

Hypocrisy Unmasked:

By

A true relation of the proceedings of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts against SAMUEL GORTON (and his accomplices) a notorious disturber of the peace and quiet of the several Governments wherein he lived: with the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their General Court holden at Boston in New England in November last, 1646.

Together with a particular answer to the manifold slanders, and abominable falsehoods which are contained in a book written by the said GORTON, and entitled, *Simplicities Defense Against Seven-headed Policy*, etc.

DISCOVERING

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

Whereunto is added a brief narration (occasioned by certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England; the President of their Churches in the way and Worship of God; their Communion with the Reformed Churches; and their practice towards those that dissent from them in matters of religion and church government.

By Edw. Winslow.

Psalms 120:3. What shall be given unto thee, or what shall be done unto thee thou false tongue?
Verse 4. Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
R O B E R T

Earl of Warwick, Governor in Chief,
and Lord High Admiral of all those islands and
other Plantations of the English in America;
Together with the rest of those truly Honorable
members of both Houses of Parliament joined in
Commission with him for ordering the
affairs of the said Plantations.

Right Honorable,

Were not your wisdom and experience in the great and weighty affairs of State so well known, and were ye not so much accustomed to the unjust complaints of clamorous persons, I might be discourage to appear in the righteous cause of the United Colonies of New England, and more especially in the behalf of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts, to render a reason of their just and righteous proceedings against Samuel Gorton and his companions, who however (where they are unknown) they go here under the garb of a peaceable people; yet if your Honors, and the rest of the Honorable Committee shall be pleased (when more weighty employments shall give way) to peruse our just defense against his clamorous complaints, and scandalous treatise, called, *Simplicities Defense against Seven-headed Policy*¹, etc. I make no question but ye will receive full satisfaction in what we have done, and be ready to justify our proceedings against them as godly and righteous.

The reason wherefore I am forced to appear in print before I give a particular answer to your Honors, and the rest of the Honorable Committee, is, because I find a more gross deformatory aspersion cast upon the Country to the public view of our Nation: which as it is dear in our eyes (witness our frequent public solemn days of prayer to the Throne of Grace for it, together with our private supplications, which the searcher of the heart best knows, sympathizing with it is every condition, to the loss of ships, goods, etc. to the great weakening of our estates) so we desire to remove whatsoever may sadden the thoughts of our Nation against us; especially your Honors, and all that are godly in Christ Jesus.

What greater wrong can be done a poor persecuted people that went into the wilderness to avoid the tyrannical Government of the late Hierarchy, and to enjoy the liberties Christ Jesus hath left unto his Churches (which these blasphemous adversaries of ours, so much sleight and cast off) then to be accounted persecutors of Christ in his Saints, yea, to go thither to that end, to become outrageously cruel, barbarously inhuman, uniting together to suck the blood of our countrymen, etc. And yet Right Honorable, it will and doth appear in the following Treatise, that Samuel Gorton was prosecuted against, first, at Plymouth as a gross disturber of the civil peace

¹ Samuel Gorton, *Simplicities defence against seven-headed policy, Or, Innocency Vindicated, being unjustly accused, and sorely censured by that seven-headed church-government united in New England, ...* (London: John Macock, 1646).

and quiet of that Government, in an open factious and seditious manner. Secondly, he was no less troublesome, but much more at Rhode Island, having gotten a strong party to adhere unto him, affronting that Government (as Plymouth) in their public administration of justice so foully and grossly, as mine ears never heard the like of any; to which relation in the following discourse I refer your Honors, being compiled as briefly as may be. Gorton being there whipped in his person, and thence banished with some of his principal adherents, they went next to Providence, where Mr. Williams², and some others have built a small town. This people receiving them with all humanity in a cold season, when the former places could no longer bear his insolencies; he soon undermined their Government, gained a strong party amongst them to his own, to the great distraction of Mr. Williams, and the better party there, contending against their laws, and the execution of justice, to the effusion of blood, which made Mr. William and the rest sadly complain to the Government of the Massachusetts, and divers of them take the protection of that Government, to defend their persons and estates. But when they saw Mr. Williams resolve to lose the benefit of his labors, then to live with such ill-affected people, and the neighbor Governments become affected with Gorton's misrule there also, he (and his companions in evil) began then to think of buying a place of a great aspiring Sachem, or Indian Prince, to the wrong of the proper owners, (two inferior sachems) who also, as well as divers English of Providence, submitted their persons and lands to the Government of Massachusetts, and desired their protection not only against the oppressing tyranny of Miantonomo the foresaid Great Sachem, but against Gorton and his companions, who intruded into their proper right, by unwarrantable means, etc. Now the Government of the Massachusetts having used all due means and none prevailing, but their gentleness answered with the greatest contempt that might be: at the next meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies they complained of Gorton and his irregular companions, which the said Commissioners took into serious consideration, and the more because of Gortons, etc. extraordinary familiarity with Miantonomo, and the rest of the Narragansett sachems, who were known to be in a deep conspiracy against all English in the land at the same time. And therefore by a solemn act gave liberty to the Government of the Massachusetts to call them to account, and proceed with them so far as might stand with righteousness and justice, which they accordingly did.

Now these Right Honorable, etc. are the true causes of all the censures and punishment that befell Gorton on the country; only needlessly in his and their contemptuous answers to the modest and well-ordered writings of the said Government of the Massachusetts, they belched forth such horrid blasphemies, not only against them in particular, and civil government in the general, but against the received Christian religion of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, as well as ourselves; insomuch as many tender consciences, both ministers and others, thought the government did not well in giving him such liberty, whereby he may and doth (as is reported) poison other persons and places with his corrupt opinions, to the great dishonor of God, and ruin of the souls of his followers, who reject the means of grace God hath sanctified to strengthen and build up his people in faith and holiness.

But that I may not be tedious, I shall presume to prefer these following requests to your Honors and the rest of the honored Committee this renowned Parliament hath entrusted with the affairs of the foreign plantations of our nation: the first is to strengthen the censure of the Massachusetts by your favorable, so far as it shall appear to be just and righteous; and then shall the country be the more preserved from their fears of the Gortonians desperate close with so dangerous enemies as their malignant neighbors the Narragansetts; which I persuade myself, if

² Roger Williams.

your leasures will suffer you to read the following discourse, you will easily condescend unto; there being nothing (I thank God in it) affirmed by me, but as it is affirmed hereunto I may safely depose. A second thing is, that ye will never suffer Samuel Gorton this pestilent disturber of our Societies, any more to go to New England to disquiet the peace thereof. My third request is, that ye will be pleased to suffer New Plymouth, to enjoy their former liberty in the line of their Government, which includeth their very seat, even Shawamet itself, where Gorton and his company dwelt. My fourth request is, to take into your serious consideration, how destructive it will prove to the well-being of our Plantation and proceedings there, (who by God's blessing are growing up into a nation) here to answer to the complaints of such malignant spirits as shall there be censured by authority, it being three thousand miles distant, so far as will undo any to come for justice, utterly disabling them to prove the equity of their cause, unless their estate be very great. My fifth and last request is, that your Honors, and the rest of the Honored Committee will be pleased to patronize the weak labors of your humble servant, in the just defense he hath made for New England. And the several Governments of it (especially the Massachusetts) against the gross calumnies of the fore-mentioned scandalous Treatise published by the said Gorton: and herein ye shall not only oblige our Plantations of New-England to continue their daily request to the God of all mercies for a blessing upon this renowned Parliament, and your Honors, and the rest of this honored Committee in especial, but to engage with, and for them and you, against all opposers of the State, to the last drop of blood in our veins; yes, hereby shall you sweeten the tedious travels, great charges and labors of me their unworthy agent, who do and shall daily pray to God to recompense your vast hazards, expenses, studies, and cares, (to advance the Weale Public of this distressed Kingdom, and the several limbs thereof) with all the blessings of Heaven and earth to you and your to succeeding generations.

Yours Honors humble devoted servant,

Edw. Winslow.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
Proceedings of the Governor and Company
of the Massachusetts in New England, against
Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices; with the grounds
and reasons thereof, examined and allowed
by their Ablest Court holden at Boston
in November, 1646.

SAMUEL GORTON lived sometime at Plymouth, where his behavior was so turbulent and offensive both to the Magistrates and others, as they were necessitated to drive him out of their jurisdiction. From thence he went to Rhode Island, where he began to raise sedition, and to make a party against the authority there; for which he was apprehended and whipped, and so sent away. From thence (with some others whom he had gathered to his part) he removed to Providence, where Mr. Roger Williams then lived. He (with some others) opposed his sitting down there as an inhabitant, only in regard of his present distress, they gave way for his abode for a time. But being once housed, he soon drew so great a party to him, as it was beyond the power of Mr. Williams and his party to drive them out, or to rule them there; so as both parties came armed into the field each against other, and had sought it out, had not Mr. Williams used means for pacification. Hereupon many of the chief of Providence sent messengers with a letter to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, desiring aid against Gorton and his company; but they were answered, that not being within our jurisdiction nor confederation we had no ground to interpose in their quarrels. Soon after some of those men tendered themselves and their lands to come under our Government, and were received.

There live near to Providence two small Indian Sachems called Pumham and Socononoco, who though they are as free as the great Sachem of the Narragansett: yet Miantonomo the then Sachem of Narragansett (being a very proud and stern man) kept them in great awe. This poor Sachem Pumham had a large parcel of land near Providence, very convenient for plantation, which Gorton and his company (being now about 13 or 14) taking notice of, and fearing they should not be able to keep their power long where they were, dealt with Miantonomo for this parcel of land, promising him a good parcel of wampum for it. And because they knew that Pumham was the true owner of it, they dealt with him also; but he refusing to sell it (for he dwelt upon it, or very near to it) they caused Miantonomo to send for him, and having drawn a writing purporting the sale thereof for a certain consideration to be given to both of them, Miantonomo signed it, and he for fear of Miantonomo set his mark to it also, not knowing what it was. But when Gorton tendered him the consideration for it, he utterly refused it, it being the Indians manner not to account anything sold, till the party have received the thing it is sold for.

But upon this colorable title Gorton and his company enter upon the land, and build some houses, and withal much wrong the Indians with their cattle, and having Miantonomo their friend, behave themselves very insolently toward the poor Indians, who (having no friends or means to relieve themselves) came and tendered themselves and their lands to the government of the Massachusetts, who (by order of the Court) gave notice thereof to Miantonomo, and

appointed him to come or send to the next Court at Boston, to show his title or interest (if he had any) to the said Pumham and Socononoco or their lands. At the time appointed he came, and pretended that they were his vassals, but it appeared clearly both by a writing from Mr. Williams, and the testimony of some other English in those parts, and of divers other Indians no way related to them, that they were free Sachems; so as Miantonomo having nothing to reply, the Court received the two Indian Sachems with their subjects and lands under the government and protection of the Massachusetts; and upon that writ to our neighbors of Providence, intimating the same to them, and advising Gorton and his company, that if they had any just title to the lands they possessed, they should come, or send some for them to show the same to the Court, and offered them safe conduct. This letter from the Court they took in great disdain, and returned scornful and menacing answers by word of mouth, and a good time after they wrote a letter to the Court full of reproach and blasphemies, not only against the Magistrates, but against the Churches and Ordinances, as by the copy thereof hereafter following will appear. Notwithstanding these provocations and daily wrongs offered to those few English their neighbors (who had formerly submitted themselves to our Government) we sat still near half a year, and before we attempted anything against them, we advised with the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who (upon testimony of their insolent and injurious courses, and perusal of the letter they sent to us) left them to us to proceed according to justice. Whereupon the Court sent again to them by two of their members, who carried letters (to require and persuade them to come and give satisfaction,) and a safe conduct withal; but they entertained those messengers as they had done the former, threatening to whip one, whom they took along with them; and sent us word, that if we had anything to say to them, we should come to them, and we should have justice there, and that if we came with force, they would meet us half the way. Our messengers returning with these scornful answers, the Court resolved to send some force to fetch them in; and in the meantime there came a second letter from them; (the copy whereof is hereafter also set down) but before we sent forth our soldiers, we wrote to them to this effect: viz. that although the injuries and provocations we had endured from them were very grievous, yet that our justice and moderation might appear to all men, we had condescended so far to their own proposition, as we would send some Commissioners to them, to hear their answers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us such satisfaction as should be just, we would leave them in peace; if otherwise, we would right ourselves by force of arms: and dignified withal, that we would send a sufficient guard with our Commissioners; for seeing they would not trust themselves with us upon our safe conduct, we had no reason to trust any of ours with them upon their bare courtesy. Accordingly about a week after we sent three Commissioners, and 40 musketeers with them, with instructions, first to speak and treat with them, and to require satisfaction according to justice, and if it were denied, then to take them by force, and bring them prisoners to Boston; and to take withal so much of their substance as should satisfy our charges. By the way as they went they met with another letter from them, letting them know, that they feared them not, but were prepared for them: and accordingly they had fortified themselves in one house (some 12 of them) and had lined the walls with earth (musket-proof) and had made flankers, and provided victuals, etc. to endure a siege. So that when our Commissioners came to the place, they would admit no parley. But after a while, by the mediation of some of their neighbors, they were content to parley, and offered to refer the cause to arbitrators, so as some of them might be of Providence, or of Rhode Island. Our Commissioners were content to send to us to know our minds about it, and in the meantime sat still. Such of the Court as could meet, returned answer that their proposition was neither seasonable nor reasonable, nor could it be safe or honorable for us to

accept thereof: 1. Because they would never offer nor hearken to any terms of agreement before our soldiers had them in their power. 2. Because the ground of their proposition was false, for we were not parties (as they pretended) but equal judges between the Indians and others who were complainants, and themselves, (and yet in a case of war, parties may be judges.) 3. They were no State, or Body politic, but a few fugitives living without law or government, and so not honorable for us to join with them in such a way of reference. 4. The parties whom they would refer it unto, were such as had been rejected by us, and all the governments in the country, and so not likely to be equal to us, nor able to judge of the cause: and their blasphemous and reproachful writings, etc. were not matters fit to be composed by arbitrement, (being deeply criminal) but either to be purged away by repentance and public satisfaction, or else by public punishment. For these and other reasons, the Commissioners were required to proceed according to their instructions. And thereupon they entrenched themselves about the house, and in few days forced them to yield, and so brought them to Boston, where they were kept in prison till the Court sat, and had their diet from the cooks (as good meat and drink as the town afforded.) The next Lord's day they refused to go to the Church assembly, except they might have liberty to speak there, as occasion should be. They were answered by some of the Magistrates that it appertained to the Elders to order the affairs of the Church, but they might presuppose they should not be denied such liberty, speaking words of truth and soberness. So in the afternoon they came, and were placed in a convenient seat before the Elders. Mr. Cotton the teacher taught then (in his ordinary course) out of Acts 19; of Demetrius' speech for Diana her silver shrine. After sermon Gorton desired leave to speak, which being granted, he took occasion from the sermon to speak to this effect, that in the Church now there was nothing but Christ, so that all our Ordinances, Ministers, and Sacraments, etc. were but men's inventions, for show and pomp, and no other then those silver shrines of Diana. He said also, that if Christ lives eternally, then he died eternally, and other speeches of like kind. And indeed it appeareth both by his speeches and letters, that it was his opinion, that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was that image of God, wherein Adam was created; and that the chief work and merit lay in his inaction, when he became such a thing, so mean etc. and that his being born after of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, etc. was but a manifestation of his suffering, etc. in Adam. Another of them said that the Sabbath was Christ, and so was borne of the Virgin Mary. They called Magistracy among Christians an idol; yet they did acknowledge a Magistracy in the world to be subjected to as an Ordinance of God, but only as natural; as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary Prince over his subjects.

Their first appearance before the Court was upon the lecture day at Boston, before a very great assembly, where first the Governor declared the cause and manner of all the proceedings against them, and their letters were openly read, and they had liberty to object, and answers were given, as followeth: First, to their plea, That they were not within our jurisdiction; it was answered: 1. If they were not within ours, yet they were within the jurisdiction of one of our confederates, who had referred them to us. 2. If they were within no jurisdiction, then was there none to complain to for redress of our injuries in way of ordinary justice, and then we had no way of relief but by force of arms.

Secondly, to their plea of persecution for their conscience, etc. It was answered, that we did not meddle with them for their opinions, otherwise then they had given us occasion, by their own letters and free speeches amongst us, for we wrote to them about civil controversies only, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemies and revilings against the ordinances of religion set up with us.

Thirdly, for their title to the Indians' lands: we had divers times desired them to make it appear; but they always refused, even to our Commissioners, whom (according to their own motion) we sent last to them: and since they were in prison, we offered them to send for any witnesses they would name to us for that end, but this also they refused. So that our title (by the Indians' surrender) appeareth good, and having regained possession, we need not question them any further about that.

Their letters being read and their subscriptions acknowledged, they were demanded severally if they would maintain those things which were contained therein. Their answer was, that they would, in that sense they wrote them, and so were returned to prison. The next day they were brought before the Court severally to be examined upon particulars, (many of the Elders being desired to be present) because they had said they could give a good interpretation of every part of their letters. But the interpretation they gave being contrary to the words, they were demanded if they would then retract those words, so plainly different from their pretended meanings. But this they refused to do, saying, that then they should deny the truth; for instance in one or two. Their letters were directed, one of them, *to their neighbor of the Massachusetts*: and the other, *to the great honored Idol General of the Massachusetts*, and by a messenger of their own delivered to our Governor, and many passages in both letters particularly applied to our Courts, our Magistrates, our Elders, etc. and yet upon their examinations about their meanings in their reproachful passages, they answered that they meant them, of the corrupt estate of mankind in general, and not of us. So, whereas in their letter they charged it upon us, as an error that we teach, that Christ died actually only, when he suffered under Pontius Pilate; and before, only in types, etc. upon their examination they said, that their meaning was, that his death was actual to the faith of the Father's under the law, (which is in effect the same which we hold): yet they would not retract their words they had written. The Elders concerned many hours with them before the Court, and by occasion thereof they discovered divers blasphemous opinions, which they maintained, we will instance one which was mentioned before, delivered by Gorton, viz. that the Image of God wherein Adam was created, was Christ; and Adam's losing that Image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of that Image in the Regeneration, was the resurrection of Christ: and so the death of him that was borne of the Virgin Mary was but a manifestation of the former. Master William Thompson one of the Elders had spent some time with them before in the prison about the opinions which they held forth, and they had professed their agreement with him (for substance) in every point, so as he came to the Court with a purpose to speak in their behalf, but when he heard themselves discover thus upon their public examinations, he showed how he had been deluded by them. For they excel the Jesuits in the art of equivocation, and regard not how false they speak, to all other men's apprehensions, so they keep to the rules of their own secret intentions. Being asked why they spoke against the ordinances of the ministry, sacraments, etc. seeing the Scripture allows them? They answered that they were ordained only for the time of Nonage, but after the Revelation was written, they were to cease, because we find no mention of them in that book.

They were unlearned men, the ablest of them could not write true English, no not in common words, yet they would take upon them to interpret the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their own turn. As for instance, Mr. Cotton pressing Gorton with that in Acts 10. Who can forbid water, why these should not be baptized, etc. He interpreted thus, who can deny but these have been baptized, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost, etc. so he allowed them to have been baptized. This shift he was put to, that he might maintain his opinion, viz: that such as have been baptized with the Holy Ghost, need not the

baptism of water. Divers days were spent both by the Court and the Elders in laboring to bring them to repentance, but all in vain. They continued obstinate. Whereupon they agreed to sentence them, but first they brought them in public before a great assembly, and there (out of their letters and speeches) they laid upon them this charge, viz. they were found to be blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy ordinances, and likewise of all civil government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded, if they did acknowledge this charge to be just, and would submit to it, or what exception they had against it? They answered, they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they fell into some caviling speeches, so they were returned unto prison again. Being in prison they behaved themselves insolently towards their keeper, and spoke evil of the magistrates, so as the keeper was forced to threaten them with irons, to keep them quiet.

After all means used to reclaim them, and not prevailing, they were brought before the Court to receive their sentence, which was this. Gorton and six more of them, were to be sent to several towns, there to be kept to work for their livings, and to wear an iron chain upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the town, nor by word or writing to maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death, except in conference with any of the Elders, or any other allowed by some magistrate to confer with them; and this to continue during the pleasure of the Court. Three of the Company (because they had not their hands to the letters) were set at liberty, two of them upon a small ransom as prisoners taken in war, and the other, freely, for that he was amongst them in his master's house, where they were taken; a fourth being found to be a plain ignorant young man was discharged also, only enjoined to abide a time in one of our towns, but he went away and returned no more, contrary to his promise. There were two other who were brought in after; (but not by force) the one of them disclaiming to have any hand in the letters, was discharged presently; the other was kept awhile in prison, and after upon his submission etc. was released.

Gorton and the other six remained in the several towns all that winter; and then in regard of their wives and children (who were like to be much distressed by their husbands' absence) they were set at liberty, and banished upon pain of death if they were found in any part of our jurisdiction.

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

The letters follow

Mooshawset, November 20, 1642.

To our neighbors of the Massachusetts.

