

1694

A NARRATIVE Of The Planting of the
Massachusets COLONY Anno 1628. With the
LORDS Signal Presence the First Thirty YEARS.
Also a Caution from New-Englands APOSTLE,
the GREAT COTTON, How to Escape the
Calamity, which might Befall them or their
POSTERITY. And Confirmed by the
EVANGELIST NORTON With Prognosticks
from the FAMOUS Dr. OWEN. Concerning the
Fate of these Churches, and Animadversions upon
the Anger of God, in sending of Evil Angels among
us. Published by Old Planters, the Authors of the
Old Mens Tears.

Joshua Scottow

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ABSTRACT:

This edition of *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony Anno 1628* is based on the first edition published in Boston in 1694. The spelling, orthography, punctuation, and capitalization of the original have been retained; only obvious typographical errors have been corrected. Scottow's *Narrative* is the sequel to *Old Mens Tears for their Own Declensions*, published three years earlier. It is an expansion of the argument that God and history are being unkind to New England because its churches have strayed from the strict practice of the unanimously-minded early founders of the Congregational Way. Scottow treats of the miraculous events and deliverances that characterized the first generations, and contrasts these with the reverses and humiliations suffered by the later generation, including bad neighbors (the French and the Dutch), natural disasters, Indian wars, witchcraft, the loss of the colony's charter, the imposition of imperial rule, the non-support of ministers, and the abandonment of the office of the Ruling Elders in the churches. Perhaps the most famous quote (found in both works) is "That NEW-ENGLAND is not to be found in NEW-ENGLAND, nor BOSTON in BOSTON."

CONTENTS

<i>Title page of the 1694 edition</i>	4
<i>A Narrative of the Planting</i>	5
<i>Dedication: To the honourable Simon Broadstreet Esq.</i>	7
<i>A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts-Colony &c.</i>	9
<i>Funeral Elegy for Rev. John Cotton</i>	64
<i>Editor's Note</i>	67

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we will not walk therein.*

Boston Printed and sold by Benjamin Harris, at the
sign of the BIBLE over-against the Blew-Anchor 1694

*Title page of the 1694 edition, which measures
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To the honourable
Simon Broadstreet Esq.

Late GOVERNOUR of the
Massachusetts - Colony

Honoured Sir ;

THE Long Experience of your being the only Surviving Anti-
quary of us Nov-Angles, the Prime Secretary and Register
of our civil and sacred Records, and the Bifronted Janus who saw
the Closure of the Old, and the Overture of this New-Albion
World. One who in your Juvenile strength ingaged your All, to
Raise and Build up the Arduous & Hazzardous Structure, of
this then despised and despicable Fabrique; so as its observers said
of it, what wilt these Feeble men Build, if a Fox go up, he shall
even break down the stone-wall: of which themselves, and all its
Spectators must now say, Lo, what hath God done ?

That the Great GOD did then select and adapt Your Per-
son, and Enrowle your Name among the Nursing Fathers of this
his Outcast Sion, whose Names are embalmed to Eternity: that
you have through nine hard Apprentiships, of above sixty years
durance, in the service of your Generation, and faithful discharge
of that trust for so long a season, as hath Rendred you a MOOT-
MAN, to be dignified with the highest Honour, this people were
capable to confer.

Whither should this narrow Narrative go, to make its address for Patronage, and Avowry of its verity, but to Your Honours feet, there to Prostrate, and submit it self to the touch and test of the Lydian Stone thereof, its substance being extracted out of the Records, and the rest founded upon the Publishers certaine knowledge and observation.

As for the Censure of the whole or part, to be the Delyrious dotage of Bis Puerile and Superannuated Brains, let such please to satisfy themselves with their own Speculations.

But for Your Venerable Self, that the Ancient of days, and the God of the Spirits of all flesh, would please to renew Your Age as the Eagles, so as You may be Our New-England Nestor, that the decays of Your outward may be made up, by recruits of fresh Anointing from above upon Your Inner man, that Your Dayes may be prolonged, to remain in the Lyst of those who actually are, Our Fathers, Our Fathers, the Chariots of our Israel, and the Horsemen thereof, and until you are become a full ripe Sheaf, fit to be safely laid up in Your Lord & Masters Garner. Is the Daily Prayer of,

Your Honours Humble,
and Obliged
Servant,
J. S.

A
NARRATIVE
Of the Planting of the
Massachusets-Colony &c.

THE Late Series of Divine Dispensations tending not only to the dissolving of the Cement, but to the Subverting of the Basis of that Fabrick which the Wonderful Worker hath here so stupendiously erected; nor to the Cropping off their Branches, but to the Rooting up of the tender Plant, which the Heavenly Father, here so graciously hath Planted; hath put some of the Old Relict Planters, upon *smiting on our thighs*, and serious considerations of what provoking evils we have committed, and what special sins, God now would bring to our Remembrance, whereby we have so highly displeased our Benign God, and Gracious Father, thus tremendously to treat us: the Aspect of Providence so terribly varying, from what formerly it was wont to be, puts us into an amusing amazement. And being in this perplexed Labyrinth, of Distracting thoughts of heart, there was darted into our Meditations, a Caution which above Eight Septenaries of Years past, came from the first Seraphical Doctor of *Boston Church*. Mr. *John Cotton*, whose name in the Churches is as Ointment powred forth, and if the word of his successor may pass for Current, he was the greatest Luminary in our *New-England Orbs*, and a great *Prophet*, and the truth is, the

most intelligent of those times took them both for no less; he in his funeral *Elegy* upon his death gave him both these titles, and Descanting upon Gods Magnifying him in his sickness, not only in the sight of this *Israel*, but of the great part of the discerning world, by setting up a Cælestial Flambeau in the Starry Region, whither a Signal Minatory or Monitory, (it may be both) the next age will better know, it directly followed the Reer of the Pleiades, in the Rising Progress and setting of the Seven Stars, as if it had steer'd their Course, as the most strict observers took notice of: he himself on his death bed, being Informed of it, replied, that it did portend to the state of these Churches: this Comet appeared not only in the time of his sickness, but until his interment, and then disappeared, thereby Performing the Honourable Respects of those Stately Obsequies, which are only due, and not done to any, but to Persons of greatest honour, as to the Princes, Notables, and Scavants of the times, had there but a shadow of the least Pretext to such a thing, befalln the Ignatian, *Peter Cotton*, the Famed Jesuite, in his life or death, it had been beyond dispute that his Preference in their Rubricke, or Saints Calender had been before *Loyala* their first Founder.

This Worthy man of God's successor, Reverend *Norton* thus versified of him.

*This Prophet's dead now must in's Doctrine speak,
This Comet saith, Else Must New-England break.*

How near *New-England* now is to its breaking, the All-knowing One only knows; but the muteness of this Prophets Doctrine, is with all solemnity and sadness of Soul to be Lamented.

This Venerable Seer, whose method was to go through the Books of Scripture, he Entred upon, and had in his Ministerial Course in both *Bostons* been (lengthened out to little

less then forty years) went through near the whole Bible, he was then upon *Acts 7.* concerning *Stephens* Discourse before the Council, about the History of *Israel*, the Church in the Wilderness, taking up the Tabernacle of *Molock*, and the Star of their God *Remphan*; Figures which they made to Worship: whereupon Gods Threatning immediately followed. *And I will carry you away beyond Babilon.* Shewing that this provocation was so great, as God then threatned them with the *Babylonian* Captivity, which befel their Posterity divers hundred years after; he notified the time when, the place where, and the persons threatned were Gods Covenant People; whence he observed to this purpose.

That Gods Covenant People, or their Children, might in their first beginnings be left to do such things, as might bring a future grievous Calamity upon them.

He shewed as this people being Gods Israel, did thus in their March through the Wilderness into the Land of *Canaan*, not many years after their Departure from *Egypt*, their *House of Bondage*; So might any other Covenant People be left to do.

In the Application of this Doctrine, he was assisted with that Presence of Spirit, and pressed it upon his Auditors with its Divine Authority, that as Goads and Nails, it Entred from that Master of the Assembly, and was fastned from the one Shepheard. Such was the Attention, and its Efficacy upon the Hearers, (words from the heart entred into their hearts) so as upon Repitition of the Sermon at home, they coming warmed with its heavenly heat, concluded their *John* was in the Spirit *that Lords day.*

This Prophet is Dead, and our Fathers where are they? Yet the words then spoken, left such a Convincing Impress upon our hearts & Souls, as is not obliterated to this day, and in this Hour of Distress, Trouble, and Consternation, is now revived, when as Heaven, Earth, and Hell seem to Conspire

to Accomplish the Threatning then Denounced.

The Great God being now upon searching our *Jerusalem* with Candles, should put each individual sensible Soul, with the Candle of the Lord, to make diligent and sincere Inquiry into the most inward and secret recesses in the Chambers of his Imagery, yea into the closest Tills, and Cachotes of a deceitful and desperately wicked heart; and after all to Beg of him, *whose Eyes are as a Flame of Fire*, that he would Search, Try, and Know it, and that he would shew, and make us all to know every winding, and wicked way, *and lead in the way Everlasting*; that he who *is holy in all his Ways, and righteous in all his Works*, the great Revealer of Secrets, would take off the Veil, which hides the *Mystery of Iniquity* in our Souls, that there may be a clear discovery of the *Troubler of our Israel*, the Inward Viceroy, the Judge, Jury, and Witness within us, their Verdict and Sentence passing against us: God who is greater than our Conscience will condemn us much more.

That we and our Fathers have Sinned, is out of doubt, but whether we or our Fathers are the meritorious and procuring causes of what we now are groaning under, is that which remains under question, we hope in the sequel of this Script, as to vindicate the Equity of Gods Wayes towards our Fathers, and our selves, so in our weak measure to convince us of the Iniquity of our wayes against the Lord, that we shall see just cause to condemn our selves, as the procurers of all the deep Displeasure we now bleed under.

In order whereunto, it may be requisite to Recollect what our Fathers have told us, and what we have seen; and shall present a maniple of the unaccountable Sheaves of Divinely Beneficent Bounties granted unto our Fathers, and their grateful Returns unto the Divine Majesty. It's great pitty before the present Generation pass off the Stage of Action, that there should not be a compleat History laid up in our Archivis.

It was an Ordinance of old, to Commemorate the Political Birth and Growth of a People, it may not (we hope) be unbecoming us, to give a small account of the Genesis of this superhumane and really Divine Creation, wrought by the admirable Architect, who manifest himself most Illustriously Great in the Minimes of Created Beings.

This Colonies Foundation was not laid, by exhausting the Exchequers of Princes, Peers, or Lords of the Realm, nor by Lotteries, and such like Contrivances of Advance, as other *English Plantations* have been.

It was incomparable Minute, to what its now attain'd unto, and the rather to be observed, because of the great opposition, from those of strength it first met with, its growth must be assigned to Heavens Influence, and Blessing: It evidently proceeded from him who rais'd up the Righteous man from the East, and called him to his Foot; the sudden mover and incliner of Hearts, both infused and guided the inclinations and motions of these worthy Patriots, with their Associates, who either attended, or followed them in great measure, parallel to that of the *Father of the Faithful*, who upon a Divine Call, left Kindred, Country and Fathers House, and went he knew not whether, to Enjoy he knew not what, both proceeding from the same Inspiration, and Instinct, drawn by the Magnetick Influence of the same Holy Spirit, and as it were by the impulse of a sacred Charm or Spell, as by its operation appeared, as if a Royal Herald, through our Nation from *Barwick to Cornwall* had made Proclamation, to Summon and Muster up Volunteers, to appear in *New England*, for His Sacred Majesties Service, there to attend further Orders: Such was the *Day of Christ's Power*, as an incredible number of Willing People, forthwith Listed themselves; yea many of those whose Faces were unknown to each other; the hearts of multitudes in this Design responded, as Face to Face in Water; thus the Body of this People was animated as with one Soul.

That this Design was Super-humane, will be evidenced by the *Primum Mobile*, or grand Wheel thereof. Neither Spanish Gold or Silver, nor *French* or *Dutch* Trade of Peltry did Oil their Wheels; it was the Propagation of Piety and Religion to Posterity; and the secret Macedonean Call, COME OVER AND HELP US, afterward Instamp'd in the Seal of this Colony, the Setting up of Christ's Kingdom among the Heathens, in this Remote End of the Earth, was the main spring of motion, and that which gave the Name to *New-England*, and at such a time, when as Divine *Herbert* in his Temple Prophetically Sang.

*Religion Stands on Tiptoe in our Land,
Ready to pass to the American Strand.*

The agency of the great God appeared, who never lets any of his works, fall for want of materials or instruments, he raised up such as were fit to lead, and feed this People in this wilderness, such were our Famous Founders, we had our *Mose's*, and *Aaron's*, our *Zorobabels*, and *Joshua's*, our *Ezrah's*, and *Nehemiahs*, so many Noble spirited persons, fitted and called of God, raised up to this great service, both to the Civil and Sacred Administration, to the Cure and Care of this flock in this wilderness.

