

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Reprint

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

Hypocrisie Unmasked

BY

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

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

DISCOVERING.

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

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

By *Edw. Winslow*.

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

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

Published by Authority.

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

THE Danger of Tolerating LEVELLERS In a Civill State:

OR,

An Historicall Narration of the dangerous pernicious practises and opinions, where-with SAMUEL GORTON and his Levelling Accomplices so much disturbed and molested the severall Plantations in *NEW-ENGLAND*;

(Parallel to the positions and proceedings of the present Levellers in *OLD-ENGLAND*.)

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

TOGETHER,

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

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

By *Edw. Winslow* of *Plymouth* in *New-England*.

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

TO THE ,
RIGHT HONORABLE
ROBERT

Earl of Warwick, Governour in Chiefe,
and Lord High Admirall of all thofe Ilands and
other plantations of the *Englifh* in A M E R I C A;
Together with the *reft* of thofe truly Honorable
Members of both Houfes of Parliament joyned in
Commiffion with him for ordering the
affaires of the laid *Plantations*.

Right Honorable,



*Ere not your Wifdome and experience in the
great and weighty affaires of State fo well
known, and were yee not fo much accustomed
to the unjuft complaints of clamorous perfons,
I might be discouraged to 'appeare in the righ-
teous caufe of the United Colonies of New-
England, and more efpecially in the behalf of the Governour
and Company of the Maffachufets, to render a reafon of
their juft and righteous proceedings again.. Samuel Gorton
and his Companions, who however (where they are unknown)
they goe here under the garbe of a peaceable people; yet if your
Honours, and the reft of the Honorable Committee fhall be
pleafed (when more weighty employments fhall give way) to pe-
rufe our juft defence againft his clamorous complaints, and
scandalous Treatife, called, Simplicities defence againft*

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

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

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

At that I may not be tedious, I shall presume to preferre these following requests to your Honours and the rest of the honoured Committee this Renowned. Parliament both entrusted with the affaires of the Forraigne Plantation of our Nation: The first is to strengthen the Censure of the Maffachufets by your favourable approbation, so farre as it shall appeare to be just and righteous; and then shall the Countrey be the more preserved from their feares of the Gortonians desperate close with so dangerous enemies' as their
malig-

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

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

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

and fhall daily pray to God to recompense your vaft hazzards,
cxpenfes, ftudies, and cares, (to advance the Weale Publike
of this diftreffed Kingdome, and the feveral limbs thereof)
with all the blefsings of Heaven and earth to you and yours
to fucceeding Generations.

Yours Honours humble devoted fervant,

E DVV . WINSLOV .

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A
T R U E R E L A T I O N
O F T H E
Proceedings of the Governour and Com-
pany of the Maffachufetts in New- *England*, against
Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices; with the grounds
and reasons 'thereof, examined and allowed "'
by their Generall Court holden at *Bofton*
in *November; 1646.*



AMUEL GORTON lived fometime" "at *Plymouth*, where his behaviour was fo turbu-
lent and offensive both to the Magiftrates
and others, as they were neceffitated to
drive him out of their Jurifdiction. From
thence hee went to *Roade-Ifland*, where hee
began to raife fcdition, and to make a party
against the Authority there; for which hee
was apprehended and whipped, and fo fent
away. From thence (with fome others whom hee had gathered
to his part) hee removed to *Providence*, where Mr; *Roger Williams*
then lived. Hee (with fome others) oppofed his fitting down there
as an Inhabitant, onely in regard of his prefent diftreffe, they gave
way for his abode for. a time. But being once houfed, hee foon
drew fo great a party to him, as it was beyond the power of Mr.
Williams and his 'party to drive them out, or to rule them there; fo
as both parties came armed into the field each against other, and had
fought it out, had not Mr. *Williams* ufed meanes for pacification.

B

Hereupon

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thirdly, for their title to the *Indians* lands: wee had divers times defired them to make it appeare; but they alwayes refused, even to our Commiffioners whom (according to their owne motion) wee fent laft to them: and fince they were in prifon, wee offered them to fend for any witneffes they would name to us for that end, but this alfo they refused. So that our title (by the *Indians* furrender) appeareth good, and having regained poffeffion, we need not queftion them any further about that.

Their Letters being read and their Subscriptions acknowledged, they were demanded feverally if they would maintaine thofe things which were contained therein. Their anfwer was, that they would, in that fenfe they wrote them, and fo *were* returned to prifon. The next day they were brought before the Court feverally to be examined upon particulars (many of the Elders being defired to bee prefent) becaufe, they had faid they could give a good interpretation of every part of their Letters. But the interpretation they gave being contrary to the words, they were demanded if they would then retract thofe words, fo plainly different from their pretended meanings. But this they refused to doe, faying, that then they fhould deny the Truth; for inftance in one or two. Their Letters were directed, one of them, *To their Neighbours of the Maffachufets*: and the other, *To the great honoured Idoll Generall of the Maffachufets*, and by a meffenger of their owne delivered to our Governour, and many paffages in both Letters particularly applyed to our courts, our Magiftrates, our Elders &c and yet upon their examinations about their meanings in their reproachful paffages, they answered that they meant them, of the corrupt eftate of man-kinde

kinde in generall, and not of us. So, whereas in their Letter they charged it upon us, as an error that we teach, *That Chrifft dyed Actually onely*, when he fuffered under *Pontius Pilate*; and before, onely in *Types, &c.* upon their examination they faid, that their meaning was, that his death was actual to the faith of the Fathers under the Law, (which is in effect the fame which we hold:) Yet they would not retract their words they had written. The Elders conferred many houres with them before the Court, and by occafion thereof they discovered divers blasphemous opinions, which they maintained, we will inftance one which was mentioned before, delivered by *Gorton, viz.* that the Image of God wherein *Adam* was created, was *Chrifft*; and *Adams* loofing that Image was the death of *Chrifft*, and the reftoring of that Image in the Regeneration, was the refurrection of *Chrifft*: and fo the death of him that was borne of the *Virgin Mary* was but a manifestation of the former. Mafter *William Tompfon* one of the Elders had fpent fome time with them before in the prifon about the opinions which they held forth, and they had professed their agreement with him (for fubfiance) in every point, fo *as* he *came* to the Court with a purpofe to fpeak in their behalf, but when he heard themfelves difcover thus upon their publique examinations, he fhewed how he had bene deluded by them. For they excell the *Jefuites* in the art of equivocation, and regard not how falfe they fpeake, to all other mens apprehenfions, fo they keepe to the rules of their owne fecret intentions. Being asked why they fpake againft the Ordinances of the Miniftery, Sacraments, &c., feeing the Scripture allowes them? They answered that they were ordained onely for the time of Nonage, but after the Revelation was written, they were to ceale, becaufe we finde no mention of them in that booke.

They were unlearned men, the ableft of them could *not* write true englifh, no not in common words, yet they would take upon them to interpret the moft difficult places of Scripture, and wrefit them any, way to ferve their owne turne. As for inftance, Mr. *Cotton* preffing *Gorton* with that in Act. IO. Who can forbid water, why thefe fhould not be baptifed, &c. He interpreted thus, who can deny but thefe have bene baptifed, feeing they have received the Holy Ghoft, &c. fo he allowed them to have bene baptifed. This fhift he was put to, that he might maintaine his opinion, viz: that fuch as have bene baptifed with the Holy Ghoft, need not the baptifme

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

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

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

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

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

The Letters follow,

Moojhawfet Novemb: 20.1642.

To our Neighbors of the Massachusetts.

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

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

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

Behold therefore in this your aft, a Map of your fpiritual e-ftate, (to use your owne phrafe) for we know that the Spirituality of your Churches, is the Civility of your Commonweal, and the Civility of your Commonwealth, is the spirituality of your Churches, the wifdome of man, being the whole accomplishment of them both; of which Tree, you delight dayly to eate (finding it faire and beautiful) to gaine Conformity with your maker. In these your Diffembling subjects; grofly profane amongst us, but full of the fpirit of your purity, when they are with you, you may remember the brand your felves have fet upon some of them, the Cause wherof was never yet removed, though it abide not upon their backe; Nor yet the Cause of your Commitment of them unto *Sathan* according unto your Law, for if that were removed, you should doe them wrong, in not refuming your vomit into its former Concoction againe; Nor are we ignorant of those disgracefull tearmes they use, and give out against you behind your backes, their submiffion therefore can bee to no other end, but to fatisfie their owne lufts, not onely conceived! but in violent motion, against their Neighbours, who never offered the least wrong unto them, only the proposition of Amity, is object sufficient, for these mens enmitie.

