

He had so much interest sometimes with the people of Rhode Island, as well as Providence, as to be chosen their Governor,¹ (whether before or since his obtaining the Charter, specified in the letter above, is not much material,) but, for the most part, he hath contented himself with a private and retired life; nor will his outward estate admit of any other; on which account he hath many times been an object of charity to divers persons of the Massachusetts, that way disposed. But as to the differing sorts of religion found at Rhode Island; those of the persuasion of the Quakers, as they have had great resort to the place of late years, so are they at present the prevailing party there, or lately were so. They have been strenuously opposed in their damnable opinions by Mr. Roger Williams, who, though himself had vented divers strange notions about Separation, yet, apprehending the danger of the Quakers' principles, which do overthrow the very fundamentals of Christian religion, he stoutly engaged with sundry of their chief leaders in a public dispute, since published by himself, Anno 1677.² But forasmuch as it will be very difficult, in an historical way, to give a particular and distinct account of all the affairs of that Colony, without much reflection upon the persons, or relations yet surviving, of some that were much concerned therein, no more shall be added; only intimating the fear of their *righteous* neighbors round about them, that the Spanish saying of the English nation may not unfily be applied to them of Rhode Island, "bona terra, mala gens."

CHAP. XLIV.

Ecclesiastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Pascataqua and the places adjacent. Contests between Mr. Cleeves and Mr. Vines about the bounds of Ligoniam.

MR. WHEELWRIGHT, as was declared before,³ being sentenced to depart out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, was not so ill grounded in the truth as to be carried away with any dangerous errors of the Antinomian doctrine, therefore, refusing to go along with the

¹ He held the office from 1655 to 1657, being succeeded by Arnold.—H.

² See page 209.—H.

³ See pp. 276, 280.—H.

rest of that sect, removed, with some few that adhered to him, to Pascataqua, and seated themselves upon some of the upper branches or falls of that river, and called the place Exeter; looking at it [as] altogether without the bounds of the Massachusetts¹. In this place they gathered a church,² and walked together in an orderly Christian way, till it appeared, by the stretching the line of the Massachusetts more northward, that the place where he first settled was yet within the liberties of the Massachusetts, which, as is judged, occasioned his removal, soon after,³ from thence into the Province of Maine, to a Plantation since, by the inhabitants, called Wells.

Captain Underhill, after those stirs at Boston, had taken a voyage to England, and returning again to New England, in the year 1638, was intended to have removed after Mr. Wheelwright, for whose sake he had not long before incurred the displeasure of the Court of the Massachusetts. In order thereunto petitioning for three hundred acres of land, formerly promised him by the Court, he was, by occasion thereof, questioned for some speeches uttered by him in the ship, as he returned lately from England, viz., that they at Boston were zealous, as the Scribes and Pharisees were, and as Paul was before his conversion; which he denying, they were proved to his face by a sober woman, whom he had seduced in the ship, and drawn to his opinion; but she was afterward better informed in the truth. Among other passages, he told her how he came by his assurance, saying, that, having long lain under a spirit of bondage, and continued in a legal way near five years, he could get no assurance, till at length, as he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco, the Spirit || set || home upon his heart an absolute promise of free grace, with such assurance and joy, as he never doubted since of his good estate, neither should he, whatsoever sin he should fall into; (a good preparative for such motions as he familiarly used to make to some of that sex.) He would neither confess nor deny the words, but objected against the validity of

|| fell ||

¹ See pages 223, 242.—H. ² In December, 1638. See Sav. Win. i. 281; Farmer's Belknap, p. 20.—H. ³ Between April 17th and July 14th, 1643. See Maine Hist. Coll. i. 260-2; Farmer's Belknap, p. 32.—H.

a single testimony, and withal said he was still of the same opinion he had been of, about the petition or remonstrance, and that his retraction was only as to the manner, and not the matter. Whereupon his said retraction (which he had lately delivered to the Governor, to be presented to the Court) was read, wherein he professeth how that the Lord had brought him to see his sin in condemning the Court, and passing the bounds of modesty and submission, which is required in private persons, &c., and in what trouble of spirit he had been in for it, &c. Upon this the Court committed him for abusing them with a shew of retraction, when there was no such thing intended by him. The next day he was called again and banished. The Lord's Day after, he made a speech in the assembly, shewing that, as the Lord was pleased to convert Paul as he was persecuting, &c., so he might manifest himself to him as he was making moderate use of the good creature called tobacco. He professed withal that he knew not wherein he had deserved the sentence of the Court, and that he was sure Christ was his, &c.