Men of narrow spirits, of mean Capacities, and fortunes, had not been capable to officiate in so great a worke, that such, and so many Gentlemen of Ancient and Worshipful Families, of Name and Number, of Character and Quality, should Combine and Unite in so desperate and dangerous a Design, attended with such insuperable Difficulties, and Hazards, in the plucking up of their Stakes, leaving so pleasant and profitable a place as their Native Soil, parting with their Patrimonies, Inheritances, plentiful Estates, and settlement of Houses well Furnished; of Land well Stock'd, and with comfortable ways of Subsistence, which the first Planters

Deserted; and not a few did leave all their worldly hopes, to come into this Desert, & unknown Land, and smoaky Cottages, to the Society of Cursed Cannibals, (as they have proved to be) and at best wild Indians; what less then a Divine Ardour could inflame a People thus Circumstanced to a work so contrary to Flesh and Blood.

Infinite Wisdom and Prudence contrived and directed this Mysterious Work of Providence, Divine Courage and Resolution managed it, Superhumane Sedulity and Diligence attended it, and Angelical Swiftmess and Dispatch finished it; Its Wheels stirr'd not, but according to the HOLY SPIRITS motion in them; yea there was the Involution of a Wheel within a Wheel: God's Ways were a Great Depth, and high above the Eagle or Vulturous Eye; and such its Immensity as mans Cockle-shell is infinitely unable to Emptie this Ocean,

Let us Commemorate their *Exodus* or Departure from our Nation. These Prudent Undertakers sent forth their *Forlorn Hope* in two Ships, Laden with Passengers, and Servants: two years before they mov'd with their main Body, and Patent Government, which were fully Furnished with a Pastor and Teacher, Worthy *Higgison* and *Skelton*, and all Materials, for Compleating of a Church of Christ, according to Divine Institution: Who safely Arriving according to their predeterminate Design of Inlargement of Christ's Kingdom, and His Majesty of *England's* Dominion: Firstly, they set up their Standards, Dethroning Satan, they cast him out of Heaven; which beyond times memorial, he had in the Natives Consciences, and by Turf and Twig they took possession of this his large Continent, and set up the first Church in these Parts, in a place they then called *Salem*; at which

Major
General
Gibbins.

Convention, the Testimony which the Lord of all the Earth bore unto it, is wonderfully memorable, by a Saving Work upon a Gentleman of Quality, who afterwards was the Chief-

tan and Flower of *New-England's* Militia, and an Eminent Instrument both in Church and Commonwealth; he being the younger Brother of the House of an Honourable Extract, his Ambition exceeding what he could expect at home, Rambled hither: Before one Stone was laid in this Structure, or our Van-Currier's Arrival, he was no Debauchee, but of a Jocund Temper, and one of the Merry Mounts Society, who chose rather to Dance about a *May pole*, first Erected to the Honour of *Strumpet Flora*, than to hear a good Sermon; who hearing of this Meeting, though above Twenty Miles distant from it, and desirous to see the Mode and Novel of a Churches Gathering; with great studiousness, he applyed himself to be at it; where beholding their orderly procedure, and their method of standing forth, to declare the Work of God upon their Souls, being pricked at the Heart, he sprung forth among them, desirous to be one of the Society, who though otherwise well accomplished, yet divinely illiterate, was then convinc'd and judged before all; the secrets of his heart being made manifest, fell down and Worshipped God, to their astonishment, saying, *That God was in them of a Truth*; the Verity hereof, as long since it hath been affirmed by old Planters, so by his own Manuscript, found after his Death it's confirmed; he about that time Lamenting his Christless Estate, which evidenceth that it ought to be said of that Sion, *This man was Born there*.

One winter after these good spies had viewed this Land, who sent letters of the prosperous good hand of Providence upon them, the taste of the fruits of this Countrie, was sweeter, and more welcome to their Principalls in *England*, then the Grapes of *Eschol* were to *Israel* of old.

The Leaders of this People upon serious debate, drew up a Determination to settle the Corporation, and government, upon the Place: and accordingly made Choice of a Governour and Deputy to abide there, which being effected,

and Divinely directed in such a Choice of the Governour, the Famous Pattern of Wisdom, Justice and Liberality, and of a Deputy Governour; who by his Experience at Home, and Travels Abroad, with his Natural and Acquired Abilities, was a Gentleman qualified above others, for the chief Rule and Government, wherein according to his just Deserts, he shared more than others; the Fame whereof being come Abroad in the Nation, to such whose hearts God had touched; this being upon the wing, there wanted not number of Persons of all Occupations, skill'd in all Faculties, needful for the Planting of a Collony, who filled up a Fleet of Eleven Ships, of considerable Burthen, besides their Attenders; some of them about Four Hundred Tuns, the rest not much inferiour; some carrying near Two Hundred Passengers, the rest proportionably; the Wheels of Providence were lifted up very high, and also were radiantly magnificent.

These Parting Travellers Removal, carrying so great a Resemblance of Departure into another World, they were not stupid Stoicks, but abounded with that which Grace doth not destroy, but direct: What showers of melting Tears dropt into the Bosomes of each other, whose *Souls* as *Jonathan* and *David* clave one to another, yet alleviated with consideration; though they were *Absent in Body, yet Present in Spirit*, and of their mutual access to the Throne of Grace, and of *Meeting at the Assembly of the First-born, and Spirits of Just Men made Perfect*. Some of their choice Friends, as the Reverend Mr. Cotton, and others, went along with them from *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, to *South-hampton*, where they parted, and he Preacht his Farewel Sermon.

That so many Eminent Persons, some of Noble Extract, should upon Sea-Bridges, pass over the largest Ocean in the Universe, by the good hand of their God upon them, having sought of him a right way for themselves, Little Ones, and

Substance; yea above Three Thousand in one Year, and that above Three Hundred Ships since that time; all Laden with Jewels of Invaluable Value, far above the Gold of *Ophir*, that each individual one should have a Cæstrial Convoy, under the Flaming Swords of Flying Cherubims, turning every way, to keep them in their way, so as they all at their Port safely Arrived: Not one Foundered in the Sea, Split upon Rocks, were suckt in by Sands, Over-set by sudden Gusts, nor Taken and Plundered by Pirates or Robbers, except one called the Angel *Gabriel*, whose Tutular Guardian Ship failed (if any Aboard put trust therein) she was Laden with Passengers for *Boston*, but put in at *Pemiquid*, where the Ship and whole Cargo perished, but not one Soul of Seamen, or Passengers miscarried; they met with an Hurricane, before or since not known in this Country, Raised by the Power of him, who holds the Wind in his Hand, and Commissioneth the Prince of the Air, by Raising *Stormy Winds to fulfil his Word*; it's said, the Tide rose Twenty Foot perpendicular, above its ordinary height. The same time, another great Ship, Laden with Passengers was wonderfully preserved, when as ready to be Split in pieces upon Rocks at the *Isle of Shoals*; at the Prayer of the distressed Saints Aboard, God caused the Winds to Vere a Point or two about the Compass, so as she cleared them, & they were saved; *in the Mount the Lord was seen*; in this Ship was the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, three or four of his Sons, and whole Family, with a multitude of other precious Souls, among whom was the Worthy *Jonathan Mitchel*, then being a Lad.

The like Salvation about the same time was vouchsafed to a great Ship Laden with Passengers, Bound for *New-England*, the Famous *Norton*, and Great *Shepherd*, with their Wives, were Aboard of her: They were forced back from the Channel, into *North-Yarmouth Road*, where, though the Wind was off the Shoar, the Storm was so violent, as all their

Anchors and Cables would not bring her up, and being in great danger of Foundering in the Sands, they were forced to cut both Main Mast, and Fore Mast by the Board, with Sails and Rigging; this *Paul* and *Silas*, while able to stand, went from Cabbin to Cabbin to Encourage and Pray with the Distressed Passengers, and Seamen, who by one Wave were washed Over-board, and the next Wave threw them Aboard again; there was great Crying out then, *What shall we do to be Saved?* At the Prayers of these Men of God, this Ship and every Soul Aboard was given them; the next Day they all Landed safe, and as soon as Ashoar, two Vipers designed not only to Leap upon the hands of them both, but to seiz their Persons; but how strangely preserved is not unknown to some of us; though the House was beset by them, when as they were at a pious Meeting, (then called a Conventicle.) Next Year they Arrived all safe at *Boston*; the Ship for that year was Disinabled.

Ought we not now to cry out, considering the Circumstances, Oh! *The Wheel, the Wheel*, He who sits upon the Throne, appeared with the Rainbow about his Head, and the Spirit of the Living Creatures was in the Wheels, from their Original Motion.

The Waves obeyed the Voice, and the Wind fulfilled the Pleasure of the Lord of the Universe, so as the first whole Fleet Arrived safe in a small time, without Loss of any but of one person.

These Nobly Grateful Passengers, appointed and set apart a Day of Thanksgiving to the Almighty God, for the great Goodness and mighty Works they had seen in their Voyage, and with *Noahs Dove*, having found rest for the soles of their Feet, marched forth from their Floating Arks, and Celebrated the High Praises of him, who had thus graciously and wonderfully Safe guarded them, and Landed them; *They Sang the Song of Moses, and of the Lamb*, whom they in this Voyage had followed, and now paid their Vows to God to Serve him,

and to Build him an Habitation, and according to the Examples of *Noah* and *Abraham*, who upon their safe Landing, and Arrival, each built an Altar to *Jehova*, so they (being content with Huts and smoaky Cottages) first applyed themselves to Build the Lord an Habitation, before they set up their own Houses, and Joined in Church-Fellowship, setting up the King of *Sions* Throne, in his Order and Worship; having six Eminent Ministers, who came along with them, and divers Hundreds of Choice Materials. Thus far an Abbreviate of this Colonies Foundation, and manner of its Laying.

The good News from this far Country, and from these men of Desires, being carried into *England*, was as Cold Waters to a thirsty Soul; the Stile of their Letters was so full of Divine Gravity, and of a Gracious Savour, so grateful to those of full Age, who by reason of Use, had their Senses exercised, to discern both good and evil, as it put them upon study, to increase their Number, stirring up each other to get among them to *New-England*.

The Grace powred into the Hearts and Lips of these first Planters, dropt down into Pens of private Christians, like sweet smelling Myrrh, so as they began their Letters with Apostolical Benediction, and concluded them with Salutations; a Letter then from *New-England*, and for a considerable time after, was Venerated as a Sacred Script, or as the Writing of some Holy Prophet, 'twas carried many Miles, where divers came to hear it, because the *Savour of Christ's Name was as good Oyntment powred forth, therefore the Virgins Lov'd Him*; and a multitude of pious Souls through
Burtons the whole Nation, were in their Spirits pressed
Melancholy to Joyn in this Work, so as their Malignant
 Observers in their Words and Writings, Rendred them: *Furijs Religionis Acti*. Men acted by Religious Furies, and the Festuss's of those Times, declared them to be persons Distracted, saying of their much Reli-

gion, as he said of *Pauls* much Learning, that it had made them mad.

In a short time after their Arrival, a Snake crept forth, which Lay Latent in the Tender Grass, one who pretended himself a Religious Reformado, and to withdraw from the Noise of Secular Affairs, came over in the first Fleet, he offered to Joyn in Church-Fellowship here, but was refused upon suspicion to be what indeed he proved to be, *viz.* a Roman Catholick, and of such Note
 Sir among them, as he had at *Jerusalem* Received
Christopher the Orders of the Knighthood, (there called
Gardner the Holy Sepulchre) which Order he appeared to be of, by Letters intercepted, sent by a man of Place in *England*, a profest Enemy to this Colony; thus Satan's Proto-Emissary against this People, was discovered in his prime Plot, and secret Snare, who designed to smother this Embrio Colony, or to Strangle this Babe, not yet out of its Swadling Bands; for which Deliverance, high Praises were Celebrated to the Name of *Sions* Saviour.

Not long after, a desperate Myne was sprung by this Peoples Grand Adversary, according to Advice of a Politician elsewhere, to Blow up Religion, by Religion, Encouraging the Liberty this People had obtained to Leave their Nation, saying, Let them go, by their Parties and Factions, as their Brethren at *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* had done, so they would destroy each other; but the Lord most graciously Countermined it, for the Design of both the Magistrates and Ministers, with the Body of this People, was not with the Rigid Separatists to Cast off all Communion with the Church of *England*, but to act the part of the good old Nonconformists, who though they could not Close with the Hierarchy, nor with the Corruptions in Discipline and Worship, yet in her Faith and Doctrine, they own'd her to be their Mother; and therefore having by Patten Charter from His Majesty, a

Grant to Remove, they peaceably Improved the same, and left their Native Land; and at their Departure, they drew up, and Published a Manifesto to the whole Nation, of the Grounds of this their Undertaking; not knowing, whether ever they should see Land, styling those whom they parted from, in their Superscription.

