

CHAP. XXVII.

Various occurrences in New England, from the year 1631 to 1636.

THE 21st of November, 1632, the Governor of the Massachusetts received a letter from Captain Neal, that one Bull,¹ with fifteen more of the English who kept beyond Pascataqua, were turned pirates, and had taken divers boats, and rifled Pemaquid, &c. Hereupon the Governor called the Council; and it was agreed to send his bark, (then newly built,) with twenty men to join with those of Pascataqua for the taking the said pirates. But the extremity of the frost hindering the making ready the bark, and being informed that those of Pascataqua had sent out two pinnaces and two shallops, with forty men, above a fortnight before, they altered their resolution, and deferred any further expedition till they heard what Captain Neal's company had done; from whom they were certified, soon after, that the vessels they sent in pursuit of those pirates were wind-bound three weeks at Pemaquid. From Penobscot they were informed that they² had lost one of their chief men by a musket-shot from Pemaquid, and that four or five were detained amongst them against their wills, and that they had been at some English Plantations, and used so much civility as to take nothing but what they paid for, and that they had compounded with Mr. Maverick, whose pinnace they had taken by force at first. They also sent a writing to all the Governors, signifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen, and resolution to sink rather than be taken, and that their purpose was to go southward. This writing was signed, Fortune le garde.³

Upon these informations they surceased any further pursuit after them; only they took warning thereby, to look to themselves, not knowing but that some of the French in those parts might join with such loose fellows,

¹ See Clap's Memoirs, pp. 35-6.—H.
Win. i. 98.—H.

² I. e. The pirates. Sav.

³ "And no name to it." Ibid.—H.

and mischief either their vessels or Plantations. For on the 17th of January following they had intelligence that the French had bought the Scottish Plantation near Cape Sables, and that the fort there, with all the ammunition, was delivered to them, and that the Cardinal of France, (supposed to be Richlieu,) having the managing of that affair, had sent some companies already, and that preparation was made to send more the next year, with divers priests and Jesuits among them. This news alarmed the Governor and Council to stand upon their guard, and look to themselves; and, upon further debate and consultation with the chief of the country, it was agreed with all expedition to finish the fort began at Boston, and raise another at Nantaskit, and to hasten the planting of Agawam, (since Ipswich,) one of the most commodious places in the country for cattle and tillage, lest an enemy should prevent them by taking possession of the place. To that end the Governor's son¹ was ordered forthwith to go and begin a Plantation there, although he had but twelve men allowed him to make the attempt, which was that spring² effected, but it was not long before many others came after. This was well advised, but, as it proved in the sequel, they were more afraid than hurt, for the French aimed at nothing but trade, and therefore were not forward to molest any of the English Plantations that intended something else. However it was just reason to take notice of these alarms, for the middle of June before the French had rifled the trading-house of Plymouth at Penobscot, and carried away three hundred weight of beaver, with what other goods they found there, which was but as the ||distressing|| of a landlord for his rent, for default of which it was not long before he seized the place itself, which happened in the year 1635, when a French ship came with commission from the King of France, (as was pretended,) and took the trading-house of Plymouth men at Penobscot, and sent away the men which were in it, but kept their goods, and gave them bills for them, and bid them tell all the Plantations as far as forty degrees, that they would come with eight ships next year, and displace them all.

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¹ John Winthrop, Jun.—н.

² In March.—н.

But by a letter which the captain wrote to the Governor of Plymouth he informed, that he had commission from Monsieur Rossillon, commander of the fort near Cape Brittain, called La Haver, to displace the English as far as Pemaquid, and by it he professed all courtesy to them that were planted westward.

The Plymouth men were not willing to put up an injury so quietly, being ready to believe they had a right to the place before God and man. Therefore they hired a great ship (called the Hope of Ipswich, Mr. Girling being master,) to displace the French and regain their possession. He was to have £200 if he effected the design. They sent a bark of their own, with him and twenty men. But the French having notice, so strongly fortified the place, and entrenched themselves, (about eighteen persons,) as that, having spent near all his powder and shot, he was ready to give over the design. The Plymouth bark came to the Massachusetts to advise what to do. The General Court agreed to aid them with men and ammunition, and therefore wrote to Plymouth to send one with commission to treat with them. The next week they sent Mr. Prince and Captain Standish with a commission so to do. They brought the matter to this issue, that they would assist their neighbors at Plymouth as their friends, and at their charge, but not as the common cause of the whole country, and every one to contribute their part. And at that time provision was so scarce, (by reason of a great hurricane that spoiled much of their corn, on the 15th of August that year,¹) that they knew not where, on the sudden, to find means to victual out an hundred men, which the expedition would require: so all was deferred to further counsel, by which occasion Mr. Girling was forced to return, without effecting their purpose. Nor did they find any means afterward to recover their interest there any more. In October following, a pinnace sent by Sir Richard Saltonstall upon a design for Connecticut, in her return home, was cast away upon the Isle of Sables.² The men were kindly entertained by the French there, and had passage to La Haver, about twenty

¹ See page 199.—H.