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

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

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

Never cloth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day, but in the one, and the other, the only glory and fastie of all the tribes: but how, you know not, nor can you with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have loft in the wilderness, and accordingly, have made the whole way, and will of our Lord, the oldneffe of the letter, both to your selves, and to all

[Errata: That have an eare listen unto you; Thence it is that the day of
read, day of Lord, is a day of Darknes and Glootmines unto You, but of JOY
the Lord.] and gladnes unto us; yea it lifts UP our head onely, and then is our salvation neere; For wee know the worthies of *Dared* doubled about the bed of Solomon, which expel] all feare in the night, handling the sword with faces, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feede upon, so that the tyme of your feares is the tyme of our Courage and Conquest, for when you feare *error*, schisme, Rents and Confusions in Church and state, then do wee know the Messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom wee seeke is speeding his passage into his holy temple: For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his Coming, hee being like a refiners fire, and Fullers sope?

In that you invite us unto your Courts to fetch your equall balanced justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that, both in what they have, and what they are, and wee know them to be such, as profess the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now, if wee have our opponant, to prefer his action against us, and not only so, but to be our Counsell, our Jurie, and our Judge, for so it must be, if you be one with them (as you affirm) wee know before hand, how our Cause will be ended, and see the scale of your equal] Justice turned already, before wee have layd our Cause therein, and cannot but admire, to see you carried so contrarie to your owne received principles: For you know not how to finale Christ as a Ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therefore he is not complete amongst you by your owne law, except in severall persons, and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to finale both a king and a priest in him, and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us you know how to become one with our adversaries (so) as
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if wee deale with them, wee deale with you, and if wee have to doe with you, wee have to doe with them also, yea further, wee know, that the chiefe amongst you, have professed wee are not worthy to live; and that if some of us were amongst you, wee should hardly see the place of our abode any more; Now that they have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they must much more bring it up, in taking away all means of life, Witness our prohibition, that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not thinke your selves safe, in all your owne, self provision and worldly furniture, except you did farme a company of poor Indians, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made Naked, as hee cloth all those which triumph in a Calf, though the most costly and beautifull, that the Jewells and care-mgs of Learning, either in Language, or art, can possibly bring forth: your owne amazement upon meer Rumors, may testify the truth hereof; so then; wee are Judged by your law before our Cause be heard, or our selves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing unto us, to have our Condition conformed unto Moses the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaohs* account, before he was brought forth, and so it was with Christ our lord, in the dayes of *Herod* also, who is our life (at which you strike) and makes all things, yea, Death itself, lively, and advantageous unto us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

following alfo, when a perifling eftate cannot arife out of *Jerufalem*, though fhe be the onely one, (yea, none but fhe) that kills the Prophets and ftones them that are *fent* unto her.

“Behold yee that are looking after, and foretelling fo much of the comming of Chrifft, driving the ‘day before you ffill for certaine yeares, which fome (you fay) fhall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the reft, You blinde guides, as your fathers have ever done, fo doe yee. Behold wee fay, when ever hee appeareth, your houfe (which yee fo glory in) fhall bee left unto you defolate, it fhall be turned into nothing but deflation and confufion, for *Babel* is its name; Nor fhall you fee him to your comfort in the glory of his kingdome, untill you can fay, Bleffed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, when the authority and power of man appeares to bee the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God onely, to bee that, wherein the bleffing confifts, and that in fuch wife alfo, as is nothing but a way of reproach, in the eyes of all the world, that a King fhould ride into his chiefe City, fo ftrangely furnifhed, upon an Affe borrowed, her furniture old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicated perfons, fuch as your Elders, Scribes, Pharifees, Lawyers, and all your credible perfons among you, make full account they are not onely accursed by, but alfo deftitute and void of all law, when you can finale *Hofanna* in the higheft, arifing out of fuch contempt and fhame, then, and then onely hall you fing unto him with comfort. In the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to truft and ftay your felves on the name of man, and in his beautie to delight and glory, which fhall fade as a leafe and like the graffe fhall wither when it is fitting it felf for the oven, fuch is man whofe breath is in his noftrills, and the fonne of forrie man, in whom you delight to truft, his power and his policy brings forth nothing elfe, but as you fhall fee and heare in the Countrey from whence wee are brought. We are not ignorant of thofe fhamefull lies and faltities gone out againft us, and the dally wrefting of our words, to caft contempt upon us, thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominie and reproach; Neither of thofe ftraits & difficulties they have *caft* us upon, in the things which concerne this prefent life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been feen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto (as their owne confeffion bath witneffed,) doing
it

it in fuch a way of painted hypocrifie and falfe gloffe unto the eye of the world, that wee might feeme unto it felf-executioners. We RESOLVE therefore to follow our employments, and to carry and behave our felves as formerly wee have done (and no otherwife) for wee have wronged no man, unleffe with hard labour, to provide for our families, and fuffering of groffe, idle, and idol droanes to take our Iabour out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us.

So that if any hall goe about to difturbe or annoy us henceforth in our employments, and liberties, which God bath, or fhall put into our hands, that can claime no intereft in us but by thefe courfes; what their bufineffe is, wee know by prooffe fufficient, to bee nothing elfe but that ancient errand of Nimrod, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his fhall bee no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty, and diffembling way of hypocrifie, but *in* direct and open termes of tyrannie, wee will not bee dealt with as before, wee fpeake in the Name of our God, wee will not; For if any fhall difturb us, as above, fecret hypocrites fhall become open Tyrants, and their lawes appeare to bee nothing elfe but meer lufts in the eyes of all the world.

And wherefore doe you murmure among your felves at this faying, thinking it is not a Chriftian expreffion? it is becaufe you are ignorant of the croffe of our Lord Jefus, not knowing what it is: Therefore it is, that while you inveigh againft fuch as fet up a Statue of wood and fione, to bow downe unto it, and are fo vaine, as to croffe the sire, (to ufe your owne expreffion) upon the face of infants, when they fprinkle them with water to as great purpofe: And in the meane time you preach and fet up *Seghnirim* for your croffe, whom you fall downe unto fo willingly, and left you let the word paffe without exposition of it unto all, it *fignifies*, Horreur and feare, which is the croffe you hold and teach, and by and thorow which you thinke to bee faved, which is a name given by our Lord unto the Devill himfelf, as our Englifh tranflate it, and the Lord never gives name, as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named; fo that if hee fpeake, I have faid yee are gods, of any besides himfelfe, it is to declare, that there is not onely the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore hee faith, they fhall die, even as Adam, which apired and ufurped the place of God, and fall alfo as one of the Princes, even

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

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

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

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

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

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

*1738
Z 138
1738
1738
1738*

rebuke and frame for their bafeneffe, in the eies of all the world.

To which end wee have not onely committed our condition unto writings, but them alfo into the hands and cuftody of fuch friends, from whom they fhall not bee taken by any, or by all the governments of this Country, as formerly they have beene, that fo our wrongs might not appeare ; therefore never picke a quarrell againft us in thefe things, for wee know all your ftiles and devices that being you now want fuch as old malicious *Arnauld*, one of your low fringed instruments, to exercife his fidle amongft us, and wee are void of your benediction alfo, fprung out of the fame flock to make rents and divifions for you to enter to gaine honour unto your felves in having patients to heale, though they lie never fo long under your hands, your chirurgerie muft bee thought never the worfe. Wanting thefe or fuch like of the Englifh, to betray the liberties, God bath given us into your hands, now you worke by your coadjutors, thefe accurfed Indians ; but you are deceived in us, we are not a Cope fitted for your fo eager appetite, no

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

otherwife, then if you take it downe it fhall prove unto you a Cope of trembling, either making you vomit out your owne eternall flame, or elfe to burft in funder with your fellow confeffor fot aire,

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

Judas Ifcariot.

For Mr. *Winthrop* and his Copartner *Parker*, may not thinke to lay our purchafed plantation to their Iland fo neere adjoining, for they come too late in that point, though *Benedick* hath reported that Myantonimo, one of the *Sachins*, of whom wee bought it, fhould lofe his head for felling his right thereof to us.

