

1696

MASSACHUSETTS: or The first Planters of *New-England*, The *End* and *Manner* of their coming thither, and Abode there: In several EPISTLES (1696)

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Governor, Massachusetts Bay Colony

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Winthrop, John; Dudley, Thomas; Allin, John; Shepard, Thomas; Cotton, John; Scottow, Joshua; and Royster,, Paul Editor of the Online Electronic Edition, "MASSACHUSETTS: or The first Planters of *New-England*, The *End* and *Manner* of their coming thither, and Abode there: In several EPISTLES (1696)". *Joshua Scottow Papers*. 7.

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ABSTRACT

In 1696 there appeared in Boston an anonymous 16mo volume of 56 pages containing four “epistles,” written from 66 to 50 years earlier, illustrating the early history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The four “epistles” compiled in *Massachusetts, or The First Planters* were all originally addressed to English or European audiences:

1. *The Humble Request of His Majesties Loyal Subjects* (1630), sent from aboard the *Arbella* and usually attributed to John Winthrop, defends the emigrants’ physical separation from England and reaffirms their loyalty to the Crown and Church of England.

2. Thomas Dudley’s letter “To the Right Honourable, My very good Lady, The Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln,” written in March 1631, narrated the first year’s experience of those “planters” who came over in Winthrop’s fleet of 1630. It appeared in print for the first time in the *Massachusetts* compilation.

3. “The Preface of the Reverend Mr. John Allin, of Dedham, and of Mr. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge in New-England, before their *Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions*” (from 1645) was taken from a longer work on church government, and it recounted the religious reasons for—and the providential design observable in—the great migration of the Independent or Congregational churches to New England.

4. “In Domini Nortoni Librum, ad Lectorem Præfatio Apologetica,” by John Cotton, was the preface to a Latin treatise (*Responsio ad Totam Questionum Syllogen à clarissimo Viro Domino Guilielmo Apollonio*) by John Norton, published in 1648 to explain and defend the Congregational system of church government as practiced in New England. Cotton’s preface again depicts the flight into exile not merely as a justifiable necessity for the continuance of the true Church, but as a stage in the history of redemption: “John ... was carried away into the wilderness that he might see more clearly not only the judgment of the great whore but also the coming down from heaven of the chaste bride of Christ, the new Jerusalem (*Revelation* 17:1, 3; 21:2).” An English translation of Cotton’s Latin preface is supplied as an Appendix to this edition.

The compilation and publication of this volume has long been attributed to Joshua Scottow, then a retired Boston merchant and antiquary who had recently published a history of those early years—*A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony Anno 1628* (1694)—that incorporated materials found in Dudley’s previously unpublished letter. Whoever its compiler, the work is interesting for its astute selection of materials, all of which reaffirm Massachusetts’ original religious and theocratic mission in the face of events of the 1690s which had cost the colony a great degree of its political autonomy and social consensus of purpose, *i.e.* the purification of the Christian churches.

This online electronic edition includes the complete text of the 1696 printing. Some added notes identify people and references, situate the documents in their historical and disputational context, supply portions omitted by the original compiler, and discuss the textual history of the work and its component documents.

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MASSACHUSETTS

O R

The first Planters of *New-England*,
The *End* and *Manner* of their coming thi-
ther, and Abode there : In several

EPISTLES

Pfal. 84. 3. *Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the Swallow a Nest for her self, where she may lay her Young; even thy Altars, O LORD of hosts, my King, and my God.*
John, 4. 21. *Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father.*

Rev. 14. 4. ----- *These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth* -----

Tantum interest, non *Quia*, sed *Qualis* quique
patiatur. In Tabernaculo Testimonij, quod erat in
Itinere populi Dei, velut Templum deambulatorium, &c.
Augustin. de Civitate Dei. column. 46. ex
Lib 15. Cap. 20. column. 845.

Vestra autem Pietas, Viri exules, quæ maluit Patriam quam Evangelium deferere; Commodisque carere temporarijs, quam permisceri sacris a Christo alienis, Egregiam sane meretur laudem. Bullinger præfat in comment. Apoc. p. 16.

Boston in New-England, Printed by B. Green, and
J. Allen. Sold by Richard Wilkins, at his Shop
near the Old-Meeting-House. 1696.

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Title page, 1696 edition, measuring approximately $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



THE HUMBLE Request

Of His MAJESTIES Loyal Subjects,
the Governour and the Company
late gone for *NEW-ENGLAND* :
To the rest of their Brethren, in and of
the Church of *ENGLAND*.
For the obtaining of their Prayers, and the
removal of suspicions and mis constructions
of their Intentions.

Reverend FATHERS and BRETHERN ;

THE general rumour of this solemn Enter-
prise, wherein our selves with others, through
the providence of the Almighty, are engaged,
as it may spare us the labour of imparting
our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more incur-

agement to strengthen our selves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lords faithful Servants: For which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom *God* hath placed nearest his throne of Mercy; which as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits, we beseech you therefore by the Mercies of the LORD JESUS to consider us as your Brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your Charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather amongst us: for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this World; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the Principals, and Body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of *England*, from whence we rise, our dear Mother, and cannot part from our Native Country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breasts: we leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the Parentage and Education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoyce in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, & while we have breath, sincerely desire and indeavour the continuance & abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her Bounds in the Kingdom of CHRIST JESUS.

Be pleased therefore *Reverend* FATHERS and BRETHREN, to help forward this work now in hand; which if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious: howsoever your judgment is with the LORD, and your reward with your God. It is an usual and laudable exercise of your charity, to commend to the prayers of your Congregations the necessities & straits of your private neighbours; Do the like for a Church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our Sailes, and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the GOD of the whole Earth, as both we which shall find it, and your selves, with the rest of our friends, who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of Thanks-givings, as the specialties of his Providence and Goodness may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of GOD stirred up the Apostle *Paul* to make continual mention of the Church of *Philippi* (which was a Colony from *Rome*) let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weak Colony from your selves) making continual Request for us to GOD in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you that are the Ministers of GOD, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our Brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the Throne of Grace. If any there be, who through want of clear intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections, but to

consider rather, that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always that both Nature and Grace, doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodness you shall extend to us in this or any other Christian kindness, we your Brethren in CHRIST JESUS shall labour to repay in what duty we are or shall be able to perform, promising so far as God shall enable us to give him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor Cottages in the Wilderness, over-shadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us. And so commending you to the grace of GOD in CHRIST, we shall ever rest

From *Yarmouth*
Aboard the *Arbella*.
April 7. 1630.

Jo. Winthrop. Gov.
Charles Fines.

George Phillips.
&c.

Your assured Friends
and Brethren,

Rich. Saltonstall.
Isaac Johnson.
Tho. Dudley.
William Coddington.
&c.



TO THE
Right HONOURABLE,
My very good LADY,
The Lady
BRIDGET
Countess of
Lincoln.

Madam,

Y OUR Letters (which are not common nor cheap) following me hither into *New-England*, and bringing with them renewed Testimonies of the accustomed Favours you Honoured me with in the *Old*, have drawn from me this Narrative Retribution,

which (in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great Note amongst us) was the thankfullest present I had to send over the Seas. Therefore I humbly intreat Your Honour this be Accepted as payment from him, who neither hath, nor is any more, Than

*Boston in New-
England, March
12th. 1630.*

Your Honours
Old
Thankful Servant,
T. D.

FOR the satisfaction of Your Honour, and some Friends, and for the use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our Plantation in *New England*, I have in the throng of Domestick, and not altogether free from Publick Business, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our Arrival here; which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no Table, nor other Room to Write in, then by the Fire-side upon my knee, in this sharp Winter; to which my Family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not.

Concerning the *English* that are Planted here: I find that about the Year 1620. Certain *English* set out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their Course for *Hudson's* River.

These being much Weather beaten, and wearied with seeking the River, after a most tedious Voyage, Arrived at length in a small Bay, lying North-East from *Cape-Cod*; where Landing about the Month of *December*, by the favour of a calm Winter, such as was never seen here since, begun to Build their Dwellings in that place, which now is called *New-Plimouth*: Where after much Sickness, Famine, Poverty and great Mortality, (through all which, God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now grown up to a People, Healthful, Wealthy, Politick and Religious; such things doth the Lord for those that wait for his Mercies. They of *Plimouth* came with Patents from King *James*, and have since obtained others, from our Sovereign, King *Charles*, having a Governour and Council of their own: There was about the same time, one Mr. *Weston*, an *English* Merchant, who sent divers men to Plant and Trade; who

sate down by the River of *Wesaguscus*, but these coming not for so good ends as those of *Plymouth*, sped not so well; for the most of them Dying and Languishing away, They who survived were rescued by those of *Plymouth*, out of the hands of *Chickatalbott*, & his *Indians*, who oppressed those weak *English*, and intended to have destroyed them: And the *Plymouthians* also, as is set down in a Tract, Written by Mr. *Winslow* of *Plymouth*: Also since, one Captain *Wollaston* with some Thirty with him, came near to the same place, and Built on an Hill, which he named Mount *Wollaston*; but being not supplied with renewed Provisions, they vanished away as the former did. Also divers Merchants of *Bristol*, and some other places, have yearly for these eight years, or thereabouts, sent Ships hither at the Fishing times, to Trade for Bever, where their Factors dishonestly for their gains, have furnished the *Indians* with Guns, Swords, Powder and Shot.

Touching the Plantation which we here have begun: it fell out thus. About the Year 1627. some Friends being together in *Lincolnshire*, fell into discourse about *New England*, and the Planting of the Gospel there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons, by Letters and Messages, to some in *London* and the *West Country*; where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation so ripened, that in the year 1628. we procured a Patent from His Majesty for our Planting between the *Massachusetts Bay* and *Charles River* on the South, and the River of *Merrimack* on the North, and three miles on either side of those Rivers and Bay; as also for the Government of those who did or should Inhabit within that Compass: And the same year we sent Mr. *John Endicott*, and some with him, to begin a Plantation; and to strengthen such as he should find there,

which we sent thither from *Dorchester*, and some places adjoining: from whom the same year receiving hopeful News: The next year, 1629. we sent divers Ships over, with about Three Hundred People, and some Cowes, Goats and Horses, many of which Arrived safely. These by their too large Commendations of the Country, and the Commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on, that Mr. *Winthrop* of *Suffolk*, (who was well known in his own Country, and well approved here, for his Piety, Liberality, Wisdom and Gravity) coming in to us, we came to such resolution, that in *April*, 1630. we set Sail from Old *England* with four good Ships. And in *May* following eight more followed; two having gone before in *February* and *March*, and two more following in *June* and *August*, besides another Set out by a private Merchant. These seventeen Ships Arrived all safe in *New England*, for the increase of the Plantation here this year 1630. but made a long, a troublesome and costly Voyage, being all Wind bound long in *England*, and hindred with contrary Winds, after they set Sail, and so scattered with Mists and Tempests, that few of them Arrived together. Our four Ships which set out in *April*, Arrived here in *June* and *July*, where we found the Colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above Eighty of them being Dead the Winter before; and many of those alive, weak and sick; all the Corn and Bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight: insomuch that the remainder of an Hundred and Eighty Servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for Victuals to sustain them, we found our selves wholly unable to feed them, by reason that the Provisions Shipped for them, were taken out of the Ship they were put in; and they who were trusted to Ship them in another, failed us, and left them behind; whereupon

necessity enforced us to our extream loss, to give them all Liberty; who had cost us about Sixteen or Twenty Pound a Person, furnishing and sending over. But bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the Place of our Sitting down: For *Salem* where we Landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose, some were sent to the Bay, to search up the Rivers for a convenient place; who upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon *Mistick*; but some other of us, seconding these, to approve or dislike of their judgment; we found a place liked us better, three Leagues up *Charles River*: And thereupon Unshipped our Goods into other Vessels, and with much Cost and Labour, brought them in *July* to *Charlstown*; but there receiving advertisements (by some of the late arrived Ships) from *London* and *Amsterdam* of some *French* Preparations against us (many of our people brought with us being sick of Fevers, and the Scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our Ordnance and Baggage so far) we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to Plant dispersedly, some at *Charlstown*, which standeth on the North-side of the mouth of *Charles River*; some on the South-side thereof, which place we named *Boston* (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on) some of us upon *Mistick*, which we named *Meadford*; some of us Westward on *Charles River*, four miles from *Charlstown*, which place we named *Watertown*; others of us two miles from *Boston*, in a place we named *Roxbury*; others upon the River of *Saugus*, between *Salem* and *Charlstown*: And the Western men four miles South from *Boston*, at a place we named *Dorchester*. This Dispersion troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to Build a Town upon; and the time too short to

deliberate any longer, least the Winter should surprize us before we had Builded our Houses. The best counsel we could find out was to Build a Fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any Enemy pressed us thereunto, after we should have fortified our selves against the injuries of wet and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had Health to Labour, fell to Building, wherein many were interrupted with Sickness, and many Dyed weekly, yea, almost daily. Amongst whom were Mrs. *Pinchon*, Mrs. *Coddington*, Mrs. *Phillips*, and Mrs. *Alcock*, a Sister of Mr. *Hookers*. Insomuch that the Ships being now upon their Return, some for *England*, some for *Ireland*; there was as I take it not much less than an Hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our Government, which restrained and punished their Excesses; and partly through fear of Famine, not seeing other means than by their Labour to feed themselves) which returned back again; and glad were we so to be rid of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their own Disposition, which were Planted at *Pascataway*, went from us to them; whereby though our Numbers were lessened, yet we accounted our selves nothing weakned by their Removal: Before the Departure of the Ships, we contracted with Mr. *Peirce*, Master of the *Lyon* of *Bristol*, to Return to us with all speed, with fresh supplies of Victuals, and gave him directions accordingly; with this Ship returned Mr. *Revil*, one of the five Undertakers here, for the joynt Stock of the Company; and Mr. *Vassal*, one of the Assistants, and his Family; and also Mr. *Bright*, a Minister sent hither the year before: The Ship being gone, Victuals wasting, and Mortality increasing, we held divers Fasts in our several Congregations, but the Lord would not yet be Deprecated; for about the

beginning of *September*, Dyed Mr. *Gager*, a right Godly man, a skilful Chyrurgeon, and one of the Deacons of our Congregation. And Mr. *Higginson*, one of the Ministers of *Salem*, a zealous and a profitable Preacher; this of a Consumption, that of a Fever: And on the 30th. of *September*, Dyed Mr. *Johnson*, another of the five Undertakers, (the Lady *ARBELLA* his Wife being Dead a Month before) This Gentleman was a prime man amongst us, having the best Estate of any; zealous for Religion, and the greatest furtherer of this Plantation; he made a most Godly End, Dying willingly, professing his Life better spent in promoting this Plantation, than it could have been any other way. He left to us a Loss greater then the most conceived. Within a month after, Dyed Mr. *Rossiter*, another of our Assistants, a Godly man, and of a good Estate, which still weakned us more: So that now there were left of the five Undertakers, but the Governour, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, and my self, and seven other of the Assistants. And of the People who came over with us, from the time of their Setting Sail from *England*, in *April* 1630. until *December* following, there Dyed by Estimation about Two Hundred at the least; so low hath the Lord brought us! Well, yet they who Survived were not discouraged, but bearing Gods Corrections with Humility, and trusting in His Mercies, and considering how after a lower ebb he had raised up our Neighbours at *Plymouth*, we began again in *December* to consult about a fit place to Build a Town upon; leaving all thoughts of a Fort, because upon any Invasion, we were necessarily to lose our Houses, when we should retire thereinto: So after divers Meetings at *Boston*, *Roxbury* and *Watertown*, on the Twenty Eighth of *December*, we grew to this resolution, to bind all the Assistants (Mr. *Endicott*,

and Mr. *Sharp* excepted, which last purposeth to return by the next Ship into *England*) to Build Houses, at a place a mile East from *Watertown*, near *Charles River*, the next Spring, and to Winter there the next year; that so by our Examples, and by removing the Ordnance and Munition thither, all who were able, might be drawn thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage, be compelled so to do; and so if God would, a Fortified Town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. I should before have mentioned how both the *English* and *Indian* Corn being at ten shillings a strike, and Bever being valued at six shillings a Pound; we made Laws to restrain the Selling of Corn to the *Indians*, and to leave the price of Bever at liberty, which was presently Sold for ten, and twenty Shillings a Pound. I should also have remembred, how the half of our Cowes, and almost all our Mares and Goates, sent us out of *England*, Dyed at Sea, in their Passage hither; and that those intended to be sent us out of *Ireland*, were not sent at all; all which, together with the loss of our six months Building occasioned by our intended Removal to a Town to be Fortified, weakned our Estates, especially the Estates of the Undertakers, who were Three or Four Thousand Pounds ingaged in the joynt stock, which was now not above so many Hundreds; yet many of us laboured to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembring the end of our Coming hither, and knowing the power of God, who can support and raise us again; and useth to bring his Servants low, that the meek may be made glorious by Deliverance.