² See Saltonstall's letter to Gov. Winthrop, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* xviii. 42.—H.

leagues to the east of Cape Sables, where Rossillon aforesaid was Governor, who entreated them courteously, granting four of them passage for France, and furnishing the rest with a shallop to return back to New England, but made them pay dear for their vessel. In this their return they put into Penobscot, while Girling's ship lay there, but were kept prisoners till the said ship was gone and then were sent home with a courteous letter to the Governor.

Before this, in the year 1634, a pinnace, belonging to Mr. Allerton of Plymouth, going to Port Royal to fetch two or three men that had been carried from a place called Machias,¹ where Mr. Allerton and some of Plymouth had set up a trading wigwam, and left five men and store of commodities, La Tour coming to displace them, and finding resistance, killed two of them, as was said, and carried three away, of which he afterward cleared himself, Anno 1643: and when some were sent to demand the goods taken thence, Monsieur La Tour, then chief upon the place, made answer, that he took them as lawful prize, and that he had authority from the King of France, who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, wishing them to take notice and certify the English, that if they traded to the eastward of Pemaquid he would make prize of them. And being desired to show his commission, he answered, like a French Monsieur, that his sword was his commission when he had strength to overcome, and where he wanted he would show his commission.² But we shall afterwards find this Monsieur speaking softer words, when D'Aulney and he came to quarrel one with another, of which there will be much occasion to speak in the following part of this history; and to observe how La Tour was dealt withal, as he had dealt with others, when his fort and all his goods were plundered by his neighbor Monsieur D'Aulney.

In November, 1636, the same D'Aulney, Captain of Penobscot, in his answer to the Governor's letter,³ said that they claimed no further than Pemaquid, nor would unless they had further order: and that he supposed the cause why he had no further order was, that the English

¹ "1633. Nov. News of the taking of Machias by the French." Sav. Win. i. 117.—H.

² The pinnace returned about the middle of January, 1634-5. Ibid. 154.—H.

³ Written, perhaps, in Oct. 1635. Ibid. 171.—H.

ambassador had dealt effectually with the Cardinal of France, for settling those limits for their peace.

Amongst other things which about that time befell the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts as matter of disturbance, one was occasioned by an over zealous act of one of the Assistants of Salem, too much inspired by the notions of Mr. Roger Williams, who, to prevent the continuance or appearance of superstition, did of his own authority cut out the red cross out of the King's colors. Good men's zeal doth many times boil over. Complaint was made hereof by Richard Browne, the ruling elder of the church of Watertown, in the name of the rest of the freemen, at a Court of Assistants in November, 1634. The offence was argued by the complainant as a matter of an high nature, as fearing it might be interpreted a kind of rebellion to deface the King's colors: much indeed might have been said, had it been done in his coin. It was done upon this apprehension, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so indeed by him as a superstitious thing, and a relic of Antichrist. No more was done therein at the first Court, but the awarding of an attachment against R. D.¹, the ensign-bearer of Salem, to appear at the next Court; and when that came about,² many minds being much taken up about the matter, because several of the soldiers refused to follow the colors so defaced, the Commissioners of Military Affairs (which at [that] time were established, with power of life and limb,) knew not well how to proceed in those matters. Therefore was the whole case left to the next General Court, which was the Court of Election, May 6, 1635;³ when Mr. Endicot, that had cut out the red cross, or caused it to be done, in the ensign at Salem, was not only left out from being an Assistant by the freemen, but was also by a committee of the freemen of the several towns, (the magistrates choosing two⁴ to join with them,) judged to be guilty of a great offence, viz. rash indiscretion, in proceeding to act by his sole authority in a matter wherein all the rest of the magistrates were equally concerned, and thereby giving occasion to the Court of England to think ill of them,

¹ Richard Davenport. Sav. Win. i. 146.—H.

² March 4, 1634-5, at Newtown. Ibid. 155.—H.

³ At Newtown. Ibid. 158.—H.

⁴ Four. Ibid.—H.

and therefore worthy of admonition, and to be disabled from bearing any public office for one year. An heavier sentence was declined, because all were persuaded that he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not out of an evil mind, and was also supposed, like Barnabas, to be carried away with the notions of rigid Separation, imbibed from Mr. ||R.|| Williams, the pastor of the church of Salem. He had this also to comfort him in one part of his sentence, that his brother-in-law, Mr. Ludlow, fell into the same condemnation of being made no Assistant, by the choice of the freemen, though he were Deputy Governor the year before. The reason was, because he expected the Deputy's place to be but a step into the highest degree of honor, but finding himself at the time of election to miss of both, he could not contain from venting his ambition in protesting against the election as void: for he said the choice was agreed upon by the deputies before they came to elect. But the choice was adjudged good, and the freemen were so disgusted at his speech that, in the next place, they left him out from being a magistrate, which honor he had enjoyed ever since he came into the country till that time, for he was one of the Patentees.