As alfo a minifter affirmed that Mr. *Winthrop* fhould fay to him, that wee fhould either bee fubjected unto you, or elfe removed hence, though it fhould coft *Bloud*. Know therefore, that our lives are fet apart already for the cafe wee have in hand, fo wee will lofe nothing but what is put apart aforehand, bethinke your felves therefore what *you* fhould gaine by fetching of them, in cafe it were in your power, for our loffe fhould bee nothing at all.

For wee are refolved, that according as you put forth your felves towards us, fo fhall you finale us transformed to anfwer you. If you put forth your hand to us as country-men, ours are in readineffe for *you*: If you exercife the pen, accordingly doe wee become a ready writer; If your fword bee drawne, ours is girt upon our thigh; If you prefent a gun, make hafte to give the firft fire: for we are

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

For your purfuite of us, ftill, to come your Courts, to receive your parcells of Juftice, undoubtedly either God bath blinded your eyes that you fee not our anfwer formerly given in that point, or elfe you are mofi audacious to urge it upon us againe; alfo you may take notice that wee take it in more difdaine then you could doe, in cafe we fhould importune you (yea) the chiefe amongft you, to come up to us, and bee employed according to our pleafure, in fuch workes as wee thought good to fet you about; and for your grant of freedome unto us to come downe to you, and returne in fafety, wee cannot fufficiently vilifie this your verball and perfuatory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your owne confcience, that what wrongs foever are paffed amongft us fince our comming into this Country, you have beene the violent agents, and wee the patients. To feare therefore to come amongft you as fuch as have done wrong, the caufevanifheth in us, fomuft the effect alfo. And to feare to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant muft neceffarily implies, wee cannot, knowing that hee which is with us, is ftronger then hee which is with you.

Alfo the earth is the Lords and the fullneffe thereof, and when, and *where* hee fhall call wee will gee, but not at the will and luft of ferry men to play their parts with us at their pleafure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparant you defire to doe, for if your Iuftis prevailed not over you in that kinde, you might well thinke that wee have better employments then to trot to the *Maffachufets* upon the report of a lying Indian, or Englifh either, as your factors and ordinary hacknies doe.

But know this O yethat fo long as wee behave our felves as men, *walking in the name of our God*, where ever wee have occafion to come? if any mortall man whofe breath is in his noftrils, dares to call us into queftion, wee dare to give an anfwer to him? or them, nor fhall wee faile through God, to give teftimony even in his confcience of the hope that is in us, whether his queftion may concerne the rice or fucceffion either of Prieft or Peere. In the meantime we fit in fafety under the cloudy pillar, while the Nations roare and make a noife about us, and though you may Iooke upon us with the unopened eye of *Eliahs* fervant, thinking us as nothing to thofe that are againft us, yet wherever the cloud refts, wee know the

Lords

Lords returne to the many thoufands of Ifrael,

In that you, fay our freedome granted to. come to you, takes away all excufe from us, wee freely retort it upon your felves to make excufes, whofe Lawes and proceedings with the foules and bodies of men, is nothing elfe but a continued art (like the horfe in the mill) of accufing and excufing, which you doe by circumftances and conjectures, as all the fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of the world, who are gone to their owne place and have their reward; But for the true nature, rife, and diftribution of things as they are indeed and fhall remaine and abide as a law firme and ftable forever, wee fay and can make it good, you know nothing at all, therefore fuch as can delight themselves in preaching, profeffing, and executing of fuch things, as muft end as the brute beafis doe, nay take them away for prefent and they have loft their honour, religion, as alfo their God ; let fuch wee fay, know themselves to bee that beaft and falfe prophet, no man of God at all. In the meane time wee looke not on the things, that are feene, but on the things that are not feene, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternall. Nor doe wee thinke the better of any man for being' invefted into places or things that will in time waxe old as cloth a garment, neither judge we the worfe of any man for the want of them: for if we fhould we muft condemne the Lord Chrif, as fo many doe at this day.

Wee demand when wee may expect fome of you to come to us, to anfwer and give fatisfaction for fome of thefe foule and inhumane wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your country-men: not to bring in a Catalogue, *as we* might, take this one particular abufe you are now acting; in that you abet, and backe thefe bafe Indians to abufe us. Indeed *Pumham* is an apirring perfon, as becomes a Prince of his Profeffion for having crept into one of our neighbors houfes, in the abfence of the people, and fellowifly rifled the fame, hee was taken comming out againe at the Chimney-top: Soccononoco alfo bath entred in like manner into one of our houfes with divers of his companions, and breaking open a theft, did fteale out divers parcels of goods, fome part whereof, as fome of his companions have affirmed, are in his cuftody at this time. Yet we ftand ftill to fee to what good iffue you will bring your proceedings with thefe perfons, by whom you are fo honourably attended in the Court generall, as you call it, and would honour

nour us alfo, to come three or fourefcore miles to ftand by you and them ; wee could tell you alfo that it is nothing with thefe fellowes to fend our cattle out of the woods with arrowes in their fides? as at this prefent it appeares in one even now fo come home, and It is well they come home at all, for fometimes their wigwams can receive them, and wee have nothing of them at all; yea they can domineere over our wives and children in our houfes, when wee are abroad about our neceffary occafions, fometimes throwing fiones, to the endangering of their lives, and fometimes violently taking, our goods, making us to runne for it if wee will have it, and if wee fpeake to them to amend their manners, they can prefently vaunt it out, that the *Maffachufets* is all one with them, let the Villanie they doe bee what it will , they thinke themselves fecure, for they looke to bee, upheld by you inwhatever they doe, if you bee ftronger then them which they have to deale withall, and they looke with the fame eye your felves doe, thinking the multitude will beare downe all, and perfwade themfelves (as well as they may) that you tolerate and maintaine them in other of their daily practices, as lying, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, groffe whoredomes, and fornication, fo you will doe alfo, in them ftealing, abufing of our Children, and the like, for you have your diligent ledgers amongft them that inculcate daily upon this, how hatefull wee are unto you, calling us by other names of them owne devifing, bearing them in hand, wee are not Englifh men, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us, and that if wee have any thing to doe with you, the very naming our perfons. fhall caft our cafe bee it what it will, as it is too evident by the cafe depending betweene William *Arnauld* and *John Warner*, that no fooner was the name of Mr. Cotton mentioned amongft you, but Mr. *Dudley* difdainefully asking, is this one, joyned to Gorton, and Mr. *Winthrop* unjuftly upon the fame fpeech, refused the oath of the witneffe calling him knight of the poft : are thefe the wayes and perfons you trade by towards us? are thefe the people you honour your felves withall? the Lord fhall lay fuch honour in the duft, and bow downe your backes' with flame and forrow to the grave, and declare fuch to bee Apofiatifers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God onely to pleafe men, and ferve their owne lufis, that can give thankes in their publique Congregations for their unity with fuch groffe abominations as thefe. Wee muft needes afke you another queftion from

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

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

P o s t s c r i p t u m .

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

For

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

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

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downe



Certaine Observations collected out of both their L E T T E R S.

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

Pag. 9.

Hey say our Magistrates did lay their Wisdom proftrate, in sending Letters to them which they scornfully call an irregular Note.

2 That the bare *them* causeth enmity, the proofe whereof every occasion rings forth.

3 They flily call them the seed of the ancient mother; i. of the enmity of the Devill.

4 That they know it is the name of Christ call'd upon them, against which our Magistrates doe strive.

5 That they goe about to hide their sin, as *Adam*, bearing the world in hand, that they desire not to contend, but to redresse something in point of Civill peace.

6 That they stand on tip-toe to stretch themselves beyond their bounds, to seek occasion against them.

7 That those who accuse them, are accusers of the Brethren, Satan being a lyer, and the father of it; which thing our Magistrates cannot know though they be told of it.

Pag. 10.

8 That this ad of theirs to treat about their land, is a mappe of their spirituall estate.

9 That they delight daily to eate of the forbidden fruit (which they call mans wisdom) out of which our Churches and Common-wealth is formed) to gaine conformity with their maker.

10 They scorn at their purity and godlineffe, telling them that *Cole* and *Arnold* their diffembling subjects, are full of the spirit of *their* purity.

II They doe not say plainly that our Magistrates are dogs, but compare them to dogs in refusing their vomit into its former con-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 That they know our Magistrates eyes are dazzled with envy, *P* and their ears open to lyes.

19 That they judge them before their cause be heard. *P*

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

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

Com-

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

22 That the professed clemency and mercy of their law, is as much as in them lyes, to fend both foule and body downe to *She-ol* (*i.* the grave and hell) forever, without redreffe and all hope of recovery.

