

The Opening Chapters
from
“MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA”

**“The Ecclesiastical History of New England”
at the very Beginning**

by

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THE FIRST BOOK.

ANTIQUITIES;

OR,

A FIELD PREPARED FOR CONSIDERABLE THINGS TO BE ACTED THEREUPON.

THE INTRODUCTION,

“If it please God.”

It was not long ago, as about the middle of the former century, that under the influences of that admirable hero and martyr, of the Protestant religion, Gasper Coligni, the great Admiral of France, a noble and learned knight called Villagagnon, began to attempt the Settlement of some Colonies in America, (as it was declared) for the propagation of that religion. He sailed with several ships of no small burthen, till he arrived at Brasile; where he thought there were now shown him quiet seats, for the retreat of a people harassed already with deadly persecutions, and threatened with yet more calamities. Thence he wrote home letters unto that glorious patron of the reformed churches, to inform him, that he had now a fair prospect of seeing those churches erected, multiplied, and sheltered in the southern regions of the New World; and requested him, that Geneva might supply them with Pastors for the planting of such churches in these New Plantations. The blessed Calvin, with his colleagues, there upon sent of their number two worthy persons, namely Richerius and Quadrigarius, to assist this undertaking; and unto these were joined several more, especially Leirus, and who became a leader to the rest, Corquilerius, an eminent man, for the cause of Christianity, then residing at Geneva Embarked in three ships, well fitted, they came to the American country, whither they had been invited; and they soon set up an evangelical church order, in those corners of the earth where God in our Lord Jesus Christ had never before been called upon. But it was not long before some unhappy con-

troversies arose among them, which drove their principal ministers into Europe again, besides those three that were murdered by their apostate Governour, whose martyrdom Lerus procured Crispin to commemorate in his history, but I now omit in this of ours, *Ne me Crispini scrinia lecti, compilâsse putes*, (That you may not suspect me of having rifled the portfolios of *Crispin*.—HORACE, *Sat. i. l. ver. 120.*) and as for the people that staid behind, no other can be learned, but that they are entirely *lost*, either in paganism or disaster: in this, more unhappy sure, than that hundred thousand of their brethren who were soon after butchered at home, in that horrible *massacre*, which then had not, but since hath, known a parallel. So has there been utterly *lost* in a little time, a *country intended for a receptacle of Protestant Churches* on the American Strand. It is the most incomparable *De Thou*, the honourable President of the Parliament at Paris, an Historian whom Casaubon pronounces, “A singular gift of Heaven, to the last age, for an example of piety and probity,” that is our author, (besides others) for this History.

’Tis now time for me to tell my reader, that in *our age* there has been another essay made not by French, but by English PROTESTANTS, to fill a certain country in America with *Reformed Churches*; nothing in *doctrine*, little in *discipline*, different from that of Geneva. Mankind will pardon *me*, a native of that country, if smitten with a just fear of incroaching and ill-bodied *degeneracies*, I shall use my modest endeavours to prevent the *loss* of a country so signalized for the *profession* of the purest *Religion*, and for the *protection* of God upon it, in that holy profession. I shall count my country *lost*, in the *loss* of the primitive *principles*, and the primitive *practices*, upon which it was at first established: but certainly one good way to save that *loss*, would be to do something that the memory of the *great things done for us by our God*, may not be *lost*, and that the story of the circumstances attending the *foundation* and *formation* of this country, and of its *preservation* hitherto, may be impartially handed unto posterity. THIS is the undertaking whereto I now address myself; and now, *Grant me thy gracious assistances, O my God! that in this my undertaking I may be kept from every false way: but that sincerely aiming at thy glory in my undertaking, I may find my labours made acceptable and profitable unto thy Churches, and serviceable unto the interests of thy gospel; so let my God think upon me for good; and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy in the blessed Jesus.* AMEN.

CHAPTER I.

VENISTI TANDEM!(Hast thou come at last?) OR, DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA;

TENDING TO, AND ENDING IN, DISCOVERIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

§ 1. IT is the opinion of some, though ‘tis *but* an *opinion*, and *but* of *some* learned men, that when the sacred oracles of Heaven assure us, *the things under the earth* are some of those, whose *knees are to bow in the name of Jesus*, by those *things* are meant the inhabitants of America, who are Antipodes to those of the other hemisphere. I would not quote any words of Lactantius, though there are *some* to countenance this interpretation, because of their being so *ungeographical*: nor would I go to strengthen the interpretation by re-

citing the words of the Indians to the first *white invaders* of their territories, *we hear you are come from under the world to take our world from us*. But granting the *uncertainty* of such an exposition, I shall yet give the Church of God a certain account of those *things*, which in America have been believing and adoring the glorious *name* of Jesus; and of that country in America, where those *things* have been attended with circumstances most remarkable. I can contentedly allow that America (which, as the learned Nicholas Fuller observes, might more justly be called Columbina) was altogether unknown to the *penmen* of the Holy Scriptures, and in the *ages* when the Scriptures were penned. I can allow, that those parts of the earth, which do not include America, are, in the inspired writings of Luke and of Paul, stiled *all the world*. I can allow, that the opinion of Torniellus and of Pagius, about the apostles preaching the gospel in America, has been sufficiently refuted by Basnagius. But I am out of the reach of Pope Zachary's excommunication. I can assert the existence of the American Antipodes: and I can report unto the European churches great occurrences among these Americans. Yet I will report every one of them with such a Christian and exact veracity, that no man shall have cause to use about any one of them the words which the great Austin (as *great* as he was) used about the existence of Antipodes; it is a fable, and *nullà ratione credendum*. (Utterly incredible.)

§ 2. If the *wicked one in whom the whole world lyeth*, were *he*, who like a *dragon*, keeping a guard upon the spacious and mighty *orchards* of America, could have such a *fascination* upon the thoughts of mankind, that neither this *balancing half* of the globe should be considered in Europe, till a little more than two hundred years ago, nor the *clue* that might lead unto it, namely, the *Loadstone*, should be known, till a Neapolitian stumbled upon it, about an hundred years before; yet the over ruling *Providence* of the *great God* is to be acknowledged, as well in the *concealing* of America for so long a time, as in the *discovering* of it, when the fulness of time was come for the discovery: for we may count America to have been concealed, while mankind in the other hemisphere had lost all acquaintance with it, if we may conclude it had any from the words of Diodorus Siculus, that Phoenicians were, by great storms, driven on the coast of Africa, far *westward for many days together*, and at last fell in with an Island of prodigious magnitude; or from the words of Plato, that beyond the pillars of Hercules there was an Island in the Atlantick Ocean, *larger than Africa and Asia put together*: nor should it pass without remark, that *three* most memorable things, which have born a very great aspect upon *humane affairs*, did, near the same time, namely, at the conclusion of the *fifteenth*, and the beginning of the *sixteenth century*, arise unto the world: the first was the *resurrection of literature*; the second was the opening of America; the third was the *Reformation of Religion*. But, as probably, the devil seducing the first inhabitants of America into it, therein aimed at the having of them and their posterity out of the sound of the *silver trumpets* of the *Gospel*, then to be heard through the Roman Empire; if the devil had any expectation, that by the peopling of America, he should utterly deprive any Europeans of the two benefits, *Literature* and *Religion*, which dawned upon the miserable world, one just *before*, the other just *after*, the first famed *navigation* hither, 'tis to be hoped he will be disappointed of that expectation. The *Church* of God must no longer be wrapped up in Strabo's cloak; *Geography* must now find work for a *Christiano-geography* in regions far enough beyond the bounds

wherein the *Church* of God had, through all former ages, been circumscribed. Renowned *Churches* of Christ must be gathered where the Ancients once derided them that looked for any *inhabitants*. The mystery of our Lord's garments, made *four parts*, by the soldiers that cast *lots* for them, is to be accomplished in the good sence put upon it by Austin, who, if he had known America, could not have given a better: *Quadripartita vestis Domini Jesu, quadripartitam figuravit ejus Ecclesiam, toto scilicet, qui quatuor partibus constat, terrarum orbe diffusam.* (The parting of the garment of our Lord Jesus into four pieces was a type of a like division of His Church, which is distributed through the four quarters of the globe.)

§ 3. Whatever truth may be in that assertion of one who writes: "If we may credit any records besides the Scriptures, I know it might be said and proved well, that this New World was known, and partly inhabited by Britains, or by Saxons from England, *three or four hundred years before the Spaniards coming thither;*" which assertion is demonstrated from the discourses between the Mexicans and the Spaniards at their first arrival; and the Popish *reliques*, as well as British terms and words, which the Spaniards then found among the Mexicans, as well as from undoubted passages, not only in other authors, but even in the British annals also: nevertheless, mankind generally agree to give unto Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, the honour of being the first European that opened a way into these parts of the world. It was in the year 1492, that this famous man, acted by a most vehement and wonderful *impulse*, was carried into the *northern regions* of this vast hemisphere, which might more justly therefore have received its name from *him*, than from Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, who, in the year 1497, made a further detection of the more *southern regions* in this continent. So a *world*, which has been one great article among the *Res deperditæ* ("The Catalogue of Lost Things,"—title of a book.) of *Pancirollus*, is now *found out*, and the affairs of the *whole world* have been affected by the finding of it. So the *Church* of our Lord Jesus Christ, well compared unto a *ship*, is now *victoriously* sailing round the *globe* after Sir Francis Drake's renowned ship, called, *The Victory*, which could boast,

Prima ego velivolis ambivi curaibus orbem.

("I first, with canvas to the gale unfurl'd,
Made the wide circuit of the mighty world.")

And yet the story about Columbus himself must be corrected from the information of De La Vega, that "one Sanchez, a native of Helva in Spain, did before him find out these regions." He tells us that Sanchez using to trade in a small vessel to the Canaries, was driven by a furious and tedious tempest over unto these western countries; and at his return he gave to Colon, or Columbus, an account of what he had seen, but soon after died of a disease he had got on his dangerous voyage. However, I shall expect my reader, e'er long, to grant, that some things done since by Almighty God for the English in these regions, have exceeded all that has been hitherto done for any other nation: If this New World were not found out first by the English; yet in those regards that are of all the *greatest*, it seems to be found out more *for* them than any other.

§ 4. But indeed the two Cabots, father and son, under the commission of our King Henry VII., entering upon their generous undertakings in the year 1497, made further discoveries of America, than either Columbus or Vesputius; in regard of which notable enterprizes, the younger of them had very great honours by the Crown put upon him, till at length he died in a good

old age, in which old age King Edward VI. had allowed him an honourable pension. Yea, since the Cabots, employed by the King of England, made a discovery of this continent in the year 1497, and it was the year 1498 before Columbus discovered any part of the continent; and Vesputius came a considerable time after both of them; I know not why the Spaniard should go *unrivalled* in the claim of this New World, which from the *first finding* of it is pretended unto. These discoveries of the Cabots were the foundation of all the *adventures*, with which the English nation have since followed the sun, and *served* themselves into an acquaintance on the hither side of the Atlantick Ocean. And now I shall *drown* my reader with myself in a tedious digression, if I enumerate all the attempts made by a Willoughby, a Frobisher, a Gilbert, and besides many others, an incomparable Rawleigh, to settle English colonies in the desarts of the western India. It will be enough if I entertain him with the History of that English Settlement, which may, upon a thousand accounts, pretend unto more of *true* English than all the rest, and which alone therefore has been called New-England.

§ 5. After a discouraging series of disasters attending the endeavours of the English to swarm into Florida, and the rest of the continent unto the northward of it, called Virginia, because the first *white* born in those regions was a *daughter*, then born to one Ananias Dare, in the year 1585, the courage of one Bartholomew Gosnold, and one captain Bartholomew Gilbert, and several other gentlemen, served them to make yet more essays upon the like designs. This captain Gosnold in a small bark, on May 11, 1602, made land on this coast in the latitude of *forty-three*; where, though he liked the *welcome* he had from the Salvages that came aboard him, yet he disliked the *weather*, so that he thought it necessary to stand more southward into the sea. Next morning he found himself embayed within a mighty head of land; which promontory, in remembrance of the *Codfish* in great quantity by him taken there, he called Cape-Cod, a name which I suppose it will never lose, till shoals of *Cod-fish* be seen swimming upon the top of its highest hills. On this Cape, and on the Islands to the south ward of it, he found such a comfortable entertainment from the *summer-fruits* of the earth, as well as from the *wild creatures* then ranging the woods, and from the *wilder people* now surprised into courtesie, that he carried back to England a report of the country, better than what the *spies* once gave of the *land flowing with milk and honey*. Not only did the merchants of Bristol now raise a considerable stock to prosecute these discoveries, but many other persons of several ranks embarked in such undertakings; and many *sal-lies* into America were made; the exacter narrative whereof I had rather my reader should *purchase* at the expence of consulting *Purchas's Pilgrims*, than endure any *stop* in our hastening voyage unto the HISTORY OF A NEW-ENGLISH ISRAEL.