REVEREND FATHAERS
AND BRETHREN.

The Humble Request of His Majesties Loyal Subjects, The GOVERNOUR and COMPANY of NEW-ENGLAND.

To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England: For the obtaining of their Prayers, and Removal of their Suspicions, and Misrepresentations of their Intentions, &c.

LONDON, Printed for John Belamy, 1630.

Their subscription signed was

Your Assured Friends and Brethren,

John Winthrop Governour.

Richard Saltonstall.

Isaac Johnson.

Tho. Dudley Deputy Governour.

Charles Fines.

George Phillips.

Cum multis aliis.

From Yarmouth, Aboard the Arabella,

April 7th. 1630.

THese Magnanimous Heroes, whose Memory is Blessed, whose Names not only during *New-England*, hath a Being, but shall be had in *Everlasting Remembrance*; they then declared.

Though there might be some among them otherwise minded, yet

they were not of them, and desired Remembrance in their Prayers, (as above) in this their dangerous Design.

Not long after this, Mr. Cottons Farewel Sermon (above mentioned) was Printed at London, and since Reprinted at Boston, Entituled, GODS PROMISE TO HIS PLANTATION, wherein he Exhorted them to Remember England, their Mother; and that they should not be like those Ingrateful Birds, who when they had Swum over a Stream or River, forgot the Wing that had Hatcht them.

The Serpent soon got into this Eden, and according to his Maxime acted, divide, and Overcome, he sow'd the Seed of Discord, & Division among us, so as this Heterodoxy was Preached publickly, that there was no Communion to be held with the Church of *England*; and that if any of our Church-members had transiently heard a Minister, which Conformed to the Church of *England*, without declaring Repentance for it, he was to be Excommunicated, and that no Communion was to be held, with any Unregenerate Person, that they ought not to Pray, or Crave a Blessing at Meals, before Wife, or any Relation Unconverted, of which Conversion their Opinion was the Test; and not only so, but that the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty was not to be taken, nor was it lawful to take any other kind of Oath, because no Power to be Setled by Oath, but Christs Kingly Power only, and that our Pament ought to be sent back to our King; nor ought we to have to do therewith: Thus was *New-England* Attackt by Satan; and this from an Eminent Preacher, noted for Piety in his Life and Conversation, as his strictest Observers Characterised him. This Child of Light walked in Darkness about Forty Years, not only by Rejecting the Church of *England*, and its Baptism, but his second Baptism also.

Taking up the Seekers perswasion, looking for new Apostles, yet did not his Root turn into Rottenness, the Root of the Matter abode in him, as
Mr. Roger Williams.

by his Faithful Defence of the Fundamentals of Christian Religion, in a publick Dispute; and about the Year 1677, putting out a Book against the Quakers: Thus the Lord infinite in Wisdom, and Goodness, disposed of Satans Malice, so as he was Outshot in his own Bow, the Lord held the Magistracy and Ministry in Unity, according to the Integrity of their hearts, so as this small new Rigged Vessel was preserved against this violent Storm, which the Prince of Darkness Raised upon her at first setting forth, with Design to have Overset and Foundred her; thus was Munificent Mercy magnified toward this People, when few in Number, and in their low Estate; such was the conduct of our *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they kissed each other in the Mount of God.

The Report of this admirable Divine Presence with this People in their Civil and Sacred Administrations, Reach'd our Nation even to the astonishment of those who cast no good Eye upon us, but to the Encouragement of those otherwise minded, so as that the Well-affected came over as Clouds, and like Doves to their Windows; such was their Increase, that in seven years time, the *Massachuset* Pattent could not contain them. This Vine spread forth her Branches on the other side of this Bay, to find a *Rehoboth*; it's said that about this time, in Two Years there came over Seventy odd Ships, who one with another Transported an Hundred Passengers, to the astonishment of the sober part of our Nation. At which time, and before, as the Harvest was great & white, so the Lord thereof thrust forth not only Labourers, but multiplied *Aholiabs* and *Bezaliells*, Robbing our Nation, to supply this people with such as were filled with the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, in all Spiritual Skill, in the Structure and Furniture of this great Work, and about setting up the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and the Ark of the Testimony, according to the Pattern in the Mount. Of whom a Quaternion, *viz.* Mr. *Cotton*, Eminent for Spiritual Clothing, and *Mather*

for Cælestial Dying, *Hooker* for Soul Fishing, *Stone* for Building up in the Holy Faith: three of whom came in the same ship, and one of them not long after, with the Reverend *John Davenport*, the famous *Rogers* of *Rowley*, besides the Worthy First Fruits of *New-England*; the Proto-Pastors and Teachers, whom our Pen fails to Enumerate; such was the Cloud of them who came over first and last; seventy seven Ministers, and fourteen Young Students fit for the Ministry.

These voluntary Exiles for the Word of God, and Testimony of Jesus, having been under Exercise of Spirit, and Burthened by mens setting up their Posts and Thresholds, by Gods Posts and Thresholds; and now Warmed by the Lively Sense of Gods preserving Goodness, and safe Landing of them, after a tedious passage some Encountred; tho' some had but six Weeks, others Twenty and odd Weeks durance, yet without Loss or Famishing of one person; all this while shut up, but Safeguarded about four inches distance from Death: These Votaries being under the fervour of their late Obligations, they Anointed *Jacobs* Pillar, then they had opportunity, and accordingly Bewail'd, and were ashamed of their Misdoings, begg'd pardon and assistance from the God of the Spirits of all Flesh, and direction from on High, to set up the Throne, and Place of the Soles of Christs Feet; after solemn Imploring the Discovery of the Form, and Fashion of Gods House, the Comings in, and Goings out of the Church of God, which is the House of God, the Ground and Pillar of Truth; they agreed upon the practice of that which is called the Way of the Congregational Churches, which for Thirteen Years together, they Walkt in the practice of, before the Synod further confirmed the same, as is afterwards notified; which Doctrine and Practice, was Published to the European World, in the Book of the *Keyes*, and *Vindication of the Way of the Congregational Churches* in New: England, pen'd by the Reverend Teacher of *Boston* Church, and other wor-

thy Scripts, by divers Worthy Ministers of this Country, in Answer to the Reproach put upon them, by some Eminent

Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*. In his *Spiritual Antichrist*.

Divines, elsewhere of another persuasion; yet one of their Chieftans for Piety and Learning, Declared in Print, his full Assent to the Book of the *Keyes*, in all its particularities, except in one punctilio about the power of Synods, which as he

apprehended, the book of the *Keyes* did too much streighten.

The Lords presence with our Fathers in their Civil and Sacred Concerns, signally appeared, with our Honourable Counsellors; our Prudent and Ancient, the Mighty Man, and the Man of War, the Judge and the Prophet, our Princes and our Rulers; though none of them a General Governour, yet as by some it hath been well observed, some of them were generally Governours, especially the first Governour, who in Twenty Years was above ten times Governour, & the first Deputy Governour, but little less: such was the deep Humility of these Elevated Men, that upon Election Days, they provoked the Free-men, to make use of their Liberty against their own intentions.

Never so small a spot of Land, was so highly favoured with such an Aggregate of Men, of such Abilities in Divine and Humane Learning, as *New-England* then was; so as upon the Emergency of the Reverend Mr. *Wilson*, first Pastor of *Boston* Church, Return into *England*, he with consent of his Church, left the care of his Flock to Mr. *Winthrop*, and Mr. *Dudly*, they being then the much Honoured Governour, and Deputy Governour of this People, who both accepted, and perform'd this Charge: Knowing well; that the Princes of *Juda* in King *Hezekiahs* Reign, were appointed to Teach the People in the Law of God: And it's certainly Recorded, That above an Hundred Years before that time, there were five Pastors in the Reformed Church at *Orleans* in *France* at one

time, the major part of whom were Lords, and Barons of the Nation; so high an Estimate was then put upon this Sacred Function.

Besides their Dexterity in Handling of the Civil, and the Lords Two-Edged Sword; it's not to be forgotten, (though above seven times seven years since) the skill they were accomplish'd with, & was shown in their being Versed in the use of the Military Sword, at *Fox-Hills* Fort Action, where they as two Tactics, set their Armies in Battle Array, each appearing General in the Head of a Body, at *Boston*, where all the Cavalry and Infantry of the Country appeared; shewing such real Discipline in their Field Exercise, by rowling Trenches making their Approaches, and assaying the Fort, & by orderly sallies, defending the same together with a Naval Combate on both sides, such as in none of the Gallantry, & Bravery of all our General Traynings since did appear; thus the Motions of the Wheels were very high and terrible to our Adversaries, and so were the Rings and Wheels of Providence full of Eyes, to supply all our wants, so as when this People, though never reduced to Famine, yet oft to short Commons; so as when Bread failed, Fish and Herbs was very good Fare.

Then not only *Dutch* Ships were sent in with Sheep, Kine, and Mares, to compleat our Farms and Husbandry; but rather then Christs little Flock, who had followed him into this Wilderness, (upon the hearing of his voice,) should want, their good Shepherd Spirited the great *Strafford*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Commissioned him to be their Purveyor, out of his *Irish Stalls* and Stores to supply their Tables; yea, such was Christs pastoral respects to them, least they should be neglected: The said Lord *Strafford* must Buy a Ship of Burthen, Lade her, and Transport it to them at his own Cost.

There wanted not Observers of this Peoples Methods and Measures, who failed not to misrepresent the General

Muster before mentioned, and all other their Actions, who rendred us, that as we had cast off the Yoke of Episcopacy, so we designed to cast off our Allegiance and Loyalty to His Majesties Crown and Dignity, which never entred into the Hearts of our Grave Sages; they knew better then so, that under God it was their only shield and buckler, against all violent Intruders, and especially the *French*, who at our Arrival here, were not Seiz'd of *Accady*, then called *Nova-Scotia*; our Brethren of *Scotland*, were then possessed of *Port-Royal*, and above two years after, they having Built a Fort there, but the *French* purchasing it of the *Scots*, possessed it, and would then own no *N. Engl.* and justified their Kings Claims to all the Continent on this side *Virginia*. The *French* Governour at *Port Royal* Address his Letters to our Governour to Monsieur Monsieur *J. W. Governour of the English at Boston in Accady*; and in his Subscription styled himself *D. C. Governour of Accady*; thereby declaring unto us, That we improved his Masters Dominions. The *Dutch* on the other side claimed *Connecticut*, and had there set up a Fort, and Trading House in that River, so as we were surrounded with bad Neighbours.

This Misprision so far prevailed, as a Formidable Machine was Formed against this Country, not to put a demurr or cessation to their procedure, but to subvert and overthrow this Colonies Foundation, so miraculously Founded and Multiplied; so as the Pattent was call'd in, and sent for to be delivered up; a New Commission and Regulation drawn up confirmed, and sent over; whereby this People after all Difficulties, and Dangers of Transplanting themselves, and Settlement here, were reduced to harder measure, then if they had not left their Nation, altho' upon as great security as could humanely be given.

Then all our worthy Patriots, in each pollity, *Zorobabel*, and *Jehoshua*, and all the People of the Land, being deeply affected, afflicted, and sorely distressed, they first Address the

Divine Throne, where this halting *Jacob*, upon his Wrastling with the Angel of the *Covenant*, found Grace with him, that his Name was then changed into *Israel*, and had power from him so that prevailing with God, he also prevailed with man.

They Supplicated our Gracious King, and the Lords Commissioners of the Forreign Plantations, prostrating themselves at His Majesties Foot-stool: *Besought that they might be made the Objects of his Royal Clemency, that this poor Plantation which had found so much favour from God, more than others, might not find the less from man*: The Kings heart being in the Hand of the Lord, was turned about as Rivers of Waters; so as this Weapon Formed against this people prospered not, and by Divine Hand was broken; as well as a great Ship new Built purposely to have brought over, the Artificers and Managers of this Engine, whose Back was after a strange manner broken on the Stocks; so as this Tool for about Forty Years was laid aside; and then for our Iniquities, was new Forged, Furbished, and took effect; in which time, incredible was the Increase of His Majesties Subjects in this his Dominion, being Sown with the Seed of Man and Beast, to the Honour of our God, King, and Nation, far exceeding the Number which the Exchequer of any Potentate in *Europe* could have Effect-ed: God then said, this shall not be; for which an Altar was Erected, *Jehova Nissi*, The Hand upon the Throne.