23 That their houre and ower of darkneffe is knowne, what it is either to have mens perfons in admiration becaufe of advantage, or elfe to feek all occafions againft them, with all manner of reproach and ignominie.

24 That their wayes are wicked? and to bee abhorred, becaufe in their professed courfe the two witneffes are flaine by them, and put to death; and that all their glory is to keep their corpe unburied; and thefe two witneffes are the life and death of the Lord Jefus.

Pag. 18. 25 That the light appearing among them, is nothing but the light of *Balaam*, fo that in feeling; they fee no, but communicate onely in the light of that Beaft who put the witneffes to death.'

26 They tell our Magiftrates, that they never come amongft them, but they fee themselves in a regiment of groffe and palpable darkneffe, and difcern you to fcrabble on the wall for the door of *L o t s h o u f e* .

Pug. 19. 27 That they know not what a true witneffe is.

Pag. 22, 23. 28 That the whole Word of God is a parable to them, as their conversation in all points daily declare it.

29 That they will not come neare our Magiftrates, untill they know they beare another minde from their neighbors, whom they call robbers, groffe diffembling hypocrites, who doe nothing but goe about to eftablifh fuch wayes as may maintaine their owne vicious lufts, whose laws are pretended and devifed, and whose practifes (they fay)they renounce as diabolicall.

Pug. 24. 30 Yee blind guides(fay they to our Magiftrates)as your fathers have ever done, fo do you.

Pag. 25. 31 You fet up *Segnirim* (*i.* as themselves interpret) feare and horrour, or the devill, by, and for the which you hope to bee *f a v e d* .

Pag. 26. 32 That their carriage towards them, is farre worfe then that of the

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

33 That they are defpifers; Behold(fay they) yee defpifers, the vanity and abominations of all your baptifmes.

34 Yee think (fay they) that the croffe of Chrifi is nothing but bowing down the back to every burden, and cringing and crouching to the luft of every man.

35 They call the generall Court, the great Idol Generall, whose pretended equity in distributing Juftice is a meer device of man according to the flights of Satan.

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

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

38 They advifethe Court(in fcorn)to keep the *Indian* with them, where he and they might perform that worthy work of diftributing Juftice.

39 They tell the Court that they live by bloud.

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

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

42 They tell the Court, they are not a cup fit for their appetite, but a cup of trembling either to make them vomit up their owne eternall flilame, or elfe to make them burft afunder with their fellow confeffor *Judas Ifcariot* .

43 That the Court is either blind or audacious in defiring them to come for their parcells of Juftice, and that they difdain to come to them.

44 They professe they cannot fufficiently vilifie the promife of the Court. that thev fhall come down to them and return in fafety; which they call a verball and perfunctory offer.

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

46 They tell the Court that their lawes and proceedings with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If it be objected, is it possible that any men should be so grossly blind and wicked, as to abolish all ministration of Justice and righteousness?

Answer. 1. These men seeme to acknowledge some way of ministering Justice, but the mystery lies in that word Office, they would have

all Chrifians, but as for the office of rule to bee peculiar to none, “and therefore *Pag. 24.* they tell us that none fhall fee Chrif come “into his kingdome with comfort, untill the authority and power, of man appears to be as the building of Babel, and the name and “authority of God onely to bee that wherein the bleffing confits; meaning that ‘tis Babylonifh building which God mifliked, and confounded, for any man in office to rule and governe, becaufe this is to limit the power and life of Chrif (which is in every brother as well as in any officer) and fo to kill the life of Chrif; fo that if any of them fay that although they diftate officers, as Kings and others by election, yet not fuch as are fo by hereditary fucceffion, they are but words to fute their owne ends for a time, and to delude others, for if it bee limiting the holy One of Ifrael, a circumscribing and fo destroying the life of Chrif which is infinite, for to make him rule by his Deputies and Vicegerents on earth, then not onely Kings and Princes, whether by election or no, but all other civill officers muft bee abandoned, becaufe the life and power of Chrif is limited in fucceffive as well as in elective Princes, in inferiour as well as in fuperiour governours, who are Chrifts Deputies, and Vicegerents, and therefore called *Rem. 13.4.* the Minifters of God either for good or terrour.

Pug. 28.

5. They call our generall Court the Idoll generall, which is nothing elfe but a device of man by the fleight of Sathan to fubject “and make flaves of that fpecies or kinde which God hath honored with his owne Image, and they do not onely fpeake thus “of our Courts as Idols, but they tryout woe unto the world becaufe of the Idols thereof, for Idols muft needes bee fet up, but “woe be unto them by whom they are erected, and their reafon “reacheth to all civill power, (for fay they) a man may be as well a “flave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vaffall to his owne “fpecies, or kind?, or to any thing that man can bring forth even in “his heft perfection.

There are other evidences of their corrupt minde herein from other paffages *in* their letters which they fpeake under more obfcure cloudes and allegories, but thefe may bee a fufficient witneffe againft them before men and angels, that they abandon all civill authority, although for to ferve their owne turnes of others or them owne lufts, they fay they do not: the Apoftle *Jude* long fince, tels us of fuch perfons exprefly who defpife Dominion and fpeake evill of Dignities

Dignities, x. They doe not only defpife thefe or thofe particular perfons or ftates that are invefted with Dominion; but they defpife Dominion it felfe and Dignities themfelves, and would have all that power abandoned, whom he calleth v:8. filthy dreamers, defiling the flefh, murmurers and complainers walking after their owne lufts, their mouthes fpeaking great fwelling words, v. 16. And that it may yet more fully appeare that thefe men doe abandon all civill authority, (although this feeret they will not impart unto all, but rather profeffe the contrary) there is extant to bee fhewen if need were, the writings betweene a prudent man in this Country, and one of the chiefe, and moft underftanding of this peculiar fellowfhip (as they file themfelves) wherein hee cloth ftoutly maintaine thefe three affections, 1. That there are no Ordinances. 2. That there are no relations neither in the Common-wealth betweene rulers and fubjects, nor in the Church between officers and brethren, nor in the families betweene husband and wife, mafter and fervant, father and fonne. 3. That there are no inherent graces in Chrifians. By which principles the world may fee what thefe men goe about, viz. as much as in them lies to bring in a diforder and confufion in all ftates and families. and to openn the flute to all violence, injuftice, and wickedneffe, by not onely abandoning, but reproaching and reviling “Ingall civill rule and authority upon earth, which they therefore “fcornefully call a meere device of man, Idols, to be of the Devill, “the deftroyer of mankind, and to bee a crucifying of Chrif in “his life and death, and all this when honorable, wife, learned, experienced, well reported perfons are chofen and invefted with Civill power, whom therefore they would not have maintained, and to whom it is as unlawfull to adminifter any oath for the ending of civill differences, as to luft after a woman to commit adultery, *Pag. 20.*

111.’ *Their blafphemous speeches against the holy things of God.*

Against the Churches, they call them devifed platformes *Pag. 21*

“ *Pag. 26.* and that the wifedome of men is the whole accomplifhment (or that which gives the whole being) of Churches and Common-wealth. *Pag. 10.* 2. “Against

Pag. 11.

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

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

Pag. 36.

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

Pag. 26.

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

"your Magicians, which cloth make mad and drunke fo many in the world,

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

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

Now what is this but to overthrow not onely the being of Christ in the fleih, making him no other then such an one as actually suffered from the beginning of the world, and shall doe to the end of it, but also overthrowing all faith and hope of salvation in that Messiah who was incarnate in the dayes of *Zferod* and *Pilate*, and in his death and sufferings, and that one perfect offering, then once for all *Ileb*. 10.14. The reader may therefore be pleased to take notice that being asked in open Court what was that Christ who was borne of the Virgin and suffered under *Pilate*? one of them answered that hee was a semblance, picture, or a shadow of what was and is done actually and substantially in Christians; and hence the meaning of the words may bee gathered *Pag. 11.* which otherwise the wise reader may thinke to bee non-sence. viz. "that they are Wifards and Necromancers who raise a shadow without a substance (viz. to make Christ to bee flaine in types since the world began) or who raise the substance of him who dwels in light without a shadow, (ma kin no more of Christ but a semblance and shadow, as themselves call it) for further explication of which they affirmed

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Pag. 26.
Ex l. pag.
They say out of the forbidden fruit i.e. mans wisdom, our Churches and Commonwealth is formed. 2. That the whole edifice amongst us is raised up in the spirit of an hireling. 3. That by submission to the word of God in fasting, feasting, retirednesse for study, contributing, treasuring, i. e. for Church uses so much in severall Churches, they due nothing but bring forth fruit unto death.