§ 6. Perhaps my reader would gladly be informed how America came to be *first peopled*; and if Hornius's "Discourses," *De origine Gentium Americanarum*, do not satisfie him, I hope shortly the most ingenious Dr. Woodward, in his *Natural History of the Earth*, will do it. In the mean time, to stay thy stomach, reader, accept the account which a very sensible Russian, who had been an officer of prime note in Siberia, gave unto Father Avril. Said he, "There is beyond the Obi a great river called Kawoina, at the mouth whereof discharging it self into the Frozen Sea, there stands a spacious Island very well peopled, and no less considerable for hunting an animal, whose teeth are in great

esteem. The inhabitants go frequently upon the side of the Frozen Sea to hunt this monster; and because it requires great labour with assiduity, they carry their families usually along with them. Now it many times happens that being surprized with a thaw, they are carried away, I know not whither, upon huge pieces of ice that break off one from another. For my part, I am perswaded that several of those hunters have been carried upon these floating pieces of ice to the most northern parts of America, which is not far from that part of Asia that jutts out into the sea of Tartary. And that which confirms me in this opinion, is this, that the Americans who inhabit that country, which advances farthest towards that sea, have the same *Physiognomy* as those Islanders. “—Thus the Vayode of Smolensko. But all the concern of this our history, is to tell how English *people* first came into America; and what English *people* first came into that part of America where this History is composed. Wherefore, instead of reciting the many *Adventures* of the English to visit these parts of the world, I shall but repeat the words of one Captain Weymouth, an *historian*, as well as an *undertaker* of those *Adventures*; who reports, “that one main end of all these undertakings, was to plant the gospel in these dark regions of America.” How well the most of the English plantations have answered this *main end*, it *mainly* becomes them to consider: however, I am now to tell mankind, that as for *one* of these English plantations, this was not only a *main end*, but the *sole end* upon which it was erected. If they that are solicitous about the interests of the gospel, would know *what* and *where* that plantation is; be it noted, that all the vast country from Florida to Nova-Francia, was at first called Virginia; but this Virginia was distinguished into North Virginia and South Virginia, till that famous Traveller Captain John Smith, in the year 1614, presenting unto the court of England a draught of North Virginia, got it called by the name of NEW-ENGLAND; which name has been ever since allowed unto my country, as unto the most *resembling daughter* to the chief lady of the European world. Thus the discoveries of the country proceeded so far, that K. James I. did by his *letters patents* under the great seal of England, in the eighteenth year of his reign, give and grant unto a certain honourable *council* established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and ordering, and governing of New-England in America, and to their successors and assigns, all that part of America, lying and being in breadth, from *forty degrees* of northerly latitude, from the equinoctial line, to the *forty. eighth degree* of the said northerly latitude inclusively; and the *length* of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the *firm lands* from Sea to sea. This at last is the spot of *earth*, which the God of heaven *spied out* for the seat of such *evangelical*, and *ecclesiastical*, and very remarkable transactions, as require to be made an history; *here* ‘twas that our blessed JESUS intended a *resting place*, must I say? or only an *hiding place* for those *reformed CHURCHES*, which have given him a little accomplishment of his eternal Father’s promise unto him; to be, we hope, yet further accomplished, *of having the utmost parts of the earth for his possession?*

§ 7. The learned Joseph Mede conjectures that the American Hemisphere will escape the *conflagration* of the *earth*, which we expect at the descent of our Lord JESUS CHRIST from Heaven: and that the people here will not have a share in the blessedness which the *renovated world* shall enjoy, during the *thousand years* of *holy rest* promised unto the Church of God: and that the inhabitants of these regions, who were originally Scytheans, and therein a nota-

ble fulfilment of the prophecy, about the *enlargement of Japhet*, will be the *Gog* and *Magog* whom the *devil* will seduce to invade the New-Jerusalem, with an envious hope to gain the *angelical circumstances* of the people there. All this is but conjecture; and it may be ‘twill appear unto some as little probable, as that of the later Pierre Poiret in his *L’ Œconomy Divine*, that by *Gog* and *Magog* are meant the *devils* and the *damned*, which he thinks will be let loose at the end of the *thousand years*, to make a furious, but a fruitless attempt on the glorified saints of the New-Jerusalem. However, I am going to give unto the *Christian reader* an *history of some feeble attempts* made in the American hemisphere to anticipate the state of the New-Jerusalem, as far as the unavoidable *vanity of human affairs* and *influence* of Satan upon them would allow of it; and of *many worthy persons* whose posterity, if they make a *squadron* in the *fleets* of *Gog* and *Magog*, will be *apostates* deserving a room, and a doom with the *legions* of the *grand apostate*, that will deceive the nations to that *mysterious enterprize*.

CHAPTER II.

PRIMORDIA;(Primitive History) OR, THE VOYAGE TO NEW-ENGLAND,

WHICH PRODUCED THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW-PLYMOUTH;
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MANY REMARKABLE AND MEMORABLE PROVIDENCES
RELATING TO THAT VOYAGE.

§ 1. A NUMBER of devout and serious Christians in the English nation, finding the Reformation of the Church in that nation, according to the WORD OF GOD, and the design of many among the first Reformers, to labour under a sort of *hopeless retardation*; they did, Anno 1602, in the north of England, enter into a COVENANT, wherein expressing themselves desirous, not only to attend the *worship* of our Lord Jesus Christ, with a freedom from humane *inventions* and *additions*, but also to enjoy *all* the Evangelical Institutions of that worship, they did like those Macedonians, that are *therefore* by the Apostle Paul commended, “give themselves up, first unto God, and then to one another.” These pious people finding that their brethren and neighbours in the Church of England, as then *established by law*, took offence at these their endeavours after a *scriptural reformation*; and being loth to live in the continual *vexations* which they felt arising from their non-conformity to things which their consciences accounted *superstitious* and *unwarrantable*, they peaceably and willingly embraced a *banishment* into the Netherlands; where they settled at the city of Leyden, about seven or eight years after their first combination. And now in that city this people sojourned, an Holy CHURCH of the blessed JESUS, for several years under the pastoral care of Mr. John Robinson, who had for his *help* in the *government* of the Church, a most wise, grave, good man, Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder. Indeed, Mr. John Robinson had been in his *younger* time (as very good fruit hath sometimes been, before age hath *ripened* it) *sowed* with the principles of the most rigid *separation*, in the maintaining whereof he composed and published some little Treatises, and in

the management of the controversie made no scruple to call the incomparable Dr. Ames himself Dr. *Amiss*, for opposing such a degree of *separation*. But this worthy man suffered himself at length to be so far convinced by his learned *antagonist*, that with a most ingenious *retractation*, he afterwards writ a little hook to prove the *lawfulness* of one thing, which his mistaken *zeal* had formerly impugned several years, even till 1625, and about the *fiftieth* year of his own age, continued he a blessing unto the whole Church of God, and at last, when he died, he left behind him in his immortal writings, a *name* very much embalmed among the people that are best able to judge of *merit*; and even among such, as about the matters of *Church-discipline*, were not of his perswasion. Of such an eminent character was he, while he *lived*, that when Armenianism so much prevailed, as it then did in the low countries, those famous Divines, Polyander and Festus Hommius, employed this our learned Robinson to dispute publicly in the University of Leyden against Episcopius, and the other champions of that grand *choak-weed of true Christianity*: and when he *died*, not only the University, and Ministers of the city, accompanied him to his grave, with all their accustomed *solemnities*, but some of the chief among them with sorrowful resentments and expressions affirmed, “That all the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ had sustained a great loss by the death of this worthy man.”

§ 2. The English Church had not been very long at Leyden, before they found themselves encountred with many inconveniences. They felt that they were neither for *health*, nor *purse*, nor *language* well accommodated; but the concern which they most of all had, was for their *posterity*. They saw, that whatever *banks* the *Dutch* had against the inroads of the sea, they had not sufficient ones against a *flood* of manifold *profaneness*. They could Dot with *ten years’ endeavour* bring their neighbours particularly to any suit able observation of the LORD’S DAY; without which they knew that all *Practical Religion* must wither miserably. They beheld some of their *children*, by the temptations of the place, were especially given in the licentious ways of many *young people*, drawn into dangerous extravagancies. Moreover, they were very loth to lose their interest in the English nation; but were desirous rather to enlarge their King’s dominions. They found themselves also under a very strong disposition of *zeal*, to attempt the establishment of CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES in the remote parts of the world; where they hoped they should be reached by the Royal influence of their Prince, in whose *allegiance* they chose to live and die; at the same time likewise hoping that the Ecclesiasticks, who had thus driven them out of the kingdom into a New World, for nothing in the world but their *non-conformity* to certain *rites*, by the imposers confessed *indifferent*, would be *ashamed* ever to persecute them with any further molestations, at the distance of a thou sand leagues. These *reasons* were deeply considered by the Church; and after many *deliberations*, accompanied with the most solemn *humiliations* and *supplications* before the God of Heaven, they took up a *resolution*, under the conduct of Heaven, to REMOVE into AMERICA; the opened regions whereof had now filled all Europe with reports. It was resolved, that part of the Church should go before their brethren, to *prepare* a place for the rest; and whereas the *minor part* of younger and stronger men were to go first, the Pastor was to stay with the *major*, till they should see cause to follow. Nor was there any occasion for this resolve, in any weariness which the States of Holland had of their company, as was basely

whispered by their adversaries; therein like those who of old assigned the same cause for the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt: for the magistrates of Leyden in their Court, reproving the Walloons, gave this testimony for our English: “These have lived now ten years among us, and yet we never had any accusation against any one of them; whereas your quarrels are continual.”

§ 3. These good people were now *satisfyed*, they had as plain a command of Heaven to attempt a removal, as ever their father Abraham had for his leaving the Caldean territories; and it was nothing but such a *satisfaction* that could have carried them through such, otherwise insuperable difficulties, as they met withal. But in this removal the *terminus ad Quem* (the destination.) was not yet resolved upon. The country of Guiana flattered them with the promises of a *perpetual Spring*, and a thousand other comfortable entertainments. But the probable disagreement of so *torrid* a climate unto English bodies, and the more dangerous vicinity of the Spaniards to that climate, were considerations which made them fear that country would be *too hot* for them. They rather propounded some country bordering upon Virginia; and unto this purpose, they sent over agents into England, who so far treated not only with the Virginia company, but with several great persons about the Court; unto whom they made evident *their agreement with the French Reformed Churches in all things whatsoever, except in a few small accidental points*; that at last, after many tedious *delays*, and after the loss of any *friends* and *hopes* in those delays, they obtained a Patent for a quiet settlement in those territories; and the Archbishop of Canterbury himself gave them some expectations that they should never be disturbed in that exercise of Religion, at which they aimed in their settlement; yea, when Sir Robert Nanton, then principal Secretary of State unto King James, moved his Majesty to give way “that such a people might enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesty’s dominions, and the enlargement of the interests of the Gospel;” the King said, “it was a good and honest motion.” All this notwithstanding, they never made use of that Patent: but being informed of NEW-ENGLAND, thither they diverted their design, thereto induced by sundry reasons; but particularly by *this*, that the coast being extreamly well circumstanced for *fishing*, they might therein have some immediate assistance against the hardships of their first encounters.—Their agents then again sent over to England, concluded *articles* between them and such adventurers as would be concerned with them in their present undertakings—articles, that were indeed sufficiently *hard* for those poor men that were now to transplant themselves into an horrid wilderness. The *diversion* of their enterprize from the first state and way of it, caused an unhappy division among those that should have encouraged it; and many of them hereupon fell off. But the Removers having already sold their estates, to put the money into a *common stock*, for the welfare of the *whole*; and their *stock* as well as their *time* spending so fast as to threaten them with an *army* of straits, if they delayed any longer; they nimbly dispatcht the best agreements they could, and came away furnished with a Resolution for a large Tract of Land in the *south-west* part of New-England.

§ 4. All things now being in some readiness, and a couple of ships, one called *The Speedwell*, the other *The May-Flower*, being hired for their transportation, they solemnly set apart a day for fasting and prayer; wherein their Pastor preached unto them upon Ezra viii. 21: “I proclaimed a fast there, at the

river Ahava, that we might afflict our selves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.”

After the fervent supplications of this day, accompanied by their affectionate friends, they took their leave of the pleasant city, where they had been pilgrims and strangers now for eleven years. Delft-Haven was the town where they went on board one of their ships, and there they had such a mournful parting from their brethren, as even *drowned* the Dutch Spectators themselves, then standing on the *shore*, in tears. Their excellent pastor, on his knees, by the *sea-side*, poured out their mutual petitions unto God; and having wept in one another’s arms, as long as the *wind* and the *tide* would permit them, they bad *adieu*. So sailing to Southampton in England, they there found the other of their ships come from London, with the rest of their friends that were to be the *companions of the voyage*. Let my reader place the chronology of this business on July 2, 1620. And know, that the faithful pastor of this people immediately sent after them a *pastoral letter*; a letter filled with holy counsels unto them, to settle their *peace* with God in their own consciences, by an exact *repentance* of all sin whatsoever, that so they might more easily bear all the difficulties that were now before them; and then to maintain a good *peace* with one another, and beware of giving or taking *offences*; and avoid all discoveries of a *touchy humour*; but use much *brotherly forbearance*, [where by the way he had this remarkable observation: “In my own experience few or none have been found that sooner give offence, than those that easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members of societies who have nourished this touchy humour;”] as also to take heed of a *private spirit*, and all *retiredness of mind in each man, for his own proper advantage*; and likewise to be careful, that the *house of God*, which *they* were, might not be shaken with unnecessary *novelties* or *oppositions*; which LETTER after wards produced most happy fruits among them.

§ 5. On August 5, 1620, they set sail from Southampton; but if it *shall* as I believe it *will*, afflict my reader to be told what heart-breaking disasters befell them, in the very beginning of their undertaking, let him glorifie God, who carried them so well through their greater affliction.

They were by bad weather twice beaten back, before they came to the Land’s end. But it was judged, that the badness of the weather did not retard them so much as the *deceit* of a master, who, grown sick of the voyage, made such pretences about the leakiness of his vessel, that they were forced at last wholly to dismiss that lesser ship from the service. Being now all stowed into *one ship*, on the sixth of September they put to sea; but they met with such terrible storms, that the principal persons on board had serious deliberations upon returning home again; however, after long beating upon the Atlantick ocean, they fell in with the land at Cape Cod, about the ninth of November following, where going on shore they fell upon their knees, with many and hearty praises unto God, who had been *their assurance*, when they were *afar off upon the sea*, and was to be further *so*, now that they were come to the *ends of the earth*.

But why at this Cape? *Here* was not the port which they intended: *this* was not the land for which they had provided. There was indeed a most wonderful *providence* of God, over a pious and a praying people, in this *disappointment!* The most *crooked way* that ever was gone, even that of Israel’s peregrination through the wilderness, may be called a *right way*, such was the way of this

little Israel, now going into a wilderness.