Satan being Dispossessed of so great a part of his Dominion, attempts its recovery, by stirring up the Pequods, who were the Terror of all the Salvages, in these Parts, who to the Glory of *Israels* God, and the Natives Amazement, in a little above one years time were Destroyed; this *Amaleck* fell upon our Rere in our Feeble Estate, *Moses* Hands being held up by *Aaron* and *Hur*, *Joshua* obtained a great Victory: Our Fathers Cryed unto God, who heard them, and they were Saved; this Pequod *Amalecks* Name (according to Gods Oath,) hath been

ever since blotted out from under our Heaven. Thus was the Lord his Peoples Banners.

The Dragons old indefatigable Malice appeared, in a most subtle Strategem contrived, by letting out of his Mouth a Flood to Drown the Woman and Male Child, fled into this Wilderness to be fed; which made this little World groan to see it self surrounded with Familestical & Antinomian Heresies & Errors; this chiefly befel *Boston* and its Vicinity, which Church Glorying in their Candlestick, being furnished with two such Burning and Shining Lights, a Pastor and Teacher, who for Love and Light Out-shined all others; and in the Gifts of Knowledge and Utterance of divers of their Brethren; the Serpents subtilty shew'd it self in a Multitudinarism of Questions, started under pretence of seeking Light; Error cloath'd it self under disguise of Truth by pretext of Magnifying Grace, it was turned into Wantonness, and all this under the Umbrage of their Teacher, who tho' he had Sown only good seed in Gods Field, yet the Enemy came and sowed Tares; as he upon a Fast-Day in *Boston* Church, before the Country, vindicated himself; that whilst men slept, this mischief was done, which was the Subject of that days Discourse, and he discriminated between them, openly declaring, what good Seed he had sown, and its dissimilitude from the Tares which the Enemy had sown, proving by *Jerom* & Authentick Authors, That the Tares in *Judea*, were so like the Wheat, that until the Harvest, without great difficulty they could be distinguished; thus Hells Cataracts were set open, and a multitude of Errors then were broached, to the hazard of the ruine of the Churches, with many Heresies destroying the Foundation; but as of old, when Arrianism prevailed, the Earth helpt the Woman; so many took opportunity to greaten their outward Estates, whatever befel them upon any other account; oh! That men would praise the Lord for his Goodness, and for the Work of this Sions Saviour in deliver-

ing from this Master-plot of Hell, who designed the ruine of these Churches and People; but by Divine Benediction upon the measures taken by Magistrates in the Court, and the Elders and Churches in the Synod, that was prevented which threatned the Destruction of all, but chiefly of *Boston*.

The Churches and People of *New-England* had for a considerable time, Enjoyed Peace and Rest, Trade at Home, and Traffick Abroad; they greatned their Estate by Building small Vessels, and some considerable Ships, Transporting of Timber for the *Indies* and *Islands*, tho' not without Alarms from the Indians, and other Afflictive Providences, the Lord took us into his Fatherly Hand, by Droughts, Blasts upon *English* Grain; yea, by Feavers, and Small pox, and with one great Fire; but in the interim, being without any Adversary or such evil Occurrent, they lookt at it as a Duty incumbent upon them, to draw up a Plat Form of Discipline, and Church Government, which might be laid as a Foundation for the Generations to come: And the rather, because the Way they practised, was questioned by some, whether it was agreeable to the Rule of Gods Word, whereupon a Bill was drawn up by the General Court, for Assembling of a Synod; after debate, it was agreed unto, and accordingly a Synod of Elders and Brethren, according to the first President of a Synod or Council Recorded in the Sacred Leaves of the Acts and Monuments of the Apostles who Assembled at *Jerusalem*; these did Convene, to whom we may assign, as hath been Observed by one of Note in the Churches of Christ: *That as these had shewn more Love and Zeal to Communion with God in his Pure Worship, in their Hazardous Undertakings into these Parts, So God did more for them, in shewing them the Scriptural Way of Church Government, as a Divine Favour, and Boon vouchsafed unto them, then he did to any other, which Light hath not been hid in a Bushel, but resplended not only into our Nation, but into all the Reformed Churches.* Concerning these men, it may without

arrogancy be affirmed, tho' they were of lower stature than our first Reformers, who are of immortal Name, yet having the advantage of standing upon their Gigantine Shoulders, they had opportunity of seeing further, than those Giants did; some of them made discovery of the Papal Antichrist, and of his Tyranny over Kings, Princes, and Prelates; others threw down the Episcopal Usurpation over their Fellow Presbyters, and reduced them to their Primitive Parity, and the Church Discipline then Established, especially the Later at *Geneva*; considering the vast Number in their Church Bodies, consisting from Eight to Twelve Thousand Members in one Congregation, so as they had from two to five Pastors in one Church, & in divers, six Ruling Elders; the publick Management of Discipline, upon Offenders in so vast an Auditory & Assembly would have tended to the Scandal of the Reformation, & have hindred the progress of Protestantism; they prudently concluded, to commit it into the private hands of the Classics, *viz.* Pastors and Ruling Elders of each Church, if need required further consideration, to be Tried by the Colloquoy of the Neighbor Churches, *viz.* the Pastors and Elders there to be Represented, & for a result of it to be determined by the Synod of the Province, which if not there accomplisht, to be finally concluded by the National Synod of all the Churches; could there have been a more prudential way of Church Government pitched upon, than that which they practised; and doubtless God accepted the sincere desires of his Servants hearts, to the Conversion and Edification of many thousands in their most Holy Faith; but our Reformers circumstances were vastly different, our number fewer, & those eminently qualified for further Reformation; they being a select choice Company (& without offence it may be said) of the Cream and Flower of our Nation, not only for Morality, but true Piety; having been, both Ministers & People, under Sufferings for the Truth & Worship of God, both Confessors

and Professors, and in Fervour of Spirit brought into this solitary place, where they had opportunity of the Visions of God, freed from Temptations, which populous places might have exposed them unto, and from the Baits of Honours & Profits which other places might have presented.

They after near two years seeking of God, and serious searching out his Will, with Unanimity of heart, and mind agreed, in that which then was, and now is called the Plat-Form of Church Discipline; as for their Confession of Faith, they wholly agreed with that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

After full Answer was given to every Objection, which every individual person could make, both in Churches and Towns; both of them having had the consideration of it put unto them, the Plat Form above mentioned was accepted of, and declared by the General Court, and all the Churches, as being for the substance of it, what they had hitherto practised in all the Churches, as before is observed, and being that which was agreeing to the Word of God, and the principles of the Congregational Way, first practised in our Churches, & for a good time since; this Plat-form hath been Printed here, and in *England*, and published Abroad to the World, there being no difference between us, and the other Reformed Churches, whether the Church of *England*, the *French* or *Dutch* Churches, but only in point of Church Government, as to points of Faith and Doctrine, we all agree in one; this we thought needful to enlarge upon, humbly fearing the Lords present Controversy with us, doth in great measure Center here, *viz.* our deviating and receeding from that which gave us the Name of *New England*; *viz.* the Plat-Form, and agreed practice of our Churches, according to the Word of God,

The Ravening Wolves of Heresy, and the wild Boars of Tyranny, being chained up from Devouring the Lords poor Flock, and from Rooting up his Heritage.

The unreconcilable Adversary, lets loose his Foxes with Firebrands at their Tails, to burn up this peoples standing Corn, which not taking, he sent forth his Foxes, the *little Foxes* ¶ to spoil this Vine, in the time of its tender Grapes, but the Keeper of this Vineyard neither slumbering nor sleeping, took and destroy'd them; he Watch'd, Warded, and every moment Watered it, and none did hurt it, much less threw down the Stone-Wall thereof; tho' many an hard push and shuff was made at it; our *Jerusalem* was then a *Burthensome Stone*, & their Governours like a Torch of Fire in a Sheaf, many an *Ebenazar*, Stones of help did our Fathers then set up, for which the Lords Sacrosanct Name was Celebrated.

This preceeding Relation is but as a few Cluster's of *Ephraims* Grapes, compared with the redundancy of *Abiezer*; our *Fathers* Helpers Vintage; so many unimaginable and unutterable acts of Favour, and preventing Mercies, were in the Revolution of twenty five, or about thirty years space vouchsafed to our Fathers, as would fill a large Volume, yet not without mixture of Fatherly Corrections, to evince Paternal Respects unto them, as their own words writ into our Nation testify; that they were by the Dew from above, and Cælestial Influences kept alive, and cherished; as to the sequel, we shall leave it to such Sprightly and Accurate Wits to perform, who shall espouse it; knowing that tract of time will admit liberty of freer Discourse about Matters, then this Age will bear; the Relator being in hazard of having his Teeth dasht out, by Truth lifting up her heeles, if he come too near her, as hath been Experienced and Recorded by our Nations Great Historiographer.

This was the time of *our Fathers Love of their Espousals, and Kindness of their Youth, they were then Holiness unto the Lord, and the First Fruits of his Increase*. God Rode upon the Heavens for their help, they dwelt safely, tho' solitarily; our *Issachar* Rejoyced

¶ Gorton & Complices, &c.

in their Tents, and our *Zebulon* in his Going forth, but have we brought Sacrifices unto the Holy Mountain; though we have sucked of the abundance and treasures of the Sea, to the enriching of divers. This Tribe hath abundantly multiplied to the admiration of all Beholders.

So as a noted *Belgian* one of the East India Company, who above twenty years since haveing heard of the fame of this place, purposely came over to take a view of it, and past through all the parts of it, and made a particular remark upon our sea trade, and the incredible number of small Vessels he then saw, besides some Ships of considerable Burthen belonging to us.

Nor is to be forgotten the answer made to a Messenger of the Nations, and Attendant upon the *French* Court, sent hither by *Lewis le-Grand*, to demand the fulfilling of the Articles made at *Breda*, between the two Crowns, who here to his astonishment saw, what he could not have believed; to him it was told, That God had founded this Sion, and that the poor of his People did trust in him; at his departure with wonderment he said, *Lo, what hath God done!* and if his Masters servants did know how the poor of this Country lived, he would not have one left.

It might be then said, who so happy as new *New England*, by the Lord their shield and Sword of their Excellency: as our Report hath passed through *Holland* and *France*, so that

C. Allin Spain is no stranger to it, appeareth by the Discourse, which the Governour of *Cuba* had with a Prisoner of Note of ours falling into his hands, concerning our being a People eminent for great Morality and Reformation, but *mind you* (said he) *how your Children will prove, and what will become of them*; a Speech becoming a Gentleman well Versed in Sacred and Civil History.

Thus far of the Light and white side of the Pillar, which attended us in this our Wilderness Pilgrimage; the black

and dark side remains: and we hope thus far we have cleared our Fathers, from being the procurers and peccant causes of these dismal days now befallen us; they according to Divine Institution walked with God, they did Justice and Judgment, and then it was well with them.

The Lord took delight in our Fathers, and they in him; we have left the Lord, he hath forsaken us; they Walkt with him, we contrary unto him; he Subdued their *Pequod* and *Naraganset* Enemies before them, gave their Country into our hands; but now the Scene of Affairs is turned, we are made a Spoil to our Haters, to our Popish and Pagan Neighbors, a Derision, we are sold and scattered among the Heathen; can we say, *All this is befallen us, yet have we not forgotten thee, nor have we done falsely in thy Covenant*; this we fear is our mortal wound, *viz.* the forgetting of our Fathers and of our God, we have dealt falsely in our own and their Covenant, who stipulated for us; this is the quarrel which the Holy God is now avenging: Hath *Chittim* or *Canada* chang'd their Gods? *Do we thus Requite the Lord? Oh Foolish People and Unwise!*

O poor *New-England*, especially *Boston*, in the Day of it, poor to a proverb, of being the lost Town in our first Founding; those of other Towns enquired, how the Mean Ones lived here, the Rich had their Farms Abroad to Subsist by, but as for the poor, how could they subsist? The Answer was, their Ministry was so sweet unto them, and the Bread of Life so savoury to their Souls, that they forgot their Bodily Food, so welcome was Christian Society to them, that he who had but an Acre of Land for his House Lot, parted with one half of it to a desirable Neighbour; he that had but half an Acre did the like: Thus were we increast so as instead of a desolate place, where our Fathers found no Town to dwell in, they Cried unto the Lord hungry and thirsty, who led them forth by a right way, that we are become a small City of Habitation. God gave some of them then a particular Faith

upon Psalm 107.4. to 8. When as they were brought to small store of provision, upon the first Market Day by the General Court appointed to be kept, they put to Sail half of it, to handsel it with. Thus was this contemptible place raised up, so that in less then sixty years, its Reputed the Mart of the *North-America*.