Pag. 11.

in

in open Court that as the Image of God in *Adam* was Chrif, ("for "God they faid had but one Image) fo the loffe of this Image by "man was the death of Chrif, and therefore'tis no wonder if they deny Chrif to dye actually onely when crucified under Pontius Pilate becaufe man finned actually (which they make to be Chrifs death) long before; meane while the reader may take notice with a holy aftonifhment and horroure of the heavy curfe of God in blindin'g thefe bold men with fuch a palpable and groffe fpirit of delufion and mad phrenfies, who will make mans finne and fall, which is the caufe of perdition of men, to be the caufe of the Salvation of man, for fo Chrifs death is which they blafphemoufly make mans finne to be.

For further prooffe that they make little ufe of Chrif and his death, then as hath been faid, their owne interpretation of the flaying of the two witneffes, *Pag. 17. 18.* feemeth to confirme, for they make thefe two witneffes the life and the death of Chrif in men, the life of Chrif they call his ftrength, and the death of Chrif they call his weakneffe, viz. as it is, And appears in weake, foolifh, ignorant, unexperienced, and ill-reported of men, and therefore they blameus for killing of Chrifs death (for it feemes it is fuch a death as may bee killed) in that wee chufe honorable, wife, learned men, and of good report to place of rule, excluding others.

Now fome of thefe blafphemies might have bene the better borne if they had let Chrif and his death alone, and his word alone, but to call the holy word and Sermons of Salvation tales, the Sacrament an abomination, madding and making drunke the world, to call the Minifters of Chrif who difpenfe Word and Sacrament, Necromancers and Magicians, and they who hold and beleive him to be the Meffiah and Chrif who fuffered under *Pilate*, Wifards, and all this in coole blood, in the open face of the Court, obftinately refufing to alter a title of what they had writ, let the world judge if ever Antichrift that beaft fpoken of *Rev. 13.5,6.* did ever fpeake greater blafphemies againft God, his name, and tabernacle, and whether fuch men deferue to live, that live thus to blafpheme; may not fuch civill ftates that tolerate fuch feare that fentence of God againft them as was pronounced againft *Ahab* for letting blafphemous *Benhadab* efcape with his life, thy life for *his life*? however mens charity may enlarge it felfe this way, yet let wifedome preferve us and make the wifehearted wary of fuch impoftors, who want not their wiles to f a y and

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

The Publifher to the Reader.

THE reafon wherefore nothing is answered to the great charge in his voluminous Poftcript, is becaufe it hath bene answered already by a former treatife printed: but more efpecially becaufe many of the friends, children and kindred of the dead are in good efteeme with us, whom I am loath to grieve.

But fince by courfe thou art next to caft thine eye Gentle Reader, upon the fumme of a Prefentment which the Court at *Road Iland* received from their Grand Jewry being prefent when *Samuel Gorton* had fo much abufed their Government in the face of the Country, yea in open Court, their owne eyes and cares bearing witneffe thereunto, they I fay prefented thefe abufes to the Court, as fuch which they conceived ought not to be borne without rume to their Government, and therefore befought the bench to thinke offome one punishment for examples fake as well as otherwife to be inflicted on the Delinquent.

And therefore that thou maift fee the occafion thereof, take notice that an ancient woman having a Cow going in the field where

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

In the next place take notice good Reader, that when hee went from hence well whipt, as before, and entred upon his banishment, the place hee went to (in a sharpe season) was a Town called *Prout-dence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams*, & divers others lived, who in regard of the season, entertained them with much humane curtesie, but the *Gortoniam* answered all like Aefops snake, as thou maist read
 [Errata: 1. 10 by the severall Letters of the chief Inhabitants of that place, by for by read in notorious faction there also by them raised, to the great diftraction and amazement of the Inhabitants, as appeareth by their dolefull complaints in their own Letters, a true Copy whereof I Present unto thee.

The fum of the Presentment of Samuel Gorton at Portsmouth in Roade-Iland, by the Grand Jury.

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

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

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

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

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

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

at Portsmouth in Roade-Iland by the Grand-Jury. 55 knowest not where thy ears stand, and charged him to be a man unfit to make a Warrant.

7 The said *Corfon* charged the Bench for wresting witnesse, in this expression, I professe you wreft witnesse,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William Dyre Secretary.

Mr. Roger Williams his Letter unto Mr. Winthrop, concerning Samuel Gorton.

Providence 8. Ift. 1640.

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

Familifme, againft which I have a little difputed and written, and hall (the moft High affitting) to death: As *Paul* {aid of Afta, I of *Providence* (almoft) All fuck in his poyfon, as at firft they did at *Aquednick*. Some few and my felfe withftand his Inhabitation, and Towne-priviledges, without confeffion and reformation of his uncivill and inhumane practifes at *Portfmoufh*: Yet the tyde is too ftrong againft us, and I feare (if the framer of Hearts helpe not) it will force mee to little Patience, a little Ifle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himfelfe bee pleaſed to bee a Sanctuary to all whoſe hearts are perfect with him; In him I defire unfainedly to be

Your Worfhips true and affectionate

Roger Williams.

Providence this 17. of November, Anno 1641.

To the Honoured Governour of Maffachufett, together with the Worſhipfull Affittants, and our loving Neighbors there.

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

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

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

Your loving Neighbours, and respective Friends

*Josuah Winfor
Benedict Arnold
William Mean
William Hawkings
Robert West*

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

Providence

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

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

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

My Reasons are, Viz.

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

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

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

William Arnold.



A
PARTICVLAR ANSWER
TO THE

Manifold Wanders and abominable Falsehoods

contained in a Book, called *Simplicities defence againft Seven-headed Policy: Wherein Samuel Gorton is proved a disturber of Civill Societies, desperately dangerous to his Country-men the Englifh in New-Engl. and notoriously slanderous in what he bath Printed of them.*



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Next in the same page, hee tels us at his landing *how hee found his Country men* 'at great variance at Boston in point of Religion; But had not hee holpen to blow the bellows the flame might never have beene so great. And whereas hee saith that *Mr. Williams* was banished thence for differing from us being a man of good report, &c. In answer, 1. take notice, I know that *Mr. Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times *the unlawfulness of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c. would not allow the Colours of our Nation, denied the *lawfulness*

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

In pag. 3. hee mentions the proceedings of the Massachusetts against
 Mr. *John Wheelwright* &c. Had it beene the will of God I would
 those differences had never been: But the maine difference was about
 a Petition by way of Remonstrance, which the Government tooke
 very offensive: But Mr. *Wheelwright* and they are reconciled, hee
 having given satisfaction, &c. In the same page hee wrongs the do-
 ctrine of our Churches, which is well knowne to be found. But
 whereas hee tells us in the same page of denying *cohabitation, and*
of whippings, confinement, imprisonment, chaines, fines, banishment.
 Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her business, &c. and
 commanded her departure, and ordered the Sea-man that brought
 her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next
 passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not see, for hee had
 occasion to employ her, &c. Hereupon the Governour (it being in
 the time of a Court) sent for him, and because hee had hidde her,
 stood in justification of his practice and refused to obey the command
 of the Court (who seconded the Governours order.) He was com-
 mitted till hee could procure sureties for his good behaviour till the
 next Court which was a generall Court, and there to answer to this
 contempt. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* was
 called; But the Governour being wearied with speech to other
 causes, requested one of his Assitants who was present at his com-
 mitment and privy to the whole cause to declare the same: This
 Assitant no sooner stood up to shew the Country the cause of his
 bonds in the great affront hee had given the Government, but *Gor-*
ton stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice,
If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come downe from Jehofhuabs
right hand and stand here, And that done, in a feditious manner tur-
 ned himselfe to the people and said, with his armes spread abroad;
Yee see good people how yet are abused! Stand for your liberty; And let
them not be parties and judges, with many other opprobrious speeches
 of that kinde. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present de-
 firing leave of the Governour to speake, complaining his fediti-
 ous carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to
 inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did plained.]