Whereas we lately received an irregular note, professing its form from the Massachusetts, with four men's names subscribed thereunto, as principal authors of it, of the chief amongst you; we could not easily give credit to the truth thereof, not only because the conveyers of it unto us, are known to be men, whose constant and professed acts are worse, then the counterfeiting of men's hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession, would never have prostrated their wisdom to such an act. But considering that causeless enmity you have against us; the proof whereof, every occasion brings forth; we cannot but conclude, that no act so

ill which that ancient mother will not bring forth her seed unto. For we know very well, that it is the name of Christ called upon us, which you strive against; thence it is that you stand on tip-toe, to stretch yourselves beyond your bounds; to seek occasion against us; (So) as you might hide your sin with Adam, bearing the world in hand; it is not your desire to contend with us; but some civil breach in our courses, which you only seek to redress. Whereas neither you, nor any (in way of truth) can find wherewith, to bring us under the censure of a disorderly course of walking amongst men: and as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren, we weigh it not, knowing him to be a liar, (or in the abstract, a lie) from the beginning, yea and the father of it also; which thing you cannot know, though it were told unto you.

Whereas you say, Robert Cole, William Arnold with others, have put themselves under the government and protection of your jurisdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found, being nothing but the shame of religion, disquiet, and disturbance of the place where they are. For, we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by King Charles limited unto you.

Behold therefore in this your act, a map of your spiritual estate, (to use your own phrase) for we know that the spirituality of your churches, is the civility of your commonwealth, and the civility of your commonwealth, is the spirituality of your churches, the wisdom of man, being the whole accomplishment of them both; of which tree, you delight daily to eat (finding it fair and beautiful) to gain conformity with your maker. In these your dissembling subjects; grossly profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity, when they are with you, you may remember the brand yourselves have set upon some of them, the cause whereof was never yet removed, though it abide not upon their back; nor yet the cause of your commitment of them unto Satan according unto your law, for if that were removed, you should do them wrong, in not resuming your vomit into its former concoction again; nor are we ignorant of those disgraceful terms they use, and give out against you, behind your backs, their submission therefore can be to no other end, but to satisfy their own lusts, not only conceived, but in violent motion, against their neighbors, who never offered the least wrong unto them, only the proposition of amity, is object sufficient, for these men's enmity.

Even for the passions of sin, which are by the law, having force in your members; you going about with great labor and industry to satisfy them by your submission unto the word of God, in your fasting, and feasting, in contributing, and treasuring, in retiredness for study, and bowing of the backs of the poor, going forth in labor to maintain it, and in the spirit of that hireling, raising up, your whole structure and edifice, in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death, some laboring for a price to give for the keeping of their souls, in peace and safe estate and condition, and some to have their bodies furnished with riches, honor and ease, and further then the Lord Jesus agrees with these, you mind him not, nay you renounce and reject him, and with these (according to your acceptation and practice) he holds no holds no correspondency at all, being the consultation and operation of that his only adversary, man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, crying out in way of elevation, and applauding his ministers, when in the meantime, you know not what, nor who they are, professing them under a mediate call of Christ, though formerly, they have been called immediately by him, hereby showing yourselves to be those, that destroy the sacred ordinance of God: for if you make Christ to be that today, in stating his ministers; which he was not yesterday, and that in the time of the Gospel also, (to speak according to your law) to be sound in them both, you therein affirm, that he hath been that to his ministers, which now he is not, and to make the Son of God to have

been that which now he is not, is to make a nullity of him, not to be at all, for he is the Lord that changeth not, no not a shadow thereof is sound in him, so that you plainly crucify unto yourselves, the Lord of Glory, and put him to an open shame; so that as you know not, how Christ, conversing with his father in heaven, is found on the earth, amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know, how in his conversing with Nicodemus on the Earth, he concludes himself to be in Heaven, with his Father. On this foundation hangeth the whole building of your doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you annihilate the cross, then the which, the saints have no other consolation: and prepare no better a place than purgatory, for the honorable fathers of our Lord: for you conclude, that Christ died in the decree, and purpose God, in the time of the law, but actually only when he hanged on the cross in the days of Herod and Pontius Pilate, that he was crucified in the types and shadows of the law, but in the truth, and substance, when he appeared borne of the Virgin Mary: so must you also conclude that the fathers under the law, were only saved, in purpose and decree, in type and shadow, but actually and substantially only at the coming of Christ in the flesh: therefore deal plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction (as your ancestors in the papacy have done) and proclaim a place of purgatory, provided for them in the mean, without which, your doctrine hath no foundation. For if you raise up a shadow, without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light, without a shadow, you play the part of wizards, or necromancers, not the part of true naturalists, in the things of the Kingdom of God.

So that as far as these men are from being honorable and loyal subjects, so far are you from being voluntaries in the Day of God's power, and from yielding subjection unto the beauties of holiness. Such also is your professed rule, and government, in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond, and out of the reach of that Spirit which is gone out amongst you, the capacity whereof can no ways comprehend, the breadth of the land of Emanuel, nor entereth it within the veil. Therefore it cannot know those Cherubims of glory, neither can it hear the voice of that lively Oracle, speaking only from off the covering Mercy-seat, and not elsewhere to be heard; we speak not but what we know, these things are out of its jurisdiction; therefore dumb in telling justice, nor speaks it any of that righteousness and glory, comprised in another circuit, then ever you were yet made Lords of: long therefore may you boast, of your jurisdiction before ever you attain unto a *jurisprudencia*, in these things.

In that you tell us we offer you wrong, by a pretended purchase: you are as much mistaken in the purchase, as in the wrong, for it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but precedential, not only in this civil respect, but may also admonish all men, to take heed, how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision, are ignorant of the contract, and covenant of God. Thence it is, that you teach, that the spouse of Christ, upon contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortality, and bring forth fruit unto God, when as yet the day of marriage, that great festivity, and solemnization, of the consolations of God, is not yet come, witness your prorogation thereof, if not to the dissension of Christ from heaven unto the earth, to reign certain years, yet to the calling of the Jews, whom ye yourselves are, according to the flesh, and to the destruction of that man of sin whom ye so stoutly maintain. What is this, but to proclaim unto all the world, that audacious spirit of whoredoms, professing conception and bringing forth before the nuptial day?

In that you conclude your clients right to arise out of four years' possession, we have no such order, if you mean the right of conquest, (only held in that tenure) the true owners were never yet subdued, for that is the right they expect to enjoy by you, for some of them committed

part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was, that they might have help, to enjoy the rest; but when they saw, we would not be abettors unto them without, much less contrary unto covenant, then they fly unto you for help. Their possession, being a mere intrusion, as all the natives know and ever exclaimed against them for the same. And so may our countrymen also, whose eyes are not dazzled with envy, and ears open to lies, as we know yours are, else you had heard both sides speak, before you had judged.

But we profess right held, according to no such interest, but upon the ground of covenant only, known in its nature; in the parties 'twixt whom it is plight, in the possessor, and the possessed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrence, together with their distinct, harmonical, reciprocal, and joint properties, and operations of them both: such is the tenure we should, and maintain, before men and angels, and oppose it against man and Devil, not in taking up unto ourselves, certain offices and officers which we can teach children to be, and to perform, and from thence presently to conclude, the possession of the Kingdom, crying out our peace offerings are upon us, this day we have paid our vows. But when that dark cloud descended upon the tabernacle, becomes the light, and glory of all Israel (there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence) then, and then only, are the orders, as also the men of Israel, derived from the true fountain, which no tongue can confess, but it is salvation, and then, not else, is the heritage of our Lord in possession, yea, even the wayless wilderness knows, how to assort them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountains were borne: which men begin to fly unto for refuge, to hide them from the presence of the lamb: this is a possession, which no man can intrude himself into: it is only covenanted with him, throw an enlightened eye, and boared ear, which man performeth not, nor can it be received from him.

For we know that cloud of thick darkness, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabric of the work of God, to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof: yea to us, it is even that cloud of witness, which testifies unto us, the like works to appear, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us.

Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day, but in the one, and the other, the only glory and safety of all the tribes: but how, you know not, nor can you with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wilderness, and accordingly, have made the whole way, and will of our Lord, the oldness of the letter, both to yourselves, and to all that have an ear to listen unto you; thence it is that the day of Lord, is a day of darkness and gloominess unto you, but of joy and gladness unto us; yea, it lifts up our head only, and then is our salvation near; for we know the worthies of David doubled about the bed of Solomon, which expel all fear in the night, handling the sword with success, making the adversaries nothing but meat to seed upon, so that the time of your fears is the time of our courage and conquest, for when you fear error, schism, rents and consolations in church and state, then do we know the messenger of the covenant, the Lord whom we seek is speeding his passage into his holy temple: for who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his coming, he being like a refiner's fire, and fuller's soap?

In that you invite us unto your courts to fetch your equal balanced justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that, both in what they have, and what they are, and we know them to be such, as profess the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now, if we have our opponent, to prefer his action against us, and not only so, but to be our counsel, our jury, and our judge, for so it must be, if you be one with them (as you affirm) we know before hand, how our cause will be ended, and see the scale of your equal justice turned

already, before we have laid our cause therein, and cannot but admire, to see you carried so contrary to your own received principles: for you know not how to find Christ as a ruling and teaching elder both in one person, therefore he is not complete amongst you by your own law, except in several persons, and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to find both a king and a priest in him, and yet in your way of making tender of your justice unto us you know how to become one with our adversaries (so) as if we deal with them, we deal with you, and if we have to do with you, we have to do with them also, yea further, we know, that the chief amongst you, have professed we are not worthy to live; and that if some of us were amongst you, we should hardly see the place of our abode any more; now that they have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they must much more bring it up, in taking away all means of life, witness our prohibition, that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not think yourselves safe, in all your own, self provision and worldly furniture, except you disarmed a company of poor Indians, whom Aaron your Levitical sacrificer hath made naked, as he doth all those which triumph in a calf, though the most costly and beautiful, that the jewels and earnings of learning, either in language, or art, can possibly bring forth: your own amazements upon mere rumors, may testify the truth hereof; so then; we are judged by your law before our cause be hard, or ourselves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing unto us, to have our condition conformed unto moles the man of God, who was dead in Pharaoh's account, before he was brought forth, and so it was with Christ our Lord, in the days of Herod also, who is our life (at which you strike) and makes all things, yea, death itself, lively, and advantageous unto us.

We cannot but wonder, that you should read the Scripture, and not find them fulfilled, in, and amongst yourselves, when as they appear so apparently, that he that runs may read them what think you of Herod, when the Lord had delivered Peter out of prison, and released him of those bonds, and brought him from that thralldom, which he had so cruelly imposed upon him, to gain the favor of the Jews, and that by a power supereminent, transcending the bounds of his authority, and by a wisdom surpassing the depth of his counsel, and polices, to find out, together with his soldiers and champions, he presently goes down to Cesarea, and Herod is angry with them of Tyrus and Sidon, (*thumomachon*) a heavy friend, or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind, manifested in an outreaching, and circumventing policy, to subdue them unto himself, that he might rule over them: finding himself fall short of power and police, to subject the word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfy his own lusts, in his lordship over it, he pursues with all eagerness to make himself a god, by reigning over the bodies and estates of men; yea, though they be but such, as Tyrus and Sidon, can afford unto him, to make subjects of, and when they come unto him with one accord to make offer of themselves, in yielding to his affectionate and political project, he sitting upon the judgment seat, in his royal apparel making his oration, of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and counsel, to minister justice and righteousness unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord) the people with a shout crying out, the voice of God and not of man, the truth and substance of which cry is, this is the ordinance of God and not of man, immediately the angel of the Lord smites him, and he that ever acknowledged himself, to be a worm, and no man upon the earth, consumes and eats up all his pomp and glory, even as those, whom you account the shame and contempt of the people, shall (through that angel of the Covenant) waste and bring to naught all those rhetorical, (though earthly) orations that are made amongst you, by your so learned, studious, and experienced clerk: take for illustration of your estate as above, the speech of your alderman Oliver, in case of committing Francis Hutchinson to prison; one of your Church-members wondering that brother

Winthrop would do it before the church had dealt with him, brother, saith he, why; he is thy God man.

Lend your eye yet farther, to parallel your practice personated in Pilate and the people, when Pilate offereth Jesus unto the people to be judged, they profess, they have such a law, as puts no man to death: they are all for mercy and forgiveness, when they are out of the judgment hall, but let Pilate enter in thither; and then, nothing but crucify him, crucify him; be their accusations, and witnesses, never so false: even so, in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercies, to redress, reform, and for preservation, both of soul and body; do but enter into the common hall, and then, as Pilate asked “am I a Jew?” so do you, do I sit, or speak here, as a brother? I do not, I am now in a higher sphere, than that (though they be acknowledged coheirs with Christ) can attain unto, therefore if witness be brought in, and oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid unto it, so far as men’s names, to be branded with infamy, estates, depriving women and children of things necessary, and precious loves of men can extend themselves, to contribute anything thereunto; so that the professed mercy, and clemency of your law, to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recovery, comes unto this issue, as much as in you lies, to send both soul and body down unto hell forever without redress, and all hope of recovery.

But your hour, and the power of darkness, is known what it is, either to have men’s persons in admiration because of advantage; or else, to seek all occasions against them, to brand them with all manner of reproach, and ignominy, but for the truth, taught daily in the temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand, or exercise your ministry against it, lest it become leprous, and you take it back again with loss, when it appears dried and withered.

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

We demand, what think you of those two witnesses, prophesying in sackcloth, a thousand two hundredth and threescore days: those two olive trees, and two candle sticks, standing before the God of the earth? are these guilty and vile persons, out of whose hands (by the power of your ministries) you are delivering and releasing the world? Then indeed are your ways justifiable: but if these be the just, chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea such, as without which, his truth and righteousness are not justified, his wisdom, and holiness maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ, then are your ways wicked, and to be abhorred; for in your professed course, you are they, by whom these are slain, and put to death, and all your glory is to keep their corpses unburied in your streets, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witness are, whom you are altogether ignorant of, for your libraries never saw them, and you see not but by their eyes, for these are two, and never more, nor yet less, yea ever the same, they are olive trees, else no witnesses, and also candlesticks, else both the former fail, yea, are not at all. We must tell you what these are, else we cannot declare how you kill them, for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, nor the house of our armor, because you take all as execrable, and put all to a profane use that cometh from us; but these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus; or, in the true language of heaven also, the strength and the weakness of Christ, for he was crucified through weakness, but he liveth by the power of God: this is the word of the Lord in Zerubbabel, not by an army, nor by power, and so deprives him of all strength, but by a spirit, that the greatest mountain, or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand

before, but becomes a plain, which with facility and ease he passeth upon; thence it is that he doth not only lay the top or the headstone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and then only is the voice of flouting heard, grace, grace in the house forever; and then doth the day of small things become the day of joy and triumph, yea, of parting the rich spoils and prey of all the world, for then he that doth but turn and lift up his eyes he cannot look besides that great flying book of the curse that is gone forth over the whole earth.

Without these two witnesses jointly uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to be divulged by any, no evidence nor testimony of God is given, or brought in at all, but a mere refuge of lies for the souls of men to betake themselves unto; without these two pipes of the olive trees emptying themselves into the bowl of the candlesticks, no unction nor oil at all is found in them, and that being wanting, the light of the sanctuary is gone out; so that the light appearing amongst you is only the light of Balaam, whose eye was open, which you may read either Shethum or Sethum, for that opening is nothing else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing you see not, but communicate only in the light of that beast, who puts the witnesses to death, as Balaam did in the fight of that dumb beast of his whose eyes were opened to see the angel before him; so that while you think it is our wisdom to stoop unto you for light, we never come amongst you but see ourselves in a regiment of gross and palpable darkness, and discern you very plainly, how you scabble upon the wall to find the door of Lots house, and cannot. As also how you toil yourselves to climb up into the sheep-fold, another, yea, so many other ways, and have no sight nor discerning of us the door, at all, by the which whosoever entereth, becomes a true seeder of the flock of God; yea, none entereth in thereat, but the true shepherd himself.

Most impious it is to put to death two such noble witnesses, that have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophesying; to turn the waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they will, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wise, the life or power of the son of God, as above, which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or containment, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him, yet have you not dared to grasp and environ that power in the heavens, and therefore have resolved and concluded that he only rules upon the earth in these days by his deputies, lieutenants, and vice generals, whereby you limit, and so destroy the Holy One of Israel; for give him that in one time, or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere you deny him, and you make a nullity of him unto yourselves, and in so doing, you kill that other witness, namely, the death or weakness of the Lord Jesus: for you must have man to be honorable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule among you; yea and these things are of man, and by man, as appears, in that they only officiate so, as man may disannul and take it away again; witness your change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus have you slain also the death or the weakness of Christ, who professeth himself to be a worm and no man, the shame and contempt of the people; and these faithful and true witnesses thus slain, you must of necessity deny burial, and keep them both in open view in your streets, or otherwise all your pomp and glory falls to the dust whence it came, and on which it seeds. Nor can you send your presents one to another of your acts of justice, power to protect, wealth, honor, and friends wherewith you gratified each other; and where these are thus slain, and their corpses lie in open view, none of the gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindred suffering their carcasses to be put in graves, there is that great city which spiritually is Sodom and Egypt, where our Lord is crucified; but after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God shall enter into them, and they shall stand up upon their set to the terror of you all: nor do you think that we only inveigh against the great ones of this world for thus doing,

for we know that the basest peasant hath the same spirit with the greatest princes of this world, and the greatest of the princes of this world, hath the very same spirit wherewith the basest peasant hath laid himself open in the view of all men: these we say, are the two witnesses if you can receive it, and what a dishonor is it to trade so much by means of witnesses, and yet not know what a true witness is? Which if you did, you durst not attempt the things you do, whereby you cast reproach upon all the world, in that you profess yourselves a choice people picked out of it, and yet go on, in such practices as you do, maintaining them as your only glory. Our Lord gives you in charge not to swear at all, but it is your dignity to bring men to your seats of justice with nothing but oaths in their mouths, why do you not balance the Scriptures in this point? *Viz.*

It hath been said of old, thou shall not commit adultery, but I say unto you, he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart already: so also it hath been said of old, Thou shall not forswear thyself, but I say unto you, swear not at all: so that if it be adultery, to look to lust, it is also forswearing a man's self, to swear at all; if the one be adultery, the other is perjury, if one be admitted in some cases, the other also, so that in preaching the toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea the duty of adultery itself; so that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all men's consciences, not only the guilt but the folly and madness of the oath of man, showing how far it is, either from inverting into place, or demonstrating causes, so that he that concludeth upon honor, and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge and boundless, to judge in a cause, from that testimony without the which he could not have it, is as vain in his thoughts, as if he should hereupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of heaven, which is no less stable than the throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firm as his foot-stool forever, or made a fraction in the orders of Jerusalem, that choice and peculiar city of the great King, whose institutions no mortal breath can entrench upon, or to profess his authority and skill to be such, whereby he can make a hair of his head black or white, cause his age to wax old as doth a garment, or renew it with the eagle at his pleasure, hereby doth man (in this point of swearing) profess his folly to be such, that he is become not only vain in his imaginations, but unto that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himself into the prerogative royal of his maker. So that however you boast of the Ordinances of God, yet he tells you there is no more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, in them, for what is once nay, is ever nay in the Ordination of Christ, and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account however man reckoneth, whose account shall be called over again, what is once curse, is ever the cure, and what is once the principality and power of Christ, is ever the principality and power of Christ, as that which is once the principality and power of darkness, is ever the same, what hands soever it cometh into for manifestation: measure your kingdom whether it be eternal, and your jurisdiction whether it be unlimited, for he hath given (him) the heathen for his inheritance, the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, and a kingdom of less extent he professeth not, nor can he approve or acknowledge any that do, no more then light can approve of darkness, or the Lord Jehovah of the Lord Baal.

Be wise therefore, and bethink yourselves while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, as though you would make yourselves Meriba, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord, rather kiss the son (if it be possible) lest his wrath be kindled and you perish from the way forever, O blessed only they, that hope in him.

So that he which professeth on this wise, it is yea, I am a pastor, but it was nay, at such a time I was none, he renounceth that spirit of the true pastor, yet only seeder of Israel, professing only that spirit that pusheth the weak with the horn, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flock of God should drink. He with whom it is yea, I am a ruler, but it was nay when I was

none at all, renounceth that spirit of him that rules in righteousness, professing the spirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that prince of the power of the air, who is now working so effectually in the children of disobedience. So also he with whom it is yea, I am a captain, or chief slaughter-man, but it was nay, time was I was none at all, renounceth that victory and slaughter made by the captain and high priest of our profession, (who as he is a lamb slain from the beginning, his victory and slaughter must be of the same antiquity,) professing himself to be a chief slaughter-man, or superfluous giant, made in that host of the Philistims, standing in readiness to come out, to desire the host of the living God: yea, it is evident, that whatsoever is more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, not settling each upon its base, whereon it standeth forever without control, but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers at their pleasure, is of that evil, or not of Jesus, the salvation of his people, but of Shedim that waster and destroyer of mankind forever: know therefore that it is the oath of God which confirms and makes good his Covenant and promise unto a thousand generations: and it is the oath of man, which is the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with death and hell forever; be ye assured it is not the tabernacle of witness which you have amongst you, brought in by Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, but it is Siccuth your King, or the tabernacle of Molock, the star of your God Remphan, figures which you have made unto yourselves, which you have taken up, and are bearing so stoutly upon your shoulders. Now to tell you what an oath according to God is, that the Scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or terms of certainty where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discern or judge of it, therefore according to our word above, we leave it as a parable unto you, as all the holy word of our God is, as your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declareth.

In a word, when we have to do in your jurisdiction, we know what it is to submit to the wise dispensations of our God, when you have to do amongst us, in the liberties he hath given unto us, we doubt not, but you shall find him judge amongst us, beyond and above any cause or thing you can propose unto us; and let that suffice you, and know, that you cannot maintain a justification, but you must reject all inroads upon other men's privileges, and so do we.