§ 6. Their design was to have sat down some where about Hudson's River; but some of their neighbours in Holland having a mind themselves to settle a plantation there, secretly and sinfully contracted with the master of the ship, employed for the transportation of these our English *exiles*, by a more *north-erly* course, to put a trick upon them. 'Twas in the pursuance of this *plot* that not only the *goods*, but also the *lives* of all on board were now hazarded, by the ships falling among the shoals of Cape-Cod; where they were so entangled among dangerous *breakers*, thus late in the year, that the *company*, got at last into the Cape-Harbour, *broke off* their intentions of going any farther. And yet, behold the watchful providence of God over them that seek him! this *false-dealing* proved a *safe-dealing* for the good people against whom it was used. Had they been carried according to their desire unto Hudson's River, the Indians in those parts were at this time so many, and so mighty, and so sturdy, that in probability all this little feeble number of Christians had been massacred by these bloody salvages, as not long after some others were: whereas the good hand of God now brought them to a country wonderfully prepared for their entertainment, by a sweeping *mortality* that had lately been among the natives. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old; how thou dravest out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them; how thou did'st afflict the people, and cast them out!" The Indians in these parts had newly, even about a year or two before, been visited with such a prodigious pestilence, as carried away not a *tenth*, but *nine parts of ten*, (yea, 'tis said, *nineteen of twenty*) among them: so that the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a *better growth*. It is remarkable, that a Frenchman who, not long before these transactions, had by a shipwreck been made a captive amongst the Indians of this country, did, as the survivors reported, just before he dyed in their hands, tell those *tawny pagans*, "that God being angry with them for their wickedness, would not only destroy them all, but also people the place with another nation, which would not live after their brutish manners." Those infidels then blasphemously replied, "God could not kill them ;" which blasphemous mistake was confuted by an horrible and unusual *plague*, whereby they were consumed in such vast multitudes, that our first planters found the land almost covered with their unburied carcasses; and they that were left alive, were smitten into awful and humble regards of the English, by the terrors which the remembrance of the Frenchman's prophesie had imprinted on them.

§ 7. Inexpressible the hardships to which this *chosen generation* was now exposed! Our Saviour once directed his disciples to deprecate a *flight in the winter*; but these disciples of our Lord were now arrived at a very *cold* country, in the beginning of a rough and bleak *winter*; the *sun* was with drawn into Sagittarius, whence he shot the penetrating *arrows* of *cold*; feathered with nothing but *snow*, and pointed with *hail*; and the days left them to behold the frost-bitten and weather-beaten face of the *earth*, were grown shorter than the *nights*, wherein they had yet more trouble to get shelter from the increasing injuries of the *frost* and *weather*. It was a relief to those primitive believers, who were cast on shore at Malta, *That the barbarous people showed them no little kindness, because of the present rain, and because of the cold*. But these believers in *our* primitive times, were more afraid of the *barbarous people* among whom they were now cast, than they were of the *rain* or *cold*; these

barbarians were at the first so far from accommodating them with *bundles of sticks* to warm them, that they let fly other sorts of *sticks* (that is to say, *arrows*) to wound them: and the very *looks* and *shouts* of those *grim salvages*, had not much less of terrour in them, than if they had been so many *devils*. It is not long since I compared this remove of our fathers to that of Abraham, whereas I must now add, that if our father Abraham, called out of Ur, had been directed unto the *Desarts* of Arabia, instead of the *land flowing with milk and honey*, the *trial of his faith* had been greater than it was; but such was the *trial of the faith* in these holy men, who followed the call of God into *desarts* full of dismal circumstances. All this they cheerfully underwent, in hope that they should settle the *worship* and *order* of the gospel, and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these regions, and that thus enlarging the *dominion*, they should thereby so merit the *protection* of the crown of England, as to be never abandoned unto any further *persecutions*, from any party of their *fellow subjects*, for their consciencious regards unto the *reformation*. Their proposal was,

*Exiguam oedem Sacris, Litusque rogamus
Innocuum, et cunctis undamq; auramq; Patentem.*

(We ask a shrine for faith and simple prayer—
Freedom's sweet waters and untainted air.)

§ 8. Finding at their first arrival, that what other powers they had were made useless by the *undesigned place* of their arrival; they did, as the *light of nature* it self directed them, immediately in the harbour, sign an *instrument*, as a foundation of their future and needful *government*; wherein declaring themselves the loyal subjects of the Crown of England, they did combine into a *body politick*, and solemnly engage submission and obedience to the *laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions* and *officers*, that from time to time should be thought most convenient for the general good of the Colony. This was done on Nov. 11th. 1620, and they chose one Mr. John Carver, a pious and prudent man, their Governour.

Hereupon they sent ashore to look a convenient seat for their intended habitation: and while the carpenter was fitting of their shallop, *sixteen men* tendered themselves, to go, by land, on the discovery. Accordingly on Nov. 16th, 1620, they made a dangerous adventure; following five Indians, whom they spied flying before them, into the woods for many miles; from whence, after two or three days ramble, they returned with some *ears* of Indian Corn, which were an *eshcol* for their company; but with a poor and small encouragement, as unto any scituation. When the shallop was fitted, about thirty more went in it upon a further discovery; who prospered little more, than only to find a little Indian Corn, and bring to the company some occasions of doubtful debate, whether they should *here* fix their stakes. Yet these expeditions on discovery had this one remarkable smile of Heaven upon them; that being made before the *snow* covered the ground, they met with some Indian Corn; for which 'twas their purpose honestly to pay the natives on demand; and this Corn served them for *seed* in the Spring following, which else they had not been seasonably furnished withal. So that it proved, in effect, their deliverance from the *terrible famine*.

§ 9. The month of November being spent in many *supplications* to Almighty God, and *consultations* one with another, about the direction of their course; at last, on Dec. 6, 1620, they manned the shallop with about eighteen or twenty

hands, and went out upon a *third discovery*. So bitterly cold was the season, that the spray of the sea lighting on their cloaths, glazed them with an immediate congelation; yet they kept cruising about the bay of Cape-Cod, and that night they got safe down the bottom of the bay. There they landed, and there they tarried that night; and unsuccessfully ranging about all the next day, at night they made a little *barricado* of boughs and logs, wherein the most weary slept. The next morning, after prayers, they suddenly were surrounded with a crue of Indians, who let fly a shower of *arrows* among them; whereat our distressed handful of English happily recovering their arms, which they had laid by from the moisture of the weather, they vigorously discharged their *muskets* upon the Salvages, who astonished at the strange effects of such *dead-doing things*, as powder and shot, fled apace into the woods; but not one of ours was wounded by the Indian arrows that flew like *hail* about their ears, and pierced through sundry of their *coats*; for which they returned their solemn thanks unto God their Saviour; and they called the place by the name of *The First Encounter*. From hence they coasted along, till an horrible *storm* arose, which tore their *vessel* at such a rate, and threw them into the midst of such dangerous *breakers*, it was reckoned little short of *miracle* that they escaped alive. In the end they got under the lee of a small Island, where, going ashore, they kindled fires for their succour against the wet and cold; it was the morning before they found it was an Island, whereupon they rendered their praises to Him that “hitherto had helped them ;“ and the day following, which was *the Lord’s day*, the difficulties now upon them did not hinder them from spending it in the devout and pious exercises of a *sacred rest*. On the next day they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; they visited the *main land* also, and found it accommodated with pleasant fields and brooks; whereof they carried an encouraging report unto their friends on board. So they resolved that they would *here* pitch their tents; and sailing up to the town of Plymouth, [as with an hopeful *prolepsis*, my reader shall now call it; for otherwise, by the Indians ‘twas called Patuxet;] on the twenty-fifth day of December they began to erect the *first House* that ever was in that memorable town; an house for the general entertainment of their persons and estates: and yet it was not long before an unhappy accident burnt unto the ground their house, wherein some of their principal persons then lay sick; who were forced nimbly to fly out of the fired house, or else they had been blown up with the powder then lodged there. After this, they soon went upon the building of more little cottages; and upon the settling of good laws, for the better governing of such as were to inhabit those cottages. They then resolved, that until they could be further strengthened in their settlement, by the authority of England, they would be governed by rulers chosen from among themselves, who were to proceed according to the laws of England, as near as they could, in the administration of their government; and such other by-laws, as by common consent should be judged necessary for the circumstances of the Plantation.

§ 10. If the reader would know, how these good people fared the rest of the melancholy winter, let him know, that besides the exercises of Religion, with other work enough, there was the *care of the sick* to take up no little part of their time. ‘Twas a most heavy trial of their patience, whereto they were called the first winter of this their *pilgrimage*, and enough to convince them and remind them that they were but Pilgrims. The *hardships* which they encountered, were attended with, and productive of *deadly sicknesses*; which in two

or three months carried off more than half their company. They were but meanly provided against these unhappy *sicknesses*; but there died sometimes *two*, sometimes *three* in a day, till scarce *fifty* of them were left alive; and of those *fifty*, sometimes there were scarce *five* well at a time to look after the sick. Yet their profound submission to the will of God, their Christian readiness to help one another, accompanied with a joyful assurance of another and better world, carried them cheerfully through the sorrows of this *mortality*. nor was there heard among them a continual *murmur* against those who had by *unreasonable impositions* driven them into all these distresses. And there was this *remarkable providence* further in the circumstances of this *mortality*, that if a *disease* had not more easily fetched so many of this number away to Heaven, a *famine* would probably have destroyed them all, before their expected supplies from England were arrived. But what a wonder was it that all the bloody salvages far and near did not cut off this *little remnant*! If he that once muzzled the lions ready to devour the man of desires, had not *admirably*, I had almost said, *miraculously* restrained them, *these* had been all devoured! but this people of God were come into a *wilderness* to *worship Him*; and so *He* kept their enemies from such attempts, as would otherwise have soon *annihilated* this poor handful of men, thus far already diminished. They saw no Indians all the winter long, but such as at the first sight always ran away; yea, they quickly found, that God had so turned the hearts of these *barbarians*, as more to *fear*, than to *hate* his people thus cast among them. This blessed people was as a *little flock of kids*, while there were many nations of Indians left still as kennels of wolves in every corner of the country. And yet the *little flock* suffered no damage by those rapid wolves! We may and should say, "This. is the Lord's doing; 'tis marvellous in our eyes."

But among the many causes to be assigned for it, one was *this*. It was afterwards by *them* confessed, that upon the arrival of the English in these parts, the Indians employed their *sorcerers*, whom they call *powaws*, like Balaam, to *curse* them, and let loose their demons upon them, to shipwreck them, to distract them, to poison them, or in any way to ruin them. All the noted *powaws* in the country spent three days together in diabolical *conjurations*, to obtain the assistance of the devils against the settlement of these our English; but the devils at length acknowledged unto them, that they could not hinder those people from their becoming the owners and masters of the country; whereupon the Indians resolved upon a good correspondence with our new-corners; and God convinced them that there was no *enchantment* or *divination* against such a people.

§ 11. The doleful winter broke up sooner than was usual. But our crippled planters were not more comforted with the early advance of the Spring, than they were surprized with the appearance of two Indians, who in broken English bade them, *welcome Englishmen!* It seems that one of these Indians had been in the eastern parts of New-England, acquainted with some of the English vessels that had been formerly *fishing* there; but the other of the Indians, and he from whom they had most of service, was a person provided by the very singular providence of God for that service. A most wicked ship-master being on this coast a few years before, had wickedly spirited away more than twenty Indians; whom having enticed them aboard, he presently stowed them under hatches, and carried them away to the Streights, where he sold as many of them as he could for Slaves. This avaritious and pernicious *felony* laid the

foundation of grievous annoyances to all the English endeavours of settlements, especially in the northern parts of the land for several years ensuing. The Indians would never *forget* or *forgive* this injury; but when the English afterwards came upon this coast, in their fishing-voyages, they were still assaulted in an hostile manner, to the killing and wounding of many poor men by the angry natives, in revenge of the wrong that had been done them; and some intended Plantations here were hereby utterly nipt in the bud. But our good God so ordered it, that one of the stoln Indians, called Squanto, had escaped out of Spain into England; where he lived with one Mr. Slany, from whom he had found a way to return into his OWN country, being brought back by one Mr. Dermer, about half a year before our honest Plymotheans were cast upon this continent. This Indian (with the other) having received much kindness from the English, who he Saw generally condemned the man that first betrayed him, now made unto the English a return of that kindness: and being by his acquaintance with the English language, fitted for a conversation with them, he very kindly informed them what was the present condition of the Indians; instructed them in the way of ordering their Corn; and acquainted them with many other things, which it was necessary for them to understand. But Squanto did for them a yet greater benefit than all *this*: for he brought Massasoit, the chief Sachim or Prince of the Indians within many miles, with some scores of his attenders, to make our people a kind visit; the issue of which visit was, that Massasoit not only entred into a firm agreement of *peace* with the English, but also they declared and submitted themselves to be subjects of the King of England; into which *peace* and *subjection* many other Sachims quickly after came, in the most voluntary manner that could be expressed. It seems this unlucky Squanto having told his countrymen how easie it was for so great a monarch as K. James to destroy them all, if they should hurt any of his people, he went on to terrifie them with a ridiculous *rhodomantado*, which they believed, that this people kept the *plague* in a cellar (where they kept their powder), and could at their plea sure let it loose to make such havock among them, as the distemper had already made among them a few years before. Thus was the *tongue of a dog* made useful to a feeble and sickly Lazarus! Moreover, our English guns, especially the *great* ones, made a formidable *report* among these ignorant Indians; and the hopes of enjoying some defence by the English, against the potent nation of Narraganset Indians, now at war with *these*, made them yet more to court our friendship. This very strange disposition of things, was extreamly advantageous to our distressed planters: and who sees not herein the special *providence* of the God *who disposeth all*?

CHAPTER III.

CONAMUR TENUES GRANDIA;(We attempt great things with slender resources.)

