot now make any return.

To the much honored the Governor Leverett, at Boston, or the
Governor Winslow, at Boston, present.

PROVIDENCE, 16, 8, 76, (*ut vulgo.*) [O&A. 16.]¹

SIR,—With my humble and loving respects to yourself and other honored friends, &c. I thought fit to tell you what the Providence of the Most High hath brought to my hand the evening before yesterday. Two Indian children were brought to me by one Thomas Clements, who had his house burnt on the other side of the river. He was in his orchard, and two Indian children came boldly to him, the boy being about seven or eight, and the girl (his sister) three or four years old. The boy tells me, that a youth, one Mittonan, brought them to the sight of Thomas Clements, and bid them go to that man, and he would give them bread. He saith his father and mother were taken by the Pequods and Mohegans about ten weeks ago, as they were clamming (with many more Indians) at Coweset; that their dwelling was and is at a place called Mittaubscut; that it is upon a branch of Pawtuxet river to Coweset (their nearest salt water) about seven or eight miles; that there are above twenty houses. I cannot learn of him that there are above twenty men, beside women and children; that they live on ground nuts, &c., and deer; that Aawaysewaukit is their Sachem; and twelve days ago, he sent his son, Wunnawmeneeskat to Uncas, with a present of a basket or two of wampum. I know this Sachem is much related to Plymouth, to whom he is said to be subject, but he said (as all of them do) he deposited his land. I know what bargains he made with the Brown's

¹ 3 *Mass. Hist. Col.* vol. i. p. 70.

and Willet's and Rhode Island and Providence men, and the controversies between the Narragansetts and them, about those lands. I know the talk abroad of the right of the three united colonies (by conquest)¹ to this land, and the plea of Rhode-Island by the charter and commissioners. I humbly desire that party may be brought in; the country improved (if God in mercy so please;) the English not differ about it and complaints run to the King (to unknown trouble, charge and hazard, &c.,) and therefore I humbly beg of God that a committee from the four colonies may (by way of prudent and godly wisdom) prevent many inconveniences and mischiefs. I write the sum of this to the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and humbly beg of the Father of Mercies to guide you in Mercy, for his mercy sake.

Sir, your unworthy,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Excuse my want of paper.

This boy faith, there is another town to the north-east of them, with more houses than twenty, who, 'tis like, correspond to the eastward.

¹ Rhode Island took no part in the extermination of the Narragansetts. In a letter to the King, Rhode Island says: "The war between King Philip and the colony of New Plymouth was prosecuted by the United Colonies as they term themselves. . . . But this your majesty's colony, not being concerned in the war only as necessity required for the defence of their lives and what they could of their estates, and as countrymen, did, with our boats and provisions, assist and relieve

our neighbors, we being in no other ways concerned."

After the extermination of this once powerful tribe, the United Colonies claimed the King's Province as a conquered territory, to which, Rhode Island for this reason, among others, had no title. Connecticut magnanimously offered peace upon a division of territory, saying that, "although our just rights, both by patent and conquest extend much further, yet our readiness to amicable and

To the Court of Commissioners of the United Colonies.

PROVIDENCE, 18, 8, [Oft. 18,] 1677.¹

HONORED GENTLEMEN,—My humble respects presented, with congratulations and prayers to the Most High, for your merciful preservations in and through these late bloody and burning times, the peaceable travelling and assembling amongst the ruins and rubbish of these late desolations, which the Most High hath justly brought upon us. I crave your gentle leave to tell you, that I humbly conceive I am called of God to present your wisdoms with what light I can, to make your difficulties and travails the easier. I am fore grieved that a self-seeking contentious soul, who has long afflicted this town and colony, should now, with his unseasonable and unjust clamor, afflict our Royal Sovereign, his honorable Council, New and Old England, and now your honored selves, with these his contentious courses. For myself, it hath pleased God to vouchsafe me knowledge and experience, of his providence in these parts, so that I should be ungratefully and treacherously silent at such a time. When his Majesty's Commissioners, Col. Nichols, &c., were here, I was chosen by this colony, one of the commissioners to treat with them and with the commission-

neighborly compliance is such, (that for peace sake,) we content ourselves to take with Cowesit (that is from Apponaug to Connecticut line,) to be the boundary between your colony and ours, if his Majesty please to indulge us therein, and yourselves shall speedily express to us your desire and agreement to have it so." *R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. ii. p. 584-585.

¹KNOWLES, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 407; POTTER'S *Narragansett*, p. 164.

The original manuscript of this letter was in the hands of the late John Howland, and was first printed by Mr. Knowles in his *Memoirs of Williams*. In a letter to Mr. Knowles, Mr. Howland states, that all here given was on one sheet, and that there must have been a second sheet that is lost. Some portions of what remain have become illegible where the paper is folded. It is wholly in the handwriting of Mr. Williams.

ers from Plymouth, who then were their honored Governor deceased, and honored present Governor, about our bounds. It then pleased the Father of mercies, in whose most high and holy hands the hearts of all men are, to give me such favor in their eyes, that afterward, at a great assembly at Warwick, where (that firebrand) Philip, his whole country, was challenged by the Narragansett Sachems, I was sent for, and declared such transactions between Old Canonicus and Ousamaquin, that the commissioners were satisfied, and confirmed unto the ungrateful monster his country. The Narragansett Sachems (prompted by some English) told the commissioners that Mr. Williams was but one witness, but the commissioners answered that they had such experience of my knowledge in these parts, and fidelity, that they valued my testimony as much as twenty witnesses.

Among so many passages since W. Harris, (so long ago) kindled the fires of contention, give me leave to trouble you with one, when if W. Harris had any desire by equal and peaceable converse with men, this fire had been quenched; our General Court, Mithauntatuk men, and W. Harris, agreed that arbitration should heal this old sore.¹ Arbitrators were chosen, and Mr. Thomas Willet² was chosen

¹ "In October, 1677, the Commissioners from the several colonies met at Providence, to settle the long contested disputes between Mr. Harris and others about lands. Mr. Harris laid before the Court a long statement, in which he preferred heavy charges against Mr. Williams, and the latter made counter statements in a similar style. The result of the examination was favorable to the claims of Mr. Harris and his friends, who obtained five verdicts from a jury.

But the disputes were not settled, till more than thirty years afterwards."—KNOWLES' *Memoir*, p. 348.

² Thomas Willet, came to Plymouth in 1632. Was an Assistant from 1651 to 1654, and when the English conquered New York, he accompanied them and was made Mayor. He returned not long after and took up his residence in Rehoboth and Swanzeey, dying at the latter place August 4, 1674.—SAVAGE, *Genealogical Dictionary*, vol. iv. p. 557.

umpire. He, when they met, told them that the arbitrators should consider every plea with equity, and allot to every one what the arbitrators' consciences told them was right and equal. Misshauntatuk men yielded, W. Carpenter then one with W. Harris, yielded. W. Harris cried out, no; he was resolved all or none; so the honored soul, Mr. Willet (as he himself told me) could not proceed, but was forced to draw up a protest to acquit himself and the arbitrators from this trust, that the obstruction might only be laid on W. Harris his shoulders, concerning whom a volume might be written, of his furious, covetous, and contentious domineering over his poor neighbors. I have presented a character of him to his Majesty, (in defence of myself against him) in my narrative against George Fox, printed at Boston. I think it not seasonable here to trouble your patience with particulars as to the matter.¹ I humbly refer myself to my large testimony, given in writing, at a Court of Trials on the Island, before the honored gentleman, deceased, Mr. W. Brenton, then Governor. At the same time Mr. William Arnold, father to our honored present Governor, and Stukely Westcott,² father to our



¹ Mr. Williams's book here referred to "*George Fox Digged out of his Burrows*" so abounds with abuse of Wm. Harris, as well as of all others opposed to him in this controversy that we cannot point out any particular passage which refers to his character. "Mr. Harris soon after went to England, on this business, but the vessel was captured by an Algerine or Tunisian corsair, and he was sold for a slave. His family in Rhode Island redeemed him at the cost of about \$1200, by the sale of a part of his property. After travelling through Spain and

France, he arrived in London in 1680, where he died the third day after. He was an able, and we may hope, a good man, notwithstanding some infirmities. His quarrels with Roger Williams were very discreditable to them both. On which side the most blame lay, we cannot now decide."—KNOWLES, *Memoir of Williams*, p. 349, note; STAPLES' *Gorton*, p. 113, note.

² STUKELY WESTCOTT, removed to Providence, in April, 1638, and was the first named in Williams's first deed. He signed the compact at Providence in 1640.

Governor's wife, gave in their testimony with mine, and W. Harris was cast. In that testimony, I declare not only how unrighteous, but also how simple is W. Harris his ground of pleading, viz.: after Miantinomo had set us our bounds here in his own person, because of the envious clamors of some against myself, one amongst us (not I) recorded a testimony or memorandum of a courtesy added (upon request) by the Sachem, in these words, *up stream without limits*. The courtesy was requested and granted, that being shortened in bounds by the Sachem because of the Indians about us, it might be no offence if our few cows fed up the rivers where nobody dwelt, and home again at night. This hasty, unadvised memorandum W. H. interprets of bounds set to our town by the Sachems; but he would set no bounds to our cattle, but up the streams so far as they branched or run, so far all the meadows, and at last all the uplands, must be drawn into this accidental courtesy, and yet, upon no consideration given, nor the Sachem's knowledge or hand, or witness, nor date, nor for what term of time this kindness should continue.