The elders reprov'd him for his speech, and Mr. Cotton told him that he did break a rule, publicly to condemn the Court, unless he had privately convinced the magistrates, or some of them; and told him, also, that although God doth often lay a man under a spirit of bondage, while he is walking in sin, as Paul was, yet he never sends such a spirit of comfort but in an ordinance, as he did to the same Paul by Ananias, and therefore advised him well to examine the revelation and joy which he pretended to.

The next Lord's Day, this Captain Underhill, having been privately dealt with upon suspicion of incontinency with a neighbor's wife, and not hearkening to it, was questioned for it before the church, and put under admonition. The woman was young and beautiful, [and] withal of a jovial spirit and behavior, and it was known that he did daily frequent her house, and was divers times found there alone with her, the door being locked on the inside. He confessed it was ill, because it had an

appearance of evil in it, but his excuse was, that the woman was in great trouble of mind, and some temptations, and that he resorted to her to comfort her, and that, when the door was found locked upon them, they were in private prayer together; but this practice was clearly condemned also by the elders, affirming that it had not been of good report for any of them to have done the like, and that they ought, in such case, to have called in some brethren or sisters, and not to have locked the door. They also declared, that once he procured them to go unto her, telling them that she was in great trouble of mind; but taking her, (upon the sudden, it seems,) they found no such matter.

However, it seems the church, not having sufficient matter of conviction and proof of what he was suspected as guilty of, left him only under an admonition, and he, like a profane person, as was sometime said of Cain, that he went from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt on the east of Eden, so this gentleman went to the eastward, and made a great bluster among the inhabitants of Exeter and Dover, and ambitiously affected the government amongst them.

Those of Dover had about this time gotten one Mr. Burdet¹ to be their minister. This Burdet, upon a pretended quarrel with the bishops and ceremonies of the Church of England, had, about the year 1634, left Yarmouth, in England, and, coming over into New England, was brought to Salem, where he was received a member of their church, and was employed to preach amongst them for a year or more, being an able scholar, and of plausible parts and carriage. But finding the discipline of the church as much too strict for his loose conscience, as the other was, in pretence, too large, he left his brethren at Salem, out of love to his friends at Pascataqua, where he continued for some time in good esteem (at least in appearance) with Mr. Wiggans, that had the power of a Governor thereabouts, until he declared himself of what sort he was; for the tree is not known but by its fruits.

The General Court of the Massachusetts had left it with

¹ See page 221.—H.

the Governor to write a letter to Mr. Wiggans, and the said Burdet, and others of the Plantations on the upper part of Pascataqua, to this effect — That, whereas there had been good correspondence between them formerly, they could not but be sensible of their entertaining and countenancing, &c., some whom they had cast out, &c., and that their purpose was to survey their utmost limits, and make use of them.

Mr. Burdet returned a scornful answer, and would not give the Governor his title, &c. This was very ill taken, because he was one of their civil body, and sworn to their government, as well as a member of the church of Salem; so as the Governor was purposed to summon him to appear at their Court and answer for his contempt. But, advising with Mr. Dudley, the Deputy, about it, he was dissuaded from that course, as not willing to give him any opportunity thereby to ingratiate himself further with some that were their professed enemies in England, with whom they knew he had intelligence; judging also that, by such courses, he would become thoroughly known to those of Pascataqua. Whereupon the Governor wrote to Mr. Edward Hilton, declaring his ill dealing, to whom he also sent a copy of Burdet's letter, advising them that they take heed how they put themselves into his power, &c., but rather to give those of the Massachusetts a proof of their respect to them. He intimated, likewise, how ill it would relish with their Court and people if they there should advance Captain Underhill, who had lately been thrust out for abusing the authority of the Massachusetts, first by a seditious remonstrance, and then by feigning a retractation, as well as for his corrupt opinions, &c., and for casting reproach upon their churches; signifying, withal, that he was charged with foul incontinency; (for, beside the suspicion forementioned, he was likewise challenged by a sober young woman to have solicited her chastity, under pretence of Christian love, and to have owned to her that he had had his will of the woman in question, (a cooper's wife,) and all out of the strength of love, as he pretended,