OR, A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFICULTIES, THE DELIVERANCES, AND OTHER OCCURRENCES, THROUGH WHICH THE PLANTATION OF NEW-PLYMOUTH ARRIVED UNTO THE CONSISTENCY OF A COLONY.

§ 1. SETTING aside the just and great grief of our new planters for the im-

mature death of their excellent governour, succeeded by the worthy Mr. Bradford, early in the Spring after their first arrival, they spent their summer somewhat comfortably, trading with the Indians to the northward of their Plantation; in which trade they were not a little assisted by Squanto, who within a year or two dyed among the English; but before his death, desired them to pray for him, *That he might go to the English man's God in Heaven*. And besides the assistance of Squanto, they had also the help of another Indian, called Hobbamok, who continued faithful unto the English interests as long as he lived; though he sometimes went in danger of his life among his countrymen for that fidelity. So they jogged on till the day *twelvemonth* after their first arrival; when there now arrived unto them a good number more of their old friends from Holland, for the strengthening of their new Plantation; but inasmuch as they brought not a sufficient stock of provisions with them, they rather *weakened* it, than *strengthened* it.

If Peter Martyr could magnifie the Spaniards, of whom he reports, *They led a miserable life for three days together with parched grain of maize only, and that not unto satiety*; what shall I say of our Englishmen, who would have thought a little *parched Indian Corn a mighty feast!* But they wanted it, not only three days together; no, for two or three months together, they had no kind of Corn among them: such was the scarcity, accompanied with the disproportion of the *inhabitants* to the *provisions*. However, Peter Martyr's conclusion may be ours: *With their miseries this people opened a way to those new lands, and afterwards other men came to inhabit them with ease, in respect of the calamities which those men have suffered*. They were indeed very often upon the very point of starving; but in their extremity the God of Heaven always furnished them with some sudden reliefs; either by causing some vessels of strangers occasionally to look in upon them, or by putting them into a way to catch fish in some convenient quantities, or by some other surprizing accidents; for which they rendered unto Heaven the solemn thanks of their souls. They kept in such good working case, that besides their progress in building, and planting, and fishing, they formed a sort of a fort, wherein they kept a nightly watch for their security against any treachery of the Indians, being thereunto awakened by an horrible massacre, which the Indians lately made upon several hundreds of the English in Virginia.

§ 2. In one of the first Summers after their sitting down at Plymouth, a terrible drought threatened the ruin of all their summer's husbandry. From about the middle of May to the middle of July, an extream hot sun beat upon their fields, without any rain, so that all their corn began to wither and languish, and some of it was irrecoverably parched up. In this distress they set apart a day for *fasting* and *prayer*, to deprecate the calamity that might bring them to *fasting* through *famine*; in the morning of which day there was no sign of any rain; but before the evening the sky was overcast with clouds, which went not away without such easie, gentle, and yet plentiful showers, as revived a great part of their decayed corn, for a comfortable harvest. The Indians themselves took notice of this answer given from heaven to the supplications of this devout people; and one of them said, "Now I see that the *Englishman's God* is a good God; for he hath heard you, and sent you rain, and that without such tempest and thunder as we use to have with our rain; which after our *Powawing* for it, breaks down the corn; whereas your corn stands whole and good still; surely, your God is a good God." The harvest which God thus gave to

this pious people, caused them to set apart another day for solemn Thanksgiving to the glorious *Hearer of Prayers!*

§ 3. There was another most wonderful preservation vouchsafed by God unto this little knot of Christians. One Mr. Weston, a merchant of good note, interested at first in the Plymouth design, afterwards deserted it; and in the year 1622 sent over two ships, with about sixty men, to begin a plantation in the Massachuset-Bay. These beginners being well refreshed at Plymouth, travelled more northward unto a place known since by the name of Weymouth; where these Westonians, who were *Church of England-men*, did not approve themselves like the Plymotheans, a pious, honest, industrious people; but followed such bad courses, as had like to have brought a ruin upon their neighbours, as well as themselves. Having by their idleness brought themselves to penury, they stole corn from the Indians, and many other ways provoked them; although the Governour of Plymouth writ them his very sharp disapprobation of their proceedings. To satisfie the exasperated Salvages, divers of the thieves were stockt and whipt, and one of them at last put to death by this miserable company; which did no other service than to afford an occasion for a fable to the roguish Hudibras, for all accommodation was now *too late*. The Indians far and near entred into a conspiracy to cut off these abusive English; and lest the inhabitants of Plymouth should revenge that excision of their countrymen, they resolved upon the murder of *them* also. In pursuance of this plot, Captain Standish, the commander of the militia of Plymouth, lodging on a night with two or three men in an Indian house, the Indians proposed that they might begin the execution of their malice by the assassination of the Captain, as soon as he should be fallen asleep. However, the watchful Providence of God so ordered it, that the Captain could not *sleep* all that night; and so they durst not meddle with him. Thus was the beginning of the plot put by: but the whole plot came another way to be discovered and prevented. Massasoit, the southern Sachim, falling sick, the Governour of Plymouth desired a couple of gentlemen, whereof one was that good man, Mr. Winslow, to visit this poor Sachim: whom after their long journey they found lying at the point of death with a crue of hellish Powaws, using their ineffectual spells and howls about him to recover him. Upon the taking of some English physick, he presently revived; and thus regaining his lost health, the fees he paid his English doctor were, a *confession of the plot among several nations of the Indians, to destroy the English*. He said, that they had in vain solicited *him* to enter into that bloody combination; but his advice was, that the Governour of Plymouth should immediately take off the *principal actors* in this business, whereupon the rest being terrified, would soon desist. There was a concurrence of many things to confirm the truth of this information; wherefore Captain Standish took eight resolute men with him to the Westonian Plantation; where, pretending to trade with the Indians divers of the conspirators began to treat him in a manner very insolent, The Captain, and his little *army of eight men*, (reader, allow them for their *courage* to be called so,) with a prodigious resolution, presently killed some of the chief among these Indians, while the rest, after a short corn bate, ran before him as fast as their legs could carry them; nevertheless, in the midst of the skirmishes, an Indian youth ran to the English, desiring to be with them; and declaring that the Indians waited but for their finis, being two canoos, to have surprized the ship in the harbour, and have massacred all the people; which had been finished, if the Captain had not arrived

among them just in the *nick of time* when he did: and an Indian spy detained at Plymouth, when he saw the Captain return from this expedition, with the head of a famous Indian in his hand, then with a fallen and frighted countenance acknowledged the whole mischief intended by the Indians against the English. Releasing this fellow, they sent him to the Sachim of the Massachusets, with advice of what he must look for, in case he committed any hostility upon the subjects of the King of England; whereof there was this effect, that not only that Sachim hereby terrified, most humbly begged for peace, and pleaded his ignorance of his men's intentions; but the rest of the Indians, under the same terror, withdrew themselves to live in the unhealthful swamps, which proved mortal to many of them. One of the Westonians was endeavouring to carry unto Plymouth a report of the straits and fears which were come upon them, and this man losing his way, saved his life; taking a wrong track, he escaped the hands of the two Indians, who went on hunting after him; however ere he reached Plymouth, care had been already taken for these wretched Westonians by the earlier and fuller communications of Massasoit. So was the peace of Plymouth preserved, and so the Westonian plantation broke up, went off and came to nothing; although 'twas much wished by the holy Robinson, that some of the poor heathen had been converted before any of them had been slaughtered.

§ 4. A certain gentleman [if nothing in the following story contradict *that name*] was employed in obtaining from the Grand Council of Plymouth and England, a Patent in the name of these planters for a convenient quantity of the country, where the providence of God had now disposed them. This man, speaking *one* word for *them*, spake *two* for *him self*: and surreptitiously procured the patent in his own name, reserving for himself and his heirs an huge tract of the land; and intending the Plymotheans to hold the rest as tenants under him. Hereupon he took on board many passengers with their goods; but having sailed no further than the Downs, the ship sprang a leak; and besides this disaster, which alone was enough to have stopt the voyage, one strand of their cable was accidentally cut; by which means it broke in a stress of wind; and they were in extream danger of being wrecked upon the sands. Having with much cost recruited their loss, and encreased the number of their passengers, they put out again to sea; but after they had got half way, one of the saddest and longest storms that had been known since the days of the Apostle Paul, drove them home to England again, with a vessel well nigh torn to pieces, though the lives of the people, which were above an hundred, mercifully preserved. This man, by all his tumbling backward and forward, was by this time grown so sick of his patent, that he vomited it up; he assigned it over to the company, but they afterwards obtained *another*, under the umbrage whereof they could now more effectually carry on the affairs of their new colony. The passengers went over afterwards in another vessel; and quickly after that another vessel of passengers also arrived in the country: namely, in the year 1623. Among these passengers were divers worthy and useful men, who were come to *seek the welfare of this little Israel*; though at their coming they were as diversly affected as the rebuilders of the Temple at Jerusalem: some were *grieved* when they saw *how bad* the circumstances of their friends were, and others were *glad* that they were *no worse*.

§ 5. The immature death of Mr. Robinson in Holland, with many ensuing disasters, hindred a great part of the English congregation at Leyden from

coming over to the *remnant here separated from their brethren*. Hence it was, that although this remnant of that church were blessed with an elder so *apt to teach*, that he attended all the other works of a minister; yet they had not a pastor to dispense the sacraments among them, till the year 1629, when one Mr. Ralph Smith undertook the pastoral charge of this holy flock. But long before that, namely, in the year 1624, the adventurers in England, with whom this company held a correspondence, did send over unto them a minister, who did them no manner of good; but by his treacherous and mischievous tricks, at last utterly destroyed that correspondence. The first neat cattle, namely, three heifers and a bull, that ever were brought into this land, now coming with him, did the land certainly better service than was ever done by *him*, who sufficiently forgot that scriptural emblem of a minister, *the ox treading out the corn*. This minister at his first arrival did caress them with such extream showers of affection and humility, that they were very much taken with him; nevertheless, within a little while, he used most malignant endeavours to make factions among them, and confound all their *civil* and *sacred* order. At last there fell into the hands of the governour his letters home to England, filled with wicked and lying accusations against the people; of which things being shamefully convicted, the authority sentenced him to be expelled the Plantation, only they allowed him to stay *six months*, with secret reservations and expectations to release him from that sentence, if he approved himself sound in the repentance which he now expressed. *Repentance*, I say: for he did now publickly in the Church confess with tears, that the *censure of the Church was less than he deserved*; he acknowledged, “That he had slanderously abused the good people, and that God. might justly lay innocent blood to his charge; for he knew not what hurt might have come through his writings; for the interception whereof he now blessed God; and that it had been his manner to pick up all the evil that was ever spoken against the people; but he shut his ears and eyes against all the good; and that if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, he were just in doing so; and that those three things, *pride*, *vain-glory*, and *self-love*, had been the causes of his miscarriages.”—These things he uttered so pathetically, that they again permitted him to preach among them; and some were so perswaded of his repentance, that they professed they would fall down on their knees, that the censure passed on him should be remitted. But, Oh the *deceitful heart of man!* After *two months* time, he so notoriously renewed the miscarriages which he had thus bewailed, that his own wife, through her affliction of mind at his *hypocrisie*, could not forbear declaring her fears, that God would bring some heavy judgment upon their family, not only for *these*, but some former wickednesses by him committed, especially as to fearful breaches of the Seventh Commandment, which he had with an oath denied, though they were afterwards evinced. Wherefore upon the whole, being banished from hence, because his residence here was utterly inconsistent with the *life* of this *infant-plantation*; he went into Virginia, where he shortly after ended his own *life*. Quickly after these difficulties, the company of adventurers for the support of this Plantation, became rather *adversaries* to it; or at least, a *Be you warmed and filled*; a few good words were all the help they afforded it; *they* broke to pieces, but the *God of Heaven* still supported it.

§ 6. After these many difficulties were thus a little surmounted, the inhabitants of this Colony prosecuted their affairs at so vigorous and successful a rate, that they not only fell into a comfortable way, both of *planting* and of

trading; but also in a few years there was a notable number of *towns* to be seen settled among them, and very considerable Churches, walking, so far as they had *attained*, in the *faith* and *order* of the Gospel. Their Churches flourished so considerably, that in the year 1642, there Were above a dozen ministers, and some of those ministers were *stars of the first magnitude*, shining in their several *orbs* among them. And as they *Proceeded* in the evangelical service and worship of our Lord. Jesus Christ, *SO they prospered* in their secular concerns. When they first began to divide their *lands*, they wisely contrived the division so, that they might keep Close together for their mutual defence; and then their condition was very like that of the Romans in the time of Romulus, when every man Contented himself with two acres of land; and, as Pliny tells us, “It was thought a great reward for one to receive a pint of corn from the people of Rome, which corn they also pounded in mortars.” But since then their condition is marvellously altered and amended; *great farms* are now seen among the effects of this good people’s planting; and in their *fishing*, from the catching of *cod*, and other fish of less dimensions, they are since passed on to the catching of *whales*, whose oil is become a *staple-commodity* of the country; *whales*, I say, which living and moving *islands*, do now find a way to this coast, where, notwithstanding the desperate hazards run by the whale-catchers in their thin whale-boats, often torn to pieces by the strokes of those enraged monsters; yet it has been rarely known that any of them have miscarried. And within a few days of my writing this paragraph, a *cow* and a *calf* were caught at Yarmouth in this Colony; the *cow* was fifty-five foot long, the *bone* was nine or ten foot wide; a cart upon wheels might have gone in at the mouth of it; the *calf* was twenty foot long, for unto such vast *calves* the *sea-monsters draw forth their breasts*. But so does the good God here give his people to *suck the abundance of the seas!*

