

reason,) have perished by that time ; but he said he saw such and such (either really or in conceit) come to give him meat.

November 2d, 1632, Mr. William Peirse's ship, going back for England, was cast away on the shoals near Virginia, and twelve seamen and passengers drowned. It happened through negligence of one of the mates that had the watch, and kept not the lead going, as he was appointed, which added much to the sadness of the loss.

April the 10th, 1633, news was brought to Boston of the loss of Mr. Peirse's ship, on the coast of Virginia, wherein were twenty-eight seamen, and ten passengers : seven of them that were drowned were seamen, and five of them passengers. This loss proved no small trial to this poor Plantation ; whereby it is evident that many are the afflictions of the righteous, and that in outward changes all things come alike to all.¹

But not to stay the reader any longer in beholding the backside of the cloud that overshadowed New-England in this lustre ; there were other more beautiful Providences worthy to be observed during that space of time, as full of light and comfort, as the other were of affliction and sorrow ; especially in their peaceable and quiet enjoyment of the purity of God's worship, in all the ordinances of the Gospel, of which something hath been spoken in the foregoing chapters.

CHAP. XXX.

Disturbance, both civil and ecclesiastical, in the Massachusetts, occasioned by Mr. Roger Williams, in the year 1634.

FEBRUARY the 5th, 1630, arrived Mr. William Peirse at Nantasket ; with him came one Mr. Roger Williams, of good account in England for a godly and zealous preacher, but after he came here he soon discovered himself. He had been some years employed in the ministry in England. He was one of whom it may be affirmed by all that knew him, that he had a zeal, and

¹ This account of Peirse's disaster is inserted, in the MS., immediately after the relation of Thacher's shipwreck, on page 200 ; but a marginal note, in Hubbard's autograph, informs us that "this should be placed last in this chapter."—H.

great pity it was that it could not be added, according to knowledge ; for then, by the one and by the other, he might have been of great use in the church of God, wherever his lot had been cast. But for want of the latter, the more judicious sort of Christians, in Old and New England, looked upon him as a man of a very self-conceited, unquiet, turbulent, and uncharitable spirit. "For if he had not looked upon himself as one that had received a clearer illumination and apprehension of the state of Christ's Kingdom, and of the purity of church communion, than all Christendom besides," as Mr. Cotton speaks of him, "he would never have taken upon him, as usually his manner was, to give public advertisement and admonition, to all men, whether of meaner or more public note and place, of the corruptions of religion, which himself observed both in their judgments and practices ;" of which there needs no other evidence than what is obvious to the view of every indifferent reader, in his dealing with that famous and reverend divine, Mr. John Cotton, in his book called the Bloody Tenent. But here to touch upon his proceedings only after his coming into New England — immediately after his arrival he was called by the church of Salem to join with Mr. Skelton ; but the Governor and Council, being informed thereof, wrote to Mr. Endicot to desire they would forbear any further proceeding therein, till the said Council had conferred further about it ; first, because he had refused to join with the congregation of Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the churches of England, while they lived there. 2dly, because he declared it his opinion that the civil magistrate might not punish any breach of the first table ; whereupon they, for the present, forbore proceeding with him,¹ which occasioned his being called to Plymouth,² where he lived about two years, was joined to their church, and was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there ; but, by degrees, venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seek-

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 52. Gammell's Life of Williams says that "he was settled as a minister of the church at Salem, April 12, 1631."—*n*.

² Probably Aug. 1631. Ibid. ; Sav. Win. i. 91.—*n*.

ing to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismissal to the church of Salem, which, though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, (the ruling elder there,) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him, than themselves could, and foreseeing also (what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, and which afterwards came to pass,) that he would run the same course of rigid Separation and Anabaptistry which Mr. John Smith, the Sebaptist of Amsterdam, had done, the church of Plymouth consented to his dismissal, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him,¹ or not long after him, to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long² after Mr. Williams was come back from Plymouth; whereupon, after some time, the church there was so affected with his ministry that forthwith they would have called him to office, notwithstanding they had been formerly blamed for the like attempt, without advising with the Council. But he, having in one year's time filled that place with principles of rigid Separation, and tending to Anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent again to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office; but they not hearkening to the advice, but ordained him to be their pastor,³ it was a cause of much disturbance, for Mr. Williams had begun, and then (being in office) he proceeded more vigorously, to vent many dangerous opinions; as amongst many others, these that follow were some; for having obtained a great interest in the hearts and affections of all sorts of his hearers, by his great pretence to holiness, zeal, and purity, he had thereby strongly leavened the people of Salem with many strange notions, partly also confirming the people in some which they had imbibed from Mr. Skelton.