I have no leisure to Review and Insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must set them down as they

come to memory. About the end of *October*, this year 1630. I joyned with the Governour, and Mr. *Maverick*, in sending out our Pinace to the *Narragansetts*, to Trade for Corn, to supply our wants; but after the Pinace had doubled *Cape Cod*, she put into the next Harbour she found, and there meeting with *Indians*, who shewed their willingness to Truck; she made her Voyage there, and brought us an Hundred Bushels of Corn, at about four shillings a Bushel, which helped us something. From the Coast where they Traded, they saw a very large Island, four Leagues to the East, which the *Indians* commended as a fruitful place, full of good Vines, and free from sharp Frosts, having one only Entrance into it, by a Navigable River, Inhabited by a few *Indians*, which for a trifle would leave the Island, if the *English* would set them upon the Main; but the Pinace having no direction for Discovery, returned without Sailing to it, which in two Hours they might have done: Upon this Coast they found store of Vines full of Grapes dead ripe, the Season being past; whither we purpose to send the next year sooner, to make some small quantity of Wine, if God inable us; the Vines growing thin with us, and we not having yet any leisure to Plant Vineyards. But now having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other mens coming to this place, or their abstaining from it; after my brief manner, I say this. That if any come hither to Plant for Worldly Ends, that can live well at Home, he commits an Error, of which he will soon repent him: But if for Spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his Removal, he may find here what may well content him: *viz.* Materials to Build, Fewel to Burn, Ground to Plant, Seas and Rivers to Fish in, a pure Air to Breathe in, good Water to drink, till Wine or Beer can be made;

which together with the Cowes, Hoggs and Goats brought hither already, may suffice for Food; as for Fowl and Venison, they are Dainties here as well as in *England*. For Cloaths and Bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied, but endure much to be pittied in the Sickness and Mortality of our People: And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, least other men should fall short of their expectations, when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did; by means of Letters sent us from hence into *England*; wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here: If any Godly men out of Religious Ends will come over, to help us in the good Work we are about: I think they cannot dispose of themselves, nor of their Estates more to God's Glory, and the furtherance of their own Reckoning: But they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years. For we have found by experience, that they have hindred, not furthered the Work: And for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any Endued with Grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to Build and Plant, let them come into our *Macedonia*, and help us, and not spend themselves and their Estates in a less profitable Employment: for others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this Business.

Touching the Discouragement which the Sickness and Mortality which every first year hath seized upon us, and those of *Plsmouth*, as appeareth before, may give to such who have cast any thoughts this way (of which Mortality it may be

said of us almost as of the *Egyptians*, that there is not an House where there is not one dead, and in some Houses many) the natural causes seem to be, the want of warm Lodging, and good Dyet, to which *English* men are habituated at home; and in the sudden increase of heat, which they endure that are Landed here in Summer; the salt meats at Sea having prepared their Bodies thereto; for those only these two last years dyed of Fevers, who Landed in *June* and *July*; as those of *Plymouth*, who Landed in Winter, dyed of the Scurvy; as did our poorer sort, whose Housing and Bedding, kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their Dyet sufficiently in heart: other causes God may have, as our Faithful Minister, Mr. *Wilson* (lately handling that point) shewed unto us; which I forbear to mention, leaving this matter to the further Dispute of Physicians and Divines.

Wherefore to return, upon the Third of *January*, Dyed the Daughter of Mr. *Sharp*, a Godly Virgin, making a comfortable end, after a long sickness. The Plantation here received not the like loss of any Woman, since we came hither; and therefore she well deserves to be remembered in this Place.

Amongst those who Dyed about the end of this *January*, there was a Girl of Eleven Years Old, the Daughter of one *John Ruggles*, who in the time of her Sickness, expressed to the Minister, and those about her, so much Faith and Assurance of Salvation, as is rarely found in any of that Age; which I thought not unworthy here to commit to memory: and if any tax me for wasting paper with Recording these small matters; such may consider, that small things in the beginning of natural or politick Bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in Bodies full grown.

Upon the fifth of *February*, Arrived here Mr. *Pierce*, with the Ship *Lyon* of *Bristol*, with supplies of Victuals from *England*; who had set forth from *Bristol* the first of *December* before. He had a Stormy Passage hither, and lost one of his Saylors not far from our Shore, who in a Tempest having helped to take in the Sprit Sail, lost his hold as he was coming down, and fell into the Sea; where, after long Swimming, he was Drowned, to the great dolour of those in the Ship, who beheld so lamentable a Spectacle, without being able to minister help to him, the Sea was so high, and the Ship drove so fast before the Wind, though her Sails were taken down. By this Ship we understand of the Fight of three of our Ships, and two *English* Men of War coming out of the *Straits*, with Fourteen *Dunkirks*, upon the Coast of *England*, as they Returned from us, in the end of the last Summer; who through Gods Goodness, with the loss of some thirteen or fourteen men, out of our three Ships; and I know not how many out of the two Men of War, got at length clear of them. The *Charles*, one of our three, a stout Ship, of 300 Tonn, being so torn, that she had not much of her left whole above water. By this Ship we also understand of the Death of many of those who went from us the last year to *England*, as likewise of the Mortality there; whereby we see there are Graves in other places as well as with us.

Amongst others who Dyed about this time, was Mr. *Robert Welden*, who in the time of his Sickness we had Chosen to be Captain of 100. Foot, but before he took possession of his place, he Dyed, the sixteenth of this *February*, and was Buried as a Souldier, with three Volleys of Shott. Upon the Twenty Second of *February* we Held a General Day of Thanks-giving throughout the whole Colony,

for the safe Arrival of the Ship which came last with our Provisions.

Upon the Eighth of *March*, from after it was fair day light, until about Eight of the Clock in the Forenoon, there flew over all the Towns in our Plantations, so many Flocks of Doves, each Flock containing many Thousands, and some so many, that they obscured the Light, that it passeth credit, if but the Truth should be written; and the thing was the more strange, because I scarce remember to have seen ten Doves since I came into the Country: They were all Turtles, as appeared by divers of them we killed Flying, somewhat bigger than those of *Europe*, and they flew from the North-east, to the South-west; but what it portends, I know not.

The Ship now waits but for Wind, which when it Blowes, there are ready to go Aboard therein for *England*, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, Mr. *Sharp*, Mr. *Coddington*, and many others; the most whereof purpose to return to us again, if God will. In the mean time, we are left a People poor and contemptible, yet such as Trust in God; and are contented with our condition, being well assured, that he will not fail us nor forsake us. I had almost forgotten to add this, That the Wheat we received by this last Ship, stands us in thirteen or fourteen shillings a strike, and the Pease about eleven shillings a strike, besides the Adventure, which is worth three or four shillings a strike; which is an higher price than I ever tasted Bread of before.

Thus *Madam*, I have as I can, told Your Honour, all our matters; knowing Your Wisdom can make good use thereof. If I Live not to perform the like Office of my Duty hereafter, likely it is, some other will do it better.

Before the departure of the Ship (which yet was Wind-bound) there came unto us Sagamore *John*, and one of his Subjects, requiring satisfaction for the Burning of two Wigwams, by some of the *English*; which Wiggwams were not Inhabited, but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when upon occasion, they should Travel that way. By Examination we found that some *English* Fowlers, having retired into that which belonged to the Subject; and leaving a Fire therein carelesly which they had kindled to warm them, were the cause of Burning thereof. For that which was the Sagamores, we could find no certain proof how it was Fired: yet least he should think us not sedulous enough to find it out, and so should depart discontentedly from us; we gave both him and his Subject, satisfaction for them both.

The like accident of Fire also befel Mr. *Sharp*, and Mr. *Colborn*, upon the seventeenth of this *March*; both whose Houses (which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the Plantation) were in two hours space Burned to the ground; together with much of their Houshold-stuff, Apparel, and other things; as also some Goods of others, who Sojourned with them in their Houses; God so pleasing to exercise us with Corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others. For the prevention whereof, in our New Town intended this Summer to be Builded; we have ordered that no man there shall Build his Chimney with Wood, nor cover his House with Thatch, which was readily assented unto; for that divers other Houses have been Burned since our Arrival.

Upon the Eighteenth Day of *March*, came one from *Salem*, and told us, that upon the Fifteenth thereof, there Dyed

Mrs. *Skelton*, the Wife of the other Minister there. She was a Godly and an helpful Woman, she lived desired, and dyed lamented, and well deserves to be honourably remembred.

Upon the Twenty-fifth of this *March*, one of *Watertown* having lost a Calf, and about ten of the Clock at night, hearing the Howling of some Wolves not far off, raised many of his Neighbours out of their Beds, that by Discharging their Muskets near about the place where he heard the Wolves, he might so put the Wolves to flight, and save his Calf: The Wind serving fit to carry the Report of the Muskets to *Roxbury*, three miles off, at such a time; the Inhabitants there took an Alarm, Beat up their Drum, Armed themselves, and sent in Post to us to *Boston*, to Raise us also: So in the morning, the Calf being found safe, the Wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to Breakfast.

I thought to have ended before, but the stay of the Ship, and my desire to inform Your Honour of all I can, hath caused this Addition: And every one having warning to prepare for the Ships departure to morrow, I am now this Twenty-Eighth of *March*, 1631. Sealing my Letters.



The PREFACE of the Reverend Mr. John Allin, of Dedham, and of Mr. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge in New-England, before their Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions.

IT was the Profession of the Lord Jesus before *Pilate*, when he questioned with him about his Kingdom, *John* 18. 37. That for this cause he was born and came into the world, to bear witness of the Truth. Many Truths about the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ hath he imparted to us; if therefore we be born into the world, or sent into this Wilderness to bear witness to his Truth, it is unto us reward sufficient, that we should be Witnesses thereunto, even to the Utmost parts of the Earth. We confess we have been too slow in this Service of Christ, not having to this day set forth an unanimous Confession of that Form of wholesome words which is Preached, received and professed in these Churches of the Lord Jesus; and which we are not unmindful of, though our distances, and other difficulties may delay the opportunity. But this in the mean time we profess in general, That (so far as we know) there is the same blessed Spirit of Truth breathing in the Ministry of the Country; the same Faith embraced and professed in the Churches, which is generally received as the Orthodox Doctrine of the Gospel, in the best reformed Churches, and particularly by our Godly Learned Brethren of *England* and *Scotland*. And

though Errors have sprung up among us, and some are gone out from us, that we fear were not of us, yet we have born witness against them, and by the blessing of God, by the breath of Christ in the mouths of his Servants they have been blasted. Neither do we understand that these Churches are accused of any Errors about the saving Truths of the Gospel, and therefore we thought our selves not so much called of God to such a Confession at present, as to clear up to the World those Truths we profess about the Kingdom and Government of Christ in his Churches; which is the great work of this age, and of this nick of time. And yet here also we fear that we have been too slack; for though it be said, *We are the Volunteers, such as cry up this way, &c.* and so it seems we are apprehended to be one cause of these present differences: yet if things be well weighed, we may seem rather to be far behind in the duty that lies upon us. Indeed some brief Answers sent over to some particular persons, to satisfie Brethren what our practise is, (with some brief touch of our reasons) rather than to discuss those points, have been printed by some without our knowledge, or assent, upon what grounds they best know. And some short Treatises by some Reverend Brethren have been published to declare their affectionate desires of the unanimous endeavours of all our dear Brethren, for a general and holy Reformation. But what hath been said or done, that either may justly offend the minds of the godly, provoke their spirits, disunite their affections, or hinder a godly Reformation? Yea, we have been too slow to clear our Doctrine and practise from the many objections, harsh interpretations, and manifold Criminations cast upon the same, wherein we fear our lothness to intermeddle in these Controversies for fear of

making the breach wider amongst Brethren; and our desire rather to attend what light we might receive from others in these points, wherein we profess our selves seekers after the Truth, have made us guilty of neglect in this our duty. But now we see our selves pressed hereto, by a necessity of justifying our wayes against the many aspersions cast upon them, as well as against the reasons used against them. For we perceive by the first Letters of our Brethren, how the withdrawing of Christians from the Liturgy was imputed to us, and by this Reply both in the Epistle and divers passages, we cannot but see what apprehensions are raised of us; yea, many are apt to think, that if we had said nothing, yet our very act in forsaking the Churches of God in our dear native Country, and the Cause of Christ there, together with the practise of these Churches, thought to be so different from the reformed Churches, have been, not only a great weakening to the hands of the Godly, (that have stood by the Cause of Christ) but also have caused great disturbance to the Reformation in hand: To which much might be said, but that we should exceed the bounds of an Epistle. Yet let us intreat all the Godly wise, to consider and look back upon the season of this great Enterprise, undertaken by us, and the manner of our proceedings in it, with the admirable workings of Gods Providence first and last about it; and we think (though we were silent) they may easily satisfie themselves, whether this was of God or men; a sinful neglect of the Cause of Christ, or a manifest attestation to the Truth, by open profession against Corruptions of Worship in use, and for the necessity of Reformation of the Church; and that confirmed by no small degree of Sufferings for the same. For was it not a time when Humane Worship and In-

ventions were grown to such an intolerable height, that the Consciences of Gods Saints and Servants, inlightened in the truth, could no longer bear them? was not the power of the tyranical Prelates so great, that like a strong Current, carried all down stream before it; whatever was from the Law, or otherwise set in their way? Did not the hearts of men generally fail them? Where was the people to be found that would cleave to their godly Ministers in their sufferings; but rather thought it their discretion, to provide for their own quiet and safety? Yea, when some freely in zeal of the Truth preached or professed against the corruptions of the times, did not some take offence at it, judge it rashness, and to be against all rules of discretion, who since are ready to censure us for deserting the Cause? Many then thought, it is an evil time, the prudent shall hold their peace, and might we not say, This is not our resting place? And what would men have us do in such a case? Must we study some distinctions to salve our Consciences in complying with so manifold corruptions in Gods Worship? or should we live without God's Ordinances, because we could not partake in the corrupt administration thereof? or content our selves to live without those Ordinances of Gods Worship and Communion of Saints, which he called us unto, and our Souls breathed after? or should we forsake the publick Assemblies, and joyn together in private separated Churches? how unsufferable it would then have been, the great offence that now is taken at it, is a full evidence. And if in Cities, or some such great Towns, that might have been done, yet how was it possible for so many scattered Christians all over the Countrey? It is true, we might have suffered, if we had sought it, we might easily have found the way to have filled

the Prisons; and some had their share therein. But whether we were called thereunto, when a wide door was set open of liberty otherwise; and our witness to the Truth (through the malignant policy of those times) could not be open before the world, but rather smothered up in close prisons or some such wayes, together with our selves, we leave to be considered. We cannot see but the rule of Christ to his Apostles and Saints, and the practise of Gods Saints in all Ages, may allow us this liberty as well as others, to fly into the Wilderness from the face of the Dragon. But if it had been so, that the Godly Ministers and Christians that fled to *New England*, were the most timorous and faint hearted of all their Brethren, that stayed behind, and that those Sufferings were nothing in comparison of their Brethrens (for why should any boast of sufferings?) yet who doth not know that the Spirit who gives various gifts, and all to profit withal, in such times doth single out every one to such work, as he in wisdom intends to call them unto? And whom the Lord will honour by suffering for his Cause, by imprisonment, &c. he gives them spirits suitable thereto: whom the Lord will reserve for other service, or imploy in other places, he inclines their hearts rather to fly, giving them an heart suitable to such a condition. It is a case of Conscience frequently put, and oft resolved by holy *Bradford*, *Peter Martyr*, *Philpot*, and others in *Queen Maries* bloody dayes, viz. *Whether it was lawful to flee out of the Land?* To which their answer was, that if God gave a spirit of courage and willingness to glorifie him by Sufferings, they should stay; but if they found not such a spirit, they might lawfully fly; yea, they advised them thereunto. Those Servants of Christ, though full of the spirit of glory, and of Christ to outface