§ 7. If my reader would have the religion of these planters more exactly described unto him—after I have told him that many hundreds of holy souls, having been *ripened* for Heaven under the ordinances of God in this Colony; and having left an example of wonderful prayerfulness, watchfulness, thankfulness, usefulness, exact conscientiousness, piety, charity, weanedness from the things of this world, and affection to the things that are above, are now at rest with the blessed Jesus, whose *names*, though not recorded in *this book*, are yet entered in the Book of life; and I hope there are still many hundreds of their children, even of the third and fourth generation, resolving to “follow them as they followed Christ”—I must refer him to an account given thereof by the right worshipful Edward Winslow, Esq., who was for some time the Governour of the Colony. He gives us to understand, that they are entirely of the same faith with the reformed Churches in Europe, only in their Church-government they are Jendeavourers after a reformation more thorough than what is in many of them; yet without any uncharitable separation from them. He gives instances of their admitting to communion among them the communicants of the French, the Dutch, the Scotch Churches, merely by virtue of their being so; and says, “We ever placed a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the Word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in anti-christian opposition to it, and persecution of it:” after which, he adds, “Tis true, we profess and desire to practice a separation from the world, and the works of the world; 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 saints, may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joining to us formerly, either when we lived at Leyden 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 in the other, heard either Mr. Robinson our pastor, or Mr. Brewster our elder, stop them forthwith, shewing them that we required no such thing at their bands; but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the fear of God, and submission to every ordinance and appointment of God.”—Thus be. It is true there have been some *varieties* among this people, but still I suppose the *body* of them do with integrity espouse and maintain the principles upon which they were first established; however, I must, *without fear* of offending, express my *fear*, that the *leaven* of that rigid thing they call Brownism, has prevailed sometimes a little of the furthest in the *administrations* of this pious people. Yea, there was an *hour of temptation*, wherein the fondness of the people for the *prophecyings of the brethren*, as they called those exercises; that is to say, the *preachments* of those whom they called *gifted brethren*, produced those discouragements unto their ministers, that almost all the ministers left the Colony; apprehending themselves driven away by the insupportable neglect and contempt with which the people on this occasion treated them. And this *dark hour of eclipse*, upon the *light* of the Gospel, in the churches of the Colony, continued until their humiliation and reformation before the *great Shepherd of the sheep*, who hath since then blessed them with a succession of as worthy ministers as most in the land. Moreover, there has been among them one Church that have *questioned* and *omitted* the use of *infant-baptism*; nevertheless, there being many good men among those that have been of this perswasion, I do not know that they have been *persecuted* with any harder means than those of kind *conferences* to reclaim them. There have been also some unhappy *sectaries*, viz: Quakers and Seekers, and other such *Energumens* (Victims of demoniacal possession), [pardon me, reader, that I have thought them so] which have given ugly disturbances to these good-spirited men in their temple-work; but they have not prevailed unto the subversion of the *first interest*.

Some little *controversies* likewise have now and then arisen among them in the administration of their *discipline*; but Synods then regularly called, have usually and presently put into *joint* all that was apprehended *out*. Their chief *hazard* and symptom of degeneracy, is in the verification of that old observation, *Religio peperit Divitias, et filia devoravit matrem*: “Religion brought forth Prosperity, and the *daughter* destroyed the *mother*.” The one would expect, that as they grew in their *estates*, they would grow in the payment of their *quit-rents* unto the God who *gives them power to get wealth*, by more liberally supporting his ministers and ordinances among them; the most likely way to save them from the most miserable apostacy; the neglect whereof in some former years, began for a while to be punished with a sore *famine of the Word*; nevertheless, there is danger lest the *enchancements* of this world make them to forget *their errand into the wilderness*: and some woful villages in the skirts of the Colony, beginning to live without the *means of grace* among them, are still more omi-

nous intimations of the danger. May the God of New-England preserve them from so great a death!

§ 8. Going now to take my leave of this little Colony, that I may converse for a while with her *younger sisters*, which yet have outstript her in growth exceedingly, and so will now draw all the streams of *her* affairs into *their channels*, I shall repeat the counsel which their faithful Robin son gave the first planters of the Colony, at their parting from him in Holland. Said he, [to this purpose,]

“BRETHREN: We are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed *that* or no, I charge you before God, and before his blessed angels, that you *follow me* no further than you have seen me *follow the Lord Jesus Christ*.

“If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of *his*, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by *my* ministry; for I am verily perswaded, I am very confident the Lord hath *more truth* yet to break forth out of his holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed Churches, who are come to a *period* in religion; and will go at present no further than the instruments of their first Reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet *saw not all things*.

“This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were ‘burning and shining lights’ in their times, yet they penetrated not into the ‘whole counsel of God;’ but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace *further light*, as that which they first received. I beseech you to remember it; it is an article of your Church-covenant, ‘That you will be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known unto you from the written Word of God.’ Remember *that*, and every other article of your most sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as *truth*; examine it, consider it, compare it with the other Scriptures of truth, before you do receive it. For it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that *perfection of knowledge* should break forth at once. I must also advise you to abandon, avoid and shake off the name of Brownist: it is a mere nick-name, and a brand for the making of Religion, and the professors of religion, odious unto the Christian world. Unto this end, I should be extremely glad, if some godly minister would go with you, or come to you, before you can have any company. For there will be no difference between the *unconformable* ministers of England and you, when you come to the practice of evangelical ordinances out of the kingdom. And I would wish you by all means to close with the godly people of England; study *union* with them in all things, wherein you can have it without sin, rather than in the least measure to affect a division or separation from them. Neither would I have you loth to take another pastor besides my self; in as much as a flock that hath two shepherds is not thereby endangered, but secured.”

So adding some other things of great consequence, he concluded most affectionately, commending his departing flock unto the grace of God, which now I also do the offspring of that holy flock.

CHAPTER IV.

PAULO MAJORA; Events somewhat more *imposing*.—VIRGIL, *Bucol.* iv. 1.

WHICH PRODUCED THE SECOND, BUT LARGEST COLONY OF NEW-ENGLAND; AND THE MANNER WHEREIN THE FIRST CHURCH OF THIS NEW COLONY WAS GATHERED.

§ 1. WORDS full of emphasis, are those which my reader may find writ ten by a learned and pious minister of the Church of England; and I hope I may without offence tender to the reader the words of such an author.

“Some among us (writes he) are angry with Calvin for calling humane rites, *tolerabiles Ineptias*;(harmless mummeries) they will not at the great day be *such* unto the rigorous imposers, who made them the *terms of communion*. How will you at that day lift up your faces before your Master and your Judge, when he shall demand of you, ‘what is become of those his lambs which you drove into the wilderness by needless impositions?’”

The story of the folks thus “driven into the wilderness” has begun to be related: and we would relate it without all intemperate expressions of our anger against our drivers, before whom the people must needs go, as they did: it becomes not an historian, and it less becomes a Christian, to be *passionate*. Nevertheless, *poetry* may *dare* to do something at the description of that which *drove* those *drivers*; and with a few lines fetched from the most famous epic poem (“*King Arthur.*”) of Dr. Blackmore, we will describe the fury.

..... A *Fury* crawl'd from out her cell,
The bloodiest Minister of *Death* and *hell*;
A monstrous shape, a foul and hideous sight,
Which did all hell with her dire looks affright.
Huge half-gorged snakes on her lean shoulders hung,
And *Death*'s dark courts with their loud hissing rung.
Her teeth and claws were iron, and her breath,
Like subterranean damps, gave present death.
Flames, worse than *hell*'s, shot from her bloody eyes,
And “*Fire!* and *sword!*” eternally she cries.
No certain shape, no feature regular,
No limbs distinct in th' odious fiend appear.
Her squalid, bloated belly did arise,
Swoll'n with black gore, to a prodigious size:
Distended vastly by a mighty flood
Of slaughter'd *saints*' and constant *martyrs*' blood.
A monster so deform'd, so fierce as this,
It self a *hell*, ne'er saw the dark abyss!
Horror, till now the ugliest shape esteem'd,
So much outdone, an harmless figure seem'd.
Envy, and *Hate*, and *Malice* blush'd to see
Themselves *eclipsed* by such deformity.
Her feverish *heat* drinks down a sea of *blood*,
Not of the *impious*, but the *just* and *good*:
'Gainst whom she burns with unextinguish'd rages,
Nor can th' exhausted world her wrath assuage.

It was PERSECUTION; a *fury* which we consider not as possessing the Church of England, but as inspiring a *party* which have unjustly challenged the name of the Church of England, and which, whenever the Church of England shall any more encourage, her *fall* will become like that of the house which our Saviour saw built upon the sand.

§ 2. There were more than a few attempts of the English to people and Improve the parts of New-England which were to the northward of New-Plymouth; but the designs of those attempts being aimed no higher than the advancement of some *worldly interests*, a constant series of disasters has confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of

Christianity; and that plantation, though it has had more adversaries than perhaps any one upon earth; yet, “having obtained help from God, it continues to this day.” There have been very fine settlements in the north-east regions; but what is become of them? I have heard that one of our ministers once preaching to a congregation there, urged them to approve themselves a *religious* people from this consideration, “that otherwise they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness;” whereupon a well-known person, then in the assembly, cried out, “Sir, you are mistaken: you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our *main end* was to *catch fish*.” Truly ‘twere to have been wished, that something more excellent had been the *main end* of the settlements in that brave country, which we have, even long since the arrival of that more pious colony at the Bay, now seen dreadfully *unsettled*, no less than *twice* at least, by the sword of the heathen, after they had been replenished with many hundreds of people, who had thriven to many thousands of pounds; and had all the force of the Bay, too, to assist them in the maintaining of their settlements. But the same or the like inauspicious things attended many other endeavours to make plantations upon such a *main end* in several other parts of our country, before the arrival of those by whom the Massachuset colony was at last formed upon more glorious *aims*; all proving, like the habitations of the *foolish*, “cursed before they had taken root.” Of all which *catastrophe*’s, I suppose none was more sudden than that of Monsieur Finch, whom in a ship from France, trucking with the Massachuset-Natives; those bloody salvages, coming on board without any other *arms*, but *knives* concealed under *flaps*, immediately butchered with all his men, and set the ship on fire. Yea, so many fatalities attended the adventurers in their essays, that they began to suspect that the Indian sorcerers had laid the place under some *fascination*; and that the English could not prosper upon such *enchanted ground*, so that they were almost afraid of adventuring any more.

§ 3. Several persons in the west of England, having by fishing-voyages to Cape Ann, the northern promontory of the Massachuset-Bay, obtained some acquaintance with those parts; the news of the good progress made in the new plantation of Plymouth, inspired the renowned Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, to prosecute the settlement of such another plantation here for the propagation of *religion*. This good man engaged several gentlemen about the year 1624, in this noble design; and they employed a most religious, prudent, worthy gentleman, one Mr. Roger Conant, in the government of the place, and of their affairs upon the place; but through many discouragements, the design for a while almost fell unto the ground. That great man, greatly grieved hereat, wrote over to this Mr. Roger Conant, that if he and three honest men more would yet stay upon the spot, he would procure a *patent* for them, and send them over friends, goods, provisions, and what was necessary to assist their undertakings. Mr. Conant, then looking out a scituation more commodious for a *town*, gave his three disheartened companions to understand, that he did believe God would make this land a receptacle for his people; and that if *they* should leave him, yet *he* would not stir; for he was confident he should not long want company; which confidence of his caused them to abandon the thoughts of leaving him. Well, it was not long before the Council of Plymouth in England had, by a deed bearing date March 19, 1627, sold unto some knights and gentlemen about Dorchester, viz: Sir Henry Rowsel, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whet-

comb, and their heirs and assigns, and their associates for ever, that part of New-England which lyes between a great river called Merrimack, and a certain other river there called Charles' River, in the bottom of the Massachusetts-Bay. But shortly after this, Mr. White brought the aforesaid honourable persons into an acquaintance with several other persons of quality about London; as, namely, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Adderly, John Yen, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowel, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchings, William Vassal, William Pinchon, and George Foxcraft. These persons being associated unto the former, and having bought of them all their interest in New-England aforesaid, now consulted about settling a *plantation* in that country, whither such as were then called *Non-conformists* might, with the grace and leave of the King, make a peaceable *secession*, and enjoy the liberty and the exercise of their own perswasions about the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon petitioning the King to confirm what they had thus purchased with a new patent, he granted them one, bearing date from the year 1628, which gave them a right unto the soil, holding their titles of lands, as of the manor of East Greenwich in Kent, and in common *soccage*. By this Charter they were empowered yearly to elect their own governour, deputy-governour and magistrates; as also to make such *laws* as they should think suitable for the plantation: but as an acknowledgment of their dependance upon England, they might not make any laws repugnant unto those of the kingdom; and the fifth part of all the *oar* of gold or silver found in the territory, belonged unto the crown. So, soon after Mr. Cradock being by the company chosen governour, they sent over Mr. Endicott in the year 1628, to carry on the plantation, which the Dorchester agents had lookt out for them, which was at a place called Nahumkeick. Of Which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation, that the name of it was rather Hebrew than Indian; for *Nahum* signifies Comfort, and *Keik* signifies an haven; and our English not only found it an Haven of Comfort, but happened also to put an Hebrew name upon it; for they called it Salem, for the *peace* which they had and hoped in it; and *so it is called unto this day*.

§ 4. An entrance being thus made upon the design of planting a country of English and Reformed Churches; they that were concerned for the plantation, made their application to two non-formists ministers, that they would go over to serve the *Cause of God and of Religion* in the beginning of those Churches. The one of these was Mr. Higginson, a minister in Leicestershire, silenced for his non-conformity; the other was Mr. Skelton, a minister of Lincolnshire, suffering also for his non-conformity; both of which were men eminent for learning and virtue, and who, thus driven out of their native country, sought their graves on the American-Strand, whereon the Epitaph might be inscribed that was on Scipio's: *Ingrata Patria, ne Mortui quidem habebis Ossa*. ("Ungrateful country of my birth! thou shalt not possess even my lifeless bones.") These ministers came over to Salem in the summer of the year 1629, and with these there came over a consider able number of excellent Christians, who no sooner arrived, but they set themselves about the Church-work, which was their *errand* hither.