1. As first that it was the duty of all the female sex to cover themselves with veils when they went abroad, especially when they appeared in the public assemblies;

¹ Aug. 1633, says Gammell.—H.

² Aug. 1634, says Gammell.—H.

³ He died Aug. 2, 1634.—H.

as if he meant to read them a lecture out of Tertullian, *De velandis Virginibus*, &c., for the uncouthness of the sight to see all the women in ||the|| congregation veiled, contrary to the custom of the English nation, would probably have drawn the eyes of the rest upon them, especially strangers, much more than if they had attired themselves after the fashion of their neighbors. But, in reference to this kind of fancy, it is observable, that the reverend Mr. Cotton, taking an occasion about this time to spend a Lordsday at Salem, in his exercise in the forenoon he, by his doctrine, so enlightened most of the women in the place, that it unveiled them, so as they appeared in the afternoon without their veils, being convinced that they need not put on veils on any such account as the use of that covering is mentioned in the Scripture for; viz. not as they were virgins, which the married sort could not pretend unto; much less as harlots as Tamar; nor yet on any such like account as is mentioned of Rũth in her widowhood—which discourse let in so much light into their understandings, that they, who before thought it a shame to be seen in the public without a veil, were ashamed ever after to be covered with them.¹

2. Another notion diffused by him occasioned more disturbance, for in his zeal for advancing the purity of reformation, and abolishing all badges of superstition, he inspired some persons of great interest in that place, that the cross in the King's colors ought to be taken away as a relic of antichristian superstition. What that good man would have done with the cross upon his coin, (if he had any left,) that bore that sign of superstition, is uncertain. But this notion about the King's colors prevailed with some so far, that it was taken out of the ensign at Salem by one in place; but it was so distasteful to the rest of the Assistants or magistrates, who could see no superstition in the civil use of that badge, whatever were the occasion of the use thereof, but a great inconvenience that was like to follow upon the taking it away, as is more at large declared in the chapter before.² In this manner did over-heated zeal vent itself in the said Mr. Williams, of whom they were

|| that ||

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 125.—H.

² See page 164.—H.

wont to say in Essex, where he lived, that he was divinely mad; as if his too much zeal, as Festus said of Paul's too much learning, had made him beside himself.

3. Thirdly, also he maintained that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and, in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have any communion either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate, and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do.¹

4. And that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither; and therefore he admonished any church members, that had so done, as for heinous sin.² Also he spake dangerous words against the Patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts Colony.³

5. He affirmed, also, that ||magistracy|| had nothing to do with matters of the first table, but only the second,⁴ and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience was persecution.

6. And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written, and sent by him in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, New-Town, (now Cambridge,) &c., accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers of them, that joined with him in these letters, afterwards did acknowledge their error, and gave satisfaction,⁵ yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his error and miscarriages, and notwithstanding all the Court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he, staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public Church Assembly, the scope of which was

[magistrates]

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 157-8, 162.—H. ² Ibid. 52-3.—H. ³ Ibid. 122, 151.—H. ⁴ Ibid. 53, 162.—H. ⁵ Ibid. 164, 166-7, 170-1; page 212.—H.

to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate, not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them.¹ The more prudent and sober part of the church being amazed at his way could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the Church Assembly *more*,² professing separation from them as antichristian; and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there; insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife, nor any of his family, because they went to the Church Assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, (of which number were divers women,) that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting at his own house, unto which company did resort, both on the Sabbath day, and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to, the Church Assembly there,³ which the magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts Colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and Commonwealth.⁴ After which Mr. Williams removed to the Narrhaganset country, and sat down there, in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by sundry of the members of the church of Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the persecution that was against him.⁵ Some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not long been there together, but from rigid Separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, began a church in that way. But Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time, he told the people that had followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, either from

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 166, 170-1.—H.

² Conjectural; the word is obliterated.—H. ³ See Sav. Win. i. 175-6.—H.

⁴ Ibid. 167, 171, 175-6.—H.

⁵ Ibid. 256.—H.

his own unstable mind, or from the suggestion of some other, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first, and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new Apostles.¹ And so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences, but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinance of God any where upon earth, with other notions of like nature, which shall be more particularly related afterward. ✓

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable apostasy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from God, and forsaking the churches of Christ, and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God, to run such a course as he hath done; "wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall," 1 Cor. x. 12; as also to be a motive to the saints, to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes a zealous dispenser of the Word of God, and (in several respects) of an exemplary conversation, but now hath a long time sequestered himself to another kind of life and way.