the greatest persecuters in profession of the Truth, unto the death; yet did not complain of the cowardize of such as fled, because they deserted them & the Cause; but rather advised divers so to do, and rejoyced when God gave liberty to their brethren to escape with their lives to the places of liberty, to serve the Lord according to his Word. Neither were those faithful Saints and Servants of God useless and unprofitable in the Church of God that fled from the bloody Prelates. The infinite and only wise God hath many works to do in the World, and he doth by his singular Providence give gifts to his Servants, and disposeth them to his Work as seemeth best to himself. If the Lord will have some to bear witness by imprisonments, dismembring, &c. we honour them therein; if he will have others instrumental to promote Reformation in *England*, we honour them, and rejoyce in their holy endeavours, praying for a blessing upon themselves and labours. And what if God will have his Church and the Kingdom of Christ go up also in these remote parts of the World, that his Name may be known to the Heathen, or whatsoever other end he hath, and to this end will send forth a company of weak-hearted Christians, which dare not stay at home to suffer, why should we not let the Lord alone, & rejoyce that Christ is Preached howsoever, & wheresoever? And who can say that this work was not undertaken and carried on with sincere and right ends, & in an holy serious manner, by the chief, and the body of such as undertook the same? The Lord knows whether the sincere desires of worshipping himself according to his will, of promoting and propagating the Gospel, was not in the hearts of very many in this Enterprise; & he that seeth in secret, and rewardeth openly, knows what prayers & tears have been poured out

to God by many alone, and in dayes of Fasting and Prayer of Gods servants together, for his counsel, direction, assistance, blessing in this work: How many longings and pantings of heart have been in many after the Lord Jesus, to see his goings in his Sanctuary, as the one thing their Souls desired and requested of God, that they might dwell in his house for ever; the fruit of which prayers and desires this liberty of *New England* hath been taken to be, and thankfully received from God. Yea, how many serious consultations with one another, & with the faithful Ministers, and other eminent servants of Christ, have been taken about this work, is not unknown to some; which clears us from any rash heady rushing into this place, out of discontent, as many are ready to conceive. We will here say nothing of the persons whose hearts the Lord stirred up in this business; surely all were not rash, weak-spirited, inconsiderate of what they left behind, or of what it was to go into a Wilderness. But if it were well known and considered, or if we were able to express and recount the singular workings of divine Providence, for the bringing on of this Work, to what it is come unto, it would stop the mouths of all that have not an heart to accuse and blaspheme the Goodness of God in his glorious Works. Whatever many may say or think, we believe after-times will admire and adore the Lord herein, when all his holy Ends, and the wayes he hath used to bring them about, shall appear. Look from one end of the heaven to another, whether the Lord hath assayed to do such a Work as this in any Nation, so to carry out a people of his own from so flourishing a State, to a wilderness so far distant, for such ends, and for such a Work: Yea, and in few years hath done for them, as he hath here done for his poor

despised people. When we look back and consider what a strange poise of spirit the Lord hath laid upon many of our hearts, we cannot but wonder at our selves, that so many, and some so weak and tender, with such cheerfulness and constant resolutions against so many perswasions of friends, discouragements from the ill report of this Country, the straits, wants and tryals of Gods people in it, &c. yet should leave our accommodations & comforts, should forsake our dearest Relations, Parents, Brethren, Sisters, Christian friends, and Acquaintances; overlook all the dangers and difficulties of the vast Seas, the thought whereof was a terrour to many; and all this to go to a Wilderness, where we could forecast nothing but care and temptations; onely in hopes of enjoying Christ in his Ordinances, in the fellowship of his people. Was this from a stupid senslesness or desperate carelessness what became of us or ours? or want of natural affections to our dear Country, or nearest Relations? No surely. With what bowels of compassion to our dear Country; with what heart-breaking affections, to our dear Relations, and Christian friends many of us, at least, came away, the Lord is witness. What shall we say of the singular Providence of God bringing so many Ship-loads of his people, through so many dangers, as upon Eagles wings, with so much safety from year to year? The fatherly care of our God in feeding and cloathing so many in a Wilderness, giving such healthfulness and great increase of posterity? What shall we say of the Work it self of the kingdom of Christ? and the form of a Common-wealth erected in a Wilderness, and in so few years brought to that state, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English Colonies in the richest places of this *America*, after many more years stand-

ing? That the Lord hath carryed the spirits of so many of his people through all their toylsome labour, wants, difficulties, losses, &c. with such a measure of chearfulness and contentation? But above all we must acknowledge the singular pittie and mercies of our God, that hath done all this and much more for a people so unworthy, so sinful, that by murmurings of many, unfaithfulness in promises, oppressions, and other evils which are found among us, have so dishonoured his Majesty, exposed his work here to much scandal and obloquie, for which we have cause for ever to be ashamed, that the Lord should yet own us, and rather correct us in mercy, then cast us off in displeasure, and scatter us in this Wilderness, which gives us cause with *Mich. 7.* to say, *Who is a God like our God, that pardoneth iniquities, and passeth by the transgressions of the remnant of his heritage; even because he delighteth in mercy?* Tho' we be a people of many weaknesses & wants, yet we acknowledge our God to have been to us a God of many mercies, in respect of that sweet peace which he hath taken away from so many Nations, yet continuing the same to us; in respect also of that liberty we have in Gods house, the blessed Ministry of the Word, the sweet unity and communion of Gods Churches and Ministers, increase & multiplication of Churches, Christian Government in the Common-wealth, and many other mercies we enjoy; but especially the gracious presence of Christ to many of our Souls in all these. But we will not insist much upon this subject, being perswaded it is in the Consciences and Hearts of many of our dear Country-men to think that we should be an object of love and tenderness to that State and People, by whose Laws and unkind usages we were driven out into a Wilderness; rather then to be judged as

desertors of our Brethren, and the Cause of Christ in hand: with whom (excuse us if we now speak plainly) it had been far more easie unto many of us to have suffered, then to have adventured hither upon the Wilderness sorrows we expected to have met withal; though we must confess the Lord hath sweetned it beyond our thoughts, and utmost expectations of prudent men. *Ec. Ec.*

From New-England,
November 28.
1645.

JOHN ALLIN.

THO. SHEPARD.



In Domini *Nortoni* Librum, ad Lectorem
Præfatio Apologetica.

GRAVIS ea quidem Calumnia est, et candore spiritus Christiani indigna admodum, Fratres sive e Belgio reduces, sive in nova Anglia exulantes, Rerum Anglicarum ruinam præsentiscentes; tanquam sorices e domo labante, aufugisse, ut saluti quidem suæ provide prospicerent; communis causæ Reformationis patrocinium, perfide desererent. Non sic olim vitio vertebatur Eliae, qui præ metu Jezebelis, in desertum aufugisse fertur, 1 Reg 19. Nec piis illis Confessoribus, qui in Mariana tempestate, in exteras Regiones se receperunt; sive in Germaniam, sive Genevam. Et illi quidem se subduxerunt, cum per id tempus libera ipsis (si restitissent) restaret copia, amplum satis et luculentum Testimonium perhibendi Veritati; cum Disputationibus publicis, tum Confessionibus: idque non solum coram frequenti Judicum consessu, ut rederentur in excusabiles; sed etiam coram universo populi circumstantis cœtu; qui perspecta fratrum invicta fide & patientia, rederentur ipsi quoque constantes in fide, invicti, inexpugnabiles. Et tamen discesserunt viri isti boni, bona fratrum cum venia: Venia? imo & gratia: neque omnino vel ut desertores fratrum, vel ut proditores Causæ, eo nomine male audiebant. At nobiscum nuperis bisce diebus, longe iniquius actum fuisse, nemo est tam bardus, qui non intelligat, nemo ingenuus rerum æstimator, qui non agnoscat. Si quispiam nostrum coram Tribunali compareret, protinus affantur, Heus tu, num juramentum, quod ex officio tibi imponimus, capescere lubeat? Si capias, mille nocendi artes, et certa necessitas, & temetip-

sum, et fratres cum accusandi, tum prodendi in inextricabiles legulejorum malignantium labyrinthos. Sin juramentum recuses, apage illico ad carceres; nulla amplius restat Libertas, vel disputandi, vel confitendi, sed tantum dura necessitas in perpetuo squallidi et umbrosi carceris silentio contabescendi. Quum igitur ita se res haberet, ut nobis aut in carcere inutiliter pereundum, aut solum vertendum, Christo duce, soli vertendi consilium inibamus, cum nos inter nos, tum vocatis in consilium fratribus. Fratres autem illi quos consuluisse visum erat, non erant illi quidem viri leves (invisa et cassa capita) sed viri Dei, tum pietate, tum sancta prudentia spectatissimi. Illi autem pro ea qua pollebant, sapientia, perpensis omnibus (quæ ad tam arduum negotium spectabant) rerum momentis, judicabant, potuisse nos Testimonium amplius longe et luculentius causae Christi præbere, partim libera prædicatione verbi, partim viva praxi Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, in cæteris Regionibus, quam Londini in arctis tetrisque carceribus, ubi nec librorum, nec calamorum, nec amicorum, nec conscionum copia concederetur.

Fuget præterea meminisse, consuluisse nos etiam privatos quam plurimos viros, eosque synceræ pietatis professione conspicuos, qui in Ecclesiis istis degebant, quorum nobis cura impendebat, et qui ipsi maxime pendebant a ministerio nostro. Et horam quidem pars, qui libertati conscientiæ, et puritati cultus impensius studebant, tantopere probarunt consilii nostri de discessu rationem, ut ultro sese offerrent Comites Itineris, etiam in Ultimas orbis terrarum oras, si Dominus viam aperuerit. Pars autem altera, qui propendebant magis, licet non approbationi, tamen tolerationi adinventum humanarum, hi etiam consilium nostrum de discessu probarunt, ut pote cum nobis, tum paci Ecclesiæ apprime pernecessarium: tametsi consultius se facturos autumarent, si libertatem pacemque suam, succumbendo oneri, sive subscriptionis (ut loquuntur) sive conformitatis, ipsi redimerent. Sic bona cum venia, imo et gratia, discessum est invicem,

non sine multis utrinque gemitibus, suspiriis, lachrymis inter amplexandum, et valedicendum.

In istas autem (bono cum Deo) cum appulimus oras, & sine cuiusquam offensa læti fruermur (pro summæ Dei op. max. benignitate) ea conscientiarum libertate, et institutionum Christi puritate, quam animitus quærebat, haud ita multo post, ex praxi Ecclesiasticæ politeias, quam hic exercere cæpimus, hoc inprimis experti sumus, posse Ecclesiasticam politeiam, cum politeia civili optime consistere, et tanquam Hippocratis gemellos, et ridere simul, et simul flere. Atque hoc non leve Testimonium viris prudentibus visum est, posse eam, quam profiteamur disciplinam, publica autoritate stabiliri, tum sine nota Schismatis in Ecclesia, tum sine periculo Seditio- nis in Republica. Atque hinc etiam obstaculum aliud, quod subinde in publicis Regni Anglicani Comitibus, adversus purioris disciplinæ zelotas objici solebat, facile amovebatur. Oggerebant siquidem viri, civili prudentia haud incelebres, fieri non posse, ut zelotæ isti in unam Ecclesiasticæ Politeias formam (ne si optio quidem daretur) communi inter se consensu, unquam conspirare velint. Objectaculum (inquam) hoc, experientia teste, apud nos, nullo negotio amotum est. Concordes etenim (pro eximia Iesu Christi gratia) in unam eandemque Ecclesiastici Regiminis formam, sine vi, sine strepitu, sine tumultu, tacito omnium consensu, extemplo coaluimus.

Posteaquam autem Domini Iesu præstitutum tempus advenit, quo misereretur Zionis, in Anglia vestra paritur ac nostra, et supremo ordinum Regni consessui visum est, summos Theologos, eruditione simul ac pietate insignes, ex utroque Regno convocare, ut communi consilio de Religione reformanda disquirerent, et veræ Doctrinæ (UPOTUPOSIN,) purum cultus divini exemplar, et sacram ecclesiastici regiminis formam, ex scripturarum fontibus adornarent; Nos etiam haud cunctandum rati, scripta quædam nostra (de fœdere ecclesiastico, de quæstionibus in Disciplina controversis,

de clavibus Regni Cælorum, de præscriptarum precum (ANOMALIA) tenuia hæc quidem omnia, et levidensia, sed tamen pro modulo nostro et pietatis erga patriam, et studii erga veritatem, et debite observantiæ erga ecclesias Anglicanas, certa pignora (ut olim vidua minutula sua) in ærarium Domini Iesu contulimus.

Cum autem hæc qualiacunque fuerint videremus in controversiam rapi, etiam a fratribus eximia pietate, atque eruditione ornatis, non id quidem ægre aut indigne tulimus. Nam quinam, obsecro, nos sumus, viri incircumcisi labiis, incircumcisi corde, ut summos viros ad nostrum captum sapere speremus? Veruntamen quia veritas et instituta Domini Iesu sacrosancta sunt, neque patitur ipse vel unum (IOTA) aut apicem legis suæ, nedum Evangelii Regnique Christi leges perire, ecce excitavit Dominus Iesus (qui et ipse est et lux et veritas) Presbyteros multos e nostris (stellas eas quidem splendidas in Ecclesiarum nostrarum candelabris) qui veritati laboranti suppetitas ferrent, et nebulas luci obductas studiose dispellerent. Inter hos Agmen ducit Hookerus, qui non solum dominatur in conscionibus gratia spiritus sancti et virtute plenos, sed etiam (prout est vir solertis ingenii, atque accerrimi iudicii) causam Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ disputavit acutissime, et pertractavit (quantum ego quidem iudico) accuratissime. Davenportus, pro eo, quo pollet, iudicio, eruditione, et singulari prudentia, defensionem non sui tantum, sed disciplinæ Christi adversus dominum Pagettum instituit, justam, solidam, eruditam. Quinetiam, pro egregia ea, qua in grege Christi curando pollet vigilantia, ut errantem gregis sui oviculam, quæ in aridis Anabaptistarum puteis submersa fuerat, sublevaret, vivificam Christi sanguinis, spiritusque virtutem, ex perenni gratuiti fœderis fonte scaturientem et in pædobaptismi fluentis largiter decurrentem, graphice delineavit.

Maderus, ut ætate, ita iudicio, et industria proximus, vir morum gravitate, et vitæ integritate conspicuus, potens in sermone

Evangelii, et strenuus veritatis assertor, præter ea quæ superioribus annis edidit, firma et inconcussa potestatis ecclesiasticæ propugnacula, operam hoc anno tempestivam impendit, ut maculas et sor-des, quas in faciem ecclesiarum nostrarum frater bonus ille quidem, sed male feriatus aspersit, abstergeret. Quin et illud insuper (aucterii loco) adjecit viam ecclesiarum nostrarum, quam a viris magnis (eximia eruditione, & pietate clarissimis) exagitari, inturburbari cernebat, disjectis aggeribus, atque impedimentis amotis, divina spiritus sancti ope, solida, et solita dexteritate complanavit. Sepharedus (qui vernaculo Idiomate Shepardus) una cum Allinio fratre (fratrum dulce par) uti eximia pietate florent ambo, et eruditione non mediocri, atque etiam mysteriorum pietatis proedicatione (per Christi gratiam) efficaci admodum, ita egregiam navarunt operam in abstrusissimis disciplinæ nodis feliciter enodandis: et dum responsum parant, atque nunc etiam edunt Domino Baleo, non illi quidem satisfactum eunt (qui satis jam aperte videt in beatifica Agni visione, introitus omnes atque exitus, formas et leges cælestis Hierusalem) sed iis omnibus, qui per universam Britanniam in ecclesiis Christi peregrinantur, et rei disciplinariæ studiosius animum appulerunt. Verba horum fratrum uti suaviter spirant pietatem, veritatem, charitatem Christi: ita speramus fort (per Christi gratiam) ut multi qui a disciplina Christi alieniores erant, odore borum unguentorum Christi effusorum delibati atque delincti, ad amorem ejus & pellecti, & pertracti, eam avidius arripiant, atque amplexentur.

