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THE ROMANTIC STORY *of*
the PURITAN FATHERS

AND THEIR FOUNDING OF NEW BOSTON
AND THE MASSACHUSETTS
BAY COLONY

BY ALBERT C. ADDISON

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF
THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS
AND ITS PLACE IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY

NET \$2.00

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF
THE PURITAN FATHERS
AND THEIR FOUNDING OF NEW BOSTON
AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

NET \$2.50

L. C. PAGE & COMPANY

53 Beacon Street :: :: Boston, Mass.





A rectangular inset showing a close-up of a handwritten signature in dark ink on aged, textured paper. The signature reads "John Cotton" in a fluid, cursive hand.



Photographed from the Boston Parish Register

SIGNATURE OF JOHN COTTON, 1620

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF THE PURITAN FATHERS

AND THEIR FOUNDING OF NEW BOSTON
AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY
TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
CONDITIONS WHICH LED TO THEIR
DEPARTURE FROM OLD BOSTON AND
THE NEIGHBOURING TOWNS IN ENGLAND

BY
ALBERT C. ADDISON

AUTHOR OF "THE ROMANTIC STORY OF THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS
AND ITS PLACE IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY," ETC.

WITH NUMEROUS ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS



BOSTON
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WARRIOR

BOOK

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
I. THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS	3
II. THE PURITAN EXODUS—A BOSTON ADVENTURE—JOHN COTTON	17
III. A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF COTTON—HIS PREACHING: "DEATH IN THE POT"—QUAINT SERVICES IN BOSTON CHURCH	43
IV. AN EPISODE OF BOSTON HISTORY—MUTILATION OF THE TOWN'S MACES—ATHERTON HOUGH AS IMAGE-BREAKER	55
V. CHURCH LIFE IN BOSTON—THE LINCOLNSHIRE MOVEMENT—FAITH AND FLIGHT OF COTTON	67
VI. OLD BOSTON IN COTTON'S DAY	85
VII. COTTON'S BOSTON MEN—THE NEW LIFE O'ER SEAS—PERSECUTIONS AND PUNISHMENTS	103
VIII. THE BOSTONS AND "THE SCARLET LETTER".	135
IX. PIONEERS OF EMPIRE—LINKS WITH OLD BOSTON—THE PURITAN STOCK	149
X. BOSTON: EAST AND WEST	181
XI. COTTON'S SUCCESSORS AT ST. BOTOLPH'S—THE CHURCH'S LATER HISTORY—PILGRIM SHRINE	209
INDEX	239

"The Puritan's task was to conquer a continent; not merely to overrun it, but to settle it, to till it, to build upon it a high industrial and social life; and, while engaged in the rough work of taming the shaggy wilderness, at that very time also to lay deep the immovable foundations of our whole American system of civil, political, and religious liberty achieved through the orderly process of law."

EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Address at Provincetown, August, 1909

Feb. 7 - 1914

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ILLUSTRATIONS

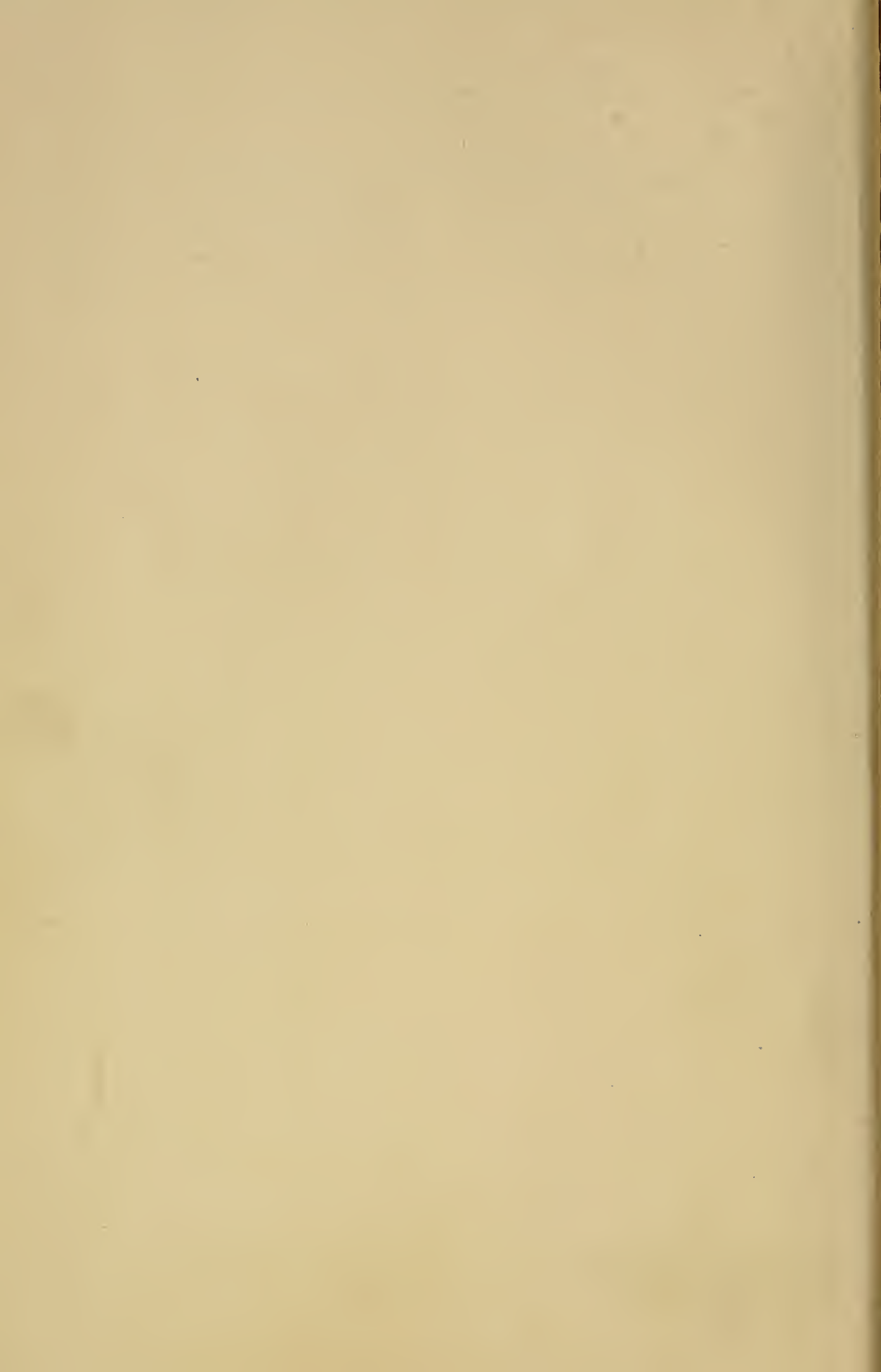
	PAGE
John Cotton	<i>Frontispiece</i>
River View, Boston, England. — Ancient Warehouses of the Merchants of St. Mary's Guild, Spring Lane, Boston, England	6
Deed Closet, Closed and Open, in the Old Council Chamber, Guildhall, Boston, England. — Old Treasury Chest, Closed and Open, Guildhall, Boston, England	12
Grammar School, Boston, England, erected in 1567-1568. — Interior of Grammar School, Boston, England	14
John Endicott	18
Arrival of Winthrop's Colony in Boston Harbour	22
John Eliot preaching to the Indians	24
Sir Richard Saltonstall	28
Record of the Appointment of John Cotton as Vicar, June 24, 1612	32
Statue of St. Botolph, mutilated in 1620 by Atherton Hough	62
Tattershall Castle. — Sempringham Manor House; Modern Residence on the Old Site	73
Roger Williams	74
Entry of May 28, 1613. — Entry of April 22, 1614	79
The Resignations of John Cotton, Atherton Hough, and Thomas Leverett	80
St. Botolph's, Boston, England	85
South Door and Porch of St. Botolph's, Boston, England, with Church Library above. — Church Library, St. Botolph's, Boston, England, established in 1635	87
Altar Tomb of Dame Margery Tilney. — Miserere Seats in the Choir Stalls	89
The Old Vicarage, Boston, England, occupied by John Cotton. — The Old Church House, Boston, England	92

	PAGE
Record of the Marriage of Thomas Leverett to Anne Fisher, 1610. — Record of the Admission of Thomas Leverett to the Freedom of the Borough, January 18, 1618. — Record of the Election of Thomas Leverett to the Town Council, March 7, 1620. — Record of the Appointment of Thomas Leverett as Coroner, May 1, 1624	105
Record by which Atherton Hough was "made free" of the Borough, May 22, 1619. — Record of the Election of Atherton Hough, on August 21, 1619, to the Common Council. — Record of the Marriage of Atherton Hough to Elizabeth Whittingham, 1618	106
Record of the Election of Atherton Hough as Mayor, May 1, 1628	108
Record of the Election of Richard Bellingham as Recorder, November 7, 1625	110
Signature of John Whiting. — Skirbeck Church of which Samuel Whiting was Rector, 1625-1636. — Record of the Marriage of Samuel Whiting to Elizabeth St. John, 1629 .	112
John Wilson	116
Hugh Peters	122
Harry Vane	124
The Mud and Thatched Hut which served as the Original First Church in Boston, Mass.	137
House of Richard Bellingham, Chelsea, Mass.	138
Simon Bradstreet	141
Cotton Mather	152
Increase Mather	154
John Winthrop	160
John Leverett	164
Oliver Cromwell	168
The First Church, Boston, Mass.	175
Statue of Governor John Winthrop, standing outside the First Church, Boston, Mass.	176
The Cotton Memorial in the First Church, Boston, Mass. .	178
Interior of the Cotton Chapel, St. Botolph's, Boston, England. — Reredos placed in the Cotton Chapel in 1907	185

ILLUSTRATIONS

ix

	PAGE
Trinity Church, Boston, Mass. — Tracery of Ancient Window removed from the Chancel of St. Botolph's, Boston, England	187
Record of the Marriage of John Cotton to Sarah Story	189
Canon Blenkin. — The Pulpit of St. Botolph's, Boston, England. — Canon Stephenson	196
John Cotton Brooks. — Bishop Phillips Brooks. — Bishop Lawrence	201
Relics of the Struggle for Civil and Religious Liberty	210
Tablets in the First Church, Boston, Mass., to Sir John Leverett, John Endicott, and Sir Henry Vane.	221
Five of the Miserere Seats in St. Botolph's, Boston, England	222
The Guildhall, Boston, England, from South Square	232
Record of First Meeting of the Boston Corporation under Henry VIII's Charter, on June 1, 1545	234
The Old Council Chamber, Guildhall, Boston, England.	236



P R E F A C E

THE year of grace 1909 marked the Sixcentenary of the founding of Boston Church. Six long centuries had rolled their course since the first stone of the giant steeple was laid by the great-grandmother of Anne Boleyn, mother of Queen Elizabeth. The site was an older church of St. Botolph, and the foundations of the colossal tower were sunk deeper down than the bed of the river Witham by which it stands. The building of the "Minster of the Fens" continued during the reigns of six sovereigns and occupied a hundred and fifty years. On through the centuries the church has been a landmark, not only for the flat country and winding waterways stretching around, and fishermen and mariners upon the sea, but in the history unfolded in two hemispheres. It is a noble old pile to-day, and about it cluster many hallowed memories.

That great tower of St. Botolph's has in its time looked down upon some strangely moving spectacles. It has witnessed the passing of events pregnant with the shaping of human destinies. Midway in the life of the church came the Pilgrim Fathers to Boston. That was in 1607. Here they were imprisoned. Here at that time germinated the wide-spreading movements

out of which sprang the New England States. From the coast to the north, hard by, the Pilgrims escaped next year to Holland, and there followed the sailing of the little Mayflower and the planting of New Plymouth, one of the most daring and romantic and fruitful adventures in the annals of the race.

Now set in, as the result of happenings in Lincolnshire, the Puritan emigration which took out to the American continent those sturdy men from Old Boston and the neighbourhood who gave to the New Boston its name and helped to build up the Massachusetts Settlements. It was a grand, if hazardous, enterprise on which these pioneers embarked. We know how it was realised. Pilgrim and Puritan alike had a hand in the work accomplished. What the Pilgrim began the Puritan carried forward to a full development. Well may Gainsborough and its vicinity, and, more particularly, Boston of the Lincolnshire centres, be proud of their share in the achievement; and well may these historic homes of a mighty race, the mother Boston especially, fill the warm place they do in American hearts.

After the Puritan exodus Old Boston continued to be closely identified with the stirring episodes of the seventeenth century; and, amid her memorials of a glorious past, she looks back with pride on the stand she, in the dark days, made for liberty. The pages which follow relating to the town are the outcome of

quiet research conducted for the most part on the spot. Forgotten corners have been explored, official papers overhauled, records and registers scanned and photographed, and the materials in this way collected serve to clothe with a warmer human interest the dry bones of such skeleton chronicles as have existed. Much care has been bestowed in collecting and arranging the unique series of illustrations accompanying the work, which includes, among other things important to the subject, facsimiles produced for the first time of official entries concerning John Cotton and his Boston men — afterwards prominent figures in New England life — their marriages, appointments as Vicar, Mayor, Freemen, Town Councillors, Coroner, and Recorder, the appreciations of Cotton's services to the town, and the significant resignations of himself and others who shared his enforced exile.

Fresh leaves are turned in the book of Old Boston's history which shed a fuller and truer light upon the actions of the times. Nothing, for instance, could exceed in value and interest the detailed account here given, drawn from a contemporary source still fortunately accessible to us in the dusty ecclesiastical archives of the county, of John Cotton as he was when he had been two years Vicar of Boston, the nature of the teaching of the great Puritan preacher, and the character of the services of his church.

The reader is presented also with a picture of the famed Fen borough as Cotton knew it, and of the venerable church in which he ministered, as it stood in his day. Succeeding chapters treat of the new life o'er seas, its fruition and its failures, trials and tragedy. The fortunes of the Old Boston men are traced, and some peculiar historical parallels and associations of the Bostons noted. Coming down to later times we see emphasised the ties of kinship subsisting between the two places and the impressions created by certain notable American pilgrimages made to Old Boston. Finally we learn something of Cotton's successors at St. Botolph's and the chequered history of the church and its affairs. The story is one of deep interest to the two Bostons, and, if the telling of it here should happily help to draw them yet closer together in the bonds of affection and goodwill, the task entailed will not have been discharged in vain.

BOSTON, LINCOLNSHIRE
June, 1912



I
THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS

*St. Botolph's Town! Hither across the plains
And fens of Lincolnshire, in garb austere,
There came a Saxon monk, and founded here
A Priory, pillaged by marauding Danes,
So that thereof no vestige now remains;
Only a name, that, spoken loud and clear,
And echoed in another hemisphere,
Survives the sculptured walls and painted panes.*

*St. Botolph's Town! Far over leagues of land
And leagues of sea looks forth its noble tower,
And far around the chiming bells are heard;
So may that sacred name forever stand
A landmark, and a symbol of the power
That lies concentrated in a single word.*

LONGFELLOW

THE ROMANTIC STORY of *the* PURITAN FATHERS

I

THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS

This is the place:

Let me review the scene

And summon from the shadowy Past

The forms that once have been.

—LONGFELLOW, *A Gleam of Sunshine*

FEW places in England possess a more impressive history than Boston, in Lincolnshire. The records of this ancient township go back to the middle of the seventh century, when Botolf, a pious Saxon monk, allowed to settle here by Ethelmund, King of the East Angles, founded a monastery on an "untilled place where none dwelt," named Icanho or Ox Island, "a wilderness unfrequented by men,"¹ the St. Botolph's Town of later years. Towards the close of the ninth century came the invading Danes, with wasting fire and sword, and the saintly Botolf and his following and the rude structures they had raised were swept away.

¹Capgrave; who adds, "but possessed of devils, whose phantastical illusions were to be expelled thence, and a religious conversation of pious men to be introduced."

4 THE ROMANTIC STORY OF

Next the Normans —whom the Saxon fenmen were the last to resist¹—set up a small stone church, and this in turn made way for the present noble edifice, commenced on the same site in 1309 and carried over and around the older church, which was not removed until the new building was completed. The story is that the foundations of St. Botolph's Church were of timber and woolpacks. This, in part, is no doubt literally true; at the same time it is meant to express, in metaphor, that the trade in those commodities produced the wealth which enabled the people to erect the church. But no mere material prosperity would have inspired such a design: it was due also to the religious enthusiasm which had been aroused by the preaching of the Friars.

After the Norman Conquest, Boston entered upon a period of growing prosperity compared with the rest of England. There was then no surplus population to be employed in manufacture. This is practically the position of Canada and Australia to-day. The chief raw product of England was wool, and trade con-

¹ Led in the main by bold Hereward, "The Last of the English," who, from his fastnesses in the Fens, for a time defied the invaders. William himself at last undertook to break up the Camp of Refuge. A fleet approached from The Wash, the Isle of Ely was invested, and, to facilitate operations, Aldrath Causeway was repaired to the southwest. Hereward escaped the slaughter, and eventually his patrimony was restored to him. This was the last organised resistance to the Conquest. The story is told with vigour and historical fidelity by Charles Kingsley in his book "Hereward the Wake."

THE PURITAN FATHERS 5

sisted in exporting wool and importing in exchange for it cloth and manufactured goods and articles of luxury. Now Lincolnshire has always been a county famed for its sheep, and Boston is a port facing towards the Netherlands, which was the great manufacturing country. At this period Boston was as Sydney now is, and Ghent and Bruges were as are Leeds and Bradford. The stream of trade flowed from the Asiatic regions at the southeast across Europe to Britain in the northwest. The great commercial cities of the world were in the centre of that route, in Southern Germany and Northern Italy, and Boston was on the route. Thus it was that Boston in the reign of John — who lost his baggage in the neighbouring Wash — ranked next to London as the second port in the kingdom. But Boston's prosperity was highest from 1300 to 1450, the period during which its glorious church was building. Those were the days of the Hanseatic League, which had its steelyard and staple at Boston. Four friaries were established in the town, and the numerous mercantile guilds which sprang into existence were another evidence of its commercial growth.

But there was a turn of the tide. England became a self-supporting country which manufactured its own raw material; such towns as Norwich and Worsted took the place once held by the Flemish cities, and the Fen port was no longer wanted for the export of wool. While

6 THE ROMANTIC STORY OF

ships were made larger, its harbour was silted up; Boston was a decaying town. The success of the Moslems broke up the old overland trade route to India, and the attempt to find a new route led to the discovery of America. Instead of flowing in an easterly direction, the main stream of trade was across the Atlantic towards the west, and Liverpool and Bristol usurped the place which Boston had once held.

And so the glory of the Boston of the Middle Ages departed. The Easterlings and their League, the steelyard and the staple, were but a memory; and the friaries and the mercantile guilds went the way of the rest. Yet Boston survived the loss of its trade and of institutions associated with its mediæval activity and importance. Greater things were reserved for it. Soon it was to be redeemed from the obscurity which threatened it and to obtain a place in world-history by reason of the part it played in the peopling of New England and its share in the founding of the American States. It was in the period of the great upheaval in Church and State that the Lincolnshire Boston made its impress upon the pages of history.

True, in the centuries which followed, Boston benefited by the drainage of the surrounding Fens and became the metropolis of a wealthy agricultural district and a centre of distribution for the corn trade. Great granaries reared themselves on the banks of its river, and in still more



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

RIVER VIEW, BOSTON, ENGLAND



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

ANCIENT WAREHOUSES OF THE MERCHANTS OF ST. MARY'S GUILD,
SPRING LANE, BOSTON, ENGLAND



THE PURITAN FATHERS 7

recent times it came to have docks as well as a harbour, and a better passage to the sea, and to thrive as a shipping and fishing port in the realm of modern industry.

But even so its commercial position was relatively less important than that of the old days, and its title to a wider recognition had still to rest on the times when, having ceased to export cargoes of wool to be made into cloth in Holland, it sent forth the men of mark who made the name of the American Boston, and incidentally the fame of the English Boston.

So it comes about that the history of Old Boston, which endures in the eyes of men and will be handed on, is in the main that which clings to its monumental church and the men who worshipped and went out from there, and to its Puritan associations and its Pilgrim Father shrines.

In a remoter sense it has claims in the same direction which are not without interest. With the cause of religious freedom from its inception onward it can boast of certain links. Sir Thomas Holland, for example, holder of the ancient manor of Estovening at Swineshead near Boston, married the Fair Maid of Kent, afterwards the wife of Edward the Black Prince and mother of Richard II, whose consort, Anne of Bohemia, was the mother of the Reformation in England. It was on the petition of Anne that the Guild of St. Mary at Boston, which built the Guildhall, was incorporated: evidence of her

8 THE ROMANTIC STORY OF

action has come down to us in the carved head of the Queen commemorating it on the *miserere* bracket of a stall in the church. Boston was the maternal home of Anne Boleyn, who followed Anne of Bohemia as the mother of the Reformation in England. To Boston also belonged the family of Thomas Cromwell.

The accomplished and fascinating Anne Boleyn, who married Henry VIII, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had married a sister of the Duke of Norfolk. This alliance brought Sir Thomas into touch with royalty and led to the presence of his daughter at the Court of Queen Catharine. The history of the unfortunate Anne is a melancholy romance. Her ancestress was that Dame Margery Tilney who laid the first stone of Boston steeple, the giant "Stump," in 1309. "And thereon laid shee five pounds sterling."¹

Thomas Cromwell, the "Hammer of Monasteries," was son of Catherine, sister of Sir Richard Cromwell, *alias* Williams, the founder of the house and great-grandfather of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector. Richard Cromwell was born in the parish of Llanilsen, and, migrating to Boston, held lands at Cowbridge, so named after the Cowbridge family in Glamorganshire. The Cromwells and the Bouchiers were settled in the neighbourhood of Boston before they went down to Huntingdon and Essex. Thomas Cromwell was a clerk in an English factory at Antwerp

¹ Stukeley.

THE PURITAN FATHERS 9

when he engaged in a remarkable enterprise for renewing Pope Julius' "pardons" to Boston, the facts of which are attested by John Fox in his "Acts and Monuments."

Fox, himself, was born at Boston in 1517. He lost his father at an early age, and when, a convert to the reformed doctrines, he was tried for heresy and deprived of his fellowship of Magdalen College, Oxford, he was disinherited by his stepfather, Richard Melton, a Romanist. Nothing is known of his parents except that they were of "respectable rank" in Boston. The name occurs some half-dozen times in the local records of the second half of the sixteenth century, but only in one case, that of "John Fox, draper," can a family connection be traced. The spot where Fox saw the light was a passage at the angle of Peacock-lane, behind the old Council House, on the site of which in later times stood the Angel hostelry in the Market-place.

But these things by the way. The period which concerns us here is that time of tumult spoken of — the first half of the seventeenth century. Chiefly we have to do with the Puritans of the church, who gave the New Boston its name; but first we must say a little about those sturdy dissenters of the Gainsborough community who, fleeing from persecution, left their homes in the North-Midland villages, attempted to escape by sea from Boston, succeeded later in sailing from the North Lincoln-

shire coast down the Humber, and finally, after their sojourn in Holland, led the way out to the West and planted the germ of the New England Colonies.¹

Their leaders were William Brewster of Scrooby, the devoted elder who did so much for his brethren throughout, and William Bradford of Austerfield, a younger man, afterwards Governor Bradford and author of the valuable manuscript "History of Plymouth Plantation." These were the Pilgrim Fathers.

It was in the autumn of 1607 that the Pilgrims appeared at Boston and there arranged for a passage across the North Sea. Elder Brewster preceded them and hired a vessel, in which they embarked a little below the town, probably near where Skirbeck Church stands on the north bank of the Witham. But the treacherous shipmaster, a Dutchman, betrayed them to the officers of the port and they were promptly arrested; for, be it remembered, it was a crime in the eyes of the law to emigrate without license. Hurried into open boats, they were stripped and robbed of their belongings and carried into Boston, a spectacle for the gathered crowd, and then thrown into prison. They appear to have been kindly treated by the magistrates, who, as Bradford tells us, "used them courteously and showed them what favour they could," and this is not surprising, for

¹ For the full history of this adventurous emigration see "The Romantic Story of the Mayflower Pilgrims," by the present author.

Puritan sympathy was already spreading in the town.

After a month's detention, during which the Privy Council was consulted as to the disposal of them, the majority of the prisoners were discharged and sent back to their homes. Seven of the leaders were kept in custody, including Brewster, who, says the Plymouth historian of after years, "was chief of those that were taken at Boston and suffered the greatest loss." At last they were bound over to the assizes. What happened to them there we have no means of knowing; but we do know that, in the autumn following, they made a second and more successful attempt and got away from the Humber in another Dutchman's ship, at a point on the Lincolnshire shore above Grimsby. Even then they were surprised by armed men, and some in the confusion were left behind; but eventually all assembled at Amsterdam, whence they moved on to Leyden, where they stayed eleven peaceful years, till the summer of 1620, when, determined to form an English-speaking colony of their own, they made the historic voyage out west in the little *Mayflower*. They reached Cape Cod a hundred strong on November 21 and a month later going ashore at Plymouth, so named in honour of their last place of call, the English Plymouth. Here, after losing many of their number by cold, famine, and sickness, the heroic band established a settlement whose noble future they could never have dreamt of

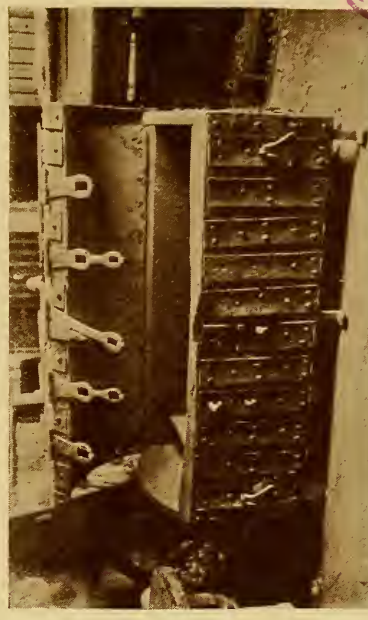
in those first days of struggle with hardship and adversity.

There is much in Old Boston still to remind us of the Pilgrim Fathers. First we have the ancient Guildhall, built by the Guild of St. Mary towards the close of the fifteenth century. Here, in the basement, are still to be seen two of the dark and dismal cells in which Brewster and his companions in search of freedom were confined,¹ before they were brought to the Hall to be taken before the justices in the court-room above, reached by a winding wooden staircase, part of which remains, and a trap-door cut in the floor at the top! At other times they were presumably accommodated in the old Town Gaol then standing in the Market-place, but long ago pulled down. On the walls of the upper room, with its open roof and heavy oak beams, may be read the table of Boston's Mayors since 1545, when the town received its charter of incorporation. Leading from it is the quaint old Council Chamber, used after 1554,² when the property of the defunct Guilds was granted to the Corporation by Philip and Mary, down to 1835, with its empty labelled archives hidden behind beautifully carved folding doors, and a painting of Sir Joseph Banks, once Recorder of Boston, hanging on its wainscotted walls. In the court-room

¹ As far back as 1552 it was ordered that the kitchens under the Hall and the chambers over them should be prepared for a prison and a dwelling-house for one of the serjeants.

² In 1583 the inner chamber of the Hall was repaired and "made strong for a Council House." — *Corporation Records.*

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Photographs by Hackford, Boston

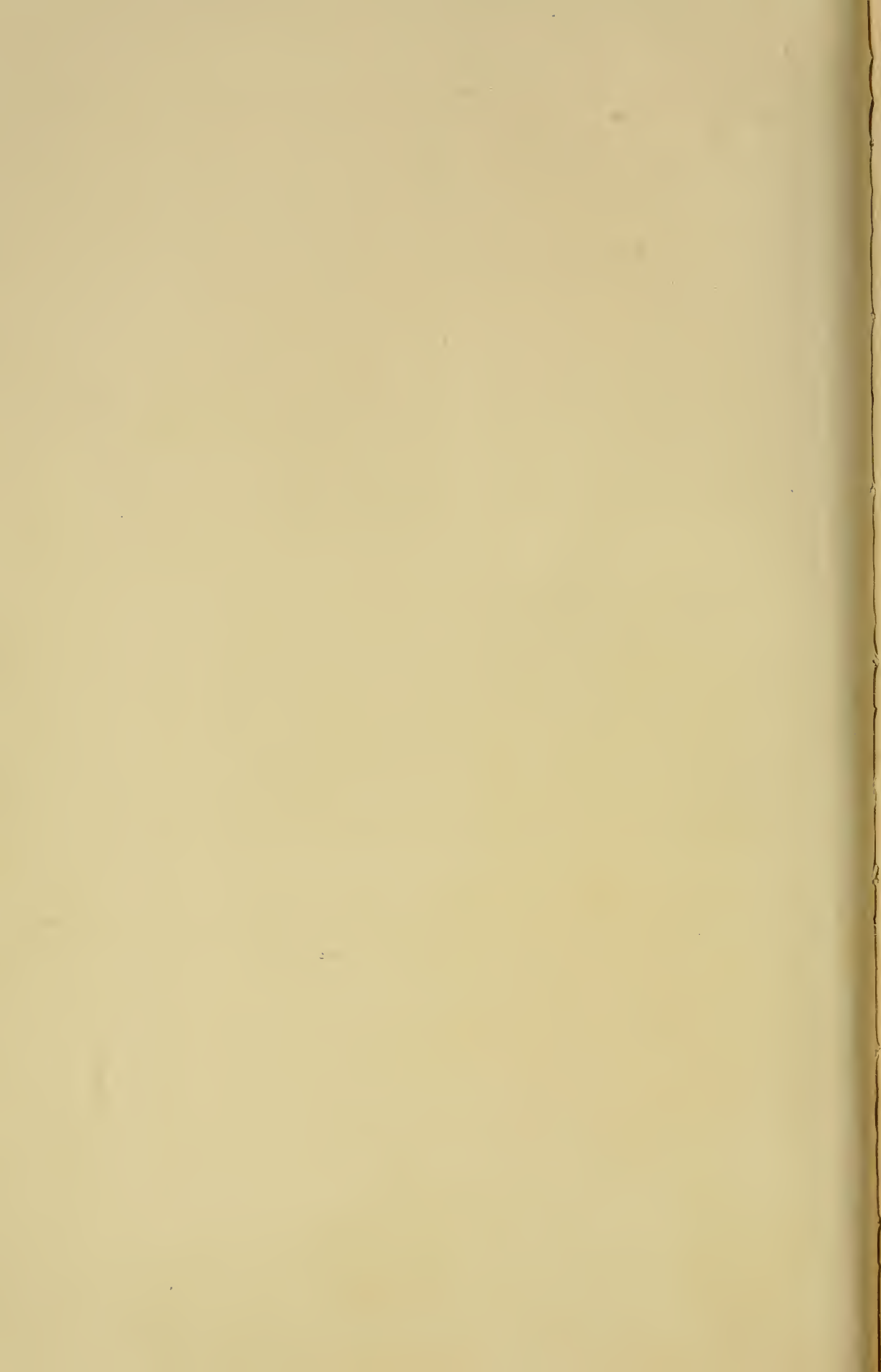
OLD TREASURY CHEST, CLOSED AND OPEN,
GUILDHALL, BOSTON, ENGLAND



DEED CLOSET, CLOSED AND OPEN, IN THE OLD
COUNCIL CHAMBER, GUILDHALL,
BOSTON, ENGLAND



Photographs by Hackford, Boston



justice continued to be administered by the borough justices and the quarter sessions, till nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, but the fittings were not removed until 1878. There is a larger apartment in the fore part of the Hall, with a minstrels' gallery and a handsome Gothic window containing fragments of the original coloured glass. Here in the old days were eaten the civic banquets prepared in the spacious kitchens beside the Pilgrim cells, and the huge open fireplaces, capacious coppers, and monster spits bear mute and chiding witness to the festive prodigality of an unreformed Corporation.

Leaving the Guildhall we soon reach the Grammar School, built forty years before the Pilgrims came to Boston, standing in the old mart-yard in South End, wherein for centuries was held the great annual fair of St. Botolph's. Behind the Grammar School, just across the fields, is another landmark of Old Boston, Hussey Tower, all that is left of the stately home of Lord Hussey, chief butler of England under Henry VIII, beheaded at Lincoln in 1537 for favouring the Pilgrimage of Grace. The prisoners of 1607, skirting St. John's Church, already a partial ruin, would, on their way back into the town, be within a stone's throw of these Hussey walls, and the old mart-yard which they passed close by must have echoed to the voices of the mob which clattered at the heels of the Pilgrim Fathers. Above all, over the winding

14 *THE PURITAN FATHERS*

river, with its lofty granaries and busy wharves, looms the great gray tower of the town's church, on which the eyes of the Pilgrims doubtless rested with the admiring wonder that fills all men who gaze upon it at the present day.



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

GRAMMAR SCHOOL, BOSTON, ENGLAND, ERECTED IN 1567-1568



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

INTERIOR OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL, BOSTON, ENGLAND







II

THE PURITAN EXODUS — A BOSTON
ADVENTURE — JOHN COTTON

Looking to the distant future, I do not think that the Rev. Mr. Zincke takes an exaggerated view when he says: "All other series of events — as that which resulted in the culture of mind in Greece, and that which resulted in the empire of Rome — only appear to have purpose and value when viewed in connection with, or rather as subsidiary to, the great stream of Anglo-Saxon emigration to the West."

CHARLES DARWIN

II

THE PURITAN EXODUS — A BOSTON ADVENTURE — JOHN COTTON

Westward the star of empire takes its way.

— EPIGRAPH TO BANCROFT'S *History of the United States*

WHILE Lincolnshire was at the root of the Separatist pilgrimage from which sprang the Plymouth Colony, it was also associated with, and indeed gave the impetus to, the great Puritan exodus which followed from 1628 onward, out of which grew the Massachusetts Settlements. Both movements had their origin in the county in which Gainsborough first and Boston next were the cradles of non-conforming activity. The Eastern Counties joined in the later emigration, attended with such far-reaching results, and Dorset, Devon, and Somerset had an important share in it. It was this movement, composed for the most part of men driven unwillingly out of the Church of England, that secured the ultimate permanency of the foothold on American soil obtained by the heroic pioneer planters of New Plymouth.

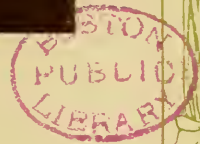
The Puritan exodus, which was to have such momentous consequences, had its inception in

1627, when (as Thomas Dudley, who emigrated in 1630, wrote home to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln) "some friends being together in Lincolnshire fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the Gospel there." We know who those friends were. The central figures were Theophilus Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and his family, around whom are grouped John Cotton and his Boston men, and Dudley, Cotton's friend and the Earl's trusted adviser. Their conferences in Boston Town, and at Tattershall Castle and Sempringham Manor House, the Earl's neighbouring seats, were participated in by Isaac Johnson, William Codrington, Roger Williams, and other ministers and members of the Puritan party.

The Lincolnshire leaders were at this time in communication with the men of Dorchester, who had attempted without success to establish a trading station on the shores of North America. The idea of a settlement there was now rekindled, and John White, the Puritan rector of Dorchester — that father of New England colonisation — fanned into flame the dying embers of hope. John Endicott being selected to head the enterprise, a patent was, in March, 1628, obtained from the Council of New England, and, sailing from Weymouth in the *Abigail*, Endicott landed in September on the neck of land now called Charlestown and there began "wilderness work," in which he was assisted by the Plymouth Colonists.



JOHN ENDICOTT



THE PURITAN FATHERS 19

The venture prospering, John Winthrop and his partners acquired the rights and interests on Massachusetts Bay granted under the deed of 1628, and, in March, 1629, secured the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. In April and May, 1629, this corporation sent out an expedition of five ships: the *George*, the *Talbot*, the *Lion's Whelp*, the *Four Sisters*, and the *Mayflower*—the same *Mayflower* of famous memory, which nine years before had conveyed across the Atlantic the Pilgrim Fathers, and was now assisting also in the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. She was yet further to be heard of in connection with the New England colonisation. These ships carried Samuel Skelton, from Lincolnshire, and two other ministers, Francis Higginson, of Leicester, and Francis Bright, from Rayleigh in Essex, together with a goodly company and plenty of supplies.

But it was not until the spring of 1630 that the main body of Puritan emigrants sailed from Southampton. This was John Winthrop's party. They numbered with their servants upwards of a thousand souls, and filled with their belongings quite a little fleet of ships. Drawn chiefly from the English middle class, they included many persons of genteel birth and some of noble family, notably the Lady Arbella Fiennes, wife of Isaac Johnson and sister of the Earl of Lincoln.

These voyagers to the West did not leave their native land without the pastoral exhortation and

benediction, which were delivered by John Cotton himself—"the John Robinson of the Boston Pilgrims" he has been aptly called—who, although in shattered health and on the eve of a prostrating sickness, had journeyed down from the Fens, with his good friends among the emigrants, to see them safe on board. And there he stood on the deck of one of these ships—most probably the *Arbella*, in which Winthrop and the principal people were passengers—anchored in Southampton Water, just as Pastor Robinson had stood ten years before on the shore at Delfshaven to speak farewell words of advice and comfort.

The sermon which Cotton preached on this memorable occasion was from the appropriate text II Samuel vii. 10, "Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more." It was afterwards published under the title of "God's Promise to His Plantation." The discourse in its simple, touching diction, and that persuasive eloquence for which Cotton was famed, must at such a time have deeply impressed these people who were just setting out for a far-distant shore. "Have special care," he said, "that you ever have the ordinances planted amongst you, or else never look for security," and again as he closed, "Neglect not walls, and bulwarks, and fortifications for your own defence; but ever let the name of the Lord be your

strong tower, and the word of His promise the rock of your refuge." Sad, as such partings always were, must have been the leave-taking of John Cotton and these friends, most but not all of whom, after three and a half eventful years, he was fated to rejoin in their wilderness home.

The main expedition had a great "send off." Led by the *Arbella*, with the *Ambrose*, the *Jewel*, and the *Talbot* astern, the ships were cheered by crowds of assembled spectators as they left port.

While the *Arbella*, with Winthrop and the charter on board, was detained off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, on April 7, the departing company issued their interesting farewell letter "to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers and the removal of suspicions and misconstruction of their intentions," and avowing their continued attachment to "our dear Mother" Church. The document was signed by Governor Winthrop and his chief associates, who had solemnly agreed "to pass the seas (under God's protection), to inhabit and continue in New England"; the second signature being that of Charles Fiennes, of the family of Lord Say and Sele, one of whose daughters married the young Earl of Lincoln, a brother of the Lady *Arbella* Johnson.

The voyage was speedily resumed. From what Thomas Dudley afterwards wrote to the Countess of Lincoln, we know that it was an

exciting one. Scarcely had they lost sight of land when eight sail were descried from the masthead coming up astern. These surely were the Frenchmen of which they had been warned; so hasty preparations of a warlike kind were made to receive them. On Dudley's ship *Lady Arbella* and the other women were removed with the children to the lower deck, the gun-deck was cleared, cannon were loaded and powder chests and "fireworks" got ready, and the men, all armed, were appointed to their quarters. Then the captain having, as an experiment, "shot a ball of wildfire fastened to an arrow out of a crossbow, which burned in the water a good time," all went to prayer on the upper deck, after which the ship "tacked about and stood to meet them." But it was a false alarm. The suspected enemy proved to be the tail of the expedition, and as the ships met they saluted each other, and "our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment," a happy ending of the scare.

Without further adventure of the kind to break the tedium of the voyage, the exiles reached New England on June 12, and, landing at Salem, pitched their tents on Charlestown Hill, afterwards crossing the Charles River. They called the place (the Shawmut of the Indians) Trimountain, because of its three hills; but later it was renamed Boston,¹ in honour of

¹The order of the Court of Assistants, Governor Winthrop presiding, "that Trimountain shall be called Boston," was passed



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ARRIVAL OF WINTHROP'S COLONY IN BOSTON HARBOUR
From the Painting by W. F. Halsall

Old Boston, which sent to the settlement many prominent Puritans.

Almost the first thing these Christian emigrants did was to form a church; and on July 30 — a day solemnised at Salem and at Plymouth, at Dorchester and at Watertown, as well as by the Massachusetts Company at Charlestown — four of their chief men framed and subscribed the covenant which stood unaltered through the centuries as that of the First Church in Boston. The first to sign was Governor John Winthrop, a man of learning, wisdom, and piety, of whom it is recorded that, when a preacher could not be found, he “exercised in the way of prophesying,” that is, he preached. After him signed Thomas Dudley, the deputy-Governor, a “man of a sincere temper and earnest, honest purpose,” but “somewhat querulous and exacting.” Isaac Johnson comes next, “a prime man amongst us, having the best estate of any, zealous for religion, and the greatest furtherer of this plantation,” but a man fast passing from the scene of his cherished hopes. “Dead since” was presently written over his name as it stands under the covenant; and as Dudley affirms, “he made a most godly end, dying willingly.” Last to

on September 7 (o.s.), 1630. “The name of Boston,” says the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in “The Memorial History of Boston” (pp. 116-117), “was especially dear to the Massachusetts colonists from its associations with the old St. Botolph’s Town, or Boston of Lincolnshire, England, from which the Lady Arbella Johnson and her husband had come, and where John Cotton was still preaching in its noble Parish Church.”

sign was Pastor John Wilson, who had been "sorely harassed in England for nonconformity," and who told Governor Winthrop that, "before he was resolved to come into this country, he dreamed he was here, and that he saw a church arise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous, goodly church"; which was indeed a prophetic vision.

Sickness and famine, deaths and desertions, formed the tale of those early days of the Tri-mountain Colony. But like their neighbours, the New Plymouth Pilgrims, these Puritan settlers persevered, and fresh arrivals from the old country filled up their diminished ranks. The first rush of adversity over, steady growth set in. Mr. Wilson returned to England for his family, and was away more than a year; during his absence the charge passed to John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. Deacon Gager's service had been of the briefest; he died on September 1, "a godly man," they said, "and a skilled chirurgeon." Francis Higginson, teacher at Salem, heard about the same time the call of Death. Governor Winthrop's son, Henry, was drowned soon after arrival. It is sad to have to relate that one of the earliest victims in the new settlement was the Lady Arbella, who died at the end of August. Her husband, Mr. Johnson, a month later followed her to the grave. One was buried at Salem and the other in what came to be known as the King's Chapel ground. (Hawthorne in "The



John Rogers, Sculp.

JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS



Scarlet Letter" speaks of "the broad, flat, armorial tombstone of a departed worthy — perhaps of Isaac Johnson himself" over which the elf-child, Pearl, irreverently skipped and danced.) Mr. Johnson belonged to Clipsham in Rutlandshire, and after his marriage had resided at Boston in a town house of the Earl of Lincoln's in Barbridge Street, or modern Bargate, where the Earl had a mansion, gardens, and land. The Dineley family had for many years occupied a residence in Bargate, to the south of the Earl of Lincoln's property. Their name is found among the early settlers of Boston, Mass., and this fact suggests the probability that they came under the influence of their Bargate neighbours.

The curious story has here to be related, that of the actual sailing from Old Boston of a shipload of Puritans. The attempt of 1607 was nipped in the bud, and that from the Humber in 1608 was not completely successful. This second Boston venture, early in 1636, in the good ship Prosperous, with eighty emigrants, succeeded so far as clearing the port went; but the vessel never reached New England, some queer doings interposing.

We know that the Earl of Lincoln's family supported the American colonisation, and we have seen the unhappy fate of the Lady Arbella. Her sister, Lady Susanna, wife of John Humphrey, also went out to New England; while a third daughter of the family married that conspicuous

figure in New England life, John Gorges. Their uncle, Sir Henry Fiennes of Kirkstead, was a zealous Puritan, and it was his son, Harrington Fiennes, who shipped the fourscore emigrants in the Prosperous at Boston. Their destination was given out as Harwich, and for their landing there Sir Henry Fiennes and his friend, Robert Hutton, of Lynn, became bound to the Crown in six hundred pounds. But they did not land at Harwich, and inquiry was set afoot to learn the reason why. Some sort of explanation was necessary, both in the interest of the shippers and of the bond.

“Marmaduke Rayson, of Hull, gentleman,” made the explanation. It took the form of a deposition, one so quaint and startling that we had better have the reciter’s own words. “Now this deponent declares that he was one of the said persons so shipped, and for which the said obligation was entered into, and that the said ship and men being in their passage from Boston towards Harwich, they were set upon and taken by French pirates, and were robbed and stripped, both of their apparel and all their other goods and provisions in the said ship, and so were violently carried away; but it happened that a ship of Dunkirk met with them, and chased away the French ship, and did carry the said ship in which this deponent, with the residue of the said passengers then were, towards Dunkirk, but yet, by the said Dunkirker’s direction, this deponent and

the residue of the said passengers were set ashore upon the French coast, by means whereof the said passengers could not be landed at Harwich, according to the condition of the said obligation."

Presumably the bond was saved. The seizure by a pirate watching *The Wash* was a thing likely enough to happen, and the story was certainly plausible. The Crown, one concludes, would have to be satisfied with it. Be this as it may, the purpose of the expedition is plain to us. Its failure was but in keeping with the ill-fortune of the Puritan voyages from the Lincolnshire coast.

Notable men made the passage with Governor Winthrop. Samuel Skelton, the Lincolnshire clergyman who had already gone out, was among the first ministers of Salem, but his work was short, for he died within five years. The son of a second nonconforming divine of the same county was Simon Bradstreet, born at Horbling, who emigrated in 1630 and years later came to be a Governor of Massachusetts; he was to survive them all and to be known as "the Nestor of New England."

The Rev. Thomas James was another Lincolnshire man. He arrived in New England two years after Bradstreet and was the first minister of Charlestown; but he returned home subsequently, became minister of Needham in Suffolk, and was ejected for nonconformity. George Phillips the minister came over in the

Arbella. With Thomas Dudley, a Northampton man, but a disciple of Cotton's at Boston, William Coddington, of Alford and of Rhode Island fame, Dudley's friend and Cotton's pupil, was also a passenger in the *Arbella*. So was Sir Richard Saltonstall, "that excellent knight" as Mather called him, who did not remain in New England for long; while another of the ships carried John Wilson, the Sudbury preacher, "a man great in discipline," inspired by a noble dream.