In the meantime, we shall (as we think good) be calling over again some matters that you have taken up and had the handling of them amongst you, to see what justice or equity we find hath been exercised in them, and redress them accordingly: for we profess right unto all men, and not to do any violence at all, as you in your prescript threaten to do to us, for we have learned how to discipline our children, or servants, without offering violence unto them, even so do we know how to deal with our deboist, rude, nay inhuman neighbors, (or if you will, Nabals) without doing violence, but rather rendering unto them that which is their due.

Nor shall we deprive a witness of his modest testimony for the outcries, and clamors of such a one as ill-bred apostatized Arnold that felonious hog killer, being the party to be testified against, or for the oath of any interested in the cause, nor shall we be forward to come so far, to find your work upon your request, till we know you to bear another mind, than others of your neighbors do, with whom we have had to do in this country, whose pretended and devised laws we have stooped under, to the robbing and spoiling of our goods, the livelihood of our wives and children, thinking they had labored, (though groping in great darkness) to bring forth the truth, in the rights and equity of things, but finding them to be a company of gross dissembling hypocrites, that under the pretense of law and religion, have done nothing else, but gone about to establish themselves in ways to maintain their own vicious lusts, we renounce their Diabolical practice, being such as have denied in their public courts, that the laws of our native country should be named amongst them, yea those ancient statute laws, casting us into most base, nasty

and insufferable places of imprisonment for speaking according to the language of them, in the meanwhile, breaking open our houses in a violent way of hostility (abusing our wives and our little ones) to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved, thinking thereby to keep us ignorant of the courses they are resolved to run, that so the viscosity of their own wills might be a law unto them, yea they have endeavored, and that in public expressions, that a man being accused by them, should not have liberty to answer for himself in open court. Dealings of like nature we find in the place whereof you style us your neighbors, (on whole unbridled malice, we find a higher than you putting a curb) and yet in your account and reckoning we are the parties that still are doing the wrong, and must bear the guilt in your most mature sentence, in whomsoever the spot ariseth and abideth. But the God of vengeance (unto whom our cause is referred, never having our protector and judge to seek) will show himself in our deliverance out of the hands of you all, yea all the house of that Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth, nor will he fail us to utter and make known his strength (wherein we stand) to serve in our age, and to minister in our course, today and tomorrow, and on the third day, can none deprive us of perfection, for he hath taught us to know what it is to walk today, and tomorrow, and the day following also, when a perishing estate cannot arise out of Jerusalem, though she be the only one, (yea, none but she) that kills the Prophets and stones them that are sent unto her.

Behold ye that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the coming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certain years, which some (you say) shall attain unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, you blind guides, as your fathers have ever done, so do ye. Behold we say, whenever he appeareth, your house (which ye so glory in) shall be left unto you desolate, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation and confusion, for Babel is its name; nor shall you see him to your comfort in the glory of his kingdom, until you can say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, when the authority and power of man appears to be the building of Babel unto you, and the name and authority of God only, to be that, wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach, in the eyes of all the world, that a King should ride into his chief city, so strangely furnished, upon an ass borrowed, her furniture old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none but poor, mean, excommunicated persons, such as your Elders, scribes, Pharisees, lawyers, and all your credible persons among you, make full account they are not only accursed by, but also destitute and void of all law, when you can find Hosanna in the highest, arising out of such contempt and shame, then, and then only shall you sing unto him with comfort. In the meantime acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay yourselves on the name of man, and in his beauty to delight and glory, which shall fade as a lease, and like the grass shall wither when it is fitting itself for the oven, such is man whose breath is in his nostrils, and the son of sorry man, in whom you delight to trust, his power and his policy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and hear in the country from whence we are brought. We are not ignorant of those shameful lies and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, thinking to bow down our backs under ignominy and reproach; neither of those straits and difficulties they have cast us upon, in the things which concern this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto (as their own confession hath witnessed) doing it in such a way of painted hypocrite and false gloss unto the eye of the world, that we might seem unto itself executioners. We RESOLVE therefore to follow our employments, and to carry and behave ourselves as formerly we have done (and no otherwise) for we have wronged no man, unless with hard labor, to provide for our families, and suffering of

gross, idle, and idol drones to take our labor out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us.

So that if any shall go about to disturb or annoy us henceforth in our employments and liberties, which God hath, or shall put into our hands, that can claim no interest in us but by theft courses; what their business is, we know by proof sufficient, to be nothing else but that ancient errand of Nimrod, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his shall be no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty, and dissembling way of hypocrisy, but in dire and open terms of tyranny, we will not be dealt with as before, we speak in the Name of our God, we will not; for if any shall disturb us, as above, secret hypocrites shall become open tyrants, and their laws appear to be nothing else but mere lusts in the eyes of all the world.

And wherefore do you murmur among yourselves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expression? It is because you are ignorant of the cross of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is: therefore it is, that while you inveigh against such as set up a statue of wood and stone, to bow down unto it, and are so vain, as to cross the air, (to use your own expression) upon the face of infants, when they sprinkle them with water to as great purpose. And in the meantime you preach and set up Seghnirim for your cross, whom you fall down unto so willingly, and lest you let the word pass without exposition of it unto all, it signifies, horror and fear, which is the cross you hold and teach, and by and through which you think to be saved, which is a name given by our Lord unto the Devil himself, as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives name, as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named; so that if he speak, I have said ye are gods, of any besides himself, it is to declare, that there is not only the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore he saith, they shall die, even as Adam, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the princes, even as one of those princes of Midian, whose carcasses became dung for the earth; and he that gives that title unto any but the true God (that made heaven and earth) in any other sense but as it declares a flat opposition against God, is reassign that ancient spirit of the serpent, if ye eat, you shall be as gods, to judge of good and evil, for which all men are set up in that kind; even so, while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction, and anxiety, and trouble of mind, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ, out of which condition their comfort is to flow, is nothing else but to conclude the son of God to be Belial, yea, to affirm him to be Seghnirim himself; this doth he receive at your hands in your ministries, for all your fawning upon him with a kiss, so that if you will know how far you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this parable, verily, as far as the weakness of God is stronger than man.

Countrymen, for we cannot but call you so, though we find your carriage towards us to be so far worse than these Indians, we advise you to take things together, and what God hath joined, let none dare to put asunder: so that if you be ashamed of the cross in baptism, be alarmed of the baptism also, for such as the cross is, such is the baptism, therefore your ancestors go beyond you in that, to join crossing of the air, and sprinkling with the element of water together, but where ever baptism according to the word of Christ is, there is the cross of Christ also, they can no more be separated, than his adepter and kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also, and as they are co-incident, so are they co-apparent; so that if ever you see the baptism of Christ truly in use, and exercised upon any, you do as truly see that party partaking and communicating with the cross and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such estate, and to conclude that afterwards they may be worthy of censure, yea possibly unto an *anathema maranatha*, is nothing else but to conclude a total and final falling away from the

grace of God, as your fathers have done before you; for no grace greater than the cross of our Lord Jesus.

Behold therefore you despisers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptisms, how prejudicial they are to the cross of Christ: be ashamed and return in time, or he shall be a swift witness against you forever, when your repentance shall come too late: but you think the cross of Christ is not, but only in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing and crouching unto the lust of every man, otherwise his Shebett is not fit, nor suiteth it at all with your regiment, unless so servile, that every man may serve his own lusts of him, to get wealth and honor, friends and allies, by setting bounds and limits unto the holy Word of God; some in the way of one device, and some according to another, and he that will not either walk as a dumb beast, (worse then Balaam's ass) and say nothing, or else give a sense of the holy writings to maintain the devised platform, if mercy must be used, not to hang and burn, yet punishment is ready waiting upon them; therefore shall you know by the rod of his power that comes out of Zion, that he will be ruler, even in the midst of his enemies.

Per us whom you style your neighbors of Providence, you have said it, Providence is our hold, the neighborhood of the Samaritan we profess. And for the looking on, and turnings aside of your priests and Levites, without either unction, or bowels of compassion, all those slain and wounded in soul amongst you, finding no remedy, do plainly testify unto all men the nature of your travails and neighborhood what it is, that neither the oil of those two olive trees, nor the fatness of that vine, which maketh glad God and man, is conversant amongst you; your speech to us in general, not using our names, whereas we know, it is particulars you aim at, gives us plainly to see, the word Ælem revived and living in you, as it stands with its coherence in Psalm 58.

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

From our Neck: Curo, September 15, 1643.

To the great and honored Idol General, now set up in the Massachusetts, whose pretended equity in distribution of justice unto the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a mere device of man, according to the ancient customs and sleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light, to subject and make slaves of that species or, kind that God hath honored with his own image, read Daniel 3 chap. wherein (if it be not like Lot's love unto the Sodomites) you may see, the visage or countenance of the State, for we know the sound of all the music, from the highest note of wind-instruments, sounding, or set up by the breath or voices of men, (to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth but they, to do right unto the sons of men) unto the lowest tones of the stringed instruments, subjecting themselves to hand

or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God had made man to be a vassal to his own species or kind, for he may as well be a slave to his belly, and make it his God, as to anything that man can bring forth, yea, even in his best perfection, who can lay claim to no title or term of honor but what the dust, rottenness, and putrifaction can afford, for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Woe therefore unto the world, because of the idols thereof; for idols must needs be set up, but woe unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of the above said principles, which is the kingdom of darkness and of the devil; you have writ another note unto us, to add to your former pride and folly, telling us again, you have taken Pumham, with others into your jurisdiction and government, and that upon good grounds (as you say) you might have done well to have proved your self Christians, before you had mingled yourselves with the heathen, that so your children might have known how to put a distinction betwixt yours and them in after times, but we perceive that to be too hard a work for yourselves to perform, even in time present. But if you will communicate justice and government with that Indian, we advise you to keep him amongst yourselves, where he, and you may perform that worthy work: yet upon a better ground, we can inform you that he may not expect former certifies from us, for now by your note, we are resolved of his breach of covenant with us, in this his seeking and subjection unto you, which formerly he hath always denied; let him and you know therefore, that he is to make other provision for his planting of corn hereafter, than upon Mshawomet, for we will not harbor amongst us any such fawning, lying, and cadaverous person as he is, after knowledge of him, as now in part you have given unto us, only he shall have liberty sufficient to take away his corn, habitation, or any of his implements, so be it he pass away in peace and quiet, which might in no case be admitted, if it were so that we lived by blood, as you do, either through incision of the nose, division of the ear from the head, stigmatize upon the back, suffocation of the veins, through extremity of cold, by your punishments in the winter, or strangled in the flesh with a halter. But we know our course, professing the kingdom of God and his righteousness, renouncing that of darkness and the devil, wherein you delight to turf, for without the practice of these things, you cannot kiss your hand, bless the idol, nor profess your vows and offerings to be paid and performed. O ye generation of vipers, who hath fore-warned you, or fore-stalled your minds with this, but Satan himself, that the practice of these things is to fly from the wrath to come; whereas the very exercise and performance of them, is nothing else but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already, in that mankind, so harmonically made in the Image of God, is in the exercises of the kingdom, become the torturer and tormentor, yea the executioner of itself, whilst those of you that are of the same stock and item, work out, yea, and that curiously, through the law of your minds, the death and destruction of one another; when as, in the meantime, the same nature or subsistence, in the way of our Lord Jesus, saves both itself and others. You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjust dealings and injuries done unto them, why do they not make them known to us, they never complained to us of anything done unto this day, but they had satisfaction to the full, according to their own mind, for oft we know, in what they express unto us, although our wrongs insufferable done by them lie still in the deck, for we know very well, we have plenty of causeless adversaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject, therefore we suffer much, that in the perfection and height of their plots, they may receive the greater rebuke and shame for their baseness, in the eyes of all the world.

To which end we have not only committed our condition unto writings, but them also into the hands and custody of such friends, from whom they shall not be taken by any, or by all the governments of this country, as formerly they have been, that so our wrongs might not appear;

therefore never pick a quarrel against us in these things, for we know all your styles and devices, that being you now want such as old malicious Arnold, one of your low stringed instruments, to exercise his fiddle amongst us, and we are void of your benediction also, sprung out of the same stock to make rents and divisions for you to enter to gain honor unto yourselves in having patients to heal, though they lie never so long under your hands, your surgery must be thought never the worse. Wanting these or such like of the English, to betray the liberties, God hath given us into your hands, now you work by your coadjutors, these accursed Indians; but you are deceived in us, we are not a cope fitted for your so eager appetite, no otherwise, than if you take it down it shall prove unto you a cope of trembling, either making you vomit out your own eternal shame, or else to burst in sunder with your fellow confessor for air, Judas Iscariot.

For Mr. Winthrop and his copartner Parker, may not think to lay our purchased plantation to their island so near adjoining, for they come too late in that point, though Benedict hath reported that Miantonomo, one of the Sachems, of whom we bought it, should lose his head for selling his right thereof to us.

As also a minister affirmed that Mr. Winthrop should say to him, that we should either be subjected unto you, or else removed hence, though it should cost blood. Know therefore, that our lives are set apart already for the case we have in hand, so we will lose nothing but what is put apart forehead, bethink yourselves therefore what you should gain by fetching of them, in case it were in your power, for our loss should be nothing at all.

For we are resolved, that according as you put forth yourselves towards us, so shall you find us transformed to answer you. If you put forth your hand to us as countrymen, ours are in readiness for you: if you exercise the pen, accordingly do we become a ready writer; if your sword be drawn, ours is girt upon our thigh; if you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire: for we are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuit of us, still, to come your courts, to receive your parcels of justice, undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes that you see not our answer formerly given in that point, or else you are most audacious to urge it upon us again; also you may take notice that we take it in more disdain than you could do, in case we should importune you (yea) the chief amongst you, to come up to us, and be employed according to our pleasure, in such works as we thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedom unto us to come down to you, and return in safety, we cannot sufficiently vilify this your verbal and perfunctory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your own conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst us since our coming into this country, you have been the violent agents, and we the patients. To fear therefore to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the cause vanisheth in us, so must the effect also. And to fear to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant must necessarily implies, we cannot, knowing that he which is with us, is stronger than he which is with you.

Also the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and when, and where he shall call we will go, but not at the will and lust of sorry men to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparent you desire to do, for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kind, you might well think that we have better employments than to trot to the Massachusetts upon the report of a lying Indian, or English either, as your factors and ordinary hackneys do.

But know this O ye—that so long as we behave ourselves as men, walking in the name of our God, where ever we have occasion to come, if any mortal man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us into question, we dare to give an answer to him, or them, nor shall we fail

through God, to give testimony even in his conscience of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concern the rise or succession either of priest or peer. In the meantime we sit in safety under the cloudy pillar, while the nations roar and make a noise about us, and though you may look upon us with the unopened eye of Eliah's servant, thinking us as nothing to those that are against us, yet wherever the cloud rests, we know the Lord's return to the many thousands of Israel.

In that you say our freedom granted to come to you, takes away all excuse from us, we freely retort it upon yourselves to make excuses, whose laws and proceedings with the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued art (like the horse in the mill) of accusing and excusing, which you do by circumstances and conjectures, as all the fathers have done before you, the diviners and necromancers of the world, who are gone to their own place and have their reward; but for the true nature, rise, and distribution of things as they are indeed and shall remain and abide as a law firm and stable forever, we say and can make it good, you know nothing at all, therefore such as can delight themselves in preaching, professing, and executing of such things, as must end as the brute beasts do, nay take them away for present and they have lost their honor, religion, as also their God; let such we say, know themselves to be that beast and false prophet, no man of God at all. In the mean time we look not on the things that are seen, but on the things that are not seen, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternal. Nor do we think the better of any man for being invested into places or things that will in time wax old as doth a garment, neither judge we the worse of any man for the want of them: for if we should we must condemn the Lord Christ, as so many do at this day.

We demand when we may expect some of you to come to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of these soul and inhuman wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your countrymen: not to bring in a catalogue, as we might, take this one particular abuse you are now acting; in that you abet, and back these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed Pumham is an aspiring person, as becomes a prince of his profession, for having crept into one of our neighbors houses, in the absence of the people, and feloniously rifled the same, he was taken coming out again at the chimney-top: Socononoco also hath entered in like manner into one of our houses with divers of his companions, and breaking open a theft, did steal out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still to see to what good issue you will bring your proceedings with these persons, by whom you are so honorably attended in the court general, as you call it, and would honor us also, to come three or four score miles to stand by you and them; we could tell you also that it is nothing with these fellows to send our cattle out of the woods with arrows in their sides, as at this present it appears in one even now so come home, and it is well they come home at all, for sometimes their wigwams can receive them, and we have nothing of them at all; yea they can domineer over our wives and children in our houses, when we are abroad about our necessary occasions, sometimes throwing stone, to the endangering of their lives, and sometimes violently taking our goods, making us to run for it if we will have it, and if we speak to them to amend their manners, they can presently vaunt it out, that the Massachusetts is all one with them, let the villainy they do be what it will, they think themselves secure, for they look to be upheld by you in whatever they do, if you be stronger than them which they have to deal withal, and they look with the same eye yourselves do, thinking the multitude will bear down all, and persuade themselves (as well as they may) that you tolerate and maintain them in other of their daily practices, as lying, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, gross whoredoms, and fornications, so you will do also, in then stealing, abusing of our children, and the like, for you have your

diligent ledgers amongst them that inculcate daily upon this, how hateful we are unto you, calling us by other names of their own deviling, bearing them in hand, we are not Englishmen, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us, and that if we have anything to do with you, the very naming our persons shall cast our case be it what it will, as it is too evident by the case depending between William Arnold and John Warner, that no sooner was the name of Mr. Cotton mentioned amongst you, but Mr. Dudley disdainfully asking, is this one, joined to Gorton, and Mr. Winthrop unjustly upon the same speech, refused the oath of the witness calling him knight of the post: are these the ways and persons you trade by towards us? Are these the people you honor yourselves withal the Lord shall lay such honor in the dust, and bow down your backs with shame and sorrow to the grave, and declare such to be apostatizers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God only to please men, and serve their own lusts, that can give thanks in their public congregations for their unity with such gross abominations as these. We must needs ask you another question from a sermon now preached amongst you, namely how that blood relisheth you have sucked formerly from us, by carting us upon straights above our strength, that, have not been exercised in such kind of labors, no more then the best of you in former times in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of some of us, when you are about your ditched up dainties, having turned the juice of a poor silly grape that perisheth in the use of it, into the blood of our Lord Jesus by the cunning skill of your magicians, which doth make mad and drunk so many in the world, and yet a little sleep makes them their own men again, so can it heal and pacify the consciences at present, but the least hand of God returns the fears and terror again, let our blood we say present itself together herewith, you hypocrites when will you answer such cases as these, and we do hereby promise unto you, that we will never look man in the face if you have not a fairer hearing then ever we had amongst you, or can ever expect; and be it known to you all, that wear your own countrymen, whatever you report of us, though the Lord hath taught us a language you never spoke, neither can you hear it, and that is the cause of your alienation from us; for as you have mouths and speak not, so have you ears and hear not; so we leave you to the judgment and arraignment of God Almighty. *The joint act, not of the court general, but of the peculiar fellowship, now abiding upon Mshawomet.*

Randall Holden.

This they owned in Court though only Holden's hand were to it.

Postscriptum.

We need not put a seal unto this our warrant, no more than you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands, in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of blood, and horrible massacre, now made at the Dutch plantation, of our loving Countrymen, women, and children, which is nothing else, but the complete figure in a short epitome of what we have writ, summed up in one entire act, and lest you should make it part of your justification, as you do all such like acts, provided they be not upon your own backs, concluding them to be greater sinners than yourselves, we tell you (nay) but except you repent, you shall likewise perish.

For we ask you who was the cause of Mistress Hutchinson her departure from amongst you, was it voluntary? No, she changed her phrases according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so she might give you content to abide amongst you, yet did you expel her and cast her away; no less are you the original of her removal from Aquidneck, for

when she saw her children could not come down amongst you, no not to confer with you in your own way of brotherhood; but be clap up, and detained by so long imprisonment, rumors also being noised, that the island should be brought under your government, which if it should, she was fearful of their lives, or else to act against the plain verdict of their own conscience, having had so great and apparent proof of your dealings before, as also the island being at such divisions within itself, some earnestly desiring it should be delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you, others denied it, professing their dissent and division from you, though for what themselves know not, but only their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings having their original in you, she gathered unto herself and took up this fiction, (with the rest of her friends) that the Dutch plantation was the city of refuge, as she had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some certain glimpses or glances of light, more then appeared elsewhere whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might be some hope to exalt the instruments thereof, higher then could be expected from others, but you know very well you could never rest nor be at quiet, till you had put it under a bushel, *id est*, bounded and measured the infinite and immense word of God, according to your own shallow, human, and carnal capacities, which, howsoever may get the highest seats in your synagogues, synods, and Jewish synedrions, yet shall it never enter into the kingdom of God to be a door-keeper there. Do not therefore beguile yourselves in crying out against the errors of those so miserably fallen, for they are no other things which they held but branches of the same root yourselves so stoutly stand upon, but know this that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part, and every tree that brings not forth fruit according to the law of that good things, which the father knows, how to give to those that ask it, shall be cut down, and cart it into the fire: neither do you fill up your speeches or tales, (we mean your sermons) but that we affect not the idolizing of words, no more than of persons or places. For yourselves know the word is no more but a bruit or talk, as you know also your great and terrible word magistrate, is no more in its original, than masterly, or masterless, which hath no great luster in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore we look to find and enjoy the substance, and let the ceremony of these things, like vapors vanish away, though they gather themselves into clouds, without any water at all in them, the Lord is in the meantime a dew unto Israel, and makes him to grow like a lily, casting out his roots and branches as Lebanon.