Proximus ab his (sed cum primis annumerandus) Nortonus hic est, quem in manibus habemus, vir et ingenii acumine, iudicii gravitate, morum suavitate insignis, et (quod caput est) gratiæ Christi cum solertissimus indagator, tum buccinator fidelissimus. Is fratrum regatu (quemadmodum et reliqui) pensum hoc suum et suscepit (non sine modesta sui abnegatione) et confecit non sine divina gratiæ

affluentia. Placuit clarissimo viro, Domino Apollonio, quaestiones quam plurimas de Ecclesiastica disciplina, sicut ex nonnullorum heterogeneous libris, sic inter alios Orthodoxos, ex sanctissimi Baynesii examine, ex placidissima pienissimaque Septemvirum Apologia, atque etiam ex nostrorum Nova-Anglorum scriptiunculis, quasi in fasciculum colligere, et percontari insuper a fratribus illis, num conclusiones istas, tanquam suas agnoscerent. Candide hoc quidem ac pie, atque adeo prudenter factum, ne dum ipsorum dogmata convellere in animo haberet, quioquam ipsis per imprudentiam affingeret, quod ipsi non ut suum agnoscerent. Hac perquisitione charissimi Fratris, nos quoque moniti atque expergefati, facile persensimus, causam non solum Septemvirorum Fratrum, sed et nostrum agi, nec nostrum solum, sed (quod multo maximum est) Domini nostri (pariter ac vestri) Iesu Christi. Visum est atque nobis, id muneris Domino Nortono serio commendare, ut non gravaretur sententiam nostram (simul ac Christi) super quaestionibus istis explicare, ne quid non nostrum, ut nostrum, nobis quoque (in praedictum Causae Christi) affingeretur. Praestitit SUN THEO quod petimus, in hac quam in manibus habes Diatribe: ubi dextre, dilucide, distincte, succincte, nervose denique pertractavit capita singula, et ad mentem nostram, si non omnia, saltem pleraque accommodatissime. Ingenue fateor (neque enim dissiteri debeo) nec meipsum, nec Fratres etiam (quos dixi) alios, idem plane omnes per omnia sentire, de praescriptarum precum omnimoda A NOMALIA, de statis Ministrorum stipendiis, de apicibus quarundam notionum circa primum subjectum ecclesiasticae potestatis, et discrimen fœderis gratiae et ecclesiae, et siqua sunt huiusmodi. Sed cum de rebus ipsis, rerumque praxi inter omnes satis constet, profecto a Deo edocti sumus, non solum placide ferre aliud de istis rerum apicibus sentientes, sed etiam medullitus amplexari Fratres in Christo dilectissimos, qui opus Domini operantur, sicut et nos.

Quod autem Latino Idiomate scripsit, consulto id quidem factum est, ut et Domino Apollonio sine Interprete innotesceret; et controversa capita transmarinis Ecclesiis, in examen venirent. Verba authoris non tam diserta sunt quam fortia; ut qui controversias scriberet, non declamationes. Paulus ipse non affectavit sapientiam sermonis; sed sermonem sapientiae. Nemo despiciat sermones, utcunque incultos, fratrum exulum, abjectorum, longe terra marique dissitorum, etiam ex eremo vociferantium; dummodo constiterit vere dici posse de hisce fratribus (quod Josaphatus olim de Elisha dixerat in eremo Idumæo peregrinanti) Verbum Domini cum ipsis esse. Narrat Johannes (dilectus ille a Christo discipulus) semetipsum in eremum asportatum fuisse, ut clarius perspiceret, non modo magnae meretricis iudicium, sed etiam castissimæ Christi sponsæ, Novæ Jerusalem de Cælo descensum, Apoc. 17. 1, 3. & cap. 21. 2.

Quod si quispiam hic oggerat, Fratres hisce omnes, omnium pessime de ecclesiis Christi mereri; ut qui præcipue (una cum Fratribus apologeticis) Reformationem institutam retardare, et pro virili inturbare moliuntur: quippe si per ipsos non stetisset, presbyteri reliqui omnes omnino per universam Angliam, in unam regiminis presbyterialis formam conspirassint: Adeo ut fratres hii quos excusare cupis a crimine desertionis causæ Reformationis; revera non modo desertores, sed et proditores, et publicæ pacis hostes, jure merito male audient, male plectentur.

Hem spiritum, partium studio plus nimio abreptum et occæcatum! Piget et pungit, dolet et angit, meminisse, binas istas regiminis ecclesiastici formas tanta animorum comentione, tanta calamorum amarulentia peragi, et promoveri; acsi de summa Rei christianæ, adversus infensissimos Christiani nominis hostes, certamen cerneretur. Siccine in Dominum Jesum ingratos nos esse deceat; ut confecto, per divitem Ipsius gratiam, jugo hierarchico, et amoto Philisteo adinventionum humanarum plaustro; cum par erat, omnes

conticum Agni et Mosis, lætis et gratis animis vocibusque cantare; nos interea in mutuas discordias, et vasta animorum, et calamarum divortia (quasi dis-diapason) discinderemur? Tantæne animis cælestibus Iræ? Nunquid æquum erat, duplam spiritus episcopalis portionem super capita fratrum com-presbyterorum residere? Dispiciate (per viscera Domini Iesu, dispiciate, obsecro, et obtestor) quid illud est, de quo tantopere digladiamini? Regimen ecclesiasticum non Dominum est sed Ministerium. Digladientur reges terræ de dominijs suis, & de jurisdictionum suarum finibus, et latifundijs; at inter ministros Domini Iesu, maximus is est, qui minimus esse studet et servus omnium.

Deinde, dispiciate rursus, quodnam illud sit To MEGACHASMA, quod mutuum utrinque divortium, tanquam murum intergerinum interposuit? Vos regimen omne ecclesiasticum, penes presbyteros stabiliendum contenditis: certe neque nos regimen proprie dictum (saltem quoad ordinarium ejus exercitium) alibi quam penes presbyteros, stabiliendum cupimus. In eo itaque convenimus ambo; in subjecto regiminis ecclesiastici. Convenimus etiam in regula regiminis; ut administrentur omnia, non juxta canones; sive papales, sive hierarchicos: sed juxta canonem sacrarum Scripturarum. Convenimus etiam in fine regiminis, ut omnia tranfigantur ad ædificationem ecclesiæ; non ad pompam, aut luxum secularem. Synodos nos una vobiscum, cum opus fuerit; et suscipimus, et veneramur. Quantillum est quod restat, quod distat? Actus regiminis, quos vos a synodis peragi velletis; eos a synodis porrigi ecclesijs, et ab ecclesijs ex synodali DIORTHOSI peragi peteremus. Petimus et illud etiam (& quidem juxta mentem Christi, prout credimus) ut regimen omne ecclesiasticum administretur a presbyteris cujusque ecclesiæ, in ecclesiæ facie, nec inscia, nec invita ecclesia. Vos aliud quiddam vendicatis: sed videte et perpendite etiam atque etiam, an non satis tuto cautum fuerit, ne quid ecclesia detrimenti capiat, si omnia a pres-

byteris ecclesiæ, ecclesia conscia, et consentiente, peragantur; modo nihil arduum aut quod superet ecclesiæ vires, nisi ex consilio vicinorum compresbyterorum transigatur? Mensam Domini Iesu, ausim dicere, æque vos ac nos, a prophanis ac immundis manibus tractari polluique, ægre laturos. Pie renuntiaturum est in publico divini cultus directorio, Ignarum quempiam, aut scandalo aliquo inquinatum, indignum prorsus esse, qui ad mensam Domini appropinquet. Ac nisi potestas detur ecclesiæ cujusque presbyteris, de ignaris et immundis hijsce judicium facere; caveri certe non potest, quin non modo cæci & claudi (quos non recipit aula Davidis) sed canes etiam et porci (quos odit anima Christi) ad mensam Domini ingerant sese: qui nec corpus Domini discernunt, nisi ut per illud dejerent; nec sanguinem Domini ebibunt, nisi ut exinde animosius ad sanguinem sanctorum effundendum (tanquam invisorum rotundorum, ac rotantium capitum) prosilirent. Hujusmodi ad mensam Domini convivas, nullus dubito, vobis pariter ac nobis, æque ingratos esse & permolestos. Cum itaque in hisce rebus omnibus (quæ quidem maximi momenti sunt) pulchre convenimus, quid, obsecro, impedit, quo minus non causæ communis aut proditores, aut desertores: sed communis vobiscum causæ, et defensores, atque astipulatores (pro modulo nostro) adversus communis fidei atque ecclesiæ hostes, habeamur? Certo certius est, si ex mutuis nostris dissensionibus, aditus per posticum pateat; sive pontificiis, sive hierarchicis, ut rerum denuo potiantur, actum iri funditus (humanitus loquor) de utrisque nostrum; sive presbyteriis, sive ecclesijs propensiores fuerimus. Tros, Tyriusve, illis nullo discrimine agetur. Sive presbyteriales cluitis, sive ecclesiastici, istis rerum dominis, ambo vos certe puritani estis; et prout P^{UR} Græcis, et ITAN Wallis ignem significat; sic toti toti, quanti quanti estis, tanquam ignei Reipublicæ, atque Ecclesiæ incendiarii, extinguemini. Non tam multi abhinc anni retro fluxerunt, quin recenti patrum memoria recordari liceat, Ridlejum

pariter ac Hooperum, quanquam in causa disciplinæ, alter ab altero plus nimio disjungeretur; tamen utrosque vivicomburio, a pontificiis rerum potiuntibus, extinctos esse. Verbum sapienti.

Verum enimvero, si fratres animum inducere non possunt, quin nos ut communis causæ desertores, deserant: liceat mihi quæso (quod Judas olim a fratre Josepho petiit) et petere a vobis, et impetrare, ut loquar verbum in auribus vestris, neque ira vestra accendatur. Causa hæc, quam a nobis deseri quiritamini; quatenus a nobis deseritur, non ea quidem vobis communis est cum pijssimis illis, ac sanctissimis Christi confessoribus, qui nostra, et patrum memoria causam Reformationis tuebantur? Vestra non ea causa est, quam Heroes illi, amissione libertatis, confiscatione bonorum, incarceratione, exilio, sanguine denique cosignarunt? Quantam potestatem venerabilis Cartoretus ecclesiæ cuique deferat, nemo nescit qui commentarium ejus in 1 Cor. 5. perlegerit. Quodnam primum subjectum ecclesiasticæ potestatis Paræus statuatur, testatur tertium ejus volumen, acerrimo cum judicio, et summa eruditione continuatum. Quenam ea ecclesia sit, quam sanctissimus Bainesius agnoscat, cui Christus ecclesiasticam omnem potestatem detulerit, patet ex examine. Quid gravissimus Amesius, nervorum et medullæ theologiæ satur, super ecclesiæ institutæ statu, forma, et potestate senserit; patet ex medulla. Atque hij quidem currus, atque equites Israelis, illarum cohortum primipili erant, qui causam Reformationis tuebantur; & nostra, et patrum ætate. Ab horum sive vestigijs, sive principijs, si novitatis studio cessimus: jure merito deseremur ut desertores. Quod si in via illorum ambulamus, nec ultra progredimur (quod ad summam rei attinet) quam ab illorum lumine divinitus collustrati: certe non nos illi sumus, qui causam Reformationis deseruimus; sed illi potius (quos lubens nollem dicere) qui nos ut desertores deserunt, et detestantur. Desinant itaque viri fratres, viros hosce Dei, qui scriptis editis, causam cum patribus communem, tueri satagunt, sugil-

lare, ac vellicare, tanquam male de Ecclesia meritos, causæ desertores, pacis publicæ perturbatores.

Cæterum præter hos omnes, supersunt duo fratres reliqui, Covetus, & Eliotus; quorum hic justam contexuit historiam eorum qui apud nos, sub prætextu conscientia, a civili magistratu, graviora quam par erat, passi perhibentur. Vir hic, uti gnavus est & impiger, fidelis in domo Dei servus, priscis moribus, antiqua fide; ita fidelem operam navavit in investiganda rerum istarum veritate; quas etiam fide historica in tabellas retulit, et typis mandavit: ut intelligant æqui rerum æstimatores, ea quæ passim feruntur de persecutionibus in Nova Anglia, conscientia nomine perpeccis (ut dicam verbo, et verbo quidem Apostolorum) nihil esse. Alter autem ille e fratribus, quem dixi, Covetus, cum persentisceret aliquot ex ovibus Christi sibi commissis, antipædobaptismi laquess atque dumetis irretitas; zelo Dei accensus (et zelo quidem secundum scientiam) imo et misericordia etiam Christi commotus erga errantes oviculas; libros quos potuit, ex anabaptistarum penu congegit; rationum momenta (qualia fuerant) in lance Sanctuarii trutinavit; testimoniorum plaustra, quæ ab illis congesta fuerant, sedulo perquisivit; et pro eo quo floret disputandi acumine, dijudicandi solertia, solida multa paucis complectendi dexteritate, atque indefesso labore, nihil pene intentatum reliquit, quod vel ad veritatem in hac causa illustrandam, vel ad errorum nebulas discutiendas, atque dispellendas conduceret.

Sed vellicat hic mihi aurem quispiam (præsertim ex iis quibus cum necessitudo mihi aliqua intercedit) & serio percontatur: Cum tot tantosque labores a compresbyteris tuis susceptos narras; qui prodierunt, ut Debora loquitur, ad auxiliandum Jehovæ, ad auxiliandum Jehovæ (ut Junius vertit) inter fortes; quid tibi interea faciendum restabat? Nunquid tu solus restitabas inter sarcinas, vel inter sibilos & balatus gregum? Tune cum Reubene, a fratrum consortio, præ magnis animi cogitationibus, divulsus es? Equidem non

diffiteor, me etiam aliquid molitum esse, et, pro gratiæ acceptæ modulo, perfecisse etiam aliquatenus, atque emisisse. Sed quicquid illud fuerit, haud dignum reor, quod inter exquisitos Fratrum labores, vel nominari quidem debeat. Scripserunt illi TOIS CHARIESI; ego, prout necesse habui, TOIS POLLOIS. Gratosus est Dominus, qui acceptare dignatur ad ædificationem Sanctuarii sui, non modo purpuram et byssum; sed etiam pelles arietum, et melium; imo et pilos caprarum: Exod. 35. 23.

Pergat Dominus (pro gratuita sua, & divite Gratia) laboribus servorum suorum omnium, Sibi in obsequium, Ecclesiæ in ædificationem, benedicere; Zionis sui misereri; Lites inter suos dirimere; Veritatem, & pacem promovere; Fines Regni Christi, atque pomeria, dilatare; Antichristum spiritu Oris conficere; Viam denique sternere, ut Shem in textoria Japheti, quasi postliminio, revertatur; per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, in secula sempiterna benedictum. Amen.

JOHANNES COTTON

*in Ecclesia Bostoniensi
Presbyter docens.*



*Appendix**

An Apologetical Preface for the Reader of Mr. Norton's Book

IT is a serious misrepresentation, unworthy of the spirit of Christian truth, to say that our brethren, either those returned from the Netherlands or those exiled in New England, fled from England like mice from a crumbling house, anticipating its ruin, prudently looking to their own safety, and treacherously giving up the defence of the common cause of the Reformation. Blame was not attached to Elijah that once for fear of Jezebel he fled into the wilderness (1 *Kings* 19), nor to those pious witnesses who in the days of Mary betook themselves to foreign parts in Germany or at Geneva. And the latter withdrew at a time when (if they had stayed) they would have had ample opportunity for giving full and clear witness to the truth, both in public disputations and in personal testimony. They could have made their witness not only in

*Translated from the Latin by Douglas Horton. Reprinted by permission of the publisher from *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions of the Celebrated Mr. William Apollonius, Pastor of the Church of Middleburg: Looking toward the Resolution of Certain Controversies Concerning Church Government Now Being Agitated in England* by John Norton, edited by Douglas Horton, pp. 10-18, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958, Copyright © 1958 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Copyright © renewed 1986. All rights reserved.