But as for the colors appointed for every company, (by the Court¹ referred to the Commissioners of Military Affairs for that end,) they ordered the King's colors in the usual form to be set up on the Castle, and every company to have an ensign proper to themselves, and Boston to be the first company.²

Some other occasions of trouble, besides the forementioned, fell out within the first five years after the settling of the government. For after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was observed that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties. Some of them were ready to question the authority of the magistrates, affirming that the power of the government was but ministerial: and many arguments were by one or more produced in one of the General Courts in the year 1634, against the negative voice in the magistrates; but it was adjudged no good principle by the whole Court, and

|| Roger ||

¹ In October 1635! Sav. Win. i. 170, 180.—H.

² Ibid.—H.

the deputy¹ that had so declared himself, was adjudged by them to be disabled from bearing any public office for three years, nor would they easily be persuaded to alter the sentence, when desired by a petition, presented for that end by many of the freemen at the next General Court.¹ But the matter was better understood by some afterwards, that at that time had so strongly asserted the notion.

But this essay did but strike at some of the upper branches, whereas Mr. Williams did lay his axe at the very root of the magistratical power in matters of the first table, which he drove on at such a rate, so as many agitations were occasioned thereby, that pulled down ruin upon himself, friends, and his poor family, as shall be shewed in a distinct chapter by itself: only let it be noted here, that one² of the gentlemen forementioned was so strongly bewitched with Mr. Williams's zeal, that, at the General Court, Sept. 1, 1635, he made a protestation in way of justification of a letter sent from Salem to the other churches against the magistrates and deputies, for some supposed injustice acted by them in determining the right of a piece of land, lying between Salem and Marblehead, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Roger Williams and his friends at Salem: for this the said gentleman was committed; but not standing too stiffly in his said protestation he was the same day discharged, upon the acknowledging his fault.

One³ of the elders of the town of Roxbury was, upon the like occasion, ready to run into the same error, in crying up the liberties of the people, and condemning the proceedings of the magistrates in yielding a peace to the Pequods in the year 1634, without the consent of the people. But he was easily taken off from his error, and became willing to lay the blame upon himself, that before he laid upon the magistrates, by a public explanation of his meaning, to prevent any from taking occasion thereby to murmur against authority, as it seems they were in those early days too ready so to do. There is no more certain sign of true wisdom, than for one to be as ready to see an error in himself as in another, which the wisest of men doth attest unto, when he tells us that

¹ Israel Stoughton. Sav. Win. i. 155, 159-60.—H.

² Endicott. Ibid. 164, 166.—H. ³ John Eliot. Ibid. 147-9, 151.—H.

there is more hopes of a fool than of one wise in his own conceit.¹ But when Saturn hath too much influence upon men's natural tempers, Satan doth often take occasion thereby to mislead even good men to pernicious practices. The smiting of the righteous becomes a precious balm to a David, to heal his error, which will become a corroding medicine to increase the wound of men of another alloy.

But in the next place, to take notice of some other occasions of disturbance in the neighboring Plantations.

About the 3d of May, 1634, news came to Boston of the death of some at Kennebeck, upon a quarrel about the liberty of trade in those parts, which accident caused no small trouble afterwards. The occasion of the quarrel was this: the Plymouth men had a grant from the Grand Patentees of New England, for Kennebeck, and the liberty of sole trade there; but at that time one Hocking came in a pinnace, belonging to the Lord Say and Lord Brooke at Pascataqua, to trade at Kennebeck. Two of the magistrates of Plymouth, being there at the same time, forbad him; yet would he go up the river, and because he would not come down again, they sent three men in a canoe to cut his cables; and having cut one of them, Hocking presented a piece and swore he would kill him² that went to cut the other. They bad him do [it] if he durst, and went on to cut it. The other was as good as his word, and killed him. Hereupon one in the Plymouth pinnace, that rode by them, (having five or six with him, whose guns were ready charged,) shot and killed Hocking. One³ of the magistrates of Plymouth, Mr. John Alden by name, coming afterwards to Boston in the time of the General Court,⁴ a kinsman of Hocking's making complaint of the fact, Mr. Alden was called and made to enter into bond not to depart the jurisdiction without leave; and forthwith they wrote to Plymouth to certify them what was done, and to know whether they would do justice in the case, as belonging to their jurisdiction, and return a speedy answer. This was done, that notice might be taken that they disavowed the said action, which was much condemned of all

¹ Proverbs, xxvi. 12.—H. ² Moses Talbot. Davis's Morton, p. 177.—H.

³ The other was John Howland. Ibid.—H. ⁴ May 15th.—H.

men, and which was feared would give occasion to the King to send a General Governor over thither, and besides, had brought them all, and the Gospel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver.