That little Church which after seven years growth, its Number (in their Mud-wall Meeting House with wooden Chalic-es) was so small, as a Child might have told the whole Assembly; it hath been so Amplified and Dignified, by the Adorable Presence of him, *whose Countenance as the sun shining in his full strength*, with Radiant Beams through the Chrystal Glass of the Triumvirate Ministry of the first three Successive *Johns, Wilson, Cotton, & Norton*, each so full of the Spirit of Love, Light, and Learning, as scarcely parallel'd in many Generations; this Church is now grown up to be a Trinity Colledge of Churches, besides three other Congregations, every Lords Day distinctly calling upon the Name of the Lord, being each of them of different perswasions: Oh that the Redeemed of the Lord, whom he hath Sav'd from the Hand of the Enemy, and gathered from the Lands, might give thanks to the Lord, *for his Goodness and Mercy Endureth for ever.*

Our Ancestors were men of God, made partakers of the Divine Nature, Christ was form'd, and visibly Legible in them, they Served God in Houses of the first Edition, without large Chambers, or Windows, Cieled with Cedar, or painted with Vermilion; a company of plain, pious, humble and open hearted Christians, call'd Puritans; when News was brought hither, that the Church at *Bermudas* was Banish'd thence, into a desolate Island, and full of Straits, forthwith they sent a Vessel of good Burthen to them, fully Laden with provisions of all sorts, each striving who should be forwardest in so good a work; which supply came unto them, when as all the Meal in their Barrels, and Oil in their Cruise was

spent; and it was brought to them upon a Lords-Day, when as their Faithful Pastor had finished his Exhortation, from Psalm 23. *To Trust upon Jehova their Shepherd, who would not suffer his Flock to want*; thus the Lord set his Seal to their Faith and Prayers.

The Gravity of their Habit, and Calendar Reformation, by Satans Pollicy, hath since been imitated by the Quakers, that our Fathers might be Lysted among those Phanaticks, and Enthusiasts; but they own'd no Spirit within them, but to be tryed by the Word without them, and no word without them, but accorded with the Spirit within them; no word of promise to them without a work of Grace upon them, neither without the Holy Spirits dwelling in them, and testifying to to them. They minded the Ornament of the meek and quiet Spirit, they were not acquainted with the toyes and fancies of this age, they were Glorious within, their clothing was of wrought gold, they were brought in unto the King, in rayment of needle work, wrought with tender pricks of conscience; the least vain fashion, wanton, or wicked thought toucht them to the quick, sensibly feeling others adversity, as being in the same body, instance in our *Pequod* and *Narraganset* Wars, we were not the next concerned, it was *Conecticut* and *Plimouth*; at first no union of the *Collonies*, why should we concern our selves with them, why did they ramble so far a field, they might have contented themselves, without such large accommodation. The first English Bloodshed, was of an *Indian* trader, and one who had been highly fined for abusing this authority, but it was English Blood, and they made Inquisition after it.

So they did, when a couple of English traders were at *Richmond Island*, slain by the Indians 1631, and the next year an English Pirate seized a vessel, who robbed & made spoil at *Pemiquod* Fort, and along the Coast; the worthy Governour and Council then used means for their suppression, and ac-

cordingly it succeeded: Nation and Neighbourhood was Obligation to their engaging in the quarrel, they had simpathy in each joys and sorrows, our senseless stupidity, and our Pride devours our Charity, Oh the Excess of it both of Body and mind, of Hearts, and Parts, of Vestures, and Gestures, in all Professors, it is the *Noli me Tangere* of the Age; its fear'd, that most of our Prophets mouths are judicially shut against it, and that God now saith of us, as formerly of *Ephraim*, *He is joined to his Idols let him alone*.

Dread we, least our Palsey Distempers should Relax the Nerves of our Body Pollitick, or our Convulsive Cramps should break them, and mostly that the Peccant Humours in our Bodies may not abound to the raising up Noxious and Mortal Fumes and Vapours, in our Head.

If the *Athenian Mercury* may be credited, the excesses of our Nation, in their Head-Tire, hath been testified against, by Unnatural Excessences of Bruit Creatures, but, (as its said) ours by an Humane Monstrossity, as if the Holy GOD were more Jealous against us, then against others.

The Lord seeth the Land-Defiling and Desolating sins amongst us: what Witchcrafts, and what other abominations are in the midst of us, we have just cause both to lay ourselves down in the Dust, and with indignation to bear all witness justly due against them, and all our Pagan walking in *Lasciviousness, Lusts of the Flesh, Lusts of the eyes, and Pride of Life*, our excess of Wine, Revellings, & abominable wickedness, by which Gods Name is Blasphemed among us; for which as the Lord vomited out these Natives, to make room for us, so he now hath vomited us out, to make room for them; in this War he hath Ruined and Destroyed a whole Shire, and in a manner Depopulated a whole Province; in which Desolation, two Churches gathred according to Gospel Order are extinguished: One of them about Fifty years standing, which was one of the first attacks upon us, having there been made

the greatest Slaughter, Captivity, and Plunder; the Town remaineth, but the Churches Candlestick was removed: the other Church not of much lesser standing, where its said, not above Four Males left of their Society, the rest Dead, Slaughtered, or Captivated; but the Burthen of that Lamentation is, that their Faithful Pastor, Eminent for Humility, Piety, and care of his Flock; he not being willing to leave them, was Barbarously Murthered in the midst of them, his Tender and Godly Wife Captivated, there Dyed. Oh Lord will not all this awaken us to Church Reformation, so as to set thine Altar upon its Basis, a Sentence *to be* engraven upon every Church door, when we are not only under Fear of the inhabitants of this Land, but under the Deep Smarting and Killing Displeasure of a Righteous, Holy, and Angry God, by these wicked Cannibals, who are Gods Sword, and have been so for many years together, and when the end will be none of our Prophets have told us: we mention not the other circumstances relating to that Province & Shire; it's said there have been Killed & Captivated, a 1000, besides about 140 Slain the other day: but leave it to such whose Lot it will be to draw it up, our *Pequod* and *Narraganset* Wars lasted about three years, whose Narrative is faithfully Published by two persons of Worth, to the Honour of God, King, and Country: It's thought no *English* Pen will hardly Undertake this.

That the Great God is Departing from us, his Awful Removes demonstrate, should he quite leave us, we need none to Judge between us, but ourselves to Justifie him, and Condemn us; we are the Luxuriant Branches of the Noble Vine here planted, but Degenerated into that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whom after all Culturing to bring us into our Pristine Fruitfulness, by Impoverishing us, by pruning off our Superfluous Branches, by Losses at Sea, by Defeating our great *Canada* Design by Gods own Immediate Hand, Starving and Freezing to Death the Flower of our Hopeful Youth;

the Lord from Heaven, and the Stars in their Courses, Fighting against us; yea, Cruel Cannibals, Scalping and Fleaing of our Bodies, burning us as Sacrifices to *Habamoch*; but all this tends only to the killing of our Bodies; but when as the Lyon of the Tribe of *Judah* is Rowz'd up, and Roareth upon us, who can but fear? it exceeds brutish stupidity, if we do not Tremble, more especially, when as the Devourer out of the Bottomless Pit is let Loose upon us, the Compendium of all Calamity, and the quintessence of Wrath, Anger, and Indignation is come upon us to the utmost, as if now we were to be made an Execration to God, his Holy Angels and good men, at the dreadful Claps of this tremendous Thunder, whose Flesh is not shattered in pieces? How should the ghastly sight of the Tophet and Invisible World within us, and of the innate Inmate that dwells within us, and hurries us to perdition, makes self and sin more abominably vile, and loathesome then Hell or Devil? *Who can hide from the Wrath of the Lamb?* Whose Grace upon the Knee, in the Ministry of his Holy Word, so oft hath besought us and ours to be Reconciled unto him, but we would not, we have with our contempt provoked him, to deliver us up into the hand of him, who *hath the Power of Death*.

Let's consider the Instruments Implied in this Suparlative Plague, the Devil is come down against us, the Inhabitants of this Earth, having great Wrath, he is the Do-evil, he is the Recorded Liar, Tempter, Accuser, and Murderer of Souls and Bodies, and what not? They are Spirits no more discerned by us, and as unseen as our Souls, yet so near, piercing and contiguous as the Air, Heat, or Cold, and it's only want of Divine Permission, if not Commission, that every one of us hath not had the experience of all this; they are Fallen Angels, Apostate from their Heavenly First State; should not this bring to Remembrance, both our Personal Fall in our First Father, and our Relative Apostacy from our Church-State?

First Love, and First Works! Our Fathers were Clothed with the Sun, the Apostolical Discipline and Doctrine were their Crown, the Moon was under their Feet, but we are turned topsy turvy, Heads and Heels have changed places, a little from Heaven, was greater encouragement then a great deal from Earth, as then was the reply of a young Preacher, to one who questioned him, how he could be contented with such poor Fare and mean Maintenance, in a small Village; we fear that Christ Jesus Indigitates at our Churches Apostacy, and at our Falling from our First Love.

And doubtless God calls us, now being Alarmed by these Spirits, to try our particular Estates, what Spirit we are of? Whether of new and Heaven-born State; and also our Worship, whether it be Spiritual, such as he who is a Spirit, the Father of Spirits seeketh; he found our Fathers such of his own Making, or they would not have run the riske of Transplanting themselves, or brought us their Children hither: Again, are we true Worshippers? Principled in the Truth of what we believe, and practice from the Word of Truth, can we give a better account of our Church Covenant and Fellowship, then a Bygot Papist can of Mass, or his Auricular Confession, their Fathers did so, and so did ours; it was the Custome of the place they lived in, and so is ours; let us mind whether by these Hellish Emissaries, God doth not loudly call upon us to consider of these things.

Let's ponder upon the Subjects or Persons upon whom this Great Wrath is fallen, they are chiefly the Members of our Churches, or their Hearers and Dependants, none of the Episcopal, Antipedobaptists, or Quakers perswasion, have been complained of, to be Accusers, or Accused, Afflictors, or Afflicted, the Devil setting up his Chappel so near to Christ's Church, declareth his Malice, and especially against us, it hath been well noted by a Minister of Note, that the Devil now contents not himself to imitate Jewish or Popish Modes,

but he will take up the Reformed and Congregational Way; a single Parson will not serve his turn, but he will have Pastor and Teacher, if he can't find a Deacon, he will not want two Widows or Deaconesses, his old Diabolism will not do now, to Baptise and give Names to the Witch and her Imps, but he brings up a new Demonianism, every Witch shall have her (so call'd) Spectre, to attend upon her, and to be her Envoye, to Torment such as they never knew or saw; whereas it hath bin an old saying: *Ignoti nulla Cupido: No Love to a person unknown, and consequently as little hatred.* Sauls Evil Spirit acting his Eyes to Malignity against *David*, sympathised with his hand to murder him, but now between sight and touch, a vast antipathy.

But that which we in our short Reading never read or heard of the like before, which may make our flesh to tremble, the joints of our Knees to be loosed, and our very Arteries and Heart-strings to break in sunder, at the very sound of it; that these Cursed Fiends, who in the day of our Lords Humiliation, when as he devested his Glory, and took upon him the *Form of a Servant*, a Poor Carpenter (to make new, and mend old Houses) did then beseech him to give them leave to enter into a parcel of Swine, and that he would not Torment them *before their time*; That this Glorious and Glorified Lord, *Who by Death slew him who had the Power of Death, that is the Devil*, and upon and in his Resurrection, *made Triumph over all Devils, having Led them Captive, spoiling Principalities and Powers, made shew of them openly, after God hath highly Exalted him, even to Sit at his Right hand, and given him a Name above every Name, That in the Name of Jesus, every knee in Heaven, Earth, and Hell should bow*; that in open defiance of all this, now they should insult over Scorn, and basely affront the Lord of Heaven, Earth, and Hell; the Scriptures tell us, *That the Devils Believe and Tremble*; and this we do and must believe: but that a Damned Crew of Devils or Witches at the

Devils Table, with Red Bread and Wine, in derision of our Lords Body and Blood, should sport and feast themselves (as some of the Confessing Witches have said, and unsaid) with that which is their Torment and Torture, we must cry out and say, *Credat Judeus Apella, Let an Uncircumcised Jew believe it*, being no Article of any Unfacinated Christians Creed: *Tell not this in Gath, publish it not in Askelon, lest Philistiahs Daughters Triumph and Rejoyce.*

It's Historied of our Pagan Progenitors, that *Gregory* the Great, the last of the good, and first of bad Popes, seeing strange Lads of a comely Countenance produced publicly to be Sold, he inquired of what Nation they were of, being told they were *Angli, English*, looking upon their fair faces, he said they were *Angeli*, Angels, and pittying them that they were Vassals of Satan, he took Order for the Conversion of our Nation to the Christian Faith; but as for us *Nov-Angli, New English*, by our smutty deformity, and Hells blackness, we have rendred our selves *Diaboli Veterans*, Old Devils: *New-England* will be called, new Witch-land, *Emanuel's Land* will be Titled the Land of *Abaddon; Salem Village* and *Andover*, will be called the *Sweedish Mohra* and *Blokula*; the Country whose Native and Natural Smell, was, as of a Field, which the Lord hath Blessed, a Promenado abroad after Rain, would have Revived a mans Spirits, as some have experienced it; yea the whole Continent which long after our first coming hither, was so full not only of Internal, but of External Flavour, and sweet Odour; so as when Ships were divers Leagues distant, and had not made Land, so fragrant and odoriferous was the Land to the Marriners, that they knew they were not far from the Shoar; such was the plenty of sweet Fearn, Lawrel, and other fragrant Simples, this Land then abounded with; especially near the Sea side; such was the scent of our Aromatick, and Balsome bearing pines, spruces, and Larch Trees with our Tall Cedars, exceeding all in *Europe*. But our sweet

scent is gone, we smell rank of Helle-bore, Henbane, and poysonful Hemlock, as if we were laid out to be the *American Anticyra*.