Footnotes in this appendix are those of Douglas Horton.

crowded sessions of the courts where they would have been found guilty, but also before the whole surrounding company of people who, seeing the invincible faith and patience of their brethren, would have shown themselves constant in faith, unconquered and unconquerable. Yet these good men withdrew with the good will of their brethren. With their good will?—with their approval! Nor were they ill spoken of as deserters of their brethren or traitors to their cause. But with us in these recent days no one has been so dull as not to know, no observer of affairs so naive as not to recognize, that action has become far more difficult. If any one set forth our cause before a tribunal, they would instantly say, “You there, are you willing to take the oath we impose on you *ex officio*?” If you took it, they would have a thousand ways of injuring you. They would present accusations against you and your brethren and lead you, in spite of any resistance you could put up, into the trackless labyrinths laid out by pettifogging and mischievous lawyers. And if you refused the oath, it was “Get out of here!” — and off to prison you went instanter. There would be left to you no chance to discuss the matter or make a witness, but only the unavoidable necessity of wasting away in the unbroken silence of a dark and filthy dungeon. Since this was the situation — that we either had to perish uselessly in prison or leave the country—under the leadership of Christ and not by ourselves alone, and only after we had called our brethren into council, we made the decision to leave the country. Those brethren whom we chose to consult were not the shallow ones (we are not fond of empty heads) but the men of God greatly revered for their piety and saintly wisdom. With the prudence for which they were admired they considered the main circumstances which would attend such an arduous business and came to the judgment that by the free preaching of the word and the actual practice of our church discipline we could offer a much clearer and fuller witness in another land than in the wretched and loathsome prisons of London, where there would be no opportunity for books or pens or friends or conferences.

It is well also to remember that we consulted as many private individuals as we could, conspicuous for their sincere and pious witness, who were members of the churches we served and therefore in a special way dependent upon our ministry. Those among them who were more seriously concerned with liberty of conscience and purity of worship approved the reasons for our decision to leave to such an extent that finally they offered themselves as companions of our journey, even to the farthest shores of the world, if the Lord would open the way. Others of them who were inclined not to approve but yet to tolerate human adventure were satisfied with our decision to leave, on the ground that it was an actual necessity not only for us but for the peace of the church, but they thought they would be acting more wisely if they themselves bought their liberty and peace by taking on the burden of subscription (as they called it) or conformity. So with good will and even approval the mutual separation was made, not without many lamentations, sighings, and tears, as we embraced and said goodbye.

When (God being good) we reached these shores and when, without the disfavor of any (God being perfect in his mercy), we came to enjoy that liberty of conscience and those pure institutions of Christ which we had eagerly been seeking, we soon and first of all learned from the practice of the church government we began to exercise here that it can most beautifully accord with civil government. Like Hippocrates’ twins the two laugh and cry together. Weighty testimony was given to the thoughtful that the discipline we profess could be correlated with public authority, without any note of schism in the church or any danger of sedition in the state. So another obstacle which in the public assemblies of England had persistently been thrown in the path of those who were eager for a purer discipline was easily removed. Men not unknown for civil wisdom had held that these zealots would never be able (if the option were given) to agree unanimously upon one form of church polity. This objection was removed without ado by the testimony of the event among us. United in heart, through the abundant

grace of Jesus Christ, we came together in one and the same form of church government without force, without clamor, without tumult, with the tacit consent of all, and immediately.

After the appointed time of the Lord Jesus had arrived, when he should have mercy on Zion in your England and ours, the supreme parliament of the realm was pleased to call together from each kingdom leading theologians, renowned alike for learning and piety, in order that in council assembled they might investigate the need for the reformation of religion, and from scriptural sources provide the outline, the *ὑποτύπωσις*, of true doctrine, the perfect model of divine worship, and the holy form of church government. At this point, deeming that there should be no delay, we put certain matters into writing — concerning the church covenant, concerning controverted questions of discipline, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the anomaly (*ἀνωμαλία*) of prescribed prayers. These writings were all somewhat slight and lightly wrought but, as symbols of our sense of duty to our country, of our devotion to the truth, and of due respect to the churches of England they were of great importance to us, and we put them, as once the widow put her mites, into the treasury of the Lord Jesus.

Whatever the value of these writings, we did not take it ill or unworthily when we saw them caught into controversy, even by brethren distinguished for unusual piety and learning. For who were we, men uncircumcised in lips and heart, that we should hope that the greatest of men should think as we did? But because truth and the institutions of the Lord Jesus are sacrosanct and because he himself does not suffer a single *ῥῶτα* or jot of his law, to say nothing of his Gospel and kingdom, to pass away — lo, the Lord Jesus, who is himself both the light and the truth, impelled many elders among us (the splendid flames in the candlesticks of our churches) to bring succor to suffering truth and systematically dispel the clouds that obscured the light.

Among these one company has been led by Hooker, who takes the lead in our conferences, a man of intelligent mind and keenest

judgment, full of the grace and power of the Holy Spirit, who has discussed the matter of church discipline most acutely and so far as I can judge set it forth most accurately.

Davenport, gifted with judgment, learning, and unusual wisdom, has made a fair, solid, and learned defence against Mr. Paget in his own behalf and in behalf of the discipline of Christ. And being remarkably vigilant in caring for the flock of Christ to rescue any stray lamb from the dry pits of the Anabaptists, he has graphically described that life-giving power of the blood and spirit of Christ which flows from the perennial spring of the covenant of grace and runs through the ample waters of pedobaptism.

Mather, next in age and in judgment and achievement, a man conspicuous for weight of moral character and integrity of life, a powerful preacher of the Gospel and a strenuous assertor of the truth, has this year, following the writings of his earlier years, published¹ a firm and unshakable defence of ecclesiastical power, a timely work that wipes away from the face of our churches the mud and stains that a good brother, ill occupied with leisure, had spattered there. But he has done a great deal more. With the divine aid of the Holy Spirit and by virtue of thorough and unusual competence he has by way of supplement made straight the highway of our churches, which he saw was being attacked and broken up by certain great men.² Though they were well known and outstanding for learning and piety, he has scattered their engines of war and removed the obstacles they had set up against us.

Sephared (commonly known as Shepard) and our brother Allin are a delightful pair, both men of extraordinary piety and outstanding erudition, who have been more than effective, by the grace of Christ, in preaching the mysteries of piety, and they have accomplished a great and productive work in untying abstruse knots of discipline. In preparing and publishing an answer to Mr.

¹ *Reply to Mr. Rutherford* (London, 1647).

² He had hewn out the framework for the *Cambridge Platform*.

Ball they will now give satisfaction not to him (for he himself in the beatific vision of the Lamb now sees with all clarity the goings out and comings in and all the forms and laws of the heavenly Jerusalem) but to all members of the churches of Christ throughout Britain who have given more serious study to the matter of discipline. As the words of the two brethren mentioned are sweetly redolent of piety, truth, and the love of Christ, we hope through Christ's grace that many who have been strangers to his discipline, once they have breathed Christ and enjoyed him in the fragrance of these ointments will be attracted and drawn to his love, and lay hold of and embrace the discipline more eagerly.

Next to these, but to be numbered with the first, is Norton, the author of the book which we have in our hands, a man remarkable for the keenness of his intellect, the weight of his judgment, and the mellowness of his character, a most expert explorer and faithful proclaimer of the grace of Christ, which is the chief matter. At the request of his brethren he (like the rest) has undertaken his task, not without modest disclaimers for himself, and completed it, not without an access of divine grace. The distinguished Mr. Apollonius had been pleased to gather together in a kind of bundle a large number of questions about church discipline not only from odd books by scattered authors but also, among other orthodox writings, from the essay of the very saintly Baynes, from the serene and most pious Apology of the Septemvirs, and from the lesser literature of our New Englanders; he had then gone on to ask our brethren whether they would accept his answers to those questions as their own. Warned and aroused by this request of our good brother, we became instantly aware that not only the cause of our brethren of the septemvirate but also our own was at stake, and not only our own but also (which is infinitely more important) that of our Lord and your Lord Jesus Christ. So we decided to urge Mr. Norton seriously to accept this office, in the hope that he might be willing to set forth our thought, and Christ's, upon these questions, so that sentiments not our own might not be at-

tributed to us, to the prejudice of Christ's cause. *Σὺν Θεῷ* — with God's help — he has done what we asked, in this dissertation which you hold in your hands. In it he has skillfully, clearly, distinctly, succinctly, vigorously, and to our mind most fitly set forth the separate points of our thought—or if not all of them, certainly most of them. I should not deny, and do candidly confess, that I myself and the other brethren of whom I have spoken do not take the same view of everything— of prescribed prayer in all its phases, of stated salaries for ministers, of certain conceptions of the first subject of church power and the distinction between the covenant of grace and the church covenant, and other matters of this sort — but since there is among us all sufficient agreement about these things in faith and practice, we have followed the plain teaching of God not only to take with serenity our differences of opinion about them, but to embrace heartily, as beloved brethren in Christ, those who are as devoted to the works of the Lord as we are.

As for the author's writing in Latin, this was done deliberately, in order that Mr. Apollonius might understand the book without an interpreter and in order that the main points of controversy might be brought to the attention of the churches of the Continent. The words of the book are objective, rather than rhetorical, as befits the language not of declamation but of debate. Paul himself claimed not wisdom of words but the word of wisdom. Let no one despise this as the inelegant production of exiled and abandoned brethren, far removed by land and sea, voices crying in the wilderness, as long as it can be said of them, as Jehoshaphat once said of Elisha, who was living temporarily in the wilderness of Edom: The word of the Lord is with them. John, the beloved disciple of Christ, writes that he himself was carried away into the wilderness that he might see more clearly not only the judgment of the great whore but also the coming down from heaven of the chaste bride of Christ, the new Jerusalem (*Revelation* 17:1, 3; 21:2).

Some one may say here: "These brethren are farthest of all from deserving well of the churches of Christ. They (with the

Apologetical brethren) were the leading factors in retarding and seriously confusing the establishment of the Reformation. If it had not been for them, the other elders all over England would have wholly agreed on the one form of Presbyterian government. Those brethren whom you wish to exonerate from the crime of deserting the cause of the Reformation are actually not only deserters but traitors and enemies of the civil peace. They justly deserve to be severely indicted and severely punished.”

Alas that the spirit should be ravished and blinded by so much partisan zeal! It shames and it hurts one, it grieves and it pains one, to recall that those two forms of church government have been prosecuted and promoted with such contention of minds, such bitterness of pens. If only the struggle for the highest things in Christianity might be distinguished from the struggle against the irrational enemies of the Christian cause. Is it right for us to be so ungrateful to the Lord Jesus, now that (thanks to his divine grace) the hierarchical yoke is broken and the Philistine cart of human inventions has been put away? At a time when it would be appropriate for all to sing the song of Moses and the Lamb with glad and grateful hearts and voices, we are torn asunder into mutually inharmonious groups and vast divisions of mind and pen — in a dys-, not a dis-diapason. Can heavenly minds indulge in so much ire? Should a double portion of the episcopal spirit rest on the heads of fellow-elders who are brethren? Consider — by the bowels of the Lord Jesus, consider, I beg and implore — what it is concerning which you fight so desperately. Church government is not an authority but a ministry. Let the kings of the earth fight for their authorities, for the lands and boundaries of their jurisdiction, but among the ministers of the Lord Jesus the greatest is as the least and as he that serveth.

Consider again what the great chasm — *τὸ μέγα χάσμα* — is, which has separated the two groups as effectively as a party wall. You contend that all church government should be fixed in the hands of elders. We agree on the subject of church government at

this point. We also agree that the rule for government is that all should be administered not according to papal or hierarchical canons but according to the canon of Holy Scriptures. We agree also on the end of government, that everything should be done for the edification of the church and not for secular pomp and circumstance. Like you we recognize and honor synods when there may be need for them. What small thing is it that remains to keep us apart? The acts of government which you wish to have performed by synods, these we seek to have given over by the synods to the churches and performed by the churches with synodal *διόρθωσις* or correction. We seek also (and this according to the mind of Christ, as we believe) to have the government of each church administered by the elders of that church in full view of the church and not without the knowledge and consent of the church. You defend another procedure: but we ask you to consider with all seriousness whether it would not give sufficient protection to any church if all its affairs were transacted by its elders, with the church's knowledge and consent, except affairs so difficult as to exceed the church's powers — which would be handled by a council of fellow elders from the vicinage. I venture to say that you and we take it equally ill that the table of the Lord Jesus should be touched and polluted by profane and worldly hands. In the Directory for the Public Worship of God it is duly declared that no person who is ignorant or stained with any scandal is at all fit to approach the table of the Lord. And unless authorization be given to the elders of a church to judge who the ignorant and worldly people are, the Lord's table certainly cannot be protected against approach by the blind and the lame (who could not come into the house of David) or by the dogs and swine (which Christ's soul hateth). The latter do not discern the Lord's body unless to swear by it, nor do they drink the Lord's blood unless to strive the more boldly to shed the blood of the saints — the hated “roundheads” and “rattleheads”. Guests of this sort at the Lord's table are both to you and to us alike, I doubt not, unwelcome and offensive. Since we so beautifully agree in all

these matters, which are of the greatest importance, what, I ask, keeps you from regarding us not as traitors or deserters in a common cause, but, in our measure, as defenders and supporters of our joint cause against the enemies of our common faith and our common church? It is certain beyond a peradventure that if by our dissensions a back door were to be opened for the pontifical or hierarchical leaders to return and take control of things, we should be more inclined today to take fundamental action (I speak humanly) about both elders and churches. Trojan and Tyrian will be judged alike by these leaders. Whether you call yourselves Presbyterians or Congregationalists, to them you will certainly both alike be Puritans, so far as the things of God are concerned. What the Greeks call *pyr* (πῦρ), the Welsh call *itan*, but they mean only one thing — *fire* — and all of you, whoever you are, will be destroyed as incendiaries willing to burn up church and state. Not too many years have passed for us to have lost the memory, fresh to our fathers, of how Ridley and Hooper, though they were separated far from each other in the matter of discipline, got close enough together to be burned at the same stake when the Papists gained control of things. A word to the wise . . .

But truly, before our brethren are persuaded to desert us on the ground that we are deserters of the common cause, let me beg (as Judah once begged his brother Joseph) to “speak a word” in your ears — “and let not thine anger burn.” In what way are we deserting that cause from which you complain we are deserters? Is it not the same cause which you have in common with those most pious and saintly confessors of Christ who in our fathers’ memory and ours defended the cause of the Reformation? Is it not *your* cause to which these heroes witnessed by the loss of their liberty, the confiscation of their goods, imprisonment, exile, and finally by death? The power which the venerable Dr. Cartwright assigns to each church every one knows who has read his comments on 1 *Corinthians* 5. What Pareus considers the first subject of church power his third volume, combining keenness of judg-

ment and greatest erudition, sets forth. What that church is to which Christ gave all church power, as the saintly Baynes understands it, becomes evident from reading him. What the great Ames, whose very sinews and marrow were theological, thought of the status, form, and power of an instituted church, is evident from the *Marrow*. But these chariots and horsemen of Israel were the captains of the very troops who defended the cause of the Reformation in our fathers’ time and ours. If in zeal for novelty we had departed from their principles or from the path they laid out we might justly be deserted as deserters. But since we walk in their way and go no further than their light divinely shines (for it takes us the whole distance), certainly it is not we who have deserted the cause of the Reformation but rather those (I speak reluctantly) who desert us and denounce us as deserters. Would that brother men therefore would cease from castigating and vilifying as deserters of the cause and disturbers of the public peace, ill deserving of the church, men of God who in their published writings have done their best to defend the cause they hold in common with the fathers.