In March, 1631, the Council of Plymouth made a grant of territory to the Earl of Warwick, who transferred his patent to William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Sele, and as a result of this the Puritan settlement of Connecticut was founded. It was to Lord Say and Sele that John Cotton wrote, three years later, that Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Hasbrig, Oliver Cromwell, and others had prepared to join the brethren in New England, but were discovered and restrained by the Crown.

All this brings us to the exodus, in 1633, of the Puritan exiles from Old Boston and its neighbourhood: John Cotton, Richard Bellingham, Thomas Leverett and his son John, Atherton Hough and others — names to conjure with in New England history. Here were some of the best citizens that were to be of the young America. Including those who had already gone out, no other town or district made such a religious and political contribution to



SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL



the building of the Massachusetts Settlements.¹ Small wonder that they rechristened Trimountain and called it Boston. Good men and true there were who hailed from divers parts and rendered the best service to the new-born nation; but no other place gave it so many worthies. And the chief of them all was John Cotton.

The future teacher of the first Church in the New Boston succeeded Thomas Wool as Vicar of Old Boston in 1612. The circumstances were uncommon. Benjamin Alexander was selected, but did not accept. And it is said that Cotton's election was due to a mistake of Mayor Nicholas Smith, who, having to give a casting vote, intended to vote against him, but put the mark in the wrong place! Cotton Mather, the Vicar's grandson, tells how the Mayor requested a second ballot and repeated the mistake, and then wanted a third, which the wearied Council refused.

It is remarkable that the names of "Cotton" and "John Cotton" occur often in the Boston

¹ "Various influences were united in the constitution of the Massachusetts Company that also affected the policy of the Colony. The religious and political elements are more marked in the views and purposes of the men from the eastern counties of England, usually termed 'the Boston men.' The commercial element existed more visibly among the adventurers from the western counties of Dorset and Devon, who were commonly designated 'the Dorchester men.' The merchants and capitalists of London mingled hopes of profit with the desire to do good and advance the sense of religion."—Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, in "The Memorial History of Boston," Vol. I, p. 88.

parish registers among the burials and baptisms towards the end of the sixteenth century. There is a christening in 1572 of John, son of John Cotton. The funerals start in 1571 with an Isabel Cotton; John Cotton, and Edward son of John, follow in 1575; William Cotton died in 1578, and Margery Cotton followed in 1580. As though this were not enough, the local historian says another John Cotton was buried on May 27, 1576; but this surely was the John Cotton registered March 27, 1575. There was a John Cotton who died at Kirton in 1592; and the first of the name to be found hereabout was Hugh Cotton, Rector of Wyberton in 1540 and predecessor there of Bishop Sanderson, author of the General Thanksgiving and Preface to the Prayer Book.

But all the Cottons enumerated notwithstanding, John Cotton, Vicar of Boston, did not originate from Old Boston or anywhere near it. He was born at Derby and descended from Cottons in that district. The son of Roland Cotton, who is said to have been "educated as a lawyer," his parents, an early biographer tells us, were "of good reputation; their condition, as to the things of this life, competent; neither unable to defray the expenses of his education in literature, nor so abounding as to be a temptation, on the other hand, unto the neglect thereof." John Cotton received his first instruction under Mr. Johnson, master of Derby Grammar School. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1598,

before completing his thirteenth year, and afterwards migrated to Emmanuel, of which he was chosen fellow after taking his bachelor degree, and then head lecturer, dean, and catechist, while also acting as tutor. He was admitted master of arts in 1606 at the age of twenty-one. In becoming fellow he had "taken orders" in the Established Church, as was then the custom both at Cambridge and Oxford. Cotton was a brilliant scholar. "He was proficient in the logic and philosophy then taught in the schools; was a critical master of Greek; and could converse fluently either in Latin or in Hebrew." His power of application was remarkable, and he retained it with little remission to the end. "A sand-glass," we are told, "which would run four hours stood near him as he studied, and being turned over three times, measured his day's work. This he called 'a scholar's day.'" The same methodical habits clung to him in after years. He was careful and thorough in preparation for his Sunday work, and his sermons were always finished by two o'clock on Saturday afternoons; in allusion to which he once said, in rebuking the careless ways of others, "God will curse that man's labours who lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday in the afternoon goes to his study."

At twenty-three he made a reputation for himself with a funeral oration in Latin on Dr. Some, Master of Peterhouse. Cotton at this

time came under the influence of William Perkins, the Puritan preacher at St. Mary's, Cambridge. For a while he tried to resist it, from the fear that if he became a godly man it would spoil him from being a learned man. But the influence prevailed. In 1609 he was again at St. Mary's, and his sermon on that occasion enhanced his reputation as a scholar and pulpit orator. When next he was announced to preach in St. Mary's Church the vice-chancellor and heads of the University flocked to hear him. Expectation ran high. But this time it was no mere rhetorical display. "He now distinguished between the words of wisdom and the wisdom of words," a biographer quaintly observes; and instead of a showy sermon from an ambitious divine they heard only a plain and practical, and perhaps disturbing discourse on repentance. The audience were disappointed and Cotton "retired to his chamber much depressed." But the seal from that hour was set upon his life's work. This was the starting point along the road of his ministerial career. That he lost nothing of his pulpit power, but rather increased it as he advanced, we have abundant evidence. Six months after his Boston appointment he took his B.D. degree, and the address he then delivered at Cambridge marked him as a spiritual force and an intellectually able preacher.

Bishop Barlow was at first against Cotton's election to Boston because he was a young man

At the assembly it is ordered that Edward the Lamer shall be
 an aide by the same manner of his house about the same
 words & to send sufficient & wages at the said Chamberlains
 shall by the first & to become his work at the said Lane

At the assembly the said John Cotton Vicar of this is now
 elected and chosen Vicar of this in the room & place of
 Mr. Wolles the late incumbent thereof for that Mr.
 Alexander upon request by Mr. Cotton hath yielded up the
 same vicarage & benefice that he had of the same & is
 to have his presentation forthwith sealed & to have the same
 stipend & allowance that Mr. Wolles had the late vicarage
 had at the time he was of the same

Henry de Boston
 in the Vicarage of St. Andrew

Assembly held taken the 13th day of July 1612
 before the Mayor Aldermen & Common Council

Defaults of Deacons
 2/- Richard Fort
 2/- Thomas Fort
 2/- Ferdinando Fort
 & John Langton 2/-

Defaults of Common Council
 Mr. Joseph Fort
 Mr. Latham
 Mr. Lacey
 Mr. Cress
 Mr. Richard Fort
 Mr. Wright
 Mr. Langton
 Mr. Fort
 Mr. Cotton 2/-

Present to us
 the Mayor of Boston

At this present assembly the presentation to the vicarage of
 Boston was sealed & delivered into the hands of Mr. John Cotton Vicar of this
 borough & the vicar of the same

Present to us
 the Mayor of Boston

At this assembly it was taken out of the treasury the sum of 40/-
 to be paid to the said Mr. Cotton to bear his charges & expenses
 which he had in the presentation & delivery of the same from
 Cambridge

Present to us
 the Mayor of Boston

At this assembly it was taken into order that the sum of 60/-
 should be paid to the said Mr. Cotton to bear his charges & expenses
 which he had in the presentation & delivery of the same from
 Cambridge



Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

**RECORD OF THE APPOINTMENT OF JOHN COTTON AS VICAR,
 JUNE 24, 1612**

The record (second paragraph on the page) sets forth that Mr. Cotton, Master of Arts, is "now elected and chosen vicar of this borough" in the room and place of Mr. Wolles, the late incumbent, "for that Mr. Alexander, upon whom the vicarage was proposed to have been bestowed, hath yielded up the same," and Mr. Cotton was "to have his presentation forthwith sealed and to have the same stipend and allowance" that Mr. Wolles had. On July 13th it will be seen the presentation to the vicarage was sealed for delivery to Mr. Cotton, and the sum of 40/- was taken out of the treasury to bear his charges from Cambridge, while 60/- was given to Mr. Whitlow, "a Master of Artes whoe came hither to preache from Cambridge."

— he was seven-and-twenty — and in the episcopal opinion “unfit to be over such a factious people, who were imbued with the Puritan spirit.” The Mayor perhaps had the same objection to him; if so we may hope that he shared also the bishop’s altered view; for, having been by some means “conciliated” without Cotton’s knowledge, the shrewd Dr. Barlow presently changed about and gave out that “Mr. Cotton was an honest and a learned man.” And he was a zealous one too, and he made many friends, though not without tribulation.

The trial soon came. There dwelt in Boston at that time one Peter Baron, son of a divinity reader at Cambridge, a physician whose energies were not absorbed by his profession, for he was an Alderman and Mayor two years before Cotton came, and he seems generally to have dominated his neighbours. Among other things he was a controversialist; he was full of the new notions about Arminianism, with which he had “leavened many of the chief men of the town,” and for a while he sorely perplexed the new Vicar, a staunch believer in Calvin. The doctor was a difficult man to handle, and Cotton was cautious in setting to work, but he persevered, and he finally succeeded. “It came to pass that in all the great feasts of the town,” he wrote in some personal reminiscences ¹ — the festive-board was

¹ In “The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared,” London, 1648, some portion of which treats autobiographically of events at Boston soon after the writer settled in the town.

a serious business in those days — “the chiefest discourse at table did ordinarily fall upon Arminian points, to the great offence of the godly ministers both of Boston and in neighbouring towns. I coming before them a young man, I thought it a part both of modesty and prudence not to speak much to the points at first, amongst strangers and ancients; until afterwards, after hearing of many discourses in public meetings, and much private conference with the doctor, I had learned at length where all the great strength of the doctor lay. And then observing such expressions as gave him any advantage in the opinions of others, I began publicly to preach, and in private meetings to defend, the doctrines of God’s eternal election and the redemption only of the elect; and the impossibility of the fall of a sincere believer, either totally or finally, from the estate of grace.” The result was victory for the young preacher. “Presently after, our public feasts and neighbourly meetings were silent from all further debates about predestination, or any of the points which depend thereon, and all matters of religion were carried on calmly and peaceably; insomuch that, when God opened my eyes to the sin of conformity (which was soon after), my neglect thereof was at first tolerated without disturbance and at length embraced by the chief and greatest part of the town.” The fact that in our own time Arminian tenets are almost universally accepted, while those of Calvin are

as generally discarded, detracts nothing from the dues of Cotton as a preacher and teacher in his day and generation.

The seeds of nonconformity sown by John Cotton fell on congenial soil. Boston had long declared for Protestantism. Dr. Barlow, we have seen, referred to its "factious people" who were "imbued with the Puritan spirit," and Sir John Lambe, Dean of Arches, later spoke of "the Puritan town of Boston." Lincolnshire, when Cotton came, had been strenuously resisting the ceremonies imposed on the Puritan clergy. Reports of proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts, preserved in the old Alnwick Tower at Lincoln, show that the father of Simon Bradstreet, the Puritan minister of Horbling, was repeatedly cited for nonconformity and at last openly defied the Court. Dr. John Burgess, another Lincolnshire rector, was deprived in 1604 for preaching against ceremonies, and at the close of that year the ministers of the county petitioned King James with a defence of their brethren who were being suspended and deprived for the same offence. Thomas Wool, Vicar of Boston since 1599, was presented at the Archdeacon's Visitation in 1606 "for that he weareth not the surplice: it hath been tendered unto him, and he sitteth upon it." Wool was preferred in 1612 to the rectory of Skirbeck, then in the patronage of Boston Corporation, and he died there in 1618.

Let us look at the situation which had arisen. The Marian persecutions had sent a large number of Protestant-minded Englishmen for safety to Geneva and other places where the Calvinistic system prevailed, and they returned home strong upholders of the new doctrines and system of church government. They scorned the mildness of the Church's discipline, they disliked the episcopal form of government, they scented superstition in every rite and ceremony; and in particular, like Vicar Wool, they despised the distinctive dress of the clergy, and indeed objected generally to the regulations of the Church. Some Puritans, under pressure, did temporarily conform; but the more advanced among them sternly refused to obey, and were prepared to suffer the consequences. But neither conforming nor nonconforming Puritan ever thought of leaving the Church because he disagreed with its doctrine or discipline; the bare idea of a permanent religious division would have seemed a confession of national and spiritual weakness too insufferable to be entertained. Ascendency, not toleration, was the aim and policy of all alike; and it gradually became plain that there was no possibility of Anglicans and advanced Puritans remaining in the same religious organisation: the question was whether the Church was to retain its ancient doctrine or be captured by the small, but zealous and influential, body of Puritans.

The cause of the latter was probably repre-

sented at Boston more or less throughout Elizabeth's reign. One of the Puritan antipathies was to organs and chanting, and a stop was effectually put to organ music in Boston church. In August, 1590, the Corporation, without any legal license, ordered the great screen between the chancel and nave to be demolished, and found itself involved in troublesome and expensive litigation in consequence. A suit was brought before the High Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes against George Earle, a former Mayor, Jasper Hicks, Mayor the following year, and Mr. Parrowe, members of the Hall, and Mr. Worshippe the Vicar, for taking down the loft wherein the organ stood in the church, "agreeably to an order of the Hall." They consented to set it up again; but as the organ had been destroyed and another was not built until 1713, the services must for one hundred and twenty-three years have been unaccompanied by instrumental music. William Armstead, who followed James Worshippe in 1592, may have been one of the clergy banished by Elizabeth in 1593, for he ceased to be Vicar of Boston in December of that year. Of the proceedings of Samuel Wright, the next incumbent, nothing is ascertainable; but Thomas Wool we know held decided views, for he sat upon the surplice. Mr. Alexander, "upon whom it was proposed to bestow the vicarage" in 1612, had been Mayor's chaplain two years, and his decision may or may not have been

influenced by the religious complications of the time. At any rate he "yielded up the same," and to Boston came John Cotton.

Other fundamental differences apart, the Puritans had accepted Calvin's notions as to the predestination of every soul to either salvation or damnation; whereas the Church had always held that God's absolute foreknowledge was still compatible with a free choice for every soul between good and evil. Cotton adopted the Puritan views in their most extreme form: (1) As to the authority of the Church, "the ministers of Christ, and the keys of the government of His Church, are given to each particular congregational church respectively," which made it "unlawful for any church power to enjoin the observation of indifferent ceremonies which Christ had not commanded," and also apparently made it unlawful for anybody to obey such commands (as thereby he would be implicitly recognising the authority which gave them), for he says: "I forebore all the ceremonies alike at once, many years before I left England," and "When the Bishop of Lincoln offered me liberty" [i.e., to indulge his own will afterwards] "upon once kneeling at Sacrament with him . . . I durst not accept his offer." This refusal was evidently based on the ground both that kneeling implied the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and also that obedience to an order implied recognition of the authority which gave it. (2) As regards the doctrine of

THE PURITAN FATHERS 39

free will, we have seen that he admits he publicly preached, and in private defended, the theory of the impossibility of the fall of a sincere believer from the estate of grace. And from what is disclosed in the next chapter it will be apparent that in other directions the opinions he expounded were, viewed in the light of his day, startlingly novel and unorthodox.

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf pattern surrounds the text. The border is composed of a series of small, stylized flowers and leaves connected by a thin line.

III

A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF
COTTON — HIS PREACHING:
“DEATH IN THE POT” —
QUAINT SERVICES IN
BOSTON CHURCH

JOHN COTTON

The central figure in these Pages, appeared upon the stage of events associated with the Puritan Emigration from England and the Founding of New England on his appointment as Vicar of Old Boston Three Hundred Years Ago, June 24th, 1612

III

A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF COTTON — HIS PREACHING: “DEATH IN THE POT” QUAINT SERVICES IN BOSTON CHURCH

*His faith, perhaps, in some nice tenets might
Be wrong; his life, I'm sure, was in the right.*

— ABRAHAM COWLEY, *On the Death of Crasbaw*

AMONG the manuscripts in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral there has been preserved an account by a contemporary of the primary Visitation of the diocese by Bishop Neile in 1614 which is of great interest and importance as setting John Cotton before us as he was when he had been two years Vicar of Boston. The report was probably drawn up by the bishop's registrar as the bishop went through the different archdeaconries of the diocese, which at that time extended from the Humber to the Thames, the Visitation being held at seventeen different centres. From Horncastle the bishop proceeded to Boston, where the preacher was Cotton, whom the registrar describes as “a young man, but by report a man of great gravity and sanctity of life, a man of rare parts for his learning, eloquent and well-spoken,

ready upon a sudden and very apprehensive to conceive of any point in learning though never so abstruse," insomuch that, his gifts having won him such credit and acceptance, not only with his parishioners in Boston, but with "all the ministry and men of account in those quarters," grave and learned men were "willing to submit their judgments to his in any point of controversy, as though he were some extraordinary Paraclete that could not err."

The registrar had ample opportunity of estimating the preacher's quality, for he says, "Mr. Chancellor and myself heard three of his sermons in two days, which three were six hours long very near." Sermons two hours long! They were well conceived, were delivered modestly and soberly, and well worthy of all commendation; but — alas! for human imperfection, "there was *mors in olla*" — death in the pot — "every sermon to our judgments was poisoned with some error or other"; and the poison is traced out and labelled in many directions.

Thus Cotton taught that the pagan world would not be condemned for want of belief in Christ, but only for moral transgressions against the law of nature, written in their hearts; that the office of apostle had entirely ceased, instead of being continued in the episcopate; that no man who was not a preacher could be regarded as a lawful minister; that reading was not preaching; that non-residence was utterly unlawful; that no minister lawfully observed the

Sabbath unless two sermons were preached by him; and that the deacons of the New Testament were mere collectors for the poor.

None of these things will seem very heinous in our eyes, whatever Bishop Neile and his officials may have thought of them. The sterling worth of this young evangelist, with all his faults, so impressed the informant that he was fain to make what excuses he could for him. Puritan and nonconformist as he was, not out of factiousness, but on principle; openly expressing his dislike of such ceremonies as the use of the cross in baptism and kneeling at the Holy Communion; heterodox in matters of church doctrine as well as a dissenter from its discipline; the beauty of his holy and unblemished life and the sweetness of his character are fully recognised in this report. The cause of the preacher's erring is not set down to either pride or profit or wilfulness, but to lack of the right kind of light. Clearly, it was thought, here was a young man who needed watching: he was too modern, and, in the matter of his authors, in doubtful company. In view of its interest and importance, it will be well to give the full text of the Episcopal Commissaries' report.

"17. Boston. M^r Cotton M^r of arts.

"Text. 1 Cor: 12. 28. And God hath ordained some in y^e church, as first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, them y^t doe miracles, after y^t y^e gift of healing, helps, governours, diversity of tongues.

"The Preacher is but a young man not past some 7

or 8 yeares M^r of arts; but, by report, a man of great gravity and sanctity of life, a man of rare pts for his learning, eloquent and well spoken, ready upon a suddaine and very app^hensive to conceive of any point in learning, though never soe abstruse, in soe much that those his good gifts have won him soe much credit and acceptance not only with his parishioners at Boston but with all the Ministry and men of account in those quarters, that grave and learned men out of an admiration of those good graces of God in him, have been and upon every occasion still are willing to submit their judgements to his, in any point of controversie as though he were some extraordinary Paraclete y^t could not erre. M^r Chancellour and my selfe heard 3 of his sermons in 2 dayes, w^{ch} 3 were sixe howers long very neer. This testimonie we are able to give of his sermons: good paines were bestowed in y^e contriving of them, they were deliv^red modestly and soberly and well worthie were they of all comendations, but that there was *mors in olla*, every sermon to o^r judgements was poysoned with some errour or other.

“His text upon the Sunday morning was John i. 10. 11, upon these words, The world knew him not, and his own received him not. In one of *his uses* (*w* is a doctrine according to his method of the third reflection) he delivered this dainty (and I thinke false) doctrine, viz.: That the world, i.e., The Gentile and Pagan should not be condemned or judged for their want of beleefe in Xt, but only for their morall transgression ag^t the law of nature written in their hearts — whereas the scripture is plaine That he y^t beleeveth not is condemned already.

“In y^e afternoon in his catechizing The doctrine he deliv^red as a speciall note to discern whether o^r temporall goods were sanctified or noe, was (that I may use his own words) to hate suretiship, as though suretiship in noe respect were worthie to be numbered amongst the workes of mercy. And his resolute determination was, Howsoever suretiship in some case was valuable between

neighbour and neighbour: yet for a man to be surety for a stranger, it was utterly unlawfull.

“Upon Monday o^r Visitation-day, the errours observed in his sermon were these — 1. Speaking of the office of the Apostle, his determination was That the calling was totally extinct, w^{ch} opinion of his I take to be erronious, for though we have noe such calling as the calling of an Apostle in regard of their mission (for y^e^{er} mission was extraordinary, as the Apostle saith, *neither by men, nor yet from men*) yet the calling remaineth in the church, in regard of *their comission*, for y^e church hath the power of y^e keyes, as it was given to the Apostles, and, I take it, though every Presbyter hath not, yet the Episcopall office hath the very same extent of comission with the Apostles, namely to baptize and teach all nations, or at lest the Episcopatus (as S^t Cyprian saith) in solido hath.

“2^{dly} Speaking of y^e name of Prophets, he distinguished them into extraordinary and ordinary. The office of y^e ordinary Prophets he taught to consist only in preaching of y^e word, w^{ch} office was the same with the calling of o^r Ministers. This exposition being laid down for a foundation, his first doctrine o^r collection was, That it was a flatt error to thinke any man a lawfull minister w^o was not a preacher, because y^e office of the Prophet was to preach: intimating that the whole calling of the Minister did consist only in preaching, avowing that none might chalenge to himself the name of a prophet or Minister but he only that had some speciall gift bestowed upon him w^{ch} he had not before he was called to be a minister, und^rstanding by that gift not the gift or facultie of his comission, by w^{ch} he received authority to execute in his calling, but by y^e gift he meaneth the gift of ability, by w^{ch} the Minister is enabled to pforme more or lesse in y^e act of his execution, w^{ch} gift we must needs acknowledge to be the gift of God, but yet such a gift as the ptie is supposed to bring with him and not

then to receive it at y^e time of his ordination: but he simple attributing all to the gift of ability plainly denied the non-preaching Minister to *be a minister by ordination, but by God's terrible providence* (for y^t was his distinction) such an one as God might sett over his people in his anger and heavy displeasure, but not in mercy.

“A Second collection was, That reading was not preaching. If he had said it had not been interp^tation, none would have gainsayd or opposed him; but his meaning was as we did gather it, as though reading were not one of y^e meanes y^t God hath appointed for man's salvation. His proof was Amos 8. 11, where God threatens a famine of hearing, w^{ch} text he ignorantly understood of y^e famine of preaching and interpreting only.

“A 3^d collection was That Non-residencie was utterly unlawfull. To this purpose he abused a place in y^e Prophet where God reproveth the idol-Prophet for leaving his place and substituting such an one in his roome as never had calling from God to execute in y^e calling of a Prophet. This kinde of Non-residence I think was never maintained by any Xtian, neither doe I thinke any delinquent in this kinde in all o^r nation, and go (*sic*) to small purpose was his allegation.

“A 4th collection was he maintained it was not lawfull to let the Sabbath passe without 2 sermons, because Timothie must be instant in season and out of season. And strongly did he maintaine unseasonable preaching even now in these o^r dayes, wⁿ the seasonable course is noe wayes interrupted, nay wⁿ all the seasonable occasions are not taken. For I doe not heare that any of his tribe will preach upon any holy day.

“Many other things were delivered by him not worth recording, as this, That by y^e order of Deacons in y^e bible is understood none other office, but y^t w^{ch} we now adayes call collectours for y^e poore, as likewise by governours in his text he understood onely church-wardens.

“The cause of this young mans erring thus I cannot

thinke to be eyther pride or profit or wilfulnesse, but rather ignorance — *for his education was [erased] his authors he is most beholding to (I understand) they are of ye newest stamp and the place of his dwelling stands better affected to this way then the contrary.*”

We have next a quaint description of the curious Sunday afternoon service conducted in those days in Boston Church; and the writer of the account compassionates the parishioners, as well he may, on its tedious and protracted character. For there were prayers with psalms after the lessons; the inevitable sermon two hours long came between more psalms, one at each end; then the parish clerk called out the children to be catechised; next a long prayer by the minister of the town, followed by questions “out of a catechism of his own making”; and then two more hours were occupied in explication of questions and answers. So that the framer of the report sets down his opinion that if they keep the same tenor all the year their afternoon worship will be five hours long, “where to my observation there were as many sleepers as wakers, scarce any man but sometime was forced to wink or nod.” The text of the report concerning this elongated afternoon service follows:

“VII. — Observations concerning the Sundayes Service in y^e Afternoone at Boston.

“In ye Sunday Afternoone

“(1) they have praiers wth Psalms after ye lessons:

“(2) After ye 2nd lesson a psalme being sung the preacher of the town bestowes 2 howers in a sermon;

“(3) After his sermon a psalme likewise being sunge, the clerke of ye parish calls on certaine families for their youth to be catechized every one of which as they stand dispersed in the congregation answer alowd as they use to do at a Sessions *Here Sir*;

“(4) After this calling the Minister of the Towne makes a long praier;

“(5) His praier being done, he turnes himself to the boy who must give him his first answer, and soe to the second and third, etc., for he knows beforehand every boy's station that answers him. By ye way, the questions he moves are out of a Catechism of his own making, and not out of that in the book of Common Prayer;

“(6) This being done, he spends two howers more in ye explanation of these his own questions and answers, soe that they keep the same tenour all the yeare which they did when we were with them; their afternoone worship, as they used to terme it, wil be five howers, where to my observation, there was as many sleepers as wakers, scarce any man but sometime was forced to wink or nod.”

Utterly intolerable as such a protracted service would be to a modern congregation, it suited the taste of that age, at least the Puritan section of it. Religious exercises of equal length were far from uncommon. On special occasions, such as fast days, they were of more tremendous length still. Philip Henry, father of Matthew Henry the commentator, was used on fast days to enter the pulpit at nine in the morning and never to stir out of it till about four in the afternoon, spending the whole of those seven hours in praying and expounding and singing

and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him. John How, Cromwell's chaplain, was almost equally unsparing of himself and his hearers on these occasions. He began at nine with a quarter of an hour's prayer; read and expounded Scripture for three-quarters of an hour; prayed for an hour; preached for another hour; and then prayed for half an hour. These exercises brought him to half-past twelve, when, beginning to feel exhausted, he descended from the pulpit and took a little refreshment while the public sang. At a quarter to one he was in the pulpit again and prayed an hour more, and preached for another hour, and then with a prayer of half an hour at about a quarter past three he concluded the service.

When the spiritual faculties were strung up to such an unnatural tension is it at all astonishing that the reaction was equally violent, and that in a revolt against religious despotism all that was noblest and best in Puritanism — as exhibited in such a lovely character as John Cotton — was swept away, with its pettiness and its tyranny, in the current of the nation's hate, and that the gross license of the Restoration should have succeeded the gloomy fanaticism of the Protectorate? Perhaps the evil was already past a remedy at the time this memorable Visitation was held. Certainly Bishop Neile was not the physician to heal it.

About this time Mr. Cotton married Elizabeth, sister of the Rev. James Horrocks, a noted

Lancashire minister. It was soon after his marriage that he found he "could not digest the ceremonies" of the Church, and his nonconformity gave him trouble with the Court at Lincoln; out of which he was helped by faithful and astute Thomas Leverett, his friend through much misfortune. For a while Cotton was silenced; but Mr. Leverett "so insinuated himself" with one of the Proctors of the Superior Court, to which the Vicar was advised to appeal, that "he swore Mr. Cotton was a conformable man," and he was restored to Boston.¹ There he laboured on for nearly twenty more years, and his ministry was marvellously successful, judged by his friends.

¹ In the quaint language of an early biographer, "He found himself healed of his ecclesiastical bronchitis, and restored to the use of his voice in the pulpit."

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf pattern surrounds the text. The pattern consists of stylized flowers and leaves arranged in a continuous, symmetrical design.

IV

AN EPISODE OF BOSTON HISTORY—
MUTILATION OF THE TOWN'S
MACES—ATHERTON HOUGH
AS IMAGE-BREAKER

IV

AN EPISODE OF BOSTON HISTORY — MUTILATION OF THE TOWN'S MACES — ATHERTON HOUGH AS IMAGE-BREAKER

A deed of dreadful note.

— SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*

STATE papers of the reign of James I. preserved at the Record Office — documents which, like the Lincoln manuscript treating of Bishop Neile's Visitation in 1614,¹ have escaped the notice of the local historian — serve to give us a clearer insight into the state of feeling, civil and ecclesiastical, in Boston at a period when it was so largely influenced by the Puritan spirit of the times. They deal with the alleged act, which has been briefly referred to earlier in these pages, of treason and disloyalty to the throne in the cutting off the crosses from the King's arms upon the maces belonging to the Mayor and Corporation and usually carried before that body on Sundays and festival days when they attended worship at the parish church. The discovery caused a great hubbub, and it really looked a very serious affair indeed.

Information having been given by one David

¹ An abridged copy of this document is also in the British Museum. Addl. MSS. 5853, ff. 249 sq.

Lewis to the Lords of the Privy Council, a Commission was issued to Mr. Anthony Irby, one of the Masters in Chancery, and to Mr. Leonard Bawtree, Sergeant-at-Law, bearing date the twenty-third day of March, 1621, in the nineteenth year of his Majesty's reign, and afterwards a second Commission to the Solicitor General dated May 18 in the same year, authorising them to examine into the case and report thereon. The information, as shown in one of their replies, was "That the Maior of Boston, Mr. Thomas Middlecote, by himselfe or some others by his appointment or consent had cutt off the cross from the mace and *caused yt to be carried before him soe defaced*"; such act being, according to one Abraham Browne, who was among the witnesses examined, "very evil done and a dangerous matter," "a felonye or treason because yt was a defacinge of the imperiall crowne," an opinion in which the Privy Council seem to have concurred, judging by the importance they attached to the deed and the efforts they made to discover the doer of it.

On the issue of the first of these Commissions, the examiners appear to have taken the evidence of ten persons, among them the two sergeants-at-mace, the two maidservants of the Mayor, an Alderman, and a churchwarden; and the result of their investigations is thus stated in their report, dated April 7 in the same year:

"To Ityfie your Hono^{rs} wee have taken many examinacons of div'se psonnes and made what inquire wee

possiblye cann whereby we finde theare be twoe sortes of maces in the towne of Boston, the one a lesser wth. only his Ma^{ties} armes ingraven, usually and ordinarilye caryed by the Serjeants, the other greater with the ball and crosse on the toppe only caryed before the Maior to the Church on Sundayes and Thursdayes and solomn tymes. That uppou the first day of februarye beinge Thursdaye the Maior having bene at Church those maces weare brought home whole and safe and layd in the Maior's house in the hall windowe next the street as they were usuallye, but there negligently left by the sergeants untill dynner tyme next daye, being Frydaye. In w^{ch} meane tyme *the toppes of the crosses onely were cutt off from both the maces, the two crosse barrs thereof remayning intyre:* and soe by one of the mayde servants put into the cases and caryed into the chamber wthout any notice or knowledge thereof given by her to the Maior her master, and soe rested untill the Sundaye morninge followinge, at w^{ch} tyme being brought down the sergeante espyed it: whereuppon both the Maior and his wife were much moved and angrye at the falt, but the sermon bell then ringinge and the Maior then going out of his house to the church, intending to examine yt after dynner as he did, went on and had them soe caryed the Thursdaye and Sundaye after before hym. But as soone as the Goldsmyth of Boston who was then at Lynn Martt came home he caused the same to be mended before any complaints made to his Ma^{tie} or y^r honors, and before he that did complayne did come from home: *but by whome or for what end or cause the toppes of those crosses were soe cut off we cannot find oute or perceive, nor that the Maior was in any waye pryve or consenting thereto being a man well deserving in his Ma^{ties} service in the countrye, wherein he is a commissioner of the peace. And soe wee humbly rest yo^r hono^{rs} to command."*

The result of this first Commission did not, as it seems, allay the suspicions of the Privy

Council, or satisfy them of the loyalty and innocence either of the Mayor or the inhabitants generally, especially as the witnesses, according to a further statement of the informant Lewis, had been tampered with by the Mayor, and also by Mr. Irby the Commissioner, who was moreover a representative of the town in Parliament.

In the *Domestic Papers* of the same reign, Vol. 120, No. 77, we have an amusing account of this supposed tampering, where one William Hill states that the said Lewis "sayed y^t when Mr. S^rjeant Bawtree did examine div'se of the examinatees to any materiall pointe, Mr. Irby would answere before ye examinee and say 'Thou knowest nothing of this businesse,' and yf any examinee did answeare any thing wh^h he tooke to be materiall, he would then say, 'Hould thy peace, ffoole,' so y^t Mr. S^rjeant Bawtree found fault wth him for soe doing." Also "That Mr. Maior did attend in the house during all the tyme of the examinaçon of the examinatees and did conferr wth every one or the most of them imēdiately before they went to be examined and also after they came from being examined. That Mr. Irby came downe to Mr. Maior and advised him privately to direct one Rich. Westland imēdiately before he went to be examined." It would appear also, from certain notes to these *Domestic Papers*, that there was a suspicion that the informant Lewis had been himself bribed to withhold information

and compromise the matter in favour of the Corporation; for an entry says that "Mr. Ant^y Ingoldsby, prson of ffishtofofte, a verie inward friend of the Maior, told Lewis (he being desirous to borrow some money of the said Ingoldsby) that he would fetch him some from the Maior."

A further entry states the nature of a communication in Mr. Tilson's shop to Mrs. Jenkinson and others by Lewis, which was that "Having pformed the pte of a faithfull servant towards his maister (the King), he woulde now doe what service he coulde for the Corporaçon of Boston"; and a third entry speaks of "Lewis, his receivinge of ffive pounds of Camock at London, lykewise his sending to one Springe for ffortye shillings and a letter, which had been sente by the saide Springe to him to London to bear his charges downe"; the above-named persons Cammock and Spring having, according to another entry, been sent to London "to p'cure him to desist in his loyall service."

Under these circumstances a second Commission was issued addressed to the King's Solicitor General, and an examination holden as on the former occasion, the same witnesses for the most part appearing, with two or three others, among whom was the Mayor himself. But the result was as before, a perfect vindication of the Mayor's character against every imputation of disloyalty, and an acknowledgment on the part of the Commissioner that he could not discover the guilty person. "Upon the receite of this

letter," he says in his Report, "I forthwith sent for the p^tye who could give information therein. Middlecote himself and eleven others caē, but David Lewys who I find did first complaine of the misdeamo^r caē not. All the rest I have examined and have sent the examinations to y^r hon^r. Out of them all I cann collect nothings which cann fixe uppō Middlecoate but a p^rsumtion that he should be consenting thereto *because the maces were in his house*. On the other side there are many circumstances which seem to excuse him of this foolish and peevish fact, for the maces were carried before him wth the crosses before this accident fell out: when he first p^rceaved it, he was or seemed to be much offended thereat: he caused the crosses to be new made as soon as the goldsmith returned holme: and he used the maces aff^r they were mended againe. Yet doubtless I bolden it was done p^posely, whosoevr was the actor of it. Soe humbly leaving that which is already done and what is fitt to be further done to yo^r better judgement or to the further direction of the Lords, I humbly take leave and rest at yo^r honors service ready to be commanded." The Report is signed "Ro. Heath," and is addressed "To the Right Hon^{ble} S^r George Calvert, Knight, Principall Secretary to his Ma^{tye}."

So far, therefore, as concerned the civil aspect of the case, the result of the investigation was favourable and even creditable to the Mayor and to the town. But the affair had another

side, which must now be looked into. Boston was at this time deeply imbued with the spirit of nonconformity under the ministry of Mr. Cotton, and the information of David Lewis was probably directed as much against the ecclesiastical authorities as against the civil — as much against nonconformists in the Church as against disloyalty in the council chamber. Apparently it was one of those many attempts, one of which was successful in the end, to drive Mr. Cotton from his office and check the progress of his principles in the place. The cross as a religious symbol being especially distasteful to the feelings of a Puritan, it was fair to suppose that it might be deemed so even when employed, as in the present case, for a secular purpose, and as a badge of a civil office.

In this view the evidence of some of the witnesses examined before the Commissioners is exceedingly interesting, especially that of the parish clerk, the churchwarden, and the Town Clerk, Mr. Coney, Cotton's brother-in-law. The testimony of "John Jenkinson, blacksmith, clerke, and sexton of the Church of Boston" is thus reported: "Being examined he saythe: y^t he *himself did not* cut of the toppe of the crosses frō the maces, neth^r *dothe knowe whoe did* yt nor by whose appointm^t or consent yt was done, nor did ever heare whoe did it savinge y^t he hathe heard himeself suspected to have done yt." And "Atherton Houghe gentleman one of ye church wardens of ye towne of Boston

being examined sayeth y^t he neth' did cutt off ye toppe of ye crosses fro ye maces nor doth knowe who did yt nor by whose consent yt was done nor was privie to ye doinge of yt. *But he confesseth he did before that yere break of ye hand and arme of ye picture of a pope*¹ (as yt seemethe) standing over a pillar of the outeside of the steeple very highe aboute the middest or mor of ye steeple, whĉh hand had a form of a church in yt, whĉh he did as he thought by warr^t of ye injunctions made primo of Queene Eliz: willing all images to be taken oute of the walls of churches: and for yt he hard that some of the towne had taken notes of suche pictures as were in ye outside of ye churche."

This confession is valuable as showing that a certain amount of the mutilation of churches is attributable to private individuals, acting as they thought under the sanction of the law. The popular idea which conveniently throws all the blame of such actions on the shoulders of Oliver Cromwell and his soldiery is not quite fair and just. That they did do much injury is unquestionable, but these mutilations had probably been going on through many years at the hands of amateur iconoclasts like Mr. Atherton Hough.

The evidence of the Town Clerk, Mr. Coney, is equally interesting and significant, because it

¹The obnoxious image was nothing more dreadful than a figure of good St. Botolph, the church's patron saint. After weathering the centuries and surviving a fall, it still stands on a column on the south side of the tower.



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

STATUE OF ST. BOTOLPH, MUTILATED IN 1620
BY ATHERTON HOUGH



clears entirely the vicar, Mr. Cotton, of any complicity in the offence itself or sympathy with the motives which might have been supposed to lead to it. Being examined, Mr. Coney said "That he hath herd the crosses of the two maces usually carried before the Maior of Boston were in hellary terme last cutt off, this examinant being then at the terme at London and soe cann not tell who cutt or broke them off, *nor could ever learne since who did it or p'cured it to be done.* But he saith that after his retourne holme, he hearing a report of what had been done and hearing that one David Lewys was gone up to London with a p'pose to complaine to his Ma^{ty} of this misdemeanor, he this examinant being desirous to make peace, the rather for that the suspected Vicar was this examinant's brother in lawe, he of his owne mind wthout the privity of any other man moved Mr. Bennett the Customer at Boston" — the Controller of Customs for the port — "about a lett^r to be sent to Lewys to dissuade him frō such complaint, and he inclining thereto, this examinant did drawe a letter to be sent to the said Lewys: and Mr. Docto^r Worship, Mr. Dr. Browne, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Barfoote did subscribe their names thereto, and this examinant sent the same to Lewys, but it caē not to his hande because he was coē out of London before the messenger was coē theather. He saith further *that the Vicar of the towne Mr. Cotton* of this examinant's knowledge did *condemn the doing of*

the said fact and he never herd any one speak in justification of it: and Mr. Cotton said in this examinant's hearing that they might as well refuse the King's coyne because crosses were on it as forbidd the crosses: and therefore this examinant is psuaded that Mr. Cotton never did conyv at the cutting of those crosses."

So that Mr. Cotton came through the business without hurt, and that Mr. Middlecott suffered no harm, is shown by the fact that he was knighted some time prior to September, 1625, when he is called Sir Thomas Middlecott. He was Town Clerk 1602-14 and Mayor once before the episode we have been studying, in 1613. Anthony Irby preceded Richard Bellingham in the recordership of Boston; from 1614 to 1620 he shared the representation of the borough in Parliament with Leonard Bawtree his co-Commissioner; and in 1621 he succeeded Dr. Browne as Judge of the Admiralty Court at Boston. Thomas Barefoot was Vice-Admiral in 1602. Leonard and John Cammock were prominent townsmen and mayors of their day.

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf pattern surrounds the central text.

V

CHURCH LIFE IN BOSTON — THE LIN-
COLNSHIRE MOVEMENT — FAITH
AND FLIGHT OF COTTON

V

CHURCH LIFE IN BOSTON—THE LINCOLNSHIRE MOVEMENT — FAITH AND FLIGHT OF COTTON

*Perplex'd in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out.
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.*

—TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*

JOHN COTTON had enemies as well as friends in Boston; but they prevailed not against him. His hospitality was a byword among men; his house was filled with students, some of them from Holland and Germany, who sat at the feet of a new Gamaliel, and there were "taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers"; and people resorted to the town from miles around to hear him preach.

He was not a heroic figure, this John Cotton. "He was of medium stature, and inclined to corpulency." But the fascination of his personality is sufficiently accounted for. "His voice," says the biographer, "was not loud, but clear and distinct, and was easily heard in the most capacious auditory. His complexion was fair, sanguine, clear; his hair was once brown, but in his later years white as the driven

snow. In his countenance was an inexpressible sort of majesty, which commanded respect from all that approached him." The portrait matured with years but the Boston picture, as far as we can realise it, is pleasant to contemplate.

Cotton had a good friend in Dr. Williams, now of Lincoln — the same bishop who years after, when John had been in America for nearly a decade, wrote to Nicholas Ferrers, "You see the times grow high and turbulent, and no one knows where the rage and madness of them may end; I am just come from Boston, where I was used very coarsely." But those days were not yet. Williams was at this time basking in the favour of James I, and having the King's ear, he spoke a word into it for John Cotton; and the result was that he was allowed to go on without interruption, despite his non-conformity. Poor Samuel Ward, minister of Ipswich, could not understand it. "Of all men in the world," he moaned, "I envy Mr. Cotton of Boston most, for he doth nothing in way of conformity, and yet hath his liberty; and I do everything that way, and cannot enjoy mine." Plainly, he had not a bishop with the King's ear!

It is really surprising, considering the severity of the times, that Cotton should have enjoyed so much liberty during the twenty years he was Vicar of Boston. The views he held and openly expressed were highly dangerous, for did he not teach that, according to the Scripture, bishops

were appointed to rule no larger a diocese than a particular congregation, and that the keys of ecclesiastical government were given by the Lord to each separate church? He maintained that neither ministers nor people were subject to the jurisdiction of cathedral bodies. "Which made me," he says, "then to mind not only a neglect of the censures of the Commissary Court (which bred not a little offence to them and disturbance to myself), but also to breathe after greater liberty and purity, not only of God's worship, but of Church estate."

Arising out of this attitude of the Puritan vicar we have the astonishing fact that within the larger parish community a gathered church was set up, some scores of pious persons in the town forming themselves into an evangelical church-state by entering into covenant with God and with one another "to follow after the Lord in the purity of His worship." This wider liberty may have been possible because John Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln from 1621 onwards, was a man who had himself considerable leaning to Puritan modes of thought, and, like his successor, Dr. Laney, "could look through his fingers"; and who, moreover, being for the first five years of his appointment Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, left his diocese during that period pretty much to itself.

Cotton's objections to the ceremonies of the Church were for a long time rooted and complete. It was in the episcopate of Dr. Moun-

tain, subsequent to 1617, that, when suspended on special complaint made against him to the King, he refused to save himself — refused also proffered preferment — by yielding “to some conformity, at least in one ceremony, at least once.” By request he explained his doubts about kneeling at the sacrament to Dr. Mountain and the Bishop of Salisbury at Westminster. He did so freely, and his evident sincerity won him sufficient sympathy to secure his restitution. So far from being unkindly dealt with, he was treated with quite unusual leniency. Mountain’s successor, Dr. Williams, showed him even greater indulgence; but, as jealous eyes were set on the bishop himself, in 1625 he called Cotton’s proceedings in question.

A letter in the small and beautiful handwriting of the Vicar, sent in reply to Dr. Williams’ remonstrance, is still in existence which places in a strong light the Christian simplicity and candour of Cotton’s character, and is of importance as showing that his opinions in regard to ceremonies had undergone some modification. The writer reminds the bishop that, when his cause first came before him, he “wisely and truly discerned that my forbearance of the ceremonies was not from wilful refusal of conformity, but from some doubt in my judgment, and from some scruple in conscience,” and so granted him time “to consider further of these things, for my better satisfaction.” He tells his correspondent that his patience “hath not bred

in me any obstinacy in mine own opinion," and says he has of late seen "the weakness of some of those grounds against kneeling which before I esteemed too strong for me to dissolve."

An ingenious argument employed against him had been that the ceremonies he doubted of were "nowhere expressly forbidden in Scripture." This apparently made an impression on Cotton; anyway he avows his reluctance to set up his own view against "the received judgment of so many reverend fathers and brethren in the church." He assures the bishop that the indulgence allowed him has not stiffened him "in any private conceit"; and, defending himself against a charge of having "emboldened our parish to inconformity," he goes on to make a statement which throws an interesting light on the church life of the period in Boston.

"The truth is, the ceremonies of the ring in marriage, and standing at the Creed, are usually performed by myself, and all the other ceremonies of surplices, cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Communion, are frequently used by my fellow-minister in our church, and that without disturbance of the people. The people on Sabbaths, and sundry other festival days, do very diligently and thoroughly frequent the public prayers of the Church appointed by authority in the Book of Common Prayer. Neither do I think that any of them ordinarily, unless it be upon just occasion of other business, absenteth himself. It is true indeed that, in receiving the Communion, sundry of them do not kneel, but as I conceive it, and as they express themselves, it is not out of scruple of conscience, but from the multitude of communicants, who often so do throng one another in this great congre-

gation that they can hardly stand, much less kneel, one by another. Such as do forbear kneeling, out of any doubt in conscience, I know not — how very few they be, I am sure in comparison, *nullius in numero*. That divers others come from other parishes for that purpose (to receive without kneeling) is utterly unknown to me, and I am persuaded, utterly untrue. All the neighbouring parishes round about us, ministers and people, are wholly conformable. Once indeed, as I heard, one of the inhabitants of a neighbouring parish, coming to visit his wife, who then nursed a gentleman's child in our town, did here communicate with us; and whether from his not kneeling, or from some further cause, I know not; but as I heard, the Court being informed of him, did proceed severely against him. But otherwise the man, as I have since been certified, hath always been used to receive kneeling, both before and since. Yet his case being further bruited abroad, when well known might easily breed such a suspicion, and afterwards a report, which in time might come to your Lordship's ears, that divers did come from other parishes to us for this purpose to receive inconformably. But your Lordship is wise, easily discerning between a report and evidences."