Second. In my testimony, I have declared that Miantinomo having set such short bounds (because of the Indians) upon my motion, payments were given by us to Alexander and Philip, and the Narragansett Sachems, near two hundred and fifty pounds, in their pay for inland enlargements, according to leave granted us by the General Court upon our petition. This after purchase and satisfaction to all claimers, W. Harris puts a rotten title upon it, and calls

He afterwards removed to Warwick, and for many years was Commissioner from that town. Staples says, "He held to entire and rigid separation from the Church of England, and desired the

Churches of Massachusetts to be true churches; for which the Church at Salem passed "the great censure" on him as early as July 1, 1639."—Note to *Simplicity's Defence*, p. 117.

it confirmation, a confirmation of the title and grant of *up streams without limits*; but all the Sachems and Indians, when they heard of such an interpretation, they cried *com-moobin*, lying and stealing, as such a cheat as stunk in their pagan nostrils.

Honored Sirs, let me now add to my testimony, a list of several persons which the right and disposing of all or considerable part of these Narragansetts, and Coweset and Nipmuck lands, &c.

First. The colony of Connecticut, by the King's grant and charter, by the late wars, wherein they were honorably assistant.

Second. The colony of Plymouth, by virtue of Tacomaicon's surrender of his person and lands to their protection, and I have seen a letter from the present Governor Winslow, to Mr. Richard Smith, about the matter.

Third. The colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, by grant from his Majesty and confirmation from his Majesty's commissioners, who called these lands the King's Province, and committed the ordering of it to this colony, until his Majesty further order.

Fourth. Many eminent gentlemen of the Massachusetts and other colonies, claim by a mortgage and forfeiture of all lands belonging to Narragansett.

Fifth. Our honored Governor, Mr. Arnold, and divers with him, are out of a round sum of money and cost, about a purchase from Tacummanan.

Sixth. The like claim was and is made by Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Thomas Willet, honored gentlemen and their successors, * * * from purchase with Tacummanan, and I have seen their deeds, and Col. Nichols his confirmation of them, under hand and seal, in the name of the King's Majesty.

Seventh. William Harris pleads *up streams without limits*, and confirmation from the other Sachems of the *up streams, &c.*

Eighth. Mishuntatuk men claim by purchase from Indians by possession, buildings, &c. * * * * [*worn out and obliterated.*] * * *

Ninth. Capt. Hubbard and some others, of Hingham * * * by purchase from the Indians.

Tenth. John Tours, of Hingham, by three purchases from Indians.

Eleventh. William Vaughan,¹ of Newport, and others, by Indian purchase

[The next following No. is 13; there is no 12.]

Thirteenth. Randall, of Scituate,² and White, of Taunton, and others, by purchase from Indians.

Fourteenth. Edward Inman, of Providence, by purchase from the natives.

Fifteenth. The town of Warwick, who challenge twenty miles, about part of which, William Harris contending with them, it is said, was the first occasion of W. Harris falling in love with this his monstrous Diana *up streams without limits*, so that he might antedate and prevent (as he speaks) the blades of Warwick.

Sixteenth. The Town of Providence, by virtue of Canonius' and Miantonomo's grant renewed to me again and again, viz.: of as large a plantation and accommodation as

¹ William Vaughan's name appears on the roll of the freemen of Newport, in 1655. He was one of the purchasers from the Sachem *Socbo*, of Misquamack, the neck of land east of Pawcatuck

river in Westerly, in 1660.—*R. I. Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 450.

²The Scituate here mentioned, must be in Massachusetts, as there was no town of that name in Rhode Island until 1730.

any town in the country of New England. It is known what favor God pleased to give me with old Canonicus, (though at a dear-bought rate) so that I had what I would (so that I observed my times of moderation;) but two or three envious and ungrateful souls among us cried out, What is R. Williams? We will have the Sachem come and set our bounds for us; which he did, and (because of his Indians round about us) so sudden and so short, that we were forced to petition to our General Court for enlargement.

Honored Sirs, there be other claims, and therefore I presume your wisdoms will send forth your proclamations to all the colonies, that all the claims may come in before your next meeting; and Oh! that it would please the Most High to move the colonies hearts to empower you, and move your hearts to be willing, (being honorably rewarded) and the hearts of the claimers to acquiesce and rest in your determination. And Oh, let not the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island to be offended, if I humbly beseech them, for God's sake, for the King's sake, for the country of New England's sake, and for their own souls' and selves' and posterity's sakes to prevent any more complaints and clamors to the King's Majesty, and agree to submit their differences to the wisdoms of such solemn commissioners chosen out of the whole country. I know there are objections, but also know that love to God, love to the country and posterity, will conquer greater matters, and I believe the King's Majesty, himself, will give us thanks for sparing him and his honorable Council from being troubled with us.

Honored gentlemen, if his Majesty and honorable Council knew how against all law of England, Wm. Harris

thus affects New and Old England, viz. : that a vast country should be purchased, and yet be but a poor courtesy from one Sachem, who understood no such thing, nor they that begged it of him, who had not, nor asked any consideration for it, who was not desired to set his hand to it, nor did; nor are there the hands of witnesses, but the parties themselves, nor no date, nor term of time, for the use of feeding cows, up streams without limits, and yet these words, (*up streams without limits*) by a sudden and unwary hand so written, must be the ground of W. Harris this raising a fire about these thirty years unquenchable. If his Majesty and Council knew how many of his good subjects are claimers and competitors to these lands and meadows up the streams of Pawtuxet and Pawtucket, through only one comes thus clamoring to him, to cheat all the rest. If his Majesty and Council knew this confirmation W. Harris talks of, what a grand cheat it is, stinking in the nostrils of all Indians, who subscribed to and only confirmed only such bounds as were formerly given us, and W. Harris clamors that they confirmed Miantonomo's grant of up streams without limits, a thing which they abhor to hear of, and (amongst others) was one great occasion of their late great burning and slaughtering of us."

* * * * *

¹To the much honored Mr. Thomas Hinckley² and the rest of the much honored Commissioners from the respective colonies, assembled at Providence, October 4th, 1678. (*ut vulgo.*)

MUCH HONORED SIRs:—Your wisdoms know that this town is liable to many payments: that moneys will be drawn like blood from many amongst us: for some of us have appeared legally in town meetings to answer the charge and summons and declaration of the plaintiff against the town of Providence. Others have not appeared at our town meetings; or, appearing have dissented from the major vote, which hath always (in all these transactions) carried on matters in just order and quietness. The non-appears and dissenters will not pay, as being none of the town in this case.

We had much heat in our last town-meeting, I motioned a suspension of proceedings until the sitting of this high court. Both parties yielded and proposed to submit to your decision, in active or passive obedience. We were hot; so no address was orderly prepared, &c.: and therefore I hold it my humble duty, in the town's name, to pray your favorable and most seasonable help unto us. I presume not to add a word as to our matters; no, not to urge to your remembrance the maxim of Queen Experience (*secunda cogitationes meliores.*) Only I pray you to remember that all lands and all nations are but a drop of a bucket in

¹ *4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. v. p. 21.

² Thomas Hinckley was the last Governor of Plymouth. He came to Scituate, Mass., in 1635. He soon became prominent in the affairs of the colony and held various public offices and was

Governor from 1681, (except during the interruption of Andros,) till the union with Massachusetts colony in 1682. He was also a Commissioner of the two colonies from 1673 to 1692.

the eyes of that King of kings, and Lord of lords, whom I humbly beseech to adorn your heads with that heavenly crown at your parting from us. *Beati pacifici*

So prays your most unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To the most honored Thomas Hinckley, Commissioner for the Colonies.

PROVIDENCE, July 4, 1679. (*ut vulgo.*)¹

SIR,—Your heavenly meditations on that heavenly Mr. Walley, I kindly and thankfully received, and pray your leave to say four words: First, you hold forth in your own soul a bright character of a true son of God, who attribute to your deep distresses, &c., to His all-wise and His most gracious hand eternal. *Una eademque, manus, &c.*

2. Though a natural spirit will pretend high to spirituals, yet I rejoice to see you (with rejoicing) predicating such graces in the deceased, as hoping that a spiritual light hath given yourself that spiritual eye as clearly to see and rejoice in that image of God in another.

3. I praise God for that heavenly stirring-up of yourself and others to an humble enquiry after those coals of jealousy which have kindled such a fire of jealousy in the nostrils of the Most High against you; and I pray your patience to suffer me to say, that, above these forty years in a barbarous wilderness, driven out on pain of death, I

¹*4 Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. v. p. 29.

have, (as I believe) been the Eternal his poor witness in sackcloth against your churches, and ministries, as being but State politics and a mixture of golden images, unto which (were your carnal sword so long) you would musically persuade, or by fiery torments compel, to bow down as many as (that great type of inventors and persecutors) Nebuchadnezzar did. I have studiously avoided clamorousness; and yet (being called) I have divers times, and especially in the *Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, humbly offered my reasons, and to Mr. Nathaniel Morton¹ before this last winter (upon his charges on me): and I humbly and heartily desire, in the fear of the Most High, to ponder (in the double weights of the King Eternal) the sharpest rebukes or censures, and to present my thoughts in love, patience and meekness.