We were then honoured with *You only have I known of all the Families of the Earth*, but what follows? *therefore will I punish you*. Priviledge doth not exempt from punishment, and now we are under the smart of it; we have been laid in the green bed of Ordinances, yea in Christ Bosome, under a Conjugal Covenant, and we must expect to be punished for the breach of it; the Lord who was jealous for our Fathers, he is jealous against us; the wilful neglect of Divine Institutions, brings under the same breach of the Second Commandment, as the Superstitious setting up of Humane Inventions, we may set up Cross or Surplice as lawfully as neglect any Gospel Ordinance: the grand Promise of Christ *being alway with his Churches, unto the End of Ages*, is conditional, and cannot be separated from that which preceedeth, nor be claimed without that which is annexed to it, *viz.* our Obedience to that Gospel Command, which Christ reserved to take leave of his Apostles, and all Believers; which last words are or ought to be affecting and soaking to parting Relations: *Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have Commanded you to do, and LO I AM WITH YOU*; Here is adjoynd Christs Note of *Lo*, or *Behold*, calling for our greatest attention and consideration, as well as being the remark of the highest truth and affirmation; and both confirmed by the *Amen* and last words of him *Who is the Faithful and true Witness, whose Name is Amen*.

Can it be rationally supposed? that had we not receeded from having Pastors, Teachers, and Ruling Elders, and Churches doing their duty as formerly, with Family-Government kept up, that the Roaring Lion could have gained so much ground upon us, (he being resisted would have fled) and not multiplied so many Impieties in our Towns; or such a

Number of real or reputed Witches amongst us, as it's said in or about two Towns, above two hundred Accused, one hundred imprisoned, thirty Condemned, and twenty Executed; yea, some Accused among our Rulers in Commonwealth and Churches, as if they were become places for *Zim, Jm, and Ohim*, with the Satyrs to Dance in, Oh whither shall we go to cover our shame? Shall not the stings of those *Stygian Scorpions* awaken us out of our Læthal Lethergy? Are both Wise and Foolish Virgins asleep? what need is there of Prayer? that our Eyes may be opened, and our hearts awakened, and to crie out, *Awake, awake Deborah, awake, awake*, is it not high time, as for every particular person, so for our Churches to search, *and try our ways, and return to our First Husband, and the good Old Way we have walked in.*

The place where Satan made his first assault, and great Battery is to be minded: there he made his grand Attack where he first was Dethroned, and that is *Salem*; his present Rage is against it: its Original Name was called, *Naumkek*, the Bosome of Consolation being its signification, as the Learned have observed. It's now threatned to be made a place and bosome of Desolation, and Turning Christ out of his Throne; that where Christs Banner had been displayed, there the Devil with sound of Trumpet, sets up his Ensigns, where Spiritual Songs, and Sacred Anthoms of, *Glory to God in the Highest, and Peace on Earth, and good will towards men*; with *Ainsworth*, Elevated Tunes were wont to be warbled forth; that there the horrid Sciekings and Screaming of Obsessed, Possessed, and Bewitched Persons should be sounded with such hideous yellings, to the amazement of the Hearers, as if Hell and his Furies had been let loose.

That the Noise of Maules and Hammers, beating down the Carved Works in the Synagogues of the Land, should be heard where men had been Famous, whose Axes had been Lifted up for hewing and squaring Souls for Christs Spiritual Building.

That where the Devil like Lightning had fallen down from Heaven, before the Thundering Ministry of Christs Boanerges, there the Black Man or Devil should be pointed at, as visibly sitting or standing on the Beams or Seats.

Though *Balac* and *Balam* Changed Stations, and Sacrifices, they could not Curse, but must bless this People; *how goodly were the Tents and Tabernacles of our Israel*, when our Tribes according to Scriptural Order, were pitch'd about our Tabernacle, and the Ark of God in the midst of us, when our Churches and Consociations were according to Divine Directory, and Primitive Practice; *We looked forth then as the Morning, fair as the Sun, clear as the Moon, and terrible as an Army with Banners*, no Inchantment or Divination against us, until prevailing Iniquity and Transgression against Christs Institutions were found among us; our Strength then was as the strength of the Unicorn, the shout of our King was among us, sitting upon his Throne of Majesty, with the *Rainbow* about his head, surrounded with the four living Creatures, and *Twenty Four Elders, prostrating, and throwing their Crowns before his Throne*; a Lively Emblem and Character of the first Apostolical Churches Organized and Completed according to Christs Appointment, with the Courageous Lion-like Ruling Elder, the Laborious Ox-like Pastor, the humanely Compassionate Deacon, and the Eagle Eyed Teacher. Our Sins exceeding Immoralities, are dipp'd in the Crimson Tincture of Rebellion; no marvel if our punishment be so great, *yet abundantly less then our Iniquities do deserve.*

The dread of Divine Anger and Wrath, with the Guilt of Conscience, which the Scripture of Truth declares and dictates unto us, as unknown in its power, and that according to Gods Fear, such is his wrath; this the wisdom of our Antients (when *Paynimes*) Represented by *Alecto*, and her two Sister-Furies sent out of *Tartaras*, with their Platted *Chev-lures*, and Contorted *Locks* of Hissing Serpents and Stinging

Adders, Hanging below their Necks, whose Tails, Tongues, and Teeth were full of *Deadly Poyson*, enough to Fright a Sensible Man out of his Wits, and our Gallants out of their Head-Gear: It's said to be certainly true, that no *Rattle-Snake* ever was seen beyond *Merrimak* River, the *Boundary* of our First Patent; nor that there hath been a Convicted Witch on the other side of *Piscataquay* River; but if some Creatures may be Credited, how do we on this Side abound; how do the *Ignatian Loyalists* with their *Perverted Proselytes*, Triumph over our Poor Captives, saying, *We are the true Christians, you the false, we no Lye, Swear, but Pray and Praise God*; as indeed, at the Late Surprise of *York*, before they fell to Sharing of their Plunder, they met and Sung, *Te Deum Laudamus*, their Praises to God; and at their *Vespers*, or *Nocturnal* Risings to Smoak it, they Sing even *Songs and Mattens*, in the Morning in their own *Language*, with Harmonious Melody, as our Captives Testify; how doth this Reflect upon the Thousands of *Non-Praying*, and *Non-Praising Familys* of the *English*; they tell us, *Their Priests are good Men, our Ministers are Devils, and hung for Witches*; What will some of our own Nation reproach us with? what is become of the *New-Heaven*, and *New-Earth*, of your Non parralleld Reformation you boasted of? whatever Piety your Fathers pretended in the *Pia Mater* of their Brains, to be sure it is Ardled into impious matter of Devilism, in their Childrens crack'd Crowns; and therefore you are sent into a Region, where there is *Hellebore* enough, for all the Mazed *Fanaticks* in *Europe*; thus is the Name of GOD, His Tabernacle, and those which dwell in Heaven, Blasphemed for our sakes; we not giving him the Glory and Honour due unto his Name; others do say, and they do very ill in their so speaking, what is become of your resolved Revolution, which God is now Plagueing you for? and the Complication of Lies, made to encourage and further it; *which of your Designs have prospered since?* Had you waited Gods time, you should have

had it with a Blessing, but by your Lyes obtaining it, you have deeply paid for it.

Finally, that which may call for our *Higgaion Selah*, and deep *Humiliation*, is the consideration of the time, when as *Hells Hurricano* seas'd us, when after weary waiting, in our languishing and bleeding condition *above a Time, Times, and half a Time*, at length we were brought to Gods Foot, our wounds not being healed, tho our Petitions were not granted, yet our prayers were heard, as appeareth by their Majesties grant of a *Province Charter*, there declared, and here with great acclamation Proclaimed; this we look'd at as a happy Omen of *Halcyon*-dayes now come to this distressed, & wounded people, in this Junctor of time, or about the laying the Foundation of this structure, that the great *Palmony*, the wonderful numberer of times, who weighs the least minute of humane accidents, in the exact ballance of an eternal decree, even to the pacing of *Ahabs* Horses in his Chariot, that they must not go faster or slower, then to reach the very spot, where the Dogs had lick'd up *Naboths* Blood, there to lick up *Ahabs*; that then this *Euroclydon* should be raised, to the Total Ruine of the whole Fabrick; that when according to Gods gracious Promise unto *Israel* of old, the Royal Concession unto us was, *That our Nobles should be of our selves, and that our Governour should proceed from the midst of us, and that God would make him to draw nigh unto him, and that he did approach unto him*: That then Hells rage did seize us, to the breaking us in peices, if Satans Stratagem had taken effect, according to the wasting Progress made, that when as we hoped, God should have been ours, and our Childrens God as aforetime, and our Congregations established for ever; that then we should render ourselves, or be rendred by others, as the Sons of the Sorceress, and Children of the Adulteress: what high songs of praise do we owe unto *Sions* God, for the discovering of *Apollions* Wiles, Depths and Deceits; and for

Spiriting one of the Tribe of *Zebulon*, rais'd up from among us, by finding out the Treasures hid in the Sands, which hath highly tended to the raising of him to Honour, and the enrichment of himself, and Nation; who being Divinely destined, & humanely Commissionated to be the Pilot and Steersman of this poor Bemisted, and Befogg'd Vessel, in the *Mare Mortuum*, and *Mortiferous* Sea of Witchcraft, and Fascination; by Heavens Conduct according to the integrity of his heart, not trusting the Helm in any other Hand, he being by God and their Majesties betruſted therewith, he so happily shaped, and steadily steered her Course, as she escaped Shipwrack, either upon the *Stygian Scilla*, or the *Acherontal Charibdis*, and now is safely Moared in the *Pacifique* Sea, and under the Cape of *Bone Esperance*; he being also by the same Hand appointed, to be this Peoples Chieftan; by the Prudence of his hands, and strengthened by the Arms of the mighty God of *Jacob*, managed the sharp Two-Edged Sword, to him committed, incomparably excelling that of the Great *Alexander*, to the Cutting in sunder of the *Circean* Knot of Inchantment, abundantly more difficult to be dissolved, then the Famous *Gordian* one of Old: he being also led by divine inspiration, of Our Blessed Gods-Spell and the most sure Word of Prophecy, infinitely surpassing the Famous Thred and Clue of *Ariadne*, hath extricated us out of the Winding and Crooked Labyrinth of Hells *Meander*.

Let all be improved to the high Honour of him, who had he not been on our Side, *Now may* New England say, *Had he not been on our side, when not only men, but Devils rose up against us, we had been swallowed up quick, the proud Waves had gone over our Souls; Blessed be the Name of the Lord, who gave us not up to be a prey unto their Teeth, let our help be in the Name of the Lord, who hath made Heaven, Earth, and Hell.*

Oh that now this token for good, may be Improved to the quickening of us, to breaking off the Covenant made with

Death, that it may be disannulled, and our Agreement with Hell, that it may not stand; and to make sure our Interest in the firm, sure, precious and tried Foundation, and Corner Stone, which with a *Behold of Attention and Admiration*, God hath *Laid in Sion*: Let this preventing Mercy Encourage poor Starv'd Prodigals, to return to their Fathers House, acknowledging our selves unworthy to be his Sons; no, not his Mæ-nial Servants. Own we our selves to be Lukewarm *Laodiceans*, wambling upon the Stomach of our Blessed Lord, and no place fitter to ease himself of us, then by spuing us into Hell, as was said of *Caparnaum*; we are as ignorant, as arrogant, we are Rich, want for nothing, but know not our Poverty, Blindness, or Nakedness; we trust and boast our selves in lying words, of the *Temple of the Lord*, and that we are Christ's Non-such Garden, for him to Walk and Recreate himself in: But alas! we are neither hot nor cold, a parcel of Mungrel Interpendants; we are not of the Episcopal Form, we allow no Superiority in our Churches, nor Officers; where there is but one Officer, there cannot be Preference nor Disparity; and how many of our Churches have more? We are not Presbyterians, for their declared Discipline, and their practice is accordingly; they have one Pastor, and two Ruling Elders, in their least Congregations; and as their Flock increaseth, so they multiply their Officers; but we on the contrary; when a Churches Foundation hath been laid, they had not the Number of Forty Members in their Body; they solemnly then engaged, with hands lifted up to Heaven, not to be without two Teaching, and two Ruling Elders, and for a while they publickly practiced, chusing two Ruling Elders, Ordained a Pastor and Ruling Elder, and sent the other to bring over a Teacher, which was done; but when they are now multiplied vastly above the Number, more then at first, they content themselves with one Teaching, and never a Ruling Officer; when as there are, as it's said, above two thousand Souls un-

der Church Watch, & none Officially to Rule and Watch over them; is not this *Taking Gods Name in vain*; and as for the Congregational Way, we Nominally profess it; but if we Read the *Plat-form* of our Church Discipline, or the way of the Congregational Churches of *New-England*, we may see how much we are varied from it, and gone back from the way, our Fathers and our selves have been instructed in, and have received upon the Divine Authority of the Holy Word, and formerly walked accordingly.