We say, fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying, that she went out without ordinances, for God can raise up out of that stone, which you have already rejected, as children, so also ministers and ordinances unto Abraham: you may remember also, that every people and poor plantation, formerly fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your Levites, nor fetch in, one such dove as you send abroad into our native country, to carry and bring you news.

Nor can you charge them in that point, for it was for protection or government she went; and however, hire, in other respects, yet the price of a wife, and safety of his own life adjoined, carried a minister along with them of the same rise and breeding together with your own, to add unto the blood so savagely and causelessly spilt, with a company of such as you take pleasure to protect, for they are all of one spirit, if they have not hands in the same act; we say their death is causeless, for we have heard them affirm that she would never heave up a hand, no nor move a tongue against any that persecuted or troubled them, but only endeavor to save themselves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of persecution, neither of that antichristian opposition and tyranny, the issue whereof declares itself in this so and lamentable.

Note, good reader, that I had order to publish these two letters of his, as well literatim as verbatim, but because their orthography was so bad, as it would scarce have been understood, I left it to be corrected by the printer, but no word to be changed: and the reason of the word here left out, is, because it was worn and out, and so soiled in the original as we could not read it, and thought good rather to leave it a blank, than to put in a word of our own that was not theirs.

In the next place, I present thee here with certain observations collected out of both their letters, by a godly and reverend divine, whereby the reader may the better understand them, and indeed try the spirits of these men, whether they be of God or no. Now these his observations are ranked into three heads: *Viz.*

First, their reproachful and reviling speeches of the government and magistrates of the Massachusetts, which in Gorton's book he pretends so much to honor, became their government is derived from the State of England; and therefore I desire the to take the better notice of it.

The second head of his observations directs thee to their reviling language, not only against that particular government, and the magistrates of it, but against magistracy itself, and all civil power.

And in his third head, thou art directed to take notice of their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God. All which because they are of great concernment, I beseech the reader to take a little pains to compare them with Mr. Gorton and his company's letters.

Certain Observations collected out of both their LETTERS.

I. Their reproachful and reviling speeches of the government and magistrates of the Massachusetts.

1. They say our magistrates did lay their wisdom prostrate, in sending letters to them, which they scornfully call an irregular note.
2. That they bare them causeless enmity, the proof whereof every occasion brings forth.
3. They slyly call them the seed of the ancient mother; i. of the enmity of the Devil.
4. That they know it is the name of Christ call'd upon them, against which our magistrates do strive.
5. That they go about to hide their sin, as Adam, bearing the world in hand, that they desire not to contend, but to redress something in point of civil peace.
6. That they stand on tip-toe to stretch themselves beyond their bounds, to seek occasion against them.
7. That those who accuse them, are accusers of the brethren, Satan being a liar, and the father of it; which thing our magistrates cannot know though they be told of it.
8. That this act of theirs to treat about their land, is a map of their spiritual estate.
9. That they delight daily to eat of the forbidden fruit (which they call man's wisdom) out of which our churches and commonwealth is formed) to gain conformity with their maker.
10. They scorn at their purity and godliness, telling them that Cole and Arnold their dissembling subjects, are full of the spirit of their purity.
11. They do not say plainly that our Magistrates are dogs, but compare them to dogs in resuming their vomit into its former concoction, by receiving Cole and Arnold under our jurisdiction.
12. That the whole structure and edifice among us (i. the churches and commonwealth) is raised up in the spirit of an hireling, and that by submission to the Word of God in fasting, feasting, retiredness for study, contributing, treasuring (i. for church uses in several churches) they do nothing else but bring forth fruit unto death.
13. That farther than the Lord Jesus agrees with riches, honor and ease, our magistrates mind him not, nay, renounce, and reject him.
14. That they plainly crucify Christ, and put him to an open shame, which the Apostle, Hebrews 6, applies to the worst of men, who commit the unpardonable sin, and for whom men are not to pray.
15. That our magistrates are as far from yielding subjection to Christ, as Cole and Arnold from being honorable and loyal subjects, whom they call the shame of religion, the disturbance and disquiet of the place, dissembling subjects, page 10, as also deoboist, rude, inhuman Nabals, ill-bred, apostatized persons, and felonious, page 23. with many such like speeches.

16. That the things of God's kingdom are infinitely beyond the reach of their spirit, nor can they hear the lively oracle, and therefore are dumb in telling justice.
17. That the magistrates are Jews according to the flesh, and stout maintainers of the man of sin.
18. That they know our magistrates eyes are dazzled with envy, and their ears open to lies.
19. That they judge them before their cause be heard.
20. That in inviting them to their courts for their equal-ballasted justice (as they scornfully call it) they thereby strike at Christ their life.
21. That our Magistrates are like Herod, whom God smote with worms, for seeking by an outreaching and circumventing policy to subdue Tyrus and Sidon, and like Pontius Pilate, and the people who out of the judgment hall are all for mercy, but in it nothing but crucify him, crucify him, be their accusations, and witnesses never so false, so (say they) in your dealings with men in way of the Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redress, reform, for preservation of soul and body, do but enter into the common-hall, than if witnesses be but brought in, and oath taken though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid it, so far as to brand men's names with infamy, and deprive women and children of things necessary.
22. That the professed clemency and mercy of their law, is as much as in them lies, to send both soul and body down to Sheol (i. the grave and hell) forever, without redress and all hope of recovery.
23. That their hour and power of darkness is known, what it is either to have men's persons in admiration because of advantage, or else to seek all occasions against them, with all manner of reproach and ignominy.
24. That their ways are wicked, and to be abhorred, because in their professed course the two witnesses are slain by them, and put to death; and that all their glory is to keep their corpse unburied; and these two witnesses are the life and death of the Lord Jesus.
25. That the light appearing among them, is nothing but the light of Balaam, so that in seeing, they see not, but communicate only in the light of that Beast who put the witnesses to death.
26. They tell our magistrates, that they never come amongst them, but they see themselves in a regiment of gross and palpable darkness, and discern you to scabble on the wall for the door of Lot's house.
27. That they know not what a true witness is.
28. That the whole Word of God is a parable to them, as their conversation in all points daily declare it.
29. That they will not come near our magistrates, until they know they bear another mind from their neighbors, whom they call robbers, gross dissembling hypocrites, who do nothing but go about to establish such ways as may maintain their own vicious lusts, whose laws are pretended and devised, and whose practices (they say) they renounce as diabolical.

30. Ye blind guides (say they to our magistrates) as your fathers have ever done, so do you.
31. You set up Segnirim (i. as themselves interpret) fear and horror, or the Devil, by, and for the which you hope to be saved.
32. That their carriage towards them, is far worse then that of the Indians, whom themselves cry out of to be thieves and robbers; pag.32.
33. That they are despisers; behold (say they) ye despisers, the vanity and abominations of all your baptisms.
34. Ye think (say they) that the cross of Christ is nothing but bowing down the back to every burden, and cringing and crouching to the lust of every man.
35. They call the general court, the great Idol General whose pretended equity in distributing justice is a mere device of man according to the sleights of Satan.
36. They tell the court, that out of the kingdom of darkness and the Devil, they had writ another note to add to their former pride and folly.
37. For taking Pumham and Sachanonoco (Indian Sachems) under their protection; they tell the court they might have done well to have proved themselves Christians before they had mixed themselves with the heathen; but this was too hard for them to do.
38. They advise the court (in scorn) to keep the Indian with them, where he and they might perform that worthy work of distributing justice.
39. They tell the court that they live by blood.
40. They tell the court, they renounce the kingdom of darkness, and the Devil, wherein the court delights to trust.
41. They call the court, O ye generation of vipers.
42. They tell the court, they are not a cup fit for their appetite, but a cup of trembling either to make them vomit up their own eternal shame, or else to make them burst asunder with their fellow confessor Judas Iscariot.
43. That the court is either blind or audacious in desiring them to come for their parcels of justice, and that they disdain to come to them.
44. They profess they cannot sufficiently vilify the promise of the court, that they shall come down to them and return in safety; which they call a verbal and perfunctory offer.
45. They tell the court, that if their lusts had not prevailed over them, they might think they had better employment then to trot to Massachusetts as their factors, and ordinary hackneys do.
46. They tell the court that their laws and proceedings with the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued act of accusing and excusing (like the horse in the mill) which (say they) you do by circumstances and conjectures, as also your fathers have done before you, the diviners and necromancers of this world, who are gone to their own place, and have their reward.
47. They accuse our magistrates for maintaining Indians in their lying, Sabbath breaking, gross whoredoms, stealing, etc.
48. That they are hypocrites, having eyes and see not, ears and hear not, mouths and speak not.

Now had these men returned a rational answer, it might have been met perhaps by a few marginal notes to have returned some short reply; but both their letters being fraught with little else than mere railings, and reproachful language, it may be sufficient thus to present them in one view together, that so the wise and prudent may take a taste of their spirits, and learn from what fire it is that their tongues are thus highly inflamed. If our courts and magistrates had been in anything to blame, what a fair and easy way had it been to have first convinced them, before they had thus bitterly reviled them; but thus to cut and shave, and cast all this filth in their faces without proof or reason, argues a bold and insolent spirit fitted to make combustions and confusions in the place where they live. If indeed the magistrates had given them any sore provocations of returning ill language, there might have been some excuse, but alas, all the cause that can be given of most of this ill language, is nothing but writing friendly unto them, to send some from themselves to clear up the differences between them and the Indians, and to show their just title to the land they possessed: if they had kept this flood within their own banks, or been but moderate in reviling, it might have been winked at; but to fly out into such extremity on so small provocation against their betters, so as to call them idols, blind-guides, despisers, generation of vipers, such as crucify Christ, men that serve their own lusts, hypocrites, the seed of the Devil, necromancers, Judases, men that live by blood, robbers and thieves, men without mercy, among whom justice is dumb, delighting in the kingdom of darkness and the Devil, like Herod and Pilate in administering justice, whose eyes are dazzled with envy, and ears open to lies, stout maintainers of the man of sin, whose ways are wicked, and to be abhorred; worse than Indians, like dogs, etc. This language speaks loud to what country they belong, and of what race they come.

II. Their reviling language not only against the magistrates and government here in particular, but also against magistracy itself, and all civil power.

If any shall say for them (as themselves now for their own advantage do) that this ill language is directed only against our particular government and magistrates, but not against all civil power itself, the contrary may appear (notwithstanding their dark language, under which sometimes they seek to conceal it) in these particulars.

“They expressly affirm that the office to minister justice, belongs only to the Lord: and that therefore (from their instance of Herod) men make themselves Gods, (which themselves interpret to be only from the God of this world, and to be in flat opposition against God, page 26.) by ruling over the bodies and estates of men; and that the people receiving Herod to government, and crying out that this was the ordinance of God, and not of man, that he was immediately smitten of God for it: as also they tell us, p. 26 that to set up men to judge of good and evil, for which all men are set up in that kind; that this is reacting that ancient spirit of the Serpent, if ye eat, ye shall be as Gods.”

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

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

Answer 1. These men seem to acknowledge some way of ministering justice, but the mystery lies in that word office, they would have no man set up in the office of magistracy, distinguished from other men, but would have such a power common to the brethren, so that a man may judge as a brother, but not as an officer, and therefore they slyly justify him, who called one of our chief magistrates in the open face of the court, brother, and condemned all our magistrates, because every man doth not fit there to judge as a brother, page 16. and their reason seems to be drawn from this, because that to be a brother, and consequently a coheir with “Christ, is a higher sphere than to be a civil officer, as their own words intimate, page 16. Now the rule is evident *a quatenus ad omne*, that if ministration of justice and judgment belongs to no officer, but to a man as a brother, than to every brother, and if to every brother, whether rich or poor, ignorant or learned, than every Christian in a commonwealth must be King, and judge, and sheriff, and captain, and Parliament man, and ruler, and that not only in New England, but in Old, and not only in Old, but in all the Christian world; down with all officers from their rule, and set up every brother for to rule, which the godly-wise may easily discern to be the establishment of all confusion, and the setting up of anarchy worse than the greatest tyranny.

2. Although these may bear the world in hand that they allow ministration of justice and righteousness by men as brethren, yet some cakes of these men’s dough have been so far leavened and sowered against all civil power, as that in our public courts, being demanded how murderers, thieves, and adulterers should be punished if there should be no civil power coercive, they openly and roundly answered before many witnesses, that such persons must be left to the judgment of God, both which not long after God himself sat judge upon, being suddenly and barbarously slain by the bloody Indians in the Dutch plantation. First, they exclaim against us for choosing men that are honorable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, or else they may not rule among us, and this, they say, is of man, and by man, and putting the second witness to death, viz. the death or weakness of Christ, or in plain English, ‘tis a killing of Christ.

Now however the application is made unto our civil state, yet it manifestly strikes at all civil states in the world, who shall choose any officers, for rule and government, and administering of justice, although they be never so honorable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, and consequently most fit for government; and that in so choosing them they do put Christ himself to death. So that these men still harp on that string to have every man judge as a brother, whether honorable or not honorable, whether wise or foolish, whether of good report or evil report, otherwise Christ weakness is slain.

3. They affirm that they who can create, make void, and remove offices and officers at their pleasure, are of that evil one, (i. the devil) and not of Jesus Christ, but of Shedim that waster and destroyer of mankind forever. Their proof is from that monstrous interpretation of Yea, yea, and Nay, nay, and they instance not only in church officers, but in commonwealth officers, whether rulers or captains. Their words are these, viz. “He with whom it is yea, I am a ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceth the spirit of him that rules in righteousness, professing the spirit of him that is prince of the power of the air, who is working now so effectually in the children of disobedience; so also he with whom it is yea, I am captain, or chief slaughterman, but it was nay, time was that I was none at all, renounceth the victory and slaughter made by the captain and high priest of our profession, professing himself to be a superfluous giant made in the host of the Philistims to deny the host of the living God.”

By which speeches ‘tis evident that they do not only oppose civil officers chosen amongst us here, but all such as are chosen rulers, captains, and officers at any time, in any place, and were not so before; and such they say are of the Devil the destroyer of man.

4. They say men limit, and so destroy the Holy One of Israel, whose life is infinite, and without circumscription and containment (as they call it) if men acknowledge that Christ rules on earth only by his deputies, lieutenants, and vice generals, (i. by persons invested with civil authority and office, for so they are called by Orthodox divines) and therefore they say that his putting Christ to death, when only wise, and honorable, and learned, and experienced, and men of good report, are chosen to rule, because they would have the power to rule common to all Christians, but as for the office of rule to be peculiar to none, and therefore, page 24, they tell us that “none shall see Christ come into his kingdom with comfort, until the authority and power of man appears to be as the building of Babel, and the name and authority of God only to be that, wherein the blessing consists”; meaning that ‘tis Babylonish building which God milked, and confounded, for any man in office to rule and govern, because this is to limit the power and life of Christ (which is in every brother as well as in any officer) and so to kill the life of Christ; so that if any of them say that although they distaste officers, as kings and others by election, yet not such as are so by hereditary succession, they are but words to suit their own ends for a time, and to delude others, for if it be limiting the Holy One of Israel, a circumscribing and so destroying the life of Christ which is infinite, for to make him rule by his deputies and vice generals on earth, then not only kings and princes, whether by election or no, but all other civil officers must be abandoned, because the life and power of Christ is limited in successive as well as in elective princes, in inferior as well as in superior governors, who are Christ’s deputies, and vice generals, and therefore called Rom. 13:4. the ministers of God either for good or terror.

5. They call our general court the “Idol General, which is nothing else but a device of man by the slight of Satan to subject and make slaves of that species or kind which God hath honored with his own image, and they do not only speak thus of our courts as idols, but they cry out woe unto the world because of the idols thereof, for idols must needs be set up, but woe be unto them by whom they are erected, and their reason reacheth to all civil power, (for say they) a man may be as well a slave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vassal to his own species, or kind, or to anything that man can bring forth even in his best perfection.”

There are other evidences of their corrupt mind herein from other passages in their letters which they speak under more obscure clouds and allegories, but these may be a sufficient witness against them before men and angels, that they abandon all civil authority, although for to serve their own turns of others or their own lusts, they say they do not: the Apostle Jude long since, tells us of such persons expressly who despite dominion and speak evil of dignities, 1. They do not only despite these or those particular persons or States that are invested with Dominion; but they despite Dominion itself and dignities themselves, and would have all that power abandoned, whom he calleth v:8 filthy dreamers, defiling the flesh, murmurers and complainers walking after their own lusts, their mouths speaking great swelling words, v. 16. And that it may yet more fully appear that these men do abandon all civil authority, (although this secret they will not impart unto all, but rather profess the contrary) there is extant to be shown if need were, the writings between a prudent man in this country, and one of the chief, and most understanding of this peculiar fellowship (as they style themselves) wherein, he doth stoutly maintain these three assertions, 1. That there are no ordinances. 2. That there are no relations neither in the commonwealth between rulers and subjects, nor in the church between officers and brethren, nor in the families between husband and wife, master and servant, father and son. 3. That there are no inherent graces in Christians. By which principles the world may see what these men go about, viz. as much as in them lies to bring in a disorder and confusion in all States and families, and to open the sluice to all violence, injustice, and wickedness, by not

only abandoning, but reproaching and reviling all civil rule and authority upon earth, which they therefore scornfully call a mere device of man, idols, to be of the Devil, the destroyer of mankind, and to be a crucifying of Christ in his life and death, and all this when honorable, wise, learned, experienced, well-reported persons are chosen and invested with civil power, whom therefore they would not have maintained, and to whom it is as unlawful to administer any oath for the ending of civil differences, as to lust after a woman to commit adultery, Page 20.

III. Their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God

1. Against the Churches, they call them devised platforms, Page 26. and that the wisdom of men is the whole accomplishment (or that which gives the whole being) of Churches and Commonwealth. Page 10.

2. “Against the calling of ministers, they say, that to make their calling mediate and not immediate, is to make a nullity of Christ, and to crucify Christ, and to put him to an open shame, and that such ministers are magicians, Page 34.

Now this reflects upon all the ordinances and ordinary officers and ministers of Christ, that either are or have been in the church at any time, for although the offices be immediately from Christ, yet their call to exercise this office hath been ever accounted mediate.

3. “Against the word of God, they call the Sermons of Gods ‘ministers’ tales’, or lies and selfhoods, now had they thus spoken upon proof against any particular sermons, or persons, the accused might have spoken for themselves, but indifferently to revile all sermons as tales or surgeries, the doctrine generally taught here amongst us, being no other then that which Paul preached at Ephesus for three years space and upwards, viz. repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus, Acts 20, being also no other then what agrees generally with the harmony of confessions of all reformed churches: to call these tales is a word which the Lord Jesus will certainly remember, unless they repent; the sermons of the Apostles of Christ, as well as the doctrine of all reformed churches, being reproached hereby.

4. Against the sacraments: as for baptism they do not only make the baptizing of infants as abominable as the cross, but all our baptisms, “behold (say they) the vanity and abomination of all your baptisms,” and they do not mean all those baptisms which are in use amongst us, but in any churches of the world at this day; for they acknowledge no other baptism than that which is spiritual, and hence they say, “that whenever you see the baptism of Christ truly in use according to the word of God, you do as truly see that party partaking and communicating with the cross and sufferings of Christ, for these are co-apparent, now communicating in Christ sufferings in their meaning is only spiritual, and so is therefore all baptisms.” 2. As for the Lord’s Supper scarce a greater heap of blasphemies in fewer words can come from the mouth of man against that blessed ordinance, wherein Christ is so manifestly and sweetly present, for they call it “your dished up ‘dainties’, turning the juice of a silly grape that perished in the use of it, into the blood of the Lord Jesus, by the cunning skill of your magicians, which doth make mad and drunk so many in the world.”

5. Against repentance and humiliation for sin, they speak somewhat obscurely, but they that know them may soon understand their meaning, which if it be this, that in a way of compunction and sorrow for sin, a Christian is not to seek for consolation and comfort from Christ, and to affirm that this is to make the son of God Belial and Segnirim, the Devil himself, (as they interpret it) then ‘tis most gross blasphemy against not only the preaching, but practice

of repentance and godly sorrow, for which the Apostle rejoiced to see in the Corinthians, 7:9,10. and which James and Peter command and commend, James 4:9,10. and 1 Peter 5:6. and which way not so much Moses in the law but Christ in the Gospel hath sanctified to find pardon of sin, 1 John 1:9.

6. Against Christ Jesus himself: they condemn our doctrine for affirming “that Jesus Christ actually died and suffered only in the days of Herod, and Pontius Pilate, when he hanged on the cross, and that he was crucified in truth and substance only when he appeared borne of the Virgin Mary”: and for this doctrine we are condemned as wizards and necromancers.