Soon after,¹ Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plymouth, with Mr. Smith, their pastor, came to Boston to confer with the magistrates and ministers there (viz. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson) about the case, which was brought to these two points: 1. Whether their right of trade in that place were such as that they might hinder others from coming thither on the same account. 2. Whether, in point of conscience, they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence thereof. For the first, their right appeared to be good, for that, besides the King's Grant, they had taken up this place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued, without any interruption of any of the natives, for divers years; and also had, by their charge and providence, drawn down thither the greatest part of trade, by carrying Wampampeag, which none of the English had known the use of before. For the second, they alleged, that their servants did kill Hocking to save the rest of their men, whom he was ready to have shot. Yet they acknowledged that they held themselves under the guilt of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard a man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by some other means; adding, that they would be careful for the future not to do the like. The Governor (who at that time was Mr. Dudley) and Mr. Winthrop wrote into England *about it* to mediate their peace. And the Governor not long after received a letter from the Lord Say and Lord Brooke, that howsoever they might have sent a man-of-war to beat down the house at Kennebeck for the death of Hocking, yet they thought better to take another course, and therefore desired that some of the magistrates of the Massachusetts might be joined with Captain Wiggin, their agent at Pascataqua, to see justice done.² About this time, sc. in the winter of the year 1633, an Englishman of Saco, travelling up into the woods to trade with the Indians,

¹ July 9th.—H.

² See Bradford, in Hutchinson, ii. 418-19; Sav. Win. i. 131, 136-7, 139, 145-6.—H.

traded away his life, being killed by them.¹ It is to be feared divers of these considered not our Savior's words, Matth. xvi. 26. "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Not long after² Mr. Winthrop received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, wherein he congratulated the prosperity of the Plantation, and encouraged their proceedings, and offered his help to further them therein.

The foresaid letter was a good antidote against the pestilent infection which he received the next month, viz. August 4th, 1634, from his good friend Thomas Morton, and delivered by the hand of Mr. Jeffrey, an old planter, (though not an old disciple,) full of railing speeches and bitter invectives against the Plantation in general, and himself in particular, prophesying of a General Governor,³ which was never yet fulfilled. In the mean time, Mr. Winthrop, who was, though not the general, yet generally the, Governor slept as quietly as ever before, and lived to see Morton a prisoner once again, though not of hope, but rather of despair, for he did see himself at liberty again from the bonds of imprisonment, yet not from the bonds of misery and extreme poverty, wherein he ended his wretched life, Anno 1644, or thereabouts.⁴

In the first creation of the world the Almighty was pleased to provide a goodly habitable world before the inhabitants for it were produced: so was his creating Providence observable in the people of this new Plantation; for many new places were daily discovered, as persons were brought over to plant them.

Thus, in the beginning of September, 1633, when the ship Griffin arrived here, of three hundred tons, fraught with two hundred passengers, (the principal of which were Mr. Haynes, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone,⁵) with divers other ships, (so as that sometimes a dozen or fourteen came into the harbor in one and the same month) some were by special Providence directed to travel an hundred miles westward into the country, as far as the River Connecticut, (that runs up into the country, north and south, a great way,) by name John Old-

¹ This occurred in January, 1633-4.—H. ² In July. Sav. Win. i. 137.—H.

³ This imaginary personage was, for many years, the bugbear of the Mass. Colony. See pp. 226-30, 232-3, 273, 428; Sav. Win. i. 143-4, 164, 161, 187, 264, 269, 281, ii. 12.—H.

⁴ See pages 427-30.—H.

⁵ See pages 188-9.—H.

ham, (afterwards killed by the Pequod Indians,¹) and Samuel Hall, who died lately about Malden, in Essex, sc. about the year 1680, with two others, who, taking a view of the country, discovered many very desirable places upon the same river, fit to receive many hundred inhabitants.

The Dutch from Manhatos had some knowledge of the place some years before, and had given some intimation to their neighbors of Plymouth,² by the name of the Fresh River; but they were so wise as to keep it to themselves, till some of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts had, by the forementioned occasion, made a fuller discovery thereof. And after their return, the next spring,³ they so filled the minds of many new comers with hope of great advantage thereby, that they presently were upon the wing to take possession thereof; having now, as it were, compassed it in their minds, as they had by their travels before. On which account those of Plymouth had the less reason to lay blame to the Massachusetts for preventing them of their design and discovery, seeing it was the acquisition of their own labor and travel: for being not formerly taken up, though in part discovered, it became free for the use of them that first made the seizure. And, indeed, all the places on the sea coast being already preoccupied, there was no place left free, capable to receive so many hundred families in the year 1633, 1634, and 1635, if this River of Connecticut had not been possessed immediately after their first discovery thereof. That very year when that discovery was made came over into New England several persons of note, amongst whom was Mr. Humphry, who, though he was formerly chosen Deputy Governor, came not over till the year 1634,³ bringing along with him his noble consort, the Lady Susan, sister to the Earl of Lincoln. He came with a rich blessing along with him, which made way for his joyful reception by all sorts, for he brought along with him sixteen heifers (at that time valuable at £20 per piece,) sent by a private friend to the Plantation; sc. by one Mr. Richard Andrews; to every of the ministers one, and the rest to the poor: and one

¹ See page 248.—H.