4. Can you say, with a true broken heart and contrite spirit (deeply distressed Mr. Thomas Hinckley,) and not consider how, not many weeks or months before, myself and so many other innocent souls, as to W. Harris, you deeply distressed by your adding gall to our (mine own above) forty years vinegar in countenancing that prodigy of pride and scorning W. Harris, who, being an impudent morris-dancer in Kent, under the cloak of (scurilous) jests against the bishop, got into a flight to New England, and, under a cloak of separation, got in with myself, till his self-ends and restless strife, and at last his atheistical

¹ Nathaniel Morton emigrated to America in 1623. Was clerk of the Judicial Court in Plymouth from 1645 to his death in 1685. He wrote a brief Ecclesiastical History of Plymouth, which has been preserved in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims; but he was better known

by his *New England Memorial*, first published in 1669, in 4to. Other editions were printed in 1721; 1772; 1825; in 1826 with valuable notes by John Davis, and one by the Congregational Board in 1855.

denying of heaven and hell, made honest souls to fly from him? Now he courts the Baptists; then he kicks them off and flatters the Foxians; then the drunkards (which he calls all that are not of the former two amongst us); then knowing the prejudices of the other Colonies against us, he dares to abuse his Majesty and Council, to bring New England upon us; and when your noble self discerned and disowned his old and only monstrous song, *Hoc est Corpus meum* (up streams without limits,) how hath he run about the world again to force my conscience to give him more up Wanasquatucket than the bounds so punctually set us by the Sachems in our grand deed. It is not questionable, is that, if he be not satisfied with his poor bone he hath so long fancied, he will stamp on yourself, and his Majesty and Council too, and make Rome, if he can (bloody Rome), his sanctuary; for he saith he can go to Mass: yea (*flectere si nequeam*, &c.), he will go down to devils and witches; for he saith he can go to the witch of Endor for a piece of bread. I am not sensible of his long thirsting after my blood. I humbly pray the blessed Lord to return him or rebuke him, and to deliver my soul and yours from all our distresses. So daily prays, Sir,

Your most unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My humble respects to your honored Governor, Major Cudworth, &c.

Testimony of Roger Williams relative to the first settlement of the Narragansett Country by Richard Smith.

NARRAGANSETT, 21 July, 1679.¹

Roger Williams, of Providence, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England, being (by God's mercy) the first beginner of the mother town of Providence, and of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, being now near to fourscore years of age, yet (by God's mercy) of sound understanding and memory; do humbly and faithfully declare, that Mr. Richard Smith, senior, who for his conscience to God left fair possessions in Gloucestershire, and adventured, with his relations and estate, to New-England, and was a most acceptable inhabitant, and a prime leading man in Taunton and Plymouth colony; for his conscience sake, many differences arising, he left Taunton and came to the Narragansett country, where, (by God's mercy and the favor of the Narragansett Sachems) he broke the ice at his great charge and hazard, and put up in the thickets of the barbarians, the first English house amongst them. 2. I humbly testify, that about forty years from this date, he kept possession, coming and going himself, children and servants, and he had quiet possession of his housing, lands and meadow; and there, in his own house, with much serenity of soul and comfort, he yielded up his spirit to God, (the Father of spirits) in peace. 3. I do humbly and faithfully testify as abovesaid, that since his departure, his honored son, Capt. Richard Smith, hath kept possession, (with much acceptance with English and pagans) of his father's housing, lands and meadows, with great improvement also by his great cost and industry.

¹BACKUS, *Hist. of the Baptists in New England*, vol. i. p. 421.

And in the late bloody Pagan war, I knowingly testify and declare, that it please the Most High to make use of himself in person, his housing, goods, corn, provisions and cattle, for a garrison and supply for the whole army of New England, under the command of the ever to be honored General Winslow,¹ for the service of his Majesty's honor and country of New England. 4. I do also humbly declare, that the said Captain Richard Smith, junior, ought, by all the rules of equity, justice and gratitude, (to his honored father and himself) to be fairly treated with, considered, recruited, honored, and, by his Majesty's authority, confirmed and established in a peaceful possession of his father's and his own possessions in this pagan wilderness, and Narragansett country. The premises I humbly testify, as now leaving this country and this world.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

*To Mr. Daniel Abbott, Town Clerk of Providence.*²

PROVIDENCE, 15th January, 1680-81. (so called.)

MY GOOD FRIEND,—Loving remembrance to you. It has pleased the Most High and Only Wife, to stir up your spirit to be one of the chiefest stakes in our poor hedge. I, therefore, not being able to come to you, present you with a few thoughts about the great stumbling-block to them that are willing to stumble and trouble themselves,

¹Josiah, son of Edward Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony, was also Governor from 1673 to 1680. During Philip's war, being commander of the Plymouth forces, he showed him-

self to be a brave soldier.—BLAKE, *Biographical Dictionary*.

²KNOWLES, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 350.

our rates. James Matifon had one copy of me, and Thomas Arnold another. This I fend to yourself and the town, (for it may be I shall not be able to be at meeting.) I am grieved that you do so much service for so bad recompense; but I am persuaded you shall find cause to say, the Most High God of recompense, who was Abraham's great reward, hath paid me.

Considerations presented touching rates.

1. Government and order in families, towns, &c., is the ordinance of the Most High, Rom. 13, for the peace and good of mankind. 2. Six things are written in the hearts of all mankind, yea, even in pagans: 1st. That there is a Deity; 2d. That some actions are nought; 3d. That the Deity will punish; 4th. That there is another life; 5th. That marriage is honorable; 6th. That mankind cannot keep together without some government. 3. There is no Englishman in his Majesty dominions or elsewhere, who is not forced to submit to government. 4. There is not a man in the world, except robbers, pirates and rebels, but doth submit to government. 5. Even robbers, pirates and rebels themselves cannot hold together, but by some law among themselves and government. 6. One of these two great laws in the world must prevail, either that of judges and justices of peace in courts of peace, or the law of arms, the sword and blood. 7. If it comes from the courts of trials of peace, to the trial of the sword and blood, the conquered is forced to seek law and government. 8. Till matters come to a settled government, no man is ordinarily sure of his house, goods, lands, cattle, wife, children or life. 9. Hence is that ancient maxim, *It is better to live under a tyrant in peace, than*

under the sword, or where every man is a tyrant. 10. His Majesty sends governors to Barbadoes, Virginia, &c., but to us he shews greater favor in our charter, to choose whom we please. 11. No charters are obtained without great suit, favor or charges. Our first cost a hundred pounds (though I never received it all;) our second about a thousand; Connecticut about six thousand, &c. 12. No government is maintained without tribute, custom, rates, taxes, &c. 13. Our charter excels all in New England, or, *in the world, as to the souls of men.* 14. It pleased God, Rom. 13, to command tribute, custom, and consequently rates, not only for fear, but for conscience sake. 15. Our rates are the least, by far, of any colony in New England. 16. There is no man that hath a vote in town or colony, but *he hath a hand in making the rates by himself or his deputies.* 17. In our colony the General Assembly, Governor, magistrates, deputies, towns, town clerks, raters, constables, &c., have done their duties, the failing lies upon particular persons.¹ 18. It is but folly to resist, (one or more, and if one, why not more?) God hath stirred up the spirit of the Governor, magistrates and officers, driven to it by necessity, to be unanimously resolved to see the matter finished; and it is the duty of every man to maintain, encourage, and strengthen the hand of authority. 19. Black clouds (some years) have hung over Old and New England heads. God hath been wonderfully patient and long suffering to us; but who sees not changes and calamities hanging over us? 20. All men fear, that this

¹In 1679, the General Assembly ordered a rate to be levied of sixty pounds, which was apportioned as follows: Newport, eighteen; Portsmouth, eleven;

Providence, four; Kingstown, six; Warwick, four; Westerly, four; New Shoreham, four; East Greenwich, six; Jamestown, six.

blazing herald from heaven¹ denounceth from the Most High, wars, pestilence, famines; it is not then our wisdom to make and keep peace with God and man?

Your old unworthy servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To my much honored, kind friend, the Governor Bradstreet,² at Boston, present.

PROVIDENCE, 6 May, 1682, (*ut vulgo.*)³

SIR,—Your person and place are born to trouble as the sparks fly upward; yet I am grieved to disturb your thoughts or hands with any thing from me, and yet am

¹Referring to the remarkable comet of 1680, which created a great sensation throughout the world, Increase Mather wrote an essay on the subject, showing the remarkable events which followed the appearance of comets; and Bayle wrote two small volumes on the comet of 1680, wherein his views are quite at variance with those of the Puritan divine.

²Gov. Bradstreet was one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. In 1662, he and Mr. Norton were sent to congratulate King Charles on his restoration. In 1679 he was elected Governor, which office he held till 1686, when the charter was annulled and Dudley commenced his administration as President of New England. He was replaced in office in 1689 and held it until 1692. He died in 1697 at the age of 94.

³2 *Mafs. Hist. Col.* vol. iii. p. 196.

Mr. Williams when near the close of his life, occupied his leisure in preparing the discourses he had delivered during his missionary efforts as will appear from this letter. "It affords" too "additional proof, writes Dr. Elton, of the writer's disinterested benevolence and self-denying spirit. With ample opportunities of enriching himself—to use the words of his son—he gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all. His property, his time, and his talents, were devoted to the promotion of the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind, and in conducting to a glorious issue the struggle to unloose the bonds of the captive daughter of Zion."—*Life of Williams*, p. 148.

refreshed with the thought, that sometimes you subscribe [your willing servant :] and that your love and willingness will turn to your account also.

Sir, by John Whipple¹ of Providence, I wrote lately (though the letter lay long by him) touching the widow Messinger's daughter, Sarah Weld, of Boston, whom I believe Joseph Homan, of Boston, hath miserably deluded, slandered, oppressed (her and his child) by barbarous inhumanity, so that I humbly hope your mercy and justice will gloriously in public kiss each other.

Sir, this enclosed tells you that being old and weak and bruised (with rupture and colic) and lameness on both my feet, I am directed by the Father of our spirits, to desire to attend his infinite Majesty with a poor mite, (which makes but two farthings.) By my fire-side I have recollected the discourses which (by many tedious journeys) I have had with the scattered English at Narragansett, before the war and since. I have reduced them unto those twenty-two heads, (enclosed) which is near thirty sheets of my writing : I would send them to the Narragansetts and others ; there is no controversy in them, only an endeavor of a particular match of each poor sinner to his Maker. For printing, I am forced to write to my friends at Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and our colony, that he that hath a shilling and a heart to countenance and promote such a foul work, may trust the great Paymaster (who is beforehand with us already) for an hundred for one in this life. Sir, I have many friends at Boston, but pray you to call in my kind friends Capt. Brattle and Mr.