And yet, that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times, to prevent the growth of errors, and of the exercise of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet to mind the reader, that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a public admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams and the erring part of the church, which could no whit prevail with him to retract his erroneous principles, which made way for the sufferings which afterwards befel him.

Under this cloud of darkness did this child of light

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 307.—H.

walk, for above forty years after in New England, at which time he did a little recover himself in his zealous defending of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion against the Quakers, in a book¹ of his, published about the year 1677, wherein he shewed that his root had not gone up as rottenness, nor his blossom as dust, as might too truly be said of many of his neighbors, but that the root of the matter was in him all that long winter season of his departure from the communion of his Christian friends, and also by the fruits of good works that appeared in his life and conversation, especially in his faithfulness to the English of the Massachusetts, by whom he might have accounted he had been so severely handled. This might suffice concerning Mr. Williams, but forasmuch as sundry have judged hardly of New England, for their proceedings against him, by a sentence of banishment, it is thought needful, in this place, to give a more particular account thereof to the world.

Two things there were that caused the sentence of his banishment, and two other fell in, that hastened it.

Those that were the causes of it, were, as they are laid down by Mr. Cotton, in his answer to Mr. Williams's book, called the Bloody Tenent,

“1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent.² By the Patent it is, that we received allowance from the King to depart his Kingdom, and to carry our goods with us, without offence to his Officers, and without paying custom to himself. By the Patent certain selectment (as Magistrates and Freemen,) have power to make Laws, and the Magistrates to execute Justice, [and Judgment³] amongst the People, according to such Laws. By the Patent we have power to erect such a Government of the Church, as is most agreeable to the Word, to the estate of the People, and to the gaining of Natives, (in God's time) first to Civility, and then to Christianity. To this authority, established by the Patent, Englishmen do readily⁴ submit themselves: and foreign Plantations (the French, the Dutch, and Swedish,) do willingly transact

¹ “George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes,” sm. 4to. Bost. 1676.—H.

² See page 206.—H. ³ Not in the MS.—H. ⁴ Generally in the MS.—H.

their Negotiations with us, as with a Colony established by the Royal Authority of the State of England. This Patent Mr. Williams publicly and vehemently preached against, as containing matter of falsehood and injustice : falsehood in making the King the first Christian Prince who had discovered these parts, and injustice, in giving the Country to his English Subjects, which belonged to the Native Indians. This therefore he pressed upon the Magistrates and People to be humbled for, from time to time, in days of solemn Humiliation, and to return the Patent back again to the King. It was answered to him, first, that it was neither the King's intendment, nor the English Planters', to take possession of the Country by murder of the Natives, or by robbery ; but either to take possession of the void places of the Country by the Law of Nature, (for *Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti* :) or if we took any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchase, and¹ free consent. A little before our coming God had, by pestilence, and² other contagious diseases, swept away many thousands of the Natives, who had inhabited the Bay of Massachusetts, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the English, who might preserve them from the oppression of the Narrhagansets. For it is the manner of³ the Natives, the stronger Nations³ to oppress the weaker. This answer did not satisfy Mr. Williams, who pleaded, the Natives, though they did not, nor could subdue the Country, (but left it *vacuum Domicilium*,) yet they hunted all the Country over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the Country, once or twice a year, and therefore as Noblemen *in England* possessed great Parks, and the King great Forests in England only for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety : so might the Natives challenge the like Propriety [of the Country'] here. It was replied unto him,

1. That the King and Noblemen in England, as they possessed greater Territories than other men, so they did greater service to Church and Commonwealth.

¹ Or in the MS.—H.
stronger of the natives.—H.

² Or in the MS.—H.

³ The MS. reads, *the*

⁴ Not in the MS.—H.

2. [That¹] they employed their Parks and Forests, not for hunting only, but for Timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitation to² sundry Tenants.

3. That our Towns here did not disturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keep their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deer by Traps, and not by Hounds.

4. That if they complained of any straits we put upon them,³ we gave satisfaction in some payments or other, to their content.

5. We did not conceive that it is a just Title to so vast a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but only to burn it up for pastime.

But these Answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a National sin, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a National duty to renounce the Patent; which to have done, had subverted the fundamental State and Government of the country.