Cotton, we see, admits only conformity himself to the use of the ring in marriage and standing at the Creed; the other ceremonies which he names were observed by his fellow-minister. He disproves here the charge of inciting the laity to nonconformity; but we have his admission, in the autobiography which has been already quoted, that "when God opened my eyes to see the sin of conformity, my neglect thereof was at first tolerated without disturbance and at length embraced by the chief and greatest part of the town." The writer





Photograph by Hackford, Boston

TATTERSHALL CASTLE



Photograph by Hopkinson, Billingborough

SEMPRINGHAM MANOR HOUSE
(Modern residence on the old site)

concludes his letter to the bishop by asking to be allowed "yet further time for better consideration of such doubts as yet remain behind." Signing himself "Your Lordship's exceedingly much bounden orator, John Cotton," he adds to the address on the outside "This with speed."¹

The clouds were now darkening fast in Church and State, and the gathering storm brought together the friends who, being in Lincolnshire in 1627, fell into discourse about the New England scheme with such practical result. These meetings took place in Boston itself, or at Tattershall or Sempringham, Lord Lincoln's family seats, and were the resort of Vicar Cotton and Thomas Dudley; Isaac Johnson and John Humphrey; Simon Bradstreet (son of the stout Puritan minister of Horbling, who gave so much trouble to the Ecclesiastical Courts), next to Dudley the Earl's confidant and adviser; Richard Bellingham, the Recorder of Boston; and Thomas Leverett and Atherton Hough, Boston leaders who, with Dudley, this year joined with Lord Lincoln in resisting the King's forced loan, for refusing to subscribe to which the Earl was sent to the Tower.

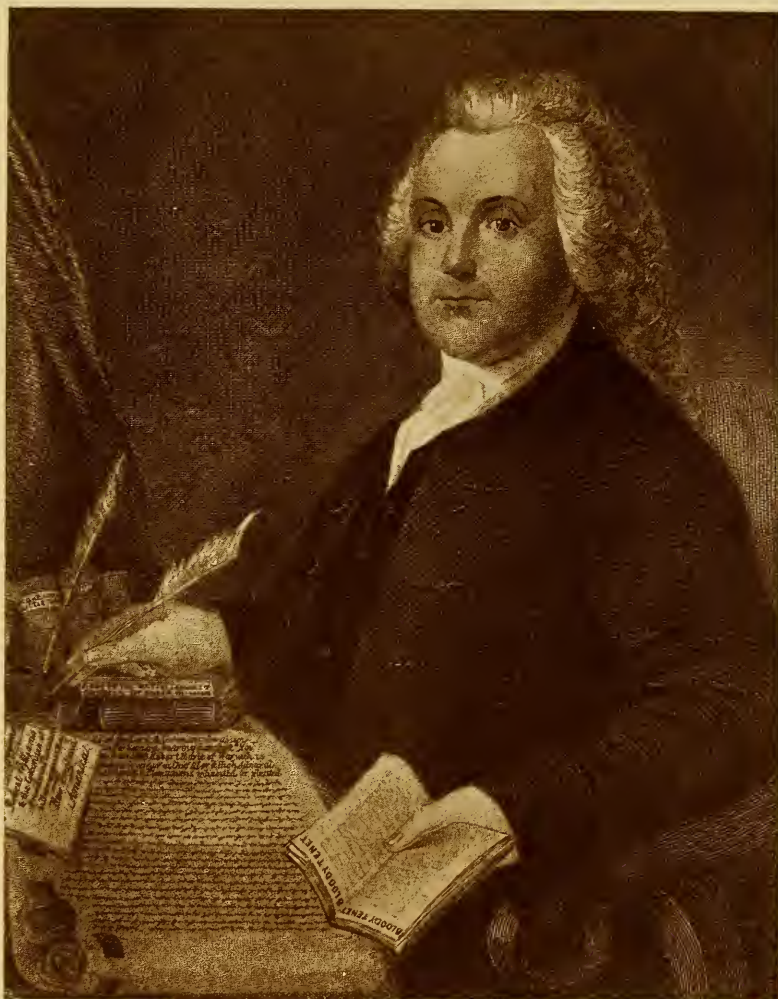
Roger Williams, the ardent Welshman, chaplain to Sir William Masham, was also identified with the Lincolnshire movement, and he speaks of riding with John Cotton "and one other of precious memory, Master Hooper, to and from

¹ Addl. MSS. 6394, f. 35.

Sempringham," Roger as they rode explaining why he could not use the Book of Common Prayer as Cotton did, and Cotton pleading the excuse that he "selected the good and best prayers in his use of that book, as Sarpi did in his using of the Masse-book." We have here a first glimmering of that after-controversial conflict between the irrepressible Williams and the rulers of the New Boston. But that stage was not yet, and Cotton, we see, was already conciliatory.

To these conferences came, two years later, John Winthrop from Groton in Suffolk, encountering by the way the inconveniences of travel in those days; for he says of the journey "My brother, Downing, and myself riding into Lincolnshire by Ely, my horse fell under me in a bog in the fens, so as I was almost to the waist in water." And the good man appreciated his peril; for he says "The Lord preserved me from further danger — blessed be His name." It was shortly after this adventuring, with Tattershall or Sempringham as the goal, that Winthrop, with eleven others, including Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, and Thomas Dudley, signed the compact at Cambridge giving the control of affairs to those members of the Massachusetts Bay Company who were going out to the Colony, of which Winthrop was elected the first resident governor.

John Cotton had many troubles and trials. There were things from which the indulgence of



ROGER WILLIAMS

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

bishops and the kindly mediation of friends could not protect him. These were sickness and death. All through the year 1631 he was prostrated with the ague. This interval of ministerial inactivity was passed with Lord Lincoln at Tattershall. While also the Earl's invalid guest, Mrs. Cotton died of the malady which had stricken down her husband; and we read of a sum of money "paid to M^r Mayor for so much expended by him about M^rs Cotton's funeral."

A year later Mr. Cotton remarried. On April 25, 1632, at Boston Church, "John Cotton, clark" took to himself in wedlock Sarah Story, a widow, who had been a great friend of his first wife's; but they were fated not to remain long together in Boston.

The end of Cotton's ministry in the town was brought about in an indirect, but none the less effectual, manner. What the schemes of his enemies failed to achieve was accomplished at last by accident. Designs for molesting him for his nonconformity had so far been frustrated by the vigilance and discretion of Thomas Leverett; but about this time a "dissolute person" in Boston, who had tasted the correctional quality of the local magistrates and bore them a grudge in consequence, sought to revenge himself by informing against them in the High Commission Court. He declared that they did not kneel at the Sacrament or observe other ceremonies enjoined by law. Told that

he must put in the minister's name, the informant replied "The minister is an honest man and never did me any wrong." Under pressure, however, he put in Mr. Cotton's name, and letters missive were at once despatched to summon the Vicar before the Court.

Much exercised in mind, Cotton took counsel of various friends as to whether he ought to stand or flee. Among others he put the case before that quaint and witty old Puritan, John Dod, of Fawsley, who answered *suo more*, "I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still and bear the brunt; but you, being young Peter, may go whither you will." The choice was between flight and imprisonment, and Cotton chose the former. But he called together the heads of the congregation and "offered them to bear witness to the truth I had preached and practised amongst them, even unto bonds," if they conceived that to be the right course for him to adopt. They did not, but persuaded him, as Cotton wrote when more happily placed, from New England, "to withdraw myself from the present storm and to minister in this country to such of their town as had been sent before thither, and such others as were willing to go along with me or to follow after me."¹ So he resigned the living of Boston and fled.

This was in May, 1633. We know how Lord

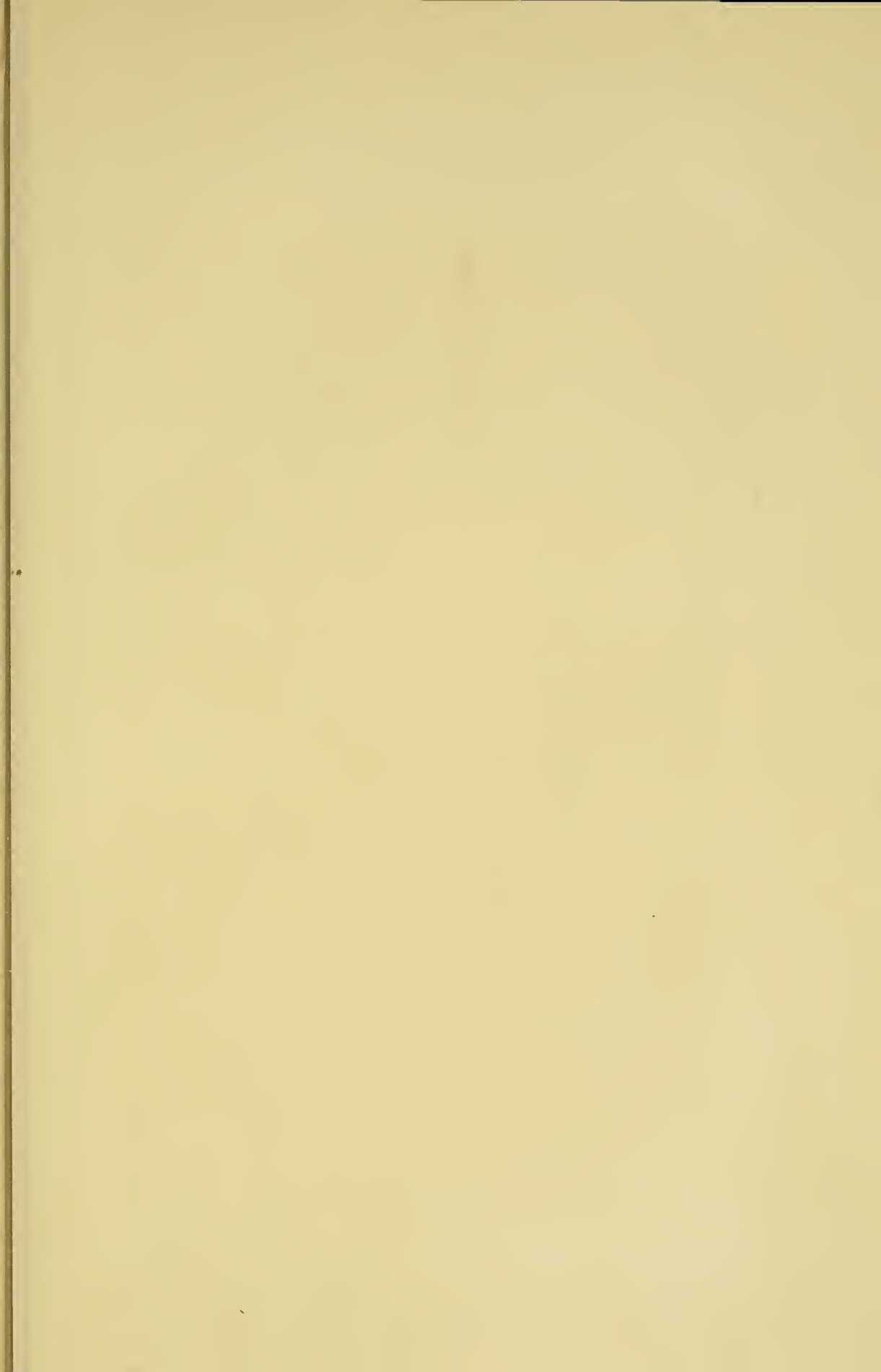
¹ Letter dated Boston, N. E., December 3, 1634, from Mr. Cotton to a minister at home, stating the reasons for his and Mr. Hooker's removal to America.

Dorset, who dropped into the church when at Boston on fen drainage business and was won by Cotton's preaching, kept the promise he then made and exerted himself with the powers on his behalf, and how the vengeful Laud — who more than once was heard to exclaim "Oh that I might meet with Mr. Cotton!" — frustrated his amiable efforts; how Lord Dorset informed Cotton that if he had been guilty of "drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault" he might have been pardoned, but that as he was guilty of Puritanism and nonconformity the crime was unpardonable; and how consequently he advised him to flee for his safety.

Before leaving, Cotton, broken in health and spirits, penned that touching letter resigning his charge into his bishop's hands. As to how he has spent his time and course he must ere long give account at another tribunal, but he takes leave to say to his lordship that the bent of his course had been "to make and keep a threefold Christian concord amongst the people, between God and their conscience, between true-hearted loyalty and Christian liberty, and between the fear of God and the love of one another." He honours the bishops and esteems many hundreds of the divines of the Church, but, while prizing other men's judgment and learning, their wisdom and piety, in things pertaining to God and His worship, he feels he must live by his own faith, not theirs. Therefore, since he cannot yield obedience of faith, he is willing to yield

patience of hope. His Master, he says, "who began a year or two ago to suspend (after a sort) my ministry by a long and sore sickness, the dregs whereof still hang about me, doth now put a further necessity upon me, wholly to lay down my ministry and freely to resign my place into your Lordship's hands. For I see neither my bodily health nor the peace of the Church will now stand with my continuance there." So he asks the bishop "to accept my place as voyd," and to "admit thereto such a successor as your Lordship shall find fit and the patron (which is the Corporation of Boston) shall present to you therefor." He adds that "the congregation is great and the church duties many, and those many times requiring close attendance."

Cotton had very good reason for saying this. In his time trusts imposed on the Corporation by the Charter of Philip and Mary and the endowment of Alderman Fox were disregarded, the staff of priests being reduced from three to two. Cotton, in 1614, was voted an extra allowance, "part of which was heretofore employed towards the maintenance of a preacher to assist the Vicar, which is now saved." He always preached at the election of Mayor, and when that functionary was installed into office, and when at home at the funerals of the principal people; and in fact was doing double duty most of the time he was at Boston. That his ministry was successful we have abundant testimony.



Comptes rendus de l'Assemblée

Also at this time it is agreed that Mr. Cotton the vicar
 being at great charge with the repayinge of the vicaridge & being
 now to take his degree of Batchelor of Divinitye & dependinge of
 moneye in respect of his great charge he hath bene at in
 repayinge the said vicaridge & beinge also a man of very good
 desertes shall have given him out of the treasurye by the house towards
 his charge of his said degree about the takinge of his degree
 the sum of £20 which was taken out of the treasurye & delivered him

Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

ENTRY OF MAY 28, 1613

"Agreed that Mr. Cotton the vicar, having been at great charge with the repayinge
 of the vicaridge, and being about to take his degree of Batchelor of Divinity and
 unprovided of money in respect of the great charge he hath been at in repayinge the said
 vicaridge, and being also a man of very good desertes, shall have given him as a gratuity
 by this house towards the charges he shall be enforced unto about the taking of his
 degree" the sum of £20, which was taken out of the treasury and delivered to him.

74.

Comptes rendus de l'Assemblée

Also agreed that Mr. Cotton the vicar being at great charge with the
 repayinge of the vicaridge & being now to take his degree of Batchelor of
 Divinitye & dependinge of moneye in respect of his great charge he hath
 bene at in repayinge the said vicaridge & beinge also a man of very good
 desertes shall have given him out of the treasurye by the house towards
 his charge of his said degree about the takinge of his degree the sum
 of £20 which was taken out of the treasurye & delivered him

W.

Burgess de Boston
 in Town & in Court
 In Assembly

Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

ENTRY OF APRIL 22, 1614

"Mr. Cotton the vicar being a worthy man and well deserving both for his learning
 and life, and his maintainance of the vicaridge very small and two little to maintaine
 him, it is therefore agreed that he shall have for the further augmentation of his living
 the sum of £30 payed him yearly during the pleasure of this house," out of the erection
 lands, "part whereof was hitherto employed towards the maintainance of a preacher to
 assist Mr. Cotton, and now is saved."



THE PURITAN FATHERS 79

Mr. Pond assures us, in his Notes on the Norton Memoir,¹ that a great reformation was wrought in the town by John Cotton. "Profaneness was extinguished, superstition was abandoned, and religion was embraced and practised among the body of the people; yea, the Mayor and most of the magistrates were now called Puritans."

Hutchinson in his "History of Massachusetts" says of Cotton that "Many strangers, and some too that were gentlemen of good quality, resorted unto Boston, and some removed their habitations thither on his account, whereby the prosperity of the place was much promoted." The historian speaks of Mr. Cotton's hospitality, "wherein he did exceed all that I ever heard of. His heart and his door were ever open to receive all that feared God, especially godly ministers, and ministers driven into England by the persecutions then raging in Germany; these he most courteously sustained."

Mr. Whiting, one of his biographers, describes Cotton's incredible labours and says: "He was distinguished for candour, meekness and wisdom, and was exceedingly beloved of the best." His teaching, however much it may have offended some, found no lack of appreciation; for, in the records of successive gratuities and augmentations of the living, Cotton is referred to as "a man of very great desertes" and as "a worthy man, and well deserving both for his learning and

¹Norton's "Life and Death of Cotton," reissued with Notes by Enoch Pond in 1834.

life"; while his pains in preaching and catechising are declared to have been great. We know he was famous as an expositor; he was midway on a second exposition of the Bible when eventually his life closed.

At an assembly held in the old Guildhall at Boston on July 22, 1633, before the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, two letters were laid before the house: one from John Cotton yielding up his place of being vicar, which "his friends, this house" accepted, and one from John, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, by the hands of Thomas Coney, the Town Clerk, stating that on July 8 the said Lord Bishop did, at his house in the College of Westminster, accept Mr. Cotton's resignation of his vicarage. So ended the most memorable ministry Boston has ever known.

We may be sure that that was an affectionate leave-taking which Cotton took of the only other child of his parents, Mary, wife of Thomas Coney, whose duty it now was to tell the Corporation that the bishop had declared the vicarage void. Coney and Mary Cotton were married in 1618, and a year later their son John was born. For many of its eventful years Thomas Coney was conspicuous in the public affairs of Boston. He was steward of the borough in 1613, when he acted as Town Clerk for Sir Thomas Middlecott during his mayoralty; and he became Town Clerk himself in 1620, and so continued for twenty-seven

years, or to within two years of his death, being "much employed in the business of the Corporation." His son, John, stepped into his official shoes. Then there was Cotton's cousin, Dr. Anthony Tuckney (son of the Kirton minister), who succeeded him as Vicar, and at the time of his flight had been Mayor's preacher at Boston four years, following Mr. Edward Wright, appointed in 1618. Tuckney, like Cotton, had resided in the Earl of Lincoln's family, and was his correspondent after the exodus from Boston.

The resignation was followed by the issue of writs, and if Mr. Cotton meant to leave the country it must be at once. Escape was not easy. State agents were vigilant, and here was no mean quarry, if only they could lay hands on him. But the fugitive was too quick for them. He reached London, and there, for a space, was concealed by John Davenport, Vicar of St. Stephen's. Then, changing his dress and adopting for the time being a fictitious name, he made his way to the Downs, where by arrangement he went on board the Griffin, a ship of some three hundred tons. That was in the middle of July, two months after his resignation was written and a week from the date of its formal acceptance. With him were Thomas Leverett and Atherton Hough, Aldermen of Boston, who resigned at the same time that Cotton did, and then joined him in London. They brought with them their families, and Mrs. Cotton was of the company, too.

The sailing of the Griffin, with her full load of nearly three hundred passengers, was a skilfully managed affair. She out-manœuvred the officers of the High Commission Court, who evidently suspected the truth and were lying in wait for her at the Isle of Wight, where they expected she would touch. But she spread her canvas wings and sailed straight away for the West, passing to the south of the island; and, if the hirelings of the Court beheld her at all, the sight would not comfort them much.

It was in the year of Cotton's flight that the poems of George Herbert were published, and there is ground for the conjecture that the proposed emigration of Cotton and other eminent ministers suggested the poet's well-known lines :

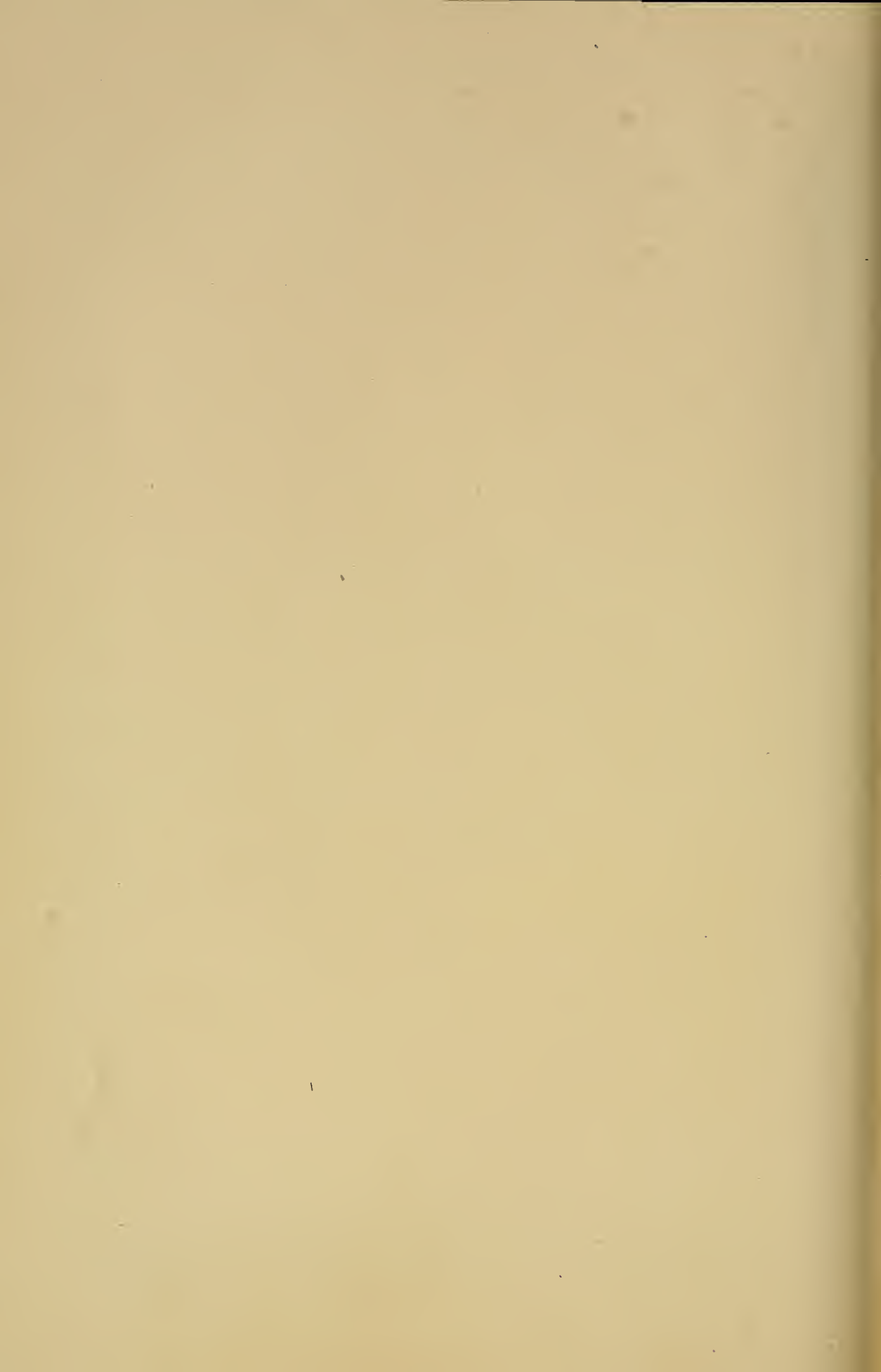
Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.

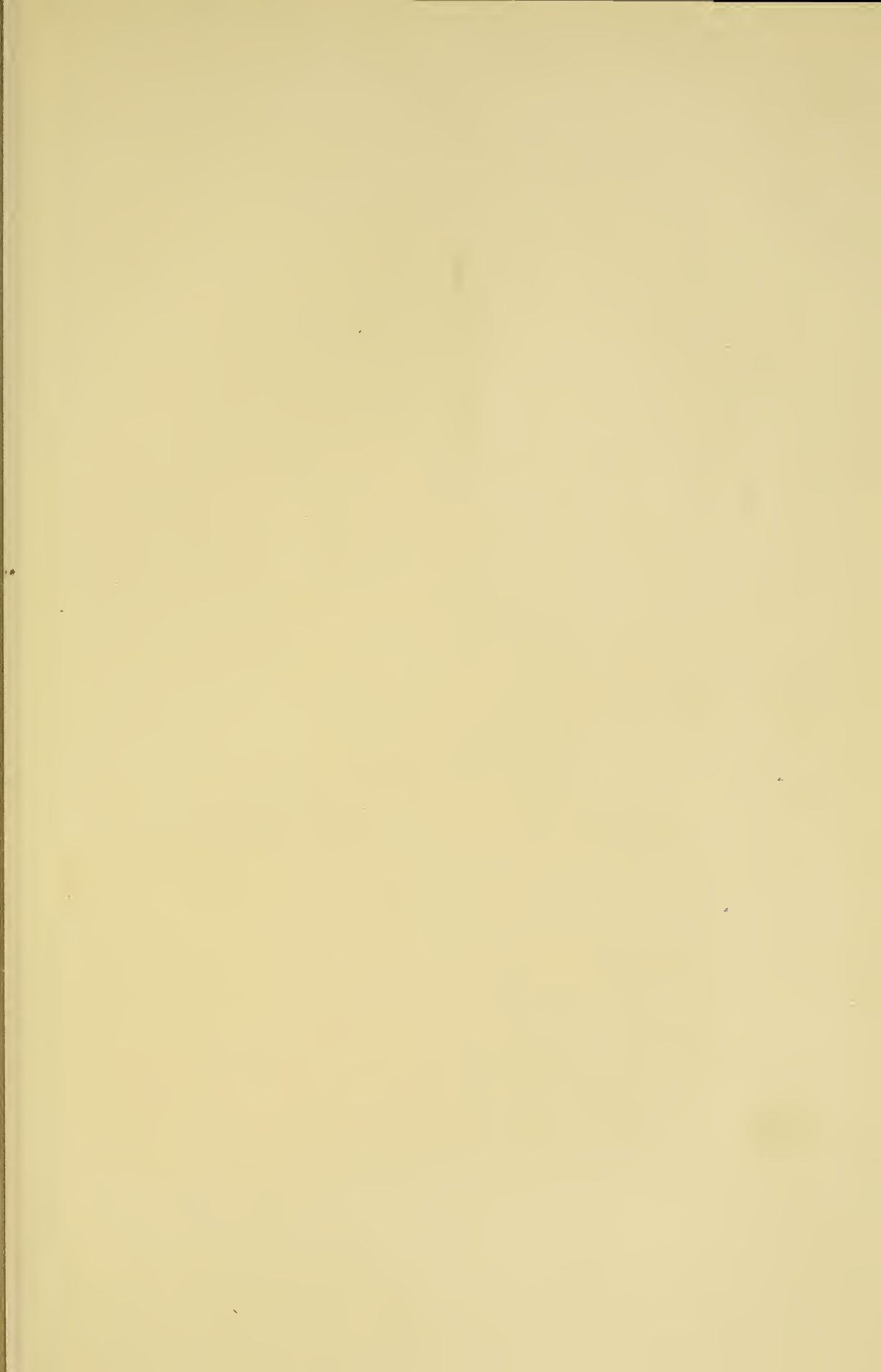
This too was the year when the Privy Council order was issued to stay certain ships in the Thames in which distinguished opponents of the Crown were supposed to be embarked for New England.

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf pattern surrounds the central text.

VI

OLD BOSTON IN COTTON'S DAY







FOR
LIBRARY
SERIALS
Photograph by Hackford, Boston

ST. BOTOLPH'S, BOSTON, ENGLAND

VI

OLD BOSTON IN COTTON'S DAY

*St. Botolph's Town! Far over leagues of land
And leagues of sea looks forth its noble tower.*

— LONGFELLOW'S POEM

JOHN COTTON would feel a natural pride in the magnificent building in which he ministered at Old Boston; that vast pile, with its majestic tower rising to nigh three hundred feet above the level fen, to be seen over a third of the county and from Norfolk across The Wash; crowned with a graceful octagonal lantern whose light and height were a mark for travellers inland as well as for mariners at sea: a fire-capped pillar to guide at night, a looming cloud to direct by day; a glorified type of the English parochial church, the most impressive in the kingdom, surpassing in the grandeur of the architecture of its tower any English cathedral; an abiding memorial of the great period of mediæval prosperity, built on the site of the old monastery founded by St. Botolph, "in a wilderness unfrequented by men," and later destroyed by the Danes.

High up in the lofty tower was in Cotton's time a huge clock-bell, shaped like a saucer and weighing some four thousand pounds. It was suspended in the tower lantern above the leaden

roof of the belfry, "for the better and more audible sound thereof." Upon it were struck the hours of the day and the holy hours of the Church, and it could be heard for six or seven miles around. On this bell were many quaint old verses, which John Cotton may have read if ever he climbed so high; but they are lost to posterity. At five o'clock in the morning the ponderous bell was rung to call all who had to perform it to their daily toil; and at eight each night its deep notes told that the day's work was done, and summoned to well-earned repose. In the second year of Cotton's coming to Boston one John Tomlinson was admitted a freeman gratis on condition that during his life he would keep the clock and chimes in order, and "all the ironwork and wires belonging to the same," and the chambers and the bell-lofts clean. This is the first mention of the clock and chimes found in the local records. Two new bells were hung in 1617; one of them bore the admonitory verse:

All men that heare my mournifull sound,
Repent before you lie in ground.

These two bells remain in the peal to this day. The great "saucer" and the other bells then in the steeple were repaired in 1627. The bells were rung from the stone gallery running round the second story of the tower by means of blocks and pulleys at openings in the belfry walls.

Let us enter Cotton's church, through the imposing south porch, where we see cut in





Photograph by Hackford, Boston

**SOUTH DOOR AND PORCH OF ST. BOTOLPH'S,
BOSTON, ENGLAND**
With church library above



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

CHURCH LIBRARY, ST. BOTOLPH'S, BOSTON, ENGLAND
Established in 1635

the inner arch the mark which the bishop at the consecration anointed "with chrism, in the form of a cross." Over the porch was a room which in Cotton's day was used as a school "for the teaching of petty scholars"; but in 1635, at the request of his successor, Dr. Tuckney, it was ordered by Archbishop Laud, when on his metropolitan visitation at Boston, to be turned into a parish library. It was the irony of fate that a man who loved intellectual darkness rather than light, and who, we have seen, crushed the liberty-seeking Cotton's last hope of escape from the persecution which drove him forth, should have sanctioned the establishment of the first free library at Boston. But fate duly adjusted the anomaly, for at a later date, Archdeacon Goddard on overhauling the library "threw out many books which he denominated trash." Beyond being a limited literary museum it has served no useful purpose; but a lasting monument to Cotton and his work, keeping alive and perpetuating his memory, has been reared in the chapel adjacent. On the wall near this chapel (which so long served as a vestry, but is now transformed and used for daily service) is a queer old painted oak board bearing the device of a death's head with a heart in the mouth. What John Cotton thought about it can only be surmised; but he would not quarrel with the accompanying lines, which relate to one Richard Smith who died in 1626 (possibly of the family of Nicholas of that ilk,

who gave the wrong casting votes at Cotton's election as Vicar), and if whimsical, savour of the versification of the times :

My corps with Kings and Monarchs sleeps in bedd;
 My soule with sight of Christ in Heaven is fedd:
 This lumpe, that Lampe shall meete and shine more
 bright
 Than Phœbus when hee streames his clearest light.

The sun at midday, if that is what was meant, left nothing to be desired in the way of metaphor; but the memorial is dingy at this far-off date, though well preserved.

We pass into the great church itself, lofty and spacious in nave and aisle; with its flat panelled ceiling and painted shields, its high-backed pews and wide expanse of colour-washed wall; and its seats made for the "Mayor and company" in 1601, which in 1627 were furnished with lock, keys, and bolt. Its "orgayne-loft" stands "above Mr. Mayor's quire" across the chancel arch, but destitute of the means of musical accompaniment, because twenty or more years before Cotton came "the great orgaynes," which may have been disorganised and certainly offended Puritan taste, were directed to be sold "for the benefit of the church," and even the loft itself had been pulled down, but the High Commissioners, on suit being brought, saw that it was set up again.¹ The screen of

¹ Years later the organ-loft was removed from the Parish Church, and strange to say it now, or part of it, is in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at Boston, Mass.



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

ALTAR TOMB OF DAME MARGERY TILNEY



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

MISERERE SEATS IN THE CHOIR STALLS

Believed to date from the last quarter of the Fourteenth Century

the nave separates the pews from the great open space at the west end, the town arms from over the gates of which, with their fine ironwork and metal woolpack, now adorn the entrance of the old Grammar School yard. The hexagonal Elizabethan pulpit is of dark-coloured oak, with fluted Ionic columns, semi-circular arches on pilasters, rich embossed carving, and sounding-board above it (now gilded and standing on a pillar, and with the sounding-board, for long absent, restored at the Sexcentenary celebration of the church), where Cotton preached his sermons two hours long. One also notes the altar tombs, one that of Dame Margery Tilney, great-grandmother of Anne Boleyn, bearing the Tilney arms and with the effigy upon it of the said Dame Margery, who, as Leland quaintly says, "layid the first stone of the goodly steple" of the church, and "lyith buried under it"; and wonders at the chancel with its double row of stalls, with canopies and *misereres*, perhaps the finest examples extant of mercantile religious munificence.

There is nothing more curious about it all than the connection with the church of the Corporate body and its ordering of the arrangements. Of this we have had some insight. But fifty years before Cotton's appearance the Corporation were busy seating themselves, the Mayor and Aldermen in one place, and the Common Council in another, and the fiat went forth that "none of the House" should "talk in

the church, to the ill example of others." Later they were to sit, not in the quires, but "in the loft in the church." When Cotton had been gone this long while, we find this wilful but interesting body setting aside a sum to pay "for cloth and mending the Mayor's seat, which was cut off and stolen away." That was probably when his Worship occupied a sort of daïs, pilared and corniced, against a column of the nave facing the pulpit opposite. Then their wives were introduced, for we have an order to the Chamberlain to "line" the seats "where the ladies of the aldermen and common-council sit," and the Aldermen's wives are called "alderesses." They appear nevertheless to have behaved themselves, for there is no further resolution prohibiting prattle in church.

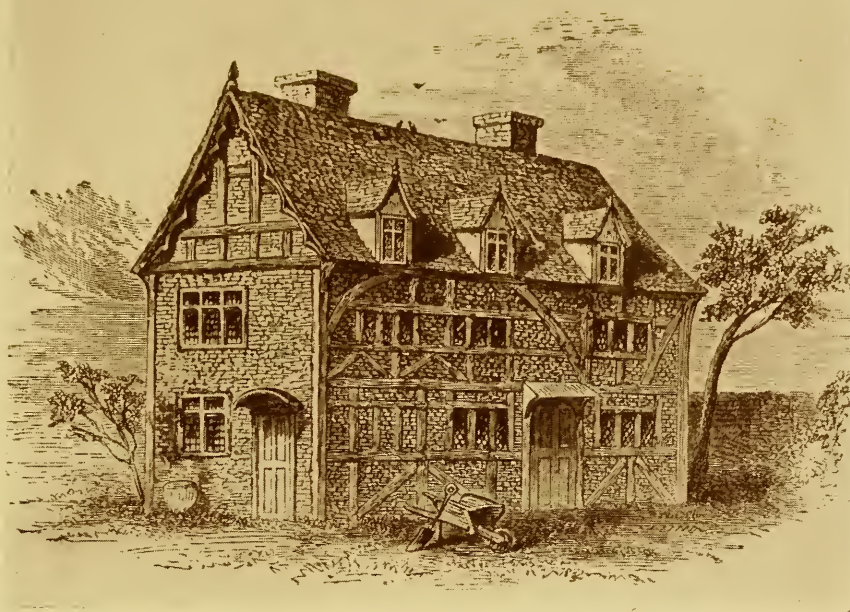
Externally, the church had a different appearance in Cotton's day. There were two buildings adjoining it on the south side, one a vestry, originally an oratory or private chapel, abutting on the chancel with its little priests' door, and to the west of it Taylor's Hall; while on the north side of the chancel, near the staircase leading to the organ-loft, was another old chapel, and at the west end of the aisle stood a charnel-house, once an oratory. These excrescences were removed in the next century, when the churchyard was enlarged to the southeast by the sweeping away of the town gaol and the Ostrich publichouse, and the levelling of "Half-crown Hill," used so freely for the burial of the

poor (at half-a-crown per head) that the rising mound obstructed the lower windows of the hostelry! No wonder the plague raged periodically in the old days. Once at least it visited Boston during Cotton's stay; that was in 1625, when the Fair usually held on St. James' Day (July 25) had to be abandoned for fear of spreading the contagion. Bounding the churchyard on the water-side to the west was Shoemakers' Hall, and a wharf with shops and warehouses, overlooking the swiftly flowing Witham, then unchecked by the modern Grand Sluice.

And what an unassuming place was the old Vicarage, where Cotton was an hospitable host, and where the students gathered to profit by his teaching. Standing off Wormgate with an entrance from the churchyard, beneath the shadow of the mammoth tower, the modest manse nestled cosily among the trees of the enclosed garden-orchard. One can picture still the timbered and tiled brick building of two stories with its intersecting beams, its casements glazed with diamond panes, hooded doorways, peaked gable, pointed attic windows, and short squat chimneys. Within the parsonage house Cotton would in his idle moments (if he ever had any) make an antiquarian study of those curious arms, carved on an oaken door and a panel over the mantelpiece, of the mitred abbot of Bardney, who had owned a fishery and more solid possessions in Boston and is reported

to have helped to build the manse. But Cotton we know had more absorbing studies. Here he read the Fathers and the Schoolmen, and his Calvin much beloved, finding that "he that has Calvin has them all"; just as in later years he delighted to sweeten his mouth "with a piece of Calvin" before he slept. Hard by, at the "north church stile in Wormgate," stood (and still stands) the ancient church house, then the residence of the Grammar Schoolmaster (doubtless a good neighbour and familiar friend), where in pre-Reformation days doles collected for the purpose were distributed to the poor and needy. Strange to say, the house has returned in a new way to its old use, for it is a Poor-law relieving office to-day. On the other side of the Vicarage, forming a quadrangle, was the venerable residence of the Pacy family, once a nunnery; and though the building has long since disappeared, you may still see preserved near its site the same stone bust of a man tugging at his beard that leered down from its niche above the entrance upon John Cotton when perchance he passed that way.

That glorious fabric the Parish Church took a lot of maintaining, and the wherewithal was not always easy to find. During Cotton's ministry work of a kind was frequent about the chancel and other parts; but resources were very limited, and in 1626 something like a crisis arose. In that year it was found that "the large, spacious and magnificent church of



From an old Drawing

THE OLD VICARAGE, BOSTON, ENGLAND
Occupied by John Cotton. Taken down in 1850



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

THE OLD CHURCH HOUSE, BOSTON, ENGLAND



St. Botolph's" was "able and fit to contain all the whole people and congregation of Boston," which was literally the truth, for the inhabitants numbered less than three thousand. The church was, however, "in so great need of repairs" that the people "were not able to supply the defect thereof." And so on petition Bishop Williams authorised the pulling down of the small church of St. John, which had not been used for two hundred years, and the materials thus obtained were used for repairing Boston Church. Some of the timber was also employed in patching up the Town Bridge, which in this year was "in great decay" and in danger of falling. It was the successor of the old bridge which fell into the river on a Sunday in March, 1556. The mending in 1626 was of little use, for the bridge had to be taken down three years later, and while a new one was being erected passengers were ferried across the water by a Corporation boat; so that when John Cotton hied him to the west side of the town, to visit parishioners in Gowt Street or Fordend Lane, he would have to use the ferry-boat. The new bridge was opened in 1631, the year he was stricken down with ague. We can picture the good man on one of these pastoral excursions passing the straggling Market-place, with its staithes, its "fish stones" or stalls, and its Market Cross with tall, slender shaft, approached by flights of steps hard by the house and garden footing Gaunt's Lane, whose rents Cotton afterwards enjoyed for life

by right of his marriage with widow Story. The House of Assembly on the river side of the square was built the year before he came to Boston.

The "great feasts of the town" of which Cotton has spoken, and which he ornamented by his presence, were sumptuous and ceremonious entertainments held at the Guildhall, including May Day, Lady Day, Admiralty Court, Quarter Sessions, and Court Leet or rent day dinners. On these occasions the Corporation and borough officials, with such guests as the Mayor invited, assembled together; and prominent figures were the Recorder, the Marshal of the Admiralty and the Chamberlain, the sergeants-at-mace and the sergeants-at-arms. At the fairs and marts the Mayor and his company were escorted by a dozen attendants attired in a species of military garment or loose cassock called "mandelions," having the town's arms (three ducal coronets on a sable shield, supported by mermaids ducally crowned, with crest "on a woolpack, a ram couchant") worked upon them "in yellow sarsaeye"; and as many merchant porters in the warden's livery, carrying halberts; with four constables to assist in maintaining order and preserving the peace. Then there were the paid and perspiring musicians, wearing liveries bearing "the ancient badge of cognizance"; and we may take it that they earned their salaries. The whole was a picturesque display.

But though it treated Cotton well in return for his beneficent ministry, Boston had at this time sorely declined. Five years before Cotton came it petitioned Parliament to be placed in the list of "decayed towns," with the evident object of escaping inconvenient exactions. We have no proof that the prayer was answered; and eight years later, in 1615, we find the town asking for relief in respect of a levy of provisions for the Crown. The port, we are told, possessed "few fishermen"; but there were plenty of dishmakers, fret-workers, weavers, and followers of other trades in the borough.

The preceding winter had been very severe, with much frost and snow and great loss of cattle and sheep, and early in 1615 there was a disastrous flood "and overflowing of the ground," though this was not so bad as the visitation of 1571,¹ when the district was devastated by a mighty tempest and flood and next year Elizabeth granted Boston a license to export grain "for the relief and succour of the borough, the inhabitants thereof being greatly impoverished and almost utterly declined, as well by reason of the scarcity of traffic of merchandise as by the great damage and hurt happened to their port, bridge, wharffs, staites, and sea banks through the great violence and inundation both of the salt and of the fresh waters"; and this license was renewed in subsequent years. Camden said of Boston in

¹This great tide was the subject of Jean Ingelow's noted poem.

1586 that it was "handsomely built," and "drives a considerable trade." Still times were hard, for in 1587, as the records tell us, because of the "great dearth and hard year," the Mayor-elect was allowed three-quarters of wheat by the Corporation and was not to be subject to a charge "for any feastynges or dyet" at the four sessions of the peace, "but only for the recorder and four justices, and the town clerk." And so the evidences of scarcity and economy continue. But the town picked up somewhat before Cotton left it. There came the mandate that no more thatch should be used in the construction of houses, which were to be built of timber, stone, and tile; and in 1623 the Corporation ordered "two dozen links to be bought for the town," which was an unmistakable sign of progress!

Things at one time were very different, and Cotton must often have listened to the story, handed down from father to son, of that great period of mediæval prosperity which Boston once enjoyed. As early as the eleventh century the famous Hanseatic League, or merchants of the Steelyard, established themselves on The Wash. Formed by a combination between Hamburg and Lubeck as a trading Guild, and including within a century no fewer than sixty-six cities and forty-four other confederates, the League was at first no more than an association for mutual protection against piracy; but ultimately it became a ring of the most gigantic

and comprehensive character, with offices and warehouses and residences in all the chief centres of trade in England.¹ The League had its Steelyard in Boston, and many of its members took up their abode in the town. They were popularly known as "Easterlings," either because they came from the country lying east of Boston, or from their trade being renewed each year at Easter; and they bore such a good character for honesty, their weights being just and money unsweated and unchipped, that it was made a stipulation that debts should be paid with Easterling coin, and hence comes our still existing word, "sterling" money.

Well, Boston, under the Easterlings, became the emporium of commerce for East England; and in 1205, the year after it received its charter from King John, Boston paid the largest amount of the tax called the quinzeme (a fifteenth part of the movable goods of merchants, taken for the use of the State) of any port in the kingdom save only London. Seventy or eighty years later we find Boston paying twice as much duty on chief exports as London did, and more than a third of the entire duty paid by the whole kingdom on these goods; while in another decade it was one of the nine ports from which alone wool might legally be exported. During the thirteenth century its great annual Mart

¹ Until 1853 the Steelyard in Thames Street, London, remained the property of the Senates of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, who held it as heirs of the old Hanseatic League.

or Fair, to which the marketing world flocked by land and water, sprang into existence. And in 1369 the Staple was removed from Lincoln to Boston, which remained a Staple-town until the dissolution of the religious houses and mercantile Guilds in the sixteenth century brought the mediæval system of trading to a close.

But long before that time its prosperity had waned. Leland gives a definite cause for this. He says that in the reign of Edward IV a merchant of Boston, Humphrey Littlebury, killed an Easterling there, and the Bostonians behaved so badly about it that the Easterlings in disgust left the town and took their merchandise elsewhere, so that in his time (1530), though the Steelyard houses still remained, they were "little or nothing at all occupied." There were no doubt contributing causes to this decay. Once the recognised waterway to the east, with a river navigable up to Lincoln and connecting with the Trent and its tributary streams, the channel through which many counties poured their produce and received their foreign goods, Boston had now lost this sea-carrying monopoly owing to the growth of other ports on the east coast and the partial diversion of commerce to the west. Its haven and outfall also were in a bad state, and the Charter of Admiralty given it by Elizabeth over the Norman Deeps, with the power of levying duties and other privileges, did little to improve things, until we see the town as it was in Cotton's day. But the place

THE PURITAN FATHERS 99

of a community in history does not depend on the amount of its trade. Boston was still vigorous enough to become a mother of empire! And for that matter it has since arisen Phoenix-like out of the ashes of its old self to a fair height of commercial prosperity.