¹ John Whipple was a Deputy from Providence to the General Assembly as early as 1666, to which office he was at many times re-elected. He was an inhabitant of Dorchester, Mass., in 1632 ; removed to Providence in 1659.

Seth Perry, who may, by your wife discretions, ease yourself of any burthen. I write to my honored acquaintance at Roxbury, Mr. Dudley¹ and Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Stoughton,² at Dorchester, and to Capt. Gookins, at Cambridge, and pray yourself and him to consult about a little help from Charlestown, where death has stripped me of all my acquaintance. Sir, if you can return that chapter my reply to G——ton, concerning New England, I am advised to let it sleep, and forbear public contests with Protestants, since it is the design of hell and Rome to cut the throats of all the protestors in the world. Yet I am occasioned, in this book, to say much for the honor and peace of New England.³

¹ Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts, held many important offices in that colony. He was at the battle with the Narragansetts in December, 1675, and was one of the Commissioners who dictated the terms of a treaty with them. By a commission from King James he was exalted to the office of President of New England, in which capacity he had much to do with Rhode Island. He fell into trouble in the revolution of 1680, being imprisoned in Boston as one of the friends of Andros. Being sent to England with Andros, Queen Anne received him with favor, and made him Chief Justice of New York. When in England in 1693, he was made Lieut. Governor of the Isle of Wight and in 1701 elected to Parliament. The following year he returned to Massachusetts as Governor, including the colonies of New Hampshire and Maine, which office he held till 1715 when he retired to his home in Roxbury, where he died in 1720 aged 72 years.—*New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. x. p. 337.

² Israel Stoughton. See note to Letter of June 22, 1670.

³“The foregoing letter,” says Knowles, “furnishes proof that Mr. Williams, even after Philip’s War, and consequently after he had passed his 77th year, went to Narragansett and delivered discourses. His zeal for the salvation of men was not extinguished by his age, nor was he prevented from efforts to save them, by his theory respecting the ministry. That zeal is displayed in his desire to print these discourses, after disease confined him to his home. The letter, too, leads us to infer his poverty. He would not, probably, have solicited aid to print so small a work, if he had possessed the means. A letter from his son to the Town of Providence, dated Aug. 24, 1710, printed in Knowles’s *Memoir*, (p. 110) intimates that his father had been dependent on his children to some extent, during the latter years of his life.” *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 148.

Sir, I shall humbly wait for your advice where it may be best printed, at Boston or Cambridge, and for how much, the printer finding paper. We have tidings here of Shaftsbury's and Howard's beheading, and contrarily, their release, London manifestations of joy, and the King's calling a Parliament. But all these are but subluniarities, temporaries and trivials. Eternity (O eternity!) is our business, to which end I am most unworthy to be

Your willing and faithful servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My humble respects to Mrs. Bradstreet, and other honored friends.

Testimony of Roger Williams relative to his first coming into the Narragansett country, dated

NARRAGANSETT, June 18, 1682.¹

I testify, as in the presence of the all-making and all-seeing God, that about fifty years since, I coming into this Narragansett country, I found a great contest between three Sachems, two, (to wit, Canonicus and Miantonomo) were against Oufamaquin, on Plymouth side, I was forced to travel between them three, to pacify, to satisfy all their and their dependents' spirits of my honest intentions to live peaceably by them. I testify, that it was the general and constant declaration, that Canonicus his father had three sons, whereof Canonicus was the heir, and his

²KNOWLES, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 411.

youngest brother's son, Miantonomo, (because of youth,) was his marshal and executioner, and did nothing without his uncle Canonicus' consent; and therefore I declare to posterity, that were it not for the favor God gave me with Canonicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island, had been purchased or obtained, for I never got any thing out of Canonicus but by gift. I also profess, that very inquisitive of what the title or denomination Narragansett should come, I heard that Narragansett was so named from a little island between Puttiquomscut and Musquomacuk on the sea and fresh water side. I went on purpose to see it; and about the place called Sugar Loaf Hill, I saw it, and was within a pole of it, but could not learn why it was called Narragansett. I had learned, that the Massachusetts was called so, from the Blue Hills, a little island thereabout; and Canonicus' father and ancestors, living in these southern parts, transferred and brought their authority and name into those northern parts, all along by the sea-side, as appears by the great destruction of wood all along near the sea-side and I desire posterity to see the gracious hand of the Most High, (in whose hands are all hearts) that when the hearts of my countrymen and friends and brethren failed me, his infinite wisdom and merits stirred up the barbarous heart of Canonicus to love me as his son to his last gasp, by which means I had not only Miantonomo and all the lowest Sachems my friends, but Ousamaquin also, who because of my great friendship with him at Plymouth, and the authority of Canonicus, consented freely, being also well gratified by me, to the Governor Winthrop and my enjoyment of Prudence, yea of Providence itself, and all the other lands I procured of Canonicus which were upon the point, and in effect whatsoever I

desired of him ; and I never denied him or Miantonomo whatever they desired of me as to goods or gifts or use of my boats or pinnace, and the travels of my own person, day and night, which, though men know not, nor care to know, yet the all-seeing Eye hath seen it, and his all-powerful hand hath helped me. Blessed be his holy name to eternity.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

September 28th, 1704. I then, being at the house of Mr. Nathaniel Coddington, there being presented with this written paper, which I attest, upon oath, to be my father's own hand writing.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS, *Affistant.*

February 11th, 1705. True copy of the original, placed to record, and examined per me.

WESTON CLARKE, *Recorder.*

I N D E X .

<p>Abbott, Daniel and note on, - 207</p> <p>Agowaun, - - - - 115</p> <p>Ahuanquatuck, - - - 291</p> <p>Allen, Mr. of Hartford, - 85, 309</p> <p>Ames, Mr. - - - - 283</p> <p>Amic, Mr. - - - - 196</p> <p>Anabaptists, persecution of, at Lynn, (<i>n.</i>) 210</p> <p>Andrews, Edward, of Warwick, 181</p> <p>Angell, Thomas, - - (<i>n.</i>) 335</p> <p>Anquontis, - - - - 172</p> <p>Antinomians, - - - - 91</p> <p>Apponaug, - - - - 387</p> <p>Aquawoce, - - - - 179</p> <p>Aquidneck, Aquetneck, Aquidnay, 70, 104, 113, 121, 154</p> <p>Aquedenebeck, Dutch Island, - 173</p> <p>Archer, John, (and note,) - - 299</p> <p>Arnold; Hist. of R. I., references to, 70, 321, 326, 324</p> <p>Arnold, Benedict, 155, 196, 197, 294, (<i>n.</i>) 313, (note on,) 196</p> <p>Arnold, William, causes trouble in Providence, 124</p> <p>“ “ Winthrop’s notice of, 124</p> <p>“ “ makes overtures to Massachusetts, (<i>n.</i>) 151</p> <p>“ “ letter to the Gov- ernor of Massachu- setts, relative to Williams’s visit to England, - - - 229</p>	<p>Arnold, William, references to, 155, 295, 302, 389</p> <p>Arnold, Mr. - - - - 187</p> <p>Arnold, Stephen, - - - - 295</p> <p>Arnold, Samuel G., Hist. of R. I., quoted, (<i>n.</i>) 18</p> <p>Arnold, Thomas. - - - - 401</p> <p>Ascaffatic, - - - - 275</p> <p>Astton, James, - - - - 310</p> <p>Aspinwall, William, (<i>n.</i>) - - 89</p> <p>Asttemuit, - - - - 40</p> <p>Atherton, Humphrey, note on, 155, 160, 200, 348, 318, (<i>n.</i>) 366</p> <p>Attayakitch, - - - - 122</p> <p>Auguontis, - - - - 211</p> <p>Auhaudin, - - - - 123</p> <p>Audfah, murderer of Oldham, 66, 26</p> <p>Aurania, (Newport,) fort at - 303</p> <p>Awayfewaukit, - - - - 385</p> <p>Awetipimo, - - - - 102</p> <p>Ayanemo, or Ninegret, note on, - 45</p> <p>Backus’ Hist. of the Baptists, quoted, 149, 151, 152, 211, 253, 278, 262, 278, 300, 305, 312, 316, 399</p> <p>Badger, William, - - - - 167</p> <p>Baker, William, 66, (<i>n.</i>) 85, 86, 95, 98</p> <p>Barnes, John, - - - - 171</p> <p>Batter, Edmund, - - - - 53</p> <p>“ “ came out with J. Greene, (<i>n.</i>) 53</p> <p>Baulfton, William, - - - - 294</p> <p>Bellingham, Mr. 16, 34, 55, 48, 297</p>
---	--