Now what is this but to overthrow not only the being of Christ in the flesh, making him no other then such an one as actually suffered from the beginning of the world, and shall do to the end of it, but also overthrowing all faith and hope of salvation in that Messiah who was incarnate in the days of Herod and Pilate, and in his death and sufferings, and that one perfect offering, then once for all, Heb. 10:14. The reader may therefore be pleased to take notice that being asked in open court what was that Christ who was borne of the Virgin and suffered under Pilate? One of them answered that he was a semblance, picture, or a shadow of what was and is done actually and substantially in Christians; and hence the meaning of the words may be gathered, Page 11, which otherwise the wise reader may think to be nonsense. viz. “that they are wizards and necromancers who raise a shadow without a substance (viz. to make Christ to be slain in types since the world began) or who raise the substance of him who dwells in light without a shadow,” (making no more of Christ but a semblance and shadow, as themselves call it) for further explication of which they affirmed in open court that as the image of God in Adam was Christ, (“for God they said had but one image”) so the loss of this image by man was the death of Christ, and therefore ’tis no wonder if they deny Christ to die actually only when crucified under Pontius Pilate because man sinned actually (which they make to be Christ death) long before; meanwhile the reader may take notice with a holy astonishment and horror of the heavy curse of God in blinding these bold men with such a palpable and gross spirit of delusion and mad frenzies, who will make man’s sin and fall, which is the cause of perdition of men, to be the cause of the salvation of man, for so Christ’s death is which they blasphemously make man’s sin to be.

For further proof that they make little use of Christ and his death, then as hath been said, their own interpretation of the slaying of the two witnesses, Page 17,18, seemeth to confirm, for they make these two witnesses the life and the death of Christ in men, the life of Christ they call his strength, and the death of Christ they call his weakness, viz. as it is, and appears in weak, foolish, ignorant, inexperienced, and ill-reported of men, and therefore they blame us for killing of Christ’s death (for it seems it is such a death as may be killed) in that we chose honorable, wise, learned men, and of good report to place of rule, excluding others.

Now some of these blasphemies might have been the better borne if they had let Christ and his death alone, and his word alone, but to call the holy word and sermons of salvation tales, the sacrament an abomination, madding and making drunk the world, to call the ministers of Christ who dispense Word and Sacraments, necromancers and magicians, and they who hold and believe him to be the Messiah and Christ who suffered under Pilate, wizards, and all this in cool blood, in the open face of the court, obstinately refusing to alter a title of what they had writ, let the world judge if ever antichrist that beast spoken of Rev. 13:5, 6. did ever speak greater blasphemies against God, his name, and tabernacle, and whether such men deserve to live, that live thus to blaspheme; may not such civil states that tolerate such, fear that sentence of God against them as was pronounced against Ahab for letting blasphemous Benhadab escape with his

life, thy life for his life? however men's charity may enlarge itself this way, yet let wisdom preserve us and make the wise-hearted wary of such imposters, who want not their wiles to say and unsay, as may best suit their advantage, for they can hold forth at same time and to some persons, wholesome and orthodox truths and bear them in hand that this is all that they hold, but they have depths of abomination to give to drink when they see their seasons, in such golden cups; they have hidden secrets, which their young proselytes shall not presently see, much less others; for so they tell us, Page 17, that 'tis not their purpose to open to every one the house of their treasures, the silver and gold, and spices, and precious ointment, nor the house of their armor, because they may take them all as execrable and put them to a profane use, nor can every spirit comprehend the breadth of the land of Emmanuel, (as they call it Page 12.) nor know the Cherubim of glory, nor the voice of the oracle from the mercy-seat: and indeed their uncouth, tumorous and swelling words (as Jude calls them Jude 16) like swellings, and tumors of the flesh, are the undoubted signs of a secret and seducing humor, whereby they are fit to deceive the simple and infect the strong, if men be not watchful.

The Publisher to the Reader.

The reason wherefore nothing is answered to the great charge in his voluminous postscript, is because it hath been answered already by a former treatise printed: but more especially because many of the friends, children and kindred of the dead are in good esteem with us, whom I am loath to grieve.

But since by course thou art next to cast thine eye Gentle Reader upon the some of a presentment which the court at Rhode Island received from their Grand Jury being present when Samuel Gorton had so much abused their government in the face of the country, yea in open court; their own eyes and ears bearing witness thereunto, they I say presented these abuses to the court, as such which they conceived ought not to be borne without ruin to their government, and therefore besought the bench to think of some one punishment for example's sake as well as otherwise to be inflicted on the delinquent.

And therefore that thou mayest see the occasion thereof, take notice that an ancient woman having a cow going in the field where Samuel Gorton had some land. This woman fetching out her cow, Gorton's servant maid fell violently upon the woman beating and notoriously abusing her by tearing her hair about her, whereupon the old woman complaining to the Deputy Governor of the place, he sendeth for the maid, and upon hearing the cause, bound her over to the court. The time being come and the court set, Gorton appears himself in the defense of his maid, and would not suffer his maid to appear or make answer, but said expressly she should not appear, and that if they had anything against her they should proceed with him. And though he was lovingly dissuaded by some of the bench not to engage himself but let his maid appear, yet he refused: but when he could not be prevailed with, the action was called and witnesses produced, sworn, and examined: which being done, he moved for another witness to be called, which he persuaded himself and the bench was an honest woman and would speak the truth. Now she being sworn, said, Mr. Gorton, I can speak nothing will help your maid. And indeed her whole testimony was against her and for the old woman's cause, whereupon he openly said, "Take heed thou wicked woman, the earth doth not open and swallow thee up." And then he demanded of the court if he should have equity and justice in his cause or no? To which was answered, if he had either plea or evidence to produce in his maid's cause it should be heard. Then he nominated one Weeks who could say something to it. Weekes was called and required to take his oath before he spoke; at which Gorton and Weeks both of them jeered and laughed and told the court they were skilled in idols, and that was one, and stood stoutly a long time to make it good. Hereupon some of the court put him in mind how they had forewarned him of such carriages fearing he would fall into some extremes. At length the Governor gathering up the sum of what was witnessed, commends it to the jury. At which time Gorton said, the court had perverted justice and wrested the witnesses, with very many high and reproachful terms; and in the midst of his violence throwing his hands about, he touched the Deputy Governor with his handkerchief buttons about his ears (who it seems sat at a table with his back towards him) whereupon the deputy said, "what will you fall about my ears?" To which Gordon answered "I know not whether you have any ears or no? and if you have, I know not where they stand; but I will not touch

them with a pair of tongs." The Governor often calling upon the jury to attend the cause, was as often interrupted by him. Whereupon many of their freemen being present, desired the court they would not suffer such insolencies, professing they were troubled the court had borne with them so long. For which in brief, he was committed, but when the Governor bade the marshal

take him away; he bade take away Coddington, which was their Governor's name: a thing I thought meet to explain, lest thou shouldst not understand it by the heads of the presentment here following, abusing all and every particular of the magistrates with opprobrious terms. But note when he was committed upon his mutinous and seditious speeches, Weekes, Holden, etc. his abettors, stopped the way with such insolency, as the Governor was forced to rise from the bench, to help forward the command with his person, in clearing the way, put Weeks in the stocks, and was forced to command a guard of armed men to preserve themselves and the peace of the place: and this they did because of some fore-going jealousies; and now taking occasion to search the houses of that party that adhered to him, they found many of their pieces laden with bullet: and by means hereof they were forced to continue their guard, whilst upon their banishment they were forced from the Island.

And however it were enough for a book alone to relate all the particulars of his insolent carriage, yet take notice only of two or three particulars: 1. When he was censured to be whipped and banished, he appealed to England; they asked to whom? He said with a loud voice, "To King Charles." They told him, he should first have his punishment, and then afterwards he might complain. To which he replied, "take notice I appeal to King Charles, Celo, or Selah"; the party who was present told me he could not tell which, but that word was spoken with an extraordinary high and loud voice.

A second thing to be observed, was, that after he had been so deservedly whipped, some of his faction said, "Now Christ Jesus had suffered."

And thirdly, although the weather was very cold, the Governor going away after execution of justice upon him, yet he ran a good way after the Governor, drawing a chain after one of his legs, the upper part of his body being still naked, and told him, he had but lent him this, and he should surely have it again. All this I had from a man of very good repute, who then lived with them, and was an eye and ear witness to all these proceedings.

In the next place take notice good reader, that when he went from hence well whipped, as before, and entered upon his banishment, the place he went to (in a sharp season) was a town called Providence, where Mr. Roger Williams and divers others lived, who in regard of the season, entertained them with much human courtesy, but the Gorgonians answered all like Aesop's snake; as thou mayest read by the several letters of the chief inhabitants of that place, by a notorious faction there also by them raised, to the great distraction and amazement of the inhabitants, as appeareth by their doleful complaints in their own letters, a true copy whereof I present unto thee.

*The sum of the presentment of Samuel Gorton at Portsmouth in Rhode Island,
by the Grand Jury.*

First, that Samuel Gorton certain days before his appearance at this court, said "the government was such as was not to be subjected unto, forasmuch as it had not a true derivation, because it was altered from what it first was."

2. That Samuel Gorton contumeliously reproached the magistrates calling them "Just Asses."

3. That the said Gorton reproachfully called the judges, or some of the justices on the bench "corrupt Judges" in open court.

4. That the said Gorton questioned the court for making him to wait on them two days formerly, and that now he would know whether he should be tried in an hostile way, or by law, or in sobriety.

5. The said Gorton alleged in open court, that he looked at the magistrates as lawyers, and called Mr. Easton, lawyer Easton.

6. The said Gorton charged the Deputy Governor to be an abettor of a riot, assault, or battery, and professed that he would not touch him, no not with a pair of tongs: moreover he said, "I know not whether thou haft any ears, or no," as also, "I think thou knows not where thy ears stand," and charged him to be a man unfit to make a warrant.

7. The said Gorton charged the bench for wresting witness, in this expression, "I profess you wrest witness."

8. The said Gorton called a freeman in open court "saucy boy" and "Jack-an-Apes," and said, "the woman that was upon her oath, would not speak against her mother, although she were damned where she stood."

9. The said Gorton affirmed that Mr. Easton behaved himself not like a judge, and that himself was charged either basely or falsely.

10. The said Gorton said to the bench, "Ye intrude oaths, and go about to catch me."

11. The said Gorton being reproved for his miscarriage, held up his hand, and with extremity of speech shook his hand at them, insomuch that the freemen present said, "He threatens the court."

12. The said Gorton charged the court with acting the second part of Plymouth magistrates, who, as he said, condemned him in the chimney corner, ere they heard him speak.

13. The said Gorton in open court did profess to maintain the quarrel of another being his maidservant.

14. The said Gorton being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open proclamation, saying, take away Coddington, and carry him to prison; the Governor said again, "all you that own the King, take away Gorton and carry him to prison"; Gorton replied, "all you that own the King, take away Coddington, and carry him to prison."

William Dyre Secretary.

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

Providence 8. 1st. 1640.

Master Gorton having foully abused high and low at Aquidneck, is now bewitching and be-madding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country, (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him) and also denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of Familism, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High assisting) to death: as Paul said of Asia, I of Providence (almost) all suck in his poison, as at first they did at Aquidneck. Some few and myself withstand his inhabitation, and town privileges, without confession and reformation of his uncivil and inhumane practices at Portsmouth: yet the tide is too strong against us, and I fear (if the framer of hearts help not) it will force me to little patience, a little isle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himself be pleased to be a sanctuary to all whose hearts are perfect with him; in him I desire unfriendly to be

Your Worship true and affectionate

Roger Williams.

Providence this 17 of November, Anno 1641.

To the Honored Governor of Massachusetts, together with the
Worshipful Assistants, and our loving Neighbors there.

We the inhabitants of the town above said, having fair occasions, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of Samuel Gorton and his company, which came from the Island of Aquidneck; which continue still as sojourners amongst us; together with John Greene, and Francis Weston, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the fairest and most just and honest ways of proceedings in order and government, that we could rightly and truly use, for the peaceable preservation and quiet subsistence of ourselves and families, or any that should have fair occasion to go out or come in amongst us. Also six or seven of our townsmen which were in peaceable covenants with us, which now by their declamations do cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed, to take party with the aforementioned Companies, and so intend for ought we can gather, to have no manner of honest order, or government either over them or amongst them; as their writings, words, and actions do most plainly show. It would be tedious to relate the numberless number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults, and threats, and violent kind of carriage daily practiced against all that either with care or counsel seek to prevent or withstand their lewd licentious courses. Yet in brief to commit some few of them to your moderate judgments, left we ourselves should be deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true copy of their writing enclosed, which Francis Weston gave us the 13 of this present month, they having also set up a copy of the same on a tree in the street, instead of satisfaction for fifteen pounds, which by way of arbitration of eight men orderly chosen, and all causes and reasons that could be sound, daily and truly examined, and considered jointly together, when he the said Francis Weston was found liable to pay, or make satisfaction in cattle or commodities, but on the 15 of this present month, when we went orderly, openly, and in a warrantable way to attach some of the said Francis Weston's cattle, to drive them to the pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction: which Samuel Gorton and his company getting notice of, came and quarreled with us in the street, and made a tumultuous hubbub; and although for our parts we had beforehand most principally armed ourselves with patience, peaceably to suffer as much injury as could possibly be born, to avoid all shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side: and after the tumult was partly appeared, and that we went on orderly into the cornfield; to drive the said cattle, the said Francis Weston came furiously running with a flail in his hand, and cried out, "Help Sirs, help sirs, they are going to steal my cattle," and so continued crying till Randall Holden, John Greene, and some others came running and made a great outcry, and hollowing and crying, "Thieves, thieves, stealing cattle, stealing cattle," and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered, they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice if any men at any time, in any case attach anything that is theirs. And fully to relate the least part of their such like words and actions, the time and paper would scarce be profitably spent, neither need we to advise your discretions what is likely to be the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents be not either stopped, or

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

Your loving neighbors, and respective friends

Joshua Winsor
Benedict Arnold
William Mean
William Hawkings
Robert West

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

Providence

Providence the 25 of the 3 month, 1641.

To the rest of the five men appointed to manage the affairs of our town aforesaid, these are further to give you to understand;

Viz. That

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

My Reasons are, *Viz.*

First, Samuel Gorton having showed himself a railing and turbulent person, not only in and against those states of Government from whence he came, as is to be proved; but also here in this town since he have sojourned here; witness his proud challenge, and his upbraiding accusations in his vilifying and opprobrious terms of, and against one of our combination most

wrathfully and shamelessly reviling him, and disturbing of him, and meddling with him, who was employed and busied in other private occasions, having no just cause so to revile and abuse him, saying also to him (and that of another state) in a base manner, they were like swine that held out their nose to suck his blood, and that now he and the rest of his company would go and wallow in it also; which are indeed words insufferable; and also despitefully calling him boy, as though he would have challenged the field of him, in such an inhuman behavior as becomes not a man that should be thought to be fit by any reasonable men to be received into such a poor weak state as we are in at present.

Secondly, another of his company, one who is much in esteem with him, who openly in a scornful and deriding manner, seeing one of the five men that was chosen by the town, and be trusted in the town affairs, coming towards him in the street, he asked of one that stood by him, who that was; the other answered him, it was one of the five men appointed for managing of our town affairs, or the like: yea, said he, he looks like one of the five, which words import, not only a scorning and deriding of his person of whom then he spoke, but also a despising and scorning of our civil state, as it were trampling it under foot, as they had done by other States before they came hither, who were of greater strength than we are; for which cause I cannot see such persons to be fit to be received into such a State as our town is.

Thirdly, I cannot find these men to be reasonable men in their suit unto the town, to be received in as townsmen, seeing they have already had a plain denial all of their request, and that by the consent of the major part of the town, or very near, etc. and are yet unanswerable; and also that they seeing that their coming to our town, hath brought the town into a hurry, almost the one half against the other, in which estate no town or city can well stand or subsist; which declareth plainly unto us, that their intent is not good, but that their abode so long here amongst us, is in hope to get the victory over one part of the town, but specially of those that laid the first foundation of the place, and bought it even almost with the loss of their lives, and their whole estates, and afterwards to trample them under their feet, as some of their words hold forth, or else to drive them out into the same condition, to seek out a new Providence, and to buy it with the like hardness as they first bought this place; these, and many other like reasons that may be showed, declare that they are not fit persons, to be received into our mean and weak state.

Fourthly, and seeing he who is so well known to be the ring-leader unto the breach of peace, that have been so notoriously evil to be a trouble of civil states where he hath lived, that are of far greater force then we are of, especially that State who have their commission and authority from the Higher Powers; what may we then expect if he could get himself in with, and amongst so many as we see are daily ready to tread us under their feet, and his, whom he calls friends, etc. Surely, first a breach of our civil peace, and next a ruin of all such as are not of his side, as their daily practice doth declare; *ergo*, they are not fit persons to be received into our town, etc.

Object. If it be objected, as some have blasphemously said, that we are persecutors, and do persecute the Saints, in not receiving of them into our town-fellowship, etc.

Answ. To this I answer, there cannot be proved the least show of any persecution of those persons, either by us, or by any other amongst us to our knowledge. For 1. they have quiet abode amongst us, none molesting or troubling of them, nor anything they have. 2. It cannot be proved but by their own relation, the which hath been disproved; that they were sent out from those places from whence they came for religion, neither are they meddled with here for any such matter, but rather that they themselves in their bravery are more ready to meddle with others. 3. They themselves and others of their followers, have rather been troubles and persecutors of the

Saints of God that lived here before they came, and do but wait their opportunity to make themselves manifest in that they intend; *ergo*, it cannot be truly said of any, that any persecution is offered by us unto them, if it could possibly be said of them that they are Saints.

Obj. But if it be further objected, that we do not give them the liberty of men, neither do we afford them the bowels of mercy, to give them the means of livelihood amongst us, as some have said.

Answ. To this I say: 1. There is no State but in the first place will seek to preserve its own safety and peace. 2. We cannot give land to any person by virtue of our combination, except we first receive them into our state of combination, the which we cannot do with them for our own and other's peacesake, etc. 3. Whereas their necessity have been so much pleaded, it is not known that ever they sought to find out a place where they might accommodate themselves, and live by themselves, with their friends, and such as will follow after them, where they may use their liberty to live without order or control, and not to trouble us, that have taken the same course as we have done for our safety and peace, which they do not approve nor like of, but rather like beasts in the shape of men to do what they shall think fit in their own eyes, and will not be governed by any State. And seeing they do but here linger out the time in hope to get the day to make up their pennyworths in advantage upon us, we have just cause to hear the complaints of so many of our neighbors that live in the town orderly amongst us, and have brought in their complaints, with many reasons against them, and not to admit them, but answer them as unfit persons to be received into our mean state, etc.

Now if these reasons and much more which have been truly said of them, do not satisfy you, and the rest of our neighbors, but that they must be received into our town-state, even unto our utter overthrow, etc. then according to the order agreed upon by the town, I do first offer my house and land within the liberty of the town unto the town to buy it of me, or else I may, and shall take liberty to sell it to whom I may for mine advantage, etc.

William Arnold.

A
PARTICULAR ANSWER
TO THE
Manifold Slanders and abominable Falsehoods
contained in a Book, called *Simplicities defense against*
Seven-headed Policy: Wherein Samuel Gorton
is proved a disturber of Civil Societies, desperately
dangerous to his Countrymen
the English in New England and
notoriously slanderous in what
he hath Printed of them.

When first I entertained the desires of the country to come over to answer the complaints of Samuel Gorton, etc. and to render a reason of the just and righteous proceedings of the Country of New-England in the several parts of it, against him being a common disturber of the peace of all Societies where he came, witness New Plymouth, 2. Rhode Island, 3. Providence, and lastly the Massachusetts, being the most eminent; I little thought then to have appeared in print: but coming into England, and finding a book written by Mr. Gorton called *Simplicities defense against Seven-headed policy: or, A true Complaint of a Peaceable People, being part of the English in New England made unto the State of Old-England, against cruel perpetuators united in Church Government in those parts*. I then conceived myself bound in duty to take off the many gross and public scandals held forth therein, to the great amazement of many tender consciences in the Kingdom, who are not acquainted with his proud and turbulent carriage, nor see the lion under his lambskin coat of simplicity and peace. The Lord knows how unwilling I was personally to engage: and I trust he will also guide me in answering his book, as I shall be far from bitterness: tis true, time was when his person was precious in mine eyes, and therefore I hope and desire only to make a righteous and just defense to the many unworthy things by him boldly, ignorantly, proudly, and falsely published to the great dishonor of God in wronging and scandalizing his Churches, which the Lord Jesus Christ will not leave unpunished.

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

I know the world is too full of books of this kind, and therefore however I am unfitted of many things I have and could procure at home would well become a relation of the late and present state of New England, yet I shall now only with as great brevity as may be give answer to such injurious complaints as he maketh of us. And however his Title, Preface, and every leaf of his book may be justly found fault with, I shall clearly answer to matters of fact, such as he chargeth the several governments withal, so as any indifferent reader may easily discern how

grossly we are abused, and how just and righteous censures were against him for disturbing the civil peace of all societies where he came, in such a manner as no government could possibly bear: and for the blasphemies for which he was proceeded against at Massachusetts, they fell in occasionally by his own means without any circumstance leading thereunto.

And first whereas he accuseth us in the first page of his book to go over to suppress heretics. 'Tis well known we went thither for no such end laid down by us, but to enjoy those liberties the Lord Jesus Christ had left unto his Church to avoid the Episcopal tyranny, and the heavy burdens they imposed, to which sufferings the kingdom by this ever to be honored Parliament have and do bear witness to, as religious and just. And that we might also hold forth that truth and ancient way of God wherein we walk, which Mr. Gorton calls heresy. Next in the same page he chargeth us with affection of titles, etc. To which I answer, either we must live without government, or if we have governors we must give them we call such titles as are suitable to their offices and places they bear in church and commonwealth, as governors and assistants, pastors, teachers, rulers, deacons etc. these are our highest titles we give.