² See Bradford, in Prince, pp. 434-6.—H.

³ In July. Sav. Win. i. 134.—H.

half of the increase of the ministers' part to be reserved for other ministers. Mr. Wilson's charity so abounded, that he gave not only the increase of his, but the principal itself, to Mr. Cotton. By Mr. Humphry's means much money was procured for the good of the Plantation, and divers promised yearly pensions. But the gentleman had the same fate which many others before him have had the experience of, to sow that which others were afterwards to reap: for himself tarried not long enough in the country to enjoy the fruits of his own pious and charitable endeavors; though others have raised goodly fabrics upon the foundation which was laid by him and others.

Thus, as persons for their number and quality needed suitable places for their reception, so were there new discoveries daily made, both by sea and land, of commodious places fit to entertain them; and about the same time was a further discovery of Connecticut, near the sea. For October the 2d of the same year,¹ the bark *Blessing*, (built by the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, at Mistick, July the 4th,² 1631,) returned from the southward, having made a further discovery of that called Long Island, the easternmost end whereof lies over against the mouth of Connecticut River, which they entered into. It is near one hundred and fifty miles long; the east end ten leagues from the main, the west end about one mile. There they procured Wampampeag, both white and blue, (it being made by the Indians there,) which was improved by those of Plymouth in their trade with the Eastern Indians. It was a place capable of many Plantations, and since that time improved accordingly: supposed to have been at first granted to the Earl of Stirling, and received inhabitants partly from New Haven, and partly from Connecticut, eight or ten years after, and accordingly subject to their respective jurisdictions; though at the present the whole is taken to belong to his Highness the Duke of York's Patent about Manhatos or New York. The said bark had also been at the Dutch Plantation there upon Hudson's River. They were kindly entertained by the Dutch Governor, called Gaulter Van Twilly³; to whom they shewed their commission, which

¹ I. e. 1633.—H.
Sav. Win. i. 57.—H.

² This was the day on which the bark was launched.

³ Wouter Van Twiller.—H.

was to signify to them that the King of England had granted the River and Country of Connecticut to his own subjects, and therefore desired him to forbear building any more thereabouts. The Dutch Governor wrote back to the Governor of the Massachusetts, (his letter was very courteous and respectful, as if it had been to a very honorable person,) whereby he signified that the Lords the States had granted the same parts to the West Indies Company; and therefore requested that they of the Massachusetts would forbear to challenge the same till the matter were decided between the King of England and the said Lords.

The bark passed and repassed over Nantucket Shoals, within three or four leagues of the islands, and found three fathom water at the least, though the breaches were very terrible on each side. But since that time there is discovered a channel betwixt the island and the main land, fit for smaller vessels to pass safely through at all times.

Plymouth men soon after, or at this time, sent a bark up Connecticut River to erect a trading house there. When they came, they found the Dutch had built there, and forbad them to proceed. But they set up their house notwithstanding, about a mile above that of the Dutch.¹ A little higher up are falls in Connecticut River, that stop their passage any further upward, as there are in Hudson's River also; else it were no difficult matter to trace them great rivers of Patomack in Virginia, Hudson's among the Dutch, and Connecticut among the English, to their heads, which are conceived by some to come out of the Great Lakes to the westward, from which it is supposed the great trade of beaver to come, that the French and Dutch have been furnished with, whereby they have drained away all the profit from the English.

But to let ||those|| things pass, and to return again to the Massachusetts. As the rumor of those discoveries was daily increased, so were men's desires enlarged to be possessed of them; by which occasion were many agitations set on foot about the latter end of the year 1634, which were not quietly composed again in many years after. For in the session of the General Court on² September 4th of that year, the main business then agitated

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¹ See page 170.—H.

² In in the MS.—H.

was about the removal of the inhabitants of New-Town, consisting of such as came along with Mr. Hooker, and several other persons of quality, who also had no small dependence on his ministry and abilities. They had leave the former Court¹ to seek out some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to some other Plantation. And now, having viewed several other places about the sea coast without satisfaction, they petitioned they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alleged pro and con. The principal and procatartical was, want of accommodation where they were, they neither being able to maintain themselves, nor yet to receive any more of their friends, together with the fruitfulness and commodiousness of the country about Connecticut, with the danger of having it possessed by others, whether Dutch, or of their own nation. But that which was the *causa προηγουμένη*, or impulsive cause, (as wise men deemed,) and themselves did not altogether conceal, was the strong bent of their spirits to remove out of the place where they were. Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb. Against these it was said, 1. That, in point of conscience, they ought not to depart from their friends, being knit together in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of the whole.