&c.) and that the church had sent unto him to come and give satisfaction, with a license under the hands of the Governor and Council, but he refused to come, excusing himself by letters to the elders, that the license was not sufficient, and that he had no rule to come, unless his sentence of banishment were released. But Pascataqua men, it seems, had chosen him their Governor, before this letter came to their hands; for it is like it was intercepted and opened by the forementioned persons, who were most concerned in the contents thereof, and they were so enraged thereby, as they wrote presently to England against them, discovering not only what they knew, but what they falsely imagined, of their resisting any authority that should come out of England against them. But how much soever they were moved upon the said letter, no advantage could be taken against him or them that sent it, being so drawn up as Mr. Hilton might without offence have shewn it to either of them. But Captain Underhill thereupon wrote a letter to Mr. Cotton, full of threatening and high words, and another to the Governor of a contrary strain, and in very fair terms, entreating there might be an obliteration of all that was past, and a bearing with human infirmities, disavowing all purposes of revenge.

But those of Exeter, in the mean time, were taken up with things of another nature; for having gathered a church, as was intimated before, they wrote a letter, about the middle of December, 1638, to the church of Boston, to desire Mr. Wheelwright's dismissal to them for an officer or minister; but because it was not desired by himself, the elders did not propound it to the church. But soon after, upon his own letter, they granted a dismissal to him, and to some others¹ also, (upon their request,) who desired to be dismissed thither.

Things proceeding after this rate, they of the Massachusetts looked upon it as very unneighborly for the inhabitants of Pascataqua to encourage and promote those whom they had thrust out; and, not long after, they themselves were very sensible of their \S great \S error, in neglect-

¹ See their names in Farmer's Belknap, p. 20.—H.

ing the counsel and advice of the vine and fig-tree, and putting their trust under the shadow of a bramble. For they soon found that Mr. Burdet, whom they had formerly received for Governor in the room of Mr. Wiggans, set in there by the Lords, (as hath been said,) being laid aside, and Captain Underhill by them called to that place, they had not much advantaged themselves, save only in that the latter was not so subtle or malicious, and therefore not so capable to do them mischief. But Mr. Burdet, either out of necessity or design, (some foul practices of his being discovered,) removed not long after to a Plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on the northeast side of Pascataqua River, and within the Province of Maine, where we shall leave him for a little time, driving on the same trade, (or a worse,) which occasioned his removal out of the country in the issue.¹

Captain Underhill, being now quietly possessed of the government, how fair soever he pretended to the Governor of the Bay, could not so dissemble it with others; for at the same time he wrote a letter to a young gentleman, that sojourned in the said Governor's house, wherein he reviled the Governor, with reproachful terms and imprecations of revenge upon him, and the whole Colony; which, being shewn to the Governor and Council, was afterward sent to Mr. Hilton, (though too late to prevent his exaltation,) and did not a little nettle the new Governor of Dover, to have his wickedness laid open, and his call to answer for his offences before the church of Boston, withal procuring him safe conduct for three months, from the General Court, then sitting, in the year 1639. But, instead of coming, he procured a new church at that place, called by them Dover, of some few of the looser sort of persons, who had called one Mr. Hauserd Knollis; whom Dr. Bastwick once not untruly styled, with a little variation of the letters of his name, Absurdo Knowless. This Mr. Knollis had lately come out of England, in the year 1638, and was rejected by the Massachusetts for holding some of the forementioned Antinomian tenets, and, repairing to Pascataqua, was chosen to

¹ See page 361.—E.

be the minister within Captain Underhill's territories, who soon after suborned him to write letters to the church of Boston in his commendation, wherein he was styled the right worshipful, their ||honored|| Governor, all which notwithstanding, the church of Boston proceeded with him. And, in the mean time, the General Court wrote to all the chief inhabitants of Pascataqua, and sent them a copy of his letters, (wherein he professeth himself to be an instrument of God for their ruin,) to know whether it were with their privity and consent that he sent them such a defiance, &c., and whether they would maintain him in such practices against them.