In his second page he chargeth the Massachusetts to unite with other Colonies to the end they might bathe themselves in blood and feed themselves fat with the lives of their brethren, etc. This is a notorious slander. 'Tis true that the Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, I mean the several colonies there, entered into a civil combination, and are called by the name of the United Colonies, and this was occasioned by a general conspiracy of the Indians against the body of the English there seated, together with the distracted condition of England, from whom we could expect no help at that time. But Mr. Gorton and his company fell at that time into more than ordinary familiarity with the Narragansett Indians, who were the principal contrivers of the villainy; who where they could not draw others to them by force or flattery, they did it by large gifts, etc. as I could prove by many testimonies of the Indians, many hundred miles asunder from each other, in which design had not the finger of God in much mercy prevented, I had been the first had fallen; which I forbear to relate here, being what I now do, is but an answer to his invective.

Next in the same page he tells us at his landing how he found his countrymen at great variance at Boston in point of religion; but had not he holpen to blow the bellows the flame might never have been so great. And whereas he said that Mr. Williams was banished thence for differing from us being a man of good report, etc. In answer, I take notice, I know that Mr. Williams (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times the unlawfulness of our letters patents from the King, etc. would not allow the colors of our nation, denied the lawfulness of a public oath as being needless to the Saints, and a propagation of God's name to tender it to the wicked, etc. And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I bear to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God calls me at this time to take off these aspersions.

In page 3 he mentions the proceedings of the Massachusetts against Mr. John Wheelwright, etc. Had it been the will of God I would those differences had never been: but the main difference was about a petition by way of remonstrance, which the government took very offensive: but Mr. Wheelwright and they are reconciled, he having given satisfaction, etc. In the same page he wrongs the doctrine of our churches, which is well known to be sound. But whereas he tells us in the same page of denying cohabitation, and of whippings, confinement, imprisonment, chains, fines, banishment. I confess all these things befell him, and most justly: for he was bound to the good behavior at Plymouth and broke his bonds in the face of the Court, whipped and banished at Rhode Island for mutiny and sedition in the open court there: also at

Providence as factious there though his party grew greater than Mr. Williams his better party, as appears by his and their sad letters to the Government of the Massachusetts for help and advice; and afterwards banished the Massachusetts: all which appears in another place of this book, and the just causes of their proceedings annexed thereunto. Lastly in this page he tells us of his hardship divers nights together, that himself and the rest of his mutinous companions, as Weeks, Holden, WC, endured, which was just with God and man, for extreme evils must have extreme remedies, and yet tis well known tis not a full days journey from Rhode Island to Providence. And whereas a stranger would think he was then forced to go to Narragansett Bay amongst the Indians, he went not from Providence till they were as weary of these mutineers as either Plymouth or Rhode Island had been before them.

And because he often mentioneth the hard measure he received at Plymouth, still carrying it on as if difference in religion had been the ground of it: I thought good here to give the reader to understand what was the ground of his troubles there, that so all men may know what religion this man is of: for the tree is best known by its fruit. The first complaint that came against him for which he was brought before authority, was by Mr. Ralph Smith a minister, who being of Gorton's acquaintance received him with his family into his house, with much humanity and Christian respect, promising him as free use of it as himself, etc. but Mr. Gorton, becoming troublesome, (after means used to remove the offences taken by Mr. Smith, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) Mr. Smith desired him to provide elsewhere for himself: but Gorton refused, saying, he had as good interest in the house as Mr. Smith had. And when he was brought before authority, stood stoutly to maintain it to our amazement. But was ordered to depart and provide other ways by a time appointed. And not long after there coming a woman of his acquaintance to Plymouth, divers came to the governor with complaints against her, being a stranger, for unworthy and offensive speeches and carriages used by her. Whereupon the Governor sent to her to know her business, etc. and commanded her departure, and ordered the seaman that brought her, to return her to the place from whence she came, at his next passage thither. But Gorton said she should not go, for he had occasion to employ her, etc. Hereupon the Governor (it being in the time of a Court) sent for him, and because he had hid her, stood in justification of his practice and refused to obey the command of the Court (who seconded the Governor's order.) He was committed till he could procure sureties for his good behavior till the next Court which was a general Court, and there to answer to this contempt. The time being come and the Court set, Gorton was called; but the Governor being wearied with speech to other causes, requested one of his assistants who was present at his commitment and privy to the whole cause to declare the same. This assistant no sooner stood up to show the country the cause of his bonds in the great affront he had given the Government, but Gorton stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice, "If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come down from Jehosuah's right hand and stand here," and that done, in a seditious manner turned himself to the people and said, with his arms spread abroad; "Yee see good people how ye are abused! Stand for your liberty; and let them not be parties and judges," with many other opprobrious speeches of that kind. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present, desiring leave of the Governor to speak, complaining of his seditious carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to for inflict condign punishment. And yet notwithstanding all we did to him was but to take the forfeiture of his foresaid bonds for his good behavior. Nay being but low and poor in his estate, we took not above eight or ten pounds of it, lest it might lie too heavy upon his wife and children. But he must either get new sureties for the behavior till the next general Court, or such time as he departed the government, or lie in prison till he could: now he knowing

his outrageous passions which he could not refrain, procured sureties, but immediately left Plymouth and went to Rhode Island, whereupon complaint of our persecutions he found present relief there: yet soon afterward he abused them in a greater measure and had heavier yet too light a punishment inflicted on him, and all for breach of the civil peace and notorious contempt of authority without the least mention of any points of religion on the governments part, but as before.

And whereas in page 4, Mr. Gorton further accuseth us that they were deprived and taken away from their quiet professions, etc. Such was his carriage at Plymouth and Providence at his first settling as neither of the governments durst admit or receive him into cohabitation, but refused him as a pest to all societies. Again in the same page he accuseth Massachusetts and Plymouth to have denied them to be in our government, but when we perceived the place to be a refuge for such as were oppressed then, etc. 'Tis true that Plymouth gave way to Mr. Williams and his company to sit down at Providence and have never molested them to this day, but refused Gorton and Weeks, etc. upon Weeks his solicitation when I was at Providence for the reasons before mentioned, etc. And for those particular relations he makes of Robert Cole, William Arnold, and Benedict his son, I wave, as not being so well acquainted with their cases, but see he writes with a venomous pen; only take notice he would make it a great crime in them to trade on the Sabbath (as it is) when himself at that time denied the sanctification of it.

In page 5 he complains that powder was traded to the Indians and denied to them. Answ. If it were traded to the Indians, for my part I approve it not, it being against the express law of the country, and a large penalty annexed: but there was good reason to refuse it to them which held such familiarity with malignant Indians especially during the time of their confederacy against us.

In page 6 he speaks as if he had been under some censure of the Massachusetts at the time of the warrant there by him specified, how truly copied I know not: but am sure at this time he was personally under no censure of theirs.

In page 7 he accuseth magistrates and ministers for bringing in all the accusations that came in against them. Who but public persons should take notice of public insolvencies? And as for Mr. Collens his story I am a stranger to, but believe it is misreported as well as others.

In page 8 he manifests he durst not live under a foreigner Prince, meaning the Dutch, having never been false to his King and Country, etc. with many ignorant swelling words; as if it were treason to one's Prince to live under a foreign state though an ally. And in the same page he would lay the death of Mistress Hutchinson who was mother-in-law to Mr. Collens, on us: although they went from Rhode Island which is not under the Massachusetts where she had lived some years after her remove from the Bay, and not from the Massachusetts to the Dutch of her own accord where they were cut off by the Indians.

In page 9 he shows how they bought lands of Miantonomo, Prince of those parts. Answ. 1. He was not the Prince of that part as was proved publicly at Massachusetts himself being present. 2. He had no proper right in it, as is showed at large elsewhere.

In the same page he beginneth a large letter full of railing blasphemies which continueth to page 31 and however it be not exactly set down as it was sent, yet I admire at God's providence, for he is fallen into the snare he laid, this being brought against him to accuse him of blasphemy, before a Committee of Parliament, who called in his book, and referred him to the House, etc. but I forbear to show his folly here, which is referred to another place and his wickedness discovered therein.

In page 32 he saith the Government of the Massachusetts had no show of anything against them but religion, and yet the whole carried on in his own way as well as what we now print, shows it was in the right of two Indian Sachems, namely Pumham and Socononoco, who placing themselves under the protection of the Massachusetts complained of violence offered them by Mr. Gorton and his company, it being our manner both in capitals and criminals to do them the like justice we do one to another, wherein walking by the same rules of righteousness towards them, they have the less cause to take offence at us.

From page 33 forward, are many letters which I cannot believe all is in them, and therefore remain jealous of his sincerity in printing them.

In page 37 he holds forth conversion to be the ground of the Massachusetts' sending to them, now to that end, saith he, they sent a minister. 'Tis true, there was a gracious young man one Mr. Job. Bulkley then a student, but in no ministry, went to teach to the company they sent to guard their own commissioners, and to bring in Gorton if need required: but I dare not believe what he affirms. And for the copy of a letter he fathers upon the Commissioners sent by the Government of the Massachusetts; I conclude 'tis rather set down upon memory than right, because of some attestations I have by me to make use on elsewhere, which seem to hold forth the contrary, and so I do not credit it.

In page 38, and 39 he relates how their wives were frightened at men's presenting their muskets at them, etc. and suffering such hardships as occasioned death, etc. Which must also be false, for honest men have deposed there was no such presentment, and that their wives came freely and familiarly to them, both before and after they were taken. So also he affirms our men would allow of no parley but private, or else they would dispatch them in a quarter of an hour, which I will never believe, because I know the men to be men fearing God, and durst not proceed as he relateth it.

In page 40, and 41 he also taxeth the Commissioners and folders with breach of covenants in time of treaty, as, breaking open their house, desks, killing their cattle, etc. All which is false, for oath is made to the contrary, which I shall make use of before my Lord of Warwick Governor-in-chief, and the rest of the honorable Committee for Foreign Plantations in due time and place, that whereas they were by agreement to have two houses for their company being about 40 men, they made use of but one, nor did any of these things laid to their charge.

In page 45 he would make Pumham and Socononoco, the natural subjects of Miantonomo their Prince; but this was disproved. And in the same page, he saith, the magistrates suggested to the people, as though there were fear of some combination between the Indians and them. Answ. I dare not say you had a hand in the depth of their conspiracy: but this I think you dare not deny, that Weeks one of your stoutest champions, lent Miantonomo an armor, in which he was taken in battle against Uncas, who was under the protection of the English United Colonies: for which Uncas put him to death; and in your own book you hold forth more familiarity than becomes you.

But here it will be, necessary for me to show you the ground of this war. There was a people called by the name of the Pequots, being a stout warlike people, who had been at war with the Narragansetts for many years, and were too strong for them; so also were they at some distance of affection with this Uncas, who was Sachem of a people called the Mohegans, near the head of a river falleth into the sea at Pequot. The chief sachem of this people of Pequot, was called Tatobam, a stout man. The Narragansetts and these strove who should be greatest. This Tatobam envied the English and was the first stirrer and contriver of this general plot, that they might all join together to destroy the English; but the Narragansetts refused to join with them,

knowing if that were once done, the next ruin must be their own. Afterward having subdued many small peoples, and one as great as themselves, and some English planting more near then the body of our plantations, though without wrong to him, or any of them, he cut off Captain Stone his bark and company, and after this killed divers straggling English. This stirred up the English to take revenge: the Narragansetts and Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans seeing this, because it was against their common enemy, offered their service to join with the English: the Narragansetts did no considerable service in comparison of the Mohegans, who did as much as could be expected, but the Narragansetts rather gathered up the spoil, to the great offence of the English and Mohegans, seldom engaging in any fight. The English killed and destroyed this people utterly, so that those that were left remaining utterly deserted the country, and the English won it, and are now possessed of it. After this victory, Miantonomo Sachem or Lord of the Narragansetts, and Uncas Lord of the Mohegans, manifested no good blood towards each other; the English at Hartford where the Government for Connecticut is held, hearing of it, got them together, and made a peace and threefold covenant between the Government of Connecticut, Narragansett, and Mohegan, which was signed by the Governor of Connecticut, Miantonomo Sachem of Narragansetts, and Uncas Sachem of Mohegan. The covenants ran to this purpose: to confirm their league between the English and them, and either to other, and to hold forth a league of perpetual peace between them. And in case any difference should arise between these two Indian Sachems, or their people, the party offended should complain to the Governor of Connecticut, who was to mediate and to determine the controversies between his two friends and their people: and in case the injury were great, and the party wronging would not stand to the foresaid award and determination, then it should not only be lawful for the wronged to right himself by force of arms, but for the English party also to assist the innocent in that kind. And to this they all firmed as before.

The Narragansett Sachem never regarded this Covenant, the Mohegan Sachem ever faithfully observed it. But Miantonomo of Narragansett had thoughts now to prosecute the Pequots design, and to destroy the English, (the Pequots' nation being rooted out by God's just judgment as before) and travels far and near to draw all the Indians in the country into this horrid confederacy with him; but this Uncas would not be won, though he would have taken his daughter in marriage, but ever acquainted the English with his working. At length an inferior sachem, subordinate to Narragansett affronts him and his men, he complains to the English, they send to this inferior sachem, he sleights their admonition, goes on his course; whereupon the other demands leave to make ware upon him, not requiring any aid. Still the English forewarn the other party of the evil they were like to bring upon themselves; till at length they profess they have had peace enough, and now it is time to war. Whereupon the English give way to Uncas to revenge himself, he doth it; the other are beaten. Now Miantonomo he prepares an army of above 1000 men, and comes upon a sudden upon Uncas without any respect to covenants, and took Uncas at advantage, not with above 300 men; by which means they beset him every way in his sort, which stands upon a point of land between two rivers. Miantonomo so dispersed his men to prevent their sight, as Uncas making a desperate sally with almost his full force, routed the other, slew near upon an hundred, and forced them to fly: but Mr. Weeks one of Samuel Gorton's company (as I am credibly informed) lending the Great Sachem a complete armor; and having it on in the fight, was not able to fly so fast as his men, and was taken by this means. Yet such was Uncas' respect still to the English, as he kept him till he sent to the English, viz. to the Right Worshipful George Senwicke Esquire, to know what he should do with him, who lived next to him; he wished him to follow their own custom, and to deal with him, as if he had not

advised with him, or there were no English in the land to advise withal. Hereupon he resolved to have killed him forthwith, according to their custom. But no sooner were the Narragansetts got home, who had lost divers Sachems, Captains, and chief men in this fight, but they send to Mr. Gorton, etc. who sent a note to Uncas, with a command by the bearer, that they put him not to death, but use him kindly and return him. This the messenger either said or they supposed came from the Massachusetts Governor, and did much daunt Uncas and his men: but to clear up all, they advised with the Gent. of Connecticut, who wished him to keep him prisoner, and to advise with the Commissioners of the United Colonies whereof they were part, whose meeting would be ere long by course at the Massachusetts: which counsel he followed, and entreated the Governor of Connecticut (Miantonomo also desiring it) to keep him safe for him till then, whereupon he was brought to Hartford: and many gifts were sent to the prisoner; which he bestowed like himself, some on him that took him, some on Uncas, some on his wife, some on Uncas' brother being a great captain, and some on others where he had received kindness, and this was all the ransom was paid, there being not so much as a ransom proposed by the Narragansett, nor set down by Uncas. But he advising with the Commissioners, they considering how many ways besides open hostility he had sought the life of Uncas, by poison, secret murder, witchcraft, etc. advised him to put him to death, there being no safety for him whilst he lived, being so restless in his practice against his life; and therefore wished Uncas to proceed with him according to their own custom towards prisoners of war, which is to put them to death; according to which advice he proceeded, knowing now that none of the English would intercede for him. And hereupon Uncas went to Hartford and demanded his prisoner, and led him to an house of his own, out of the limits of the English, and there killed him, where was an Englishman or two by to prevent their accustomed cruelties, in cutting off not only the head and hands of their prisoners when they are dead, and make bracelets of the fore-joints of their fingers, etc. but to torture them whilst living with most inhuman cruelties. After this, the Narragansetts would war upon him in revenge of his death; we forbade them, and at our next meeting of Commissioners to consult about the Wealth public of the United Colonies, in regard the Narragansetts pleaded they had taken a ransom for his life, and his life also, which the other denied; we sent for Uncas, and sent to the great Sachems of Narragansett to come also, or appear by Commissioners; but they sent four Commissioners with full authority to treat, where we found neither ransom, nor color of ransom in the least measure. And so a truce was agreed on, and if Uncas broke it, we were then freed from our engagement to defend him any further, for they desired no more: and if the Narragansetts broke it, then it should be lawful for us the United Colonies to take part with him, etc. But the truth is, though before they had so near neighbors of the English, as Gorton, etc. and till Miantonomo's government, as they were the most in number, and most peaceable of all the Indian, yet now they were changed, as if they had not been the people, and had their tutors, secretaries, and prompters to suggest their greatness and our weakness to them, as his book witnesseth, in such manner as I am confident if the Gortonians (for I take the phrase from his own book here, never hearing it before) be suffered to live so near them, it will be our ruin, or these Indians (which we desire not) in short time. I thought good to insert this narration thus briefly, that the reader might understand the ground of his many charges; calling God to witness I know not the least falsehood related in it, but many things for brevity's sake omitted worthy a history; but, I am now about an answer, not an history, and therefore thus brief. But to return.

In page 47 see how he scoffs at the Sabbath as if there were no other ground for our religious observation of it, than Mr. Cotton's judgment. And in page 48 he is full of many scoffs, as if he and his Gortonians would not, nor did shoot at all, when as I have oath to prove

they shot also at the other, but the truth is, I heard some say that their powder was so damp and moist as they could not without great difficulty discharge a piece, which I well believe might be the reason they shot no more than they did.

In page 49 he chargeth Captain Cooke with breach of articles: and yet I have it attested upon oath, that there were none agreed on; only they desired they might not got bound; which was easily absented to, they behaving themselves quietly. And for their cattle, I never heard the number to be so great by far; but asking the Governor of the Massachusetts about them, he professed they did not amount to half their charges. And if any ask by what authority they went out of their own Government to do such an act? Know that his former seditious and turbulent carriage in all parts where he came, as Plymouth, Rhode Island, a place of greatest liberty, Providence that place which relieved him in that his so great extremity, and his so desperate close with so dangerous and potent enemies, and at such a time of conspiracy by the same Indians, together with the wrongs done to the Indians, and English under the protection of that Government of the Massachusetts, who complained and desired relief; together with his notorious contempt of all civil government, as well as that particular, and his blasphemies against God needlessly manifested in his proud letters to them, one whereof he hath printed, and the other I have herewith published for him. All these considered, you shall see hereby cause enough, why they proceeded against him as a common enemy of the country. And as such an one, the said Commissioners being then met together at Massachusetts by course, for the Wealth of the whole, upon just complaint ordered and thought meet that the Government of the Massachusetts should call them to account, and proceed with them so far as stood with righteousness and justice: and by their declaration thou most easily see they went no further, for they refusing safe conduct to come to answer to the matters against them, forced them upon this charge needlessly, which they made them bear part of as before. So that here's cause enough besides blasphemy for their proceeding with them I suppose.

In page 51 he chargeth New England ministers to pray in the streets: but take notice I have been there these 26 years, and better, but never heard of such a practice, till I now read it in his book.

In page 52 he saith, the Governor to satisfy the people, said, we were apprehended for divers gross opinions, etc. Answ. You may see in the last section but one there was cause enough. And yet for opinions, let me tell you that you held, that that Image of God after which man was created was Christ; and that when Adam fell Christ was slain, etc. And as for your opinion concerning Churches, Mr. Williams by way of sad complaint told me, you denied any true Churches of Christ to be in the world: also baptism itself, and the Lord's Supper, Sabbath, Magistracy as it was an ordinance tried amongst Christians. And for the Lord's Supper, that it is but a spell, the minister's necromancers, and the communicants drunk with the juice of the grape, etc. And for this last passage here mentioned, the reader shall have it at large in a second letter sent by him and his companions to the Government of the Massachusetts, concealed by himself in his book, though he pretendeth to have printed all, etc.

In page 53 as he abuseth others, so Mr. Cotton and Mr. Ward, in affirming that Mr. Ward put himself into a passion, and stirred up Carder to recant, etc. as being no discredit to him, because Mr. Cotton ordinarily preached that publicly once a year, which the next year he recants, etc. But Mr. Ward being in town, a man well known and reputed, I showed him the book: and he gave me thanks, and returned this answer to it verbatim: Samuel Gorton having made me a margin note in the 53 page of his book, I hold myself called to make this answer to it: I cannot call to mind that ever I knew or spoke with such a man as Richard Carder, nor that ever I had any

speech with any prisoner at a window, nor should I need it in New England, where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners in more free and convenient places. This I remember, that one Robert Potter who went in the same ship with me into New England, and expressing by the way so much honesty and godliness as gained my good opinion and affection towards him: I hearing that he was affected with Samuel Gorton's blasphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now imprisoned with him, I went to visit him, and having free speech with him in the open prison yard, who shedding many tears might happily move me to express my affection to him, which Samuel Gorton calls passion: after some debate about his new opinions, I remember I used a speech to him to this effect: that he should do well and wisely to make such acknowledgement of his errors as his conscience would permit; telling him that Mr. Cotton whom he had so much revered in Old England, and New, had given him a godly example in that kind, by a public acknowledgement upon a solemn fast day with many tears; that in the time when errors were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spiritual slumber, and had it not been for the watchfulness of his brethren the Elders, etc. he might have slept on; and blessed God very cordially for awakening him, and was very thankful to his Brethren, for their watchfulness over him, and faithfulness towards him: wherein he honored God not a little, and greatly rejoiced the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would be no shame for him to do the like.