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

who being of *Gortons* acquaintance received him with his family in
 to his house, with much humanity and Christian respect, promising
 him as free use of it as himselfe, &c. but Mr. *Gorton* becoming
 troublesome, (after meane used to remove the offences taken
 by Mr. *Smith*, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) Mr.
Smith desired him to provide elsewhere for himselfe: but *Gorton*
 refused, saying, hee had as good interest in the house as Mr. *Smith*
 had. And when hee was brought before Authority, stood stoutly
 to maintaine it to our amazement. But was ordered to depart and
 provide other wayes by a time appointed. And not long after
 there coming a woman of his acquaintance to *Plimouth*, divers
 came to the Governour with complaints against her, being a stran-
 ger, for unworthy and offensive speeches and carriage used by her.
 Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her business, &c. and
 commanded her departure, and ordered the Sea-man that brought
 her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next
 passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not see, for hee had
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 firing leave of the Governour to speake, complaining his fediti-
 ous carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to
 inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did plained.]

have the leffe caufe to take offence at us.

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

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

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

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

In pag. 45. he would make *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, the naturall fubjects of *Myantonirno* their Prince; but this was difproved. And in the fame page, he faith, the Magftrates fuggedted to the people as though there were *feare of fome combination between the Indians and them.* *Anfw.* I dare not fay you had a hand in the depth of their conspiracy: but this I thinke you dare not deny, that Weekes one
of

of your ftoutest Champions, lent *Myantonimo* an Armour, in which he was taken in batten a againft *Uncus*, who was under the protecti- on of the Englifh united Colonies: for which *Uncus* put him to death; and in your own book you hold forth more familiarity then "becomes you.

But here. it will bee neceffary for mee to fhew you the ground of this warre. There was a people called by the name of the *Pecoats*, being a ftout warlike people, who had been at warre with the *Nanohigganfets* many yeares, and were too ftrong for them; fo alfo were they at fome diftance of affection with this *Uncus*, who was *Sachim* of a people called the *Mohegans*, neare the head of a River falleth into the fea at *Pecoat*. The chiefe *Sachim* of this people of *Pecoat*, was called *Tatobam*, a flout man. The *Nanohigganfets* and thefe ftrove who fhould be greateft. This *Tatobam* envied the Eng- lifh, and was the firft ftirrer and contriver of this generall Plot, that they might all joyne together to deftroy the Englifh; but the *Nanohigganfets* refused to joyne with them, knowing if that were once done, the next ruine muft be their owne. Afterward having fubdued many fmall peoples, and one as great as themselves, and and fome Englifh planting more neare then the body of our Planta- tions, though without wrong to him, or any of them, hee cut off Captaine Stow his Barke and Company, and after this killed divers ftragling Englifh. This ftirred up the Englifh to take revenge: The *Nanohigganfets* and *Uncus, Sachim* of the *Moheges* feeing this, becaufe it was againft their comon Enemy, offered their fervice to joyn with the Englifh: the *Nanohigganfets* did no confiderable fervice in com- parifon of the *Moheges*, who did as much as could bee expected, but the *Nanohigganfets* rather gathered up the spoile, to the great offence of the *Englifh* and *Moheges*, feldome ingaging in any fight. The Englifh killed and deftroyed this people utterly, fo that thofe that were left remaining utterly deferted the Countrey, and the Englifh wonne it, and are now poffeffed of it. After this victory, *Myan- tonimo Sachim* or Lord of the *Nanohigganfets*, and *Uncus* Lord of the *Moheges*, manifested no good blood towards each other; the Eng- lifh at *Hartford* where the Government for *Coneetacut* is held, hear- ing of it, got them together, and made a peace and threefold Coven- ant between the Government of *Coneetacut*, *Nanohigganfets*, and *Mohege*, which was figned by the Governour of *Coneetacut*, *Myan- tonimo Sachim* of *Nanohigganfets*, and *Uncus Sachim* of *Mohegan*. The
Cove-

Covenants ran to this purpofe, To confirme their League between the Englifh and them, and either to other, and to hold forth a league of perpetuall peace between them, And in cafe any difference fhould arife between thefe two Indian *Sachims*, or their people, the party offended fhould complaine to the Governour of Co-neetacut, who was to mediate and to determine the controverfie between his two friends and their people: And in cafe the injury were great, and the party wronging would not ftand to the forefaid award and determination, then it fhould not onely bee lawfull for the wronged to right himfelfe by force of Armes, but for the Englifh party alfo to affift the innocent in that kind. And to this they all firmed as before.

The *Nanohigganfets Sachim* never regarded this Covenant, the Mohege *Sachim* ever faithfully obferved it. But *Myantonimo* of *Nanohigganfets* had thoughts now to profecute the *Pecoats* defigne, and to deftroy the Englifh, (the *Pecoats* Nation being rooted out by Gods juft judgement as before) and travels farre and neare to draw all the Indians in the Countrey into this horrid confederacy with him; but this *Uncus* would not bee wonne, though he would have taken his daughter in marriage, but ever acquainted the Englifh with his working. At length an inferiour *Sachim*, subordinate to *Nanohigganfets* affronts him and his men, hee complained to the Englifh, they fend to this inferiour *Sachim*, hee fleights their admonition, goes on his courfe; whereupon the other demands leave to make warre upon him, not requiring any aide. Still the Englifh forewarne the other party of the evill they were like to bring upon themfelves; till at length they profefse they have had peace enough, & now it is time to war. Whereupon the Englifh give way to *Uncus* to revenge himfelfe, he cloth it; the other are beaten. Now *Myantonimo* he prepares an Army of above 1000 men, and comes upon a fudden upon *Uncus* without any refpect to Covenants, and took *Uncus* at advantage, not with above 300 men; by which meanes they befet him every way in his Fort, which ftands upon a point of Land between two Rivers. *Myantonimo* fo difperfed his men to prevent their fright, as *Uncus* making a desperate fallie with almoft his full force, routed the other, flew neare upon an hundred, and forced them to fly: But Mr. Weekes one of *Samuel Gorton* company (as I am credibly informed) lending the Great *Sachim* a complete Armor; and having it on in the fight; was not able to fly fo faft as his men,
and

and was taken by this meanes. Yet fuch was *Uncus* refpect ftill to the Englifh, as hee kept him till hee fent to the Englifh, viz. to the Right Worfhupfull George *Fenwicke* Efquire, to know what he fhould doe with him, who lived next to him, Hee wifhed him to follow their owne Cuftome, and to deale with him, as if hee had not advifed with him, or there were no Englifh in the land to advife withall. Hereupon hee refolved to have killed him forthwith, according to their Cuftome. But no fooner were the *Nanohigganfets* got home, who had loft divers *Sachims*, Captaines, and chiefe men in this fight, but they fend to Mr. *Gorton*, &c. who fent a Note to *Uncus*, with a command by the bearer, that they put him not to death, but ufe him kindly and returne him. This the Meffenger either faid or they fuppofed came from the *Maflachufets* Governour, and did much daunt *Uncus* and his men: but to cleare up all, they advifed with the Gent. of *Coneetacut*, who wifhed him to keep him rifoner, and to advife with the Commiffioners of the United Colonies whereof they were part, whofe meeting would bee ere long by courfe at the *Maflachufets*: which counfell hee followed, and entreated the Governour of *Coneetacut* (*Myantonimo* alfo defiring it) to keep him fafe for him till then, whereupon hee was brought to *Hartford*; And many gifts were fent to the prifoner; which hee beftowed like himfelfe, fome on him that took him, fome on *Uncus*, fome on his wife, fome on *Uncus* brother being a great Captaine, and fome on others where he had received kindneffes, and this was all the ranfome was paid, there being not fo much as a ranfome propofed by the *Nanohigganfets*, nor fet down by *Uncus*. But hee advifing with the Commiffioners, they confidering how many ways befides open hoftility he had fought the life of *Uncus*, by poyfon, fecret murther, witchcraft, &c. advifed him to put him to death, there being no fafety for him whilft hee lived, being fo retleffe in his practice againft his life; and therefore wifhed *Uncus* to proceed with him according to their owne Cuftome towards prifoners of Warre, which is to put them to death; according to which advice he proceeded, knowing now that none of the *Engl.* would intercede for him. And hereupon *Uncus* went to *Hartford* and demanded his prifoner, and led him to an houfe of his owne, out of the limits of the Englifh, and there killed him, where was an Englifh man or two by to prevent their accuftomed cruelties, in cutting off not onely the head and hands of their prifoners when they are
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dead,