Those of the Plantations returned answer, that they disclaimed all such miscarriages, and offered to call him to an account, whenever they would send any to inform against him. They at the river's mouth disclaimed likewise, and shewed their indignation against him for his insolencies, and their readiness to join in any fair course for their satisfaction; only they desired them to have some compassion on him, and not to send any force against him.

After this Captain Underhill's courage became very much abated, for the chiefest of the River fell from him, and the rest little regarded him, so as he wrote letters of retractation to divers, and (according to his wonted policy) wrote a letter to the Deputy and the Court, (not mentioning the Governor,) wherein he sent the copies of some of the Governor's letters to Pascataqua, supposing that something would appear in them, either to extenuate his own fault, or to lay some fault upon the governor; but he failed in both, for the Governor was able to make out what he had written.

Mr. Knollis, coming over into New England amongst some Familistical opinionists, upon that account was denied residence in the Massachusetts, and was also by Mr. Burdet (the preacher and Governor at that time at Pascataqua) inhibited from preaching there; but he being, in a short time, removed to Agamenticus, as was said before, the people having chosen Underhill their Gov-

ernor, (that they might be "like priest like people,") chose him their pastor, who, to ingratiate himself with said Underhill, the Governor there, wrote a letter into England, to his friends in London, wherein he bitterly inveighed against the government of the Massachusetts, making it worse than the High Commission, and that there was not so much as a face of religion in the country; but a copy of the said letter being sent over, (of the which he had notice from the Governor,) he was exceedingly perplexed about it, being indeed convinced in his conscience of the great wrong which he had done them. He wrote to the Governor desiring a safe conduct, that he might come into the Bay to give satisfaction, saying that he could have no rest in his spirit till he had so done. This being granted him under the hand of the Governor, with consent of the Council, he came, and there at Boston, upon a Lecture-day, (most of the magistrates and ministers being then assembled,) he made a very free and open confession of his offence, with much aggravation against himself, so as the assembly were all as well satisfied as could be expected, upon a verbal confession of such an offence. He wrote also a letter to his said friends in England to the same effect, which he left with the Governor to be sent to them. Captain Underhill, also, about the same time, being struck with horror and remorse for his many and great offences, both against the church and against the country, he could have no rest till at last he had also obtained safe conduct to come and give satisfaction; and accordingly at the Lecture¹ at Boston, (it being then Court time,) he made a public confession, both of his living in adultery with the said woman, (of which he was before suspected,) and of attempting the like with another woman, and also of the injury he had done to the Massachusetts, and acknowledged also the justice of the Court in proceeding against him, &c. Yet all his confessions were mixed with such excuses and extenuations, that they gave no satisfaction as to the truth of his repentance: but, however, his offences being so foul and scandalous, the church presently cast him out. He seemed at the first to submit to the

¹ March 5, 1639-40.—H.

censure, and was, for the time he staid at Boston, (four or five days,) much dejected; but, returning home, he gave not the proof of a broken heart, as he gave hope of at Boston; for, to ingratiate himself with some gentlemen¹ at the river's mouth, that had much dependence upon the Commissioners in England, he sent thirteen men armed to Exeter to fetch one Fish² out of the officer's hands for speaking against the King; and when the church and people of Dover desired him to forbear coming to the Court, till they had considered of his case, and had promised so to do, yet, hearing that they were consulting to remove him from his government, (which he had before proffered to lay down, but when it came to be done in good earnest he could not bear it,) came and took his place, and grew passionate, and would not stay to receive his dismissal, nor seem to accept it when it was sent after him; yet they proceeded, and chose one Mr. Roberts³ to be president of the Court, and returned back Fish to Exeter.

Besides this, in the open Court, he committed one of his fellow magistrates for rising up and saying he would not sit with an adulterer, &c. But the chief matter for which they proceeded against him was, that, when he himself was the first mover of them to break off their agreement with the Massachusetts, he had written to their⁴ Governor to lay it upon the people, especially upon some among them. Soon after this he went again to Boston to tender satisfaction; but, not being satisfied about his repentance, they would not admit him to public speech, and so he returned home again; but half a year after, viz. in September, 1640, he was brought to a true and thorough remorse of conscience for his foul sins, and did openly, in a great assembly at Boston, on the Lecture-day, and in the Court time, and in a ruthless habit, (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness,) standing upon a form, lay open, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears, his wicked course of life, his adultery and hypocrisy, his prosecution of people

¹ "Who were very zealous that way, and had lately set up Common Prayer, &c.," says Winthrop.—H.