- Bessé's Sufferings of the Quakers,
 quoted, (*n.*) 105
 Beverley's Hist. of Virginia, quoted, 158
 Bill, James, - - - - 292
 Blackstone, Blaxton, William, 79
 and note, 80
 Blackstone, William, death of, and
 note on, 365
 Blake, Admiral, 197 (*n.*) 298 and
 note, 292
 Blake's Biographical Dictionary, refer-
 ences to, 53, 192, 285, 289,
 351, 400.
 Blindman, Mr. - - - - 212
 Block Island, Indian settlement on,
 destroyed, (*n.*) 4
 " " prisoners taken at, - 37
 " " Governor Endecott's
 expedition to, - (*n.*) 53
 " " references to, 123, 158,
 186, 3
 " " Massachusetts appoints
 Commissioners, relative
 to, - - - - 320
 Bloody Tenent, reference to, - 91
 Bluefield, or Blauvelt, 186, 187 (*n.*) 188,
 196
 Boston Neck, - - - - (*n.*) 313
 Bourne, Major, - - - - 143
 Bradford, W., Hist. of Plymouth,
 quoted, 42, 80, 337, 338
 " Governor, 90 (*n.*), 817, 336
 (*n.*), 338 (*n.*)
 " his opinion of Roger Wil-
 liams, 336 (*n.*)
 Bradshaw, John, note on, - - 286
 Bradstreet, Simon, 140 (*n.*), 403 (*n.*)
 " " letter of Roger
 Williams to, - 403
 Brenton, William, - - - - 313, 389
 Brenton, Mrs. - - - - 189
 Brewster, Jonathan, - - - - 190 (*n.*)
 Brewster, William, - - - - 190 (*n.*)
 Brewster, Mr. - - - - 164, 165
 Bridge, William, - - - - 222 (*n.*)
 Bridges, Robert, - - - - 210 (*n.*)
 Brown, Chad, pastor of Baptist Ch.
 329, 330 (*n.*)
 Brown, Moses, - - - - 335 (*n.*)
 Brown, Mr. - - - - 153, 192
 Brown, John, - - - - 154 (*n.*), 391
 Brown, John Carter, Extracts from
 his manuscripts, - 321, 322
 Bulkley, Rev. Peter, - - - - 50, 51
 Bull, Jireh, - - - - 371
 Burnyeat, John, - - - - 359
 Burroughs, Jeremiah, - - - - 222 (*n.*)
 Caldwell, Rev. S. L., notes by, 220, 222
 Callender, J., quoted, - 104, 105, 183
 Calvin, John, - - - - 347
 Canonicus, 16, 22, 38 (*n.*), 39, 40, 42,
 55, 58, 86, 96, 101, 107, 133,
 138, 407.
 " sketch of, - - - - 68
 " gives Prudence Island to
 Mr. Oldham, - - - - 70
 Carr, Sir Robert, letters to, 321, 371
 Carpenter, Nathaniel, - - - - 192 (*n.*)
 Carpenter's Geography, - - - - 192
 Carpenter, Wm., makes overtures to
 Massachusetts, 151 (*n.*)
 " " other references to,
 295, 302 (*n.*)
 Carwithy, Mr., - - - - 212, 213
 Cavaliers and Levellers, - - - - 287
 Cavour, John, - - - - 336 (*n.*)
 Caucafenamont, - - - - 174, 190
 Cawcawmfquiffick, - - - - 146 (*n.*)
 Cawdrey, Daniel, - - - - 354
 Cawkin, Mr., - - - - 205
 Charles I., arrest and trial of, 161 (*n.*)
 " " condemnation and execu-
 tion, - - - - 162 (*n.*)
 " " references to, 287, 298 (*n.*)
 Chawbutick, - - - - 211, 212
 Chaubutick Indians, - - - - 212
 Chauncey, Charles, Preft. Harvard
 College, note on, 285
 Chester, Mrs. - - - - 229

- Chesbrough, William, and note, - 143
 Chibachuwefe Island sold to Mr. Winthrop, - - - 70
 Church, Richard, - - - 66 (*n.*)
 Clarke, Captain, - - - 173, 180
 Clarke, John, of Newport, biographical sketch of, 183 (*n.*)
 Clarke, John, his "Ill News from New England," 183 (*n.*)
 " " ordered to be whipped or fined at Lynn, - 210
 " " discussion with Gov. Endecott, - 210 (*n.*)
 " " letter to Gov. Endecott, relative to his perfection of Mr. Clark, O. Holmes and others, - - - 214
 " " sent to England to procure a repeal of Coddington's commission, 230 (*n.*), 256 (*n.*)
 " " other references to, 150, 183, 188, 189, 213, 220, 294 (*n.*), 341, 362.
 Clarke, Dr. John, of Newbery, 189 (*n.*)
 Clements, Thomas, - - - 385
 Coddington, Nathaniel, - - - 408
 Coddington Wm. 40 (*n.*), 55 (*n.*), 70, 91, 138, 150, 151, 166, 170, 212, 228 (*n.*), 267, 299, 306.
 " " notice of, - 104 (*n.*)
 " " his Demonstration of True Love, - 105
 " " advised by Vane to leave Boston, - 123
 " " proceedings at Newport, - - - 166
 " " sails for England, 166
 " " proposes to the Com'rs of the United Colonies to receive Rhode Island, - 151 (*n.*), 354
 Coddington, Wm., charter obtained by, - 228 (*n.*), 229
 " " and John Clarke sent to England in reference to charter, - - 230 (*n.*)
 " " settles differences with Wm. Dyre, 294 (*n.*)
 Cole, Mr. - - - - 79
 Collicutt, Richard, 59 and note, 60, 65
 Comet of 1680, - - - 403
 Commissioners of the United Colonies, note on, - - - 172
 Conanicut, - - - - 130
 Cooke's Life of Marvel referred to, 251
 Cooshkowwany, - - - 376
 Cope, Mr. - - - - 121
 Cotton, John, - - - 90, 91, 198, 285
 " " his reply to Williams, 198 (*n.*)
 Cotton, John, son of the above, letter to Williams, - 351
 " " note on, - - - 351
 Cowawesuck, a pine tree, - 21 (*n.*)
 Coweset, East Greenwich, 21, 22, 126, 348
 Coweset Indians, - - - 366
 Coxall, (Coggeshall) Mr. 15, 49 (*n.*), 89
 Cradock, Mathew, - 100 and note.
 Crandall, John, to be whipped or fined at Lynn, - 211
 Cranston, Governor, - - - 358
 Cromwell, Oliver, references to, 162, 164, 193, 206, 270, 287, 293, 294, 307, 311, 373.
 Cromwell, Richard, - - - 312
 Cudworth, Major, - - - 398
 Cuppunaugunnit, - - - 42
 Curlow, Jacob, - - - 173
 Cutshamaquin, 37, 57, 102, 103, 115, 132
 Cuttaquene, - - - 174, 176

Davenport, Richard - - -	33 (n.)	Eikonoklastes, in answer to Eikon	
Davenport, M. - - -	320	Bafilike, - - -	249
Dead hands, - - -	60	Elderkin, John, note from -	195, 213
Deane, Charles, note by - -	77	Elizabeth's Spring, - - -	365
" " his ed. of Bradford's		Eliot, John - 172 (n.), 322 (n.),	405
Hist. of Plymouth,		Ellis, Geo. E., Life of Mafon re-	
	336 (n.)	ferred to, - - -	110
Dell, Wm. his books burnt, -	286	Elton's Life of Williams, quoted,	240,
" " note on - - -	286		242, 245, 403
Denison, Major - - -	320	" his note on the Sadlier let-	
Dexter, Gregory, town clerk, -	268	ters, - - -	252 (n.)
Dexter, Gregory 328, 328 (n.)	322	Elton, Rev. Dr., note on John	
Dike, Anthony - - -	24	Clarke, - - -	183
" " note on - - -	24	Endecott, Gov. John 36, 174, 275,	
Diman, Prof. his ed. of "Geo. Fox			299 (n.)
digg'd out of his burrowes,"		" " note on - - -	53
	357 (n.), 358 (n.)	" Captain - - -	63
Don Pantaleon beheaded, - -	288	" his controversy with John	
Doxey, Thomas 195, 196, 204,	205	Clarke at Lynn, - 210 (n.)	
Drake's Biog. Dictionary, reference		" letter of R. Williams to,	
to - 50, 61, 68, 70, 91, 339		relative to his perfection	
" Book of the Indians, quoted,	302	of Clarke and others, 214, 228	
Dudley, Gov of Massachusetts, -	138,	" his seal, a death's head and	
	140 (n.), 405 (n.)	cross-bones, - 215 (n.)	
Dunster, Henry, Preft. Harvard		Fairfax, - - - - -	164
College, note on - - -	285	Fairfax, Thomas, Lord - 311 (n.)	
Dutch Governor, - - -	145	Familism, reference to - - -	141
Dutch Island, - - -	173	Feake, Mr. - - - - -	260
Dutch Prizes, - - -	173	Fenner, Arthur - - - 374, 379, 383	
Dyer, (Dyre) William - 90, 130		Fenwick, Colonel - - -	255
Dyer, Wm. settles differences with		Field, William, referred to - - -	329
Coddington, 294 (n.)		Field, William, his farm - - -	167
Dyre, Mr. - - - 254, 267, 283		Field, Mr. - - - - -	314
Dyre, (Dier,) Samuel - - - 371		Fisher's Island, - - - - -	195
Earthquake in New England, - -	99	Fitch, Mr. - - - - -	363
" Winthrop's notice of 99 (n.)		Foote, Mr. - - - - -	284, 286
Eaton, Mr. - - - - -	166, 283	Foffiker, Joseph - - - - -	213
" John - - - - -	294 (n.)	Fowler, Mr. - - - - -	286
Eaton, Governor - - - - -	128 (n.)	Fox, George, letter of Williams to,	
Edes, Mr. - - - - -	362	inviting a discussion at New-	
Edgar the Peaceable, - - -	88	port, - - - - -	357
Edmundson, Wm., controversy with		Fox, 'George Fox digg'd out of his	
Williams - - - - -	358	burrowes,' note on 357, 358	
Eikon Bafilike, note on the author of	199		