'Tis true, there were two other Clergy-men, who came over about the same time; nevertheless, there has been very little account given of their circum-

stances; except what a certain little Narrative-writer has offered us, by saying, “there were two that began to hew stones in the mountains, for the building of the temple here; but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, the one betook himself to the seas again and the other to till the land ;“ for which cause, burying all further mention of them among the rubbish, in the *foundation* of the Colony, we will proceed with our story; which is now to tell us, that the passage of these our *pilgrims* was attended with many smiles of Heaven upon them. They were blessed with a company of honest seamen; with whom the ministers and passengers constantly served God, morning and evening; reading, ex pounding and applying the word of God, singing of his praise, and seeking of his peace; to which exercises they added on the Lord’s day two sermons, and a catechising: and sometimes they set apart an whole day for fasting and prayer, to obtain from Heaven a good success in their voyage, especially when the weather was much against them, whereto they had very remarkable answers; but the seamen said, “that they believed these were the first sea-fasts that ever were kept in the world.” At length, *Per varios Casus, per Tot Discrimina Rerum*, (Through perils, toil, and rough adventure passed.), they landed at the haven of rest provided for them.

§ 5. The persecuted servants of God, under the English Hierarchy, had been in a *sea of ice mingled with fire*; though the *fire* scalded them, yet such cakes of ice were over their heads, that there was no getting out; but the *ice* was now broken, by the American offers of a retreat for the pure worshippers of the Lord into a wilderness.

The report of the charter granted unto the governour and company of the Massachuset-Bay, and the entertainment and encouragement which planters began to find in that Bay, came with a—*Patrias age, desere Sedes*, (A call to leave their country and their home) and caused many very deserving persons to transplant themselves and their families into New-England. Gentlemen of ancient and worshipful families, and ministers of the gospel, then of great fame at home, and merchants, husbandmen, artificers, to the number of some thousands, did for twelve years together carry on this transplantation. It was indeed a *banishment* rather than a *removal*, which was undergone by this glorious generation, and you may be sure sufficiently afflictive to men of estate, breeding and conversation. As the *hazard* which they ran in this undertaking was of such *extraordinariness*, that nothing less than a strange and strong impression from Heaven could have thereunto moved the hearts of such as were in it: so the *expense* with which they carried on the undertaking was truly extraordinary. By computation, the *passage* of the persons that peopled New-England, cost at least ninety-five thousand pound; the transportation of their first small stock of cattle, great and small, cost no less than twelve thousand pound, besides the price of the cattle themselves; the provisions laid in for subsistence, till tillage might produce more, cost forty-five thousand pounds; the materials for their first cottages cost eighteen thousand pounds; their arms, ammunition and great artillery, cost twenty-two thousand pounds; besides which hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds, the adventurers laid out in England what was not inconsiderable. About an hundred and ninety-eight ships were employed in passing the perils of the seas, in the accomplishment of this renowned settlement; whereof; by the way, but *one* miscarried in those perils.

Briefly, the God of Heaven served as it were a *summons* upon the *spirits* of his people in the English nation; stirring up the spirits of thousands which

never saw the *faces* of each other, with a most unanimous inclination to leave all the pleasant accommodations of their native country, and go over a terrible ocean, into a more terrible *desert*, for the *pure enjoyment of all his ordinances*. It is now reasonable that before we pass any further, the *reasons* of this undertaking should be more exactly made known unto posterity, especially unto the posterity of those that were the *undertakers*, lest they Come at length to forget and neglect the *true interest* of New-England. Wherefore I shall now transcribe some of them from a manuscript, wherein they were then tendred unto consideration.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE PLANTATION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

“First, It will be a service unto the Church, of great consequence, to carry the Gospel into those parts of the world, and raise a bulwark against the kingdom of anti-christ, which the Jesuites labour to rear up in all parts of the world.

Secondly, All other Churches of Europe have been brought under desolations; and it may be feared that the like judgments are coming upon *us*; and who knows but God hath provided this place to be a *refuge* for many, whom he means to save out of the General Destruction.

“*Thirdly*, The land grows weary of her inhabitants, insomuch that *man*, which *is* the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth he treads upon. children, neighbours and friends, especially the *poor*, are counted the greatest burdens, which if things were right would be the chiefest earthly blessings.

“*Fourthly*, We are grown to that intemperance in all *excess of riot*, as no mean estate almost will suffice a man to keep sail with his *equals*, and he that fails in it, must live ill scorn and contempt: hence it comes to pass, that all *arts* and *trades* are carried in that deceitful manner, and unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good, upright man to maintain his constant charge, and live comfortably in them.

“*Fifthly*, The schools of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (besides the unsupportable charge of education) most children, even the best, wittiest, and of the fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown, by the multitude of evil examples and licentious behaviours in these *seminaries*.

“*Sixthly*, The *whole earth* is the Lord’s *garden*., and he hath given it to the sons of Adam, to be tilled and improved by them: why then should we stand starving here for places of habitation, and in the mean time suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lye waste without any improvement?

“*Seventhly*, What can be a better or nobler work, and more worthy of a Christian, titan to erect and support a *reformed particular Church* in its infancy, and unite our forces with such a company of faithful people, as by a timely assistance may grow stronger and pros.. per; but for want of it, may be put to great hazards, if not be wholly ruined?

“*Eighthly*, If any such as are known to be godly, and live in wealth and prosperity here. shall forsake all this to join with this *reformed church*, and with it run the hazard of an hard and mean condition, it will be an example of great use, both for the removing of *scandal*, and to give more *life* unto the *faith* of God’s people in their prayers for the plantation, and also to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.”

§ 6. Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Skelton, and other good people that arrived at Salem, in the year 1629, resolved, like their father Abraham, to begin their plantation with “calling on the name of the Lord.” The great Mr. Hildersham had advised our first planters to agree fully upon their form of church government, before their coming into New-England; but they had indeed agreed little further than in this general principle, “that the reformation of the church was to be endeavoured according to the written word of God.” Accordingly ours, now arrived at Salem, consulted with their brethren at Plymouth, what steps to take for the more exact acquainting of themselves *with*, and conforming themselves *to*, that *written word*; and the Plymotheans, to their great satisfaction, laid before them what *warrant*, they judged, that they had in the *laws* of our

Lord Jesus Christ, for every particular in their Church-order.

Whereupon having the concurrence and countenance of their deputy governour, the worshipful John Endicott, Esq., and the approving presence of the messengers from the church of Plymouth, they set apart the sixth day of August, after their arrival, for fasting and prayer, for the settling of a *Church State* among them, and for their making a *Confession of their Faith*, and entering into an holy *Covenant*, whereby that Church State was formed.

Mr. Higginson then became the teacher, and Mr. Skelton the pastor, of the church thus constituted at Salem; and they lived very *peaceably* in Salem together, till the death of Mr. Higginson, which was about a twelve-month after, and then of Mr. Skelton, who did not long survive him. Now, the Covenant whereto these Christians engaged themselves, which was about seven years after solemnly *renewed* among them, I shall here lay before all the Churches of God, as it was then expressed and enforced:

“We covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do bind our selves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth; and do explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“We avouch the Lord to be our God, and our selves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

“We give our selves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.

“We promise to walk with our brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, back-bitings, censuring, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

“In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church; but willing to take advice for our selves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

“We will not in the congregation be forward either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking or scrupling, or there discover the weakness or failings of our brethren; but attend an orderly call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

We bind our selves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace; both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our Sister churches, but using their counsel, as need shall be; not laying a stumbling block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote; and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

“We do hereby promise to carry our selves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits through our irregularities.

resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular calling;; shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord’s stewards.

“Promising also unto our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of His Will, that they may serve Him also; and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ: whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant made in his name.”

By this instrument was the Covenant of Grace explained, received, and recognized, by the *first Church* in this Colony, and applied unto the evangelical designs of a Church-estate before the Lord: this instrument they afterwards often read over, and renewed the *consent* of their souls Unto every article in it; especially when their days of *humiliation* invited them to lay hold on particu-

lar opportunities for doing so.—So you have seen the *nativity* of the *first* Church in the Massachuset-colony.

§ 7. As for the circumstances of *admission* into this Church, they left it very much unto the discretion and faithfulness of their elders, together with the condition of the persons to be admitted. Some were admitted by expressing their consent unto their *confession* and *covenant*; some were admitted after their first answering to questions about Religion, propounded unto them; some were admitted, when they had presented in *writing* such things as might give *satisfaction* unto the people of God concerning them; and some that were admitted, *orally* addressed the people of God in such terms, as they thought proper to ask their communion with; which *diversity* was perhaps more *beautiful* than would have been a more *punctilious uniformity*; but none were admitted without regard unto a blameless and holy conversation. They did all agree with their brethren of Plymouth in this point, “That the children of the faithful were Church-members, with their parents; and that their baptism was a seal of their being so;” only before their admission to fellowship in a *particular* Church, it was judged necessary that, being free from scandal, they should be examined by the elders of the Church, upon whose approbation of their *fitness*, they should publickly and personally own the *covenant*; so they were to be received unto the table of the Lord: and accordingly the eldest son of Mr. Higginson, being about fifteen years of age, and laudably answering all the characters expected in a communicant, was then so received.

§ 8. It is to be remembered, that some of the passengers, who came over with those of our first Salemites, observing that the ministers did not use the “Book of Common-Prayer” in their administrations; that they administered the *baptism* and the *supper* of the Lord, without any unscriptural *ceremonies*; that they resolved upon using *discipline* in the congregation against scandalous offenders, according to the word of God; and that some *scandalous* persons had been denied admission into the communion of the Church; they began (Frankford fashion) to raise a deal of trouble here upon. *Herodiana Malitia, nascentem persequi Religionem!* (Herod-like malice, bent on crushing the infant Church.) Of these there were especially two brothers; the one a lawyer, the other a merchant, both men of parts, estate and figure in the place. These gathered a company together, *separate* from the publick assembly; and *there*, the Common Prayer-Worship was after a sort upheld among such as would resort unto them. The governour perceiving a disturbance to arise among the people on this occasion, sent for the brothers; who accused the ministers, as *departing from the orders of the Church of England*; adding, “That they were Separatists, and would be shortly Anabaptists ;“ but for themselves, “They would hold unto the orders of the Church of England.” The answer of the ministers to these accusations, was, “That they were neither separatists nor Anabaptists; that they did not separate from the Church Of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders of that Church: that they came away from the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non conformity in their native land; and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them inasmuch as they judged the imposition of these things to be a sinful violation of the worship of God.”—The governour, the council, the people, generally approved of the answer thus given by the ministers; but these persons returned into England with very furious *threatnings* against the

Church thus established; however the *threatned folks have lived so long*, that the Church has *out-lived* the grand *climacterical* year of humane age; it is now flourishing, more than sixty-three years after its first gathering, under the pastoral care of a most reverend and ancient person, even Mr. John Higginson, the *son* of that excellent man who laid the foundations of that society.

CHAPTER V.

PEREGRINI DEO CURÆ; (Strangers are peculiar objects of God's care.)

OR, THE PROGRESS OF THE NEW COLONY; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONS, THE METHODS, AND THE TROUBLES, BY WHICH IT CAME TO SOMETHING.

§ 1. THE Governour and Company of the Massachuset-Bay, then in London, did in the year 1629, after exact and mature debates, conclude, that it was most convenient for the government, with the charter of the Plantation, to be transferred into the plantation it self; and an *order of Court* being drawn up for that end, there was then chosen a new govern-Our, and a new deputy-governour, that were willing to remove themselves With their families thither on the first occasion. The governour was John Winthrop, Esq., a gentleman of that wisdom and virtue, and those manifold accomplishments, that after-generations must reckon him no less a *glory*, than he was a *patriot* of the country. The deputy-governour was Thomas Dudley, Esq., a gentleman, whose natural and acquired abilities, joined with his excellent moral qualities, entitled him to all the great respects with which his country on all opportunities treated him. Several most worthy *assistants* were at the same time chosen to be in this trans. portation; moreover, several other gentlemen of prime note, and several famous ministers of the gospel, now likewise embarked themselves with these honourable adventurers; who equipped a *fleet* consising of ten or eleven ships, whereof the admiral was, The Arabella (so called in honour of the right honourable the Lady Arabella Johnson, at this time on board) a ship of three hundred and fifty tuns; and in some of the said ships there were two hundred passengers; all of which arrived before the middle of July, in the year 1630, safe in the harbours of New-England. There was a time when the British sea was by Clements, and the other ancients, called *the unpassable ocean*. What then was to be thought of the vast Atlantick sea, on the westward of Britain? But this ocean must now be passed! An heart of stone must have dissolved into *tears* at the affectionate *farewel* which the governour and other eminent persons took of their friends, at a *feast* which the governour made for them, a little before their going off; however, they were acted by principles that could carry them through *tears* and *oceans*; yea, through *oceans* of *tears*: principles that enabled them to leave, *Dulcia Limina, atque amabilem Larem, quem et parentum memoria, atque ipsius* (to use Stupius' words) *Infamiae Rudimenta Confirmant*. (Their sweet native shores and cherished firesides; cherished the more for the cake of their parents' memories and the early lessons there imbibed in the very principles which now make them objects of persecution.) Some very late geographers do assure us, that the breadth of the Atlantick sea is commonly over-reckoned by *six*, by *eight*, by *ten* degrees. But let that sea be as narrow as they please, I can assure the reader the passing of it was no little *trial* unto those worthy people that were now to pass it.

§ 2. But the most notable circumstance in their farewell, was their composing and publishing of what they called, “The humble request of his Majesties loyal subjects, the Governour and Company lately gone for New-England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions.” In this address of theirs, notwithstanding the trouble they had undergone for desiring to see the Church of England *reformed* of several things, which they thought its *deformities*, yet they now called the Church of England their *dear mother*; acknowledging that such *hope* and *part* as they had obtained in the *common salvation* they had *sucked from her breasts*; therewithal entreating their many *reverend fathers and brethren* to recommend them unto the mercies of God, in their constant prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own bowels. “You are not ignorant (said they) that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul, to make a continual mention of the Church at Philippi which was a colony from Rome; let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord’s remembrancers, to pray for us, without ceasing, who are the weak colony from your selves.” And after such prayers, they concluded, “What goodness you shall extend unto us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we your brethren in Christ shall labour to repay, in what duty we are or shall be able to perform; promising so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs; wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably, befall us.”