² "One Gabriel Fish," (Ibid.) afterwards of Boston. Farmer.—H.

³ See Sav. Win. i. 327.—H.

⁴ I. e. Of the Massachusetts.—H.

there, and especially his pride, as the root of all, (which caused God to give him over to his other sinful courses,) and contempt of the magistrates; justifying God, and the Court, and the church, in all that had been inflicted on him, and declaring, also, what power Satan had over him since his casting out of the church, and how his presumptuous laying hold of a mercy and pardon, before God gave it, did then fail him when the terrors of God came upon him, so as he could have no rest, nor see any issue, which had put him divers times upon a resolution of destroying himself, had not the Lord prevented him, even when his sword was drawn to have done the execution &c.; so, with other expressions arguing much brokenness of heart, and looking like one worn out with sorrow, he earnestly and humbly besought the church to have compassion on him, and deliver him out of the hands of Satan. Indeed it was a spectacle which caused many weeping eyes, though also it afforded matter of rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jesus in his own ordinances, when they are dispensed in his own way, holding forth the authority of his sceptre in the simplicity of the Gospel. Upon this manifestation of his repentance the sentence of excommunication was taken off in the church, and of his banishment, by the Court, and he was also set free from the punishment of his adultery; for the law against it being made since the fact committed by him, it could not touch his life.

This story is the more particularly related for the satisfaction of all that may ever after hear of such practices, what they may expect from a sort of men that cry down sanctification and inherent righteousness, under a pretence of magnifying free grace. And, indeed, they of the Antinomian persuasion had need fortify themselves with arguments to keep off the force of the moral law, that have so little ability or grace to observe and keep the same. But it was to be feared this was but one stray sheep that returned, amongst ninety-nine that have been entangled in the same snare of temptation, of whose repentance there was little heard.

In the same summer, sc. 1640, there arrived there one

Mr. Thomas Gorges,¹ a kinsman to Sir Ferdinando, a young gentleman of the Inns of Court. He was sober and well disposed, and careful, in the prosecution of his charge, (which was to govern the Province of Maine, or New Somersetshire,) to take advice of the magistrates in the Bay how to manage his affairs. When he came to Agamenticus he found all out of order, both as to the personal, as well as political, state of that Province. For, as to the state of the proprietor, (whatever vast sum of expense was then or is since pretended,) it was all embezzled, with all the household stuff, save an old pot, and a pair of cob-irons and tongs, as the gentleman himself did express to a friend at his return. And as for the government, Mr. Burdet that ruled, or rather misruled, all, had let loose the reins to his lust, so as he was grown very notorious for his pride and adultery; taking no notice of any law, unless that which might be improved to establish iniquity. But the neighbors now finding that Mr. Gorges was well inclined to reform things, they complained of him, and produced such foul matters against him, that he was laid hold on, and bound to appear at their Court at Saco. But he had dealt so with some other of the commissioners, such as Mr. Vines, the former agent, and two more, that when the Court came, they there stood for him; but Mr. Gorges having the greater part on his side, and the jury finding him guilty of adultery, with much labor and difficulty he was laid under a fine of £30.² He appealed unto England, but Mr. Gorges would not admit of any appeal, but seized some of his cattle. Upon this Mr. Burdet went into England, but when he came there he found the state of things so changed, as his hopes were soon blasted; for, falling in with one party, he was taken by the other, and committed to prison, where we shall leave him, not having any occasion to call for him again in the pursuit of this history.

The upper part of Pascataqua, all this time, passed under such a vicissitude of changes, as § if § it were designed

¹ His Commission, dated March 10, 1639-40, (in which Sir Ferdinando styles him "Cousin,") may be seen in Sullivan's Maine, pp. 413-17.—H.