Gallop, John - - - -	32	Hallam, H. on the authorship of	
" " note on - - - -	32	" " Eikon Bafilike," -	199 (n.)
Gallop's Island, - - - -	33	Harding, Mr. - - - -	39
Gammell, Wm., Life of Williams		Hafell, John - - - -	80 (n.)
quoted - 91, 114, 166, 172, 232		Harris, Thomas, letter of R. W. to	206
Gardner, - - - -	16 (n.)	Harris, William, 39 (n.), 322, 335, 388,	
Gardiner, Lieft. Lyon, his "Relation		389, 393, 394	
to the Pequot wars," - - - -	32	" " taken by an Alge-	
Gardiner, Mr. - - - -	212	" " rine corfair, 389 (n.)	
Garriard, John - - - -	280, 281	" " other references to	
Gauden, Dr., the author of "Eikon		175, 185	
Bafilike," - - - -	199 (n)	Harrifon, Maj. Gen. 260, 298 (n.)	
Gibbons, M. - - - -	71, 203	Hartford, proposed meeting at -	115
Gibbons, Capt. - - - -	285	" covenant and agreement	
Gold, Mr. - - - -	181	" made at, between the Eng-	
Gold and Silver ore discovered, -	169	" lish and Indians, 117 (n.), 134	
Goodwin, Thomas - - - -	222, 289	Harvard College claims lands in	
Goodyear, Mr. - - - -	160	Westerly, - - - -	334
Gookins, Capt. Daniel - - - -	354, 405	Hartley, William - - - -	220
Gorton, Sam'l, his controversy with		Hathorne's cow, - - - -	126
Williams, 141 and note.		Hawkins, James, - - - -	15, 81, 85, 127
" " Winflow's reference		" Thomas - - - -	15, 81, 85
" " to - - - -	141	Haynes, Gov. John 36, 95, 106, 110,	
" " his "Simplicities De-		117, 118, 121, 134,	
" " fence," - - - -	142	135, 136.	
" " propofal to United		" " " notes on 36, 96	
" " Colonies, - - - -	151 (n.)	Hayfeed, method of faving - - - -	146
" " other references to, 180,		Hazard's State papers referred to, 175	
" " 294 (n.), 323, 341, 405		Hazel, John, of Rehoboth, - 211, 230	
Gortonists at Shawomet, - - - -	229	Hazelrig, Sir Arthur 255, 287, 288,	
Gould, Thomas - - - -	320	290 (n.)	
Greene, Geo. W. his Life of Gen.		Herenden, - - - -	330
Nath'l Greene, refer'd to 52 (n.)		Hicks, John - - - -	320
Greene, John - - - -	52, 53, 54, 320	Higheft white, - - - -	49 (n.)
" " to appear before Quar-		Hinckley, Thomas, Gov. of Ply-	
" " ter Court of Mafs. 52 (n.)		month, letters to - - - -	395, 396
" " fined and committed 52 (n.)		Hifcox, William - - - -	362
" " note on origin of 52 (n.)		Holden, Randall, of Warwick, - 154	
" " letter to the General		Hollett, Mr. - - - -	163
" " Court of Mafs. - - - -	89	Holmes, Sergeant - - - -	86
Greene, John, Jr. - - - -	294 (n.)	Holmes, Obadiah, ordered to be	
Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, -	311	" " whipped and fined, 210	
Hall, Bifhop, and the "Eikon Bafil-		" " references to - - - -	330
" " like," - - - -	199	Holmes's Annals quoted, 281, 367, 369,	
		380	

- Holfey, Sergeant - - - 292
 Holyway, Thomas - - - 21
 Homan, Joseph, of Boston, - - 404
 Hooker, Rev. Thos. 36 (*n.*), 95, 98,
 84 (*n.*), 86, 345
 “ “ “ “ Ecclesiastical Poli-
 ty,” references to 241, 245, 246
 Hopkins, Edward - 117, 128 (*n.*)
 Hopkins, Mr. - - - 255
 Howe, Lieutenant - - - 97
 Howell, Judge, note by - - - 318
 Howland, John 324 (*n.*), 235 (*n.*), 387
 Hubbard, Benjamin - 80 and note.
 Hubbard, Sam'l, letter of Williams to
 - - - 361
 “ “ note on - - - 361
 Hubbard's Indian Wars, quoted, - 367,
 369, 370, 379
 Hubbard, Captain - - - 392
 Hume, Hist. of England, refer'd to, 164
 Hutchinson, Mrs. notice of - 91 (*n.*)
 “ “ references to 90, 91,
 254
 “ Capt. - - - 321, 366
 Hutchinson Papers quoted, 230, 293, 299,
 304, 337
 Hutchinson's Massachusetts, quoted, 366
 Indian murdered by four white men
 near Pawtucket, - 111 to 114
 “ murdered, note from Win-
 throp, relative to - - 114
 “ murderers tried at Plymouth
 and found guilty, - - 116
 “ murderers, Williams attends
 trial of - - - 120
 Inman, Edward - - - 392
 Iron Works at Providence, - 284, 286
 Jackson, John, note on - - - 33
 Jacquontu, - - - - 78
 James, Mr. - - - - 23, 112
 James, Thomas - - - 80 and note.
 Jiglies, - - - - 33, 35 (*n.*)
 Jolly, Jollies, Mr. - - - 69, 100
 Jones, John - - - - 165
 Juanemo, alias Ninigret, 45, 46, 48, 78,
 110, 111, 115
 Juanemo, note on - - - 44
 Kaufafenamon, - - - - 194
 Kieft, Gov. Peter, of New Amster-
 dam - - - 162 (*n.*)
 Kishkontuckqua, - - - - 103
 Kithansh, - - - - 122
 Kittateash, Uncas' son - - - 291
 Knowles' Mem. of R. Williams,
 Letters from 101, 110, 120, 153,
 155, 158, 159, 161, 163, 166,
 168, 170, 171, 178, 179, 180,
 181, 206, 210, 228, 235, 253,
 261, 287, 291, 297, 309, 310,
 314, 318, 324, 326, 333, 336,
 387, 405, 406
 Kokk'kehom, an owl, - - - 18
 Kutshamoquin, - - - - 37
 Lake, Mrs. - - - - 159, 172
 Laud, Archb'p writings, reference
 to - - - - 246, 252
 Lawrence, Lord President - - 260
 Leghorn, Duke of - - - 292
 Lenthall, Mr. - - - - 290
 L'Estrange, Hamon, note on - - 286
 Lettice, Walter - - - - 169
 Leverett, Captain - - - - 289
 Leverett, Gov. John, note on 289, 373,
 385, 379
 Loes, Anthony - - - - 372
 Lord, Mr. - - - - 309
 Lucar, Mr. - - - - 188
 Ludlow, George 49 (*n.*), 59, 60, 65,
 127, 131
 Ludlow, Roger, Dep. Gov. of Mass.
 36 (*n.*), 49 (*n.*), 117
 Ludlow, Mr. - - - - 85, 126
 Lynn, persecution of John Clarke
 and others at - 210 (*n.*)

- Mackintosh, Sir J. on the Eikon
Basilike, - - - 199 (*n.*)
- Mackintosh, Sir J. his note on H.
Vane, - - - 298
- Makunnet, - - - 103
- Man, William - - - 208 (*n.*)
- Mangunckacuck, - - - 119
- Manton, Shadrach - - - 324, 328
- Martin, Sir Wm., enquiry relative to
Williams - - - 337
- Martha's Vineyard, - - - 204 (*n.*)
- Marvell, Andrew, assistant to Milton 251
- Mashapaug, - - - 329
- Maffachusetts lays claim to Rhode
Island, - - - 154 (*n.*)
- Mason, Capt. John, 16 (*n.*), 31, 110,
117, 153, 167, 175, 181, 190,
194, 363
- Mason, Capt. John, his "History of
the Pequot War," - - - 32
- Mason, Capt. John, sketch of - 110
- Mason, Major, Roger Williams's let-
ter to - - - 333
- Masquanominit, - - - 115
- Mattison, James - - - 401
- Massafoit, - - - 316
- Mather, Increase, quoted, - - 110
" " on the Comet of
1680, - - - 403
- Mather, Richard - - - 50 (*n.*)
- Mauquowkit, - - - 41
- Maumfaumpous, - - - 122
- Mausup, - - - 371
- Mauanadtuck, - - - 28
- Maunamoh, - - - 58
- Mayhew, Thomas 69, 100, and 100 (*n.*)
- Meika, - - - 367
- Meikfa, - - - 67
- Meikfamp, - - - 68
- Mexham, son of Canonicus, 274, 291,
326
- Miantonomu, references to, 20, 22,
23 (*n.*), 26, 37, 39, 55, 42, 48,
58, 62, 68, 70, 86, 96, 97, 101,
110, 115, 116, 121, 133, 138,
140, 306, 316, 329, 363, 390
- Miantonomu, account of - 69 note.
" signs covenant at Hart-
ford, - - - 117
- Milton, John, Latin Secretary to
Cromwell, 241 (*n.*), 251 (*n.*)
- Milton, John, his "Eikonoklastes" in
answer to "Eikon Basilike," 249
- Mifhaimtuck men, - - - 388, 392
- Mifquamicoke, Westerly, - - - 38
- Mittonan, - - - 385
- Mittaubscut, - - - 385
- Mohawks, 13, 14, 35, 44, 47, 48, 152,
155, 157, 186, 203, 273, 382
" flay the English, - - 14
- Mohegans, 86, 98, 107, 110, 117, 118,
135, 145, 185, 201, 274, 385
- Mohegan, - - - 137, 139
- Monahiganeucks, Mohegans, 22, 84, 67
- Mohun, Mrs. - - - 288, 290
- Monahackotoogs, - - - 34
- Monk, Geo. Duke of Albemarle - 352
- Montawk, - - - 24 (*n.*)
- Morton, Nathaniel - - - 397
- Morton's Memorial refer'd to, 154, 333
- Moshassuck river bridge, 263, 324 (*n.*)
- Mofely, Capt. Samuel - - - 375
- Mumford, Stephen - - - 362
- Munhadoo, - - - 186, 204
- Munnataukit, - - - 24
- Myftic, to be free hunting ground. 43 (*n.*)
- Nameug, New London, - - 146 (*n.*)
- Nananawtunu, - - - 364, 379
- Nanasquiouwut, - - - 122
- Neponset river, - - - 113
- Narraganfett Indians, 24, 27, 30, 34, 37,
117, 120, 145, 269,
271, 273, 276, 280
- Narraganfett, origin of - 40 (*n.*)
- Narraganfett country, - - - 86
" " question on the
jurisdiction of - - 334 (*n.*)
- Narraganfett fight in 1675, account
of - - - 380 (*n.*)
- Naufipouck, - - - 122
- Nawwufhawfack, - - - 301, 305