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf pattern surrounds the text.

VII

COTTON'S BOSTON MEN — THE NEW
LIFE O'ER SEAS — PERSECUTIONS
AND PUNISHMENTS

VII

COTTON'S BOSTON MEN — THE NEW LIFE O'ER SEAS — PERSECUTIONS AND PUNISHMENTS

*The lantern of St. Botolph's ceased to burn
When from the portals of that church he came
To be a burning and a shining light
Here in the wilderness.*

— LONGFELLOW, *The New England Tragedies*

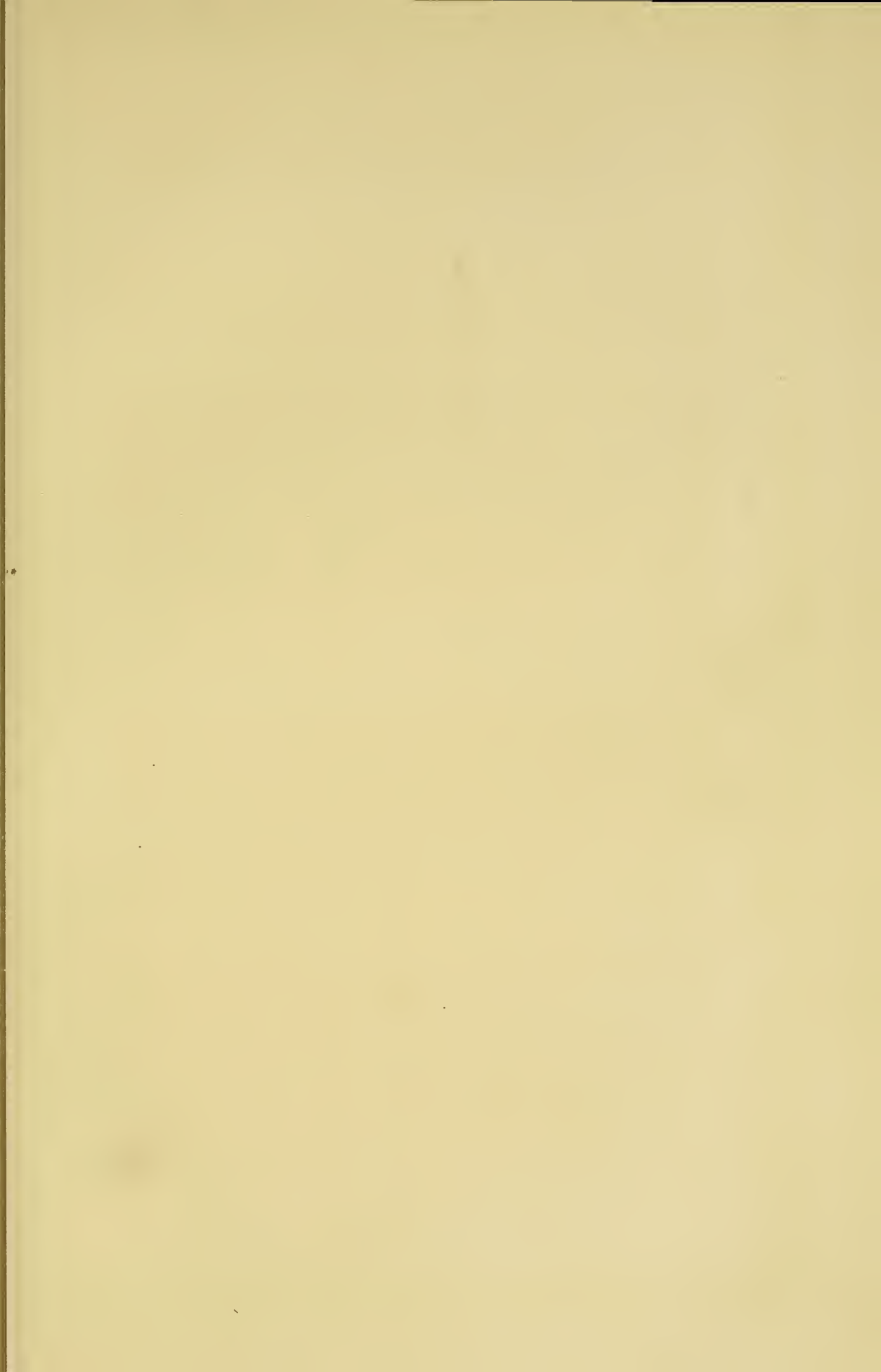
JOHN COTTON on his way out to the West did not lack good company, and the voyage, if long, was the less lonely on that account. He had his wife with him, and, on August 12, a month after the sailing, his first child was born on the broad Atlantic Ocean; it was a son, and they gave him the fitting name of Seaborn.¹ Cotton refused to baptise the infant at sea because, being no longer the minister of a congregation, he did not hold himself empowered to administer the sacraments. In Winthrop's "History of New England" we find the reason for this refusal thus set forth: "Not for want of fresh water, for he held seawater would have served: 1, because they had no settled congregation there; 2, because a minister hath no

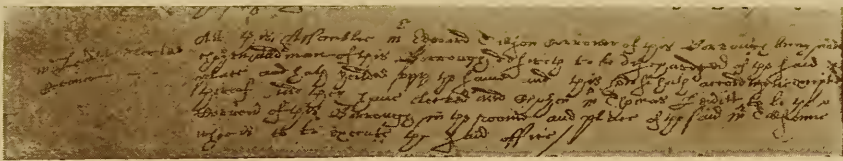
¹ On the outward voyage of the Mayflower, thirteen years before, a son was born to Stephen Hopkins, one of the Pilgrim Fathers, and they called him Oceanus.

power to give the seals but in his own congregation." In other words — and this is a good example of the conscientious exactitude which characterised the Puritan period — Cotton held that the priestly office ceased with the severance of the pastoral bond, and must be renewed on the acceptance of another call; nor, until so renewed, could the individual officiate in performing church functions. The boy accordingly was named only after his father had been installed as teacher of the church in New Boston, and so had gained the right to baptise him.

Among the passengers carried by the Griffin were many friends, including men who had profited by Cotton's counsels and shared the anxiety of his trials at Old Boston. There was Thomas Leverett, of whom we have heard, one of an old Lincolnshire family. Leverett served a seven years' apprenticeship to Mr. Anderson, a Boston tradesman, and on October 29, 1610, he was married to Anne Fisher in Boston Church; and the baptisms of their children entered in the parish registers give the names and dates Jane Leverett, August 9, 1613; John Leverett, January 9, 1616; and Anne Leverett, January 9, 1619. John accompanied the rest of the family on this momentous voyage, and rose to high place in New England, as we shall see. He married Hannah Hudson, who went out to the Colony two years later, in 1635. Jane Leverett married Israel Addington.

Nine years after marriage, Thomas Leverett

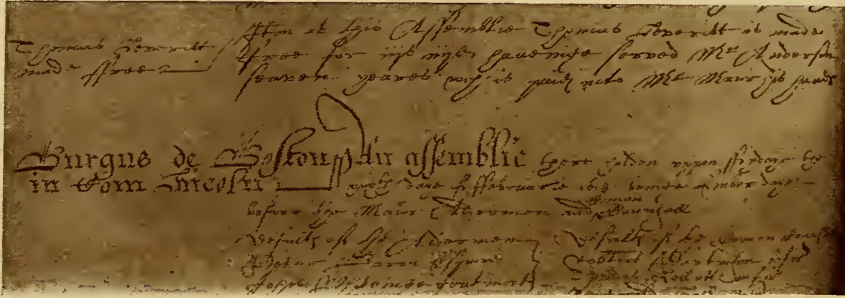




Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

RECORD OF THE APPOINTMENT OF THOMAS LEVERETT AS CORONER,
MAY 1, 1624

"At this assembly Mr. Edward Tillson, Corroner of this borough, being made and chosen Alderman of this borough, desireth to be disengaged of the said place and hath yeilded upp the same, and this house hath accordingly accepted thereof and they have elected and chosen Mr. Thomas Leveritt to be the Corroner of this borough in the room and place of the said Mr. Tillson, whoo is to vacate the said office."



Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

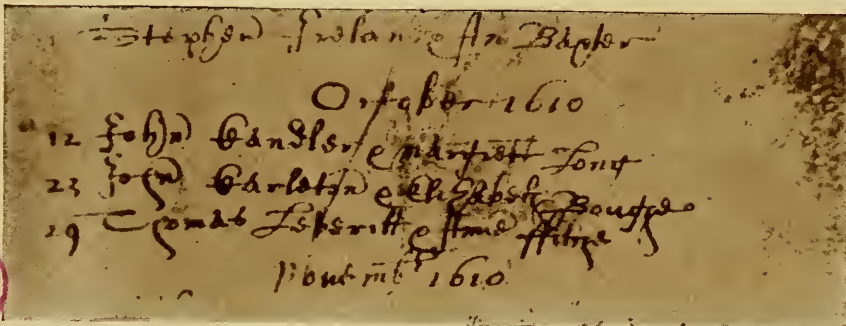
RECORD OF THE ADMISSION OF THOMAS LEVERETT TO THE FREEDOM
OF THE BOROUGH, JANUARY 18, 1618



Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

RECORD OF THE ELECTION OF THOMAS LEVERETT TO THE TOWN
COUNCIL, MARCH 7, 1620

"Also at this assembly Mr. Thomas Leverit is elected one of the Comon Counsaill, and hath taken his oath acordinglie."



Photographed from the Boston Parish Register

RECORD OF THE MARRIAGE OF THOMAS LEVERETT TO ANNE FISHER,
1610



was made a freeman of Boston. In the following year, 1620, he was elected to the Common Council; he became coroner of the borough in 1624; and was appointed an Alderman in 1632. We know how useful he was to John Cotton at Boston, a skilful protector and faithful friend always, shrewd and successful in the legal business which took him to the courts on his Vicar's behalf.

Another passenger in the Griffin was Atherton Hough, that enthusiast who in 1620, when a churchwarden, broke off the hand and arm of what he conceived to be "the picture of a pope," but what in reality was a statue of St. Botolph, on a tall pillar of the great church tower.

Thomas Leverett and Atherton Hough took up their freedom of Boston together in 1619. Mr. Hough was elected to the Council later the same year; he was made an Alderman in 1627, and the next year became Mayor. In the parish registers may be seen the record of his marriage, on January 9, 1618: "Atherton Haulgh and Elizabeth Whittingham, widdow"; and there also is the date of baptism of their son Samuel, November 23, 1621. These friends threw up their official appointments without hesitation in order to accompany Mr. Cotton to America. Aldermen in these days are of all people supposed to consider their own town the best possible dwelling-place. Aldermen of the seventeenth century probably thought the same, and in any case this leaving of Old Boston,

with its ties and associations, must have been a wrench. But it was a time for the sundering of bonds, as well as for their enforced endurance.

Atherton Hough's wife and young son were of the party. Also, if history speaks truth, was that great man Richard Bellingham, afterwards Governor Bellingham, Recorder of Boston from 1625, and its member of Parliament from 1628, a position to which Old Boston elected his father, Francis Bellingham, in 1603. Recorder Bellingham's resignation was received in November, 1633; but he may all the same have gone out with Cotton. Allen says he did not sail for New England until the following year. Certainly Winthrop does not name him as being one of Cotton's fellow-passengers, though he may have been among the other men on board who are alluded to generally as "of good estates." However, if he did not take passage in the Griffin he followed very soon after; and once in the new country, this stern and upright man became a power in the land. Allen's description of him is vague. Bellingham, he says, was "a native of England, where he was bred a lawyer." This is not very informing. He belonged in fact to Yorkshire; but his relatives found living at Kilby near Hull at a later period bore the old Lincolnshire name of Goodrick. That he was "bred a lawyer" goes without saying. "It was always mentioned as a part of Mr. Bellingham's character," wrote Hutchinson, "that he hated a bribe." This is not

Handwritten text in cursive script, likely a record of a man's freedom. The text is somewhat faded and difficult to read, but it appears to be a formal document.

Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

RECORD BY WHICH ATHERTON HOUGH (SPELT "HAULGH") WAS
"MADE FREE" OF THE BOROUGH, MAY 22, 1619

"And hath taken his oath for his freedom, together with his oath of supremacie and
allegiance."

Handwritten text in cursive script, likely a record of an election. The text is somewhat faded and difficult to read, but it appears to be a formal document.

Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

RECORD OF THE ELECTION OF ATHERTON HOUGH ON AUGUST 21,
1619, TO THE COMMON COUNCIL

"In the room and place of Robert Jenkinson deseased, and hee hath taken his oath
acordinglie."

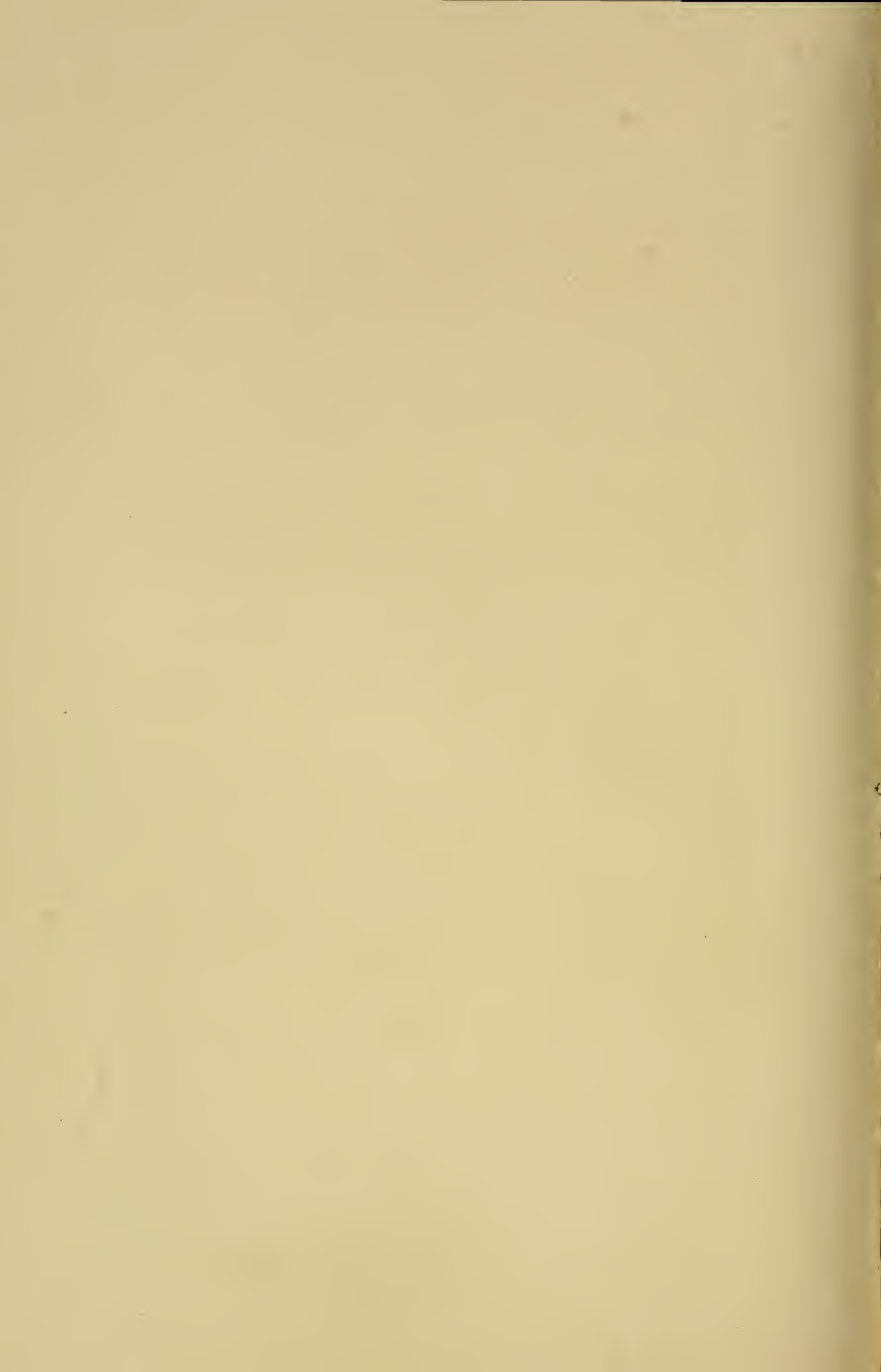
Handwritten list of names in cursive script, likely a record of a marriage. The names are written in a formal, cursive hand.

William Crutt and Anne
George Smith and Anne
William Sawcill and Anne
Thomas Dotts and Grace
Arthur Fleming and Jane
Robert Froode and Anne
Atherton Hough and Elizabeth
William Moughton and Anne
Thomas Simpkinson and Anne
Robert Munt and Rebecca

Photographed from the Boston Parish Register

RECORD OF THE MARRIAGE OF ATHERTON HOUGH TO ELIZABETH
WHITTINGHAM, 1618





more than might have been expected of one who was Recorder of Boston and for some time its representative in Parliament.

Not that he was set beyond temptation. The emoluments of his legal office were not great. In 1625 the salary of the Mayor's cook at Boston was raised to £6/13/4, and this princely sum equalled the fee which the Recorder was paid yearly out of the manor of Hallgarth. But Bellingham came off best in the end, for the office of cook was abolished in 1629. One would be loath to accept these disbursements as evidence of the relative value of the learned Recorder and the Mayor's cook in the eyes of the old Bostonians. But they are full of suggestion; even as the Bostonians themselves loved to be filled with the good things of the table. Pecuniarily, the Mayor was not so easily satisfied as the Recorder, for his salary in 1629 was *reduced* to "fifty pounds, with capons, and sugar rents, and weathers"; which no doubt was esteemed a great hardship, seeing that five years before the Mayor was allowed eighty pounds, "besides the ordinarie allowance of wine, sugar, capons and weathers," which was simply lordly! But times were evidently bad when the salary and the perquisites of the civic office suffered diminution, for in that year, 1629, his Worship was "tyed to make the feast at May-day only," to which, however, he had to invite "the Aldermen, Common Council, the Recorder, the Town Clerk, and

all their wives," Bellingham thus being of the company. Out in the free America this grim Puritan had a strangely strenuous, peculiarly successful life; and the pictures of him drawn by Hawthorne in "The Scarlet Letter" have perpetuated the fame of his name. He was succeeded as Governor of Massachusetts by John Leverett.

Then what a familiar sound to transatlantic ears has the name of Quincy. It was borne across the sea by an emigrant from Fishtoft, hereabout, who went with John Cotton, and from this Old England villager, Edmund Quincy, sprang in the fulness of time Presidents of the United States. Little less honour, in American Nonconformist hearts, belongs to the name of Hutchinson, long prominent in the life of the Lincolnshire Boston. The fugitives to New England were the Alford branch of the family, intimates of Cotton and Mr. Coddington, and consisted of an aged widow, four sons, and a daughter, wife of the Rev. John Wheelwright. William, the eldest son, was the husband of a celebrity, "the sainted Anne Hutchinson," Hawthorne calls her, daughter of the Rev. William Marbury. William Hutchinson and his brother Richard took out adult families to America. Edward, the third son, and his nephew, Edward, son of William, accompanied John Cotton; the rest of the family followed a year or two later. The tragedy which annihilated most of this family is referred to later on. The lad Edward,

who sailed in the Griffin, saved the name from extinction in Massachusetts, and was ancestor of Governor Hutchinson, who wrote a history of the Colony. Then Cotton took out other notable men. There was the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Chelmsford — “Son of Thunder” they called him — the first minister of Cambridge, Mass., and one of the founders of Connecticut. Others were Matthew Allen, who settled first at Cambridge, and removed with Hooker to Hartford in 1636; William Pierce, a man of good estate; sturdy John Haynes, a friend of Hooker’s from Essex, a governor in the years to come of both Massachusetts and Connecticut; and the Rev. Samuel Stone, one of the first ministers of Hartford.

The voyage occupied nearly seven weeks, and, on September 4 the Griffin cast anchor off the New Boston.¹ Could the full story be told, it would doubtless be found that these arrivals in New England included many more Lincolnshire men than those who have been mentioned. But of the passengers carried by

¹The event is thus chronicled by Winthrop in his Journal: “Sep. 4. The Griffin, a ship of three hundred tons, arrived (having been eight weeks in the Downs.) In this ship came M^r. Cotton, M^r. Hooker and M^r. Stone, ministers, and M^r. Peirce, M^r. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), M^r. Hoffe and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken M^r. Cotton and M^r. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the High Commission; but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuivants attended there, and in the meantime the said ministers were taken in at the Downs. M^r. Hooker and M^r. Stone went presently to Newtown, where they were to be entertained, and M^r. Cotton stayed at Boston.”

the Griffin no complete list was preserved, and, in the absence of that evidence, it is impossible to decide this question.

It is, however, possible to speak more definitely with regard to the conjecture which has been put forward that a number of the colonists of Dorchester were also from the neighbourhood of Old Boston. They were not. Between the Dorchester men and the Boston men there appears to have been friendly rivalry in the matter of first establishing and naming a settlement in the new country. The Dorchester emigrants went out in a large and well-appointed ship by themselves. They arrived a fortnight sooner than the rest of Winthrop's fleet, and fixed upon Mattapan (now South Boston), called it Dorchester, expecting it to become the principal town. But that honour was reserved for Winthrop's party and for Old Boston.

Still, the settlers already named were certainly the more prominent of those who went out. One other remains to be added to the roll; it is the Rev. Samuel Whiting, who followed Cotton to America early in 1636. Whiting was a native of Boston and a member of a distinguished local family which traced back its connection with the place to the fourteenth century and its participation in the government of the town to 1590, when John Whiting was a member of the Corporation; his son John, father of Samuel, was Mayor of Boston in 1600 and 1608; John Whiting, born in June, 1592, brother of Samuel,

Handwritten record in Latin script, likely from a 17th-century document. The text is arranged in several columns and includes various entries, possibly names or titles, such as 'D. & S. Smith' and 'D. & S. Bellingham'. There are also some numbers and dates visible, such as '1625' and '1628'. The document appears to be a list or register of some kind.



Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

RECORD OF THE ELECTION OF RICHARD BELLINGHAM AS RECORDER
NOVEMBER, 7 1625, IN "THE ROOME AND PLACE"
OF ANTHONY IRBY, DECEASED

THE PURITAN FATHERS 111

was Mayor four times, in 1626 and 1633 and again in two subsequent years, this being the only instance on record of any person filling the office so often previous to the Municipal Act of 1835; another brother, James, also served as Mayor, while Robert Whiting was a sergeant-at-mace and Marshal of the Admiralty, offices which he resigned in 1631 and 1632 respectively. Alderman Richard Westland, their brother-in-law, Mayor in 1632 and again eleven years later, loaned money to the Massachusetts Colony and had six hundred acres of land allotted him there in discharge of the debt.

Samuel Whiting was born in November, 1597, and after graduating at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (where he had for his class-mate Anthony Tuckney, afterwards Vicar of Boston), he took orders in 1620 and went into Norfolk, where he was first chaplain to Sir Nathaniel Bacon and then minister at King's Lynn. Being a strong Puritan, he refused to conduct service in the manner prescribed and complaints of his non-conformity were made to the Bishop of Norwich, who threatened him with the law. Instead of being prosecuted, however, he was presented to the living of Skirbeck, Boston, by Sir Edward Barkham, one of the borough representatives in Parliament (and predecessor in the seat of Richard Bellingham), who had purchased the advowson from the Corporation. Whiting was instituted to the living on February 18, 1625. He was then in his twenty-eighth year. While

at Skirbeck he contracted a notable marriage. It was not the first time he had led a bride to the altar; but neither the name of the bride nor the situation of the altar is known to history. Anyway, in 1629 he was a widower; and on August 6 of that year he was wedded in Boston Church, presumably by John Cotton himself, to Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver St. John, own cousin of Oliver Cromwell. The entry in the parish registers gives the names "Samuell Whiting, gent, & Elizabeth Saint Johns."

Here in a little ceremony in Boston Church, a simple and modest function without doubt, are grouped names which make one pause — Cromwell, St. John, Cotton, Whiting. Oliver St. John, like the Earl of Lincoln and some of the Boston men, had himself stood out as a resister and been fined by the Star Chamber for refusing to pay "benevolences," those forced loans or gratuities taken without consent of Parliament, with or without the condition of repayment; an illegal practice which provoked memorable contests in the reigns of James and Charles I. Whiting, in turn, was a resister in matters ecclesiastical. The King's Lynn trouble recurred, and a few years after his marriage to Elizabeth St. John he gave up the living at Skirbeck, to which Jeremiah Vasyn, a Grammar School usher, was instituted after him on December 16, 1635. Mr. and Mrs. Whiting shipped for America, landing at New Boston on May 26, 1636, and, in the November follow-

I have within the said ward duly sworn to
 execute the said office of Mayor according to
 the tenor of the said act
 John Whiting Mayor

Photographed from the Boston Parish Register

SIGNATURE OF JOHN WHITING, FOUR TIMES MAYOR



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

SKIRBECK CHURCH, OF WHICH SAMUEL WHITING WAS RECTOR,
1625-1636

John Crosson & Elizabeth Gibson	16
John Crosson & Elizabeth Gibson	31
August 1629	
Samuell Whiting gent & Elizabeth Samsons	0
Thomas Waters & Bridget Huxton	13
September 1629	
Anthony Horman & Elizabeth Braton	17

Photographed from the Boston Parish Register

RECORD OF THE MARRIAGE OF SAMUEL WHITING TO ELIZABETH
ST. JOHN, 1629



ing, the erstwhile Rector of Skirbeck was installed as minister at another Lynn, the one in Massachusetts.

The advent of John Cotton and his men was hailed as a great event in the New Boston and the whole Colony. The joy and satisfaction were universal. Cotton was on all hands regarded as pre-eminently "the man" for Massachusetts. He was in his forty-ninth year when he stepped ashore from the Griffin, and the strenuous life then begun extended, strange to say, over almost exactly the same period that he had passed as Vicar of Old Boston. His friends in exile had longed for his coming out, and both he and his brethren had the best of welcomes. Nor were these purposeful Puritans without their pleasantries, for now they said, they had the chief essentials of existence: "Cotton" for clothing, "Stone" for building, and "Hooker" for fishing. Probably the three distinguished ministers who had just landed in Boston had no knowledge of this harmless playing upon their names. They were there for sterner things, though the commonplaces of life concerned all alike in those early days of the Colony, with its hardships and privations which everybody had more or less to share. But this was not the worst. A time was fast approaching when tears of oppression would drown out all humour, the mother wit would become a dead faculty, and the laughter heard in the land would echo madness rather than mirth.

When Cotton came John Winthrop had been chosen Governor for the fourth time, and Dudley deputy-Governor. There would be much to tell on either side when those two friends and confidants, Cotton and Winthrop, met again. A full exchange of news and of views doubtless attended that meeting. Cotton on his part would have an interesting story enough to pour into eager ears. Winthrop's topic would be the progress of affairs in the Colony. He would describe the decimated and almost destitute condition in which they found the Colony when they disembarked at Salem with the Charter of the Company: the newcomers had to feed the settlers as well as themselves out of their own none too ample store, and it is on record that six months after arrival Winthrop was in the act of giving out to a poor man the last handful of meal in the communal barrel when a ship with provisions providentially appeared at the harbour's mouth. The Governor would point proudly to the growth of settlements along the shores of the Bay from Salem to Dorchester, and would speak more sadly of their struggles and trials, and the unhappy deaths of his own son, of the Lady Arbella and Isaac Johnson, and others.

Problems of government would also be discussed by these framers of the civil and religious institutes of Massachusetts, for now between two and three thousand people had come over, numerous small towns had been founded,

and the plantation was rapidly developing into a State. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were still in the peaceful possession of a part of the territory afterwards included within Massachusetts, enjoying the independence which continued to be theirs for nearly sixty more years. On Winthrop's first appearance their population did not exceed three hundred souls. They had helped John Endicott in his distress by sending over Samuel Fuller, deacon and physician, to heal his sick; and now Governor Winthrop would tell John Cotton how a year before, in September, 1632, he and John Wilson had been entertained by Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster and Roger Williams, Cotton's Lincolnshire friend, at Plymouth when, on a historic occasion in those early Colonial days, they assembled there and partook together of the Holy Communion, engaged in religious discussion, and, at the suggestion of Deacon Fuller, joined in a contribution for the wants of the poor. In after years, when Boston and Plymouth became members incorporate of the same Commonwealth, this small but significant incident, which is carefully detailed by Winthrop in his Journal, would be looked back upon as the prelude to the closer relations which grew up between the sister settlements.

It is no adulation to say that Cotton, when he came, was "a burning and a shining light" in the wilderness. Nor is it surprising that they declared "this great light must be set in their

chief candlestick." At the instigation of its Governor and Council and the elders of the Colony the Church accepted him as its teacher. John Wilson, after serving temporarily as teacher, was its first pastor. Thomas Leverett was also placed in office in the Church. The ceremony of installation, and of induction as minister, took place on October 10, 1633, when, in the words of Winthrop, "A fast was kept at Boston, and M^r Leverett, an ancient sincere professor of M^r Cotton's congregation in England, was chosen a ruling elder, and M^r Firmin, a godly man, an apothecary of Sudbury in England, was chosen deacon, by imposition of hands; and M^r Cotton was then chosen teacher of the congregation of Boston, and ordained by imposition of the hands of the presbytery."

Cotton was first "chosen by all the congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands." Then Mr. Wilson, the pastor, demanded of him "if he did accept of that call." He replied that he could not but accept it. "Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the pastor prayed, and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a sign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office; and lastly did bless him.



From an old Print

JOHN WILSON



Then the neighbouring ministers, which were present, did (at the pastor's motion) give him the right hand of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation." Truly a touching service, impressive in the simple and beautiful language in which its record has come down to us. Both "pastors and teachers" were adopted for the Church as laid down by Paul in Ephesians iv. 11 "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry."

In his humble little church of clay and thatch, built in 1632, Cotton at once established the same weekly Thursday Lecture that he founded in his grand parish church at Old Boston.

Heavy and harassing as the work and life in his Lincolnshire parish had been, those which lay before him were even more trying for John Cotton. New controversies and perplexities and excitements were ahead, beside which those of the Old World paled into insignificance. In all that followed Cotton was a conspicuous figure. In so far as he failed, and his coadjutors in the government of the Colony failed, the fault lies at the door of their fatal experiment of a Puritan Commonwealth. Cotton has been called, and his memory honoured as, the "Patriarch of the Massachusetts Theocracy," and has been described as "the clerical oracle of the Theocracy," a system which outraged the principles of civic liberty, which opened wide the door for intolerance and persecution, was impracticable in its

working, and violated the fundamental Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment.

Cotton, as we shall see, sympathised with and encouraged the theocracy, but the law by which it came to be established was none of his making: it was laid down by the General Court two years before his coming, when it was "ordered that henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth but such as are members of the churches within the limits of this jurisdiction." In other words, there were to be no voters except church members, who were received only on approval of the clergy. This made the ministers supreme, and gave them power over matters of civic moment. Church and State were one; and the one was to be the Church.

But other matters have to be considered in conjunction with the development of this pernicious system which the founders of the Bay Colony set up. Welcome as the great Puritan preacher was; he brought over with him from England some views in regard to civil government which were by no means acceptable in the Colony. These views he took occasion to impress and enforce in the election sermon which he delivered before the General Court in the following May (1634), when he maintained "that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, any more than a magistrate may turn a private man out of his freehold." The General Court

replied to this by at once electing a new Governor, and thus repudiated the suggestion of a vested right in a political office.

But in April, 1636, it was ordered by the General Court "that a certain number of magistrates should be chosen for life." This council for life was undoubtedly the work of John Cotton, and was designed to encourage the coming over to New England of some of those noblemen of Old England to whom life tenures were dear, and who shrank from trusting their distinction to popular favour.

Cotton was corresponding with Lord Say and Sele, to whom he wrote in 1636: "Till I get some release from my constant labours here (which the Church is desirous to procure), I can get little or no opportunity to read anything, or to attend to anything but the daily occurrences which press upon me continually, much beyond my strength either of body or mind."

About this time a paper was received by the Massachusetts authorities entitled "Certain proposals made by Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and other persons of quality as conditions of their removing to New England." The object was to secure to the proposed emigrants that in the Bay government hereditary privileges above "the common sort" should be secured to those of gentle blood. But, while willing to accord "hereditary honours," the rulers of the Colony could not concede "hereditary authority." Nor

could they admit that the freeholders or voters should be those who owned a certain personal estate, for the condition of the franchise must be membership of some church. The only magistrates they could set in office must be "men fearing God" (Exodus xviii. 21), and these must be "chosen out of their brethren" (Deut. xvii. 15) "by saints" (I. Cor. vi. 1). Here was a frank and full avowal that the Puritan State was founded on and identical with the Puritan Church. The Puritan theocracy must be administered by God's people in Church covenant.

Anyhow, the council for life was established, and not only was it entirely in keeping with Cotton's election sermon of 1634, but it was expressly provided for in the Code of Laws drafted on the model of "Moses his Judicials" which he presented to the General Court in October, 1636. This Code, which was understood to be the work of Cotton and Mr. Bellingham,¹ was not adopted, but was printed in London in 1641. Norton, in his Memoir of Mr. Cotton, says it was in this abstract that

¹ In this connection may be noted the sale by auction in London in the autumn of 1905 of a MS. of some interest. It is a transcript, written on twenty leaves of paper, of the Charter of Boston, Lincolnshire, granted in the reign of Henry VIII, showing that it was employed by the early settlers when founding the now greater city of Boston, Massachusetts. The MS., written in a hand of the time of Charles I, contains copy and analyses of grants made by Henry VIII to the town of Boston. From its being found at Hingham, Massachusetts and by reason of its being endorsed "Massachusetts, one of the American States, the capital," it is believed that the collation was made for use as a guide to the founders of New Boston in framing their constitution.

Cotton "advised the people to persist in their purpose of establishing a Theocracy, i.e., God's government for God's people." The first Code adopted was the "Body of Liberties" drawn up in 1638 by Nathaniel Ward, pastor of the Ipswich Church, formerly a student and practiser of the law in England, whose "Simple Cobbler of Agawam" has made his name familiar. This Code of Laws, one hundred in number, was authorised three years later, in 1641, when Richard Bellingham succeeded to the governorship.

Meanwhile all was not harmony within the "inner circle" at Boston. In the governing body itself there were open disagreements and disputes between Winthrop and Dudley. For these quarrels the temper of the deputy — he was "somewhat querulous and exacting" — must be held responsible. Certainly Winthrop, in the course of misunderstandings which must have given him infinite pain, exhibited a brotherly spirit, for we have the incident of his returning an insulting letter to Dudley and telling him "I am not willing to keep such an occasion for provocation by me." The times were no doubt trying for them all. Bigger storm-clouds were gathering. In 1634 Dudley succeeded to the governorship, but in the May following was dropped from the chief magistracy and John Haynes was chosen Governor in his stead.

It was now that Hugh Peters, the ex-pastor, and Harry Vane appeared on the scene and

threw themselves into the affairs of the Colony. Vane, a young man of four and twenty, was son of Sir Henry Vane, Comptroller of the King's Household in England, and had been employed by his father while a foreign ambassador. Vane and Peters considerably accelerated the pace of New England politics. They straightway called a meeting at Boston of the leading magistrates and ministers of the Colony with a view to "healing some distractions" in the Commonwealth and effecting "a more firm and friendly uniting of minds." At this meeting Vane and Peters, with Governor Haynes and the ministers Cotton, Wilson, and Hooker, declared themselves in favour of a more rigorous administration of government than had hitherto been pursued. Winthrop was charged with having displayed "overmuch lenity." The ministers delivered a formal opinion "that strict discipline both in criminal offences and in martial affairs was more needful in plantations than in settled States, as tending to the honour and safety of the Gospel." In accordance with the resolution of April, 1636, Winthrop and Dudley were at the election in May chosen counsellors for life, and Vane was at the same time made Governor of Massachusetts. Winthrop accepted the deputy-governorship, and in his Journal says that because Vane "was son and heir to a Privy Councillor in England the ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot." This was auspicious. Vane's administration, however,

was disturbed by violent religious and civil contentions involving the story of Mrs. Hutchinson and the Antinomian controversy, and only lasted a year. It was a very lively time for everybody. The place was in a tumult. Pastor Wilson threw himself into the election against Vane, who had dared to take the side of Mrs. Hutchinson, and having, with more agility than dignity, "got up on the bough of a tree," harangued the crowd in a speech which is said to have turned the election. Governor Winthrop thus entered on his fifth term of the chief magistracy in May, 1637, and soon after his re-election the General Court passed the order "that none should be received to inhabite within this jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates," which gave rise to the final wordy bout between himself and Vane. Both Harry Vane and Roger Williams, and later Mrs. Hutchinson, found a sympathiser in John Cotton. Vane was indeed one of his "early good friends," and when he left the Colony he gave him the house in which Cotton lived and died at Boston.¹

¹ This house, the home of young "Harry" Vane, as he is usually called — he was afterwards Sir Henry Vane — and next of John Cotton, stood upon the slope of Beacon Hill, on the west side of the lower entrance to what is now Pemberton Square, about on the rear portion of the present site of the Suffolk Savings Bank building. It consequently immediately overlooked what is now Scollay Square, and commanded Court Street and State Street. Later the dwelling was occupied by Hull the Mint Master, and Samuel Sewall, the first Chief Justice of the Colony. A little to the south of it resided Governor Bellingham, in a house which was still standing in 1828. Wilson, the pastor, lived where the Merchants' Bank stands, and Wilson's Lane until recent years transmitted

Disgusted by his experience, Vane returned to England in August of the same year,¹ Governor Winthrop giving orders for his "honorable dismissal" with "divers vollies of shot." He kept up a friendly correspondence with Winthrop and Cotton till 1645, and showed himself a true friend to New England. His fate was exceedingly melancholy. Beaten by the bigotry of one Commonwealth, he died by the headsman's axe for his faithful service to another.

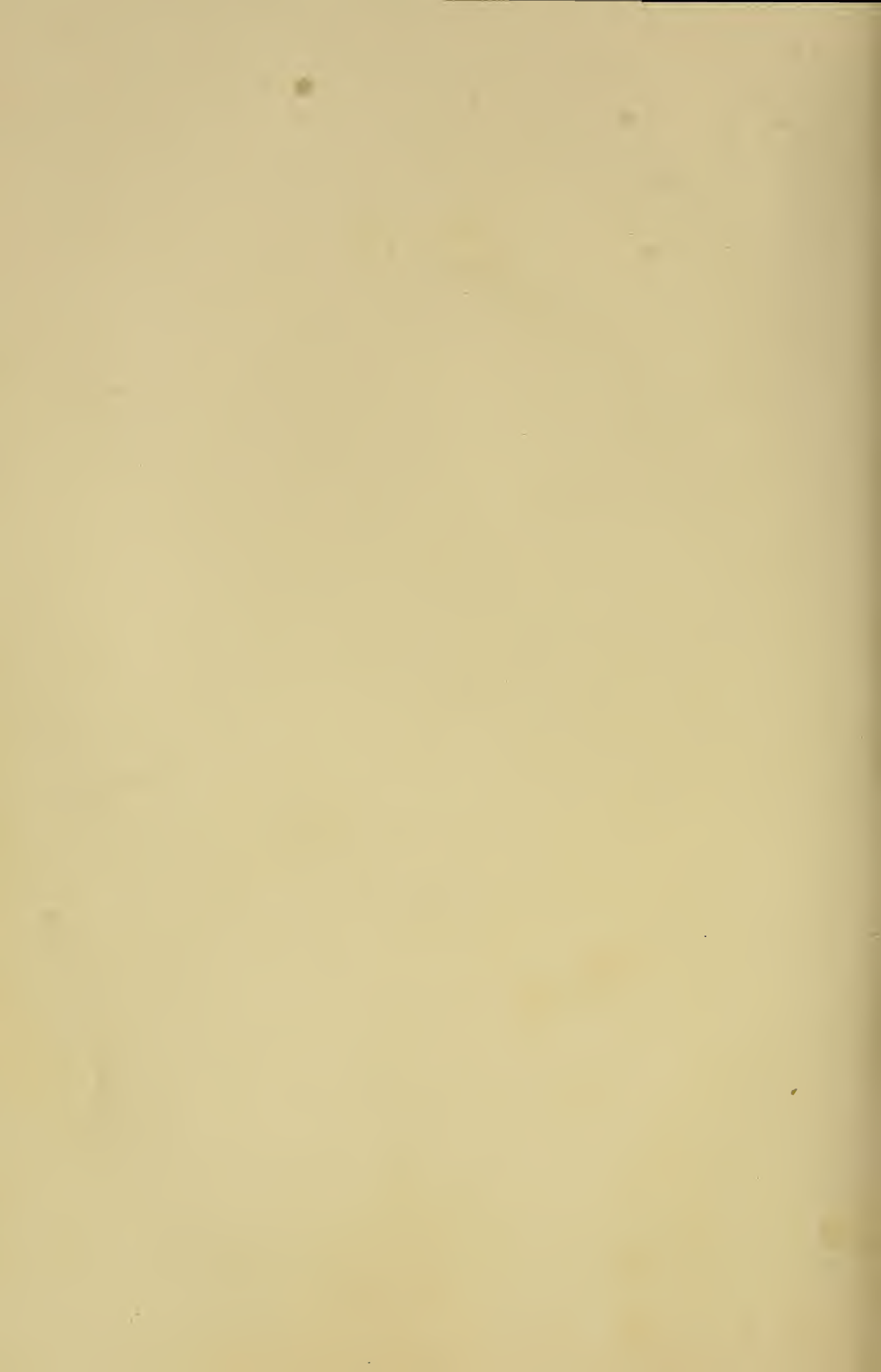
So far from diminishing with the departure of the hapless Vane, contentions in the Colony waxed fiercer than ever, and the General Court adopted harsher repressive measures. The first serious trouble to engage the Court was that of Roger Williams, who arrived with his wife at Boston in 1631, while Wilson was absent in

the name of the minister. The site of the present old State House was originally the open Market-place of the town, and the first meeting-house stood on the south side of the Market-place, on the spot now covered by Brayer's Building.

¹ After his return home Sir Henry Vane became active in the service of the Parliament. At the Westminster Assembly he pressed for full religious liberty, and he supported the efforts of Cromwell in establishing the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model. He filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy, and it was through his exertions that Blake was fitted out with the fleet with which Van Tromp was defeated. After the Civil War he retired to Belleau in Lincolnshire, which was sequestered to him; and there on Sundays he was long to be found assembling and preaching to his country neighbours. His shameful death at the Restoration is a blot on the national history. The return of royalty also brought to the scaffold his old friend the famous Hugh Peters, who after seven years' active labours as a New England minister, became a promoter of the English Commonwealth. It was Mr. Peters who, in 1636, from Salem "rebuked the governour," and "plainly insinuated that if governours would concern themselves only with the things of Cæsar, the things of God would be more quiet and prosperous."



HARRY VANE
Afterwards Sir Henry Vane



England, and was invited to become its teacher, but refused, because, forsooth, the members of the Church would not "make humble confession of sin in having communed with the Church of England." Williams was not then known as in after years for his sweetness of spirit, liberality and magnanimity, but seems rather to have impressed those who met him with holding "singular opinions," and being "very unsettled in judgmente." He went to Salem, next for a short time to Plymouth, and returned to Salem in 1634. Elder Brewster, fearing that he would "run a course of rigid Separation and Anabaptistry," was glad to facilitate his removal from Plymouth. Then began his conflict with the Massachusetts authorities. Seven days after the meeting called at Boston by Vane and Peters, at which a more rigorous administration was decided upon, Governor Haynes and the Assistants were informed that Roger Williams, who in the previous October had been sentenced by the General Court to depart out of their jurisdiction within six weeks, and to whom liberty had been granted "to stay till spring," was using this liberty for preaching and propagating the doctrines for which he had been censured. So they despatched Captain Underhill to apprehend him, with a view to his being shipped off at once to England. But Williams escaped to Narragansett Bay, and became the founder of Rhode Island.

This same Underhill was a member of the

Boston Church, and very serviceable in his military capacity; but he was a sad reprobate, and when, under the Antinomian cloak, he was detected of gross immorality he had the assurance to tell the pure-hearted Governor Winthrop "that the spirit had sent in to him the witness of Free Grace while he was in the moderate enjoyment of the creature called tobacco" — that is, while he was smoking his pipe!

Anne Hutchinson, the most prominent among the Antinomians at Boston — that fearless matron from the Old Boston, where she was a devout attendant upon Cotton's preaching — was an excellent woman, to whose personal conduct attaches no stain. Described by Winthrop as possessing "a ready wit and a bold spirit," she proved a sharp thorn in the side of the New England rulers. Trusted and esteemed by many of the principal women of the New Boston, Mrs. Hutchinson drew groups of them around her to discuss the sermons delivered by the associate ministers, and she so worked upon them that "the whole community," we are told, "was in a fever of mutual distrust, jealousy and dread of impending catastrophe." The associate elders, Cotton and Wilson, and the governors Vane and Winthrop, each took different sides in the contest. Anne for a while held her own in the controversy, which entailed many a home thrust for the "ushers of persecution," as she called her opponents. But they bore her down at last, and the way they did

it is one of the most curious and enlightening passages of the time. After browbeating their victim — this “breeder of heresies” — on two successive Thursday Lecture days, and entangling themselves in the process in the labyrinths of divinity (those “doctrinal thickets,” and “metaphysical mayes,” which appal the present-day student of the times), from ten in the morning into the evening hours, they decreed banishment and said if she dared to return, the punishment would perhaps be death. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced by her enemy, Wilson, who cast her out, and “in the name of Christ” delivered her up to Satan, and accounted her to be from that time forth a heathen, a publican, and a leper. The ultimate fate of this unfortunate woman in another colony — falling with all her family save one child in the Indian massacre — was most sad and deplorable. Probably the worst features of the Puritan discipline, with its attendant follies and errors, were the outrages visited by it on individuals and classes who, however offensive in their heresies, were pure and upright in their lives. In this Antinomian contest, as presented by Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends and foes, not strangers and intruders, but members of the community, most of them in full church covenant, were made to suffer the penalties of the Puritan rule.