Beside all those to whom I have referred there remain two others of the brethren, Cobbet and Eliot, the latter of whom has written the true history of those among us who are said to have suffered more than was right for conscience’s sake at the hands of the civil magistrate. Being a diligent and courageous man, a faithful servant in the house of God, of old-fashioned morals and simple faith, he worked carefully in his investigation of the truth of these matters. With the good faith of a historian he put the facts on paper and gave them to the press, in order that fair judges might understand that broadly circulated reports of persecutions suffered in New England in the name of conscience are (to put it in a word, and a word of the apostles) nothing.³

The other one of the brethren I have named, Cobbet, burning

³ All may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing. *Acts* 21:24.

with zeal for God (with zeal according to knowledge) and seeing that some of the sheep of Christ committed to his care were being caught in the snares and thickets of antipedobaptism, was moved with the compassion of Christ for the straying lambs. He therefore collected such books as he could from the store of the Anabaptists; diligently looked through the cartloads of evidence so collected; weighed his reasons, to make sure of their quality, on the scales of the sanctuary; and with the keenness of argument, the expertness in judgment, the skill in compressing important matters into few words, and the indefatigable labor which characterized him, left practically no means untried to throw the light of truth on the matter in hand and to dissipate and dispel the clouds of error.

But here some one may pull my ear (likeliest one of those with whom friendship intercedes for me) and seriously ask, “When you speak of so many tasks, and tasks of such importance, undertaken by your fellow elders who came, as Deborah said, to help the Lord, to help the Lord among the mighty (as Junius turns the phrase), what was left for you to do? Did you hide yourself among the stuff or in the midst of the hissing and the mocking of the crowd? Were you, like Reuben, separated from the fellowship of your brethren by great thoughts of heart?”

Now I do not deny that I have managed, in the measure of accepted grace, to finish and publish something, but I do not consider what I have written worthy of being named among the choice works of my brethren. They have written for *οἱ χαρίεντες* — the accomplished — I, as I had need, for the many — *οἱ πολλοί*. But the Lord is gracious: he deigns to accept, for the edification of his sanctuary, not only purple and fine linen but also skins of rams, badgers’ skins and even goats’ hair (*Exodus 35:23*).

May the Lord continue to bless with his free and divine grace the labors of all his servants that they may obey him and edify his church! May he have mercy on his Zion, compose the quarrels amongst his people, promote truth and peace, extend the lands and boundaries of Christ’s kingdom, slay Antichrist with the

breath of his lips, and finally make straight the way for Shem to return to the tents of Japheth in perfect reconciliation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for evermore! Amen.

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Notes

- i.15-17 *Tantum ... deambulatorium, &c.*] Augustine, *City of God*: "So material a difference does it make, not what ills are suffered, but what kind of man suffers them. (Bk. 1, ch. 8) ... In the tabernacle of the testimony, which served in the wanderings of God's people as an ambulatory temple. (Bk. 15, ch. 20)."
- i.20-23 *Vestra ...* Apoc. p. 16.] Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) was a Swiss reformer and the successor of Huldrych Zwingli. The work quoted is *In Apocalypsim Iesu Christi, reuelatam quidem per angelum Domini, uisam uero uel exceptam atque conscriptam a Ioanne Apostolo & Euangelista, conciones centum*. Basil, 1557. A contemporary English translation (by John Daus) reads, "And surely your Godly zeale, banished brethern, which had rather forsake your countrey, then the Gospell, & to want your temporall commodities, then to be polluted with a religion estraunged from Christ, deserveth no small prayse." *A Hundred Sermons vpon the Apocalips of Iesu Christe*, London, 1561 (pages 20-21 of the "Preface").
- i.24-25 *B. Green, and J. Allen*] Bartholomew Green (1667-1732) was the son of the printer Samuel Green of Cambridge; John Allen (c.1660-1727) was an English printer and bookseller who emigrated from London to Boston in 1685/6. They were in partnership 1694-1703, during which time they printed over 150 titles; each afterwards remained active in Boston printing until his death.
- i.25 *Richard Wilkins*] (1623-1704) He was a bookseller from Limerick, Ireland, who moved to Boston and opened a shop in 1683. He also published works by John Bailey (1689), Increase Mather (1693), and Samuel Sewall (1697).

- 4.19-21 *Yarmouth ... April 7. 1630*] This letter was sent from aboard ship as the fleet waited for fair winds to begin the Atlantic crossing. Yarmouth is a port on the west end of the Isle of Wight, off the southern coast of England.
- 4.22a *Jo. Winthrop. Gov.*] John Winthrop (1588-1649) organized and led the fleet of eleven vessels and seven hundred passengers to New England in the spring of 1630. He was 13 times elected governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
- 4.22b *Rich. Saltonstall.*] (1586-1658) An early settler of Watertown, Mass., he returned to England in 1631, but continued an interest in the colony's affairs.
- 4.23a *Charles Fines.*] or Fiennes (c.1605-?); brother of the 4th Earl of Lincoln and the Lady Arbella Fiennes Johnson. He is not mentioned in the Massachusetts records after the early 1630s. Some sources contend he did not make the voyage; see Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846), p. 298.
- 4.23b *Isaac Johnson.*] (1601-1630) Husband of the Lady Arbella Fiennes Johnson, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Lincoln; he died in Massachusetts, September 30, 1630.
- 4.24b *Tho. Dudley.*] (1576-1653) Then (and twelve times subsequently) deputy governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; he was also governor four times. For over a decade, he had been steward for the Earl of Lincoln, and was a parishoner of John Cotton's in Boston, Lincolnshire. He was a founding member of the church in Charlestown, Mass., and later relocated to Newtown (Cambridge). He was the father of the poet Anne Bradstreet and an overseer of Harvard College.
- 4.25a *George Phillips.*] (c.1593-1644) He settled in Watertown, Mass., and became its first minister (see C. Mather, *Magnalia*, pp. 375-379).
- 4.25b *William Coddington.*] (1603-1678) Also from Boston, Lincolnshire, he was a merchant and served as treasurer of the colony. He became a follower of Anne Hutchinson and joined in her exile to Rhode Island in 1638. He was a

founder of Newport in 1639, and played an active role in that colony's politics, obtaining patents and serving as deputy governor and governor. He became a Quaker in the early 1660s.

5.5-7 BRIDGET, Countess of Lincoln.] (c. 1604-?) She was the daughter of William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele, and wife of Theophilus Clinton Fiennes, 4th Earl of Lincoln, and the daughter-in-law of Dudley's former employer, Thomas Clinton Fiennes, the 3rd Earl of Lincoln. She was the sister-in-law of the Lady Arbella Fiennes Johnson.

6.8 1630] *I.e.*, 1631 by the modern calendar; at that time the new year began March 25; thus the date for Dudley's closing (at 20.17) is March 28, 1631.

6.11 *T.D.*] Thomas Dudley.

7.12 what I would not.] The compiler of *Massachusetts* omits some material at this point. Parts of the manuscript were missing, but the following text is included in later re-printings, beginning with John Farmer's edition in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, vol. 4 (1834), republished in *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776. Collected by Peter Force*. Volume II (Washington, 1838; all supplied passages for Dudley's "Letter" are from this "Force Tracts" reprint of Farmer's edition):

* * * * * "Sachim in New England, whom I saw last somer. Vppon the river of Naponset, neere to the Massachusetts feilds dwelleth Chickatalbott who hath betweene 50 & 60 subjects. This man least favoureth the English of any Sagamore (for soe are the kinges with vs called, as they are Sachims Southwards) wee are acquainted with, by reason of the old quarell betweene him and those of Plymouth wherein hee lost 7 of his best men, yet hee lodged

one night the last winter at my house in freindly manner. About 70 or 80 miles westward from theis are seated the Nipnett men whose Sagamore wee know not, but wee heare their numbers exceed any but Pecoates and the Naragansets and they are the only people wee yet heare of in the inland Country. Vppon the river Mistick is seated Sagamore John*, and vppon the river of Sawgus Sagamore James† his brother, both soe named by the English. The elder brother John is an handsome young [*one line missing*] conversant with us affecting English apparell and howses and speaking well of our God. His brother James is of a farr worse disposition, yet repaireth often to us. Both theis brothers command not above 30 or 40 men for aught I can learne. Neer to Salem dwelleth two or three families, subiect to the Saggamore of Agawam whose name he tould mee, but I have forgotten it. This Sagamore hath but few subiects, and them and himselfe tributary to Sagamore James, haveing beene brfore the last yeare (in James his minority) tributary to Chicka Talbott. Vppon the river Merrimack is seated Sagamore Passaconaway haveing under his comand 4 or 500 men, being esteemed by his countrymen a false fellow, and by us a wick. Ffor any more northerly I know not, but leave it to after relacons. Haueing thus breifly & disorderly especially in my description of the Bays and Rivers set downe what is come to hand touching the [*one line missing*]

7.15 *Hudson's River*] The compiler of *Massachusetts* omits "the mouth whereof lyeth south of the river of the Pecoates, but ariseth as I am informed northwards in about 43 degrees, and soe a good part of it within the compass of our patent."

7.30 Mr. *Weston*] Thomas Weston (1584-1647) had helped organize investors for the *Mayflower* voyage in 1620. He came to New England in 1622 to escape prosecution and start a trading colony at Wessagusett. He allegedly dealt unfairly with the natives and caused troubles with the

Plymouth colony. In 1623 the Wessagusett colony was abandoned, and Weston removed to Maryland.

8.5 *Chickatalbott*] Sometimes spelled Chickatabot or Chickatawbot, leader of the Massachusetts Indians, who lived south of the site of Boston.

8.7-8 Mr. *Winslow of Plymouth*] Edward Winslow (1595-1655).

8.8 Captain *Wollaston*] Richard Wollaston was involved with Thomas Morton in the trading post established in 1624 at Mount Wollaston or Merrymount, in present-day Quincy, Mass. See W.C. Ford, "Captain Wollaston, Humphrey Rasdall and Thomas Weston," *MHSP* LI (1917-18), pp. 219-32. Also: William Thorndale, "A Clue to Richard Wollaston of Mount Wollaston," *The American Genealogist* 68:4 (Oct. 1993), p. 207.

8.30 Mr. *John Endicott*] Leader of the first Puritan settlement at Salem in 1628. He was 17 times governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony.

9.7 Mr. *Winthrop of Suffolk*] John Winthrop, see note 4.22a.

11.9-10 Mrs. *Pinchon*, Mrs. *Coddington*, Mrs. *Phillips*, and Mrs. *Alcock*] Agnes Pyncheon, wife of William Pyncheon; Mary Coddington, wife of William Coddington (see note 4.25b); the name of Rev. George Phillips' first wife is unknown; George Alcock's wife's name is also unknown.

11.22-23 Mr. *Peirce*, Master of the *Lyon of Bristol*] William Peirce (1591-1641) had carried colonists to New England since 1623, making at least six voyages. He settled in Boston in 1632 and published the first American almanac in 1639. <http://members.aol.com/dcurtinr/gene/shiptyon.htm>

11.25 Mr. *Revil*] John Revell (? -1659) had been an investor in the Plymouth enterprise and had come to the Massachusetts Bay colony with Winthrop's fleet in 1630.

11.27 Mr. *Vassal*] William Vassall (1592-1656) of Prittlewell, Essex, had come with Winthrop's fleet in 1630. He and his family returned to Massachusetts in 1635 and settled in Sci-

tuate in the Plymouth colony. In 1645, he campaigned for religious toleration and open admission to church membership (and thus civil citizenship). He carried petitions to Parliament in 1646, and did not return to New England. He died in Barbados.

11.28 Mr. *Bright*] Rev. Francis Bright (1602-?) had been among the first settlers of Charlestown, Mass., in 1629.

12.1 Mr. *Gager*] William Gager (1592-1630) of Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, was a member of John Winthrop's household. He had come to Massachusetts with his son John Gager (1620-1703) who died at New London, Connecticut.

12.3 Mr. *Higginson*] Francis Higginson (1588-1630), a graduate of Cambridge and a former minister at Claybrooke, Leicester, had come to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1629. His *New-Englands Plantation* was published in 1630.

12.14 Mr. *Rossiter*] Edward Rossiter (1575-1630) was originally from Somerset. His widow Margery Combe Rossiter (1581-1669) died in Guilford, Connecticut.

12.17 Sir *Richard Saltonstall*] see note 4.22b.

13.1 Mr. *Sharp*] Thomas Sharpe (c.1585-1636?), formerly of London, a leather merchant.

13.11 strike] Unit of dry measure usually equivalent to a bushel.

13.28 Deliverance.] The editor of *Massachusetts* here omits a paragraph on the banishment of Thomas Morton:

In the end of this December, departed from vs the shipp Handmaide, of London by which wee sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud insolent man who has lived here diverse yeares and had been an Attorney in the West Countreyes while he lived in England. Multitude of complaintes wee received against him for iniuries doone by him both to the English and Indians, and amongst others for shootinge hail shott at a troope of Indians, for not bringing a Cannowe vnto him to cross a river withall, whereby hee hurt one, and shott through the garments of another; for

the satisfacon of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that wee meant to doe iustice impartially, wee caused his hands to bee bound behind him, and sett his feete in the bill-bowes, and burned his howse to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and soe kept him prisoner till wee sent him for England, whether wee sent him, for that my Lord Chiefe Justice there soe required that hee might punish him cappitally for fowler misdemeaners there perpetrated as wee were informed.

14.2 the Goverour] John Winthrop

14.2 Mr. *Maverick*] Samuel Maverick (1602?-1665), son of the Rev. John Maverick (1578-1636) of Dorchester, had been in Massachusetts since the mid-1620s. He had ships engaged in coastal trading.

14.4 Pinace] Or *pinnace* — a small ship having two or three masts and a flat stern.

15.24 our *Macedonia*] A reference to Acts 16:9 — “And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us.”

16.12-13 Mr. *Wilson*] Rev. John Wilson (1588-1667)

16.17 Mr. *Sharp*] see note 13.1.

16.21 this Place.] The following passage is omitted:

and to add to our sorrowes vppon the 5th day came letters to vs from Plymouth advertizeing vs of this sadd accident followinge. About a fortnight before there went from vs in a shallop, to Plymouth 6 men and a girle, who in an houre or two before night on the same day they went fourth came near to the mouth of Plymouth Bay, but the wind then comeing strongly from the shore, kept them from entring and drove them to seawards, and they haueing no better meanes to help themselves lett down their killick that soe they might drive the more slowly, and bee nearer land when the

storm should cease. But the stone slipping out of the killick and thereby they driveing faster then they thought all the night, to the morning when they looked out, they found themselves out of sight of land, which soe astoni'ed them, the frost being extreme & their hands soe benumbed wth cold that they could not handle their oares, neyther had any compass to steare by, that they gave themselves for lost and lay doune to dye quietly, onely one man who had more naturall heate and courage remaininge then the rest, continued soe longe lookinge for land, that the morning waxing clearer, hee discovered land and with much difficulty hoysted the Saile, and soe the winde a little turninge 2 dayes after, they were driven from Plymouth bay; they arrived at a shore unknowne vnto them. The stronger helped the weaker out of the boate and takeing their saile on shore made a shelter thereof, and made a fire, but the frost had soe peirced their bodyes that one of them dyed about 3 dayes after their landinge, and most of the other grew worse, both in bodye and courage, noe hopes of releife beeing within their veiw, well, yet the Lord pittyinge them and two of them who onely could vse their leggs goeing abroad, rather to seeke then to hope to find helpe, they mett first with 2 Indian women, who sent unto them an Indian man who informed them that Plymouth was within 50 miles and offered together to procure releife for them, which they gladly accepting hee perfourmed, and brought them 3 men from Plymouth (the governour & counsell of Plymouth liberally rewardinge the Indian & tooke care for the safety of our people) who brought them all aliue in their boate thether, saue one man who with a guide chose rather to goe over land but quickly fell lame by the way, and getting harbour at a trucking house the Plymotheans had in those partes, there hee yett abides. At the otherse landing at Plymouth, one of them dyed as hee was taken out of the boate, another (and hee the worst in the company) rotted from the feete vpwards where the frost had gotten most hold, and

soe dyed within in a few dayes. The other 3 after God had blessed the chirurgeon's skill, used towards them, returned safe to vs. I sett doune this the more largely, partly because the first man that dyed was a godly man of our congregacon, one Richard Garrad, a shoemaker, who at the time of his death more feared hee should dishonour God than cared for his own life—As allso because diverse boates, have been in manifest perill this year, yett the Lord preserved them all this onely excepted.

16.24 *John Ruggles*] (c.1579-1656) The daughter's name is unknown.

17.1 Mr. *Pierce*] William Peirce, see note 11.22-23.

17.14 *Dunkirks*] Privateers from the port of Dunkirk, which was under Spanish rule.