§ 3. Reader, If ever the charity of a right Christian, and enlarged soul, were exemplarily seen in its proper expansions, ‘twas in the address which thou hast now been reading; but if it now puzzle the reader to reconcile these passages with the principles declared, the practices followed, and the persecutions undergone, by these American Reformers, let him know, that there was more than one distinction, whereof these excellent persons were not ignorant. First, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it contained the whole body of the faithful, scattered throughout the kingdoms, though of different persuasions about some rites and modes in religion; many thousands of whom our Nor-Angels knew could comply with many things, to which our consciences, otherwise enlightened and persuaded, could not yield such a compliance and the Church of England, as it was confined unto a certain constitution by canons, which pronounced *Ipsa Facto*, (by their very act) excommunicate all those who should affirm that the worship contained in the “Book of Common-Prayer and administrations of sacraments,” is unlawful, or that any of the thirty-nine articles are erroneous, or that any of the ceremonies commanded by the authority of the church might not be approved, used and subscribed; and which will have to be accursed, all those who maintain that there are in the realm any other meetings, assemblies or congregations of the King’s born subjects, than such as by the laws of the land are allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful Churches; and by which all those that refuse to kneel at the reception of the sacrament, and to be present at public prayers, according to the orders of the church, about which there are prescribed many formalities of responses, with bowing at the name of Jesus, are to be denied the communion; and all who dare not submit their

children to be baptized by the undertaking of god-fathers, and receive the cross as a dedicating badge of Christianity, must not have baptism for their children: besides an et-cœtera of how many more impositions! Again, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it kept the true doctrine of the Protestant religion, with a disposition to pursue the reformation begun in the former century, among whom we may reckon such men as the famous assembly of divines at Westminster, who all but eight or nine, and the Scots had before then lived in conformity; and the Church of England, as limiting that name unto a certain *faction*, who, together with a *discipline* very much *unscriptural*, vigorously prosecuted the *tripartite plot* of Arminianism and conciliation with Rome, in the church, and unbounded *prerogative* in the state; who set themselves to cripple as fast as they could the more learned, godly, painful ministers of the land, and silence and ruin such as could not read a *book for sports on the Lord's days*; or did but use a *prayer* of their own conceiving, before or after sermon; or did but preach in an *afternoon*, as well as in a morning, or on a *lecture*, or on a *market*, or in anywise discountenance *old* superstitions, or *new* extravagancies; and who at last threw the nation into the lamentable confusions of a civil war. By the light of this *distinction*, we may easily perceive what Church of England it was, that our New-England exiles called, *their* Mother; though their *mother* had been so harsh to them, as to turn them out of doors, yet they highly honoured her; believing that it was not so much their *mother*, but some of their angry *brethren*, abusing the name of their *mother*, who so harshly treated them; and all the harm they wished her, was to see her put off those *ill trimmings*, which at her first coming out of the popish Babylon, she had not fully so laid aside. If any of those envious brethren do now call these *dissenters*, as not very long since a great prelate in a sermon did, *the bastards of the Church of England* I will not make the return which was made upon it by a person of quality then present; but instead thereof humbly demand, who are the *truer* sons to the Church of England; they that hold all the *fundamentals* of Christianity embraced by that Church, only questioning and forbearing a few *disciplinary* points, which are confessed *indifferent* by the greatest zealots for them; or they that have made Britain more uninhabitable than the Torrid Zone? for the poor non-conformists, by their *hot* pressing of those *indifferencies*, as if they had been the only *necessaries*, in the mean time utterly subverting the *faith* in the important points of *predestination*, *free-will*, *justification*, *perseverance*, and some other things, which that Church requires all her children to give their *assent* and *consent* unto? If the *former*, then, say I, the planters of New-England were *truer* sons to the Church of England, than that part of the church which, then by their misemploying their heavy *church-keys*, banished them into this plantation. And, indeed, the more genuine among the most conformable *sons of the church*, did then accordingly wish all prosperity to their New-English brethren; in the number of whom I would particularly reckon that faithful man, Mr. Edward Symons, minister of Rayn in Essex; who in a Discourse printed Anno 1637, does thus express himself: "Many now promise to themselves nothing but successive happiness at New-England; which for a time, through God's mercy, they may enjoy; and I pray God, they may a long time, but in this world there is no happiness perpetual." Nor would I on this occasion leave unquoted some notable words of the learned, witty and famous Dr. Fuller, in his comment on Ruth, page 16: "Concerning our brethren which of late left this kingdom to advance

a plantation in New-England, I think the counsel best that King Joash prescribed ‘unto Amaziah, *‘Tarry at home?’* yet as for those that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be such to whom we may not say, *God speed:* but let us pity them, and pray for them. I conclude of the two Englands, what our Saviour saith of the two wines: ‘No man having tasted of the old, presently desireth the new; for he saith, the old is better.’”

§ 4. Being happily arrived at New-England, our new planters found the difficulties of a rough and hard wilderness presently assaulting them: of which the worst was the *sickliness* which many of them had contracted by their other difficulties. Of those who soon dyed after their first arrival, not the least considerable was the Lady Arabella, who left an earthly *paradise* in the family of an Earldom, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a *pure worship* in the house of God; and then immediately left that *wilderness* for the Heavenly *paradise*, whereto the compassionate Jesus, of whom she was a follower, called her. We have read concerning a noble woman of Bohemia, who forsook her friends, her plate, her house, and all; and because the gates of the city were guarded, crept through the common-sewer, that she might enjoy the *institutions* of our Lord at another place where they might be had. The spirit which acted that noble woman, we may suppose carried this blessed lady thus to and through the hardships of an American desert But as for her virtuous husband, Isaac Johnson, Esq.,

* * * * He try’d
To live without her, lik’d it not, and dy’d.

His mourning for the death of his honourable consort was too bitter to be extended a *year*; about a month after *her* death *his* ensued, unto the extream loss of the whole plantation. But at the end of this perfect and upright man, there was not only *peace* but *joy*; and his joy particularly expressed it self “that God hath kept his eyes open so long as to see one church of the Lord Jesus Christ gathered in these ends of the earth, before his own going away to Heaven.” The *mortality* thus threatning of this new Plantation so *enlivened* the devotions of this good people, that they set themselves by fasting and prayer to obtain from God the removal of it; and their brethren at Plymouth also attended the like duties on their behalf: the issue whereof was, that in a little time they not only had *health* restored, but they likewise enjoyed the special directions and assistance of God in the further prosecution of their undertakings.

§ 5. But there were two terrible distresses more, besides that of *sickness*, Whereto this people were exposed in the beginning of their settlement: though a most seasonable and almost unexpected *mercy from Heaven* still rescued them out of those distresses. One thing that sometimes extreamly exercised them, was a scarcity of provisions; in which ‘twas wonderful to see their *dependance* upon God, and God’s *mindfulness* of them. When the parching droughts of the summer divers times threatned them with an utter and a total consumption to the fruits of the earth, it was their manner, with *heart-melting*, and I may say, *Heaven-melting* devotions, to fast and pray before God; and on the very days when they *poured out the water* of their *tears* before him, he would *shower down the water* of his *rain* upon their fields; *while they were yet speaking, he would hear them*; insomuch that the salvages themselves would on that occasion admire the Englishman’s God! But the Englishmen them-

selves would celebrate their days of Thanksgiving to him. When their stock was likewise wasted so far, which divers times it was, that they were come to the last meal in the barrel, just then, unlooked for, arrived several ships from other parts of the world loaden with supplies; among which, one was by the *lord-deputy of Ireland* sent hither, although he did not know the necessities of the country to which he sent her; and if he had known them, would have been thought as unlikely as any man living to have helpt them: in these extremities, 'twas marvellous to see how *helpful* these good people were to one another, following the example of their most liberal governour Winthrop, who made an equal distribution of what he had in his own stores among the poor, *taking no thought for to-morrow!* And how content they were; when an honest man, as I have heard, inviting his friends to a dish of *clams*, at the table gave thanks to Heaven, who "had given them to suck the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands!"

Another thing that gave them no little exercise, was *the fear of the Indians*, by whom they were sometimes alarmed. But this fear was wonderfully prevented, not only by intestine wars happening then to fall out among those barbarians, but chiefly by the small-pox, which proved a great plague unto them, and particularly to one of the Princes in the Massachuset-Bay, who yet seemed hopefully to be *christianized* before he dyed. This distemper getting in, I know not how, among them, swept them away with a most prodigious desolation, insomuch that although the English gave them all the assistances of humanity in their calamities, yet there was, it may be, not *one* in *ten* among them left alive; of those *few* that lived, many also *fled* from the infection, leaving the country a meer Golgotha of unburied carcasses; and as for the *rest*, the English treated them with all the civility imaginable; among the instances of which civility, let this be reckoned for *one*, that notwithstanding the *patent* which they had for the country, they fairly *purchased* of the natives the several tracts of land which they afterwards *possessed*.

§ 6. The people in the fleet that arrived at New-England, in the year 1630, left the fleet almost, as the family of Noah did the ark, having a whole world before them to be peopled. Salem was already supplied with a competent number of inhabitants; and therefore the governour, with most of the gentlemen that accompanied him in his voyage, took their first opportunity to prosecute further settlements about the bottom of the Massachuset-Bay; but wherever they sat down, they were so mindful of their *errand* into the wilderness, that still one of their *first works* was to gather a church into the *covenant* and *order* of the gospel. First, there was a church thus gathered at Charles-town, on the north side of Charles's river; where, keeping a solemn fast on August 27, 1630, to implore the conduct and blessing of Heaven on their ecclesiastical proceedings, they chose Mr. Wilson, a most holy and zealous man, formerly a minister of Sudbury, in the county of Suffolk, to be their teacher; and although he now submitted unto an ordination, with an imposition of such hands as were by the church invited so to pronounce the benediction of Heaven upon him; yet it was done with a *protestation* by all, that it should be only as a sign of his *election* to the charge of his new flock, without any intention- that he should thereby renounce the ministry he had received in England. After the gathering of the church at Charles-town, there quickly followed another at the town of Dorchester.

And after Dorchester there followed another at the town of Boston, which

issued out of Charles-town; one Mr. James took the care of the Church at Charles-town, and Mr. Wilson went over to Boston, where they that formerly belonged unto Charles-town, with universal approbation became a *distinct Church* of themselves. To Boston soon succeeded a church at Roxbury; to Roxbury, one at Lyn to Lyn, one at Watertown; so that in one or two years' time there were to be seen *seven Churches* in this neighbourhood, all of them attending to what the *spirit* in the *Scripture said unto them*; all of them *golden candlesticks*, illustrated with a very sensible *presence* of our Lord Jesus Christ among them.

§ 7. It was for a matter of twelve years together, that persons of all ranks, well affected unto *Church-reformation*, kept sometimes *dropping*, and sometimes *flocking* into New-England, though some that were coming into New-England were not suffered so to do. The persecutors of those *Puritans*, as they were called, who were now *retiring* into that *cold* country from the *heat* of their persecution, did all that was possible to hinder as many as Was possible from enjoying of that *retirement*. There were many *countermands* given to the passage of people that were now steering of this *western course*; and there was a sort of uproar made among no small part of the nation, that this people should not be *let go*. Among those bound for New-England, that were so stopt, there were especially three famous persons, whom I suppose their adversaries would not have so studiously detained at home, if they had *foreseen* events; those were Oliver Cromwell, and Mr. Hambden, and Sir Arthur Haselrig; nevertheless, this is not the only instance of *persecuting church-mens* not having the *spirit of prophesy*. But many others were diverted from an intended voyage hither by the pure providence of God, which had provided other improvements for them; and of this take one instance instead of many. Before the woeful wars which broke forth in the three kingdoms, there were divers gentlemen in Scotland who, being uneasie under the ecclesiastical burdens of the times, wrote unto New-England their enquiries, Whether they might be there suffered freely to exercise their *Presbyterian* church-government? And it was freely answered, "That they might." Hereupon they sent over an agent, who pitched upon a tract of land near the mouth of Merrimack river, whither they intended them to transplant themselves: but although they had so far proceeded in their voyage, as to be *half-seas* through; the manifold crosses they met withal, made them give over their intentions; and the providence of God so ordered it, that some of those very gentlemen were afterwards the *revivers* of that well-known *solemn league and covenant* which had so great an influence upon the following circumstances of the nations. However, the number of those who did actually arrive at New-England before the year 1640, have been computed about four thousand; since which time far more have gone out of the country than have come to it; and yet the God of Heaven so smiled upon the Plantation, while under an *easie* and *equal* government, the designs of Christianity in well-formed churches have been carried on, that no history can *parallel* it. That saying of Eutropius about Rome, which hath been sometimes applied unto the church, is capable of some application to this little part of the church: *Nec Minor ab Exordio, nec major Incrementis ulla*(Never was any thing more mean in Inception or more mighty in progress). Never was any plantation brought unto such a considerableness, in a space of time so inconsiderable! an *howling wilderness* in a few years became a *pleasant land*, accommodated with the *necessaries*—yea, and the *conveniencies* of humane life; the *gospel* has carried with it a *ful-*

ness of all other blessings; and (albeit, that mankind generally, as far as we have any means of enquiry, have increased in one and the same given portion, and so no more than *doubled* themselves in about three hundred and sixty years, in all the past ages of the world, since the fixing of the present period of humane life) the four thousand first planters, in less than fifty years, notwithstanding all transportations and mortalities, increased into, they say, more than an hundred thousand.

CHAPTER VI.