The incorporation of religion with the State bred disastrous mistakes. It was a fundamental

principle that all laws should be in accordance with the Scriptures as interpreted by the ministers and elders of the congregations; and any omissions in the settled Code were to be supplied from the same source, under the same direction. "Whatever John Cotton delivered in the pulpit," says a contemporary historian, "was soon put into an order of the Court, or set up as a practice in the church." In discourses at the Thursday Lecture he was ever ready, not only to give decided counsels on secular matters when his advice was sought, but, when some critical point was in contest before the Court, he would adjudicate upon the subject, ostensibly through his "exposition of the Word of God."

None other than the Puritan form of worship was on any pretence to be tolerated; and absence from the church services without good and sufficient excuse, such as dangerous illness, was punishable more or less severely. The penalties incurred by infringement of any portion of these laws were, in the first years of the Colony, fine, whipping, imprisonment, banishment; but as the spirit of opposition to which this severity naturally gave rise grew stronger, more stringent expedients were resorted to, until at last sentence of torture and death was pronounced, and even executed, upon stubborn heretics to the Puritan establishment.

Troubles galore were bred by the oppressive system adopted. History records how these Puritans, who had tasted the bitters of per-

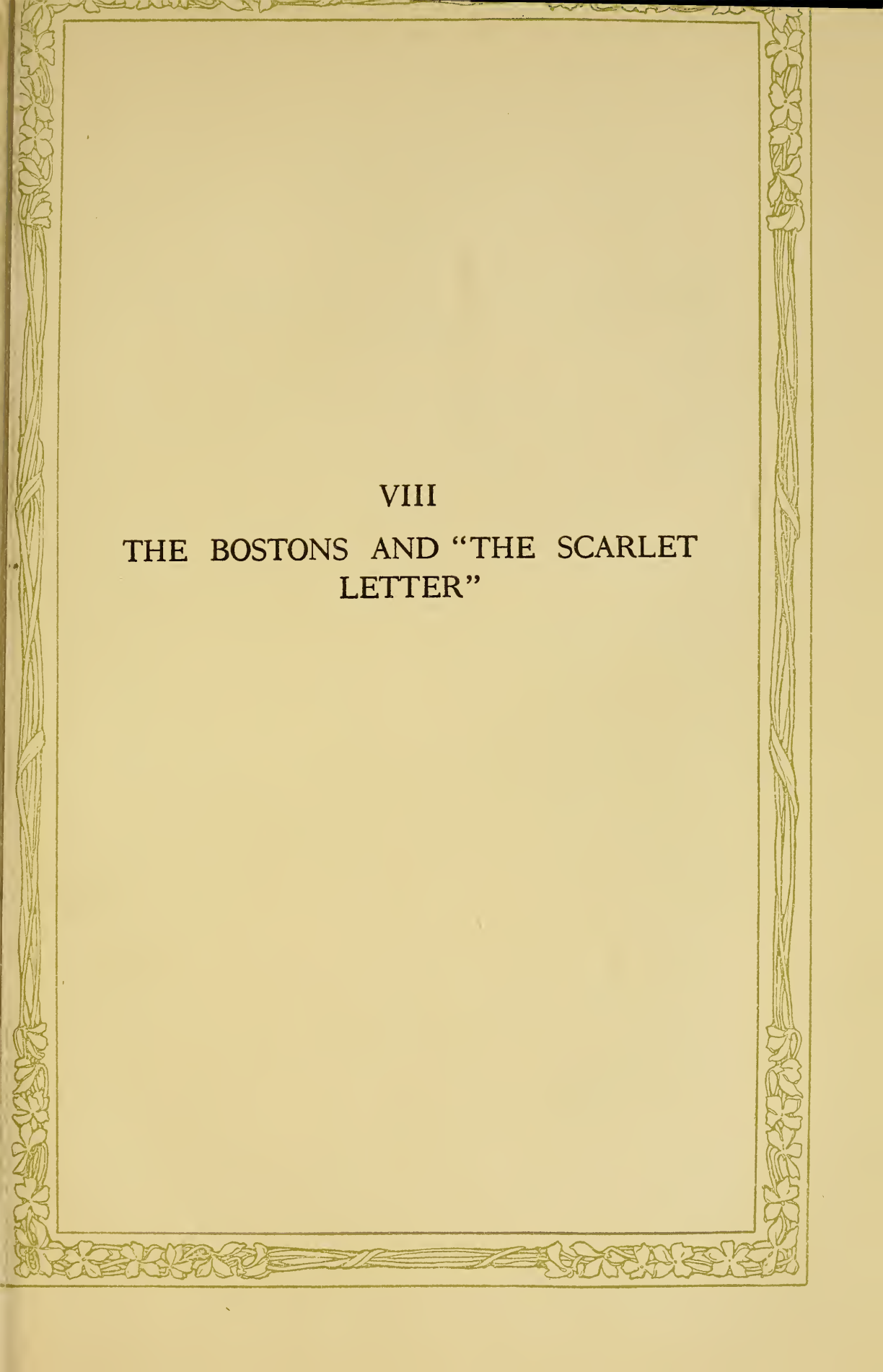
secution, held with a ready hand the cup to the lips of those who opposed them. The very weapon that was used on themselves they now unsparingly turned upon others. The excuse was sardonic. Having themselves escaped a tyranny which they found hateful, they established here a tyranny which they believed to be essential and even beneficial. The persecuted came to be the persecutors, and those who had been driven out of England for their non-conformity now banished people from New England because of their opinions. The tyranny exercised was of a thoroughgoing kind. So strict were they in avoiding whatever savoured of ritual, that the very rites of marriage and burial were relegated to civil hands; the drum-beat, and not the bell, was the summons to worship; no instrument, but only the human voice, was allowed in the services; and the public reading of the Scriptures without exposition was forbidden.

Orders issued by the General Court serve to illustrate the spirit of the legislation as well as the habits of the people at this period. The Court for example, "taking into consideration the great superfluous and unnecessary expenses occasioned by reason of some new and immodest fashions," as also "the ordinary wearing of silver, gold and silk laces, girdles, hatbands" and what not, ordered "that no person, either man or woman, shall hereafter make or buy any apparel either woollen, silk or linen, with

any lace on it, silver, gold, silk or thread," under the penalty of forfeiture of such clothes. Even "the creature called tobacco" did not escape. "It is ordered that no person shall take tobacco publicly under the penalty of two shillings and six pence, nor privately in his own house or in the house of another before strangers, and that two or more shall not take it together anywhere, under the aforesaid penalty for every offence." There is nothing very remarkable in this; it is curious, though in keeping with the temper of the times. But the punishments inflicted upon offenders against the Puritan tyranny were unreasonably severe even in that austere age.

Samuel Gorton, a "clothier from London," appeared at Boston in 1636 and shortly afterwards went to Plymouth, whence he was soon expelled for his strange heresies. Next he was whipped in Rhode Island for calling the magistrates "just-asses," and found refuge with Roger Williams in Providence. In a dispute with the Boston authorities about the lands on which he and others were settled he was seized, and with ten of his followers was brought to Boston, where for his "damnable heresies" he was put in irons, confined to labour and whipped, and then banished on pain of death if he appeared there again. Gorton was described by the magistrates as "the very dregs of Familism"; he was in fact a disciple of the fanatic David George of Delft, founder of the "Family of Love," who

called himself the "Messiah." Other typical cases are those of Henry Lynne and Philip Ratcliffe, who for "slandering" the rulers and elders were mercilessly ill used. Mr. Britton for criticising the churches was openly whipped. Dorothy Talbye, driven to distraction by incessant religious teachings, was hanged for murdering her little daughter, in the hope, as she said, that she might free her from future misery. She was insane, but they mistook her madness for criminality. At Salem the wife of one Oliver, for reproaching the elders, was whipped and had a cleft stick put on her tongue for half-an-hour. That they were no respecters of persons, these reformers, is shown by their handling of Robert Keayne, brother-in-law of Pastor Wilson and founder of the Artillery Company, who had been chosen four times from Boston to the General Court. Arraigned for charging too much for his goods of commerce, he was admonished by the Church for covetousness and sentenced by the Court to pay a fine of one hundred pounds. About this time Edward Palmer, accused of extortion in taking too much for the plank and woodwork of Boston stocks, was fined and degraded by being made to sit for an hour in his own machine as an object lesson to wrong-doers! But this punishment, if mortifying to the spirit, was not so hard to bear as that of Captain Kemble, who had to sit in the stocks two hours for kissing his wife publicly on the Sabbath Day when he first saw her after an absence of three years.



VIII
THE BOSTONS AND "THE SCARLET
LETTER"

VIII

THE BOSTONS AND "THE SCARLET LETTER"

*Rise, then, O buried city that hast been;
Rise up, rebuilt in the painted scene,
And let our curious eyes behold once more
The pointed gable and the pent-house door,
The Meeting-house with leaden-latticed panes,
The narrow thoroughfares, the crooked lanes!*

Prologue to *The New England Tragedies*

— LONGFELLOW

THE history we have been considering has been painted for us in startling hues by the author of "The Scarlet Letter," that wonderful romance which captivated and still holds the world. A pitiless portrayal of New England Puritanism, it is remarkable for the phantasy rather than the fidelity of its pages; but whatever its imaginative flights, it breathes the spirit and is clothed with the atmosphere of the times.

What a scene and what thoughts are those which Nathaniel Hawthorne conjures up in his picture of the New Boston! Emerging from the "iron-clamped oaken door" of the town gaol in Prison Lane — corresponding, shall we say, with the narrow little Guildhall Street of Old Boston? — comes comely Hester Prynne, "an infant on her arm, and

the letter A, in scarlet, fantastically embroidered with gold thread, upon her bosom." She is preceded by the town beadle, representing in his grim aspect all the austerity of the Puritanic code of law. Hester walks to the scaffold at the extremity of the Market-place, there to exhibit publicly her shame to the sombre gazing crowd of men in sad-coloured garments and gray, steeple-crowned hats, intermixed with women, and mounts the wooden steps leading to the platform of the pillory, which "stood nearly beneath the eaves of Boston's earliest church"; just as the punishment place of the Old Boston was a corner of the Market-square almost in the shadow of the mother church, where they had their gaol and their "Little-Ease," their pillory, a pillory-pit which was walled around the year John Cotton came, and afterwards a ducking-stool in that same pit and a "hurry cart," tied to the tail of which poor wretches were hurried round all too slowly and whipped at the door of every Alderman.

A strange contrast this of the two Bostons. But there is another which appeals to us more. For was it not — as a New England divine¹ reminded men two hundred years later when the second centenary of the founding of Cotton's Thursday Lectures was celebrated — in this

¹Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, a successor of John Cotton in the ministry of the First Church in Boston, of which he was pastor 1815-50. His wife was a descendant of Cotton.



From a Drawing made from Description

THE MUD AND THATCHED HUT WHICH SERVED AS THE ORIGINAL FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON, MASS.



“poor meeting-house” of New Boston, “having nothing better than mud for its walls and straw for its roof,” that the same eloquent voice was uplifted that had been “heard many and many a time rolling among the stately gothic arches of St. Botolph” and had ministered “under one of the loftiest and most magnificent towers in Europe, lifting itself up as the pride of the surrounding country and a landmark to them that are afar off at sea”?

In a balcony of the meeting-house, looking down upon the platform and hapless Hester Prynne and her babe, sat with counsellors and ministers a notable figure from the Old Boston, “Governor Bellingham himself, with four sergeants about his chair, bearing halberds, as a guard of honour. He wore a dark feather in his hat, a border of embroidery on his cloak, and a black velvet tunic beneath; a gentleman advanced in years, with a hard expression written in his wrinkles.” Now follow short harangues from the Reverend John Wilson (looking like “the darkly engraved portraits” seen “prefixed to old volumes of sermons”) and from Ruler Bellingham (“speaking in an authoritative voice”) bidding “Good Master Dimmesdale,” that paragon of excellence in the assembled eyes (a young clergyman who had come “from one of the great English universities, bringing all the learning of the age into our wild forest-land”), exhort the wearer of the scarlet token to repentance and confession. We know

how he did it, and what it must have cost him; also how brave Hester Prynne, with a misplaced fidelity, screens her betrayer and will not speak out his name.

Then the long and thunderous discourse of Master Wilson "on sin in all its branches," but with repeated reference to the ignominious letter, which very naturally assumed new terrors to the multitude and "seemed to derive its scarlet hue from the flames of the infernal pit." So much so that, when Hester came down from the pedestal of shame and re-entered the prison, it was fancied in the heated imagination of the throng that the symbol "threw a lurid gleam along the dark passage-way of the interior."

We have another picture of Bellingham and his home in the visit paid by Hester to the Governor's Hall, with its row of portraits on the wall of the forefathers of the Bellingham lineage. There is a reproachful bitterness about this description that is not justified to anything like the same extent as the vein of hostility running through the story to the misguided severity which is responsible for the wearing of the scarlet letter. It must therefore be regarded in the light of a caricature. Thus of Governor Bellingham it is said that "The wide circumference of an elaborate ruff, beneath his gray beard, in the antiquated fashion of King James' reign, caused his head to look not a little like that of John the Baptist in a charger"; and "The impression made by his aspect, so



HOUSE OF RICHARD BELLINGHAM, CHELSEA, MASS.

PHOTO
LIBRARY
MAY 10 1910

rigid and severe, and frost-bitten with more than autumnal age, was hardly in keeping with the appliances of worldly enjoyment where-with he had evidently done his utmost to surround himself." Even Pastor Wilson is represented as a very comfortable personage, with a marked fondness for the good things of this world.

We have later a weird scene in which the restless, remorseful Dimmesdale wanders forth into the silent night and in a moral frenzy mounts the guilty platform, "black and weather-stained with the storm or sunshine of seven long years," where Hester Prynne had stood. In his mental agony he shrieks aloud. But he only arouses Governor Bellingham, and the hoary magistrate appears at a chamber window with a lamp in his hand, a nightcap on his head, and a long white gown enveloping his figure, looking "like a ghost evoked unseasonably from the grave"; and old Mistress Hibbins, the Governor's sister, also with a lamp revealing her "sour and discontented face." But the alarm passes off. The Reverend Mr. Wilson, fresh from his vigil by the deathbed of Governor Winthrop,¹ goes by unheeding. Not so Hester Prynne, who, returning from Winthrop's house, where she has "taken his measure for a robe," is called by the distraught Dimmesdale, and

¹ Winthrop died in 1649, the same year in which John Cotton lost Roland, his youngest son, and Sarah, his eldest daughter, within a few days of each other, victims of the small-pox.

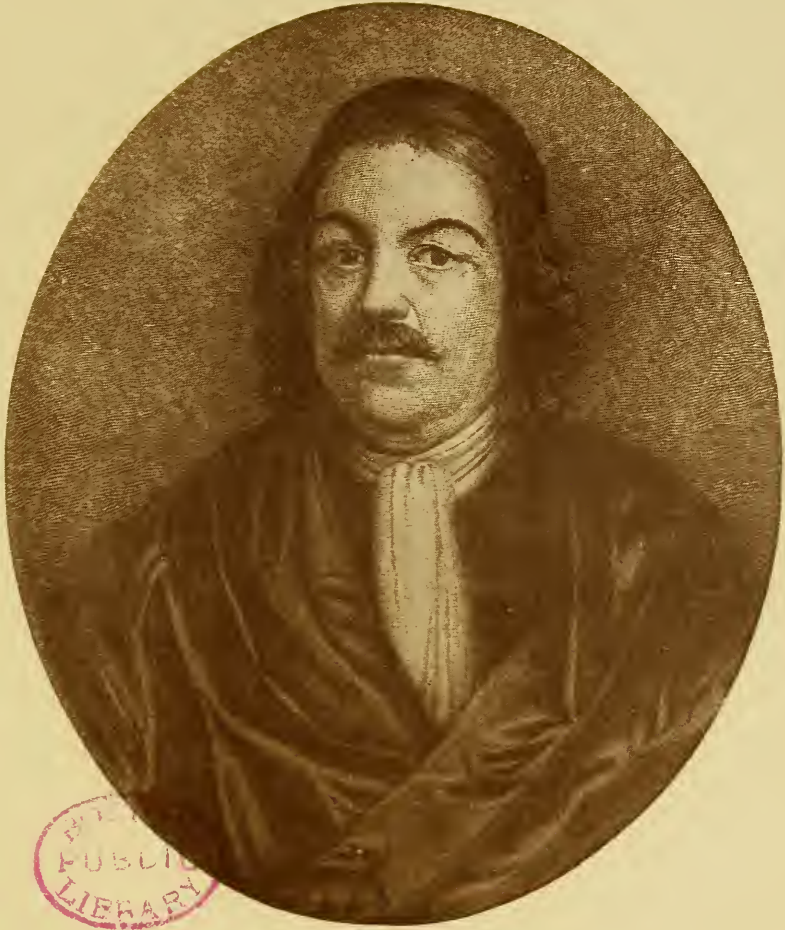
with her infant ascends again that scaffold and stands beside him.

The scene heightens in intensity, for now a meteor sweeps across the sky, illuming it. "And there stood the minister, with his hand over his heart; and Hester Prynne, with the embroidered letter glimmering on her bosom; and little Pearl, herself a symbol, and the connecting link between these two." The meteor in its flight appears to take the shape of an immense letter A "marked out in lines of dull red light"; and at this awful moment, admonitory as it seems of the judgment day, is disclosed near the platform the avenging figure of fiendish old Roger Chillingworth. He also is from poor Winthrop's bedside. But why feebly repaint the thrilling spectacle here? It is there in Hawthorne's masterpiece. A situation more strongly charged with vividness could not well be; and, if the portent in the sky was read by all New Boston who saw it as the spirit of good Governor Winthrop departing to its rest, why, it proclaims the work of a great artist, and nothing more.¹

¹When John Cotton died, three years later, the superstition of the day discerned alarming portents in the heavens while his body lay ready for burial. Norton, his successor, in "The New England Tragedies" voices the beliefs of the time when he says of Cotton and his own coming to Boston :

And, as he lay
On his death-bed, he saw me in a vision
Ride on a snow-white horse into this town.

When Norton died of apoplexy the friends of the persecuted Quakers, after the fashion of the day, pronounced it "a judgment of the Lord."



SIMON BRADSTREET

But there is a scene more powerfully dramatic still when the tormented and failing Dimmesdale, pulled together by a last supreme effort, embraces the opportunity of his life, and before fleeing the town with Hester (what a climax!) preaches the Election Sermon. We have here described the press of the holiday throng, and the procession of the magistrates and citizens to the meeting-house of New Boston, headed by drum and clarion; the company of soldiers following the swelling music with weapons and armour; the men of civil eminence behind the military escort — Bradstreet, Endicott, Dudley, Bellingham, and others not named, who could easily be suggested — the ministers, and the rest.

It is all finely drawn, and surely it is all an importation from the Old Boston, where the same kind of procession had so often moved through the Market-place to the mother church, with the Mayor and Corporation preceded by the great maces which in 1619 replaced the smaller maces before that time in use (from which great maces, the year after their purchase, Churchwarden Atherton Hough, now marching in the New Boston procession, was alleged to have struck off the offending crosses), and the Elizabethan silver-gilt oar of the Admiralty jurisdiction; these emblems being proudly borne by the sergeants-at-mace and the Marshal of the Admiralty, followed by the borough chamberlain and other attendants, per-

chance with the accompaniment of music supplied by the liveried "waytes," whose salaries the town had been privileged to pay for generations; and all to hear a spiritual discourse, if not an Election Sermon, two hours long.

But never in the Old Boston was the like of this; and never was such a sermon preached in the meeting-house of the New Boston before by John Cotton or anyone else. For the sainted minister is possessed — inspired; his eloquence is now wild and passionate, again touching and subdued, plaintive yet majestic and prophetic as he foretells "a high and glorious destiny for the newly-gathered people of the Lord." The sermon thrills through the congregation, crushed to the doors within and crowding round them without. Then the bewildering descent, sudden and tragic, from the pinnacle of pastoral fame. Once again the stately music and the tramping of the train as it starts on the return to the town's hall, where a solemn feast is to conclude the day's ceremonies. But it is never eaten. Can one imagine such a disaster ever overtaking the Old Boston! Dimmesdale is acclaimed as a hero: but pale, tottering, all thought of flight abandoned, he leaves the ranks; repels the proffered aid of Wilson and Bellingham; and in full gaze of the horrified crowd mounts with Hester and her child the familiar scaffold, and there in the hush of the tumult makes his confession, and dies a death of triumphant ignominy.

What if, after this, racked spectators swore they saw revealed a scarlet letter like Hester Prynne's imprinted in the flesh of the guilty Dimmesdale when, in his convulsive agony, he tore the ministerial bands from before his breast?

"The Scarlet Letter" — "that weird picture of the strong contrasts of Puritan life in Boston" it has been called¹ — is only a clever story. No one will mistake it for history; but the fabric of fancy of which it is built rests on a more solid groundwork, and it has its serious bent. Its author depicts the darker side of Puritanism, and that none too kindly; but his central idea is not far-fetched, because a system which could deal death to Quakers and hang witches, as that of New England came to do (sparing not even Anne Hibbins, widow of William Hibbins, a magistrate and a man of note in Boston, and sister of no less a personage than Governor Bellingham himself), might well ordain the wearing of the scarlet letter. Hawthorne girds at the ill-directed zeal of the Puritan Fathers and their wrong treatment in the flesh of a moral wound, and he exposes the failure of these things as helps to reform. The story is finely told, and if its setting is lugubrious its lesson is a good one. It is "one of the most powerful and affecting stories ever written," declares a recent writer on Hawthorne.² "If," says he,

¹ In "The Memorial History of Boston," Vol. I, p. 360.

² Rev. John White Chadwick, in the "Cyclopædia of English Literature," Vol. III, p. 777.

“as some complain, there is no divine forgiveness in the story, there is human pity for the sinful pair. The heart of the reader is more enlisted on their side than on that of the Puritan community, and their souls are white compared with that of Roger Chillingworth.” Nevertheless the story is “unconscionably dark and sad,” and our critic well says that “the only bright spot in it is the scarlet letter upon Hester’s breast.” And this saving feature of the picture, which is also the most striking and conspicuous, is not exaggerated. It is fact in another form! Actuality is but carried one step forward. There had been brandings before this with distinctive signs of ignominy, and fanaticism was not restricted to any given fashion or shape. Under the old persecuting laws, we know, men were burnt on the cheek with a hot iron, and if they dared to hide the mark they were liable to be burnt outright as relapsed heretics; or they were condemned to wear the device of a faggot worked upon the sleeve of their clothing in token of their narrow escape from burning. So that the scarlet letter was merely a new application of an old form after all. Here, it seems probable, Hawthorne derived the emblematic idea which he utilised so well. It was original only in detail, not in essential; and that makes his story the more convincing. And Hester Prynne! The very name is borrowed from William Prynne, that martyr to a benighted bigotry, the Puritan

hero, victim of Laud and the Star Chamber, whose ears were cropped in the pillory.

Nor was Arthur Dimmesdale the first to secretly contrive adultery and afterwards make public confession of it. In this Old Boston was first in the field, and if it did not give the cue to Nathaniel Hawthorne, it was at any rate before him. For in the Charter of Admiralty granted to Old Boston by Queen Elizabeth was a clause which conferred on the Mayor and burgesses the power of punishing adulterers, if not with a scarlet letter, in some such salutary way. Let us see what happened. It is told in the Corporation records. There we read that in January, 1574, in open court, before the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, a certain Alderman¹ "did openly confess with a penitent heart, and lowly submission, that he had committed adultery." Upon which confession "the whole body, with one consent, considering the same offence to be most odious before God, and also shameful in this world, to the discredit of this house and the worshipful companie of the same,"

¹ This was Christopher Audley, and that he was a man of consequence is shown by the fact that a year or two before this time he was sent by the Corporation as a deputation to London to seek some means of relieving the decay into which the port had fallen owing to the great storm and floods of 1571, commemorated since by Jean Ingelow in her spirited poem. Apparently the Alderman's mission was successful, for the following year Queen Elizabeth granted to the Mayor and burgesses a license to export corn "for the relief and succour of the borough," the inhabitants of which were "greatly impoverished and almost utterly declined" through the "damage and hurt" caused by "the great violence and inundation, both of the salt and of the fresh waters."

dismissed the erring Alderman from his office and the liberties of the house. But the Mayor, "considering what slander might ensue to the Corporation" if he should put the Alderman "to open punishment" for his offence, and also that he found the guilty Alderman "to have great penitence, and did willingly submit himself to such punishment as the said Mayor might appoint, and for other great signs of penitence" which might appear in the offender, "did refuse to put him to open punishment, but sentenced him to pay for the said offence the sum of five pounds to the poor of the borough." And a certificate was made out under the seal of the borough relative to the punishment of the Alderman "for incontinence."

And so it was that the adulterous Alderman had not to mount publicly the platform of the pillory wearing the letter "A" or its equivalent, in expiation of his scarlet sin. That he got off with a contribution to the borough poor-box was his good fortune and nothing else. Some five years later, in October, 1580, a lesser light of the Corporation, a Common Councilman, was dismissed by that virtuous body "for incontinent life," and the offending act is specified. But "the Twelve and the Eighteen," as the Aldermen and Councilmen described themselves, were only human, and at times they required firm handling. Even the Mayors, if the truth must be told, were not always above suspicion; for in 1583 we find the entry, "Every Mayor,

at the expiration of his mayoralty, to pay over the ballance of his account, or be committed to prison until it is paid." This at all events was impartial dealing. We see that the sacred office of Mayor itself was no shield from righteous wrath incurred.¹

In 1588 the learned Dr. Browne, Judge of the Admiralty Court at Boston, took the Charter Book to London "to show to the Lord of Canterbury the charter concerning the punishment of lewd and lascivious livers." So it was something of a curiosity even in those days of strange happenings. We are not told what he of Canterbury thought about it. A few years later it was agreed that the validity of the charter should be considered at the Lincoln Assizes, jointly by the agents of the Corporation and the bishop. But nothing came of this, and as late as 1644 (just about the time of Hester Prynne's punishment) it was resolved that the charter "shall be duly put into execution." And that is the last we know of it.

Old Boston had been trending in this direction for a long time, for as far back as 1557 its Corporation ordered "that if any alderman

¹ "The Twelve and the Eighteen" were, however, sometimes more indulgent towards delinquent officials, as we see from an entry in the Corporation records of October 2, 1576. "William Kyme, town clerk, in prison upon an outlawry. He has occupied his office by deputy to last Michaelmas, and now it is agreed that if he can clear himself of imprisonment before his next term he shall be restored to office *in statu quo primo*." This William Kyme, Town Clerk of Boston, was a younger brother of Anthony Kyme, who had served as Mayor only two years previously.

swear either 'by the masse' or any other part or member of God, in the Hall or any other place, he shall pay for every othe so taken iid., and lykewyse everyone of the common council shall paye for every lyke defaute id." From the "othe" taking to adultery is a far cry, and the punishment when pecuniary differed as widely. But the same Puritanical spirit was behind it all, and the Charter of Elizabeth fell on congenial ground.

A decorative border surrounds the page, featuring a repeating pattern of stylized flowers and geometric motifs. The border is composed of two parallel lines, with the space between them filled with intricate designs. The top and bottom edges feature larger floral motifs, while the sides are decorated with a continuous, smaller floral pattern.

IX

PIONEERS OF EMPIRE—LINKS WITH
OLD BOSTON—THE PURITAN
STOCK



IX

PIONEERS OF EMPIRE — LINKS WITH OLD BOSTON — THE PURITAN STOCK

*Rise, too, ye shapes and shadows of the Past,
Rise from your long-forgotten graves at last;*

.

*Revisit your familiar haunts again,
The scenes of triumph, and the scenes of pain.*

Prologue to *The New England Tragedies*

— LONGFELLOW

LET us trace briefly the fortunes, through these times of trial and turmoil, of the Old Boston settlers and their friends. By his second wife John Cotton had six children, three sons and three daughters. Seaborn, the eldest, born on the broad Atlantic on the voyage out, settled in the ministry at Hampton in New Hampshire, and married Dorothy Bradstreet in 1652, and secondly Prudence Wade. He was a scholar and a preacher of repute. His brother, John, who was noted for his knowledge of the Indian languages, and supervised the issue of Eliot's Bible, was minister at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and at Charleston, South Carolina. Roland, the youngest brother, died of the small-pox in 1649, within a few days of Sarah, his eldest sister, who also fell a victim

to that dreadful scourge. Their sister Elizabeth early married a merchant, Jeremiah Eggington, and died when only eighteen. Maria, the youngest sister, espoused Dr. Increase Mather and was mother of the famous Cotton Mather. Both these gentlemen, father and son, were the implacable foes of witches; but each possessed qualities we can better admire. Cotton Mather was the most distinguished clerical writer of his time, and in his "Magnalia Christi Americana" has preserved for us the ecclesiastical records of the Colony during the first eighty years of its history. When Increase Mather set out for England in 1688 he was accompanied by another son, Samuel, who became minister at Whitney in Oxfordshire.

John Cotton died on December 23, 1652,¹ as the result of a cold caught as he was crossing the ferry at Boston to preach at the new Cambridge. This was six months after his son Seaborn had married Dorothy Bradstreet. Mr Cotton was only sixty-seven when death closed his memorable career. That was an impressive funeral in the burial-ground of King's Chapel, when the first teacher of Boston's Church, lov-

¹ In his will, dated September 30, 1652, Cotton wrote: "My books I estimate to the value of one hundred and fifty pounds (though they cost me much more); I leave them to my two sons, Seaborn and John." Also: "I leave to my beloved wife all rents of her house and garden in the Market-place of Boston, Lincolnshire, which are mine by right of marriage with her, during my life. I give unto her what moneys were left in my brother Coneye's hands, and are now in the use of my sister, Mary Coneye, his wife, or my cousin (nephew) John Coneye, their son, so far as any part thereof remaineth in their hands."



COTTON MATHER





able and beloved in life by all his intimates, and forgiven in death doubtless by any who had cause to remember the unattractive side of his character, was borne on the shoulders of his fellow-ministers to his last long rest. His body was placed "in a tomb of brick" in the north corner of the graveyard. Memorial sermons were preached, and "New England mourned her loss," as well she might. After the death of Winthrop that loss was greatest to the Colony.

Teacher Cotton's was a more subdued personality than that of his colleague Pastor Wilson, who survived him fifteen years and lived to be seventy-eight. It is recognised that Cotton's was the deeper and finer scholarship, and that he was a greater theologian and thinker, and we know how amiable and winning he could be. Doubtless Wilson also had his better qualities, and time would serve to bring them out. He has not lacked defenders and apologists, whose admiration for him is evidently sincere. One of them, Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, who preached to the First Church at its bicentenary in 1830, declares that "His zeal had no mixture of sternness in it," that he was "a pattern of wisdom and gentleness" and a man of "venerable sweetness," and calls for "blessings on his meek head!" This sympathetic attitude was assisted probably by a contemplation of the calmer eventide of that long and vigorous life, when the fierce noonday of discipline was past and there was less admonish-

ing to be done. Another New England divine, the Reverend Grindall Reynolds, speaking at the memorial services of the Church fifty years later, looks a little deeper into the question, although his investigation leads him to much the same conclusion. "That he was a stern Puritan," says this friendly critic, "capable of putting down any man or any opinion which he thought threatened the kingdom of God in this new world, is clear. That he shared the weakness and superstitions of the time, believing in dreams and omens and the private gift of prophecy, we must admit." John Wilson was nevertheless "an apostle of zeal and love." We shall not begrudge him this ministerial tribute now.

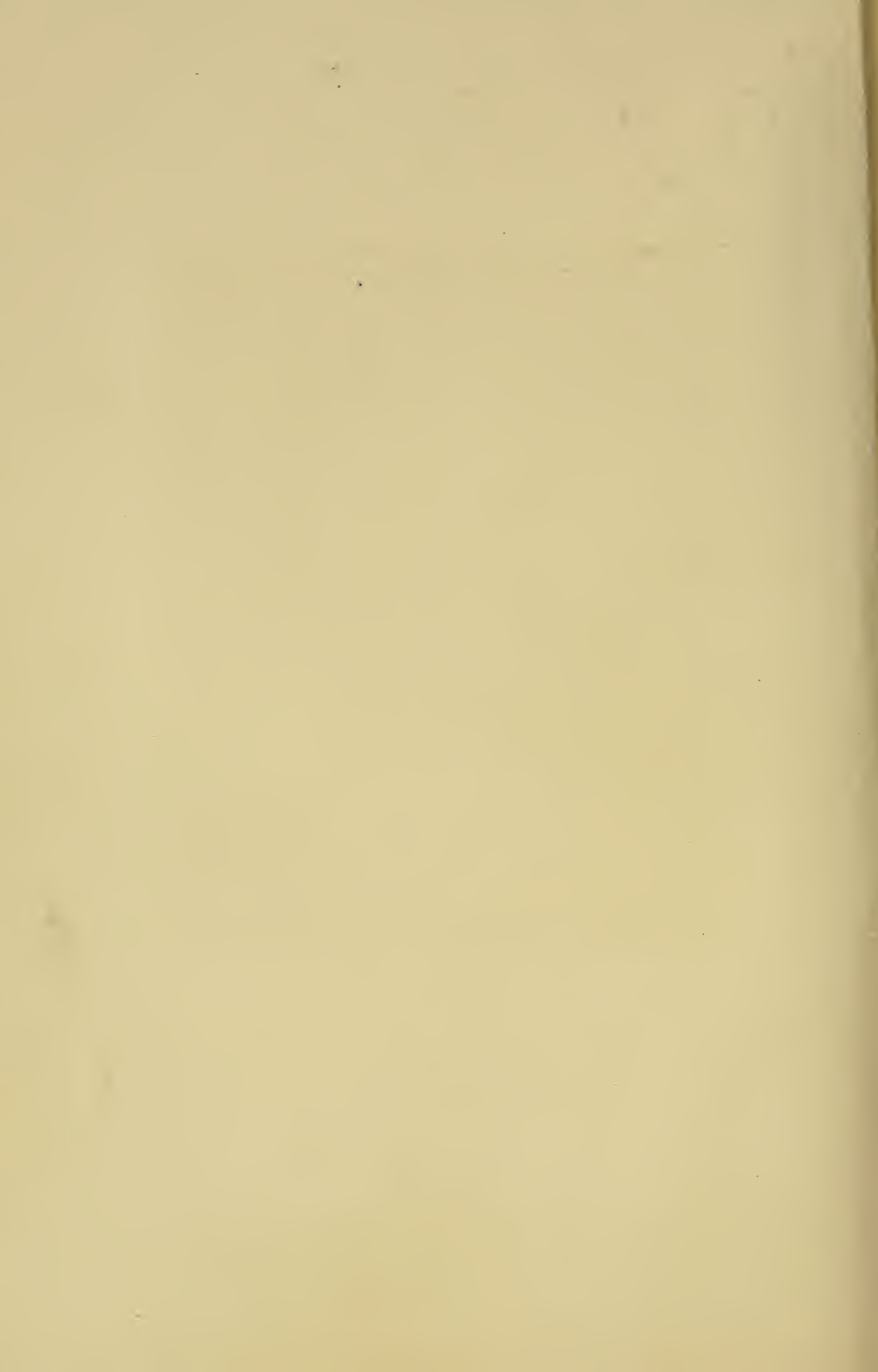
John Cotton did more to build up the future of the Colony which he helped to establish, and posterity will readily enough endorse the verdict pronounced by Increase Mather that "both Bostons have reason to honour his memory, and New England most of all, which oweth its name and being to him, more than to any other person in the world." By a strange coincidence his widow, the erstwhile Mrs. Story of Old Boston, married, some time after his death, Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester, the father of Increase Mather.

Of Cotton's influence upon the life of New England it would be difficult to say too much, and the extent of the power he wielded cannot well be over-estimated. The part which



INCREASE MATHER





he played in the painful and distressing events associated with the early history of the Colony has been the subject of much critical study and discussion. He was accused by his contemporaries of "acting with duplicity," and his popularity for a time suffered some eclipse. Yet to his lasting credit be it remembered he at least began by urging leniency and standing out for toleration. Both Cotton and Winthrop were inherently tolerant men. In the face of his clerical brethren Cotton deprecated the employment of harsh measures and made as light as possible of the growing differences of opinion.

Before his arrival in the Bay the case of his old friend, the erratic but liberty-loving Roger Williams, had begun to disturb the peace of the little community, and ere he had settled down to the new life the affair assumed a more serious character. Probably Cotton even at that time did not believe in Williams' sound and just contention that "civil magistrates have no jurisdiction over people's religious opinions, so long as the public peace is not disturbed"; yet, when Williams was tried and found guilty of "dangerous opinions," and ordered to be banished, he was the only one among all the ministers who did not vote in favour of the measure. Later on he wrote to Williams that the decree was passed "without his counsel or consent," though he added, not very consistently, that he thought it "righteous in the eyes of God."

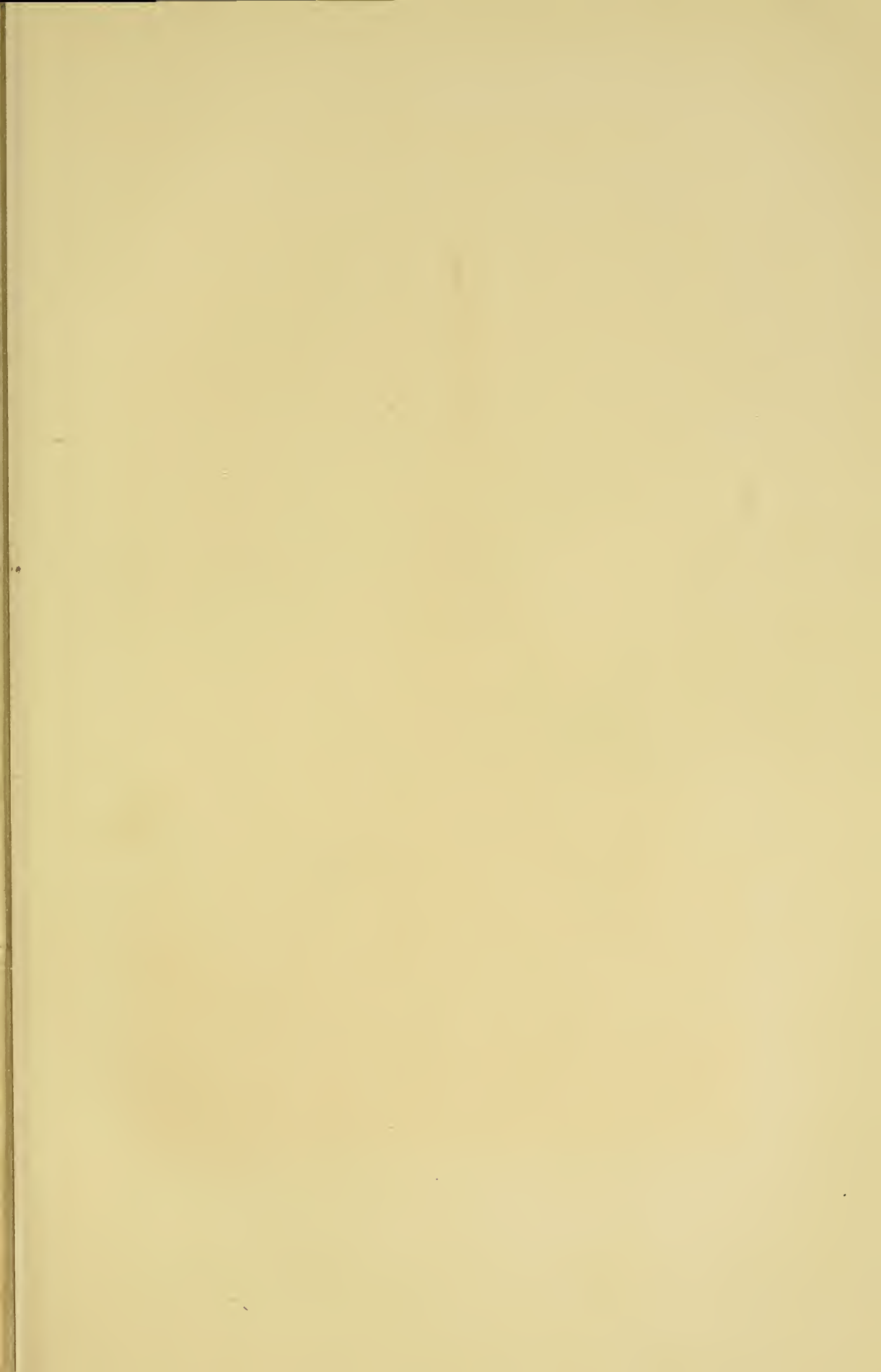
Much the same was his attitude and bearing in the midst of the graver controversy which raged around Mrs. Hutchinson. Cotton endeavoured to stem the ministerial onrush of persecution and abuse. When the contest increased in vehemence he faced again the united front of his clerical brethren, practically all of whom were bitter in their wish to punish the unfortunate woman. Only at the last, when he had spoken on her side and urged a tolerant treatment, did he let himself be talked over and fall in with the harsher and more narrow notions of his brother clergy.

“In ways like these it may be claimed that Cotton showed a lack of vigorous will power and displayed his incapacity to stand by his convictions,” says the Reverend Paul Revere Frothingham, on an occasion which is noticed at the end of this chapter; but this, he thinks, in offering a plausible solution of the question, “is not the explanation of the somewhat puzzling facts. It was all, as so often happens in this world, a matter of where the emphasis is placed. Cotton believed, perhaps, in the policy of exclusion; but, when it came to practice, his kind heart did not like it. The fact of the matter is that the emphasis which Roger Williams laid on liberty was laid by Cotton upon law and order. He saw the need of a firm and stable government. The least desirable colonists were those who acted as disturbers of the peace. He shared the delusion, likewise — which was a noble, though



THE FIRST CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.

MASS. PUBLIC LIBRARY



At this assembly Mr. John Cotton late vicar of Boston yeilded up his place
 of being vicar by his letters dated in July 1633 which his friends have
 accepted.

At this assembly Mr. Atherton Hough an Alderman of this Burrough had
 presented his place of Aldermanship within this Burrough by his letters
 which his friends have accepted & read at this assembly and the house hath
 accordingly accepted the same.

At this assembly Mr. Hough presented an Alderman of this Burrough had
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Photographed from the Boston Corporation Record Book

THE RESIGNATIONS OF JOHN COTTON, ATHERTON HOUGH,
AND THOMAS LEVERETT



Record of 22nd July, 1633, stating that "at this assembly Mr. John Cotton, late vicar
 of Boston, yeilded upp his place of being vicar by his letters dated in July (1633)
 which his friends this house have accepted." Also entry of resignation of Atherton
 Hough and Thomas Leverett as Aldermen of the borough; and further an intimation
 from the Bishop of Lincoln "by the hands of Mr. Thomas Coney of this towne" (Cotton's
 brother-in-law) that on July 8th Mr. Cotton had resigned the vicarage to the bishop,
 who had accepted the same and declared the vicarage to be void, and signified to the
 Mayor and burgesses that they might when they pleased "present some able person
 thereunto"; which, as the next entry shows, they at once did by electing Mr. Anthony
 Tuckney thereto.

mistaken dream — that a compact company of like believers could be gathered and perpetuated, who should realise and work out for themselves the kingdom of heaven upon earth.”

John Cotton is in some respects a curious study. A theocracy seemed to him a higher form of government than a democracy. For “if the people are governors,” he asked, “who then are the governed”? Yet in spite of theocratic tendencies and practices he was the great champion and stern defender of what is known as the “New England Way” in matters of church government.¹ That way was the way of “Congregationalism,” a term which Cotton himself is said to have originated. The congregational way, however, is the way of pure democracy within the Church. It meant entire liberty and full equality. From it sprang widespread toleration and absolute freedom of religious thought. But what was right and best in Church could not long be denied the State; and so the “New England Way” inevitably broadened out until it led at last and opened into the civic and religious liberty which is now enjoyed. This we may be sure was never contemplated by John Cotton; but, as Emerson tells us of another worker, in “The Problem”—and here was a problem in the making too:

¹ Perhaps the best explanation to be found in their own writings of the aim and character of the New England system of church government, as distinguished from that of the Church of England, is in John Cotton’s “Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven” (1644), and in his “Way of the Churches of Christ in New England” (1645).

He builded better than he knew;
The conscious stone to beauty grew.

Cotton's influence in the Colony deepened with the years. The first disturbances over and past, he yielded to the clerical party and settled himself to sterner work. After that there was no abatement in his authority and he held an undisputed sway. Professor Tyler, in his history of American literature, calls him "the unmitered pope of a pope-hating Commonwealth," and says "he wielded with strong and brilliant mastership the fierce theocracy of New England. Laymen and clergymen alike recognised his supremacy and rejoiced in it." Amiable in disposition and essentially mild, among his fellows he was well beloved; environment, not temperament, would quicken his disciplinary zeal. Knowing him as we do — grave, gentle, dignified as he was — we may believe that the spirit of the administration in which he shared cost him many a pang. At such times he would probably quieten his conscience by putting the "emphasis on law and order." Still he had his better parts. His generosity we are told was marked, and he had a noble scorn of worldly goods. He insisted that his salary should come only from the free-will offerings of his people, and of his limited means he gave with open hand to others. "In effecting his settlement in New England he had spent a considerable sum of money for those days." But when the people wished to reimburse him

he said "it was not necessary in the circumstances." He kept open house and practised, it was said, the hospitality of a bishop, paying special attention to the needy and distressed.

But it was to his wonderful pulpit eloquence that he mainly owed his influence. Cotton first and foremost was a preacher. Longfellow, in his "New England Tragedies," using words which an early writer had employed, described him as a

Chrysostom in his pulpit; Augustine
In disputation; Timothy in his house!