17.25 with us.] The compiler of *Massachusetts* omits the following passage:

Allso to increase the heape of our sorroues wee received advertisement by Pres from our friends in England and by the reports of those who came hether in this shipp to abide with vs, (which were about 26) that those who went discontentedly from vs the last yeare, out of their evill affections towards us, have raised many false and scandalous reports against vs, affirminge vs to be Brounists in religion and ill affected to our state at home and that theis vile reports haue wonne creditt with some who formerly wished vs well. But wee doe desire, and cannot but hope, that wise and imp'tiall men will at length consider that such malecontents haue ever p.sed this manner of casting dirt to make others to seeme as fowle as themselves and that our godly freinds to whom wee haue been knowne will not easily beleive that wee are not soe soon turned from the profession wee soe long haue made in our natiue Country: And for our further cleareinge I truely affirme that I know noe one person who came over with vs the last yeare to bee altered in his judgment and affection eyther in ecclesiasticall or civill respects since our comeinge hether, but wee

doe continue to pray dayley for our soveraigne lord the Kinge, the Queene the Prince, the royal blood, the counsaile and whole state as dutye bindes us to doe and reason persuades others to beleive, for how ungodly and unthankfull should wee bee if wee should not thus doe, who come hether by vertue of his Ma^{'ties} letters patents, and vnder his gracious protection vnder which shelter wee hope to liue safely and from whome kingdome and subiects, wee now haue received and hereafter expect releife, Lett our friends therefore giue noe creditt to such malicious aspersions, but bee more ready to answer for us, then we heare they haue beene: wee are not like those which haue dispensations to lye, but as we were free enough in Old England, to turne our insides outwards sometimes to our disadvantage very unlike is it that now (beeinge procul a bulmine) wee should bee so unlike ourselves; lett therefore this be sufficient for vs to say, and others to heare in this matter.

17.26-27 Mr. *Robert Welden*] Or Weldon, of Charleston (c.1600-1631); it is believed that his widow Elizabeth subsequently married the Rev. George Phillips.

17.33 our Provisions.] The compiler of *Massachusetts* omits the following passage:

About this time wee apprehended one Robt. Wright who had been sometimes a lynn draper in Newgate market and after that a brewer on the banke side and on Thames Streete. This man wee lately vnderstood had made an escape in London from those who came to his house to apprehend him for clipping the king's coyne had stollen after vs Vppon his examinacon hee confessed the fact and his escape, but affirmed hee had the kinge's pardon for it vnder the broade seale which hee yett not beeing able to prooue, and one to whome he was knoune chargeing him with untruth in some of his answers wee therefore committed him to prison to bee sent by the next shipp into England.

Likewise wee were lately informed that one Mr. Gardiner, who arrived here a month before us (and who

had passed here for a knight by the name of Sr. Christopher Gardiner all this while) was noe knight, but instead thereof, had 2 wiues, now liueinge in an howse at London, one of which came about September last from Paris in Ffrance, (where her husband had left her 4 yeares before) to London where shee had heard her husband had marryed a second wife, and whom by enquiry shee found out, and they both condoleinge each others estate wrote both their P^{res} to the Governour (by Mr. Peirce who had conference with both the women in the presence of Mr. Allerton of Plymouth) his first wife desireing his returne and conversion; his second his destrucion for his foule abuse, and for robbinge her of her estate of a part whereof shee sent an Inventory hether compriseinge therein many rich jewells, much plate and costly linnen. This man had in his family (and yett hath) a gentlewoman whom hee called his kinswoman and whom one of his wiues in her letter names Mary Grove affirming her to be a knoune harlott, whose sending back into Old England shee allso desired togeather with her husband. Shortly after this intelligence wee sent to the house of the said Gardiner (which was 7 miles from us) to apprehend him and his woman with a purpose to send them both to London to his wiues there, but the man, who haueing heard some rumour from some who came in the shipp that P^{res} were come to the Governour requireing justice against him, was readily prepared for flight soe soone as hee should see any crossinge the river likely to apprehend him which hee accordingly perfourmed; for hee dwelling aloone easily descerned such who were sent to take him, halfe a mile before they approached his house, and with his peece on his neck went his way as most men think northwards, hoping to find some English there like to himselfe but likely enough it is which way so ever hee went, hee will loose himselfe in the woods and be stopped with some rivers in his passing, notwithstanding his compass in his pockett, and soe with hunger and cold will perish, before

hee find the place hee seekes. His woman was brought vnto vs and confessed hir name, and that hir mother dwells 8 miles from Boirdly in Salopshire, and that Gardiner's father dwells in or neare Gloucester and was (as shee said) brother to Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and did disinherit his sonne for his 26 yeares absence in his trauailes in Ffrance. Italy, Germany, and Turkey, that hee had (as hee told hir) marryed a wife in his trauailes, from whom hee was devorced and the woman long since dead,—that both herselfe and Gardiner were both Catholiques, till of late, but were now Protestants, that shee takes him to bee a knight but never heard where he was knighted. The woman was impenitent and close, confessing noe more than was wrested from her by her oune contradictions, soe wee haue taken order to send her to the 2 wiues in Old England to search her farther

18.15-16 Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, Mr. *Sharp*, Mr. *Coddington*] see notes 4.22b, 13.1, and 4.25b.

19.1 Sagamore *John*] Leader of the Pawtucket Indians on the Mystic River, north of Boston.

19.16 Mr. Colborn] William Colborn (1585?-1662) had a farm on Muddy River; he became a leading citizen of Boston and a selectman and deputy to the General Court.

19.28 our Arrival.] The following passage is omitted:

(the fire allwaies beginninge in the wooden chimneys) and some English wigwams which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs.

And that this shipp might returne into Old England with heavy newes, [...]

19.31 Mrs. *Skelton*] Susanna Travis Skelton (1598-1631), wife of the Rev. Samuel Skelton (d. 1634).

19.31 Minister there.] The following passage is omitted by the compiler: "who about 18 or 20 dayes before handling cold things in a sharpe morninge, put herself into a most violent

fitt of the wind colleck and of vomitting, which continu-
inge, shee at length fell into a feaver & so dyed as before.”

21.1 John Allin] (1596-1671) He came to Massachusetts from Wrentham, Suffolk, in 1637 and became the first pastor of the church in Dedham, Mass., gathered in 1638. He was the author of *A treatise of liturgies, power of the keyes, and of matter of the visible church* (London, 1653), *Animadversions upon the Antisynodalia Americana* (Cambridge, 1664) and *The spouse of Christ coming out of affliction, leaning upon her Beloved* (Boston, 1672).

21.2 Thomas Shepard] (1605-1649) He received an M.A. degree from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1627 and served as a preacher in Essex until suspended by Bishop Laud for nonconformity in 1630. He was then a chaplain in Yorkshire and a pastor in Newcastle. He came to Massachusetts in 1635, and in 1636 became pastor at the church in Cambridge (formerly Newtown), succeeding Thomas Hooker who removed with many of the congregation to Connecticut. His many published works include *The Sincere Convert* (1641), *The Sound Beleever* (London, 1645), *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New-England* (London, 1648), *Theses Sabbaticae* (London, 1649), and *The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied* (London, 1660).

21.3-4 Defence ... Nine Questions] Around 1636, a group of English Puritan ministers, including John Ball, addressed a letter to the ministers in New England requesting clarification on nine points of religious practice that were reported to prevail among the Massachusetts churches. These “nine questions” were:

1. Whether a stinted forme of Prayer and set Liturgie be unlawfull.
2. Whether it be unlawfull to joyne in Prayer, or receive the Sacraments where a stinted Liturgie is used.
3. Whether the children of godly and approved Christians, be not to be baptized till their parents be set-members of some particular Congregation.

4. Whether the parents themselves being of approved pietie, ought not to be received to the Lords Supper, untill they be first admitted as set-members.
5. Whether the power of Excommunication, &c. be so in the body of the Church, that what the major part shall allow, that must be done, though the Pastors and Governors, and part of the Assembly be of another minde, and peradventure upon more substantiall reasons.
6. Whether those that are admitted as set-members, ought not to depart or remove, without the consent of that Congregation whereof they are members.
7. Whether a Minister be so a Minister to a particular Congregation, that if they dislike, or leave him, he utterly ceaseth to be a Minister.
8. Whether a Minister may not performe ministeriall acts to another Congregation then his owne.
9. Whether members of one Congregation, may not communicate in another.

The clergy of Massachusetts were at that time caught up in controversies involving Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, but in 1639 the “Elders of the Churches” returned a 32-page response (authored by John Davenport), which was later published as *An Answer of the Elders of the Severall Churches in New-England unto Nine Positions, Sent Over to Them (By Divers Reverend and Godly Ministers in England) to Declare Their Judgements Therein* (London, 1643). This work appeared as a separate publication and was also incorporated into *An Apologie of the Churches in New-England for Church-Covenant. Or, A Discourse touching the Covenant between God and Men, and Especially concerning Church-Covenant, That Is to Say, The Covenant Which a Company Doe Enter into When They Become a Church; and Which a Particular Person Enters into When He Becomes a member of a Church* (London, 1643). The 2 works were bound with (though paginated separately from) Richard Mather’s *Church Government and Church-Covenant Discussed, in an Answer of the Elders*

of the Severall Churches in New-England to Two and Thirty Questions, Sent Over to Them by Divers Ministers in England, to Declare Their Judgments Therein (London, 1643). Generally speaking, the New England elders declared they had no intention of separation from the Church of England or of innovations in church forms or practice, but that “we [only] separate from the corruptions which we conceive to be left in your Churches, and from such Ordinances administered therein as we feare are not of God, but of men.”

John Ball (1585-1640) responded to Davenport’s *Answer* with a long (90-page) treatise, published posthumously in 1644 as *A Tryall of the New-Church Way in New-England and in Old* (London 1644). Allin and Shepard responded to Ball’s work with *A Defence of the Answer Made unto the Nine Questions or Positions Sent from New-England, against the Reply Thereto by That Reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. John Ball; Entituled, A Tryall of the New Church-way in New-England and in Old*, dated November 28, 1645 and published in London in 1648. It is from this last work that the “Preface” reprinted here was taken. The “Preface” is most notable for its early representation of the New England churches as acting a part in a providential design or apocalyptic drama, wherein the purified churches re-embody the original body of Christian believers and the Massachusetts theocracy unites the political-historical with the spiritual-millennial course of sacred history. Winthrop’s *Journal* for these years does not mention the nine questions, and Hutchinson’s *History* (Mayo, ed., p. 72) makes only a passing reference; the best discussion is found in Thomas Werge, *Thomas Shepard* (Boston: Twayne, 1987).

- 25.24 holy *Bradford*] John Bradford (c.1510-1555), evangelical preacher and Protestant martyr. A graduate of St. Catharine’s College, Cambridge, and chaplain to Edward VI, he was imprisoned under Queen Mary in 1553,

declared a heretic in 1555, and executed by burning at the stake July 1, 1555. He is featured prominently in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* [Book of Martyrs].

- 25.24-25 *Peter Martyr*] Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499-1562), Italian-born Reformation theologian. In 1542 he fled persecution in Italy for Switzerland and Germany. He came to England 1547, became professor of divinity at Oxford, and was involved in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. On the accession of Mary in 1553, he fled to Strasbourg and later Zurich. (He is not to be confounded with Peter Martyr d’Anghiera [1457-1526], Italian-born Spanish humanist, historian of discoveries, and chronicler for Spain’s Council of the Indies.)
- 25.25 *Philpott*] John Philpott (1516-1555), Protestant clergyman and martyr. A graduate of New College, Oxford, he was archdeacon of Westminster from 1552, was imprisoned after the accession of Mary in 1553, tried for heresy, and burned at the stake December 18, 1555.
- 28.23 upon Eagles wings] Exodus 19:4 — “Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles’ wings, and brought you unto myself.” Cf. also Revelation 12:14 — “And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.”
- 31.1-2 In Domini ... Apologetica.] Willem Apollonij (in English, William Apollonius) (1603-1657) was a minister and theologian in Middelburg, Holland, and a frequent correspondent with the Reformed clergy in England during the 1630s and 1640s. In response to an appeal from the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1644, he wrote and furnished a Latin treatise on the Continental systems of Protestant church organization, which was translated and published as *A Consideration of Certain Controversies at This Time Agitated in the Kingdome of England, Concern-*

ing the *Government of the Church of God* (London 1645). He also sent to the Assembly (in May 1644) a set of questions designed to elucidate the differences between the Presbyterian and Independent (later to become known as Congregational) parties. The Independents, being a minority of only five in the Assembly, determined that the answers to the 24 questions of Apollonius should best come from someone in New England, where the ideas of the Independents had been effectively practiced for some years. The task of composing the the answers fell to John Norton (1606-1663), minister of the church at Ipswich in Massachusetts. Norton had graduated from Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1627, and had preached and served as a chaplain in England before arriving in Massachusetts in 1635. Cotton Mather wote, "Gulielmus Apollonii, at the direction of the divines in Zealand, in the year 1644, sent over to New-England a number of questions, relating to our way of church-government; whereto the ministers of New-England unanimously imposed upon Mr. Norton the task of drawing up an answer, which he finished in the year 1645, and it was, I suppose, the first Latin book that ever was written in this country." (*Magnalia* [1852 ed.], p. 290).

John Cotton (1585-1652), who wrote the Latin Preface to *The Answer* here reprinted, was perhaps the most highly regarded of New England's ministers and was certainly among the most prolific of its controversialists, although his reputation was at this time somewhat clouded by his association with Anne Hutchinson. Cotton was educated at Cambridge, and had been minister in Boston, Lincolnshire, before moving to Massachusetts Bay in 1633, where he served as minister in Boston until his death. Cotton had already published several brief statements on the Massachusetts church polity, including *A Coppy of a Letter of Mr. Cotton of Boston, in New England, Sent in Answer of Certain Objections Made Against Their Discipline and Orders There, Directed to a Friend with*

the Questions Propounded to Such as Are Admitted to the Church-Fellowship and the Covenant It Selfe (London 1641), and *The Doctrine of the Church, to Which Is Committed the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven. Wherein Is Demonstrated by Way of Question and Answer, What a Visible Church Is, According to the Order of the Gospel: And What Officers, Members, Worship and Government, Christ Hath Ordained in the New Testament* (London, 1642). His 13-page tract *The True Constitution of a Particular Visible Church, Proved by Scripture. Wherein Is Briefly Demonstrated by Questions and Answers What Officers, Worship, and Government Christ Hath Ordained in His Church* (London 1642) was reportedly responsible for the conversion to Independency of Cromwell's chaplain, John Owen. His longer work *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power Thereof, According to the Word of God* was published in London in 1644, and his *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England, or, The Way of Churches Walking in Brotherly Equalitie, or Co-Ordination, without Subjection of One Church to Another Measured and Examined by the Golden Reed of the Sanctuary, Containing a Full Declaration of the Church-Way in All Particulars* was also published there (although apparently without his authorization) in 1645. Cotton's preface was written after the start of the Cambridge Synod and before the death of Hooker, which would place it in the winter of 1646-47. (See Douglas Horton, "Translator's Preface," in *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions of the Celebrated Mr. William Apollonius* [Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958]; and also Larzer Ziff, "Introduction," in *John Cotton on the Churches of New England* [Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968]; Everett Emerson, *John Cotton* [Boston: Twayne, 1990]; and Sargent Bush, Jr., ed., *The Correspondence of John Cotton* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001]).

Notes to this section are keyed to the English translation in the following Appendix.