2. That, in point of civil policy, they ought not to give them leave to depart. 1. Because that they were, though all together, yet weak, and in danger to be assailed. 2. That the departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw away many from them, but also divert many friends that might be willing to come unto them. 3. That themselves that removed might be exposed to evident peril, both from the Dutch (who laid claim to the same river, and had already built a fort there) and from the Indians, and also from the State of England, who would not endure they should sit down without a Patent in any place which the King lays claim unto.

||3.|| They might be accommodated where they were, by enlargement from other towns, or by removal to some

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¹ In May. Sav. Win. i. 132.—H.

place within the Massachusetts, as about Merrimack River, &c.

¶4.¶ It would be as the removing of a candlestick, which they looked upon as a great judgment, which ought to be avoided.

The Court being divided upon these and other arguments, it was put to the vote ; where amongst the deputies were found fifteen for their departure, (possibly such as hoped to have a part with them on the other side their Jordan,) and six¹ against it. Amongst the magistrates, the Governor with two Assistants were for it, but the Deputy, (Mr. Winthrop,²) and all the rest were against it. The Secretary³ was neuter, and gave no vote. So as there was no record entered, because there were not six Assistants, (as the Patent required.) Upon this there grew a great difference between the Court of Magistrates and the deputies, who would not yield to the other, viz. the Assistants, a negative voice. On the other hand, the Deputy Governor and the rest of the Assistants, with the Governor, (considering how dangerous it might be to the civil state of the place, if they should not keep that strength to balance the greater number of the deputies,) thought it safe to stand upon it. So when they could proceed no further, the §whole§ Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations of the country, on the 18th of the instant September ; and on the 24th of the same, the Court met again. Before they began, Mr. Cotton preached, (being desired by the whole Court, though it was kept at Mr. Hooker's town, upon his instant excuse of his unfitness for the occasion.) He took his text out of Hag. ii. 4. " Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord ; and be strong, O Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high priest ; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work : for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts." Out of which he laid down the nature, or strength, (as he termed it,) of the magistracy, ministry, and people : viz. the strength of the magistracy to be their authority, of the people to be their liberty, and of the ministry to be their purity, and shewed how all §of§ these had a negative voice, and that yet the ultimate resolu-

¶ 5. ¶

¹ Ten, says Winthrop.—H.

² An unaccountable mistake ; Ludlow was Deputy Governor, having been chosen on May 14th.—H.

³ Simon Bradstreet.—H.

tion, &c., ought to be in the whole body of the people ; with an answer to all objections, and a declaration of the people's duty and right to maintain their true liberty against any unjust violence, which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased God so to assist him, and bless his own ordiuance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully. Although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man at that time moved aught further about it, and the congregation of New-Town came and accepted freely of such enlargement as had freely¹ been offered to them from Boston and Watertown ; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was (at least for the present) removed. Mr. Cotton had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric, and, as Solomon saith, the soft tongue breaketh the bone, which eminently appeared in this assembly, in that some men of place and gravity, having, in heat of argument, used unseemly expressions to some in power, and being reproved for the same in open Court, did gravely and humbly acknowledge their fault.²

The question about the negative voice being on this occasion first started, and for a time respered and laid asleep, we shall find afterwards awakened again, and as stiffly and earnestly bandied to and again, but not so easily charmed upon its after alaruming, till at last this matter came to be debated with the elders and deputies to further satisfaction, 1643.

The inhabitants of New-Town were, on the forementioned occasion, brought to a little moderation as to their present purpose of removing to Connecticut, but were soon after more restless in their desires than ever before ; and could not be satisfied till they had at last accomplished their design. Though some accidents intervened, that might justly have given a supersedeas to their intentions, till a more convenient season ; for about this time, or soon after, news was brought down to Boston of the treacherousness of the Indians in those parts, (which those of Connecticut soon after found to their sore

¹ Formerly, Winthrop ; "Hubbard read this word *freely*." Sav. Win. i. 142.—H. ² William Goodwin is the person referred to. Ibid.—H.

affliction.) The Pequod Indians, situate near the mouth of the said river, having barbarously slain Captain Stone¹ and his company, as he made up the river to trade with them, and being at the same time at war with their neighbors of Narrhaganset, cunningly sent their messengers to the Massachusetts² to desire their friendship, promising not only to deliver up any of the murtherers that could be found, (alleging that those who committed the said murther were either killed by the Dutch or dead of the small-pox, only for a pretext,) but also to yield up Connecticut, at least their interest in it, to the English, and to give them much beaver, and four hundred fathom of Peag, (a considerable sum of their money,) to confirm their friendship with the English, proffering also free liberty of trade with them.