- Nayantakoogs, - - - - 46
 Nayantacawnick, - - - - 43
 Nayantequit men, - - - 45, 135
 Nayantequit, Niantic, i. e. Wefterly
 and Charlestown, - - - 119
 Necawnimeyat, - - - - 109
 Ninekunai, - - - - 189, 194
 Newman, Rev. Samuel - 81, 192 (*n.*)
 New Haven, - - - - 82
 Newport, - - - - 127, 303 (*n.*)
 " discuffion between Roger
 Williams and Quakers at 357
 Newton's cafe, - - - - 199
 Niantequit, Pine Maft Swamp 18 (*n.*)
 Niantiquits, Miantonomu's refidence, 18
 Niantics, - - - - 13, 115
 " location of - - - 18 (*n.*)
 Nichols, Col. - - - - 387, 391
 Ninicraft, - - - - 367, 384
 Ninigret, fachem of the Niantics,
 45 (*n.*), 147, 156, 161, 165,
 172, 179, 270, 275, 280, 281,
 323
 " coufin to Miantonomu, 45 (*n.*)
 " at war with Indians of Long
 Ifland, - - - - 281 (*n.*)
 Nipmucks, - 29, 30, 38, 47, 182, 326
 Nifwofakit, - - - - 315
 Northern tract, grant of - - - 177
 Notaquonatnot, - - - - 314
 Nowell, - - - - 182
 Nye, Philip - - - - 222

 O'Callaghan's New Netherlands, 187 (*n.*)
 Ohomowauke, - - - - 19
 Oldham, Mr. - - - 26, 66, 70, 139
 Oldway, - - - - 109
 Oliver, Capt. - - - - 292, 372
 Olney, Mr. his fon - - - - 309
 Olney, Thomas - - - - 324
 Olney, Thomas - - - - 283
 Oneko, - - - - 61 (*n.*)
 Orange, Prince of - - - - 162
 Origen, note on - - - - 313
 Oufamequin, - 116, 316, 336, 407

 Owen, Dr. Thomas, anfwers Cot-
 ton's book, - 353 and note.
 Owocafe, Uncas, - - - - 84

 Paine, Mr. of Seekonk - - - 212
 Palfrey, Rev. Dr. note relative to
 Williams - - - - 356
 Pametefick, - - - 102, 103, 106
 Pananawokfhin, - - - - 22
 Parker, Mr. - - - - 309
 Partridge, Alexander - - - 151, 154
 Patrick, Capt. Daniel 16 (*n.*), 24 (*n.*),
 29 (*n.*), 32 (*n.*), 35, 46, 109,
 166
 Paupattokfhick, - - - - 119
 Paupauquiwt, - - - - 379
 Pawcatuck, - - - - 152, 170
 Pauchauquet, - - - - 291
 Pawtucket, Powtuckqut, an Indian
 murdered near - 111, 113
 " reference to - - - 329
 Pawtuxet, - - - - 293, 302
 Peach, Arthur - - - - 111
 Peacock, William - - - - 159
 Peag, note on - - - - 158
 " law fixing value of - 179 (*n.*)
 Penn, James - - - - 80 (*n.*)
 " Admiral Wm. note on - 288, 290
 Pequots, 6, 7, 13, 17, 28, 46, 48, 52, 54,
 56, 66, 85, 98, 102, 117, 120,
 135, 238, 185, 201, 338, 385
 Pequot Fort, plan of, how fituated 19
 Pequot War, note on - - - 30
 Pequots, note from Underhill relat-
 ing to - - - - 41 (*n.*)
 " purfued by Stoughton 43 (*n.*)
 " land of, divided - 44 (*n.*)
 " name extinguifhed, 117, 146 (*n.*)
 Pequot town, now New London, 44 (*n.*)
 Peflicus, - - - - 323, 363
 Peflicofh, - - - - 201, 211
 Peters, Hugh, 50, note on 50, 181, 259,
 308, 355
 Pettaquomfett, 40 (*n.*), 322 (*n.*), 380

- Philip, King 323, 326, 364, 366, 367, 369
 " rumors of war with 364 (*n.*)
 " war begins at Swansey, 369 (*n.*)
 " notices of war with 370, 374, 375, 385, 382
 " War, Rhode Island took no part in - - - 386
 Pine mast swamp, Groton, - 18 (*n.*)
 Piscataquack, - - - 111
 Pitamock, - - - 211
 Pitney, James - - - 292
 Plymouth, - - 80, 112, 167, 188
 Plymouth records, - 81, 198, 269
 Plymouth claims jurisdiction of R. Island, - - 154 (*n.*)
 Plum Island, - - - 25
 Portsmouth unites with Newport in sending John Clarke to England, - - - 230 (*n.*)
 Powcomtuck Indians, - - - 281
 Potter's, E. R., Hist. Narragansett, quoted, 38, 117, 120, 313, 326, 387
 Prichard, Capt. - - - 155
 Prince, Thomas, of Plymouth - 351
 Prince's Chronology, quoted, - 316
 Providence, first compact signed at " R. Williams' letter to town of - - - 149
 " letter to Sir H. Vane, 266
 " Records, quoted, 278, 305
 Prudence Island, (Chibachuwefe) given to Oldham, - - 70
 " sold to Mr. Winthrop, 70 (*n.*)
 " date of deed of - - 78
 " other references to 82, 104, 138
 Pumham, note on - - 300, 321
 " troubles with - 300, 301, 382
 Pummakminns, - - - 211
 Punhommin, - - - 171
 Puppompogs, - - - 122, 136
 Puttaqutpunck, - - - 57
 Puttaquappuonckquame, - 63, 122
 Pynchon, Wm. 51 (*n.*), 193, 205 (*n.*)
 Pynchon, Wm. his work on " Man's Redemption," - - 205
 Quapang, - - - 383
 Quaquackis, - - - 379
 Quaunoncku, - - - 367
 Quame, - - - 57
 Quawnipund, - - - 367, 384
 Quiapen, - - - 367
 Quick, William - - - 33 (*n.*)
 Quinnipiuck, (New Haven,) - 119
 Quffaumpowan, - - - 103
 Rawson, Edward - - - 151
 Rehoboth, - - - 80, 364
 Reprive, an Indian servant of Gov. Winthrop, - 69, 78, 82
 Rhodes, Zacharie - 295 and note.
 " Christopher - - 295 (*n.*)
 " William - - - 295 (*n.*)
 " James T. - - - 295 (*n.*)
 Rhode Island Lit. Repository, letter from - - - 327
 Rider, S. S. publisher, Williams' Experiments of Spiritual Life, 243 (*n.*)
 Roberts, Thomas - - - 39
 Robinson, - - - 33
 Robinson, Rev. John - - 50 (*n.*)
 Roome, John - - - 294
 Rupert, Prince - - 197 (*n.*), 288
 Sabin, J., publishes Mafon's Pequot War, - - - 110
 Saconet rocks, - - - 164
 Sadlier, Mrs. letters to Roger Williams, 241, 245, 249
 " her opinion of " The Bloody Tenent," - - - 244
 " Dr. Elton's note on the correspondence with - 252 (*n.*)
 Salem, Williams' letter from church at, to church at Boston, - 71
 " Williams' letter, note by Charles Deane on the letter, 77
 Sands, Mr. of Boston - - - 230