§2. § The second offence which procured his Banishment, (as was touched before,) was this. The Magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon Intelligence of some Episcopal and malignant practices⁴ against the country, they made an Order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the People, (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelity: that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not trust them with place of Public charge and Command. This Oath, when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood it, and dissuaded sundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christ's Prerogative, to have his Office established by Oath: partly because an oath was a part of God's worship, and God's worship was not to be put upon carnal persons, as he conceived many of the People to be. So by his⁵ Tenent, neither might Church-members, nor other godly men, take the Oath, because it was the establishment, not of Christ, but of mortal men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, because, in his eye, they were but carnal. So the Court

¹ Not in the MS.—H. ² For in the MS.—H. ³ Them upon in the MS.—H.

⁴ Evil practices in the MS.—H.

⁵ This in the MS.—H.

was forced¹ to desist from that proceeding: which practice of his was held to be the more dangerous, because it tended to unsettle all the Kingdoms and Commonwealths in Europe. These were (as I took it, saith Mr. Cotton,) the causes of his Banishment; two other things² fell in upon these, that hastened the Sentence. The former fell out thus: the Magistrates discerning, by the former passages, the heady and turbulent spirit of Mr. Williams, both they and others advised the Church of Salem not to call him to office in their Church; nevertheless, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soon after, when the Church made suit to the Court for a parcel of Land adjoining to them, the Court delayed to grant their Request, (as hath been mentioned before,) because the Church had refused to hearken to the Magistrates and others, in forbearing the choice of Mr. Williams. Whereupon Mr. Williams took occasion to stir up the Church to join with him in writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof those Magistrates were members, to admonish them of their open transgression of the Rule of Justice. Which Letters, coming to the several Churches, provoked the Magistrates to take the more speedy course with so heady and violent a Spirit. But to prevent his sufferings, (if it might be,) it was moved by some of the Elders, that themselves might have liberty (according to the Rule of Christ) to deal with him, and with the Church also, in a Church-way. It might be, the Church might hear us³ and he the Church; which being consented to, some of our⁴ Churches wrote to the Church of Salem, to present before them the offensive Spirit, and way of their Officer, (Mr. Williams) both in Judgment and practice. The Church finally began to hearken to us³ and accordingly began to address themselves to the healing of his Spirit. Which he discerning, renounced communion with the Church of Salem, pretending they held communion with the Churches in the Bay, and the Churches in the Bay held communion with the Parish Churches in England, because they suffered their members to hear the word amongst them in England, as they

¹ Thus originally written, but afterwards altered to *must have been forced*.—H. ² *There* in the MS.; probably an error of the transcriber.—H.

³ *Them* in the MS.—H.

⁴ *The* in the MS.—H.

came over into their native Country. He then refusing to resort to the Public Assembly of the Church, soon after sundry began to resort to his Family, where he preached to them on the Lord's day. But this carriage of his, in renouncing the Church upon such an occasion, and with them, all the Churches in the Country, and the¹ spreading his Leaven to sundry that resorted to him; *this* gave the Magistrates the more cause to observe the heady unruliness of his spirit, and the incorrigibleness thereof by² any Church-way, all the Churches in the Country being then renounced by him. And this was the other occasion which³ hastened the Sentence of his Banishment upon the former Grounds. If upon these Grounds Mr. Williams be ready, (as he professeth,) not only to be bound, and banished, but also to die in New England; let him remember (what he knows) *Non pœna, sed causa facit Martyrem*; no Martyr of Christ did ever suffer for such a cause."⁴

Thus men of great parts and strong affections, for want of stability in their judgments to discern the truth in matters of controversy, like a vessel that carries too high a sail, are apt to overset in the stream, and ruin those that are embarked with them.

CHAP. XXXI.

The first planting of those parts of New England, on the east and west side of Pascataqua River, called the Province of Maine and New Hampshire, and the parts adjoining. Attempts for a new settlement of those lands by some of the Grand Council of New England, before they surrendered their Charter into the hands of the King.

How great a sound soever is, or hath been, made about the Province of Maine, and the lands about Pascataqua River, comprehended in sundry Patents and Grants, that were long since said to be jointly and severally made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, the whole history thereof may be comprised in a few words, so far as anything may be found in either of them worthy to be communicated to posterity.

¹ *In* in the MS.—H.

² *In* in the MS.—H.

³ *That* in the MS.—H.

⁴ See Cotton's "Bloudy Tenent Washed," (sm. 4to. Lond. 1647,) Pt. 2, pp. 27-30.—H.