A contemporary of his declared that Cotton "had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric." Another rapturous writer, bursting into verse, pictures Cotton as

A man of might at heavenly eloquence
To fix the ear and charm the conscience;
As if Apollos were revived in him,
Or he had learned of a Seraphim.

and says of the preacher and his pulpit power:

Rocks rent before him; blind received their sight;
Souls levelled to the dunghill stood upright.

Yet in the manner of his preaching John Cotton was "plain and perspicuous"; his chief anxiety was to be understood. It was that old magnetic touch of his, the magic of that personality, that caught and held the hearer.

The great Puritan preacher has left an enduring name. "John Cotton, his mark, very curi-

ously stamped on the face of this planet; likely to continue for some time." So says Carlyle,¹ and there is truth in the rugged words. Less than four years before his own death Cotton lost his tried and constant friend John Winthrop. After for some time changing about the governorship and deputy-governorship with Endicott and Dudley, Winthrop had the principal post since 1646, the year after his last controversy, described as "The Impeachment of Winthrop." Worn out in the service of the Colony, and feeling death approach, the good man in February, 1649, sent for the elders of the Church to pray with him. In the parlour of his house,² imme-

¹With this opinion all will agree, but there is a strange want of accuracy in the first portion of the passage of which it forms part in Carlyle's work, "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations," Vol. III, p. 197: "Rev. John Cotton is a man held in some remembrance among our New England friends. He had been minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; carried the name across the ocean with him; fixed it upon a new small home he had found there, which has become a large one since, — the big, busy capital of Massachusetts, — *Boston*, so called." The whole passage is a good example of Carlyle's style, but it is not, as regards this portion of it, correct history. In his error as to the naming of Boston, Carlyle has not lacked followers. One of them, prominent at Old Boston, in a newspaper sketch he published at the Sixcentenary Celebration of St. Botolph's church, said: "Cotton died in 1652, two years after the settlement at Trimountain had adopted the name Boston. The sect which he founded has long since lost its civil power, and has become unitarian in religion." This is worse than Carlyle, and with less excuse. Which shall we say is the more astonishing, the belated renaming of the Trimountain settlement or this curt dismissal of "the sect"?

²Winthrop's residence stood on what is now Washington Street, just opposite the foot of School Street; the garden is occupied by the Old South. The house was burnt up as firewood by the British soldiers in 1775, while they were using the meeting-house as a stable for their cavalry horses.

diately after he had breathed his last, a consultation was held by the chief persons of Boston as to the order of the funeral, "it being the desire of all that in that solemnity it may appear of what precious account and desert he hath been and made blessed his memory." These were the words used by John Wilson, John Cotton, Richard Bellingham, and John Clark in a letter addressed to John Winthrop of Connecticut "from his father's parlour" on the same day, announcing that the funeral would take place on the 3 (13) of April, and despatched by a swift Indian messenger. Accordingly the remains were buried with "great solemnity and honour" in the King's Chapel burial-ground, where the old Winthrop tomb is still to be seen.

Thomas Leverett and Atherton Hough predeceased their friend and leader in New England, the once Vicar of Old Boston. Both died in 1650, Leverett in February and Hough in September of that year. Mr. Leverett's widow lived six years longer. Mrs. Hough died in 1643; but Atherton married a second wife, who survived him.

Atherton's only son, the Reverend Samuel Hough of Reading, was ordained a few months before his father's death; he married Sarah, daughter of the Reverend Zechariah Symmes, and died at Boston in 1662, leaving a son, Samuel, who married Ann Rainsford about 1675 and had two sons, Samuel and Atherton, who died early in life. Atherton Hough of Old

Boston filled sundry civil offices in New Boston; but there were no churchwardens there and no carven images to break on church towers.

Richard Bellingham, the one-time Recorder of Old Boston, looms large in the New England life. He was made Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts in 1635 and Governor in 1641; he was re-elected to that high office in 1654 and again in 1665, and remained in it till his death in December, 1672¹; he was then the last patentee named in the Charter and was eighty years of age. Bellingham married at Boston, for a second wife, Penelope Pelham, who survived him thirty years, dying in 1702. This lady, Winthrop relates in his Journal (November 9, 1641), was "snatched from another," the Governor marrying her himself, much to the scandal of the magistrates. She was the sister of Herbert Pelham, a prominent citizen. The family, however, made little impression on American history. Bellingham's eldest son, Samuel, lived at London most of his life after graduating at Harvard; another son, John, was at Harvard in 1661, but disappeared so completely that the date of his death is unrecorded in the College

¹Governor Bellingham after death was placed in the South burial-ground, afterwards known as "The Granary." An incident connected with the Bellingham tomb would seem to show that in early times the ground was ill-chosen for a cemetery. The Bellingham family having become extinct, the tomb was given to Governor James Sullivan, who, on going to repair it, found it partly filled with water, "and the coffin and remains of the old governor floating around in the ancient vault" — and this after being buried nearly a century.

register. It is said of Richard Bellingham that he was "slow of speech" and "had a stern look." He was a rigid religious disciplinarian, and so opposed to outside interference that he prosecuted without mercy the Quakers, who presumably owed much of their punishment to him. Yet, while he strictly upheld the formalism of the Puritan worship, he is said to have been "a devout and sincere Christian"; while on his uprightness of character none has thrown doubt, and it has been claimed for him that he was more tolerant and merciful than many of his fellow-magistrates were, and that he and some of the magistrates exhibited on occasion less vindictiveness than the ministers did. But he was much given to melancholy moods, a condition which would not help to soften his natural austerity; and the evidence tends to prove that his reason eventually failed him. That happily was at the end only of his long and strenuous course; and the statement of the Quaker historian that he "died distracted" was unsympathetic, if not altogether untrue.

The terrible fate of Bellingham's sister, Anne Hibbins, must have been a blow to him. It is somewhere hinted that her execution may have been intended as an admonition to Bellingham himself! If so, it was a poor way of showing resentment. Anne Hibbins was evidently unpopular; and the same can hardly be said of the man who was retained in the chief magistracy for so many years. "This venerable

witch-lady," Hawthorne dubs the persecuted widow; and he speaks of her as "that ugly-tempered lady," and "Old Mistress Hibbins, the bitter-tempered sister of the magistrate." Now "The Scarlet Letter" is not history; but it rests on tradition more or less, and it no doubt reflects something of the truth on this and other matters as it came to be handed down. We will eliminate the witch and allow that Mistress Hibbins was a scold. Her cruel death was not one whit the less an outrageous crime; and it can but be supposed that, if Bellingham was considered in connection with it, it was from a warped notion of requiting thereby his treatment of the Quakers.

Bellingham was succeeded as Governor by John Leverett, son of Thomas, the husband of Hannah Hudson, who accompanied her parents to the Colony in 1635, and afterwards of Sarah Sedgwick. John had already been the military Major-General of the State for ten years when he was called on to follow Mr. Bellingham in the civil capacity. He remained Governor until his death in 1679. A curious story is related of Leverett. At the Restoration he returned to England as a kind of ambassador from the Colony and Charles II knighted him. But he was not proud of the distinction at all. The title was never used, and even the fact of the knighthood was concealed from the public. His son, Hudson, is reported to have "maintained but an indifferent character"; but a



*Reproduced from an old Engraving, through the Courtesy of the
Massachusetts Historical Society*

JOHN LEVERETT





second John Leverett came to be President of Harvard College.

Of the Governor's daughters Elizabeth married Dr. Elisha Cooke; Anne espoused John Hubbard; Mary married first Paul Dudley (son of Governor Thomas Dudley), and secondly Colonel Penn Townsend; Hannah married Thomas Davis; Rebecca became Mrs. James Lloyd; and Sarah was the wife of Colonel Nathaniel Byfield.

The next Governor of Massachusetts was another Lincolnshire man, Simon Bradstreet, who retained the office until 1686. He carried the earliest traditions of the Colony farthest into the future, for he was the last of its governors before it became a royal province. "The Nestor of New England" they called him. Mr. Bradstreet married first Anne Dudley, the poetess (daughter of Thomas Dudley), and had a large family; his second wife was the niece of John Winthrop; he died at Salem eleven years after relinquishing the governorship. Bradstreet, it will be remembered, went out to New England in 1630.

Another colonist who came over with Winthrop was William Coddington, who was a prominent resident and merchant of Boston and is said to have built the first brick house erected in the town. A warm supporter of Mrs. Hutchinson, when Winthrop was elected over Vane in their memorable contest, he was dropped from the government, but the freemen immediately returned

him as a deputy. In April, 1638, Coddington, with others, removed to the island of Aquidneck and founded the State of Rhode Island. He was from Lincolnshire, and the Plymouth Dr. Fuller describes him as "a Boston man"; his home was at Alford, but he associated with the Boston men in promoting their movement.

One of John Cotton's fellow-voyagers of 1633, John Haynes, was a governor of both Massachusetts and Connecticut, and died in 1654. Mr. Hooker, who went with him, had then been dead seven years; but Mr. Stone, another of the group, lived till 1663.

Edmund Quincy, Cotton's Fishtoft companion, died three years after the landing in America; he left a son of the same name, who was a military colonel in the Colony and lived till 1698; and from this son descended Josiah Quincy, Jr., a prominent figure in American history, and, in the female line, John Adams and John Quincy Adams, the second and sixth Presidents of the United States.

Notable also in after years was the name of Hutchinson in America; it was preserved through the lad Edward, son of William and Anne Hutchinson, who accompanied John Cotton. Edward, when a more settled state of affairs enabled him to do so, returned to New Boston from Rhode Island; and his numerous descendants included Thomas Hutchinson, the famous Governor of Massachusetts Bay under the second Charter, and afterwards under the

British Government, whose British sympathies at the revolutionary period naturally made him unpopular in the Colony, the history of which he wrote. Eventually he sailed for England, where he refused a baronetcy but accepted a life pension; he died at Brompton and was buried at Croydon.

Another and a closer link with Old Boston had long before that been broken by the death in 1679 of Samuel Whiting, minister for forty-three years of Lynn, Mass., and formerly Rector of Skirbeck. He lived to be eighty-two, and his wife, Elizabeth St. John of the old days, died at Lynn, only two years before him, at the age of seventy-two. Mr. Whiting's second son, John, was a graduate of Harvard College; and, returning to England, became in 1649 Rector of Leverton near Boston, where both he and his wife Esther were buried on the same day, October 18, 1689. Samuel Whiting, a later representative of the family, was appointed Rector of the adjoining parish of Fishtoft in 1739, in which year the advowson of the rectory was assigned to James Whiting. Samuel died in 1781, the last of his line in Old England in male descent; but the American branch of the family continued to flourish and spread and boasted among its sons the learned William Whiting, jurist and President of the New England Historical Society.

We see here something of the importance of the contribution to American life and history

of that mother of empire, Old Boston. To recall these names is to bring to mind the pioneer builders of the United States. Where they led, others followed; but the Puritan emigration as a distinctive movement ceased with the assembling of the Long Parliament in England. The exodus is said by that time to have taken out fully twenty-one thousand, two hundred English men, women, and children to the great land of the West. During the twelve years of Laud's administration, 1628-40, some four thousand persons fled from tyranny and persecution at home to the four settlements of New England. Many of them were disappointed in not finding there the ideal state of things they had believed to exist. The opportunity of returning with renewed hope to the old country, now in revolt, must therefore not have been unwelcome to them. There were enterprises in Church and State which demanded just such men as these New England colonists. So that to some extent the tide of emigration flowed back from west to east, and those whom it carried with it threw themselves into the struggle, and filled eventually, many of them, high places in the public service.¹ But while the Revolution in England drained away for

¹ It was even suggested by certain of the Parliamentary leaders that a ship should be sent out to bring home John Cotton and other prominent colonists. This was not done; but Cromwell corresponded with the New England ministers, and in a letter "For my esteemed friend, M^r. Cotton" wrote: "Truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of my brethren in the Church with you. Pray for me; salute all firesides, though unknown. I rest your affectionate friend."



OLIVER CROMWELL



the time her manhood, it secured for Massachusetts freedom of development in the years to come. And the Colonies in the meantime made good material progress. Towns and villages were on all hands springing up; an export trade in furs and timber was established; grain and cured fish were being carried to the West Indies; and in 1643 there were ships on the stocks of four hundred tons burden. A university, Harvard College, was founded as early as 1636; by 1652 the Colony had so far advanced as to set up its own coinage.

All this, and more besides, in spite of the religious unrest, which righted itself in the end. After the first thirty years of relentless rule the government of the Colony was relaxed and assumed a milder character. Visionary and impracticable as was the theocracy which underlay the Puritan commonwealth, the experiment was inspired by a noble aim and was backed by intense earnestness and sincerity. And in a good deal that followed excuse can be found for its framers. It must be admitted that they had much to try them. Bigotry and intolerance were not the only factors in fashioning their conduct. Having neglected at the outset to secure themselves from the intrusion of obnoxious strangers, and being morbidly apprehensive lest their enterprise should be frustrated before it could strike root, they devised measures of repression which speedily led to injustice and cruelty. It is to be remembered also that at

home, where there seemed less reason for dreading the influences of fanaticism and the ingenuities of heresy, the powers anticipated the course here pursued in dealing with the same class of offenders. The penalties of fining, imprisonment, scourging, and mutilation inflicted in Boston were, after all, only imitations of those practised in England.

The age was steeped in superstition, that handmaid of persecution and cruelty. Laud, the last advocate of judicial torture in England, was so prone to it that his life seems to have been passed in terror of the omens of ill-luck which the incidents of his days, and especially the dreams of his nights, were continually suggesting to his distorted fancy. Macaulay in a well-known passage quotes a number of these ominous visions from entries in Laud's own diary. If this spirit could thrive so well at home, how much more was it not likely to flourish in New England? It concentrated itself strongly in the narrow and gloomy life of the colonist community, whose rulers were ever on the alert for visible and invisible foes. The former appeared in the persons of heretics and "erratic spirits" against the craft and subtlety of which they said the people must be protected. The latter had their shape in the biblical "familiar spirits," and "wizards that peep and that mutter," which it was imagined might well be lurking with malevolent design in the fastnesses of this wilderness abode.

After the Antinomians came the Anabaptists, and then the Quakers, with their "illuminations," their "inspirations," and their "revelations," to plague the magistrates and ministers. Of the Quakers, who were dealt with at Boston from 1656 to six years onward — Cotton Mather called them "an enchanted people" — they had heard with horror and dread ten years before any of them set foot in the Colony. Upon them, in vindication of their outraged authority, they followed up their penal inflictions through banishments, imprisonments, fines, scourgings, and mutilations, to the crowning crime of hanging four of them upon the gallows, a barbarity which darkly stains the early pages of New England's history. John Norton, who, four years after the death of Cotton, had come from Ipswich to be his successor, exercised a baleful influence in these proceedings.

Not only did these rugged rulers of an infant State put down with a high hand all teaching which they deemed to be false and unscriptural, but their dogmas and disciplines harassed and oppressed their own people. The inquisitorial severity of the Church made it almost as difficult to retain membership as it was to secure it; and the Church itself was rent with schisms over abstruse points of doctrine and wrangled about theological terms which were soon to become obsolete. Its leaders revelled in disputes confined to the exposition and interpretation of Holy Writ; but once the argument was taken

out of the Bible they found themselves at a disadvantage, and fell back upon more drastic methods of settling the question.

With all their faults these men were fearless. Intolerance was their besetting sin. Their methods were as rigid as themselves. "The Puritan mode of worship and service," as Dr. Ellis said in speaking to their Church two hundred and fifty years after it was founded, "severely naked and unwinning as it was, met the occasion and the time in its strain upon the austere and intense favour of spirit in those exiles. But with softening and enriching experiences, it proved blank and drear. It was suited to men stern and earnest in their pitch and style of piety — hardly nutritive, winning, or wreathed enough for women, and ineffective, juiceless, and repulsive for children. The 'Milk for Babes,' provided by the first teacher, John Cotton, was highly concentrated, and not easily assimilated for nutriment." Yet somehow they thrived upon it. They may have been cold of conduct if not of temperament, grim and graceless outwardly, and "sour-visaged"; but acidity is not without its value, for the sour leaven ferments the wheat, which makes the wholesome bread, the staff of life. May the leaven of Puritanism long be retained!

In spite of their shortcomings, we cannot but admire the Puritan stock for their grand qualities and for the great results they achieved for civil and religious liberty. Out of such living

stones were the foundations of freedom laid. "It was to this sect," says the historian Hume, "that the English," and he might have added the Americans, "owe the whole freedom of their constitution." "The Puritans," writes Hallam — that son of later Old Boston, where his memory is perpetuated in the church — "were the depositaries of the sacred fire of liberty." Gone is the intolerance of the seventeenth century; but have we in the twentieth their sturdy, unflinching faith? Their theocracy received its death-blow in 1664 with the repeal of the law restricting the franchise to church members; finally it died out twenty years after when the Colony lost its Charter and passed under royal sway.

After the Revolution more and more diversity characterised the religious life of Boston. Revolt from the civil authority brought with it changes in the recognised order of religion. This was inevitable, because the established church of New England, the Calvinistic Congregationalism handed on from the Puritan Fathers, was protected by civil laws and supported by the community. Church and State were one. But now the Puritan Church was disestablished. There was on the one hand a growth of liberty of thought and speech, and the old faith largely gave place to the new theology. The old orthodoxy was broadened and brightened and made more genial and attractive; worship was remodelled and modernised.

Attempts to introduce the Prayer-book service to New England were at first made in vain, but after a time its advocates prevailed, and for two years the Old South was by arrangement used alternately by Puritans and Episcopalians. The first Prayer-book service was held in Boston in 1686, when Robert Ratcliffe, a clergyman who had come out in the *Rose* frigate, which brought the commissions of the new administrators on the withdrawal of the Colonial charter, preached in the Townhouse and read Common Prayer in his surplice, "which was so great a novelty to the Bostonians that he had a very large audience." Cotton's son-in-law, Increase Mather, referred to the Prayer-book services as "Those broken Responds and shreds of Prayers which the Priests and People toss between them like Tennis Balls"; but this did not diminish the desire of many for a mutual and common service in which all took part. King's Chapel was opened in 1689; the first wooden structure gave place to a stone church in 1754; and until the revolt of the Colonies it remained the home of the Church of England in America.

Meanwhile Christ Church had been built in 1722. Though it was closed at the outset of the war and not regularly used until 1778, it rendered an important service to the patriot cause, for from the window of its tower, on the night of April 18, 1775, flashed the signal lights which sent Paul Revere on his famous ride. Trinity, the third Episcopal church in Boston, then of

plain wood, was opened for service in 1735. It was replaced in 1828 by a Gothic building, destroyed by fire in 1872; and the present impressive edifice was consecrated in 1877. Trinity Church has the proud distinction of being one of the few churches in the North which joined in the patriotic movement for independence. Since those times the Episcopal Church in Boston — the heart of the diocese of Massachusetts — has kept pace with the life of the city, and Puritanism has been no barrier to its growth.

Through all the chances and changes of the intervening years, the veteran First Church in Boston still exists and is a flourishing institution. The progress which those years have witnessed is marked by the wide difference between the house set up by Winthrop and his associates, the low building with its mud walls and thatched roof, which stood at the juncture of State and Devonshire Streets, and the fine modern sanctuary of their successors at the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets. The original records of covenant and membership are still there preserved; while stained into an illuminated window is a representation of the covenant, "so calmly and sweetly worded in our dear old English tongue." At the portal of this house, the fifth since 1632, stands the effigy of Governor Winthrop, who worshipped under Cotton until nearly the end of his ministry; and here in 1907 was done the crowning honour to the name

and fame of John Cotton in America, when a handsome memorial, enclosing a recumbent statue in marble, was raised to the Puritan divine who "gave form and inspiration to the ecclesiastical polity known as the New England Way," of which he was the champion and defender. Presented by living descendants of him whose lifework it commemorates, the monument was transferred to the church on October 10, just two hundred and seventy-four years after his appointment as teacher, at a service which was attended by members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Massachusetts and the Arlington Historical Societies, and kindred bodies. The gathering was in fact one of Cotton's descendants, present or represented to the tenth generation. In their name (after an address by the Reverend Paul Revere Frothingham, referred to earlier in this chapter) formal transfer of the memorial was made by the Hon. Charles F. Adams, LL.D., its chief promoter. It was accepted on behalf of the church by its minister, the Reverend Charles E. Park, himself a descendant of Cotton on the female side. Although Mr. Adams, with a resolution to be just, which some of us consider carried him too far, had as an historian described John Cotton as the "Inquisitor in Chief" of the early Colony — adding that he searched out every form of heresy and exercised a rigid discipline over men's opinions, and speaking of "an ignominious page in an otherwise worthy life" —



STATUE OF GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP, STANDING OUTSIDE THE
FIRST CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

THE PURITAN FATHERS 177

he nevertheless allowed in this commemoration that Cotton stands conspicuously forth with Winthrop as the great typical exponent of the spiritual and civil polity which is identified with the name of New England. The claim for John Cotton made by these descendants is that to Massachusetts, and through Massachusetts to New England and America, he was what Luther was to Germany, what Calvin was to France and the Low Countries, what Knox was to Scotland — a great, far-reaching, formative influence.





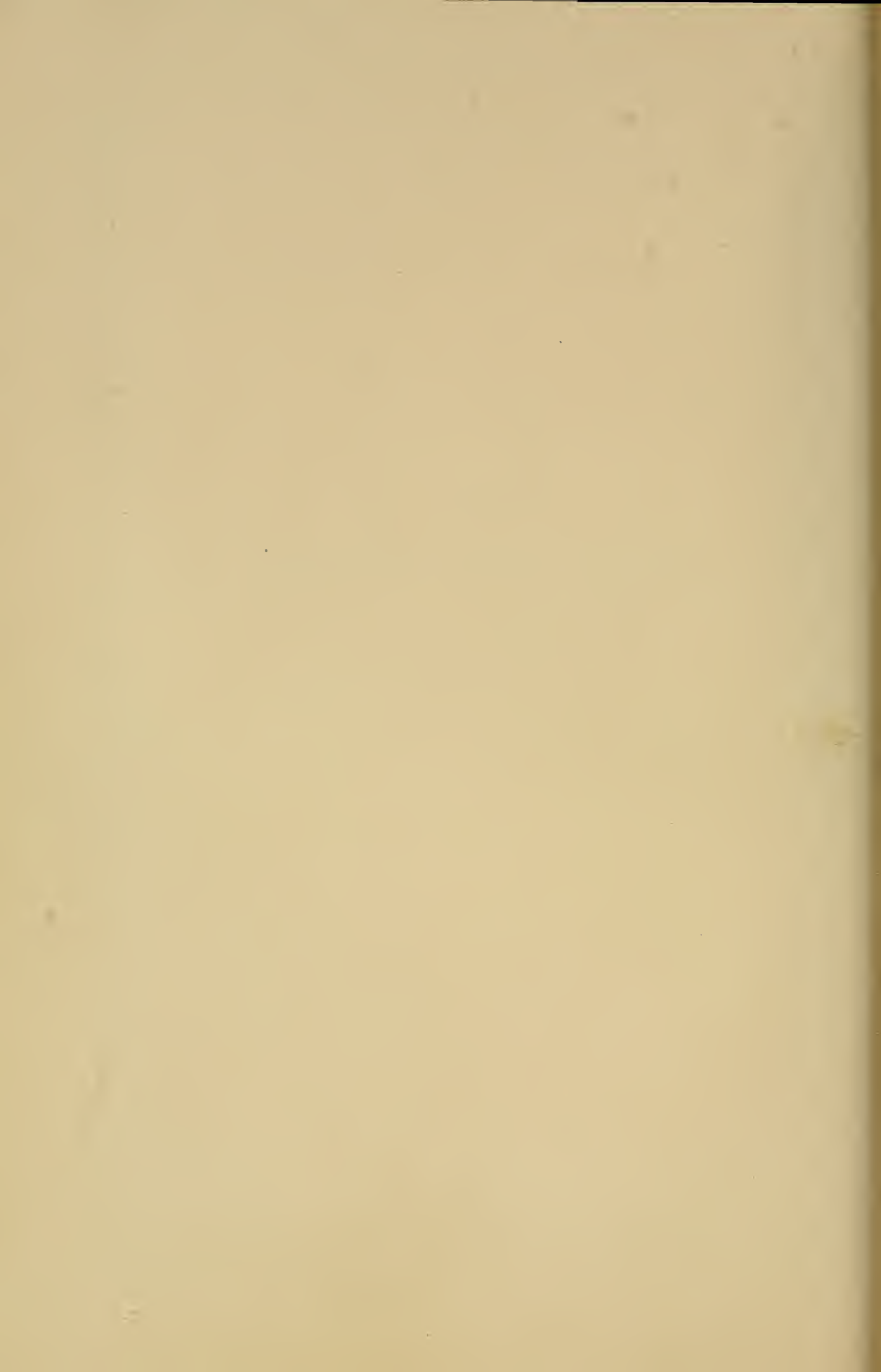
THE COTTON MEMORIAL IN THE FIRST CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.
ERECTED BY JOHN COTTON'S DESCENDANTS IN 1907

The inscription over the monument says of Cotton: "Regardless of preferment and conspicuous as a Puritan Divine he became the object of Prelatical Persecution. 'Un-awed by influence and unbribed by gain' he then sought refuge in New England. Scholar — Theologian — Preacher — Publicist — he gave form and inspiration to the Ecclesiastical Polity known as 'The New England Way.' Preceptor and Friend of Vane, from him Cromwell sought counsel. Living, he was revered as 'That Apostle of his Age.' Dead, he is remembered as 'Patriarch of the Massachusetts Theocracy.'" Built into the base below the recumbent figure of the Memorial is a fragment of the original stonework of the great West doorway of old Boston Church.

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf motif surrounds the page. The border is composed of a series of stylized flowers and leaves, creating a continuous, ornate frame.

X

BOSTON: EAST AND WEST



X

BOSTON: EAST AND WEST

*And thus the Old and New World reached their hands
Across the water, and the friendly lands
Talked with each other from their severed strands.*

—WHITTIER

THE war which resulted in the American Colonies throwing off the British yoke happily led to no ultimate or permanent estrangement of the peoples of the two countries, who in race and blood are one, claiming a common ancestry, speaking the same tongue, possessing similar sentiments, united still, as Burke said of the relationship in the House of Commons at the time of the rupture, by "ties which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron." Good feeling has generally prevailed, and the bond of union between the nations, though one of kindred only, has survived in strengthened form the test of time.

If this be true, as it unquestionably is, of the relations of England and America, how much more forcibly may it not be stated of those of the two Bostons. For the Boston of Massachusetts in the West was named after the Boston of Lincolnshire in the East; the parent town has always taken a proud interest in the progress and welfare of the beautiful city by the Charles

River; and the daughter community has equally displayed a deep interest in and veneration for the mother. Well may Old Boston be proud of her Puritan progeny across the seas — of Massachusetts, the first State in the world to free the slaves; of Boston, the intellectual metropolis of the American Republic, while Washington is its governmental and New York its commercial capital. Associations practical as well as sentimental draw closely together the two Bostons, both seaports, the one with a glorious past reaching back through the centuries, the other with a great present, and each with its historic struggle for freedom.

The country all around the English Boston is full of strange interest. The adjacent sea washes a coast-line as flat as the fens to which St. Botolph's tower, a noble landmark yet, was once as important a beacon to landsmen as to sailors. For many a long year after the Normans had conquered the Saxon land the native islanders stood out in this district, often going forth to meet the foe on stilts, so that, having delivered their assault, they could retreat in safety into the fastnesses of their reed-fields, meres, and marshes.¹ The aspect of the country to-day is very much like the Dutch

¹The Isle of Ely, defended by Hereward, son of Leofric, Lord of Bourne, was not the only portion of the Fens which opposed the army of the Conqueror. The district about Boston, being "very strong by abundance of water," furnished bold men — the Hollands, the Wells, and the Kymes — who resisted the invaders, and, on the testimony of George Holland, given in 1563, "kept out the Conqueror by force."

lands of the Anglo-Dutch pioneers of Massachusetts. It is a little world of dykes and sluices, of meads and rivers, a vast flat, dotted here and there with ancient homesteads and picturesque market towns.

Charles Kingsley knew and loved his Lincolnshire well. Although Devonshire born, he passed part of his youth in the Fens, and was familiar with the south of the county from The Wash "by Botulfston Deeps" to Spalding town, and Crowland and Bourne, and with the bordering country around Peterborough (old Medehamstead) and the Isle of Ely; and we find his knowledge, historical and geographical, fully displayed in his novel of the days of the Conqueror, "Hereward the Wake, Last of the English." This masterly work, the last of Kingsley's romances, portrays as does no other the wild and lawless life of the wide untamed fens, the Land of the Girvii. It brings us into close personal touch with the famous Lady Godiva, whose memory is immortalised in connection with Coventry, where her bones rest in her minster-church beside those of her husband, Leofric, Lord of Bourne and Earl of Mercia. The tragedy of their heroic son, Hereward, and his once-beloved Torfrida lies buried with them under the green turf eastward of the ruined nave of Crowland Abbey, where once the high altar stood. The name of Algar, first-born of Leofric and Lady Godiva, is perpetuated in Algarkirk near Boston; his son, Edwin, dwelt in the neigh-

bouring hamlet of Kirton, and Morcar, his second-born, is called to mind by the Morkery Woods, named after him, near Stamford. The Wakes of Bourne were descendants of the hapless Hereward, and the graves of departed Wakes may be found among the tombstones in Boston churchyard. A Jacob Wake was master of the Grammar School — then the “old school house” off Wormgate in Boston — about 1440.

Lord Tennyson, Lincolnshire’s own Laureate — whose name links the two worlds with a poet’s known on one side of the Atlantic as intimately as on the other, that of Longfellow — was “native and to the manner born”; and his poetic temperament and genius absorbed all that is beautiful and inspiring in a vast plain. One may walk in the footsteps of Tennyson in the Lincolnshire wolds and fens and fix some of his most striking pictures and the things that have inspired his sublimest thoughts.

Gray old grange, or lonely field,
Or low morass and whispering reed,
Or simple stile from mead to mead,
Or sheep-walk up the lonely wold.

This is Lincolnshire to the core; and so also is that poetic vignette in which one may almost feel the atmosphere round about the ancient Boston which stretches forth friendly hands to the Massachusetts city:

A league of grass washed by a slow, broad stream,
That stirred with languid pulses of the oar,





Photograph by Hackford, Boston

INTERIOR OF THE COTTON CHAPEL, ST. BOTOLPH'S, BOSTON,
ENGLAND



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

REREDOS PLACED IN THE COTTON CHAPEL IN 1907

THE PURITAN FATHERS 185

Waves all its lazy lilies, and creeps on,
Barge-laden to three arches of a bridge
Crowned with the minster towers.

It is in the direction of Tennyson's moods that Nathaniel Hawthorne exhibits his best work. He found inspiration in the repose of Salem as Tennyson did at Somersby in Lincolnshire, and in his quiet retreat away from the bustle and excitement of city life. To many the story of "The Scarlet Letter" is as real as that of the "Boston Massacre," or the story of the "Boston Tea-Party," and far more familiar than the adventures and quarrels of Winthrop and Dudley. Hester Prynne and Dimmesdale will probably outlive the pioneer; they are better known everywhere.

The kinship of the two Bostons has in later years been marked in many ways, and the affection of her Western daughter for Mother Boston has found frequent and warm expression. Following the restoration in 1853 of the grand old parish church on the banks of the Witham, the chapel was repaired and renovated and a memorial placed upon its walls to John Cotton, chiefly by the liberality of American descendants of Mr. Cotton in the female line and others; and this southwest adjunct of the church has since been known as the Cotton Chapel. Here the life-work of the Puritan Vicar is recorded, and his name and fame are perpetuated by a stately Latin inscription (written by the Hon. Edward Everett of New Boston, a de-

186 *THE ROMANTIC STORY OF*
scendant of Cotton) which, done freely into
verse,¹ reads:

That here John Cotton's memory may survive
Where for so long he laboured when alive,
In James's reign — and Charles's, ere it ceased —
A grave, skilled, learned, earnest parish priest;
Till from the strife that tossed the Church of God
He in a new world sought a new abode,
To a new England — a new Boston — came,
(That took to honour him that rev'rend name)
Fed the first flock of Christ that gathered there —
Till death deprived it of its Shepherd's care —
There well resolved all doubts of minds perplexed,
Whether with cares of this world, or the next:
Two centuries five lustra, from the year
That saw the exile leave his labours here,
His family, his townsmen, with delight —
(Whom to the task their English kin invite) —
To the fair fane he served so well of yore,
His name, in two worlds honoured, thus restore,
This chapel renovate, this tablet place,
In this the year of man's recovered Grace,

1855.

The corbels supporting the panelled timber ceiling of the Chapel are carved with the arms of early colonists of New England. Originally the memorial brass stood at the east end of the building, but in 1906 the altar was replaced and the tablet removed to the south wall.

On through the years the sentiment which animates the two Bostons has from time to time been strikingly manifested. It was so in 1879, when Canon Blenkin, the Vicar, pre-

¹ By Mr. Richard Newcomb, an old Boston scholar.



TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.
CONSECRATED IN 1877



TRACERY OF ANCIENT WINDOW
REMOVED FROM THE
CHANCEL OF ST. BOTOLPH'S,
BOSTON, ENGLAND.



sented part of the original tracery of an ancient window, removed from the chancel of St. Botolph's, to Trinity Church of the New Boston, where it was reverently placed in a cloister "as a precious memorial of the Church of our Fathers."

The authorities of St. Botolph's of that day committed the sacrilegious act of destroying this grand old window in order to make a modern organ chamber. Americans had more reverence for the discarded fragments than the people of Old Boston had entertained for the beautiful window itself. Two years before the transfer of these stones an American visitor, seeing them piled in a corner of the church, asked whether they would be again used, and finding there was no likelihood of their being placed in any other part of the fabric, "expressed in the strongest manner," says the local chronicler, "the delight it would give him to be the means of introducing them to some church in Boston, Mass., especially mentioning the last built and the noblest, the Church of the Trinity," of which the Reverend Phillips Brooks was then Rector. We are not told who the American visitor was, but he had his way, for after some correspondence the tracery was despatched to the New Boston, and in December, 1879, our chronicler had the pleasant duty of recording "another of those interchanges of courtesy and kindly feeling between Boston in England and Boston in America which have 'of late years

not unfrequently occurred and have tended so much to maintain a spirit of affectionate relationship between the mother town and the daughter city." St. Botolph's had been notified of the safe reception of the stonework, and its careful and permanent incorporation into a conspicuous part of the corridor of Trinity Church, with the addition of a brass plate setting forth its history and the circumstances under which it came into its present position. The Rector, churchwardens, and vestry of Trinity spoke of "the great value which attaches in New England to anything associated with the name of John Cotton," and added "For ourselves and for the church which we represent we acknowledge a peculiar gratification in affixing to our new walls so welcome a reminder of our mother country and of our Mother Church, for whose prosperity and welfare we shall ever pray." The Rector himself wrote, saying, "The gift has attracted the interest not only of our own parishioners, but of all our citizens. So far as I know, it is the only relic of the Lincolnshire Boston which exists in its Massachusetts namesake."

In the following year, 1880, cordial greetings passed from East to West at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Church in Boston, Mass. A pleasing incident marks the memories of that year. Dr. Rufus Ellis, then minister of the First Church, was in October returning from a European tour with his wife and daughters when he called at the Lincoln-



All marriages April 1632
 Thomas Tompson & Anne Dutton 9
 John Willard & Maria Dowlochester 10
 Tho: Purandson & Abigail Stebbens } 12
 Tho: Edwards & Elizabeth Bell 12
 Wm: Smith & Annilla Ingram 15
 John Cotton Clerk & Sarah Story 23
 James Baxman & Anne Lewis

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Photographed from the Boston Parish Register

RECORD OF THE MARRIAGE OF JOHN COTTON TO SARAH STORY

shire Boston, and there received official welcome. Vicar Blenkin and his clergy, the Mayor of that day (Mr. Thorns), the heads of the Unitarian community, and others vied in doing the visitors honour. They were hospitably entertained. They duly worshipped at the town's pilgrim shrines, "our grand old parish church of course, as is usual with all real Americans, attracting most attention," reads the chronicle of the visit, "and to its beauties and treasures a good deal of time was devoted."

Transcripts of various documents, including the marriage register of John Cotton, were made for the strangers. By the Lecturer of St. Botolph's much valuable information was given respecting the church and its history, "and carefully noted for future reference in the New World." Then Mr. Hackford, the clerk, an authority on such matters, had much to communicate, "not only of historical lore, but descriptions of the more famous features of the church." Records preserved in the Library over the south porch were next attentively examined, special notice being taken of the baptismal and other registers of the time of Cotton, to which the autograph of the exiled Vicar is attached. Even the services of the church organist, in his new-found nook in the demolished chancel window space, were called into requisition; and the music lost nothing of its wonted delight from the intruding position of the instrument.

“Dr. Ellis had been asked to obtain if possible something of interest from Old Boston ere he returned to the United States; so Mr. Hackford presented to him a small old carved oak boss, formerly an ornament of the original roof, which was removed in the year 1662.” The Unitarian congregation, through their minister, asked his acceptance of an engraving of St. Botolph’s Church, and photographic and literary souvenirs. Finally a large company assembled to bid the travellers farewell; and they doubtless carried with them across the Atlantic the happiest of memories of their visit to Old Boston. Dr. Ellis indeed afterwards wrote saying how deeply interested his congregation had been in his account of the visit, and stating that the gifts handed to him would be carefully preserved in accordance with a vote of his church.

There was a strong revival of this good feeling in 1883 during the mayoralty of Mr. William Bedford, one of the most attached friends of the American Boston in later times. Mr. Bedford had a long and interesting correspondence with the Bostonian Society, and entertained from time to time leading Bostonians who visited the mother country, and his portrait, sent out with other tokens of goodwill in those days, still hangs upon the Old State House walls.

Eight and twenty years after these events, in the spring of 1911, the author met this genial Old Bostonian at Alan House, his beautiful

home, and chatted with him on the subject of his relations, while Mayor, with the American Boston. He said he had always looked back upon that intercourse as the pleasantest feature of his mayoralty. "I recall it with the greatest pleasure," he declared, beaming with the recollection; "it gave me more delight than anything else I know of at that time." Although over eighty, Mr. Bedford was hearty, if not active still, and as mentally alert as ever, and his reminiscences of New Boston people were most entertaining. "An old age serene and bright" was the happy lot of this veteran public servant — he had only just yielded up his place as Alderman in the Boston Corporation — who, having played a manly and upright part in shaping his town's affairs (and at the same time amassed a private fortune by commercial enterprise and integrity), was now, at the end of his useful career, enjoying a well-earned repose, still, however, in touch and sympathy with the concerns of life and full of love for Boston's namesake across the Atlantic, which, had he lived three hundred years ago, he would probably have had a hand in shaping too, so like was he in spirit to the men who did it.

The association was revived in August, 1895, when Old Boston received an official visit from the late Mr. Bayard, the first Ambassador to Great Britain from the United States, who distributed the year's prizes at the venerable Grammar School and attended a banquet given

in his honour by the Mayor and Corporation, who presented him with an address. The occasion was memorable and also significant. One of the most distinguished Americans of his day — or of modern times — the Hon. T. F. Bayard, could trace his lineage back to the same family as that of the “ideal of chivalry,” the “Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.” There was something peculiarly appropriate about the visit. For his Huguenot ancestors left their homes to settle in America for the same reason as the founders of New England — freedom of thought, and of worship; and as Washington’s representative to London he typified to Old Boston the greatness and the power of which the Massachusetts Bay Colony was the beginning. His presence, moreover, and the testimonies which accompanied it, stamped the reality of the association and served to knit closer the ties of kinship between East and West.

Very happily, and in language which deserves to be remembered, Mr. Bayard voiced the feeling of tender regard for Old Boston. “This Boston — this Boston of old England — is the mother and the namegiver of a younger and a stronger Boston far away across the sea. And yet the younger and the stronger Boston, the city that holds perhaps one half-million of inhabitants, owes so much, how much cannot be fully stated or measured, to the little town of twenty thousand people that preserves its existence and holds its own on this side of the At-

lantic. If, looking round these impressive structures, these buildings that challenge the respect of those who survey them, you are tempted to exclaim *O mater pulcrrior filia*, I think if you look across the ocean and see the fresh, strong, vigorous, picturesque city that bears the name of Boston there, you would exclaim *O mater pulchra filia pulcrrior*. But between the Old Boston and the New Boston there has run a current of feeling, not noisy, not violent, not sensational, but quiet and strong and true. The Old Boston and the New Boston have both been nourished upon the same diet of religion, of morals, and of literature. The Bible that your forefathers read, and that you read, is the same Bible that is read, and always was read, in the New Boston of America. The ingrained love of personal liberty is just the same on the other side of the Atlantic as it was and is, and pray God always may be, respected and cherished on this side of the Atlantic."

We live, he said, under different governments, we pursue the same results by possibly different methods of administration, but the principles of truth, of honour, of duty are the same on both sides of the Atlantic. The school in which they were met he described as one of the nurseries of thought, of feeling, of national sentiment, all guided by the paths of education into higher and greater usefulness.

Mr. Bayard was asked by the Borough Member to accept a copy of the "History of

Boston," and on receiving it he observed with pleasure that among the books he had just distributed were many American works — books by Holmes, Emerson, and Prescott, men who had carried forward into the New World the honour and the reputation of the Old. And he reminded them of the verse in which Emerson, speaking of the New Boston, says:

The rocky nook from headlands three
Looks eastward to the farms,
And twice each day the loving sea
Takes Boston in its arms.

"Now the sea does not take Boston in its arms here in England," added the Ambassador, "but you have given me a Boston that I can take to my arms. I do take it to my arms, and I assure you that I take it to my heart." A touching allusion to a valued gift that went to the hearts of all who heard it. The address presented to him at the town's banquet was aptly and warmly worded and as feelingly acknowledged by Mr. Bayard.

It was, by the way, at this banquet that Mr. Bayard innocently brought upon his diplomatic head the resentful wrath of a section of American politicians. A paragraph published in a leading London newspaper stated with brutal brevity that the Ambassador, in responding to the toast of President Cleveland's health, declared that the Americans were a violent people. This startling indictment was promptly cabled to America, where it caused considerable commotion. The question came before the Senate at

Washington, the Minister was fiercely assailed, and his resignation was demanded. He officially explained his words, or rather the absence of them in the offending paragraph, and the excitement eventually subsided. What Mr. Bayard really said was that the office of President was one of great responsibility and anxiety and no "bed of roses"; for, observed the speaker, "he stands in the midst of a strong, self-confident, and oftentimes violent people — men who seek to have their own way, and men who seek frequently to have that way obstructed, and I tell you plainly that it takes a real man to govern the people of the United States." It certainly does.

Less than a year after Mr. Bayard's visit — in the June of 1896 — a party of American Congregationalists landed at Plymouth and made their way to the Lincolnshire town. Led by the Reverend Dr. Dunning of Boston, Mass., they numbered nearly fifty, including representatives of the National Council of American Congregational Churches. First they went to Exeter, then to another cathedral city, Wells, and so on to Glastonbury, rich in ecclesiastical lore; Salisbury Cathedral attracted them; so did grand old Winchester; Oxford, Bedford, London, Canterbury, Cambridge, Ely saw the pilgrim band. Boston warmly welcomed them. At an official luncheon they were met — in that same hotel which Hawthorne anathematised forty years before, but now the Peacock and Royal, with a will to sustain its name — by the Mayor

196 *THE ROMANTIC STORY OF*
and the Town Clerk, the Vicar and local leaders
of Nonconformity.

The Vicar, Canon Stephenson — successor of Canon Blenkin, equally “a scholar and a Christian, and fit to be a bishop” — spoke for the Established Church, and what he said did him honour. It was worthy of John Cotton’s successor in the pulpit of Boston. “We all welcome to old Boston this distinguished company as representing a nation that we feel is one with us. I can never look upon the Americans in any way as strangers; I feel that they are brethren.” He told of his own stay in the American Boston — “the illustrious daughter of this old mother, who yet is in a prosperous state” — where his friendly guide was Phillips Brooks, who once had preached in Old Boston Church. “I have special pleasure in being present to-day, not merely on the grounds of our common race, common blood, and common language, but also I feel that you represent a body who do a great part in leading the religious convictions and the religious education and training of America, and that you give yourselves heartily to the principle of doing all you can to extend and exemplify the fact that it is righteousness alone that exalteth a nation.¹ I

¹This is true enough. In spite of “modern” notions, much of the old Puritan leaven remains in the great Republic. In “The Scarlet Letter” Hawthorne has given us a wonderful picture of the hard, grim, graceless, but heroic life of the early settlers in New England. From these dour old Puritans the cosmopolitan America of to-day inherits its finest moral qualities.



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

CANON STEPHENSON



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

THE PULPIT OF ST. BOTOLPH'S,
BOSTON, ENGLAND



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

CANON BLENKIN





am a devoted, and I hope a loyal member of the Church of England, but the strength of my own religious convictions leads me heartily to respect the religious convictions of other people. We have learnt not a little since the old days in the matter of religious toleration. Since the Puritan Fathers left these shores to find an asylum over there in America things have altered much. Toleration was not known by any party then; it is entirely a new thing. But however much we differ as to religious tenets from the Puritan Fathers and the Pilgrims, I venture to say that we have still a great deal to learn from them. We may have something to teach our forefathers — at least we think so; but there is a great deal we may learn from the old Puritans: the supremacy of the conscience at any sacrifice, earnest zeal for the glory of God and the purity of His Church, and a strong, real hold of the essential verities of the Christian faith. I believe we have a great deal to learn from them, and I think we are learning from them.” The lesson of their lives — of their failures and mistakes, as well as their reality and sacrifice — is indeed worth heeding still.

Phillips Brooks, when he spoke at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Church in New Boston, carried the argument a step further. Rector of Trinity and Bishop of Massachusetts, he was prouder still of his descent from John Cotton, his very great-grandfather. “I thank him as a Church of England man,”

said he, "as a man loving the Episcopal Church with all my heart, I thank him for being a Puritan. The Church of England has no men to thank to-day more devoutly. She has no men to whom she ought to be more grateful to-day than to the Puritans who told her in the seventeenth century how degraded her life was becoming." The tribute was as sincere as it was well deserved, and it will be widely endorsed.