Let's not halt between two Opinions, if our Fathers Ways were Scriptural, let us practically Justify them, if they be not, let us be Humbled and Reform; we pray that the Lord would lead and keep us in his Truth, and restore us to Walk in Christ, as we have received him; though our Rust is so inveterately Cankered as no scowring will fetch it out; let's Beg that the Refiners Fire, which the Lord is purging the Sons of *Levi* with, may effectually melt us down, that we may be fitted as Vessels of Honour, *Sanctified and Prepared unto every good Work, and made fit for our Masters Use*: Let this stimulate us to hearken unto what the *Spirit saith unto the Churches*, not advancing mens Politicks, before Gods Institutes, nor humane Prudentials, before Christ's Credentials; take we heed of disgust against Scripture Purity, and plainness; and see that the true Faith and Discipline received from our Godly and Holy Fathers, may be handed down to us, and to our Children, bringing forth practical Holiness, whereby as they justified their Profession, so we may in our Lives and Conversations make evident, the Holiness and Faithfulness of our and their Heavenly Father; that Religion and the true Ways of God in His Worship and Discipline, may not evaporate into Form, *without the Power of Godliness*, nor be Buried in our Predecessors Graves, but that it may in the midst of years Revive, to that which was *New Englands* Glory; In our first times no complaint of Churches being incompleat

of Officers, nor for want of Maintenance for them, nor for want of Materials to choose Officers fit to Rule: some have observed this Failure hath been upon private Brethrens Obstructions, a discouragement of Discourse among themselves, unless it were such, as they had from the Press or Pulpit; Doth it not reflect upon the Churches King and Law giver? who both received and gave gifts to men, that the Lord God might dwell among them, yea, among the Rebellious: Shall our Churches lie under the Curse of Barren Wombs and Dry Breasts? Is *Bethel* Barren, and *Athens* Fruitful? Shall *Cambridge* the School of our Young Prophets be pregnant, and an *Alma Mater, a Bountiful Mother with her Breasts, exuberating with Radiant Beams, and Sacred Streams, to the making glad the City of our God*; in sending forth such as are Accomplished with exquisite and requisite Talents, to fit them to the Ministerial Work of Christ's Holy Temple. And shall our Churches, which should be *Sion Colledges*? and the Mothers of old and young Disciples now be sterile? Neither capable to bring forth, Nurse, or Educate any, which may be fit for Rule in them; shall they be capable of no other Name, but of the Layty or this People, which was imposed upon them, by such as Arrogated to themselves the Title of the Clergy, or of being Gods Lot.

Our King is blameless, but how much our Churches are blame-worthy, the Lord give us to consider; for Brethren of low degree, to say they know not the way of the Lord, they are of mean Estates, and low Capacities, their Counsel will not meet with acceptance, as some others might do; go to the Brethren of high degree, they know the way of the Judgments of the Lord, but they cast off the Yoke of the Lord; their occasions will not bear or admit of so mean an Employ as to be a Ruling Elder.

It's Recorded to the high Honour of the *French* Reformed Churches, that not many years since, at a National Synod

held at *Charenton*, very nigh unto *Paris*, the Metropolis of that Nation; in the sight of all the *French* Nobility, and Gallantry, there appeared twelve or sixteen Barons, Lords, and Esquires, who Esteemed not themselves debased, to appear as Members of that Synodical Society, and indeed were all of them Ruling Elders of their respective Congregations, and truly the Glory of Christ in his Churches: This is asserted in the Synodicon *Gallia Reformata*.

May we not fear that we render our selves highly Criminal against the Prerogative of this King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; who besides what is recorded in the Scripture of Truth, that when he took leave of his Apostles at his Ascension, What he then gave in Charge to them; he afterward doubled the same by the great and last Apostle of the Gentile Churches; instructing *Timothy* in Christ's Name, how he should behave himself in the Church, and House of God; he doth upon the highest adjuration which can be mentioned, Enjoyn him, as he will answer it *before God, before Jesus Christ, and the Elect Angels, that he should observe those things*; namely, the Canons he had before appointed about Church Order and Officers; that he should mind those things, *without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality*; there must be no partial dealing, no preferment of one Commandment of Christ before another, Deacons must not be kept in place, with rejection of the Elders that Ruled well, nor others debarr'd of their double Honour, especially those who laboured in the Word and Doctrine; and the Holy All-wise God knowing that the Churches would Apostatize, and that Antichrist whose Mystery of Iniquity then wrought, would in special manner run encounter to Scripture Purity, and pollute the Sanctuary Streams of Church Ordinances and Officers, especially Ruling Elders, because of their pragmatcalness with the Teaching Elders, about Church Rule, he jumbled and made one Officer of Teaching and Ruling Elders, pru-

dentially to avoid Scism, and called them both Presbyters or Priests; mean while he courted and carressed the Deacons whom he distinguished; some he called Sub-Deacons, to attend the Vestry, to help on the Surplices and Holy Garments of the Priests or Presbyters; others he advanced to hear Auricular Confessions, and say Mass; but prudently considering that the Care and Trust of the Church Stock and Treasury was committed unto them; especially when it was augmented with that called *Constantines* Gift, concerning which, History tells us of a voice heard in the Heavens: *Hodie venerum effunditur, &c. This day poyson is powred into the Churches*: That *Man of Sin* foreseeing how useful Deacons might be to his Clergy, he advanced the Gravest of them to be Arch-Deacons, and to be of the number of *Cardinals*, so called, because they are the *Cardines* Hooks or Hindges that the Scarlet Whores Chair or Seat hangs on: This cursed Conclave are the only Elected and Electors of the Pope; their work on High Festivals is to Vest their *Pontifex Maximus* in his *Pontificalibus* of Purple and Scarlet, decked with Jewels and Gold, vastly exceeding all Imperial State; and the Spondor of *Jaddus* the High-priest appearing to *Alexander*, to confirm him in his Conquest of the World. Whilst at the High Altar he is Offering up the Blasphemous Sacrifice, these Arch-Deacons attend upon him, as other Deacons at the Lords Supper. Let the Candid Reader pass by this digression, designed to shew what a fine Thred this *Mystery of Iniquity* at first spun; but now the Son of Perdition Sits as God in the Temple of God, *whom Christ will destroy with the Brightness of his Coming. &c.* Christ renews and doubleth the same Charge in the same Epistle, as it were Adjuring and Conjuring *Timothy*, and in him all the Churches, *In the sight of God, as they look to answer it, at that Great Day, and before Jesus Christ, who made a good Confession before Pontius Pilate, that they keep his Commandment without spot, and unrebukable, until the Appearing of Jesus Christ*: How

should all these Obtestations and Injunctions make all *New-England* Church-Members and Officers dreadfully to quake and tremble, under the consideration of what Guilt we lay under, by breach of this Command.

Moreover the King of Saints, and Lord of Heaven and Earth, having Magnified and Exalted this People above any in the lower world; with *Charter* Priviledge to im-body themselves into Spiritual Corporations, founded upon Divine Institutions, and directed by Scriptural Regulations; by which Charter of Right, they are Impowred to Assemble and Incorporate themselves, to Chuse and Appoint their own Officers, acting the whole in his Sacred Majesties Name, and Solely by his Authority, that agreeing together, he hath pass'd under the great Seal of Heaven, and given his Royal Parole Oath, and Amen, to bind or loose in heaven, whatsoever they shall bind or loose on earth; the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are given to this Church, Confessing and Professing Christ to be the Son of the living God: the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: yea, he whose Name is I AM, is in the Midst of two or three, assembled in his Name & Authority; but if they by their factions, or fractions, cannot agree, or thro their sullen wilfulness, do *Nonuser*; *Desuser*; *Refuser* any of these Sacred Statutes, which they by Scripture *Charter* are oblig'd to act by, they forfeit their Franchise, & may expect a *Divine Quo-warranto*, to be sued out by their King against them, WHO REQUIRED THIS AT YOUR HANDS? THIS IS NOT THE FEAST, FAST OR DUTY THE LORD REQUIRES. By not observing all things he hath Comanded, they forfeit the challenge of his promised Presence with them, if they refuse any Officer, which he hath instated in the Churches, they expose themselves to the Forfeiture of the said Charter.

And he who knoweth not, what a Deluge of Superstitions was by this door of neglect, let into the first Churches, he is

not so vers'd in divine and humane Church History, as the time of the fulfilling Prophecy we are cast into, calls for: our crying out, *The Temple of the Lord*, will not free us from being Dischurched, more then *Jerusalem* was; she was sent to *Shilo*. *N. England* needs not to Travel into *Asia* to learn it; every poor *French Refugee*, who hath set his Foot in *N. England*, Preacheth it unto us, whose Churches have yielded more Faithful Martyrs, then all the other Reformed Churches in *Europe*; their care of Supplying the Poor Churches, out of the Large Treasury, and by the Liberality of the Richer, was Exemplary; and the Providing Maintenance to the Widows, and Orphans of their Deceased Pastors, was Presidential; it was the special Work of their National Synods, and doth condemn us; Christ that knows their Charity, Service, Faith, and Patience after their Re-reformation, will make this *Thyatiras last works to be more than her first*. Oh that we might apply our Hearts to these things, that they may sink into our Souls! Kings out of their Natural Clemency, may abate from the Severity of Law, but if contempt be added, it aggravates the Offence; Our case is such as only Sovereign Grace can Cure; God hath oft wrought for his Names Sake, Let us Plead it with him, *Lord we are call'd by thy Name, Leave us not, Let us not be abhorr'd for thy Names Sake; Let not the Throne of Thy Glory, be further Disgraced, before Popish and Pagan Adversaries?*

It's said that none but Parliaments Laxness to maintain their just and legal Proprieties can undo the Body Politick of a Nation; so none can undo our Spiritual Corporations, but their Members; giving up their due just Church Power and Priviledge, into the hands of some *Diotrephes*, as befel the Primitive Churches.

As we began with a caution from our great *Cotton*, so we shall draw to a conclusion with the Animadversion of the great Congregational Champion, Dr. *Owen*, who in the Vindication of these Churches from Scism, charg'd upon them

by Dr. *Stillingsfleet*; the said Reverend Man, who there, and in his other Elaborate Works upon that Subject, doth but Paraphrase and Comment upon the Book of Mr. *Cottons Keys*, as he himself hath published to the World; in answer to Mr. *Cawdry*, That upon search of the Scriptures, and weight of Argument thence deduced, finding the Work of the *Keyes* exactly answering the *Wards of the Lock of Christs Kingdom*; he was proselited from the Classical, unto the Congregational Way of Churches. Let it with all submissiveness be considered, whether its Ruminations may not be our concern, who Writing of the State of these Churches saith: *That when a People through an apprehension of their own ignorance, weakness, and unmeetness (well if it be not Laziness and Idleness) to discern and judge matters of Religion for themselves; and their own duty be kept and debar'd from it, or when through their own sloth, negligence and vitiousness, shall be really incapable to manage their own interest in Church Affairs, as fit only to be governed, if not as Bruit Creatures, yet as mute persons; these things shall be implied by the ambition of the Clergy, ingrossing all things in the Church, to themselves; as they did in former Ages: That if the old Popedom do not Return, a new one will be Erected as bad as the other:* God forbid this prognostick should be the Fate of our Churches; yet when we read the Apostle *Pauls* advice to *Colosse*, *Say to Archippus, Take heed to thy Ministry, which thou hast Received of the Lord*; when we consider the neglect of it, we know not what to say.