Concerning Mr. Cotton, were I worthy, I would presume to speak that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elsewhere, that I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christ, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold myself not worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace, learning, and industry in the work of God.

For the author Samuel Gorton, myself and others far more judicious, take him to be a man whose spirit is stark drunk with blasphemies and insolvencies, a corrupter of the truth, and a disturber of the peace wherever he comes; I entreat him to read Titus 1:13 with an humble heart, and that is the greatest harm I wish him.

N. W.

Thus much of the answer and testimony of that Reverend and Grave Divine, wherein the reader may see how Mr. Gorton abuseth all men, by casting mire and dirt in the faces of our best deserving instruments.

In page 54 he accuseth Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton for stirring up the people against them, etc. Answ. What they pressed in their sermons, I was not present to hear; but this I can affirm, that from the time of their liberty to my departure from New England, which is not much above two months, I have heard many precious godly men affirm, that Sam. Gorton and his company needlessly in their writings and conference belched out such blasphemy as they thought God was offended with the country for giving them the liberty they had. And that you may the better see his carriage, (it being the manner of the country to let their prisoners come to hear the Word preached) Mr. Gorton, etc. being there after Mr. Cotton had ended his sermon on a Sabbath day, asked leave to speak, which Mr. Cotton assenting to, the Governor being present gave him leave, where with a loud voice before the whole congregation being very great, he declared, that the ministry of the Word, sacraments, censures, and other ordinances of religion in the hands of ministers, are like the silver shrines of Diana in the hands of the craftsmen of Ephesus, etc. And if the truth of this be questioned, I have testimony upon oath to make it good.

In pages 55, 56, 57, many things might be excepted against, as first in page 55 his great respect manifested to that government, because derived from the State of England, which what it was thou mayest largely see in certain observations of a godly divine annexed hereunto, upon his own two contemptuous and blasphemous letters, or rather books, wherein are 48 several aspersions cast on them. Secondly, his appealing, page 56 from their justice when their charter enjoins none.

In page 56, and 57, etc. Questions as he hath set them down, and the relation about the time allowed him to give his answer; I question whether he have dealt fairly therein, because he is so often found faulty.

To pass by his answer, and his large explanation of himself, page 58 and come to 59 etc. and so the rest of his answers to the questions to 64. I answer, though I know not whether he do right as he states things; yet this I know, being attested by reverend persons, that he then maintained, that God made man after his own image; and that God hath but one image, and that is Christ; and this was the incarnation of Christ, his examination by which we are saved. And when it was objected, we are not saved by the incarnation of Christ, but by the death of Christ. True, saith he, therefore Adam fell, and so destroyed God's image, and that was the death of Christ. When it was objected again, Adam's fall was not our salvation, but condemnation, but the death of Christ was our salvation: and therefore Adam's fall could not be the death of Christ. He would by no means either revoke or explain his speech (though much urged thereunto) to agree with the principles of Christian Religion. Being further demanded what he then thought of that Christ in whom we believe, borne of the Virgin Mary, and who suffered under Pontius Pilate? He answered, that that Christ was a shadow, and but are semblance of what is done in me and every true Christian. And now judge good reader, whether this be like what he mentioneth, or whether it were a trifle not worthy the mentioning: but if he will be so unfaithful as to omit it, I dare not.

As for his censure, page 64, I know not whether it be right set down; and so the charge, page 65 wherein I dare say he wrongeth the ministers, in saying "They stirred up the people to famish them."

As for his long and tedious letter to Mr. Green, from page 66 to 74, I pass it by, as he saith Mr. Green did. But in 74 he would make it an aspersion upon Mr. Endecott for saying that God had stirred them up to go out of their own jurisdiction to fetch them from their own places. Take notice as it is literally within the line of Plymouth government in their grant, yet the Indians before mentioned having subjected themselves to the Massachusetts, the Commissioners for Plymouth as well as those for Connecticut, and New Haven, upon the manifold complaints and reasons before mentioned, being met together at their ordinary time and place appointed and ordered it should be so, as appears by the copy of their act.

At a meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England holden at Boston the seventh of September 1643.

Whereas complaints have been made against Samuel Gorton and his company, and some of them weighty and of great consequence; and whereas the said Gorton and the rest have been formerly sent for, and now lately by the general Court of the Massachusetts with safe conduct both for their coming and return, that they might give answer and satisfaction wherein they have done wrong. If yet they shall stubbornly refuse, the Commissioners for the United Colonies think fit that the magistrates in the Massachusetts proceed against them according to what they shall find just; and the rest of the jurisdictions will approve and concurred in what shall be so

warrantably done, as if their Conditioners had been present at the conclusions, provided that this conclusion do not prejudice the Government of Plymouth in any right they can justly claim unto any tract or tracts, etc.

By which order it appears they were stirred up and allowed by Plymouth itself as well as the rest, as afore, to send for and deal with as indeed the common disturbers of the peace of the country.

And whereas in page 76 he complaineth of the Governor's last order for breaking the order of Court, yet take it as he relates it and any understanding man will easily see on the other side the same leaf that they still were bound to the rest of the articles at their confinement, which they were now in a high way to break. And for that little island called Rhode Island they were forced to shelter in, take notice 'tis 30 miles about, very fruitful, and plentifully abounding with all manner of food the country affordeth, and hath two towns besides many great farms well stocked in the same.

In page 79 he complains of us for calling them Gortonians, and so the Indians calling them Gortonoges and not Englishmen, with many affected foppish vanities, phrases and terms I never heard on before, and yet have lived in New England from the beginning, being now above 26 years. I wish he study not, nor affect these things, but I much fear it.

In page 80 he tells a tale of a tub, of Miantonomo's being slain as he marched, which is false, for he was put to death, and in an house, but not upon a march. And is it to be wondered at, that two English were present to see the manner of their proceeding in so weighty a cause as one prince putting another his perfidious enemy and captive to death, especially when they were required by the Commissioners to forbear their accustomed torments and to give him honorable burials which they did and had thanks returned by the Narragansetts for those particulars. Now if any would know how it was done? It was only at one blow with an hatchet on the side of the head as he walked easily in the room (expecting no less) which fully dispatched him at once. And thus much for answer to this charge.

To let pass page 81 what he saith about Miantonomo's death as being answered before, and come to page 82 etc. where he mentioneth a consultation held amongst the Indians to put themselves under the subjection of the State of England, etc. Answ. We heard indeed of this desperate plot by this unfaithful people, who had been in covenant with the several governments long before, but never observed any one article farther than it might further their own design which was to be absolute lords of the country though with the ruin of us all. And truly had he not published this and the following discourse we could never have proved it though we heard of it both from English and Indians. And however Miantonomo died, yet the plot liveth and continueth to this day. Now though I dare not say, nor do I think they join with them in aiming at the ruin of all the English, yet they join with them in many of their counsels, contrive their sturdy answers by writings, and become their secretaries. Who knows not that they cannot write? And who knows not their own answers from those that come under your hands? And if the State of England (which God defend) should establish your and their joint propositions: then were their plot accomplished: for they might and would work freely our ruin when as we might not take up arms against them, but by virtue of warrant or writ from hence procured upon our complaints here, which also would be six months in ordinary course in procuring and returning, when as in one of these all our throats might be cut, and those hopeful beginnings so much favored by our gracious God hitherto in a high way to be overthrown. Indeed we heard further, and for my part I believe it, that for the better accomplishment hereof, Samuel Gorton and some

of his company had persuaded the Narragansetts to send the King a very large present of beaver and otter skins which they should bring in, and accordingly did: but withal the English reporter saith, that if he could find favor with the Parliament, then he would rest there: but if they frowned on him, he doubted not to but obtain what was meet from the King. But the times would not suffer him to publish this also, else I see we should have had all: and this take notice of, that (as the same report testified) at his departure he wished them by no means to war with us the United Colonies, but compound though it cost them never so dear, but assured them at his return he would come strengthened with such authority and so many of his friends as that the Narragansetts the English could do. And that we heard these things from credible testimony and are not feigned by me, I take the searcher of the heart to witness, yea say further that I believe them to be true.

His glorious seeming well-deserving acts follow in page 82 etc. to 89 but note that Weeks, Holden, and Warner, (though I least know the last, but am sure for the other two) were his strong assistants in his former seditious and mutinous carriages both at Rhode Island and Providence, and therefore fit commissioners as he terms them, for the accomplishing such a design. And in page 85 note first, their compliance with the Narragansetts, and his false relation in saying Miantonomo's ransom was taken and his life also, which is most false, as I made appear in my former relation. And for the King's being our and their judge, as in page 86. Know the Indians care no more for the King than they do for us, whom they would destroy if they could.

And in page 88 take notice of the Gortonists complying and joining with them, first, by calling them their fellow-subjects, and secondly, speaking of the Maukquagges (whom we ordinarily call Mohawks) as being the most fierce and warlike people in the country, where (saith he) we are furnished with 3700 guns, men expert in the use of them, etc. Now these indeed as the Switzer's serve for hire. And the Narragansetts being rich have hired them to assist them in their war. But though the Gortonists it seems are interested with the Narragansetts in their strength against us, yet are they neither so many men nor have so many arms, but have too many and are very expert in them being continually supplied by the French and Dutch, whose aim is chiefly at the trade of furs, and hereby not only rob us of that should help to maintain our plantations which are growing up into a nation, but furnish the Indians with all manner of arms, which I would to God, and humbly beseech this High Court of Parliament to take into serious confederation, and treat with their several ambassadors about it, as a thing unreasonable in itself, and such as hath been pernicious to French and Dutch, and may be destructive to them and us, if some due course be not taken. But to return from my humble request to the State, to my answer to Samuel Gorton; although this be a most unworthy vaunt of his, yet I trust the State will make such use of it as never to suffer this desperate crew to live so near our malicious enemies the Narragansett, and that they will not only countenance the sentence of the Massachusetts Government against them, but hinder the said Gorton's return thither, by forbidding him to set foot on that land of New England he hath filled with so many troubles in all the parts where he hath been.

In page 91 he taxeth Plymouth to join with the Massachusetts to frustrate their government by virtue of their new charter. 'Tis true, we would have had the Massachusetts to have then sent, and rendered a reason to the State of their proceedings, knowing as before that Mr. Gorton's journey was for evil and not for good: but they being then taken up with more weighty concernments neglected it: but Plymouth did then petition the right honorable Robert Earl of Warwick the Governor in chief of the English plantations in America and the rest of that

honorable Committee joined in Commission with him, that we might enjoy our ancient limits of government granted in our letters patent, and withal showed that their charter for the limits of it now granted, was contained within our line of government: and trust I shall now receive answer. This true also that we sent Mr. John Brown furnished with these following instruction to signify to all that were interested in that new-erected government as followeth by Commission given at New Plymouth, Nov. 8, 1644.

1. That a great part of their supposed Government is within the line of the government of New Plymouth.
2. That we assuredly knew that this ever to be honored House of Parliament would not, nor will when they shall know of it, take from us the most ancient Plantation, any part of the line of our government formerly granted; it being contrary to their principles.
3. To forbid them and all and every of them to exercise any authority or power of government within the limits of our Letters Patents.
4. To certify them that Cohasset is not only within the said limits, but that the sachem thereof and his sons have taken protection of this our government. And therefore to forbid them to enter upon any part of his or their lands without due order and leave from our government.

Now these instructions were signed by the Governor. And Mr. Brown going to Rhode Island for this end came very seasonable when a public meeting was appointed for your new magistrates and people, (but as he reported, for a most vile end; viz to take into confederation a new disposal of the lands formerly given out, as if same had too much and some too little, and for now respect of persons, and their estates was to be laid aside.) And here note that Mr. Coddington, Mr. Brinton, etc. that we at Plymouth had special eye to, when we commended them thither, abhorred their course, abstained from their meetings, looked upon themselves as persons in great danger, and bemoaned their condition to divers their friends, being now overwhelmed with cares and fears what would be the issue of things. And note that now also Mr. Samuel Gorton that before had suffered so much by authority for his evil doing, and was come to deny it and preach against it, being now by these inhabitants called to place, accepts it, and became a magistrate amongst them, etc. But whereas he intimates, as if Mr. Brown had only done his message (according to his instructions) in a private way from house to house, therein he wrongs him: for he did it publicly in the place of their assembly, who were so daunted at it as they broke up, and did no act intended for that day, as he related it: but some would have had him imprisoned, others punished, others sent to the Dutch and so for England. Yea Mr. Gorton himself told Mr. Brown's son that his father had done that which he deserved to die for, and were he in any other place it would cost him his life. So fit for government were these men, as to judge a peaceable claim of right without any further disturbance or stir made should thus deserve. Neither indeed have we further stirred then as before, ever resolving to rest in the determination of the right honorable the Governor in chief and the rest of his honorable assistants of that Committee be trusted with the affairs of the foreign English Plantations, assuring ourselves whatever might proceed either from misinformation or want of due knowledge what was formerly done, would be rectified upon the first information and complaint made: such were our thoughts of them, and the justice we expected, and still hope to receive from them. And thus much for answer to that complaint.

In page 92 he layeth another gross aspersion upon us, in saying, “There was defiance and alienation of affection between Plymouth and the Massachusetts at their first coming, each thinking I am holier than thou: and as if we were now united on purpose to scatter them.” The world knows this to be most false. Never people agreed better, maintaining both religious and civil communion with each other, and helping and being helpful one to another upon all occasions: which is so well known, as if he had not more than ordinary boldness he durst not affirm it. Nor came the men of Plymouth from Amsterdam as he reporteth but Leiden, a people that many of that Church of Amsterdam would hardly allow communion withal: but his pen is no flounder, at least will not be where this answer shall follow it. And for his relation of the manner of the Indians mourning for their prince his death: truly had he died a natural death, ‘tis their manner not only so to mourn for their great sachems which are princes, but for ordinary men, women and children as he well knoweth or might know.

In page 93 he further complains of Plymouth and Massachusetts for offering to go out against the Narragansetts to cut them off by the sword. And so complains also of Captain Standish, etc. Answ. I told you before how the Commissioners for the United Colonies meeting at Hartford by course, whose meeting always begins the first Thursday in September sent for both the Narragansetts and Uncas, who appeared, and a league agreed on: but the Narragansetts broke again, and warred upon Uncas needlessly. The United Colonies admonished them again and again: and after no admonition nor persuasions would serve, we were then forced to call the Commissioners together at an extraordinary session on purpose, who finding it meet to take up arms in the behalf of Uncas our confederate, whom by the agreement of the Narragansetts sundry times, at divers meetings we were bound, and it was made lawful to do. Hereupon the Commissioners agreeing as before, sent out their warrants to their several and special governments, and accordingly forces were raised at a day’s warning. But before this, instead of hearkening to righteous counsel, they threatened also the English, saying, they would make heaps of our dead bodies and cattle, as high as their houses, burn our habitations, make spoil of our goods, and used our messengers very discourteously, etc. And for Captain Standish, this I heard him relay, that being at the place of rendezvous, before the Massachusetts forces came, observing that some of the inhabitants of Providence received the Indians into their houses familiarly, who had put themselves also into a posture of arms, and the place within a mile of Seekonk or Rehoboth where Captain Standish lay; he sent to Providence, and required them to lay aside their neutrality, and either declare themselves on the one side or other: for the war being once begun, he would not bear with their carriage in entertaining, furnishing, and relieving the common enemy, but would disarm them, etc. And whether necessity put him not upon this course, or no, let the reader judge.

And for the five hundred pound, ‘tis true their hearts failed to see Plymouth forces appear, and Massachusetts both horse and foot upon their march on the one side their country, under Mr. Edw. Gibbons who was chosen General of the United Colonies, with the help of Woosamequin, whose constancy to Plymouth is well known, and Pumham and Socononoco with reference to Massachusetts with all their men, attending the English word of command. And on the other side their country the forces of Connecticut and New Haven, with all the strength of Uncas, waiting but for the word from the Commissioners to fall on. Now I say they were daunted especially because it came so suddenly upon them, wanting Mr. Gorton and his friends who were not yet come; hereupon they resolved to go to the Commissioners to Massachusetts and compound, and did sign new articles to observe the peace not only with the United Colonies but with Uncas, Woosamequin, Pumham, and Socononoco, and other our Confederates,

including all the English in the land, to make satisfaction for wrongs to Uncas and to pay five hundred pounds to the United Colonies, for the charge they put us to, which indeed would not near make it good, if they had paid it: but as at other times, so now, notwithstanding their hostages, they abused us grossly, first sending false persons; secondly, breaking all other their covenants, and came at last to a resolution, they would rather give the money (which is a bead, as current as coin in all that part of America, of their own making) to the Mohawks at once, to cut us off, than to pay it according to covenant.

And thus contrary to my resolution, I see a necessity of more large answers than I intended; and indeed otherwise I should speak riddles, and not satisfy the reader. Although were it an history, I have many remarkable passages which here for brevity sake I must omit. And if any think we do needlessly engage in the troubles between the Indians? 1. Let them know if we should not here and there keep correspondence with some of them, they would soon join all together against us. 2. The quarrel between Uncas and Narragansett, arose upon his cleaving to us: for the great sachem Miantonomo would have married Uncas' daughter, and since Pessacus that succeeded him, would have married Woosamequins' daughter, and all in policy to take them off from us; so that indeed we are necessitated to it. And 3, we are not out of hope in time to bring them to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, as will appear by a small treatise of that kind. But this one thing I desire the reader to take notice of, that when that great prince Miantonomo he so much admires, had offered violence to Woosamequin (who was under the protection of Plymouth) and missing his person, returned only with the plunder of his goods: upon Woosamequins complaint to Plymouth, that government alone, it being before the union, sent Captain Standish with a few men, not above 20 who sent a message over the bay of salt water which parts Woosamequin from them, either to make restitution of his goods so injuriously taken, or else to expect him to fetch them with a vengeance to their cost. Hereupon they sent over every particular that could be demanded, even to a wooden dish, and salved up all again; but this was before any malignant English sat down so near them, and held counsel with them, before they had violated our persons to them, reported us to be base and low, out of favor with the King and State, etc., things very unworthy, abominable to be named, but that in defending the abused governments of the country, I am forced to dang such strokes at these proud and turbulent enemies of the country.

Next in page 94 that he relateth of Mr. Williams; viz, the messengers taking him with them that were sent to the Narragansetts, in that troublesome time, viz. being one cast out of the Church (Mr. Cotton should preach.) It was all one to take counsel of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die. Upon which Mr. Wilbour one of the messengers was ready to die, saith he, for fear he should have been hanged. This I cannot believe for these two reasons: 1. Because all men that know Mr. Cotton, know his moderation, wisdom and piety to be such, as such an expression was not like to drop from him. 2. The strictest government in New England that I know, takes no advantage in the law at a man's person for being excommunicated; insomuch as if he have an office, he holds it nevertheless, and this, I know practiced, and therefore his relation unlike. But that the messengers were directed to another for their interpreter I know, and that some took offence at their practice I know also, but upon different grounds, which I forbear to mention, being now to answer Mr. Gorton, and not Mr. Williams.

In page 93 which is the last page in his book that I shall need to make answer to, and the thing he there brings against us is an answer to a doctrine one of their wives should hear delivered at Massachusetts when she came to visit them, from Matthew 24:29. and alluding to Hebrews 12:26, 27, briefly this doctrine there delivered, should make the doctrine of the

Apostles and the churches in their times to be but darkness. That the ministry of the Apostles was and should be removed, etc. which I desire the reader to turn to; but be afforded through God's mercy, by means of the late Bishop of Canterbury's perfections of the godly here, we are so excellently furnished with shining lights of the Gospel, as no such blasphemous trash as this could be there delivered, and so many able hearers, as if it should have been delivered by any, the Lord withdrawing his presence from him, it would have been forthwith excepted against and published to the world. But I am confident if such a thing were there heard, it was either from one of their own company, or disciples made by them. And therefore I will pass by the answer also, as not concerning any difference between him and us, and so the rest of his writings to that end, and could wish that Narcissus-like he were not so much in love with his own shadow, lest it prove his ruin; there needing no other matter against him than his own words and writings to render him odious to the State here, as well as to New England from whence he came.

And now that I have finished what I conceive necessary concerning Mr. Gorton's scandalous and slanderous books, let me briefly answer some objections that I often meet withal against the country of New England. The first that I meet with is, concerning the rise and foundation of our New England plantations; it being alleged (though upon a great mistake by a late writer) that division or disagreement in the Church of Leiden, was the occasion, nay cause of the first plantation in New England; for saith the author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to New England, and began the plantation at Plymouth, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the churches, as if the foundation of our New England plantations had been laid upon division or separation, then which nothing is more untrue: for I persuade myself, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly than we the Church at Leiden did, not rashly in a distracted humor, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'Tis true, that that poor persecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late hierarchy were driven to Leiden in Holland, there to bear witness in their practice to the Kingly Office of Christ Jesus in his Church: and there lived together ten years under the United States, with much peace and liberty: but our Reverend Mr. John Robinson of late memory, and our grave Elder Mr. William Brewster, (now both at rest with the Lord) considering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for England; how grievous to live from under protection of the State of England; how like we were to lose our language, and our name of English; how little good we did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as we ourselves had received, etc. They, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them conceived, if God would be pleased to discover some place unto us (though in America) and give us so much favor with the King and State of England, as to have their protection there, where we might enjoy the like liberty, and where the Lord favoring our endeavors by his blessing, we might exemplary show our tender countrymen by our example (no less burdened than ourselves) where they might live, and comfortable subsist

and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from antichristian bondage, keep their names and nation, and not only be a means to enlarge the domination of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the native whither he should bring us, etc. Hereby in their grave wisdoms they thought we might more glorify God, do more good to our Country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labors, then ever we could do in Holland where we were.

Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the brethren of the congregation, which after much private discussion came to public agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the work, we sent some of good abilities over into England to see what favor or acceptance such a thing might find with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sandys a religious Gentleman then living, to stir in it, who procured Sir Robert Naunton then principal Secretary of State to King James of famous memory, to move his majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavor the advancement of His Majesty's Dominions, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due means. This His Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profit might arise in the part we intended (for our eye was upon the most northern parts of Virginia); 'twas answered, "Fishing." To which he replied with his ordinary asseveration, "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade, 'twas the Apostles own calling," etc. But afterwards he told Sir Robert Naunton, (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of Canterbury and London, etc. Whereupon we were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle ourselves with them, which caused our agents to repair to the Virginia Company, who in the court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent, and one of them lent us £300 gratis for three years, which was repaid.

Our agents returning, we further sought the Lord by a public and solemn fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon we came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to go at first, and the other to stay, viz. the youngest and strongest part to go. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the pastor to go with them; if not, the Elder only. Fourthly, if the Lord should frown upon our proceedings, then those that went to return, and the brethren that remained still there, to assist and be helpful to them, but if God should be pleased to favor them that went, then they also should endeavor to help over such as were poor and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a very few, who had rather we would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. Brewster their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great.) And when the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed having again solemnly sought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at Leiden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house being large, where we refreshed ourselves after our tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delftshaven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again; and after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part: but we

only going aboard (the ship lying to the quay and ready to set sail, the wind being fair) we gave them a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordinance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits he carried us through. And if any doubt this relation, the Dutch, as I hear, at Delftshaven preserve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

But falling with Cape Cod which is in New England, and standing to the southward for the place we intended, we met with many dangers, and the mariners put back into the harbor of the Cape, which was the 11 of November, 1620, where considering winter was come, the seas dangerous, the season cold, the winds high, and being well furnished for a plantation, we entered upon discovery, and settled at Plymouth, where God being pleased to preserve and enable us, we that went, were at a thousand pounds' charge in sending for our brethren that were behind, and in providing there for them till they could reap a crop of their own labors. And so good reader, I have given thee a true and faithful account, though very brief, of our proceedings, wherein thou seest how a late writer, and those that informed him, have wronged our enterprise. And truly what I have written, is far short of what it was, omitting for brevity sake many circumstances, as the large offers the Dutch offered us, either to have removed into Zealand, and there lived with them: or if we would go on such adventures, to go under them to Hudson's River (where they have since a great plantation, etc.) and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, etc. Also the English merchants that joined with us in this expedition, whom we since bought out, which is fitter for an history, than an answer to such an objection, (and I trust will be accomplished in good time.) By all which the reader may see there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that stayed, but such love as indeed is seldom found on earth.

And for the many plantations that come over to us upon notice of God's blessing upon us, whereas 'tis falsely said, they took Plymouth for their president as fast as they came. 'Tis true I confess that some of the chief of them advised with us (coming over to be freed from the burdensome ceremonies then imposed in England) how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship, and desired to that end since God had honored us to lay the foundation of a Commonwealth, and to settle a Church in it, to show them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the several Churches by the said Apostles together with the commandments of Christ the Lord in the Gospel, and other our warrants for every particular we did from the book of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entered into covenant with God and one with another to walk in all his ways revealed, or as they should be made known unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word only, etc. So that here also thou mayest see they set not the Church at Plymouth before them for example, but the primitive churches were and are their and our mutual patterns and examples, which are only worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them which were sent immediately by Christ himself and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a pattern fit to be followed of all that fear God, and no man or men to be followed further than they follow Christ and them.

Having thus briefly showed that the foundation of our New England plantations was not laid upon schism, division, or separation, but upon love, peace, and holiness; yea, such love and mutual care of the Church of Leiden for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldom found on earth: and having showed

also that the primitive churches are the only pattern which the Churches of Christ in New England have in their eye, not following Luther, Calvin, Knox, Ainsworth, Robinson, Ames, or any other, further than they follow Christ and his Apostles; I am earnestly requested to clear up another gross mistake which caused many, and still doth, to judge the harder of New England, and the churches there, because (say they) “The church of Plymouth which went first from Leiden, were schismatics, Brownists, rigid Separatists, etc. having Mr. Robinson for their pastor, who made, and to the last professed separation from other the churches of Christ, etc. And the rest of the churches in New England holding communion with that church, are to be reputed such as they are.”

For answer to this aspersion, first, he that knew Mr. Robinson, either by his doctrine daily taught, or hath read his *Apology*³ published not long before his death, or knew the practice of that church of Christ under his government, or was acquainted with the wholesome counsel he gave that part of the Church which went for New England at their departure and afterward, might easily resolved the doubt, and take off the aspersion.

For his doctrine, I living three years under his ministry, before we began the work of plantation in New England; it was always against separation from any the churches of Christ, professing and holding communion both with the French and Dutch churches, yea, rendering it to the Scots also, as I shall make appear more particularly anon. Ever holding forth how wary persons ought to be in separating from a church, and that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, only to bear witness against the corruption that was in it. But if any object, he separated from the Church of England, and wrote largely against it; I acknowledge he wrote largely against it, but yet let me tell you, he allowed hearing the godly ministers preach and pray in the public assemblies; yea, he allowed private communion not only with them, but all that were faithful in Christ Jesus in the Kingdom and elsewhere upon all occasions; yea, honored them for the power of godliness above all other the professors of religion in the world, nay, I may truly say, his spirit cleaved unto them, being so well acquainted with the integrity of their hearts, and care to walk blameless in their lives, which was no small motive to him to persuade us to remove from Holland, where we might probably not only continue English, but have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that nation, as through God’s great mercy we enjoy this day.

‘Tis true, I confess he was more rigid in his course and way at first, then towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schism and division, there was nothing in the world more hateful to him: but for the government of the Church of England, as it was in the Episcopal way, the liturgy and stunted prayers of the church then; yea, the constitution of it as national, and so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lord’s Supper, these things were never approved of him, but witnessed against to his death, and are by the Church over which he was to this day. And if the Lord would be pleased to stir us, the hearts of those, in whom (under him) the power of reformation lies, to reform that abuse, that a distinction might once be put between the precious and the vile, particular churches might be gathered by the powerful preaching of the Word, those only admitted into communion, whose hearts the Lord persuades to submit unto the iron rod of the Gospel; O how sweet then would the communion of the churches be! How thorough the Reformation! How easy would the differences be reconciled between the Presbyterian and Independent way! How would the God of peace which

³ John Robinson, *A Just and Necessary Apologie of Certain Christians: no lesse contumeliously then commonly called Brownists*. Originally published in Latin, translated into English in 1644.

commandeth love and good agreement smile upon this nation! How would the subtle underminers of it be disappointed, and the faithful provoked to sing songs of praise and thanksgiving! Nay, how would the God of order be glorified in such orderly walking of the Saints! And as they have fought together for the liberties of the Kingdom, ecclesiastical and civil; so may they join together in the preservation of them (which otherwise, 'tis to be feared will not long continue) and in the praises of our God who hath been so good to his poor distressed ones, whom he hath delivered, and whom he will deliver out of all their troubles. But I have made too great a digression, and must return.

In the next place I should speak of Mr. Robinson's *Apology*, wherein he maketh a brief defense against many adversaries, etc. But because it is both in Latin and English, of small price, and easy to be had, I shall forbear to write of it, and only refer the reader to it, for the differences between his congregation, and other the reformed churches.

The next thing I would have the reader take notice of, is, that however the church of Leiden differed in some particulars, yet made no schism or separation from the reformed churches, but held communion with them occasionally: for we ever placed a large difference between those that grounded their practice upon the Word of God (tho' differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it) and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did, who would not in deed and truth (whatever their presences were) that Christ should rule over them. But as they often stretched out their hands against the saints; so God hath withered the arm of their power, thrown them down from their high and lofty seats, and slain the chief of their persons, as well as the hierarchy, that he might become an example to all those that rise against God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his saints, in the purity of his ordinances. And I heartily desire that others may hear and fear withal.

As for the Dutch, it was usual for our members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to London, to communicate with them, as one John Jenny a brewer long did, his wife and family, etc. and without any offense to the church: so also for any that had occasion to travel into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like: and our pastor Mr. Robinson in the time when Arminianism prevailed so much, at the request of the most Orthodox Divines, as Polyander, Festus, Homlius, etc. disputed daily against Episcopius (in the Academy at Leiden) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines; insomuch as when God took him away from them and us by death, the University and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewailing the great loss that not only that particular church had, whereof he was pastor; but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed, that all the churches of Christ sustained a loss by the death of that worthy instrument of the Gospel. I could instance also divers of their members that understood the English tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our church, went with us to New England, as Godbert Godbertson⁴, etc. Yea, at this very instant, another called Moses Simonson⁵, because a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leiden, is admitted into church fellowship at Plymouth in New

⁴ Godbert Godbertson came to Plymouth on the ship *Anne* in 1623 from Leiden, where he had been working as a hatter. He died in autumn of 1633 at Plymouth, during the general sickness of that year. His second wife was Sarah, sister of *Mayflower* passenger Isaac Allerton and widow of *Mayflower* passenger Degory Priest.

⁵ Moyses Symonson, alias Moses Simmons, came on the *Fortune* in 1621, later moved to Duxbury, married a woman named Sarah, and had seven children. He died around 1690 at Duxbury.

England, and his children also to baptism, as well as our own, and other Dutch also in communion at Salem, etc.

And for the French churches that we held, and do hold communion with them, take notice of our practice at Leiden, viz. that one Samuel Terry was received from the French Church there, into communion with us; also the wife of Francis Cooke⁶ being a Walloon, holds communion with the Church at Plymouth, as she came from the French, to this day, by virtue of communion of churches; there is also one Philip Delano⁷ born of French parents, came to us from Leiden to New Plymouth, who coming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us, and proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the French churches, was hereupon admitted by the Church of Plymouth; and after upon his removal of habitation to Duxbury where Mr. Ralph Partridge is pastor of the church; and upon letters of recommendation from the Church at Plymouth, he was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at Duxbury, being six miles distant from Plymouth; and so I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may from church to church throughout New England. For the truth is, the Dutch and French churches either of them being a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion, and not national churches, nay, so far from it, as I verily believe the sixth person is not of the church, the difference is so small (if moderately pondered, between them and us) as we dare not for the world deny communion with them.

And for the Church of Scotland, however we have had least occasion offered to hold communion with them; yet thus much I can and do affirm, that a godly divine coming over to Leiden in Holland, where a book was printed, Anno. 1619⁸, as I take it, showing the nullity of *Perth Assembled*, whom we judged to be the author of it, and hidden in Holland for a season to avoid the rage of those evil times (whose name I have forgotten.) This man being very conversant with our pastor Mr. Robinson, and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath, after sermon ended, the Church being to partake in the Lord's Supper, this minister stood up and desired he might, without offense, stay and see the manner of his administration, and our participation in that ordinance; to which our pastor answered in these very words, or to this effect, Reverend Sir, you may not only stay to behold us, but partake with us, if you please, for we acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ, etc. The minister also replied to this purpose, if not also in the same words: that for his part he could comfortably partake with the Church, and willingly would, but that it is possible some of his brethren of Scotland might take offense at his act; which he desired to avoid in regard of the opinion the English Churches which they held communion withal had of us: however he rendered thanks to Mr. Robinson, and desired in that respect to be only a spectator of us. These things I was earnestly requested to publish to the world by some of the godly Presbyterian party, who apprehend the world to be ignorant of our proceedings, conceiving in charity that if they had been known, some late writers and preachers would never have written and spoke of us as they did, and still do as they have occasion: but what they ignorantly judge, write, or speak of us, I trust the Lord in mercy will pass by.

In the next place, for the wholesome counsel Mr. Robinson gave that part of the church whereof he was pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great work of plantation in New

⁶ Hester Mahieu, wife of *Mayflower* passenger Francis Cooke, came to Plymouth on the *Anne* in 1623.

⁷ Philip Delano was the son of Jan de Lannoy and Marie Mahieu, and was baptized at the Walloon church in Leiden in 1603. He came to Plymouth on the *Fortune* in 1621.

⁸ [David Calderwood], *Perth Assembly: Containing 1. The proceedings thereof; 2. The prooffe of the nullitie thereof;* ... (published by *Mayflower* passenger William Brewster in Leiden, Holland in 1619).

England, amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he used these expressions, or to the same purpose: We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and His blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry: for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further then the instruments of their reformation: as for example, the Lutherans they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw, for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them: a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our church covenant (at least that part of it) whereby we promise and covenant with God and with one another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other scriptures of truth, before we received it; for, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

Another thing he commended to us, was, that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the professors of it to the Christian world; and to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you, or come to you, before my coming; for, said he, there will be no difference between the uncomfortable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the Kingdom: and so advised us by all means to endeavor to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division; viz. how near we might possibly, without sin close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another pastor or teacher, saith he, for that flock that hath two shepherds is not endangered, but secured by it. Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us, but these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of church government in the Kingdom of England) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of Christ now at New Plymouth in New England, but formerly at Leiden in Holland, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the churches of Christ, especially those that are reformed.

'Tis true, we profess and desire to practice a separation from the world, and the works of the world, which are works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaketh of, Ephes. 5:19,20,22. 1 Cor. 6:9,10,11, and Ephes. 2:11,12. And as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth, (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the saints may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joining to us formerly, either when we lived at Leiden in Holland, or since we came to New England, have with the manifestation of their faith and profession of holiness held forth therewith separation from the Church of England, I have divers

times, both in the one place, and the other, heard either Mr. Robinson our pastor, or Mr. Brewster our Elder stop them forthwith, showing them that we required no such things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the fear of God, and submission to every ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of England to themselves, and to the Lord before whom they should stand or fall, and to whom we ought to pray to reform what was amiss amongst them. Now this reformation we have lived to see performed and brought about by the mighty power of God, this day in a good measure, and I hope the Lord Jesus will perfect his work of reformation, till all be according to the good pleasure of his will. By all which I desire the reader to take notice of our former and present practice notwithstanding all the injurious and scandalous taunting reports are passed on us. And if these things will not satisfy, but we must still suffer reproach, and others for our sakes, because they and we thus walk, our practice being for ought we know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or human intention known to us, taking our pattern from our primitive churches, as they were regulated by the blessed Apostles in their own days, who were taught and instructed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and had the unerring and all-knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard: I say, if we must still suffer such reproach, notwithstanding our charity towards them who will not be in charity with us; God's will be done.

The next aspersion cast upon us, is, that we will not suffer any that differ from us never so little to reside or cohabit with us; no not the Presbyterian government which differeth so little from us: to which I answer, our practice witnesseth the contrary. For 'tis well known that Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyce who are ministers of the church at Newbury are in that way and so known so far as a single congregation can be exercised in it; yet never had the least molestation or disturbance, and have and find as good respect from magistrates and people as other Elders in the congregational or primitive way. 'Tis known also that Mr. Hubbard the minister at Hingham hath declared himself for that way: nay which is more than ever I heard of the other two; he refuseth to baptize no children that are tendered to him (although this liberty standeth not upon a Presbyterian bottom) and yet the civil state never molested him for it: only coming to a synod held in the country the last year, which the magistrates called, requesting the churches to send their Elders and such other as might be able to hold forth the light of God from his written Word in case of some doubts which did arise in the country: I say he coming the last sitting of the assembly which was adjourned to the eighth of June next, was in all meekness and love requested to be present and hold forth his light he went by in baptizing all that were brought to him, hereby waving the practice of the Churches; which he promising to take into consideration they rested in his answer. So also 'tis well known, that before these unhappy troubles arose in England and Scotland, there were divers gentlemen of Scotland that groaned under the heavy pressures of those times, wrote to New England to know whether they might be suffered to exercise their Presbyterial government among us. And it was answered affirmatively they might: and they sending over a gentleman to take a view of some fit place; a River called Merrimack near Ipswich and Newbury aforesaid, was showed their agent, which he well liked, and where we have since four towns settled, and more may be for ought I know, so that there they might have had a complete Presbytery and whither they intended to have come: but meeting with manifold crosses being half seas through they gave over their intendments, and as I have heard these were many of the gentlemen that first fell upon the late covenant in Scotland: by all which will easily appear how we are here wronged by many; and the harder measure as we hear imposed upon our brethren for our sakes, nay pretending our example for their precedent. And last of all, not long before I came away certain discontented persons in open court of the Massachusetts, demanding

that liberty, it was freely and as openly tendered to them; showing their former practices by me mentioned: but willed not to expect that we should provide them ministers etc. for the same, but getting such themselves they might exercise the Presbyterian government at their liberty, walking peaceably towards us as we trusted we should do towards them. So that if our brethren here shall be restrained they walking peaceably, the example must not be taken from us, but arise from some other principle.

But it will not be objected though you deal thus with the Presbyterian way, yet you have a severe law against Anabaptists, yea one was whipped at Massachusetts for his religion? And your law banisheth them? Answ. 'Tis true, the Massachusetts government have such a law as to banish, but not to whip in that kind. And certain men desiring some mitigation of it; it was answered in my hearing. 'Tis true, we have a severe law, but we never did or will execute the rigor of it upon any, and have men living amongst us, nay some in other churches of that judgment, and as long as they carry themselves peaceably as hitherto they do, we will leave them to God, ourselves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas there was one whipped amongst us; 'tis true we knew his judgment what it was: but had he not carried himself so contemptuously towards the Authority God hath trusted us with in an high exemplary measure, we had never so censured him: and therefore he may thank himself who suffered as an evildoer in that respect. But the reason wherefore we are loath either to repeal or alter the law, is, because we would have it remain in force to bear witness against their judgment and practice which we conceive them to be erroneous.

And yet nevertheless said the Governor to those preferred the request, you may tell our friends in England, whither ye are some of you going, since the motion proceedeth from such as we know move it in love to us, we will seriously take it into consideration at our next General Court. So that thou mayest perceive good reader that the worst is spoken of things in that kind.

Furthermore in the Government of Plymouth, to our great grief, not only the pastor of a congregation waveth the administration of baptism to infants, but divers of his congregation are fallen with him, and yet all the means the civil power hath taken against him and them, is to stir up our Elders to give meeting and see if by godly conference they may be able to convince and reclaim him, as in mercy once before they had done by God's blessing upon their labors. Only at the foresaid synod, two were ordered to write to him in the name of the assembly, and to request his presence at their next meeting aforesaid to hold forth his light he goeth by in waving the practice of the churches; with promise if it be light, to walk by it: but if it appear otherwise, then they trust he will return again to the unity of practice with them. And for the other two governments of Connecticut and New Haven, if either have any law in force against them, or so much as need of a law in that kind, tis more than I have heard on.

For our parts (I mean the churches of New England) we are confident through God's mercy, the way of God in which we walk, and according to which we perform our worship and service to Him, concurrerth with those rules our blessed Savior hath left upon record by the evangelists and Apostles, and is agreeable with the practice of those primitive churches mentioned in the Acts, and regulated by the same Apostles, as appeareth not only in that Evangelical History, but in their Epistles to the several churches there mentioned; yet nevertheless if any through tenderness of conscience be otherwise minded, to such we never turn a deaf ear, nor become rigorous, though we have the stream of authority on our sides. Nay, if in the use of all means we cannot reclaim them, knowing the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy, and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace, of them that

make peace, according to James 3:17,18. And if any differing from us be answerable to this rule in their lives and conversations, we do not exercise the civil sword against them. But for such as Gorton and his company, whose wisdom seems not to be from above, as appeareth in that it is full of envying, strife, confusion, James 3:15,16, being therein such as the Apostle Jude speaks on, v. 8, viz. earthly, sensual, devilish; who v. 16, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. These v. 12, 13, are murmurs, complainers, walkers after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, being clouds without water, carried about of winds, trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, wandering stars, to whom (without repentance, which I much desire to see, or hear of in him, if it may stand with the will of God) is reserved the blackness of darkness forever. These I say are to be proceeded with by another rule, and not to be borne: who suffer as evildoers, and are a shame to religion which they profess in word, but deny in their lives and conversations. These every tender conscience abhors, and will justify and assist the higher powers God hath ordained, against such carnal Gospellers, who bear not the sword in vain, Romans 13, but execute God's vengeance on such; for the civil magistrate is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil. And therefore a broad difference is to be put between such evildoers, and those tender consciences who follow the light of God's Word in their own persuasions, (though judged erroneous by the places where they live) so long as their walking is answerable to the rules of the Gospel, by preserving peace, and holding forth holiness in their conversations amongst men.

Thus much I thought good to signify, because we of New England are said to be so often propounded for an example. And if any will take us for a precedent, I desire they may really know what we do, rather than what others ignorantly or maliciously report of us, assuring myself that none will ever be losers by following us so far as we follow Christ: which that we may do, and our posterities after us, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our Father, accept in Christ what is according to him, discover, pardon, and reform what is amiss amongst us; and guide us and them by the assistance of the Holy Ghost for time to come, till time shall be no more; that the Lord our God may still delight to dwell amongst his plantations and churches there by his gracious presence, and may go on blessing to bless them with heavenly blessings in these earthly places, that so by his blessing they may not only grow up to a nation, but become exemplary for good unto others. And let all that wish well to Zion say Amen.

FINIS