The Narrhaganset Indians hearing thereof, sent three hundred of their men to waylay those messengers of the Pequods, as they were to return home, and came within a few miles of Boston for that end, so as they were hardly persuaded by the Governor and Council, then met at Boston, to forbear meddling with them. But all this was but in policy of the Pequods to gain time to defend themselves, or, at least, not to be engaged with too many enemies at the same time. For though they were treated with all manner of courtesy and respect by the English, and an agreement of peace made and signed by their Ambassadors,³ yet did they as barbarously the next year, or not long after, murder John Oldham and his company, as he went securely amongst them for trade, as is more at large declared in another place; and about the time when Connecticut began first to be planted by the English, in the years 1636 and 1637, they made open war with all the English, which tended much to the prejudice of those who, in the following year, 1635, did with irresistible resolution set upon the former design of removing to Connecticut; their own necessities at home, and the great fame of the place from abroad prompting §them§ thereunto, so as no discouragements did appear, but were easily superable by men so inspired. For at the first General Court that happened in the year 1635,⁴ several

¹ See the particulars in Sav. Win. i. 122-3, 148, 193, 237; Davis's Morton, pp. 175-6.—H.

² Nov. 6, 1634.—H.

³ See Savage's Winthrop, i. 147-9.—H. ⁴ May 6th, at Newtown.—H.

of Watertown and Roxbury obtained leave to remove whither they would, so as they continued under this government; but Connecticut was their aim. The occasion of their desire, as well as of the others, was for that all the towns in the Bay began to be much straitened by their own nearness one to another, and their cattle being so much increased, together with the addition of many families, which every year came in great abundance flocking over thither. While the matter was thus in debate in the General Court, some of Watertown took the opportunity of seizing a brave piece of meadow, aimed at by those of New-Town, which, as was reported, proved a bone of contention between them, and had no small influence into the trouble that afterward happened in the Watertown Plantation, called Weathersfield, as shall be more particularly declared afterwards, when the affairs of Connecticut Colony are to be spoken to.¹

In June² the same year, 1635, there arrived two Dutch ships, which brought divers Flanders mares, heifers, and sheep. They came from the Texel in five weeks and three days, and lost not one beast. The same day came in Mr. Graves in a ship³ of three hundred tons, in the like space of time, with many passengers and much cattle: he had come every year, for seven years before. Within four days after⁴ came in seven other ships, and one to Salem. and four more⁵ soon after, on the like account. Besides these, four or five other great ships came that year, that arrived not till after September; in some of which came many passengers, some of note, as Mr. Henry Vane and others. Mr. Harlakenden with Mr. Shepard, and many of his friends and hearers, came that year: also Mr. Winthrop, Jun., who, with Mr. H. Vane, had some power from the Lord Say, and the Lord Brook to begin a Plantation at Connecticut, who rather out of necessity than choice, (the most desirable places being taken up before hand,) settled their Plantation at the mouth of the said river. Mr. John Winthrop brought with him a Commission from the said Lords, with divers other great persons in England, to be Governor there. They sent also men and ammunition, with £2000 in money, to begin a fortification in that place. Mr. Vane had been

¹ See page 305.—H.

² June 3d. Sav. Win. i. 161.—H.

³ The James, from Southampton. Ibid.—H.

⁴ On Sunday, June 7th.

Ibid.—H.

⁵ "To the mouth of the Bay." Ibid.—H.

employed by his father, (Sir Henry Vane, Comptroller of the King's household,) while he was Ambassador for the King in foreign parts. He was a gentleman of excellent parts, and religiously disposed: had he been well principled in the main points thereof, he might have been more beneficial to the country. His father was very averse to his coming this way, (as not favoring the religion of New England,) and would not have consented to his going thither, but that, acquainting the King with his son's disposition and desires, he commanded him to send him thither, and gave him license for three years stay there.

This gentleman, having order from the said Lords and others, treated both with the magistrates of the Massachusetts, and those who were going to settle townships at Connecticut,¹ and brought things to this issue, that either the three towns going thither should give place, upon full satisfaction, or else that sufficient room might be found for the Lords and their companies in some other place; otherwise they would divert their thoughts and preparations some other ways. But in conclusion, the first planters kept their possession, which gives the best title in things of that nature; and possibly the Lords were given to understand, that if ever they should please to come over, their gleanings might prove better than the vintage of Abiezer. However, the foresaid gentlemen, agents for the Lords, being courteous and peaceably disposed, were not willing to give the inhabitants any further disturbance, but permitted them quietly to go on with the design of their Plantations. Yet Mr. Winthrop (appointed by the Lords to be their Governor² at Connecticut) sent a bark of thirty tons, with twenty men, and all needful provisions, to take possession of the mouth of the river, and begin some fortification there, the next month after he arrived at Boston;³ which was a good providence for ||those|| that intended to plant there, for otherwise they would have found it much more difficult to have passed up the river, if the Indians had not been something awed with the noise of the fort there erected.

|| these ||

¹ See their proposals in Savage's Winthrop, i. 397-8.—H.

² See his Commission in Trumbull's History of Connecticut, (New Haven, 1818,) i. 497.—H.

³ He arrived in October, and sent the bark about Nov. 3d.—H.

In the same year, likewise, Sir Richard Saltonstall sent over a bark of forty tons, to begin some Plantation up the River of Connecticut.¹ But not being there in person, it never arose to any considerable issue although his right to a considerable quantity of land thereabouts could not be denied.