The said Learned Man, in a Book Published since his Death, concerning the Rule and Order of Congregational Churches, which he asserts to be the only Apostolical Churches, both according to the Rules of Scripture, and according to the Example of Primitive Humane Antiquitie, to whom next unto the Sacred Scriptures, we owe greatest Veneration and Credence, which he in the said Book citeth, in that Discourse, treating of the Ruling Elders Office and Duty, he saith, *I*

admire that any man should have so much confidence in his own Abilities, so as to suppose himself Meet, and Able, for the Discharge of both sorts of Elders in the least Church of Christ; In the same Treatise, he further affirms, Its evident, that neither the Purity, Order, nor the Beauty, or Glory of the Churches of Christ, nor his Majesty, or Authority in the Government of them, can be long preserved without the multiplication of Elders in them, according to the proportion to the Number of their respective members; for want whereof, the Churches of old, and late, have Degenerated into Anarchy, or Confusion, or else given themselves up, unto the dominion of some prelatical Teachers to rule at pleasure, which was the poison and bane of the other Primitive Churches; and it will do the same for the future, in the neglect of this Order.

God avert these sad Omens, that they should befall our Churches; and yet when we read how the *Mystery of Iniquity* wrought apparently in some who loved the preheminance, even in the Apostles time, we are at a loss, and humbly leave it with him, whose Face is not to be seen, but his back parts only, while he is passing before us in his Glory, and taking away his hand.

Hath not *New-England* experienced this great truth, What is become of the Majesty, Authority, and Glory of Christs Appearing in our Churches, unto which Christs Defence is promised when we were compleated according to Rule, as at the first: Let's take Christs Counsel, to *Remember from whence we are Fallen, & Repent*; Remember our Rulers which have declared unto us the Word of God, whose Faith follow, considering what hath been the end of their Conversation; *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to day and for ever.* Let's not be carried about with divers Doctrines, and call to mind what Memento our Reverend *Norton* hath left us to chew upon.

In his Treatise call'd, *The Heart of New-England, rent at the Blasphemies of the Times*, whose words are: *It concerneth New-England always to remember, that originally they are a*

PLANTATION *Religious, not a PLANTATION of Trade; the Profession of the Purity of Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, is written upon their Forehead;* a spot of this vast *Jeshimon* converted into Corn-fields, Orchards, Streets Inhabited, and a place of Merchandise cannot denominate *New-England*, all these notwithstanding if she fall away from her Profession, call her *Ichabod, The Glory is Departed;* in such a case, what was said of *Samnium*, sometimes a Famous City in *Italy, viz.* That they could not find SAMNIUM in SAMNIUM, will be verified in these Churches; *viz.* That NEW-ENGLAND is not to be found in NEW-ENGLAND, nor BOSTON in BOSTON. God forbid, that after *New England* hath now shined Twenty Years and more, like a Light upon an Hill, it should at last go out in the snuff of *Morelianism;* thus far the words of *Bostons* great and second Seraphical Teacher, who Forty Years since, declared these Fears about us; as will further appear in the last page of this Scribled Narrative, in his Funeral Elegy upon Mr. *Cottons* Death. When our Stocks and Farms were not so multiplied, nor our Trade and Merchandise so increased, nor the Number of our Members, nor Mortuaries, so great as now. As Holy *Herbert* in his Pious Poem foretold of us.

As Gold and Grace never yet did agree,
Religion alway siding with Poverty.
That as the Church shall thither *Westward* flie,
So Sin shall Trace and Dog her instantly.

Yet we could maintain our Officers. No question was then about the Ministers Tables, how they should be supplied; the Silver and Gold in *Darius*, his Exchequer was the Lords, and he brought it out to advance Temple-work; if the Church Stock needed Enlargement, a word then from the Deacons was sufficient to bring forth more then enough, yea to *Moses* calling for a restraint; such enlargedness of heart then ap-

peared, as some old Planters may Remember.

It was an awful Speech of a Worthy Minister of the Gospel lately utter'd upon a Fast-Day in a Neighbour Congregation; that he feared the Churches did not understand the Cause of Gods present Controversy; that it was Reformation God looked for, who us'd this Motive to provoke to Duty; that if the present Generation did not attend and do their Duty, the next should not, and would not be capable of it; and indeed how can it be expected, That they should Reform that which they know not to be an evil, nor to fail upon practice of an unknown Precept; Pastors and Teachers are accounted as Supernumeraries; no Rule but for one Officer in a Church; and as for Ruling Elders, they have been taken up by Tradition; that there is but one word in the whole Bible for them; yet the Faith once given to the Saints, is earnestly (yet Regularly) to be contended for by them; but they will find them more then once mentioned, in *Rom. 12.* among Church Officers, *viz. The Teacher is to attend on Teaching, the Pastor or Exhorter, on Exhortation; the Giver, to do it with simplicity; He that Ruleth, with diligence.* can there be a fuller description of the Ruling Elders Office and Work, then here is declared, & also in the Plat-form of Church Discipline. It's therefore no Humane Invention, nor Apochriphal Practice of our Predecessors: It's Remembered by some of the Old Planters Children, that there were such men, when they were young, that were called Ruling Elders; but what men they were, or what was their work, they professed they could not tell: What a shame is it to our Churches, that through *Disuse, Misuse* and *Nonuse* of them, such a question should be put by any of above Fifty Years of Age, now Living among us; all which is affirmed for a certain known Truth.

The same Reverend man of God, being imployed the last *Narraganset* Wars, by our Worthy Elders, to make Report and Return to the General Court, of the provoking evils then

found among us, did represent to them, the Churches incompleatness of Officers, to be one of the great evils, Provocations, & grounds of Displeasure unto God, then among us, some replied unto him, *That the Country and Churches were poor, and could not maintain them*; he made them a Ready Grave, and Divine Answer, *True*, (said he) *were they mens Officers*; there were argument in what they said, but being GODS Officers, there was no ground for fear of it; he having Promised and said, *Prove and try me*; if we could but trust him, he would open the Heavens, and pour down his Blessings: it's Robbing of God we are now call'd to an account for, we fear that Covetousness, Pride, and Ambition, hinders the Discovery of our *Achan*, The Lord pour down upon this House of *David*, and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, *the Spirit of Grace, and Supplication, and that he would open the Fountain for Sin and Uncleaness; that Holiness unto the Lord may be writ upon our hearts, houses, and employments, whether Sacred or civil, and upon our Posterity.*

As we have cause to weep over and bewail our former tears, begging that they may be washed in the Blood of the Lamb, so that these our faint Sighs and Sobs may be Cordial, and accepted in the Blood of the everlasting Covenant, that what we say, may be realized in our Souls. The good Lord direct our Hearts into the knowledge of his love; waiting for the Pouring forth of his Spirit upon ourselves, and the rising generation, that we may discern, and by the Divine Aids thereof, be enabled, to do the respective work of our Generation, according to the will of GOD, before these things be hid from our Eyes.

That we may have the tast of that Mercy and Grace, springing from the Love of the Father, who knows the thoughts of his own heart, and manifests them to poor Penitents, that they passing through the heart of him, who layeth in the Fathers Bosome, may descend into our hearts, by the

Holy Spirit dwelling in us, which Blessed Circulation Reverting by the Operation of the same Spirit which maketh requests for us, who know not to pray as we ought, and passing thro' the heart, and hands of our great Mediator, may arrive, & ascend into the heart of the Father, who is the Origine and Fountain of all Blessedness, (the Father himself loving us.)

That this Spirit may make intercession for us, with Groans, which can't be uttered, he that searches the hearts, knowing what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the Saints according to the Will of God; Oh that we might experience these things, that this Heavenly Dove sent into our hearts, may make us groan, and mourn, like those in the *Clefts of the Rocks*, that as the whole Creation grows, and travails in pain, with Necks stretched out, waiting to be delivered from their Bondage and Corruption, into the Liberty of the Sons of God; that we receiving the first fruits thereof, may with Eyes and Hands lifted up, wait for the Adoption, even the Redemption of our Souls and Bodies; which Great Grace, the GOD OF ALL GRACE, Grant to Us, and Our Poor Children, with all his ISRAEL; *For the Sake of Our Dear LORD JESUS, to whom with the FATHER, and HOLY SPIRIT, Be the Kingdom, Power, and Glory, For Ever, AMEN.*

A F U N E R A L
E L E G Y,
 Upon the Death of the truly Reverend
Mr. JOHN COTTON.

Late Teacher of a Church of Christ at *Boston* in *New-England*: Who Died the Twenty Third, was Buried the Twenty Ninth of *December*. 1652.

ANd after *Winthrop*, *Hooker*, *Shepherds* Herse,
 Doth *Cottons* Death call for a Mourning Verse.
 Thy Will be done, yet Lord who dealeth thus,
 Make this great Death expedient for us.
Luther pull'd down the Pope, *Calvin* the Prelate slew,
 Of *Calvins* Lapse, chief Cure to *Cottons due*.
Cotton whose Learning, Temper, Godliness,
 The *Germane* Phænix lively did express.
Melancthon's all, may *Luther's* word but pass
Melancthon's all, in our Great *Cotton* was.
 Then him in Flesh scarce dwelt a better one,
 So great's our Loss when such a Spirit's gone.
 Whilst he was here, Life was more Life to me,
 Now he is not, Death hence less Death to me.
That Comets great mens death do oft forego,
This present Comet doth too sadly show,
This Prophet's dead, yet must in's Doctrine speak,
This Comet saith, else must New-England break.
 What e're it be, the Heav'ns avert it far,
 That Meteors should succeed our greatest Star.
 In *Bostons* Orb *Winthrop* and *Cotton* were,
 These Lights Extinct, Dark is our Hæmisphere.

In *Boston* once how much shin'd of our Glory,
 VVe now Lament, Posterity will Story.
 Let *Boston* live, who had and saw their VVorth,
 And did them honour, both in Life and Death.
 To him *New-England* trust in this Distress,
 Who will not leave his Exiles Comfortless.

John Norton.

F I N I S .

Editor's Note

This edition of *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony Anno 1628* is based on the first edition published in Boston in 1694. The spelling, orthography, punctuation, and capitalization of the original have been retained; only obvious typographical errors have been corrected.

The text was transcribed from digital images of the microfilm version distributed by University Microfilms, which was photographed around 1950 from a copy held by Harvard University Library. This version is available in the Early English Books Online series (University Microfilms, 1984), Wing / 1557:22. A second copy, owned by the American Antiquarian Society, is available in the Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans Readex Digital Collections, Evans no. 709. This copy does not reproduce the "Errata" from page 77, but it does show several lines and many line endings that are cut off in the EEBO (Harvard) copy.

List of Emendations

The following emendations have been made in the text in accordance with the "Errata" to the first edition, printed on pages 76 and 77 of the Harvard Library copy:

<u>Page: line</u>	<u>emended to</u>
7: 22 in Churches	in the Churches
10: 31 graceful	grateful
15: 17 Tarding	Parting
19: 9 <i>Christopher</i>	Sir <i>Christopher</i>
37: 12 Pectant	Peccant
39: 34 Fathers	Father
41: 31 Storm	Scorn
42: 26 Internals	Internal
43: 16 <i>a way</i>	<i>alway</i>

57: 27	Fatth	Faith
59: 15	Satns	Saints
59: 17	twice	once

The following emendations have been made to the text by the editor to correct typographical errors:

13: 17	Under takers	Undertakers
26: 14	Covernour	Governour
28: 34	Good ness	Goodness
30: 32	Nution	Nation
31: 11	Westminstee.	Westminster.
31: 33	np	up
34: 33	thə̃m	them
35: 8)in their	(in their
38: 18	Pro-vince	Province
42: 3	unsaid]	unsaid)
54: 19	agaiust	against
55: 15	Re reformation	Re-reformation
56: 1	Dr: <i>Stillingsfleet</i>	Dr. <i>Stillingsfleet</i>
58: 10	<i>viz.</i>	<i>viz.</i>

The only other published edition of the *Narrative* was printed in 1858 in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections* IV, Fourth Series, pp. 278–332, based on a copy held in the Society's collections, with a title page supplied by the American Antiquarian Society. That edition corrected some typographical errors and regularized spelling of a few words (e.g., *New-England*), but did not include the emendations indicated in the original Errata.

For discussion of textual issues and emendations, see "*A Narrative of the Planting: Notes on the Text.*" For discussion of Scottow's references to Massachusetts history, Biblical passages, and contemporary English works, see "Annotations to

A Narrative of the Planting”

For a brief biography and discussion of Scottow, see the article “Joshua Scottow 1618-1698,” from *American Writers Before 1800: A Biographical and Critical Dictionary*, edited by James A. Levernier and Douglas Wilmes (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), which can be found online at <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libraryscience/4/>

The text of this edition is set in Monotype Bell types. The title page is set in IM Fell English, digitized and furnished by Iginio Marini <http://iginomarini.com>.

This is necessarily a provisional and evolving text, but nonetheless still of possible value to students or scholars, insofar as there is no other available in print or online. Comparison and collation with further copies of the printed edition will hopefully resolve any remaining uncertainties. Annotation and commentary remain to be done, as well. As Melville said, “O! Time, Strength, Cash, and Patience!”

Paul Royster
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