² From the proceedings of the Court, Sept. 8, 1640, (in Maine Hist. Coll. 1. 271-2.) it appears that Burdet, on three several charges, was fined, for the first £10, for the second £20, and for the third £10.—H.

to become a stage of great disturbance and trouble ; for, being cleared of Mr. Burdet, by his removal to Agamenticus, it was soon after ridden by another churchman, who, though he pretended to more of sobriety and religion, yet was not of much better conduct. His name was Larkham ;¹ one that had been a minister at Northam, near Barnstable, in England, and coming to New England,² but not favoring their discipline, he removed to this part of Pascataqua, and being of good parts, and gifted to speak well in a pulpit, the people of Dover were much taken with him, and not being able to maintain two ministers, they resolved to cast off Mr. Knollis and embrace Mr. Larkham ; whereupon Mr. Knollis, making a virtue of necessity, for the present gave place. And the other, soon after he was chosen, discovered himself by receiving into the church all that offered themselves, though never so notoriously scandalous and ignorant, so they would promise amendment ; and, soon after, fell into contention with the people, taking upon him to rule all, even the magistrates themselves, (such as they were,) so as there soon grew very sharp contention between him and Mr. Knollis, who either yet retained, or else, on that occasion, reassumed, his pastoral office ; whereupon they were neither able quietly to divide into two churches, nor peaceably live together in one ; the more religious sort still adhering to Mr. Knollis, the first pastor. At the last, the contention proceeded so far that Mr. Knollis and his company, without any more ado, excommunicated Mr. Larkham, in the name if not of the major part, yet of the melior part. And he again laid violent hands on Mr. Knollis, and taking the hat from his head, pretending it was not paid for ; but he was so civil as to send it him again. In this heat it began to grow to a tumult, and some of the magistrates joined with Mr. Larkham, and assembled a company to fetch Captain Underhill, (another of their magistrates and their Captain,) to their Court. And he also gathered some of the neighbors together, to defend themselves, and see the peace kept ; so they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham, one car-

¹ Rev. Thomas Larkham, a Native of Lyme, in Dorsetshire.—H.

² About 1640. Farmer.—H.

rying a bible ||on an halbert|| for an ensign, and Mr. Knollis with them, armed with a pistol. When Mr. Larkham saw them thus provided, they of his part proceeded no further, but sent down to Mr. Williams, Governor of that called Strawberry Bank, towards the mouth of the river, who came up with a company of armed men, and beset Mr. Knollis's house, where then Captain Underhill was, and kept a guard upon him night and day, till they had opportunity to call a Court; and when that was assembled, Mr. Williams sitting as judge, they found Captain Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and set great fines upon them, ordering him and some others to depart out of the Plantation.

The cause of this eager prosecution was, because Captain Underhill had procured a good part of the inhabitants to offer themselves again to the government of the Massachusetts; and being then prosecuted, they sent a petition to them for aid. The Governor and Council considered of their petition, and gave a commission to Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Dalton,¹ to go thither and endeavor to reconcile them, and if they could not, then to inquire how things stood, and certify them in the Bay, &c. They met accordingly, and finding both sides to be in the fault, they at the length brought matters to a peaceable end; so as Mr. Larkham was released of his excommunication, and Captain Underhill and the rest from their censures; and, by reason of these agitations, Mr. Knollis was discovered to be tardy in the same guilt with others of the Antinomian sect, viz. to have solicited the chastity of two maids, his servants, and to have used wanton dalliance with them; which he acknowledged before the church there, and so, being dismissed, he removed from Pascataqua. This sin of his was the more notorious, in that it was first discovered the same night after he had been exhorting the people, by reason and Scripture, to proceed against Captain Underhill for his adultery. So apt are men to be blinded in their own case, and forbid others to steal, while themselves are committing sacrilege. This example, added to the former, makes it the more observable, that God doth many times justly give up those,

[one an halbert]

¹ Rev. Timothy Dalton.—H.

that cry down any evidence by sanctification, to such filthy ways, that they should find no sanctification in themselves, to evidence a justified estate by.

The two ministers employed in this service, with another¹ they took along with them, (intended for the minister of Agamenticus,) in going from Pascataqua to Agamenticus, within but six miles distant from the other,) lost their way, and wandered two days and one night, without food or fire, in the snow and wet. But God heard their prayers, wherein they earnestly pressed him for the honor of his great name; but when they were even quite spent he brought them to the sea side, near the place whither they were bound.