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

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

In *pag. 49.* hee chargeth Captaine *Cooke* with breach of Articles: And yet I have it atteſted upon oath, that there were none agreed on;
only

only they deſired they might not goe bound; which was eaſily afforded to, they behaving themſelves quietly. And for their cattle, I never heard the number to be ſo great by farre; but asking the Governour of the *Maſſachuſets* about *them*, hee profeſſed they did not amount to halfe their charges. And If any aſke by what authority they went out of their own Government to do ſuch, an act? Know that his former feditious and turbulent carriage in all parts where he came, as *Plymouth, Roade-Iſland*, a place of greateſt liberty, *Providence* that place which relieved him in that his ſo great extremity, and his ſo deſperate cloſe with ſo dangerous and Potent enemies, and at ſuch a time of Conſpiracy by the ſame *Indians*, together with the wrongs done to the *Indians*, and *English* under the protection of that Government of the *Maſſachuſets*, who complained and deſired reliefe; together with his notorious contempt of all Civill Government, as well as that particular, and his blaſphemies againſt God needleſly manifested in his proud letters to them, one whereof hee bath printed, and the other I have herewith publiſhed for him. All theſe conſidered, you ſhall ſee hereby cauſe enough, why the proceeded againſt him as a common enemy of the Countrey. And as ſuch an one, the ſaid Commiſſioners being then met together at *Maſſachuſets* by courſe, for the Weale of the whole, upon juſt complaint ordered and thought meet that the Government of the *Maſſachuſets* ſhould call them to accompt, and proceed with them ſo farre as ſtood with righteouſneſſe and juſtice: And by their declaration thou maiſt eaſily ſee they went no further, for they refuſing ſafe conduct to come to anſwer to the matters againſt them, forced them upon this charge needleſly, which they made them beare part of as before. So that here's cauſe enough beſides blaſphemy for their proceeding with them I ſuppoſe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

why the Maffach. fetched S. G. "out of their Government. 79

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

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

Whereas complaint have beene made againft Samuel Gorton and his company, and some of them weighty and of great consequence; And whereas the said Gorton and the rest have beene formerly sent for, and now lately by the generall Court of the Maffachufets with a safe conduct both for their coming and returne, that they might give answer and satisfaction wherein they have done wrong. If yet they shall stubbornly refuse, the Commiffioners for the United Colonies think fit that the Magiftrates in the Maffachufets proceed againft them according to what they shall finde just; and the rest of the Jurifdictions will approve and concur in what shall be so warrantable done, as if their Commiffioners had beene present at the conclusions, provided that this conclusion doe not prejudice the Government of Plimouth in any right they can justly claime unto any Tractor Tracts, &c.

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

And whereas in *pug. 76*. He complaineth of the Governours last order for breaking the order of Court, yet take it as he relates it and any understanding man will easily see on the other side the same leave that they still were bound to the rest of the Articles at their confinement, which they were now in a high way to break. And for that little Island called *Road Island* they were forced to shelter in, take notice 'tis 30 miles about, very fruitfull, and plentifully abounding with all manner of food the Country affordeth, and hath

bath two Townes besides many great Farmes well ftocked in the fame.

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

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

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

God defend) fhould eftablifh your and their joynt propositions: then were their plot accomplished: for they might and would worke freely our ruine when as wee might not take up armes againft them, but by vertue of warrant or writ from hence procured upon our complaints here, which alfo would bee fix months in ordinary courfe in procuring and returning, when as m one of thefe all our throates might bee cut, and thofe hopefull beginnings fo much favoured by our gracious God hitherto in a high way to bee overthrown. Indeed wee heard further, and for my part I beleve it, that for the better accomplifhment hereof, Samuel Gorton and fome of his company had perfwaded the *Nanohigganfets* to fend the King a very large Prefent of Beaver and otter skins which they fhould bring in, and accordingly did: but withall the Engliff reporter faith, that if he could finale favour with the Parliament, then hee would refte there: but if they frowned on him, hee doubted not to but obtaine what was meet from the King. But the times would not fuffer him to publifh this alfo, elfe I fee wee fhould have had all: and this take notice of, That (as the fame report teftified) at his departure hee wifhed them by no meanes to warre with us the *United Colonies*, but compound though it coft them neverfo deare, but affured them at his returne hee would come strengthened with fuch authority and fo many of his friends as that the *Nanohigganfets* and themfelves fhould not need to feare any thing the reft of the Engliff could doe. And that we heard thefe things from credible teftimony and are not faigned by mee, I take the fearcher of the heart to witneffe, yea fay further that I beleve them to bee true.

His glorious feeming well-deferving acts follow in *pug. 82. &c.* to 89. but note that *Weekcs, Holden, and Warner*, (though I leaft know the laft, but am fure for the other two) were his ftrong Affiftants in his former feditious and mutinous carriages both at *Roade Ifland* and *Providence*, and therefore fit Commiffioners as he terms them, for the accomplifhing fuch a defigne. And in *pag. 85.* note firft their compliance with the *Nanohigganfets*, and his falfe relation m faying, Myatttonimo's ranfome was taken and his life alfo, which is moft falfe, as I made appeare in my former relation. And for the Kings being our and them Judge, as in *pag. 86.* Know the Indians care no more for the King then they doe for us, whom they would deftroy if they could.

And in *pag. 88.* take notice of the Gortonifts complying and joyning

82 *The Gortonists and Nanohigganf. in feeming confederacy.*

ing with them, firft, by calling them their *fellow-subjects*, and fecondly, fpeaking of the *Maukquagges* (whom wee ordinarily call *Mo-whakes*) as being the *moft fierce and warlike people in the Country, where (faith bee) wee are furnifhed with 3700 Guns, men expert in the ufe of them, &c.* Now thefe indeed as the Switzers ferve for hire. And the *Nanohigganfets* being rich have hired them to affitt them in their warre. But though the *Gortonifts* it feemes are interefted with the *Nanohigganfets* in their ftrengh againft us, yet are they neither fo many men nor have fo many arms, but have too many and are very expert in them; being continually fuplyed by the French and Dutch, whofe aime is chiefly at the trade of Furs, and hereby not onely robbe us of that fhould helpe to maintaine our plantations which are growing up into a Nation, but furnifh the Indians with all, manner of armes, which I would to God, and humbly befeech this High Court of Parliament to take into ferious confederation, and treat with their feverall Ambaffadors about it, as a thing unreafonable in it felfe, and fuch as bath beene pernicious to French and Dutch, and may bee deftructive to them and us, if fome due courfe bee not taken. But to returne from my humble requeft to the State, to my anfwer to *Samuel Gorton*; although this be a moft unworthy vaunt of his, yet I truft the State will make fuch ufe of it as never to fuffer this deperate crew to live fo neere our malicious enemies the *Nanohigganfets*, and that they will not only countenance the fence of the *Maffachufet* Government againft them, but hinder the faid *Gortons* returne thither, by forbidding him to fet foot on that land of *New-England* he bath filled with fo many troubles in all the parts where he bath beene.

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

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

within our" line of Government: 'and truft I fhall now receive answer. Tis true alfo that we fent Mr. *John Brown* furnifhed with thefe following inftruction to fignifie to all that were intereffed in that new erected Government as followeth by Commiffion given at *New-Plimouth*, Nov. 8. 1644.

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

2. That wee affuredly knew that this ever to bee honoured Houfe of Parliament would not, nor will when they fhall know of it, take from us the moft ancient Plantation, any part of the line of our Government formerly granted; it being contrary to their Principles.