About four days after the bark was sent away for Connecticut, arrived a vessel of twenty-five ton, sent by the Lords with one Gardiner,² an expert engineer, to carry on the fortification at the river's mouth, besides twelve other men, and two women. All her passengers and goods, notwithstanding the tempestuousness and danger of the seas, were lauded safe the 28th of November, the same year, 1635, through the good providence of God, so as by their addition the work of fortification at the river's mouth was both more speedily and effectually carried on.

Plymouth men, understanding that those of the Massachusetts had prevented them by so speedy possession of Connecticut, sent first by letter,³ then by their agent, Mr. Winslow, in September 1635, and in the spring⁴ following, to complain of the injury done them in possessing the place, which they had formerly purchased of the Indians, and where they had erected an house. Their agent demanded either a sixteenth part of the land, or an £100 from the Dorchester men, that intended to plant at Windsor, where the said house was built. They not consenting thereunto, the treaty brake off; those of Plymouth expecting to have due recompense after by course of justice, seeing they could not by treaty, if they went on with their Plantation. But at last they that were to plant, not willing to be injurious, agreed with them upon other more equal terms.⁵ The Dutch also sent home into Holland for commission to deal with those of the Massachusetts, that were settling on the place, where they had taken possession. But upon after treaties, in the time of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, they were prevailed withal to quit their claim to the whole river, and resigned it up to the English. In the mean time the Massachu-

¹ See page 162.—H. ² Lieut. Lion Gardiner. See Mass. Hist. Coll. xxiii. 136-7; Sparks's Am. Biog. xiii. 337.—H. ³ In August. Sav. Win. i. 166.—H. ⁴ Feb. 24, 1635-6. Ibid. 181.—H. ⁵ Trumbull, i. 66.—H.

setts men, taking hold of such opportunities as Providence presented to them, began to spread themselves into many Plantations all over the country, so far as it was discovered fit for such purposes. And though they met with much opposition, both at home and abroad, yet they prevailed to effect their design at the last, taking notice of sundry special Providences that furthered them therein. For by letters from the Lord Say, received in June 1635, as well as by the report of sundry passengers, it was certified that *Captain Mason and other*¹ adversaries of the Colony of the Massachusetts were building a great ship to bring over a General Governor, and to command upon the coast: but it miscarried in the launching, falling asunder in the midst; by which means their design fell to the ground. It was reported also, that they had a contrivance to divide the whole country of New England into twelve provinces: viz. between St. Croix in the east, and the Lord Baltimore's Province about Maryland in Virginia, as is mentioned in chap. xxxi. But though the lot was cast into the lap, the matter was otherwise disposed by the Lord.

Some have taken special notice of the providence of God in the beginning of that, and the latter end of the former year,² concerning Captain John Winthrop, Jun. and Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston church, whose occasions calling them both to England, they took ship in a vessel bound for Barnstable, but were by foul weather driven upon the coast of Ireland, not known to any in the ship, and yet were brought safe into Galloway, where they parted company. Mr. Winthrop, passing through Ireland, was occasionally carried to the house of Sir John Clotworthy,³ where he met accidentally with many considerable persons which came thither the next day to confer about their voyage to New England. In like manner Mr. Wilson, keeping in the ship, had opportunity to meet with many in that place, that desired to be informed about the state of New England. Many such like Providences

¹ Thus originally written; subsequently a pen was drawn through these words, and *the* inserted.—H.

² Clotworthy. Sav. Win. i. 172.—H.

have been observed in carrying on the affairs of ||that|| Plantation of New England.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs of the Massachusetts, during the first lustre of years after the transferring of the Patent and Government thither, from Anno 1631 to 1636.

WHATEVER sinister apprehensions are, or were, ever taken up about the religion of the Colony of New England, they aimed only at the primitive pattern described in the Word of God, and practice of the Apostolical Churches. If they have missed of their aim they are not to be blamed for levelling at the right mark, having a fairer opportunity thereunto than ever men had in many ages past.

It must not be denied that they were the offspring of the old Nonconformists, who yet always walked in a distinct path from the rigid Separatists, nor did they ever disown the Church of England to be a true church, as retaining the essentials of faith and order. And although they could not persuade themselves to live contentedly under the wing of Episcopal government, yet their offence was rather at the ceremonies than the discipline and government thereof. But intending not to write an apology but an history of their practice, nothing shall here be interposed by way of defence of their way, only to give a clear discovery of the truth, as to matter of fact, both what it was at first and still continues to be.

Those that came over soon after Mr. Endicot, ||²namely|| Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, Anno 1629, walked something in an untrodden path; therefore it is the less to be wondered at, if they went but in and out, in some things complying too much, in some things too little, with those of the Separation, and it may be in some things not sufficiently attending to the order of the Gospel, as themselves thought they understood afterwards. For in the beginning of things they only accepted of one another, according to some general pro-

|| the ||

|| ² viz. ||