QUI TRANS MARE CURRUNT; (“Those who cross the sea).

OR, THE ADDITION OF SEVERAL OTHER COLONIES TO THE FORMER; WITH SOME OTHER CONSIDERABLES IN THE CONDITION OF THESE LATER COLONIES.

§ 1. IT was not long before the Massachuset Colony was become like an *hive* overstocked with *bees*; and many of the new inhabitants entertained thoughts of *swarming* into plantations extended further into the country. The colony might fetch its own description from the dispensations of the great God, unto his ancient Israel, and say, “O, God of Hosts, thou hast brought a vine out of *England*; thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it; thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land; the hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars; she sent out her boughs unto the sea.” But still there was one stroak wanting for the complete accommodations of the description; to wit, “She sent forth her branches unto the river;” and this therefore is to be next attended. The fame of Connecticut river, a long, fresh, rich river, (as indeed the name *Connecticut* is Indian for a long river,) had made a little *Nilus*, (Nile) of it in the expectations of the good people about the Massachuset-bay: whereupon many of the planters belonging especially to the towns of Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown and Roxbury, took up resolutions to travel an hundred miles westward from those towns, for a further settlement upon this famous river. When the learned Fernandus had been in the Indies, he did in his preface to his *Commentaries* afterwards published, give this account of it: *Dec sic volente, prodii in remotissimos usque Indos, tam non avidus lucis et gloriae, ut earn vere dixerim, ultro elegerim mei ipsius adhuc viventis verissimam Sepulturam.* (By Cod’s permission, I penetrated into the remotest parts of India, actuated less by curiosity or ambition, y a desire to say, with truth, that I had voluntarily sought out a spot where I was in reality buried alive). Reader, come with me now to behold some worthy, and learned, and genteel persons going to be *buried alive* on the banks of Connecticut, having been first *slain* by the ecclesiastical impositions and persecutions of Europe.

§ 2. It was in the year 1635, that this design was first formed; and the disposition of the celebrated Mr. Thomas Hooker, with his people now in Cambridge, to engage in the design, was that which gave most life unto it. They then sent their agents to view the country, who returned with so advantageous a report, that the next year there was a great *remove* of good people thither: on this remove, they that went from Cambridge became a church upon a spot of ground now called Hartford; they that went from Dorchester, became a church at Windsor; they that went from Watertown, sat down at Wethersfield; and they that left Roxbury were in church higher up the river at Springfield, a place which was after wards found within the line of the Massachuset-charter. Indeed, the *first* Winter after their going thither, proved an *hard* one; and the grievous disappointments which befel them, through the unseasonable

freezing of the river, whereby their vessel of provisions was detained at the mouth of the river, threescore miles below them, caused them to encounter with very disastrous difficulties. Divers of them were hereby obliged in the depth of winter to travel back into the Bay; and some of them were frozen to death in the journey.

However, such was their courage, that they prosecuted their Plantation-work with speedy and blessed successes; and when bloody salvages in their neighbourhood, known by the name of Pequots, had like to have nipt the plantation in the bud, by a cruel war, within a year or two after their settlement, the marvellous providence of God immediately extinguished that war, by prospering the New-English arms, unto the utter subduing of the quarrelsome nation, and affrightning of all the other natives.

§ 3. It was with the countenance and assistance of their brethren in the Massachuset-bay, that the first Planters of Connecticut made their essays thus to discover and cultivate the remoter parts of this mighty wilderness; and accordingly several gentlemen went furnished with some kind of *commission* from the government of the Massachuset-bay, for to maintain some kind of government among the inhabitants, till there could be a more orderly settlement. But the inhabitants quickly perceiving themselves to be without the *line* of the Massachuset-charter, entered into a combination among themselves, whereby with mutual consent they became a *body-politick*, and framed a body of necessary laws and orders, to the execution whereof they chose all necessary officers, very much, though not altogether, after the form of the colony from whence they issued. So they jogged on for many years; and whereas, before the year 1644, that worthy gentleman, George Fenwick Esq., did, on the behalf of several persons of quality, begin a plantation about the mouth of the river, which was called Say-brook, in remembrance of those right honourable persons, the Lord Say and the Lord Brook, who laid a claim to the land thereabouts, by virtue of a patent granted by the Earl of Warwick; the inhabitants of Connecticut that year purchased of Mr. Fenwick this tract of land. But the confusions then embarrassing the affairs of the English nation, hindred our *Connecticotians* from seeking of any further settlement, until the restoration of K. Charles II., when they made their application to the King for a charter, by the agency of their honourable governour, John Winthrop, Esq., the most accomplished son of that excellent person who had been so considerable in the foundations of the Massachuset-colony. This renowned *virtuoso* had justly been the darling of New-England, if they had only considered his eminent qualities, as he was a *Christian*, a *gentleman*, and a *philosopher*, well worthy to be, as he was, a member of the *Royal-Society*; but it must needs further endear his memory to his country, that God made him the instrument of obtaining for them, as he did from the King of England, as amply priviledged a charter as was ever enjoyed perhaps by any people under the cope of heaven. Under the protection and encouragement of this charter they flourished many years; and many towns being successively erected among them, their churches had “rest, and walked in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit.”

§ 4. The *church-order* observed in the churches of Connecticut, has been the same that is observed by their *sisters* in the Massachuset-bay; and in this *order* they lived exceeding peaceably all the eleven years that Mr. Hooker lived among them. Nevertheless there arose at length some unhappy contests in one town of the colony, which grew into an alienation that could not be cured without such a parting, and yet, indeed, hardly so kind a parting, as that

whereto once Abraham and Lot were driven. However, these little, idle, angry *controversies*, proved occasions of *enlargements* to the church of God; for such of the inhabitants as chose a *cottage in a wilderness*, before the most beautiful and furnished edifice, overheated with the *fire* of contention, removed peaceably higher up the river, where a whole county of holy churches has been added unto the number of our congregations.

§ 5. But there was one thing that made this colony to become very considerable; which thing remains now to be considered. The well-known Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Eaton, and several eminent persons that came over to the Massachusetts-bay among some of the first planters, were strongly urged, that they would have settled in this Bay; but hearing of another Bay to the south-west of Connecticut, which might be more capable to entertain those that were to follow them, they desired that their friends at Connecticut would purchase of the native proprietors for *them*, all the land that lay between themselves and Hudson's River, which was in part effected. Accordingly removing thither in the year 1637, they seated themselves in a pleasant Bay, where they spread themselves along the *sea coast*, and one might have been suddenly as it were surprized with the sight of such notable towns, as first New-Haven; then Guilford; then Milford; then Stamford; and then Brainford, where our Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped in churches of an evangelical constitution; and from thence, if the enquirer make a salley over to Long-Island, he might there also have seen the churches of our Lord beginning to take root in the eastern parts of that island. All this while this *fourth colony* wanted the legal *basis* of a *charter* to build upon; but they did by mutual agreement form them selves, into a *body-politick* as like as they judged fit unto the other colonies in their neighbourhood; and as for there *church-order*, it was generally *secundum usum Massachusettensem* (after the Massachusetts model).

§ 6. Behold, a fourth colony of New-English Christians, in a manner *stolen* into the world, and a colony, indeed, *constellated* with many stars of the first magnitude. The colony was under the conduct of as holy, and as prudent, and as genteel persons as most that ever visited these nooks of America; and yet *these* too were tryed with very humbling circumstances.

Being Londoners, or merchants and men of traffick and business, their design was in a manner wholly to apply themselves unto *trade*; but the design failing, they found their great estates sink so fast, that they must quickly *do something*. Whereupon in the year 1646, gathering together almost. all the strength which was left them, they built one ship more, which they freighted for England with the best part of their tradable estates; and sundry of their eminent persons embarked themselves in her for the voyage. But, alas! the ship was never after heard of: she foundred in the sea; and in her were lost, not only the *hopes* of their future trade, but also the *lives* of several excellent persons, as well as divers *manuscripts* of some great men in the country, sent over for the service of the church, which were now buried in the ocean. The fuller story of that grievous matter, let the reader with a just astonishment accept from the pen of the reverend person who is now the pastor of New-Haven. I wrote unto him for it, and was thus answered:

“REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: In compliance with your desires, I now give you the relation of that APPARITION of a SHIP IN THE AIR, which I have received from the most credible judicious, and curious surviving observers of it.

“In the year 1647, besides much other lading, a far more rich treasure of passengers, (five or

six of which were persons of chief note and worth in New-Haven) put themselves on board a new ship, built at Rhode Island, of about 150 tuns; but so walty, that the master (Lamberton) often said she would prove their grave. In the month of January, cutting their way through much ice, on which they were accompanied with the Reverend Mr. Davenport, besides many other friends, with many fears, as well as prayers and tears, they set sail. Mr. Davenport in prayer, with an observable emphasis, used these words: 'Lord, if it be thy pleasure to bury these our friends in the bottom of the sea, they are thine: save them.' The spring following, no tidings of these friends arrived with the ships from England: New-Haven's heart began to fail her: this put the godly people on much prayer, both publick and private, 'that the Lord would (if it was his pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear friends, and prepare them with a suitable submission to his Holy Will.' In June next ensuing, a great thunder-storm arose out of the north-west after which (the hemisphere being serene) about an hour before sun-set, a SHIP of like dimensions with the aforesaid, with her canvas and colours abroad (though the wind northerly) appeared in the air coming up from our harbour's mouth, which lyes southward from the town, seemingly with her sails filled under a fresh gale, holding her course north, and continuing under observation, sailing against the wind for the space of half an hour.

"Many were drawn to behold this great work of God; yea, the very children cried out, 'There's a brave ship!' At length, crowding up as far as there is usually water sufficient for such a vessel, and so near some of the spectators, as that they imagined a man might hurl a stone on board her, her *main-top* seemed to be blown off, but left hanging in the shrouds; then her *mizzen-top*; then all her *masting* seemed blown away by the board: quickly after the *hulk* brought unto a careen, she overset, and so vanished into a smoaky cloud, which *in* some time dissipated, leaving, as everywhere else, a clear air. The admiring spectators could distinguish the several colours of each part, the principal rigging, and such proportions, as caused not only the generality of persons to say, 'This was the mould of their ship, and thus was her tragick end,' but Mr. Davenport also in publick declared to this effect, 'That God had condescended, for the quieting of their afflicted spirits, this extraordinary account of his sovereign disposal of those for whom so many fervent prayers were made continually.'

Thus I am Sir, "Your humble servant,

"JAMES PIERPONT.

Reader, there being yet living so many credible gentlemen, that were eye-witnesses of this *wonderful* thing, I venture to publish it for a thing as *undoubted* as 'tis wonderful.

But let us now proceed with our story. Our colony of New-Haven apprehended themselves disadvantageously seated for the affairs of husbandry; and therefore upon these disasters they made many attempts of removing into some other parts of the world. One while they were invited unto Delaware-bay, another while they were invited unto Jamaica; they bad offers made them from Ireland also, after the wars there were over; and they entred into some treaties about the city of Galloway, which they were to have had as a small *province* to themselves. But the God of Heaven still strangely disappointed all these attempts; and whereas they were concerned how their *posterity* should be able to live, if they must make husbandry their main shift for their living; that posterity of theirs, by the good providence of God, instead of coming to beggary and misery, have thriven wonderfully: the colony is improved with many wealthy husbandmen, and is become no small part of the best granary for all New England. And the same good Providence has all along so preserved them from annoyance by the Indians, that although at their first setting down there were few towns but what wisely perswaded a body of Indians to dwell near them: whereby such kindnesses passed between them that they always dwelt peaceably together; nevertheless there are few of those towns but what have seen their body of Indians utterly extirpated by nothing

but *mortality* wasting them.

§ 7. But what is now become of New-Haven colony? I must answer, *It is not*: and yet it has been growing ever since it first *was*. But when Connecticut-colony petitioned the restored King for a CHARTER, they procured New-Haven colony to be annexed unto them in the same charter; and this, not without having first the private concurrence of some *leading* men in the colony; though the minds of *others* were so uneasie about the coalition, that it cost some time after the arrival of the Charter for the Colony, like Jephtha's daughter to bewail her condition, before it could be quietly complied withal. Nevertheless they have lived ever since, *one colony*, very happily together, and the *God of love and peace* has remarkably dwelt among them: however, these children of God have not been Without their *chastisements*, especially in the malignant fevers and agues, Which have often proved very mortal in most or all of their plantations.

§ 8. While the south-west parts of New-England were thus filled with few colonies, the north-east parts of the country were not forgotten. There Were ample regions beyond the line of the Massachuset-patent, where new Settlements were attempted, not only by such as designed a fishing-trade at sea, or a *Bever-trade* on shore; not only by some that were uneasie under the Massachuset-government in a *day of temptation*, which came upon the first planters; but also by some very serious Christians, who propounded the enlargement and enjoyment of our Lord's evangelical interests in those territories. The effect of these *excursions* were, that several Well-constituted churches were gathered in the province of East-Hampshire, besides one or two in the province of Mam, whereto were added a large number of other congregations, wherein weekly *prayers* and *sermons* were made, although the inhabitants belonging to those congregations, proceeded not so far as to all the ordinances of a more compleat Church-State among them. That which contributed more than a little to the growth of Christianity in those parts of New-England, was the application, which the people being tired with many quarrelsome circumstances about their government, made unto the general court of the Massachuset. bay, to be taken under their protection; which petition of theirs being answered by that general court, surely after a more charitable and accountable manner, than such authors as Ogilby in his America have represented it, [*Vos magis Historicis, Lectores, Credite veris!*](Readers rather trust truthful historians than such) there followed many successful endeavours to spread the effects and orders of the gospel along that coast.

But thus was the settlement of New-England brought about; these were the *beginnings*, these the *foundations* of those colonies, which have not only enlarged the English empire in some regards more than any other outgoings of our nation, but also afforded a singular prospect of churches erected in an American corner of the world, on purpose to express and pursue the Protestant Reformation.