- 45.24 Hippocrates' twins] In Augustine, *City of God*, book 5, chapter 2.
- 46.19-20 widow ... mites] Mark 12:41-44 and Luke 21:1-4.
- 46.27 *iōta*] iota
- 46.33 Hooker] Thomas Hooker (1586?-1647) had graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and been a leading spokesman for the Puritan cause from pulpits in Leicestershire, Surrey, and Chelmsford. He went into hiding to avoid prison in 1630, and in 1631 fled to Amsterdam, where John Paget (see below) blocked the congregation's invitation to become an assistant minister. Hooker served briefly in Delft, and returned secretly to England in 1633 before departing for Massachusetts. There he became pastor at Newtown (later renamed Cambridge), but in 1636 moved with his congregation to establish a settlement at Hartford, on the Connecticut River. In the mid-1640s, he wrote *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* in answer to the Scottish presbyterian Samuel Rutherford's *Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Pauls Presbyterie* (1642) and *The Due Right of Presbyteries* (1644). The first manuscript was lost when the ship carrying it to England sank; his rewritten version was published posthumously in 1648.
- 47.4 Davenport] John Davenport, see note to 21.3-4.
- 47.5 Mr. Paget] John Paget (c.1570-1638), was the founding pastor of the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam and an opponent of Separatists and Independents. He had blocked Davenport's appointment as assistant minister to the church in Amsterdam in 1633. See John Davenport's *A Iust Complaint against an Vniust Doer. Wherein Is Declared the Miserable Slaverie & Bondage That the English Church of Amsterdam Is Now in, by Reason of the Tirannicall Government and Corrupt Doctrine, of Mr. Iohn Pagett Their Present Minister* (Amsterdam, 1634); Paget's *An Answer to the Unjust Complaints of William Best ... Also An Answer*

- to Mr. Iohn Davenport, Touching his Report of Some Passages, his Allegations of Scripture against the Baptising of Some Kind of Infants, his Protestation about the Publishing of his Writings* (Amsterdam, 1635); and Davenport's *An Apologeticall Reply to a Booke called An Answer to the Unjust Complaint of W. B. Also an Answer to Mr I. D. Touching his Report of Some Passages. His Allegation of Scriptures against the Baptising of Some Kind of Infants. His Protestation about the Publishing of his Writings*. (Rotterdam, 1636). (See Alice Clare Carter, *The English Reformed Church in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* [Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema NV, 1964]; and Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of the English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982]).
- 47.11 pedobaptism] Infant baptism; practiced by the Independents or Congregationalists, but opposed by the Anabaptists.
- 47.12 Mather] Richard Mather (1596-1669), minister at Dorchester, Massachusetts, and author of *An Apologie of the Churches in New-England for Church-Covenant, or, A Discourse Touching the Covenant between God and Men, and Especially Concerning Church-Covenant ... Sent over in Answer to Master Bernard, in the Yeare 1639* (London 1643); *Church-Government and Church-Covenant Discussed in an Answer of the Elders of the Severall Churches in New England to Two and Thirty Questions Sent over to Them by Divers Ministers in England, to Declare Their Judgments Therein* (London 1643); *A Modest & Brotherly Answer to Mr. Charles Herle His Book against the Independency of Churches Wherein His Foure Arguments for the Government of Synods over Particular Congregations, Are Friendly Examined and Clearly Answered* (London 1644); and *A Reply to Mr. Rutherford, or A Defence of the Answer to Reverend Mr. Herles Booke against the Independency of Churches*. (London 1647).
- 47.26-27 Shepard ... Allin] See notes to 21.1 and 21.2.

- 47.31-48.1 Mr. Ball] John Ball, see note to 21.3-4.
- 48.23 very saintly Baynes] Paul Baynes (c.1573-1617), early Puritan clergyman who lost his pulpit at Cambridge in 1608 for his dissenting opinions. He was the author of *The Diocesans Tryall: Wherein All the Sinnewes of D. Downams Defence Are Brought unto Three Heads, and Orderly Dissolved* (London 1621) and numerous other works.
- 48.24 Apology of the Septemvirs] Cotton apparently refers to *An Apologeticall Narration Humbly Submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament by Tho: Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jer: Burroughes, William Bridge* (London, 1643). This work, signed by the five Independent delegates to the Westminster Assembly, all of whom had spent time in exile, was seen as partly responsible for the Assembly's inability to reach an actionable consensus on church government. Although the Presbyterians dominated the Assembly (convened by the Presbyterian-dominated Parliament), the Independents dominated in Cromwell's army and government. Why Cotton refers to "seven" is not clear.
- 49.23 Paul ... wisdom] I Cor. 1:17
- 49.26-27 Jehoshaphat ... Elisha] 2 Kings 3:12.
- 50.17 Philistine cart] In 1 Samuel 6.
- 51.22-23 Directory for the Public Worship of God] The Latin translated here is "publico divini cultus directorio"; there is no English work with this specific title.
- 51.27-28 blind and the lame ... David] 2 Samuel 5:8-9.
- 51.29 dogs and swine] Matt. 7:6.
- 51.32 "roundheads" and "rattleheads"] Proponents of Parliament and the Crown, respectively, in the English Civil War.
- 52.9 Trojan and Tyrian ... judged alike] A reference to Vergil's *Aeneid* I.574: "Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

- 52.17 Ridley and Hooper] Nicholas Ridley (c.1502-1555), bishop of London and a protestant martyr, executed October 16, 1555; John Hooper (c. 1500-1555) was bishop of Gloucester and Worcester and also a protestant martyr, executed February 9, 1555.
- 52.23 Judah ... Joseph] Gen. 44:18.
- 52.31 Dr. Cartwright] Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) English Calvinist theologian and controversialist.
- 52.33 Pareus] David Pareus (1548-1622) German theologian and reformer.
- 53.3 Ames] William Ames (1576-1633), English Puritan theologian; his *Medulla theologiae* was published in English as *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (1642).
- 53.20 Cobbet] Thomas Cobbet (1608-1685) was minister at Lynn, Massachusetts, and the author of *A Just Vindication of the Covenant and Church-Estate of Children of Church-Members* (London 1648).
- 53.20-30 Eliot, the latter ... nothing.] Although Cotton clearly refers here to John Eliot (1604-1690), the "teaching elder" at Roxbury and later celebrated as the "Apostle to the Indians," it is not clear what work or publication is intended. No works are attributed to John Eliot as author before his *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England Manifested by Three Letters under the Hand of that Famous Instrument of the Lord, Mr. John Eliot, and Another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jun., both Preachers of the Word, as Well to the English as Indians in New England* (London 1649), although he certainly had a hand in the publication of the first edition of *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, Faithfully Translated into English Metre For the Use, Edification and Comfort of the Saints in Publick and Private, Especially in New-England* (Cambridge 1648) and two earlier numbers of what are collectively known as the "Eliot Tracts": *The Day-Breaking, If Not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with*

the Indians in New-England (attributed to John Wilson) and *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New-England*, by Thomas Shepard, which appeared in London in 1647 and 1648 respectively.

Cotton made a similar reference in *A Reply to Mr. Williams His Examination; and Answer of the Letters Sent to Him by John Cotton* (London 1647), written in 1645: "But though it be impertinent to my Letter to discusse the grounds of his Civill Banishment: yet since he [*i.e.*, Roger Williams] is pleased (by hook or crook) to draw it in, I referre the Reader for Answer to a full Treatise of that Argument, penned by a reverend faithfull Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at *Rocksbury*)" (p. 26). (Cotton's *Reply* was published bound with—but paginated separately from—his *The Bloudy Tenent, Washed, and Made White in the Bloud of the Lambe* [London 1647]; it is reprinted in volume II of *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams* [New York: Russell & Russell, 1963], where this passage appears on page 43.) No such "full treatise" by Eliot regarding the banishment of Roger Williams has ever been identified, and it may have circulated in manuscript only. (See Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999], pp. 47, 277.)

Alternatively, Cotton's reference might be a suggestion that Eliot had furnished material published in one of the recent defenses of the Massachusetts churches, possibly in *Antinomians and Familists Condemned by the Synod of Elders in New-England: With the Proceedings of the Magistrates against Them, and Their Apology for the Same* (London, 1644), which consisted of materials John Winthrop had gathered and sent to England in 1637 (republished, with a new preface by Thomas Weld, as *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians Familists & Libertines that Infected the Churches of New-England and*

How They Were Confuted by the Assembly of Ministers There, as Also of the Magistrates Proceedings in Court against Them [London 1644]); but these materials pertain to the trial and banishment of Anne Hutchinson, in which Eliot participated, and not to Roger Williams.

Other works in which materials by Eliot might have appeared were those by his associate at Roxbury, the "pastor" Thomas Weld: *An Answer to W.R. his Narration of the Opinions and Practises of the Churches Lately Erected in New-England. Vindicating those Godly and Orthodoxall Churches, from More then an Hundred Imputations Fathered on Them and Their Church Way, by the Said W.R. in his Booke* (London, 1644); or *A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New-England* (London, 1645). Or Cotton may have been referring to materials in Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked: by a True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton (and his Accomplises) 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* (London 1647); or possibly, even one of Cotton's own tracts from this period.

The "broadly circulated reports of persecutions" to which Cotton refers could include those contained in Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* (London 1637); Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England* (London 1642); Roger Williams's *The Bloudy Tenent, of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience* (London 1644); William Rathband's *A Briefe Narration of Some Church Courses Held in Opinion and Practise in the Churches Lately Erected in New England* (London 1644); Samuel Gorton's *Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or, Innocency Vindicated, Being Unjustly Accused, and Sorely Censured by That Seven-Headed Church-Government United in New-England* (London 1646); or Major John Child's *New-*

Englands Jonas Cast Up at London: or, A Relation of the Proceedings of the Court at Boston in New-England against Divers Honest and Godly Persons, for Petitioning for Government in the Common-wealth, according to the Lawes of England, and for Admittance of Themselves and Children to the Sacraments in their Churches (London 1647).

53-33-34 ³ All may ... *Acts* 21:24.] Horton's note supplies the Bible verse cited in the margin of the original 1648 edition of the "Preface"; the verse citation is omitted in the 1696 *Massachusetts* reprinting.

54.16 Deborah] *Judges* 5:23

54.17 Junius] Franciscus Junius (1545-1602), Huguenot Calvinist scholar and theologian, published a Latin edition of the Old Testament in Geneva in 1590.

54.20 Reuben] *Gen.* 37:21, where he tries to save Joseph from their other brothers.


55.1-2 Shem ... Japheth] *Gen.* 9:27.



Note on the Text

Massachusetts, or The First Planters of New-England was published in Boston in 1696 as a sextodecimo volume of 56 pages. It was a compilation of four documents, three of which had been printed in England between 66 and 48 years earlier, and one of which was taken from a manuscript that was, at the time, 65 years old. Alexander Young, in his *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846) was apparently the first to suggest Joshua Scottow as the compiler/editor of the work. He writes, "It is not unlikely that it was printed at the suggestion of Joshua Scottow, who seems to have been the earliest person in the Colony who had an antiquarian turn of mind, and who had already, in 1691 and 1694, published two works of his own." (p. 340) This attribution has been generally accepted, and the work was catalogued by bibliographer Charles Evans as having been edited by Scottow. The book contained no original material, but its subject and the nature of its selections correspond closely to the representation of early Massachusetts given by Scottow in his two jeremiad-histories of the early colony: *Old Mens Tears for Their Own Declensions* (1691) and *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony Anno 1628* (1694), both of which carried no identification of the author, except the initials "J. S." after the prefatory epistle or dedication. Likewise, Scottow's other works—two translations of Guy de Brès tract against the Anabaptists *Johannes Becoldus Redivivus; or, the English Quaker the German Enthusiast Revived* (London, 1659) and *The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists, or Re-baptized of Our Time. Written in French by Guy de Brez*, 1565 (Cambridge [Mass.], 1668), as well as a compilation from Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" recently identified by Anne Myles (see *New England Quarterly* 80:1 [March 2007], pp. 35-68), the tract titled *Divine Consolations for Mourners in Sion* (1664)—all appeared either anonymously or with no attribution beyond the initials J. S.

The first document in the compilation, *The Humble Request of His Majesties Loyal Subjects*, was originally published in London in 1630. Its authorship is usually attributed to John Winthrop, although it is signed by seven of the “undertakers” of the voyage. It was sent ashore from the *Arbella* on April 7, as the fleet waited for fair winds. The printed London edition provided the text for the reprinting in *Massachusetts* without significant alteration.

The second document, Thomas Dudley’s letter “To the Right Honourable, My very good Lady, The Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln,” begun March 12 and concluded March 28, 1631, appeared in print for the first time in the *Massachusetts* compilation. How its manuscript came into the possession of the compiler is not known, nor is it clear whether it was the original letter, returned from England, or a copy made there, or one made in Massachusetts before it was sent. The same manuscript, however, was re-discovered by John Farmer in the early 1830s, bound up with a copy of Edward Johnson’s *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion’s Saviour in America* and Edward Winslow’s *New-England’s Salamander Discovered*. Alexander Young, quoting Farmer’s Preface to the “enlarged” (1834) edition, notes, “There is good reason to believe that the original printed copy [in *Massachusetts*] was made from this manuscript, just so much of it being marked as was printed, and having the printer’s mark (thus ) for the end of the signature.” Where the editor of *Massachusetts* had omitted about a quarter of the letter, Farmer printed the entire manuscript in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, vol. 4 (1834), pp. 224-249, and it was also issued separately the same year as *Gov. Thomas Dudley’s Letter to the Countess of Lincoln* (Concord, N.H. : Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1834). It was reprinted, without his preface, in the Force Tracts in 1838.

The portions of the letter that the compiler of *Massachusetts* chose not to print relate principally to events that do not tend to reinforce the image of early Massachusetts as a consensual haven for the purified worship of God—the Indian sachems, the banishments of Thomas Morton and Robert Wright, the imposture and bigamy of Christopher Gardiner, the ill-fated shallop of Plymouth, and the “scandalous reports against vs” spread in England

by disappointed returnees. These episodes are printed (from the Force Tracts edition) in the *Notes*. A comparison of the editions suggests that the compiler or printer in 1696 engaged in a significant degree of “modernization” of the orthography in the manuscript—exchanging “v” and “u” when appropriate and employing spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing more in keeping with the usage and style of the 1690s.

The third document, “The Preface of the Reverend Mr. John Allin, of Dedham, and of Mr. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge in New-England, before their *Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions*,” was written in 1645 (it is dated November 28, 1645, at the end), and published in *A Defence of the Answer Made unto the Nine Questions or Positions Sent from New-England, against the Reply Thereto by That Reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. John Ball* (London, 1648), pages 1-9. The full “Preface” in *A Defence of the Answer* runs an additional 16 pages (through page 25), but the compiler of *Massachusetts* truncated it without comment or acknowledgment.

The fourth document, “In Domini Nortoni Librum, ad Lectorem Præfatio Apologetica,” was written by John Cotton during the winter of 1646-47 and published as pages a3r-b6v of Iohannem Nortonum (John Norton), *Responsio ad Totam Quæstionum Syllogem à clarissimo Viro Domino Guilielmo Apollonio, Ecclesiæ Middleburgensis Pastore, propositam* (London, 1648). It is here followed by an English translation, “An Apologetical Preface for the Reader of Mr. Norton’s Book,” prepared by Douglas Horton and published in 1956 by Harvard University Press. (This translation is copyright 1958, renewed 1986, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and is reproduced by kind permission of Harvard University Press.) The compiler of *Massachusetts* printed the entire “Præfatio” or preface. The only significant change from the 1648 book edition was the transliteration of Greek words from the original.

This online electronic edition of *Massachusetts, or The First Planters of New-England* reprints the complete and exact text of the 1696 Boston edition of the work. The text was transcribed from a microfiche version—in Early American Imprints, Series I. Evans (1639-

1800)—of the copy held at the American Antiquarian Society and was collated against the online digital images of the copy held by the Henry Huntington Library and Art Gallery (available in the Early English Books Online series). Spelling, punctuation, orthography, capitalization, and italics of the first printing have been preserved.

The typeface used in this edition is IM Fell English, digitized and furnished by Iginio Marini (<http://iginomarini.com>), based on seventeenth-century originals probably cut by Christoffel van Dijck (roman) and Robert Granjon (italic). In deference to modern readers the long s has not been used; and, for the sake of more accurate searching and excerpting, the ligatures for sh, st, ct, fi, fl, ff, ffi, and ffl have not been employed except on the title page. The ornaments are reproductions or reconstructions of those used in the 1696 edition.

Following is a list of typographical errors corrected; line numbers do not include running heads/folios or hairlines:

<i>Page.line</i>	<i>1696 edition</i>	<i>emended to</i>
17.9	was so so	was so
25.12	timoorus	timorous
[<i>Appendix 1956</i>]		
53.23	conscience'	conscience's

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May 16, 2007