- Saufaman, - - - - 57, 367
 Saflacus, 29, 31, 33, 35, 41, 44, 47, 51,
 87, 136
 " flight of - - - 41 (n.)
 Saffawau, - - - - 38, 39
 Safepunnuit, - - - - 174
 Safquankit, - - - - 54, 58
 Saugus, - - - - 127
 Saufawpona, - - - - 103
 Savage, Genealog. Dic. referred to
 66, 89, 128, 154, 328, 361, 375
 Scott, Mr. - - - - 121
 Scott, John - - - - 372
 Scotch intelligence, - - 141 (n.)
 Scott, Mrs. Richard - - - 312
 Seabrooke Fort, - - - 33 (n.)
 Sedgwick, Major - - - 292, 298
 Seekonk, - - - - 80, 153, 188
 Sellick, Mr. of Boston, - - 212
 Sequin, - - - - 51
 Sharpe, Samuel, letter from church
 at Salem, to church at Bos-
 ton, - - - - 71, 78 (n.)
 Showatuck, - - - - 7, 363
 Shawomet, (Warwick) - - 198, 229
 Shirley, Bishop, trial of witneffes 167 (n.)
 Simpson, Sidrach - - - 222 (n.)
 Simfon, John - - - - 260
 Smith, Dan. Rehoboth - - 377
 Smith, Edward, of Newport, - 362
 Smith, John, references to, 207, 294 (n.)
 Smith, John, notice of - 90 (n.), 335
 Smith, Joseph, of Warwick, 180 (n.)
 Smith, Richard, Sr., 177 (n.), 191, 320,
 322 (n.), 363, 366, 391, 399
 Smith, Richard, Sr., buys R. Wil-
 liams' estate at Cawcum-
 quffick, - - - 178 (n.), 229
 Smith, Richard, Jr. - - - 320, 322
 Sofoa, or Socho, - - - 38, 392
 Soffiman, John - - - - 367
 Souwonckquawfir, - - - 51
 Sowoquaffe, - - - - 51 (n.)
 Spur, John - - - - 211
 Stanton, Thomas, 61 and note, 84, 86,
 97, 110, 136, 138, 139, 172,
 193, 203
 Staples' Annals of Providence, quo-
 ted, - - - - 169, 230
 Staples' Gorton, quoted, - 329, 330
 Stone, Captain - - - - 60 (n.)
 Stoughton, Capt. Ifrael 28, 32 (n.),
 33 (n.), 35 (n.), 39, 47, 63, 67,
 339 (n.), 405
 Stoughton, Capt. pursues the Pe-
 quots, - - - - 43 (n.)
 Stoughton, William - - - 339 (n.)
 Stratton, Mr. - - - - 131
 Stubbs, John - - - - 358
 Stuyvesant, Gov. of New Amster-
 dam, - - - - 162 (n.)
 Sunke Squaw, - - - - 367
 Sunseeto, son of Uncas, epitaph on, 61
 Sugar-loaf Hill, - - - - 407
 Swanzea, - - - - 154, 364, 369
 Symonds, Mr. - - - - 282
 Tacommaicon, - - - - 391
 Tacummanan, - - - - 391
 Tattoopaine, - - - - 87, 195
 Tatuphofuit, - - - - 364, 372
 Taufaquonawhut, - - - - 194
 Thomas' Dict. of Biography, quo-
 ted, - - - - 290, 299
 Throckmorton, John 15, 27, 40, 45, 78,
 82, 113, 138, 160, 161, 164, 184,
 191, 195, 198
 Throckmorton, John - - - note on 27
 Tift, Joshua - - - - 379, 384
 Torrey, Joseph, of Newport, 320, 362
 Tours, John - - - - 392
 Traff, Captain - - - - 32, 33 (n.)
 Treves, or Truce, - - - 187, 188
 Trevice, Mr. - - - - 162, 164
 Trial of witnesses, 197 (n.), 173 (n.)
 Trumbull, J. H. his notes on Wil-
 liams' Key, quoted, - 38, 40
 Ucatquiffet, - - - - 37

- Uncas, 31, 61 (*n.*), 64, 68, 82, 84, 87, 95, 97, 102, 106, 119, 121, 128, 138, 152, 157, 167, 175, 179, 181, 307, 303, 385
 Uncas, epitaph on - - - 61
 Uncas signs covenant at Hartford, - 117
 Underhill, John 16 (*n.*), 31, 35, 161
 " his *News from America*, 31
 " note on the Pequots, 41 (*n.*)
 Usher, Bishop - - - 12
 Valentine, Mr. - - - 165
 Van Tromp, Admiral - - - 288
 Vane, Governor - - - 70
 Vane, Sir Henry, 1, 55, 92, 93, 123 (*n.*), 187, 256 (*n.*), 262 (*n.*), 298 and note, 373
 " requests Coddington to re-move from Boston, - - 123
 " sails for England, - 123 (*n.*)
 " notice of, by Dr. Upham 253 (*n.*)
 " letter to the people of R. I. 257
 " prisoner at Carisbrook Castle, - - - 373
 Vane, Lady - - - 187
 Vaughan William - - - 392
 Verin, Joshua 82, 95 (*n.*), 124 (*n.*), 335 (*n.*)
 Verin, Joshua, complaints against Williams, - - - 124
 Verin, Joshua, Winthrop's notice of 124
 Verin, Philip, of Salem, - - 95
 Vincent, P., relation of the Pequot war, - - - 31, 41 (*n.*)
 Wagonckwhut, - - - 58
 Wall, Mr. - - - 212
 Waller, Nath. - - - 173
 Wampum, notes on - - - 108, 158
 Warwick, suit against, for damages, - 293
 " references to 153, 280, 300, 302
 Warwick Neck, - - - 321, 322
 Warner, Mr., of Warwick, - - 154
 Wanafquatucket, - - - 398
 Waterman, Nathaniel - - - 324
 Waterman, Nathan - - - 325
 Waqunckeke, - - - 315
 Weathersfield, - - - 51, 52 (*n.*)
 Webster, Mr. - - - 309
 Weeokamen, - - - 23
 Weeaugonhick, - - - 103
 Weekes, Mrs. - - - 189
 Wekapaug, or Westerly, - - 45 (*n.*)
 Weld, Sarah - - - 404
 Wequash, a renegade Pequot, 18, 22, 26, 39, 47, 61, 86, 139
 Wequash, name for Swan, - 19 (*n.*)
 Wequashcuck, Wequash Cook, 62 and note, 68, 103, 107, 139 (*n.*), 158, 160, 170, 178, 181, 186
 West India Expedition, - - 298
 Westcott, Stukely - - - 389
 Weston, Mrs. - - - 208
 " Francis or Mathew - 208 (*n.*)
 Westerly, Misquamicoke, - 38, 119
 Weymouth, - - - 112
 Whipple, John, jr., R. Williams's letter to - - - 327
 " reference to - - - 404
 Whittier, John G., reference to wampum, - - - 109 (*n.*)
 White, Mr. - - - 284, 289
 Wickenden, Wm. - - - 329
 Wickes, Francis - - - 335 (*n.*)
 Wild, Joseph - - - 159
 Willard, Major - - - 277
 Willet, Thomas - - - 388, 391
 Willett's men, - - - 386
 William's, Joseph - - - 408
 Williams, Mary, daug. of Roger, 189 (*n.*)
 Williams, Roger, accompanies Miantonomu to Hartford, - - 120
 " complains of J. Verin and Wm. Arnold, - - - 124
 " his voyage to Connecticut and Plymouth, - - - 125
 " his troubles with Gorton, 141 and note.
 " his letter to Gov. Winthrop relative to Gorton, - - 141



- Willams, Roger, letter to the town of Providence, - - - 149
- “ effort to raise money for 151 (*n.*)
- “ elected Deputy President of the Colony, - - - 170
- “ authorized to sell a little wine to the natives, - - - 180
- “ “Bloody Tenent,” reference to - - - 198, 214, 217, 243
- “ sails for England with J. Clarke to procure a new charter, - - - 230 (*n.*)
- “ note on his visit, - - - 256
- “ petitions to the Gen’l Court of Mass., to pass through Boston, without molestation, - - - 223, 232
- “ his knowledge of foreign languages, - - - 261 (*n.*)
- “ reads Dutch with Milton, - 262
- “ writes letter from town of Providence to Sir H. Vane, chosen President of Providence Colony, - - - 278 (*n.*)
- “ testimony relative to the deed of R. I., of 1658, - - - 305
- “ note relative to his leaving Salem, - - - 337
- “ his reference to matters of conscience and note, - - - 345
- “ his crossing the Seekonk river, - - - 316 (*n.*), 335 (*n.*), 336
- “ his purchase of lands in Seekonk, - - - 316
- “ his Key to the Indian language, printed by Gregory Dexter, - - - 328 (*n.*)
- “ Gov. Bradford’s sketch of 336 (*n.*)
- “ Sir Wm. Martin’s note on - 337
- “ is commissioned captain in Philip’s war, - - - 337 (*n.*)
- “ discourses delivered by 403 (*n.*), 405 (*n.*)
- Williams, Robert, letter of R. Williams to - - - 206
- Winifimet, - - - - - 79
- Winflow, Mr., 116, 255, 274, 277, 292, 335
- Winflow, Edward, Commissioner of expedition against Hispaniola, 282 (*n.*), 288, 290
- “ “Hypocrasie Unmasked,” - - - 141 (*n.*)
- Winflow, Josiah - - - - 400
- Winfor, Joshua - - - - 310
- Winfor, Joshua’s wife - - - 283
- Winthrop, John, Gov. of Mass., note on - - - 143
- “ letter to R. Williams - - - 202
- “ Maj. Wait - 259, 366, 368
- “ “ “ marries a daughter of Hugh Peters, - 259 (*n.*)
- “ Elizabeth, death of - - - 365
- Winthrop’s model of Christian Charity, - - - - 319
- “ Hist. of N. Eng’d, quoted, - 304
- Witter, Wm. of Lynn, - - - 210 (*n.*)
- Wocafe, Uncas, - - - - 85
- Wood, John - - - - 320
- Wood’s New England, - - - 109
- Wood, Richard - - - - 155
- Wordsworth, Mr. on the “Eikon Basilike,” - - - 199 (*n.*)
- Wright, George - - - - 169
- Wunhowatuckoogs, - - - - 19
- Wunnashowatuckoogs, 6, 28, 34, 38, 44, 61, 120, 363
- Wunnawmeneeskat, - - - - 385
- Wufquowhananawkits, or Neepmet men, - - - - 7
- Wufloonkquassin, - - - - 155
- Wuttackquiackommen, - - - 18
- Wuttattaquegin, - - - - 129, 132
- Wuttouwuttououm, - - - - 155
- Yale, David, of Boston - - - 128
- Yale, Elihu - - - - 128 (*n.*)
- Yaupuck, - - - - - 173
- Yotoash, - - - - - 20, 22, 55