The cordiality of their reception was acknowledged on behalf of these pilgrims by Dr. Dunning. "Old Boston is our home," said he, "and we feel that we have come back to the land to which we belong. It was a Vicar of Old Boston that practically founded the city of New Boston. I suppose we may accept the opinion that the successors of John Cotton have preached as well as he did, for we have abundant testimony that they do." Evidence of which was present before them in the wise Christian utterances of the Vicar of St. Botolph's.

The sentiments expressed by Dr. Dunning were re-echoed by the Hon. Jonathan A. Lane, who, as chairman of the Merchants' Municipal Committee and a member of "Mayor Quincy's cabinet," claimed to fairly represent the city of Boston, "that lusty daughter of yours, you being the mother of all the Bostons, just as Plymouth is the mother of all the Plymouths; your child has grown to half-a-million inhabitants, and is about the fifth city of our Union."

Speaking of the heartiness of their welcome everywhere, "We have a genuine love for the people of England," declared Mr. Lane, "and we hope that the good feeling created by this pilgrimage will be permanent in its value. I think we are not so inconsequential but we may be able to exert some wholesome influence between mother and child, between the Old World and the New. The more we see of you in these our peregrinations, the more I believe that we are one." He concluded with the words: "I have to thank, on behalf of the New Boston, our mother, the old lady, whom to-day we most heartily embrace"; a robust, filial figure of speech which had the warmth of true affection behind it.

The visitors were shown over the famous parish church, where the Cotton Chapel had a special interest for them; its commemorative character and past associations were explained by the Vicar. Then an impressive incident occurred. Assembled in the lofty chancel of the ancient fane, these representative New Bostonians, descendants, many of them, of the men who suffered hereabouts for their faith and testimony in the dark days of old, united in singing Watts' soul-stirring hymn, grandly worded and wedded to majestic music, "O God our help in ages past," the swelling strains of which filled with praise and thanksgiving the sanctuary of their forefathers.

Next the historic Guildhall, with its quaint chambers and curious kitchens and Pilgrim

Father cells, was inspected; and, having looked over the Grammar School, time-worn and tenacious of tradition, built forty-five years before Cotton came to Boston, the travellers bade farewell to a town stored with memories especially dear to them, and went on their pilgrim way.

The year following — the June of 1897 — saw in Old Boston Dr. Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, of which diocese New Boston is the centre; and the eloquent and touching language in which he recalled the relationship was a fresh reminder of the ties uniting the two Bostons. What the bishop's thoughts were on his entering John Cotton's pulpit may be judged by what fell from his own lips:

“You little realise what it is for one born in Boston in the United States, a citizen of Boston, the Bishop not only of Boston, but of the State of which Boston is the capital — you little realise, I say, with what deep emotion he comes here and looks in the faces of you who are citizens of old Boston, and recalls to mind what the newer Boston owes to you, with what sympathy it turns towards you, and with what sincerity it tells you that we are brethren — brethren not only in Christ and in the Church, but brethren in race, in blood, in free institutions — brethren as sons of England.” Surely a noble sentiment, and one as earnestly reciprocated.

Preaching from the text Joel ii. 28, “Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions,” Dr. Lawrence entered feelingly



JOHN COTTON BROOKS



BISHOP PHILLIPPS BROOKS



BISHOP LAWRENCE

into the story of the Puritan exodus from the mother town and the splendid fulfilment of the dreams of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Twenty years almost before Dr. Lawrence came, the pulpit of St. Botolph's was occupied by his predecessor, Phillips Brooks, "the great American citizen and prophet, whose personality impressed his generation." About this time Phillips Brooks preached also before Queen Victoria, and, on the same day, his brother, John Cotton Brooks, was at Boston, where he again filled St. Botolph's pulpit in the fall of 1906. Soon after this second visit to Old Boston John Cotton Brooks died in Paris. Before his second Boston sermon an important proposal had become known, one in which both Bostons were supremely interested. During 1905 the diocese of Massachusetts came into possession of seven hundred and fifty dollars as the nucleus of a fund for a Cathedral to be erected in Boston, the see city; and the suggestion was made that it would be a graceful and fitting thing to make the Cathedral building a reproduction of the glorious parish church of Old Boston, "where Cotton served so long and at whose altars so many of the colonists to America had worshipped." The question arose as to whether St. Botolph's would make a good model for a Cathedral, and to study this point the Rev. George Wolfe Shinn, Rector of Grace Church, Newton, Mass., was sent over to the Lincolnshire Boston in the autumn of 1905. He there inspected the plan

of the grand old fabric, which appeared generally to be suited for the purpose in view. The necessary steps were afterwards taken to give effect to the proposal. It was felt that, while the special needs of the diocese should be provided for, all the essential features of St. Botolph's should be incorporated in the new building. The hope on both sides of the Atlantic was that this praiseworthy project might take material shape, and, as an enduring monument, crown and consolidate for all time the union of East and West, of which it should stand as the symbol and the pledge; continuing within its broadening influence the life and work inaugurated by the Christian zeal of the Puritan founders; unfolding in its story in stone and reproductive beauty of architectural design the vista of a grand past to future generations.

Americans were again present in Old Boston — they are seldom altogether absent in the tourist season — at the Sexcentenary Celebration of the founding of the church in June, 1909. The Massachusetts capital was not officially represented at the festival, which was of a general character in regard to the church's history and took no special cognisance of the most important period of that history, the first part of the seventeenth century, and therefore had no particular attraction for transatlantic visitors. Letters of invitation were sent out by the Chief Magistrate to the Mayor of the New Boston, by the Town Clerk to the American Ambassador, and by the

Vicar to the Bishop of Massachusetts; but these invitations, no doubt for the reason stated, met with no response. As already seen, however, Americans unofficially attended the celebration, in the course of which America and the Boston connection were by no means overlooked, either at the civic assembly or in the pulpit of the church. At the former function Earl Brownlow, Lord Lieutenant of the County, spoke of the intimate connection referred to, and, while regretting the absence of accredited representatives, rejoiced at the presence of visiting Americans, because, said he, they "knew perfectly well that the great deeds of their forefathers, whether in science or literature, or in architecture, or deeds of war either on land or sea, belonged equally to America as to England. They all felt, both in England and in America, that 'blood was thicker than water.'"

The Sheriff of Lincoln brought the association nearer home when he said "they could not look back without appreciating fully the fact that the forefathers of the Boston people of to-day left their homes to go to a strange unknown land. Whether one sympathised with their convictions or not, one could not but applaud the fact that they went forth because of the convictions that were in them, and they recognised to-day that they had made known the name of Boston the wide world over."

The Town Clerk of Boston gave the topic a practical turn by observing that "even to-day

the ancient fame of their old town was reflected to some small extent on them from their namesake across the Atlantic, and of that they were occasionally rather unpleasantly reminded by receiving their correspondence, badly directed, via Boston in America."

It was left to the Bishop of London, fresh from an American tour, to emphasise the connection, which he did at the parish church to a crowded congregation in a sermon based upon Psalm xlv. 17, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make children in all lands."

"I suppose," said the preacher, "there are no places more entirely dissimilar than the two Bostons. Here lies your dear old Boston, among the quiet Fens, with its eyes fixed upon the past. There lies young Boston, and I saw it last year, with its eyes wholly fixed upon the future." Having glanced at Boston's past and at the passing over of the Puritans, "We may well," said the bishop, "take old and young Boston as two representative types of the Old World and the New, and what I want to try, on this most historic day for you, is to point out, first what the New World owes to the Old World, what the Old World in the second place owes to the New, and what effect the hope, and the pride, and the faith of the child ought to have upon the Old World and the Mother Church.

Dealing first with the question "What does the New World owe to the Old?" and speaking

from his own observation of things in America, the preacher said their children there, as they looked across the sea, were thanking them for their poets, their writers, and their history, for the great Christian truths taken out there, and for the historic ministry and the gift of an unbroken Church. He asked churchmen and non-conformists how long they were going to quarrel over such a thin line of partition as really divided them to-day. Where, he asked, would they now find the Prelacy which drove their forefathers across the seas? "How unreal to be separated from the Old Church for something which is banished! I found on the other side of the Atlantic none of the bitterness, none of the misunderstanding which divides us in the old country, and I want you to realise how the children over there, with far more love for one another, far more understanding, far less bitterness, cherish the great Christian truths that we have passed on to them."

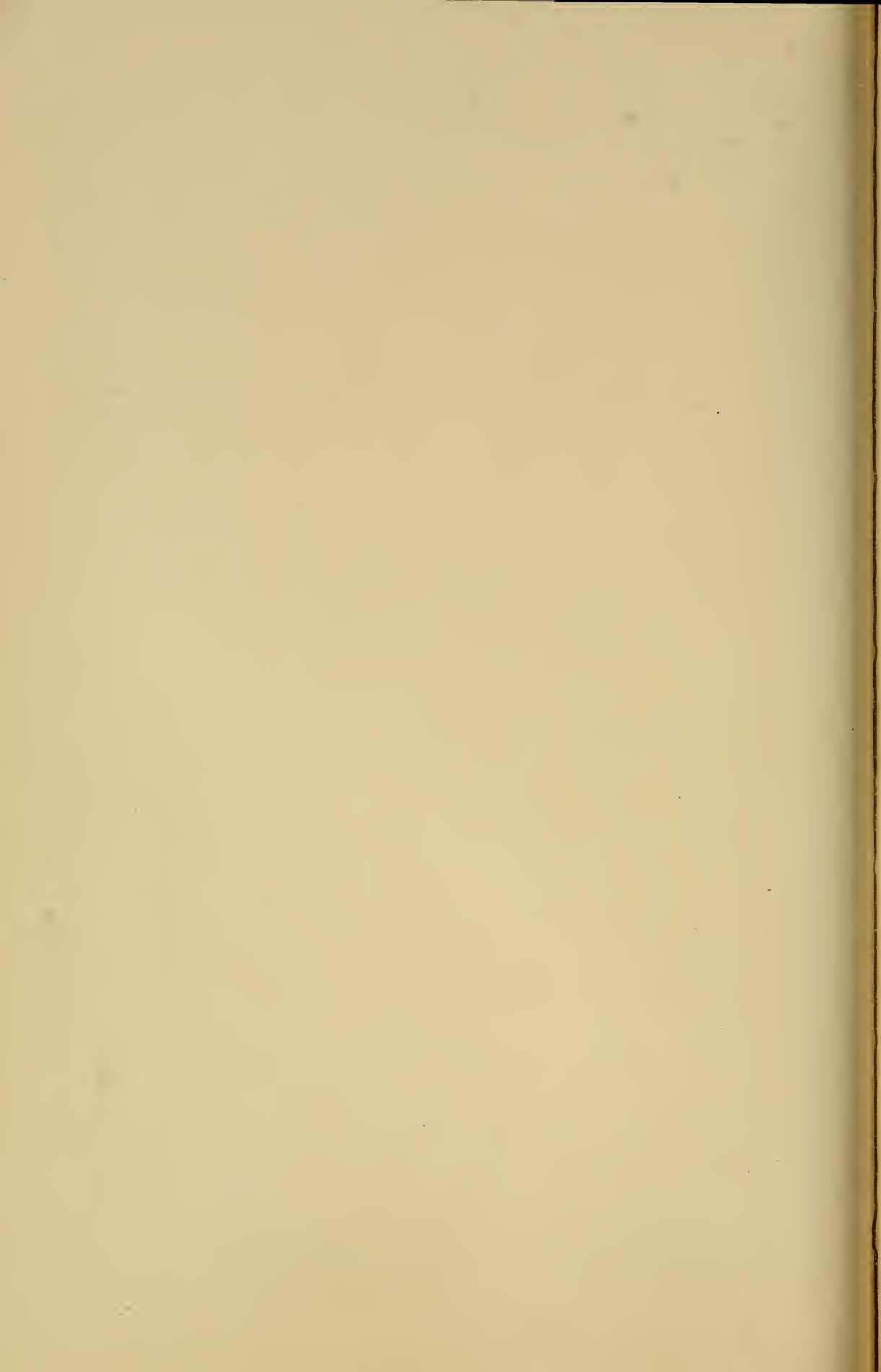
Turning to the question "What has the Old World to thank the New World for?" the bishop said the children of the New World encouraged them by their belief in their fathers' faith, and cheered and inspired them by their visions, especially with the glorious motto they had written across their lives, "The evangelisation of the world in this generation." Further, concluded the bishop, they owed to the New World also the honest lesson, in their religious and domestic life, to hold on to that which they had.

Altogether this was a memorable sermon — the most remarkable of all the episcopal preaching at the celebration — distinguished by its eloquence and sympathy, its breadth and liberality, and by its thought for the relationship of the Bostons.

A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf pattern surrounds the text. The border is composed of a series of stylized flowers and leaves, with a central vertical band of a different floral motif.

XI

COTTON'S SUCCESSORS AT SAINT
BOTOLPH'S — THE CHURCH'S LATER
HISTORY — PILGRIM SHRINES



XI

COTTON'S SUCCESSORS AT SAINT BOTOLPH'S — THE CHURCH'S LATER HISTORY — PILGRIM SHRINES

*The glorious pile will still inspire
With grand design and pure desire
As long as England's free;
And Boston's sons will gem the crown
That towers above the ancient town
In grand solemnity:*

*As members of that hero band,
Bold pilgrims to the Western Land,
With sons of equal worth
Who toll'd the bell on Faneuil Hall
Whose iron tongue with clang'rous call
Proclaimed a nation's birth.*

— FROM THE POEM *St. Botolph's*¹

BEFORE concluding it will be interesting to retrace our steps somewhat, and, resuming the main lines of this story, to glance at the records of successors of John Cotton at old St. Botolph's and the subsequent history of his church. Cotton was followed by his friend Anthony Tuckney, D.D., son of the Vicar of Kirton and a fellow of Emmanuel College, who had been Mayor's Chaplain since 1629.

How Dr. Tuckney came to establish the Library in Boston Church has already been men-

¹ By W. S. Royce, Pinchbeck Hall, Lincolnshire, written for the Sixcentenary Celebration.

tioned. Upon his petition Archbishop Laud, when holding a visitation at St. Botolph's, ordered "that the roome over the porch of the saide church shall be repaired and decently fitted up to make a librarye to the end that in case any well and charitably disposed person shall hereafter bestow any books to the use of the parish, they may be there safely preserved and kept." Many books were so bestowed, with money with which to buy more. But a number of them disappeared — were thrown or taken away — and for years the Library was neglected. It is well kept now, and contains a few rare volumes and MSS. which well repay inspection; but it was never of any service to the parishioners.

While Tuckney was vicar the Civil War was in progress, and Boston was filled with Round-head troops, who are believed to have destroyed the remains of the mediæval stained glass in the church noted by Gervase Holles in 1640. A memorandum in the parish register of October, 1643, the month of the Wince by fight, written in a top corner of the page, reads: "N.B. The souldiers buried here this year belonged to the Parliament Army. At this time the Earl of Manchester lay at Boston, and was joined there by Oliver Cromwell after the Defeat of the Earl of Newcastle's Forces near Gainsborough." And the names are given of several "souldiers" who died and were buried at Boston.

Tuckney held appointments at Cambridge

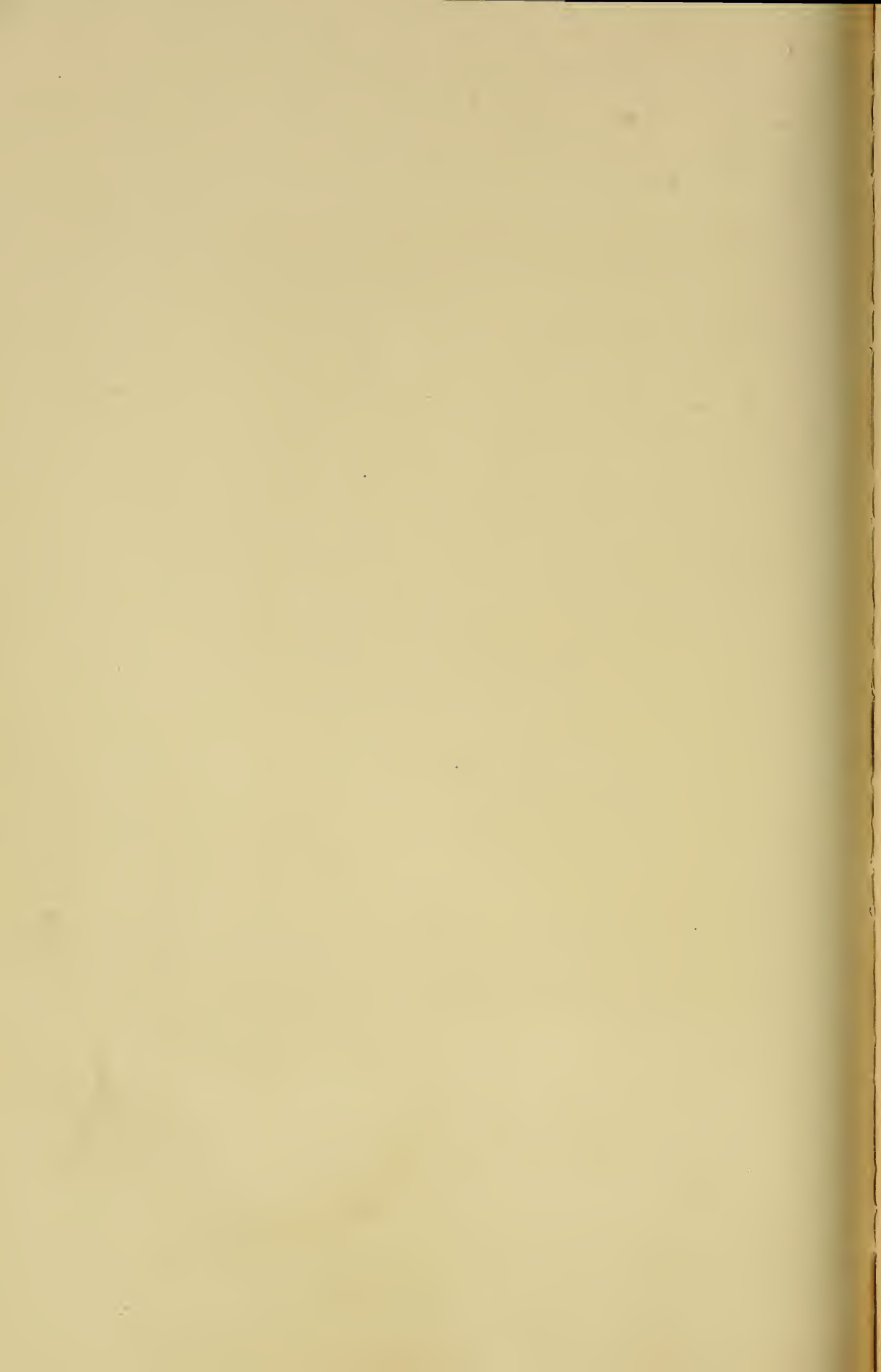


Photograph by Hackford, Boston

RELICS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

In the foreground are the Pilgrim Cells in the Guildhall, Boston, England, and the cannon used for fortifying the town against the Cavaliers during the Civil War. Beyond are the ancient kitchens of the Guildhall.

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY



which excused his presence there, and was not often seen in such an unsafe place as Boston. But in 1648 the witch-hunting campaign began; and, sandwiched between charges set down for "carrying Allison's wife to Lincoln for witchcraft" and witnesses to appear against her at the Assizes, and for "the search" of Allison and one "Sarah Sewally, accused for witches," we find an item "for sugar and wine at the visitting of D^r Tuckney," who had a hand in the wretched business: which is not surprising when an authority like the learned Dr. Thomas Browne, in his "Religio Medici," then not long published, had declared that "for my part I do ever believe and do surely know that there are witches," and that "phantoms appear often and do frequent cemeteries, charnel-houses, and churches." Here was a state of things as bad as anything of the kind prevailing in New England. The Boston Corporation paid a yearly salary to a searcher for witches, and the mania was rife throughout the Eastern Counties.¹

In 1651 Mr. Banks Anderson was engaged by the Corporation as preacher at seventy pounds per annum. From 1632 he had been minister at Holbeach. His second wife was Mary Whiting of Boston, whom he married in 1645. Anderson was a member of the Independent or Congregational party in the Church, and when in 1658

¹The Eastern Counties are to-day the most superstitious part of England. As late as the spring of 1911 the case was published of a father and son who, to ward off bewitchment, were said to have stuck pins into live toads and then burnt them!

the Protector Cromwell called a convention or synod of the Independent ministers at the Savoy, Anderson was one of the Elders summoned to attend and draw up a declaration of faith.

In the accounts of the Mayor of Boston from 1652 onward there are frequent entries of charges for presents of sugar and wine, sturgeon and what not, sent by his sympathisers to that "inflexible Republican," Sir Henry Vane, now one of the heads of the Independent party and residing, since his return from Massachusetts, at Belleau near Alford in Lincolnshire.

Pests of a certain type abounded in these topsy-turvy times, and troubled the authorities at home almost as much as they did the New England rulers. Old Boston's Mayor in 1652 leaves on record a charge for money "spent at the Peacock when we went about the towne seeking for vagrants and fanatics." Four years later Quaker George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, passed through the county, and from Crowland arrived at Boston, "where most of the chief of the town," he writes, "came to our inn, and the people seemed to be much satisfied. But there was a raging man in the yard; and Robert Craven was moved to speak to him, and told him 'he shamed Christianity,' which with some few other words so stopt the man that he went away quiet. And some were convinced there also." One is tempted to say that Robert Craven would have been useful in New England; but that is doubtful.

At the Stuart restoration in 1660 Tuckney resigned the Boston living, and, having given up his Cambridge preferments, died in 1670. Anderson lost his position in 1662 and formed an independent congregation, and on his death in 1668 was buried in the church, where the gravestone of his daughter may also be seen on the floor space near the south door. Anderson is thought — not without good reason — to have been a Baptist. The Corporation who employed him had in fact to procure someone else to administer the rite of baptism; and it was during this time that the mediæval font of the church was demolished.

The Church revival of the later Stuart period had little force in Boston, which was thoroughly imbued with the Puritan spirit. In 1660 came Obadiah Howe as Vicar; he was rather the last of the Puritans than the first of the new regime. The son of a Vicar of Tattershall, as curate of Stickney he had entertained the Roundhead leaders when on their way from Boston to the victorious Winceby fight in October, 1643. He was minister at Gedney before being preferred to Boston. The services having been resumed, efforts were made to put the church in order. A new reredos was erected, but was taken down in 1724 and sold to Gedney church in 1740, and a new altar and font were set up. A sketch of this font is preserved in the church. Howe was a voluminous writer. Dying in 1683, he was buried in the church, and his monu-

mental brass is on the wall of the Cotton Chapel.

The next Vicar was Henry Morland, a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who had been lecturer at Boston since 1675.

In 1702 Edward Kelsall was instituted. He had been master of the Grammar School, and took some interest in the Library. Kelsall was an active man. In 1713 he started the Bluecoat charity for clothing and educating poor boys and girls. He also brought back organ music to the services of the church, which had been without it since 1590. It had a reputation for good music in early times, when Leland writes of St. Botolph's as being "for a parish church the best and fairest of all Lincolnshire, and served so with singing, and that of cunning men, as no parish in all England." That was high praise. The "cunning men" were of course musicians. The organ is first mentioned in a document of about 1480, more than a century before the Puritans sold the instrument. Now, after an interval of more than another century, it was restored through the efforts of Vicar Kelsall, who procured the erection in 1717 of an organ built by Christian Smith, nephew and fellow-workman of the celebrated Father Smith, who came to England with the return of the Stuart dynasty. This organ stood on a screen between the chancel and the nave; in front of it was a singers' gallery, facing west, which is now in the Roman Church. On either

side of the chancel are still the doors that led to the rood-loft demolished by order of the Corporation in 1590, with the sanction of the Vicar of that day; above are the doorways, now blocked up, through which the loft was entered. The nave and aisles were in Kelsall's time filled with pews rising gradually to the sills of the windows from a central area in which the pulpit and reading-desk stood; the chancel was only used for the quarterly communions.

On Kelsall's death, in 1719, Samuel Coddington became Vicar. He also had been the Grammar School master. Under him the mediæval vestry on the south of the chancel, and the disused chapels at the east of the aisles, were destroyed.

John Rigby, who succeeded Coddington in 1732, was another Grammar School master. In 1742 the churchyard was considerably enlarged by the gift of John Parish of the Ostrich Inn and adjoining premises on condition that the Corporation would pull down the old gaol and shops adjacent and devote the site to the same use, which they did. Other buildings in this corner of the Market-place were razed by the Corporation a few years later, when the churchyard assumed, if we include the railed-in Ingram monument, much the appearance it presents to-day.

Rigby died in 1746, when John Calthrop stepped into the vacant living; he was also Vicar of Kirton and a prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, Calthrop, in 1751, erected a new

vicarage house, the Corporation assisting with funds. This second vicarage was pulled down in 1870 and the ground upon which it stood taken into the garden of the existing residence. The old vicarage occupied by John Cotton, which had an approach from Wormgate, was demolished in 1850.

There was Wesleyan preaching at Boston in 1756, and the effect of it was a revival of Puritan dissent. The General Baptists of Boston, one of the oldest communions in the kingdom — formed about 1649, and having in 1662 and 1664 undergone the ordeal of persecution — were now endowed with some landed property and a good site for their church, which since 1739 had been a barn. In 1781 — thirty-five years after Calthrop's coming — a great change was wrought in the interior of Boston Church, when the fine old flat panelled ceilings, which were in a bad state, were replaced by the present sham vaults, the springers of which conceal the clumsy props of the original nave roof. The ceilings are light and graceful, but decidedly unsuitable, especially in the clerestory, the height of which they diminish by over twenty feet. Ecclesiologists consistently abuse them, and they are rather a bad memory to poor Calthrop, who died four years after they were put in. He was buried at Gosberton, his native place.

Samuel Partridge, F.S.A., appointed in 1785, held the rectory of the south mediety of Leverton

until 1797 and was also Vicar of Wigtoft and Quadring. In his time the Fens were enclosed.

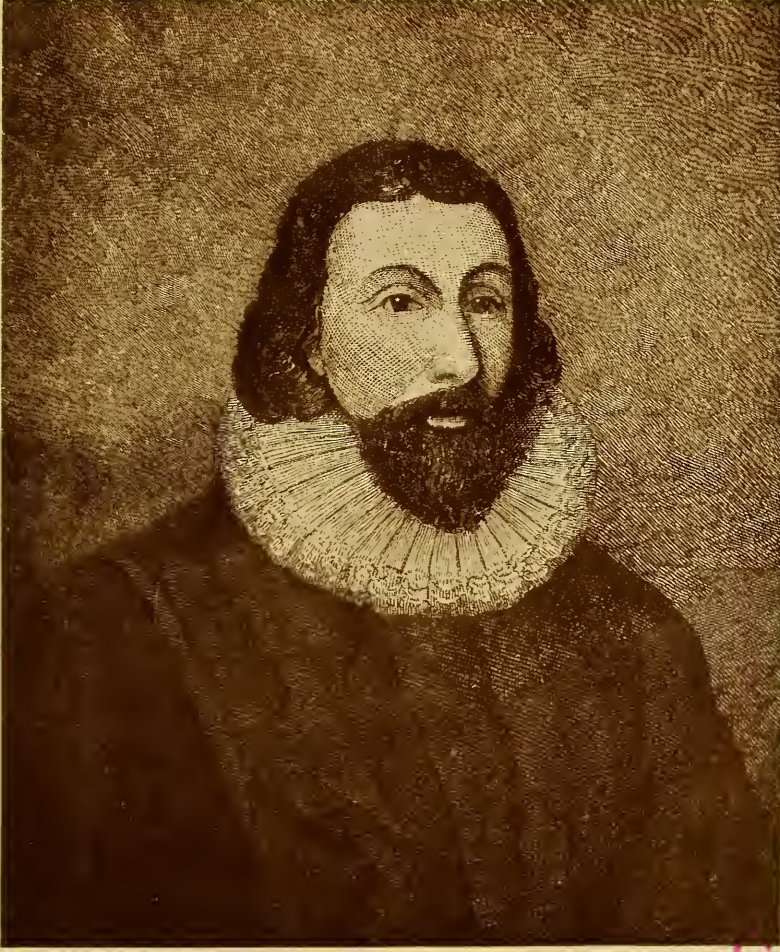
On Partridge's death, in 1817, Bartholomew Goe was called to Boston. Under this vicar the Chapel-of-Ease, or St. Aidan's Church, was built, on the authority of a private Act of Parliament by which the stipend of the minister was charged upon the town. In 1835 was passed the Municipal Reform Act, under which the patronage of ecclesiastical benefices, the advowsons of which were held by municipal bodies, became vested in the bishops of dioceses, though the corporations retained the right to sell the advowsons. Goe was therefore the last of the eighteen vicars appointed by the Corporation. That thrifty assembly was in a selling humour. It sold the advowson of the Chapel-of-Ease, along with the Corporation plate and regalia — a crime for which posterity will not readily forgive it — and, after two vicars had been collated by bishops of Lincoln, also sold the advowson of the vicarage, for which Mr. Herbert Ingram paid ten hundred and fifty pounds. From the widow of the purchaser it passed to the Watkin family, and in 1906 the patrons vested it in the Bishop of Lincoln in right of his see.

On Goe's death in 1838 John Furness Ogle was made Vicar. The Victorian revival had now set in. As in Howe's case, Ogle was rather the last of the old school than the first of the new era; but he could not altogether resist the move-

ment. The restoration of the church was commenced in 1840, and, after having ceased for a while, was continued after his death in the early fifties, when the large raised modern font given by Mr. Beresford Hope was erected and the church was re-dedicated, the Reverend G. B. Blenkin being Vicar. After Canon Blenkin came Canon Stephenson, and then Canon Heygate.

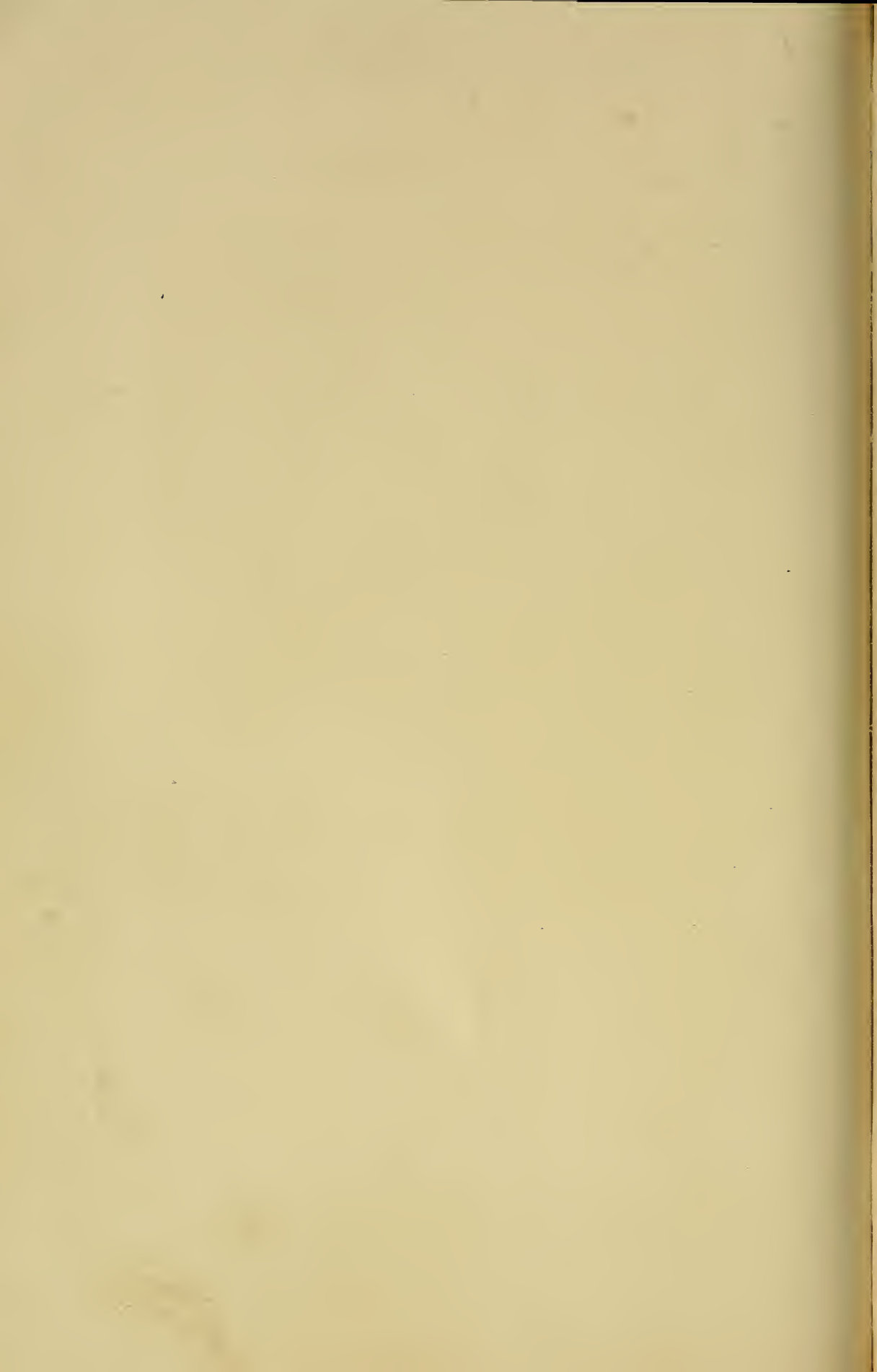
We have seen something of St. Botolph's Church in John Cotton's time. Let us now survey its venerable interior as it appears to-day. One of the sights it presents is the splendid stone vaulting of the tower, one hundred and fifty-six feet from the ground, probably the highest in the world. This groined ceiling, inserted when the church was restored, is at the level of the second story. The tower itself, rising two hundred seventy-two and one half feet, octagonal crown included, is the tallest in the country. The width of the nave, one hundred feet, is equalled by only one English cathedral. The full length of the church is three hundred feet.

There is a curious correspondence between its architectural features and the divisions of time. Thus the three hundred and sixty-five steps to the top of the tower coincide with the days in the year; and as many windows are in the church as there are weeks in the year. The months are represented by the twelve pillars, and the days of the week by the doors. The twenty-four steps to the Library stand for the hours of



JOHN WINTHROP

BOSTON
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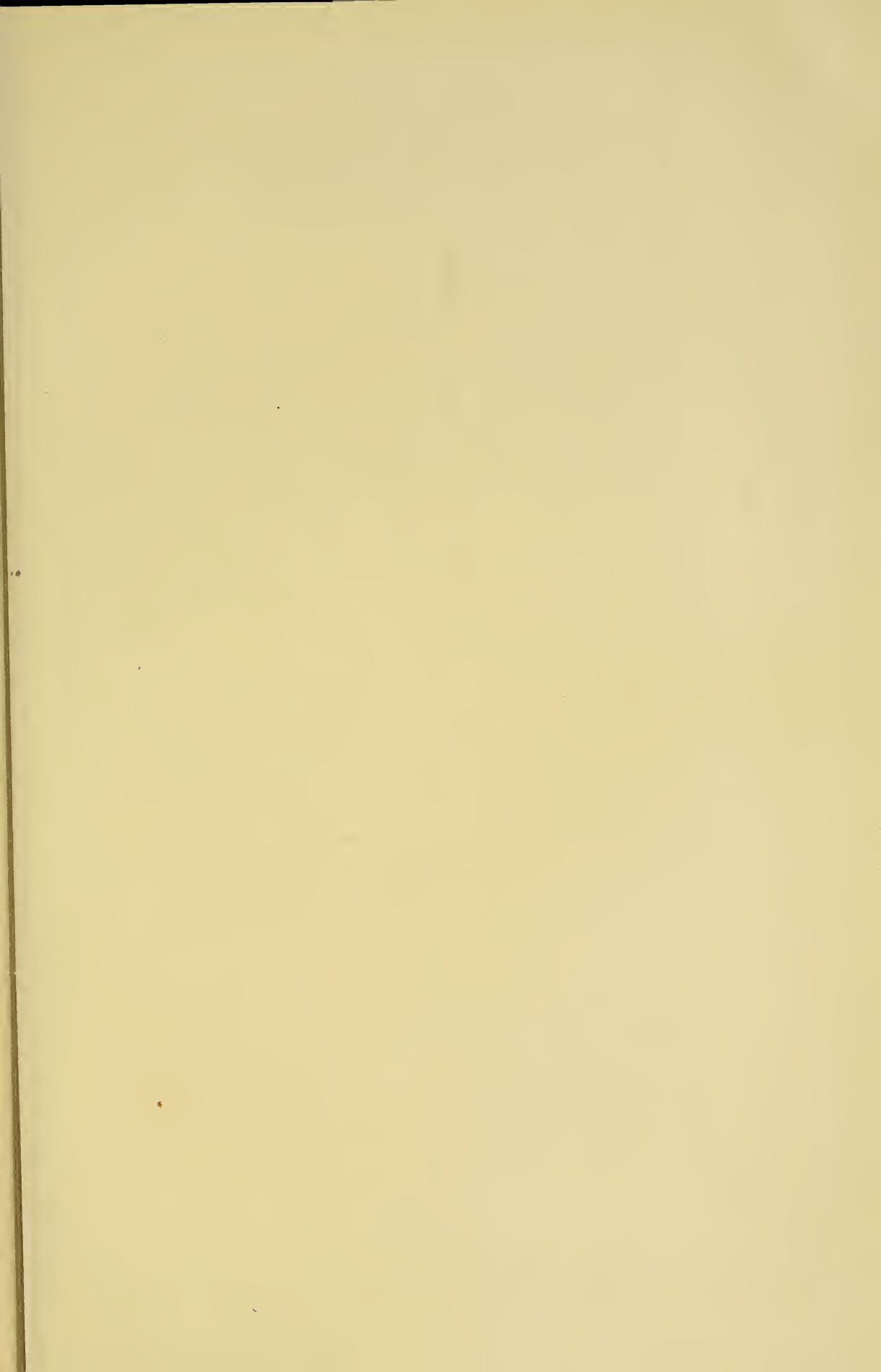
the day; the sixty in each staircase leading to the chancel roof equal the minutes of the hour and the seconds of the minute.

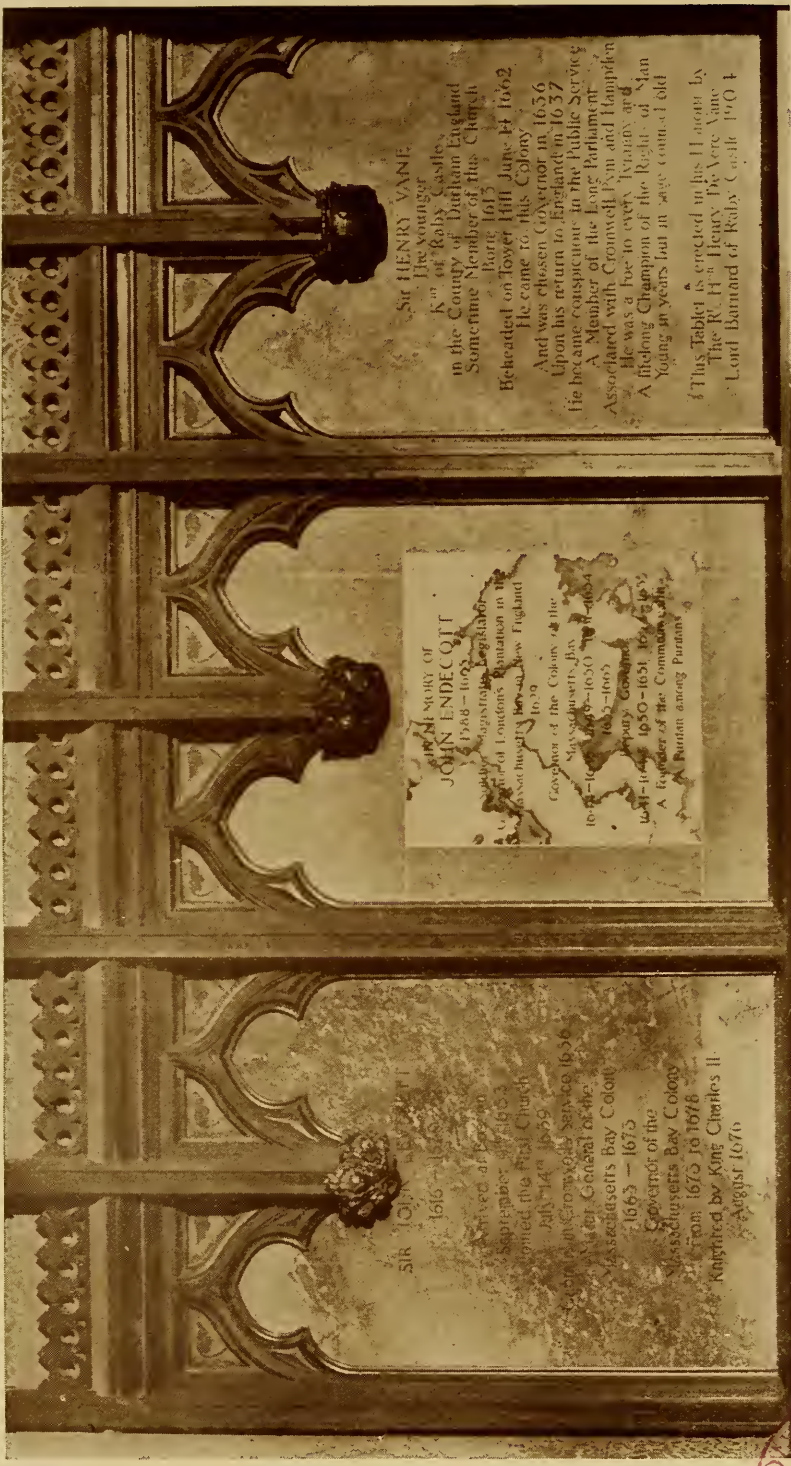
There are chimes in the tower connected with the clock, as there were in the seventeenth and succeeding centuries. Mention of the clock and chimes is made in the local records as far back as 1614. Renewed in 1732, the chimes were worn out and ceased to play a hundred years later. In 1867 were installed thirty-six carillons made by the famous founder Van Aerschodt of Louvain. These did not prove satisfactory, and in 1897 they were recast into four larger bells which now supplement the eight ringing bells of the peal, also used as chimes, which play sweet hymn tunes or popular national airs at intervals during the daytime.

At the 1853 restoration traces of the earlier church were discovered four feet below the level of the present building; and one Norman stone coffin and the curiously carved lids of others, found among the old foundations, are now to be seen in the sepulchral recesses of the north and south aisle walls. Strange to say, when the existing pile was raised the great four-storied lantern-capped tower, its chief glory, was not begun till the rest of the fabric was completed. Doubtless it was in the original design of the architect, but the building of it came last; it is indeed considered by many to have been left unfinished after all. The oldest portion of the church is the foundation of the tower, laid with

much ceremony, but to little purpose then, in 1309, excavations having revealed a gravel layer on the clay subsoil five feet below the bed of the haven. The first stone of the projected tower was put in position by Dame Margery Tilney, assisted by Richard Stephenson, a merchant of Boston, and Rector John Truesdale, each of whom placed upon the stone five pounds sterling. But from some cause the work did not proceed much further for nearly thirty years. Then the church was commenced and by degrees completed; and the chancel having been lengthened two bays, the tower itself was erected. Probably the delay in setting it up was occasioned by a natural fear lest a proper foundation should not be secured for so tremendous a structure. It was a masterly conception. Combining in its composition height, strength, and lightness, its outline gradually diminishes in bulk and might well have terminated with the top parapet and angle pinnacles; but above these, crowning the tower proper, rises the lordly lantern, borne up by flying buttresses from the corner pinnacles and supported by angle buttresses, the whole culminating in slender pinnacles tipped with gilded vanes.

The lofty arch under which we pass on to the floor of the tower once contained the west window; the level of the sill is shown by the place where the moulding ceases on the inner wall. Before the tower was built turrets stood





SIR JOHN LEVERETT
 1616 - 1675
 Arrived at Boston
 September 19, 1633
 Joined the First Church
 July 14th 1639
 Captain in Cromwell's Service 1636
 Major General in the
 Massachusetts Bay Colony
 1633 - 1675
 Governor of the
 Massachusetts Bay Colony
 from 1673 to 1678
 Knighted by King Charles II
 August 1676

MEMORIAL OF
 JOHN ENDICOTT
 1588 - 1633
 Governor of Massachusetts
 A member of London's Plantation in the
 Massachusetts Bay Colony
 1629 - 1630
 Governor of the Colony of the
 Massachusetts Bay
 1629 - 1630 to 1630
 1630 - 1633
 A member of the Commons
 A Puritan among Puritans

SIR HENRY VANE
 The younger
 K^{nt} of Rabby Castle,
 in the County of Durham England
 Sometime Member of the Church
 Barre 1615
 Beheaded on Tower Hill June 14 1662
 He came to this Colony
 And was chosen Governor in 1656
 Upon his return to England in 1657
 He became conspicuous in the Public Service
 A Member of the Long Parliament
 Associated with Cromwell Pym and Hampden
 He was a foe to every Tyranny and
 A lifelong Champion of the Rights of Man
 Young in years but in sage counsel old

This Tablet is erected in his Honor by
 The R. H. M. Henry De Vere Vane
 Lord Barrard of Rabby Castle 1904

TABLETS IN THE FIRST CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS., TO SIR JOHN LEVERETT,
 JOHN ENDICOTT AND SIR HENRY VANE



at this end which are still used as stair-turrets, and the west door, restored in 1891, is believed to have been shifted to its present position from the wall enclosing the nave. A section of beautifully sculptured stone, displaced at the renovation of the portal, found its way to the American Boston and now adorns the base of John Cotton's memorial in the First Church. This time-worn fragment must date from the earliest construction of the church, and unquestionably, three centuries and more later, it formed a part of the main entrance during all the years John Cotton was Vicar of St. Botolph's.