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

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

Now thefe inftructions were figned by the Governour. " And Mr. *Browne* going to *Roade Ifland* for this end came very feafonable when a publique meeting was appointed for your new Magiftrates and people (but as he reported, for a moft vile end; vix. to take into confideration a new difpofall of the lands formerly given out, as if fome had too much and fome too little, & for now refpect of perfons, II and their eftates was to bee laid afide.) And here note that Mr. *Coddington*, Mr. *Briuton*, &c. that we at *Plimouth* had fppeciall eye to, when wee commended them thither, abhorred their courfe, abftained from their meetings, looked upon themfelves as perfons in great danger, and bemoaned their condition to divers their friends, being now overwhelmed with cares and feares what would bee the iffue of things. And note that now alfo Mr. *Samuel Gorton* that before had fuffered fo much by authority for his evill doing, and was come to deny it and preach againft it, being now by thefe Inhabitants called to place, accepts it, and became a Magiftrate amongft them, &c. But whereas hee intimates, as if Mr. *Browne* had onely done his meffage (according to his inftructions) in a private way from houfe to houfe, therein hee wrongs him: for hee did it publicly in the place of their Affembly; who were fo daunted at it as they brake up, and did no act intended for that day, as hee related it: but fome would have had him imprifoned, others punifhed,

86 *The caufe of taking up of Arms againft the Nanohigganf.*

Commiffioners to *Maffachuf.* and compound, and did figne new Articles to obferve the peace not only with the United Colonies but with *Uncus, Woofamequin, Pumham,* and *Socononoco,* and other our Confederates, including all the Englifh in the land, to make fatisfaction for wrongs to *Vncus,* and to pay five hundred pounds to the united Colonies, for the charge they put us to, which indeed would not neare make it good, if they had paid it: but as at other times, fo *now,* notwithstanding their Hoftages, they abufed us grofly, firft fending falfe perfons; fecondly breaking all other their Covenants, and came at laft to a refolution, they would rather give the money (which is a Beade, as current as coin in all that part of *America,* of their owne making) to the *Mowhakes* at once, to cut us off, then to pay it according to Covenant.

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

Falfe Doctrine falfly charged upon our Minifters. 87

any malignant Englifh fate down fo neare them, and held counfell with them, before they had violated our perfons to them, reported us to bee bafe and low, out of favour with the King and State, &c. things very unworthy, abominable to be named, but that in defending the abufed Governments of the Country, I am forced to clang fuch ftrokes at thefe proud and turbulent enemies of the Country.

Next in pag. 94. that bee relateth of Mr. *Williams;* viz. the meffengers taking him with them that were fent to the *Nanohigganfets,* in that troublesome time, viz. being one *caft out of the Church* (Mr. *Cotton* fhould preach) *It was all one to take counfell of a witch, and that theft that did it were worthy to die.* Upon which Mr. *Wilbour* one of the meffengers was ready to die, faith bee, *for feare hee fhould have been hanged.* This I cannot beleeve for thefe two Reafons: 1. Becaufe all men that know Mr. *Cotton,* know his moderation, wifdome and piety to bee fuch, as fuch an expreffion was not like to drop from him. 2. The ftrictest Government in New-Engl. that I know, takes no advantage in the law at a mans perfon for being excommunicated; infomuch as if he have an office, he holds it nevertheleffe, and this, I know practifed, and therefore his relation unlike. But that the Meffengers were directed to another for their interpreter I know, and that fome took offence at their practife I know alfo, but upon different grounds, which I forbear to mention, being now to anfwer Mr. *Gorton,* and not Mr. *Williams.*

In pag. 93. which is the laft page in his Booke that I fhall need to make anfwer to, and the thing hee there brings againft us is an anfwer to a doctrine one of their wives fhould heare delivered at *Maffachufets* when fhee came to vi fit them, from *Matth. 24.29. and aluding to Hebr. 12. 26, 27.* briefly this doctrine there delivered, *fhould make the doctrine of the Apoftles and the Churches in their times to bee but darknefe. That the Miniftery of the Apoftles was and fhould be removed, &c.. which I defire the Reader to turne to;* but bee affured through Gods mercy, by meanes of the late Bifhop of *Canterburies* perfections of the godly here, wee are fo excellently furnifhed with fhining Lights of the Gofpel, as no fuch blasphemous trafh as this could bee there delivered, and fo many able hearers, as if it fhould have been delivered by any, the Lord withdrawing his prefence from him, It would have been forthwith excepted a gainft and publifhed to the world. But I am confident if fuch thing were there heard, it was either from one of them owne com
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ens, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due means. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part we intended (for our eye was upon the most Northern parts of Virginia) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which hee replied with his ordinary asseveration, So *God have my Soule 'tis an honest Trade, 'twas the Apostles owne calling, &c.* But afterwards he told Sir *Robert Nawnton*, (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*, &c. Whereupon we were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them-which caused our Agents to repair to the Virginia Company, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing 'was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 3001, gratis for three yeares, which was repaid.

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

But falling with *Cape Cod* which is in *New-England*, and standing to the Southward for the place we intended, we met with many dangers, and the Mariners put back into the Harbour of the *Cape*, which was the 11. of *November, 1620.* where considering Winter was come, the Seas dangerous, the season cold, the winds high, and being well furnished for a Plantation, we entered upon discovery, and settled at *Plymouth*, where God being pleased to preserve and enable us, we that went, were at a Thousand pounds charge intending for our Brethren that were behinde, and in providing there for them till they could reape a crop of their owne labours. And so good Reader, I have given thee a true and faithfull account, though very briefe, of our proceedings, wherein thou seest how a late Writer, and those that informed him, have wronged our enterprize. And truly what I have written, is far short of what it was, omitting for brevity sake many circumstances, as the large offers the Dutch offered us, either to have removed into *Zealand* and there lived with them: or if we would go on such adventures, to goe under them to *Hudsons River* (where they have since a great plantation, &c.) and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished ever family with cattle, &c. Also the English Merchants that joyned with us in this expedition, whom we since bought out, which is fitter for an History, than an answer to such an Objection, (& I trust will be accomplished in good time.) By all which the Reader may see there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that stayed, but such love as indeed is found on earth.
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fo far as might agree with faith and a good confcience; and for schifm and divifion, there was nothing in the world more hatefull to him: But for the government of the Church of *England*, as it was in the Epifcopall way, the Liturgy and fainted prayers of the Church then; yea, the conftitution of it as National], and fo consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lords Supper, thefe things were never approved of him; but witneffed againft to his death, and are by the Church over which he was to this day. And if the Lord would be pleafed to ftir up the hearts of thofe, in whom (under him) the power of Reformation lies, to reform that abufe, that a diftinction might once be put between the precious and the vile, particular Churches might be gathered by the powerfull preaching of the Word, thofe onely admitted into communion, whofe hearts the Lord perfwades to fubmit unto the Iron rod of the Gofpel; O how fweet then would the communion of the Churches be! How thorow the Reformation! How eafie would the differences be reconciled between the Presbyterian and Independent way! How would the, God of peace which commandeth love and good agreement fmile upon this Nation! How would the fubtle underminers of it be difappointed, and the faithfull provoked to fing fongs of praife and thanksgiving! Nay, how would the God of order be glorified in fuch orderly walking of the Saints! And as they have fought to ether for the liberties of the Kingdome, Ecclefiafticall and Civill; fo may they joyn together in the preservation of them (which otherwife, 'tis to be feared will not long continue) and in the praifes of our God who bath been fo good to his poore diftreffed ones, whom he bath delivered, and whom he will deliver out of all their troubles. But I have made too great a digreffion, and muft return.

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

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

rence between thofe that grounded their practice upon the Word of God (tho differing from us in the exposition or underftanding of it) and thofe that hated fuch Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichriftian opposition to it and perfection of it, as the late Lord Bifhops did, who would not m deed and truth (whatever their pretences were) that Chrifft fhould rule over them. But as they often ftretched out their hands againft the faints; fo God bath withered the Arm of their power, thrown them down from their high & lofty feats, and flain the chiefe of their perfons, as well as the Hierarchy, that he might become an example to all thofe that rife againft God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his Saints, in the purity of his Ordinances. And I heartily defire that others may heare and feare withall.

As for the *Dutch*, it was ufual for our Members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to London, to communicate with them, as one *John Jenny* a Brewer long did, his wife and family, &c. and without any offence to the Church: So alfo for any that had occafion to travell into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like: And our Paftor Mr. Robinfon in the time when Arminianifme prevailed fo much, at the requeft of the moft Orthodox Divines, as *Poliander*, *Feftus*, *Homlius*, &c. difputed daily againft Epifcopius (in the Academy at Leyden) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good refpect amongft them, as any of their own Divines; Infomuch as when God took him away from them and us by death, the Univerfity, and Minifters of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accuftomed solemnities; bewailing the great loffe that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Paftor; but fome of the chief of them fadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Chrifft fuftained a loffe by the death of that worthy Inftrument of the Gofpel. I could infrance alfo divers of their members that understood the Englifh tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our Church, went with us to New-England, as *Godbert Godbertfon*, &c. Yea, at this very infant, another called *Mofes Symonfon*, becaufe a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leyden, is admitted into Church-fellowfhip at *Plymouth* in New-England, and his children alfo to Baptifm, as wel as our own, and other *Dutch* alfo in communion at *Salem*, &c.

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