As the visitor stands at the west end of this noble fane — this pilgrim shrine, a Mecca of Americans — and looks about him, he will assuredly find himself sympathising with the view that it possesses probably the most magnificently proportioned interior of any parish church in England. On his right he will see the Cotton Chapel, enclosed since 1895 by an oak screen which replaced the older curtains hung between the arches. A little beyond is the porch, with the Library above it now thrown open to the church by the removal from over the south door of Mequignon's copy of Rubens' "Descent from the Cross," a large triptych which from 1724 for a hundred and thirty years served the church as an altar-piece.

The height, length, and spaciousness of this cathedral-like edifice all impress the spectator, who, while realising its vastness, can imagine

something also of its mediæval grandeur, with its rich ornamentation and stained glass, before the lumber of screens and furniture vanished and the flat panelled ceilings with carvings and painted shields made way for their eighteenth century substitutes.

But the church still presents a goodly sight, with its pillars and arches and modern coloured windows, especially that at the east end, rearing in proud splendour over the obtruding reredos, where in the chancel are fifteenth century stalls, once thickly coated with paint, with their quaintly wrought *miserere* seats, numbering sixty-three, and surmounted now, like the chancel doorways, by canopies copied from Lincoln Cathedral, with the donors' names and arms inscribed above them. Carved oak canopy work also covers the sediliæ within the altar rails, where is a piscina, and the aumbries have oak doors and beautiful iron fittings.

Around these ancient walls are many memorials to bygone Bostonians, hatchments and marbles, tablets and armorial brasses. They are plentiful and more interesting in the south aisle, where we find a Dineley brass engraved with a skeleton bearing arms. The Dineleys (also written Dingley: a William Dingley was Mayor in 1597), neighbours of the Earl of Lincoln at Boston, were early settlers in New England. A brass placed here has the name and arms of Nightingale Kyme, who, dying in 1814, was the last of his line, one of the oldest in

I



2



3



4



5



FIVE OF THE MISERERE SEATS IN ST. BOTOLPH'S, BOSTON, ENGLAND

1. Queen Anne of Bohemia. — 2. The Argument of the Rod. — 3. The Cock and the Fox. — 4. Man and Monster. — 5. A Hunter taken Unawares.

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Lincolnshire. It was a Kyme who married the widowed Princess Cicely, daughter of Edward IV., who, with her first husband, Viscount Wells, was a member of the Guild of Corpus Christi at Boston. Another Kyme married Anne Ayscough, the martyr. The Kyme family held Kyme Tower from 1600 till Nightingale's death; before them it belonged to the Rochfords, who lived there before the church was built.

In one of the arched recesses is a brass to Robert Townley (d. 1588), Comptroller of the Port, and Joanna his wife; also a copper tablet to Alderman Robert Wilby (d. 1791), twice Mayor; and a brass to Pishey Thompson, the local historian, who for a time resided at Washington, but, returning from America, died at home in 1862.

In a blocked doorway of the staircase once leading to the rood-loft of the famous Chapel of Our Lady is a brass with arms to Richard Bolles (d. 1591), grandfather of Sir John Bolles of Thorpe Hall, Louth, hero of the Legend of the Spanish Lady. The brass is quaintly inscribed with a record of the Bolles' family history; concerning which it may be stated here that two of Sir John's sons, Charles and John, Royalist cavaliers, were killed in the Civil War, one at Winceby, fighting against Cromwell and the Boston men, and the other near Winchester.

It is in respect of this "Chappell of Our Lady in St. Botolph's" that Fox in his "Acts and Monuments" gives an amusing account of how

Thomas Cromwell assisted the Boston deputation in cajoling Pope Julius II. into renewing his Papal indulgences: "And thus were the jolly pardons of the towne of Boston obtained."

Here in these recesses, near the old sedilia and statue brackets, all finely carved, are the altar tombs and effigies of a knight of St. John of Malta, supposed to be a Dineley, and Dame Margery Tilney, ancestress of Anne Boleyn, who laid the first stone of "Boston steeple."

Further westward in this aisle, on a wall which blocks the portal of a former outer chapel, is a brass to one of Boston's most distinguished sons, Henry Hallam the historian, whose grandparents lie in the adjacent churchyard. Grandfather John Hallam, a surgeon, was twice Mayor of Boston, in 1741-54. His son John, father of the historian, passed from Boston Grammar School to Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and became Canon of Windsor and Dean of Bristol, and is buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Latin inscription to the historian has thus been rendered into English verse¹:

To the memory of Henry Hallam,
 Who first of all historians of our land
 Laid on himself, and kept it, this command —
 Like a just judge that leans to neither side,
 To sift the evidence and so decide.

¹ By Mr. Richard Newcomb. The second line of the second verse is not represented in the original, but Mr. Newcomb claims that otherwise the paraphrase is fairly close for a metrical one.

Here, where men knew of old her father's name —
Here, where 'twas honoured ere it sprang to fame —
This brass that name — at home to her as dear
As great abroad — his daughter bids to bear.

Also noteworthy is the beautiful little alabaster monument in the chancel to the classical scholar and literary critic, John Conington, Corpus Professor of Latin at Oxford University, to whose father, the Reverend Richard Conington, first minister of the Chapel-of-Ease, the fine lectern in the church, a large brass eagle, is a memorial. Their ancestor, Jacob Conington, was Mayor of Boston in an historic year, 1775, which witnessed the battle of Bunker's Hill at the New Boston. The Coningtons became extinct in 1906 on the death of a surviving daughter of Richard Conington.

Those whose benefactions helped the poor, as well as the men who brought honour to the town, have their names perpetuated on the walls of the church. John Blount and John Wood, who left legacies to the parish, are commemorated by the stone shields over the tower doorways. Both these worthy Bostonians were twice Mayor towards the close of the seventeenth century, and both died in the same year, 1702. North of the records of their pious gifts is the tablet of Bartholomew Goe, B.A., once vicar, and near it a mural marble to Job Philips, musician (d. 1850), carved at the foot of which is an open music-book, with the words "You will remember me" over the score of the song.

The spacious floor on which we stand is flagged with sepulchral slabs. Several of them show the matrices of brasses, Flemish and English, of which they were stripped in Puritan — and other — times. Some flat stones in the nave and aisles are similarly denuded. Two of the brasses taken from these slabs, figures of a man and a woman, worn quite bare, are now on the inner wall of the Cotton Chapel. Two finer, though mutilated, specimens of ancient monumental brasswork may be seen on either side of the church altar. One of them, brought here from the nave, represents Walter Pescod, a merchant of Boston and benefactor of St. Mary's Guild, who died in 1389; originally Mistress Pescod formed part of the brass, and most of the canopy which surrounded them is still *in situ*. The other is the figure of a priest, clothed in surplice, almuce, and cope.

Tombstones which tell their mute story at the west end of the building are all that is left of Mayors and their kindred and other local notabilities long since gone to dust. The practice of burying in the church was discontinued many years ago; the last interment, a solitary revival of the objectionable custom, was in 1868.

The name of Hutchinson recalls the early days of the Massachusetts Colony. Here may be read the stone of Samuel Hutchinson (Mayor 1680-95) and Catharine, his wife, who both died in 1696. Stephen Hutchinson, presumably their son, was Mayor in 1699.

Specially interesting is a great heavy memorial slab, rudely and curiously carved, to one Wisselus, "Civis et Mercator Monasteriensis," who died in 1340. This antiquarian relic, found on the site of the church of the Franciscan Friars in Boston, was built into the wall of a house in Spain Court, at the back of the old warehouses of the merchants of St. Mary's Guild in Spain Lane, whence it was rescued, and, as we are informed by a brass plate let into the church pavement, entrusted to the Vicar and church wardens, for better preservation, in 1897.

Only one or two other memorials need be noticed. Over the inner door of the Cotton Chapel is the brass of Dr. Obadiah Howe, the last of the Puritan vicars of Boston buried in the church. He married Elizabeth Olter, a widow, who, after his death, married John Tooley (d. 1686), whose stone is on the floor of the church, carved with arms and having brasses still in good condition. The tombstone of the thrice-wedded lady is also there.

Above the outer door of the chapel is a brass tablet, once in the south aisle, engraved with the portrait of a contemporary of Cotton, Thomas Lawe, who was an Alderman of Boston in 1632 and Mayor three times after that. He is pictured here in a full-sleeved gown, a large ruff, and skull cap. There is a story that Lawe sat in Parliament during the Protectorate and opposed and annoyed Oliver Cromwell. No

evidence exists of this, but he was probably a Royalist.

Buried in the Cotton Chapel, where his stone lies under the altar with its splendid new reredos, is John Laughton, founder in 1707 of Laughton's School, first carried on here and afterwards at the old Church-house over the way, for the educating of poor freemen's sons. A stained glass window to Laughton was put in the chapel by freemen and freemen's sons in 1858.

Some untoward incidents have marked the history of the church. In November, 1775, while John Calthrop was Vicar, it was broken into during the night and all the valuable communion plate was stolen. The thieves got away with two silver flagons and a silver dish, chased and gilt, and a silver cup and cover, large vessels given by Lord Coleraine; two smaller silver cups, an ancient silver patine, and three more silver dishes. No trace of the plate was ever discovered, but the parish replaced it with another service less than a year after the robbery.

In May, 1803, a fire, caused by careless workmen, broke out in the nave roof, the flames spread rapidly, and only the strenuous exertions of the townsfolk saved their beloved church from destruction.

The building was often flooded by high tides flowing up the Witham in former days, and the tower has several times been struck by lightning within living memory. In July, 1893, a pin-

nacle of the lantern was demolished. Sunday night, August 5, 1900, brought a terrifying experience. The people were standing at the close of the service, while the organist played the Dead March, when a lower pinnacle of the tower, weighing upwards of a ton, was thrown down by lightning and crashed through the nave roof, shattering the steps of the font and causing a panic. A few moments later the congregation would have been leaving and loss of life would probably have resulted. The tower was struck a third time on the afternoon of May 13, 1908, and the incident was again of an alarming character. It was market day and the town was full of country folk, many of whom witnessed the damage done to St. Botolph's. The stonework was cut through as cleanly as though with a giant knife, and down toppled a mass of masonry, a lantern pinnacle, before the eyes of the startled spectators. Part of the dislodged stone fell into the churchyard below and buried itself in the ground near where the pinnacle descended in 1893. But this time a good portion of the masonry fell inwards, driving holes through the bell chamber roof and smashing to splinters the heavy beams, one of which was forced out and came tumbling down on the bells, making them toll weirdly amidst the thunderstorm. People afterwards ascending the steeple were assailed by an overpowering sulphurous smell on the winding staircase leading to the belfry. The tower has since been pro-

tected by the presence of a lightning conductor, a precaution which, incredible as it may seem, had never been taken before.

The final words of this volume shall be concerning another pilgrim shrine, the Guildhall, after the Church the most ancient and interesting building in Boston. For not only was this historic hall closely associated with the Pilgrim Fathers and the men of Old Boston who helped to make New England — in whose day and generation it was already growing an old building — but it carries us back to the period of the rich mercantile guilds which were the evidence of the town's mediæval prosperity.

For some years in the hands of the charity trustees and Grammar School governors, the Guildhall had fallen into a neglected state and become even structurally unsound. In 1909, during the mayoralty of Mr. George Jebb and at his instigation, the hall was thoroughly examined by an architect on behalf of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, who made recommendations for its careful restoration at an estimated outlay of six hundred pounds; and in consequence of his report, and also of the public-spirited advocacy of Mr. Jebb, then deputy-Mayor, and Mr. Joseph Cooke, an ex-Mayor of the borough, supported by the Mayor for the year, Mr. James Eley, it was decided in 1911 to do this work and preserve the building by means of a town's fund. Happily the scheme was

carried a step further still, and completed by the generous act of Mr. Frank Harrison in providing the purchase money for the hall, a sum of five hundred pounds. The double object was thus secured of the restoration and preservation of the building and its return to the custody of its natural and proper guardians, the Corporation.

This landmark of Boston for nigh five hundred years, relic of its former greatness, possesses a wonderfully interesting history. Anciently the hall of St. Mary's Guild, it is a rare example of early Gothic brickwork. Guilds played an important part in the life of the Middle Ages. Guild companies existing in Saxon times gave a social status to their members, but after the Conquest the guilds became trading or religious bodies or simply friendly associations. The object generally seems to have been the promotion by union of the good of the whole membership. Boston, as became its mediæval activity, was well supplied with guilds; there were six principal guilds in the town, and the chief of them all and the earliest in date, though not the first to be incorporated, was the Guild of the Blessed Mary. This was founded by some merchants in 1260, but was only incorporated in 1393 on the petition of Anne of Bohemia, the Queen of Richard II, whose head, as we have seen (in Chapter I. and subsequently), is carved on the *miserere* bracket under a stall in Boston Church, no doubt in commemoration of this

event. The Guild presumably built, and certainly maintained, the Chapel of Our Lady, called the "Scala Coelia," or ladder of heaven, which occupied the two eastern bays of the south aisle and was screened off, the western screen being crowned by a loft. Pope Sixtus IV. granted sundry privileges to the brethren and sisters of the Guild in 1475, and, as already told, it also obtained, in a peculiar way, other indulgences from Pope Julius II. in 1510. Though the Guild had its Chapel in St. Botolph's, it does not appear to have owned any property at its foundation, although it distributed a thousand loaves of wheaten bread and a thousand herrings to the poor annually on the feast of Purification. Two priests were on the original foundation.

The present hall, which may have succeeded an earlier one, was built after the incorporation of the Guild, which at the beginning of the sixteenth century had coming in about three hundred and fifty pounds a year, a sum then equal in purchasing power to ten or twelve times the present amount. Nearly half this revenue was derived from rents, and the remainder from legacies, subscriptions, and donations. The income of the Guild was expended in maintaining seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen bedesmen (who lived in houses in Bedesmen's Lane at the back of the Guildhall), and in carrying on the Grammar School, the master of which was allowed nine pounds per annum and eight



Photograph by Hackford, Boston

THE GUILDHALL, BOSTON, ENGLAND, FROM SOUTH SQUARE
Next to the Hall is Fyde Hall, a residence built in the Reign of Queen Anne



and fourpence for his clothing. By 1520 the receipts of the Guild had increased to five hundred and forty-five pounds, quite a vast sum in those days.

The wealth of the Guild of St. Mary is shown by its goods as enumerated in the inventory, now in the hands of the Corporation, taken in 1534. The record is a parchment roll nine feet long, closely written on both sides! According to this stock-taking St. Mary's House or Hall contained a table of alabaster two yards in length, with altar cloths and vestments, pix, bells, and candlesticks; also an image of Our Lady made of wood, standing in a tabernacle, and a smaller image of Our Lady fashioned in alabaster; together with a printed mass-book with the "Mass of Saynt Botulph wrytten at the ende of ytt." Many books are described, and in the "Revestrye," or vestry, were certain sacred relics, fingers and bones of saints and other treasures, enclosed in precious metal, and numerous articles of silver and gilt, the total weight of the "jewels" being over a thousand ounces. Costly vestments and various paraphernalia were also in the collection. In the hall were "five candlestykes hyngynge like potts," whereof the largest had five branches and each of the others three. There were eight tables on the north side of the hall, joined and nailed to the tressels, and seven on the south side similarly arranged, with twelve forms placed by the sides of the tables, and three tables and as many forms in the chapel chamber.

A great quantity of table linen is mentioned: the tablecloths were six, seven, and even nine yards long. The brass pots, pans, and kettles used in the kitchens weighed ten hundred and fifty pounds, and the pewter and laten ware was half that weight. The three "greatt broches [spits] of yron" were each three and a half yards long. A beam of iron had four leaden weights. These things were in the hall kitchen. A "lower kitchen" contained, among other utensils, a huge vessel of lead, "a grete cage wherein to put pullen [poultry], a sowe [large tub], 13 ale tubs and 20 ale potts." These details indicate that the members of the Guild, whatever else they did, fared well and often, and in their way had as great a relish for the good things of life as had Pope Julius, that "greedy cormorant" for whose "holy tooth," which delighted in "new fangled strange delicates and dainty dishes," Cromwell and his Boston men prepared their "gelly junkets" and got the "jolly pardons" in exchange.

But bad days were in store for the Guild, which lost all its belongings. To make amends to Boston for the injury he had done it by dissolving the religious houses, Henry VIII. in 1545 raised the town to the rank of a free borough, gave it a charter of incorporation, and granted it several privileges; and, in consideration of the payment of sixteen hundred and forty-six pounds, made over to it, among other plunder, the lands and buildings of the friaries



and the property owned by certain abbeys and monasteries in Boston, together with the possessions of the lately attainted Lord Hussey, including Hussey Tower. Next year the Guild of St. Mary surrendered to the Corporation.

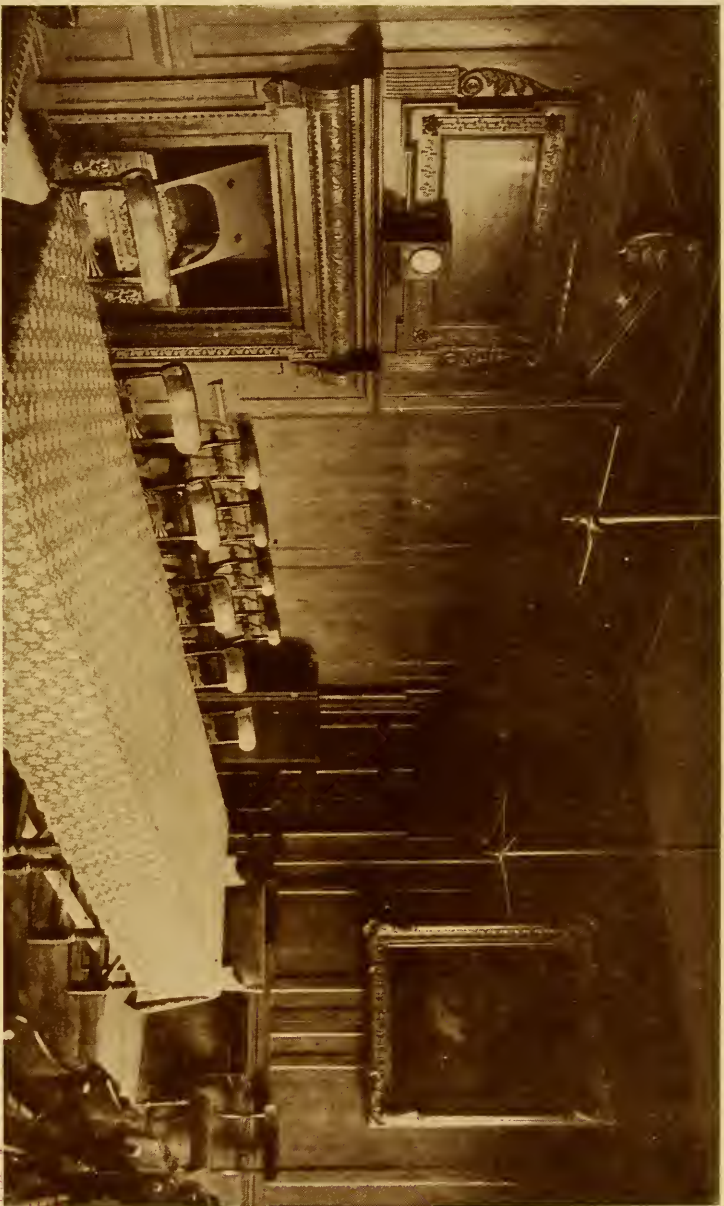
King Henry died shortly after, and the adventurers who surrounded his successor declined to recognise the surrender of the Guild because, they said, the incidental maintenance of clergy made the whole of its expenditure liable to the taint of superstitious uses. This was a pretext on which the young King Edward was made to confiscate all the Guild's property and give it to William Parr, brother of the Queen Dowager, who was created Earl of Essex and Marquess of Northampton.

Vengeance followed swift upon this evil deed. The king died in 1553, and Lord Northampton, for being concerned in the conspiracy to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne, was attainted of high treason and his estate forfeited to the Crown. The goods stolen from Boston were wasted and gone, but the lands, together with lands seized from other guilds, and of course the Guildhall, were restored by the charter of Philip and Mary in 1554 and vested in the Corporation, on trust for certain purposes, which included the maintenance of two priests (the Vicar and the Lecturer), provided for the resuscitation of the Grammar School (which after an existence of two hundred and fifty years before its suppression under Edward VI. was thus

revived, though it was not actually reopened till the reign of Queen Elizabeth), and directed the maintenance of four bedesmen who were to pray in Boston Church "for ever, for the good and prosperous state of the Queen whilst living, and for her and her ancestors' souls after her decease"; a duty which, it is much to be feared, has been sadly neglected in later times.

The Guildhall was thereafter used by the Corporation for its meetings, and it has since continued to be closely linked with the public affairs and the social life of Boston. Here John Cotton attended the "great feasts of the town," and here civic entertainments and the balls given by members of Parliament were held until 1822, when the Assembly-rooms were built in the Market-place. Here Recorder Bellingham and his predecessors and successors sat at the Quarter Sessions from 1545 to 1836: the Guildhall court-room where the Pilgrim Fathers faced the Justices was stripped of its fittings only in 1878. And here, in the old Council Chamber, the mayors of Boston were always made from the date of incorporation down to 1887.

The Corporation ceased to meet for ordinary business in this building in 1835, on the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, when the charities they administered were turned over to the charity trustees, who took possession of the Guildhall. Perhaps it was as well they did so, for the reformed Corporation did not scruple to sell the town regalia and plate, and they would



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THE OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, GUILDHALL, BOSTON, ENGLAND

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probably have sold the Guildhall too had a tempting offer come along. Happily they never had that opportunity.

A better spirit now prevails, and we may be sure that the Guildhall, with its long past and memorable associations, restored alike in its fabric and in its ownership, will be faithfully preserved and safeguarded as being, next to the church, the most venerable and historic and in every way interesting building in Old Boston.

THE END

INDEX

- "Abigail," The, 18
 Adams, Charles F., 176
 Adams, John, 166
 Adams, John Quincy, 166
 Addington, Israel, 104
 Alexander, Benjamin, 29, 37
 Allen, Matthew, 109
 "Ambrose," The, 21
 Anderson, Mr., Merchant, 104
 Anderson, Mr. Banks, 211-213
 Anne of Bohemia, 7-8, 231
 "Arabella," The, 20, 21, 27, 28
 Armstead, William, 37
 Audley, Christopher, 145-146
- Bacon, Sir Nathaniel, 111
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 12
 Barefoot, Thomas, 63, 64
 Barkham, Sir Edward, 111
 Barlow, Bishop, 32-33
 Baron, Peter, 33
 Bawtree, Leonard, 56 58, 64
 Bayard, Hon. T. F., 191-195
 Bedford, William, 190, 191
 Bellingham, Francis, 106
 Bellingham, John, 162
 Bellingham, Richard, 28, 64, 73,
 106-108, 111, 120, 121, 123,
 137, 138-139, 141, 142, 143,
 161, 162-164, 236
 Bellingham, Samuel, 162
 Bennett, Mr., 63
 Blenkin, Canon G. B., 186-187,
 189, 196, 218
 Boleyn, Anne, 8, 89, 224
 Boleyn, Sir Thomas, 8
 Boston, Lincolnshire, 1-18, 23,
 25-30, 32-37, 43-45, 49, 55-
 64, 68, 73, 75, 78, 80, 85-99,
 104-111, 113, 117, 135, 136,
 141-142, 145-148, 167, 168,
 181-206, 209-237
 — St. Botolph's Church, 4, 5,
 8, 14, 85-93, 137, 182, 185-189,
 196, 199-202, 209-230
- Boston, Guild of St. Mary and the
 Guildhall, 7, 12-13, 80, 94,
 199-200, 227, 230-237
 — Grammar School, 13, 89,
 191, 200, 214, 215, 230, 235
 — Old Town Gaol, 12, 90
 — Market Place, 12, 93, 136,
 141
 — Hussey Tower, 13, 235
 — St John's Church, 13, 93
 — Old Vicarage, 91, 216
 — Old Church House, 92
 — Pacy House, 92
 — Town bridge, 93
 — House of Assembly, 94
 Boston, Massachusetts, 7, 9,
 22-25, 29, 74, 88, 109, 112-
 144, 151-177, 181-182, 185-
 206, 221
 — King's Chapel, 24, 152, 161,
 174
 — First Church, 136-137, 153,
 175-177, 188-190, 197-198,
 221
 — Old South Church, 174
 — Christ Church, 174
 — Trinity Church, 174-175,
 187-188, 197
 Bradford, William, 10, 115
 Bradstreet, Dorothy, 151, 152
 Bradstreet, Simon, 27, 35, 73,
 141, 165
 Brewster, William, 10, 11, 12,
 115, 125
 Bright, Francis, 19
 Britton, Mr., 131
 Brooks, John Cotton, 201
 Brooks, Rev. Phillips, 187, 196,
 197-198, 201
 Browne, Abraham, 56, 63, 64
 Browne, Dr. Thomas, 211
 Burgess, Dr. John, 35
 Burke, Edmund, 181
 Byfield, Nathaniel, 165

- Calthrop, John, 215-216, 228
 Calvin, John, 33, 34, 36, 38, 92, 177
 Cambridge, Mass., 109, 152
 Cambridge University, England, 30-33
 Camden, 95
 Carlyle, 160
 Chadwick, Rev. John White, 143
 Charles I, 112, 120
 Charles II, 164, 213
 Charlestown, Mass., 18, 22, 27
 Chelmsford, 109
 "Chillingworth, Roger," 140, 144
 Clark, John, 161
 Coddington, Samuel, 215
 Coddington, William, 18, 27, 108, 165-166
 Coney, John, 80, 81, 152
 Coney, Mary Cotton, 80, 152
 Coney, Thomas, 61, 62-64, 80-81, 152
 Cooke, Dr. Elisha, 165
 Cooke, Joseph, 230
 Cotton, Elizabeth, 152
 Cotton, Elizabeth Horrocks, 51, 75
 Cotton, John (1), 18, 20-21, 23, 27, 28-35, 37, 38, 43-52, 61, 63-64, 67-73, 74-93, 95-96, 98, 103-106, 108, 110, 112, 113-124, 126, 128, 136, 139, 140, 142, 151-161, 166, 168, 171, 172, 174, 175-177, 185-186, 188, 189, 196, 197-198, 200, 201, 209, 216, 218, 221, 236
 Cotton, John (2), 151, 152
 Cotton, Maria, (*see* Mather, Maria Cotton)
 Cotton, Mary, (*see* Coney, Mary Cotton)
 Cotton, Roland (1), 30
 Cotton, Roland (2), 139, 151
 Cotton, Sarah, 139, 151
 Cotton, Sarah Story, 75, 81, 94, 103, 151, 152, 154
 Cotton, Seaborn, 103, 151, 152
 Craven, Robert, 212
 Cromwell, Oliver, 8, 28, 51, 62, 112, 124, 168, 210, 227
 Cromwell, Sir Richard, 8
 Cromwell, Thomas, 8, 9, 224

 Davenport, John, 81
 Davis, Thomas, 165

 Derby, 30
 "Dimmesdale, Arthur," 137-145, 185
 Dineley, Family, 25, 222, 224
 Dod, John, 76
 Dorchester, Mass., 110, 114, 154
 Dorset, Lord, 77
 Dudley, Anne, 165
 Dudley, Paul, 165
 Dudley, Thomas, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 73, 74, 114, 121, 122, 141, 160, 165, 185
 Dunning, Rev. Dr., 195, 198

 Earle, George, 37
 Edward IV, 98
 Edward VI, 235
 Egginton, Jeremiah, 152
 Eley, James, 230
 Eliot, John, 24, 151
 Elizabeth, Queen, 37, 62, 95, 98, 145, 148, 236
 Ellis, Dr. Rufus, 172, 188-189, 190
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 157
 Endicott, John, 18, 115, 141, 160
 Everett, William, 185

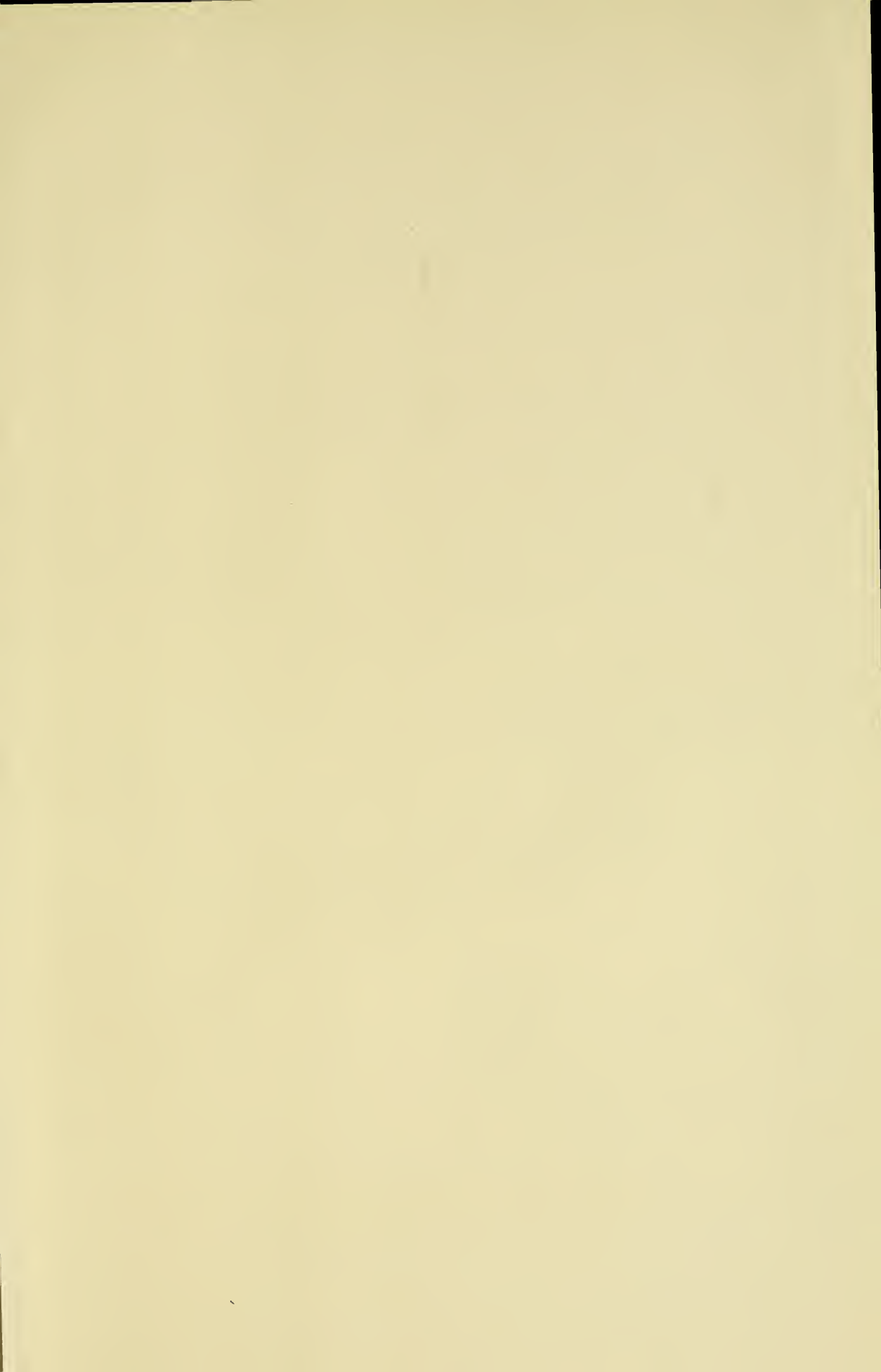
 Fawsley, 76
 Ferrers, Nicholas, 68
 Fiennes, Lady Arabella (*see* Johnson, Lady Arabella)
 Fiennes, Charles, 21
 Fiennes, Harrington, 26
 Fiennes, Sir Henry, 26
 Firmin, Mr., 116
 Fisher, Anne (*see* Leverett, Ann Fisher)
 "Four Sisters," The, 19
 Fox, Alderman, 78
 Fox, George, 212
 Frothingham, Dr. Nathaniel L. 136, 153
 Frothingham, Rev. Paul Revere, 156, 176
 Fuller, Samuel, 115, 166

 Gager, Deacon, 24
 "George," The, 19
 George, David, 130
 Goddard, Archdeacon, 87
 Goe, Bartholomew, 217-218, 225
 Goodrick Family, 106
 Gorges, John, 25
 Gorton, Samuel, 130

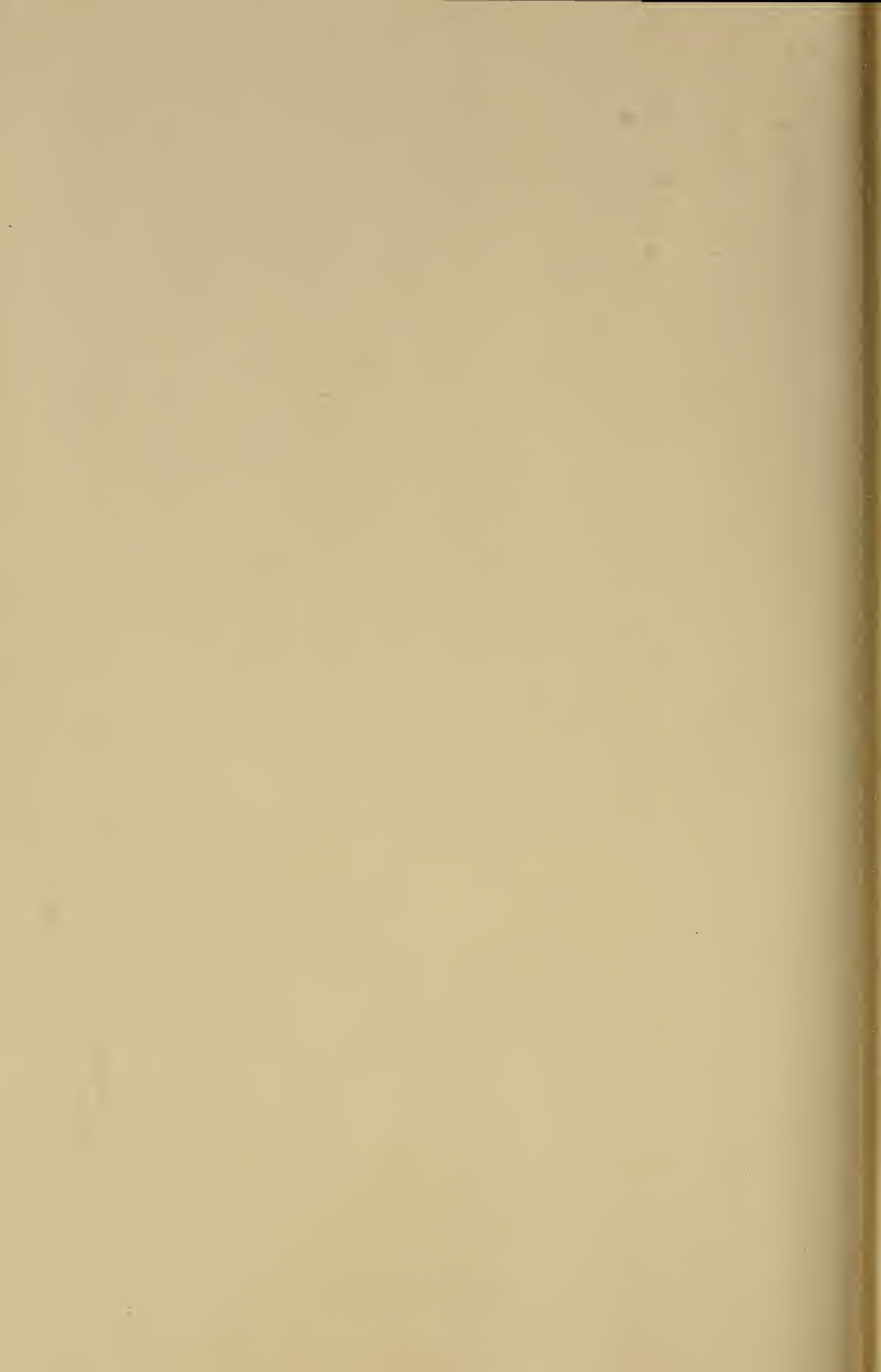
- "Griffin," The, 81-82, 104-106,
109, 110, 113
- Hackford, Mr., 190
- Hallam, Henry, 173, 224
- Harrison, Frank, 231
- Hartford, Conn., 109
- Haven, Samuel Foster, 29
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 24, 108,
135-145, 164, 185, 195
- Haynes, John, 109, 121, 122, 125,
166
- Henry VIII, 8, 13, 120, 234-235
- Henry, Matthew, 50
- Henry, Philip, 50-51
- Herbert, George, 82
- "Hereward the Wake," 4, 183-
184
- Heygate, Canon, 218
- Hibbins, Anne, 143, 163-164
- Hibbins, William, 143
- Hicks, Jasper, 37
- Higginson, Francis, 19, 24
- Hill, William, 58
- Holland, Sir Thomas, 7
- Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 73, 76,
109, 113, 122, 166
- Hooper, Master, 73
- Hope, Beresford, 218
- Hopkins, Oceanus, 103
- Hopkins, Stephen, 103
- Horbling, 27, 35, 73
- Horrocks, Elizabeth, (*see* Cotton,
Elizabeth Horrocks)
- Horrocks, Rev. James, 51
- Hough, Ann Rainsford, 161
- Hough, Atherton (1), 28, 61-62,
73, 81, 105, 141, 161-162
- Hough, Atherton (2), 161
- Hough, Elizabeth Whettingham,
105-106, 161
- Hough, Samuel (1), 105, 106, 161
- Hough, Samuel (2), 161
- Hough, Samuel (3), 161
- Hough, Sarah Symmes, 161
- How, John, 51
- Howe, Obadiah, 213-214, 217, 227
- Hubbard, John, 165
- Hudson, Hannah, (*see* Leverett,
Hannah Hudson)
- Hume, 173
- Humphrey, John, 25, 73
- Humphrey, Lady Susanna, 25
- Hussey, Lord, 13, 235
- Hutchinson, Anne, 108, 123, 126-
127, 156, 165, 166
- Hutchinson, Edward (1), 108
- Hutchinson, Edward (2), 108-
109, 166
- Hutchinson, Richard, 108
- Hutchinson, Thomas, 166-167
- Hutchinson, William, 108, 166
- Hutchinson's History of Massa-
chusetts, 79, 106, 109
- Hutton, Robert, 26
- Ingelow, Jean, 95
- Ingoldsby, Anthony, 59
- Ingram, Herbert, 217
- Ipswich, Mass., 121
- Irby, Anthony, 56, 58, 64
- James I, 35, 55, 68, 112, 138
- James, Thomas, 27
- Jebb, George, 230
- Jenkinson, John, 61
- "Jewel," The, 21
- John, King, 5, 97
- Johnson, Lady Arabella, 19, 21,
22, 23, 24, 25, 114
- Johnson, Isaac, 18, 19, 23, 24-25,
73, 74, 114
- Julius II, Pope, 9, 232, 234
- Keayne, Robert, 131
- Kelsall, Edward, 214-215
- Kemble, Captain, 131
- Kingsley, Charles, 183
- Kirkstead, 26
- Knox, 177
- Kyme, Anthony, 147
- Kyme, William, 147
- Lambe, Sir John, 35
- Lane, Hon. Jonathan A., 198-199
- Laney, Dr., 69
- Laud, Archbishop, 77, 87, 145,
168, 170, 210
- Lawrence, Bishop, 200-201
- Leland, 89, 98, 214
- Leverett, Anne (1), 104
- Leverett, Anne (2), 165
- Leverett, Anne Fisher, 104, 161
- Leverett, Elizabeth, 165
- Leverett, Hannah, 165
- Leverett, Hannah Hudson, 104,
164
- Leverett, Hudson, 164
- Leverett, Jane, 104
- Leverett, John (1), 28, 108, 164-
165

- Leverett, John (2), 165
 Leverett, Mary, 165
 Leverett, Rebecca, 165
 Leverett, Sarah, 165
 Leverett, Thomas, 28, 52, 73, 75, 81, 104-105, 116, 161, 164
 Lewis, David, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63
 Leyden, 11
 Lincoln, 35, 43, 98
 Lincoln, Bridget, Countess of, 18, 21
 Lincoln, Theophilus Clinton, Earl of, 18, 19, 21, 25, 73, 75, 81, 112, 222
 "Lion's Whelp," The, 19
 Littlebury, Humphrey, 98
 Lloyd, James, 165
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 159, 184
 Luther, Martin, 177
 Lynn, Mass., 113, 167
 Lynne, Henry, 131
- Macaulay, 170
 Marbury, Anne, (*see* Hutchinson, Anne)
 Marbury, Rev. William, 108
 Masham, Sir William, 73
 Mather, Cotton, 28, 29, 152, 171
 Mather, Increase, 152, 154, 174
 Mather, Maria Cotton, 152
 Mather, Richard, 154
 Mather, Samuel, 152
 "Mayflower," The, 11, 19
 Melton, Richard, 9
 Middlecott, Sir Thomas, 56-60, 64, 80
 Morland, Henry, 214
 Mountain, Dr., 69-70
- Narragansett Bay, 125
 Neile, Bishop, 43-51, 55
 Norton, John, 171
 Norton's "Life and Death of Cotton," 79, 120
- Ogle, John Furness, 217-218
- Pacy, Family, 92
 Palmer, Edward, 131
 Park, Rev. Charles E., 176
 Parrowe, Mr., 37
 Partridge, Samuel, 216-217
 Pelham, Herbert, 162
 Pelham, Penelope, 162
 Perkins, William, 31
- Peters, Hugh, 121, 122, 124, 125
 Philip and Mary, 12, 78, 235
 Phillips, George, 27
 Pierce, William, 109
 Plymouth, Mass., 10, 11, 17, 18, 23, 24, 115, 125, 130, 151
 Pond, Mr., 79
 "Prosperous," The, 25-27
 Providence, R. I., 130
 "Prynne, Hester," 135-144, 147, 185
 Prynne, William, 144-145
- Quincy, Edmund (1), 108, 166
 Quincy, Edmund (2), 166
 Quincy, Josiah, Jr., 166
- Rainsford, Ann, 161
 Ratcliffe, Philip, 131
 Ratcliffe, Robert, 174
 Rayson, Marmaduke, 26-27
 Revere, Paul, 174
 Reynolds, Rev. Grindall, 154
 Richard II, 7, 231
 Rigby, John, 215
 Robinson, John, 20
- Salem, Mass., 22, 23, 24, 27, 114, 125, 131, 165, 185
 Saltonstall, Sir Richard, 28, 74
 Sarpi, 74
 Say and Sele, Lord, 21, 28, 119
 "Scarlet Letter," The (*see* Hawthorne, Nathaniel)
 Sedgwick, Sarah, 164
 Sempringham Manor House, 18, 73, 74
 Shawmut, (*see* Boston, Massachusetts)
 Shinn, Rev. George W., 201-202
 Sixtus IV, Pope, 232
 Skelton, Samuel, 19, 27
 Skirbeck, 10, 35, 111, 112, 113, 167
 Smith, Nicholas, 29, 33, 88,
 Smith, Richard, 87
 Some, Dr., 31
 St. Botolph's Town, Lincolnshire (*see* Boston, Lincolnshire)
 Stephenson, Canon, 196-197, 218
 St. John, Elizabeth (*see* Whiting, Elizabeth St. John)
 St. John, Oliver, 112
 Stone, Rev. Samuel, 109, 113, 166

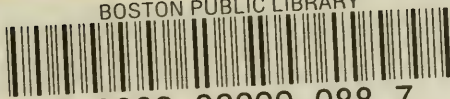
- Story, Sarah (*see* Cotton, Sarah Story)
 Symmes, Sarah, 161
 Symmes, Rev. Zechariah, 101
 "Talbot," The, 19, 21
 Talbye, Dorothy, 131
 Tattershall, Castle, 18, 73, 74, 75
 Tennyson, Lord, 184-185
 Thorns, Mayor, 189
 Tilney, Dame Margery, 8, 89, 220, 224
 Tomlinson, John, 86
 Townsend, Penn, 165
 Trimountain (*see* Boston, Massachusetts)
 Truedale, John, 220
 Tuckney, Dr. Anthony, 81, 87, 111, 209-211, 213
 Tyler, Professor, 158
 Underhill, Captain, 125-126
 Vane, Sir Henry, 121-124, 125, 126, 165, 212
 Vasyn, Jeremiah, 112
 Wade, Prudence, 151
 Ward, Nathaniel, 121
 Ward, Samuel, 68
 Warwick, Earl of, 28
 Westland, Richard, 58, 111
 Wheelwright, Rev. John, 108
 White, John, 18
 Whiting, Mr. (Biographer), 79
 Whiting, Elizabeth St. John, 112, 167
 Whiting, Esther, 167
 Whiting, James (1), 111
 Whiting, James, (2), 167
 Whiting, John (1), 110
 Whiting, John (2), 110
 Whiting, John (3), 110-111
 Whiting, John (4), 167
 Whiting, Mary, 211
 Whiting, Robert, 111
 Whiting, Rev. Samuel (1), 110-112, 167
 Whiting, Rev. Samuel (2), 167
 Whiting, William, 167
 Whittingham, Elizabeth (*see* Hough, Elizabeth Whittingham)
 Williams, John, 68-71, 80, 93
 Williams, Richard, (*see* Cromwell, Sir Richard)
 Williams, Roger, 18, 73-74, 115, 123, 124-125, 130, 155, 156
 Wilson, John, 23-24, 115, 116, 122, 123, 126, 127, 131, 137, 138, 139, 142, 153-154, 161
 Winthrop, Henry, 24, 114
 Winthrop, John (1), 18-24, 27, 74, 103, 106, 109, 110, 114-116, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 139, 140, 153, 155, 160-161, 162, 165, 175, 177, 185
 Winthrop, John (2), 161
 Winthrop, Hon. Robert C., 22
 Wool, Thomas, 29, 35, 36, 37
 Worship, Dr., 63
 Worshippe, James, 37
 Wright, Edward, 81
 Wright, Samuel, 37







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