The next year² after, Mr. Larkham suddenly departed from his place at Dover, against his own promise, as well as the persuasion of his people, (for every heart knows best its own grief and guilt,) to prevent the shame of a scandalous evil, (of like nature with that fore-mentioned of Mr. Knollis,) which otherwise would unavoidably have fallen upon him, in the mean time leaving the people to provide for themselves as well as they could for a supply, which not long after they obtained, by one Mr. Maud,³ whom they enjoyed many years for their minister, who was a good man, and of a serious spirit, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition. He continued with them to his death; after whom they procured Mr. Reynor,⁴ from Plymouth. About the year 1654 he was called to the pastoral office at Dover, which he discharged with good satisfaction and faithfulness all his days.

About this time⁵ the people of the lower part of Pascataqua, toward the mouth of the river, having invited Mr. James Parker, of Weymouth, well esteemed of for godliness and scholarship, obtained him for a winter, in the year 1642; in which time he gave such proof of his ministry, that they earnestly desired that he might be settled as a minister amongst them, and signified so much to the magistrates and ministers of the Bay, under forty of their hands; but he, having a call to remove elsewhere,

¹ Rev. John Ward, afterwards of Haverhill. Sav. Win. ii. 29.—H.

² 1642.—H. ³ Rev. Daniel Maude, of whom see Young's Chronicles of Mass., p. 449.—H. ⁴ Rev. John Rayner, (or Reynor,) minister of the first church in Plymouth from 1636 to 1654.—H. ⁵ December, 1642.—H.

either for want of due encouragement, or suitable endeavors of the people, they were destitute of a settled minister for many years after. But the light of the Gospel, by the ministry thereof, did then begin to dawn, which afterwards did arise with more brightness and power upon them.

In September, 1641, Captain Underhill not able longer to subsist at Pascataqua, upon the occasions forementioned, and being reconciled to the Court of the Massachusetts, and church of Boston, returned thither with his family to seek some way of subsistence; where, having no employment that would maintain him, and having good offers made him by the Dutch Governor, (he speaking the Dutch tongue very well, and his wife a Dutch woman,) he removed thither. The church of Boston furnished him out, and provided a pinnace to transport him; advising him rather to settle at Stamford, where was a town of the English, and in church estate, and near the Dutch; to the which he hearkened at first.¹ The people there offered him employment and maintenance, according to their ability; but, upon one account or other, he changed his mind afterward and went to the Dutch,² who gave him good encouragement, having at that time great need of him, by reason of their war with the Indians, wherein he did them good service, having, with one hundred and twenty men, Dutch and English, killed one hundred and fifty Indians on Long Island, and three hundred on the main land.³

Mr. Wheelwright afterwards, in the year 1643, had removed from Exeter to Wells,⁴ near Cape Porpoise, where he was pastor of a church; but being sensible of the great inconveniency he was in, while excluded from the society of the ministers, as well as other friends, by the sentence of banishment, which he still continued under, he wrote a letter⁵ to the Governor at Boston, entreating the favor of the Court that he might have leave to come into the Bay, upon some special occasions, which was

¹ May 1642. He represented Stamford in the General Court, held at New Haven, April 5, 1643. Sav. Win. ii. 63; Trumbull, i. 124.—H.

² In 1644. See Thompson's Long Island, ii. 358.—H.

³ This was while he was at Stamford. Ibid; Trumbull, i. 140.—H.

⁴ See p. 351.—H. ⁵ In June, 1643, probably. Sav. Win. ii. 120.—H.

readily granted him ;¹ whereupon he came and spake with divers of the ministers, and gave them such satisfaction as they intended to intercede with the Court for the release of his banishment. The contents of his letter were to this purpose :—

[RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.²]

Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the reverend elders and me, in point of justification and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature [and consequence³] as was then presented to me in the false glass of Satan's temptations and my own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement contentions raised thereabouts to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonor upon your worships, the reverend elders, or any of contrary judgment to myself. It repents me⁴ that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing ^{and encouraging}⁴ of them in any of their errors or evil practices, though I intended no such thing ; and that in the Synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions, falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan, and that I did appeal, from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon ^{of your honored selves.}⁵ If it shall appear to me, by Scripture light, that in any carriage, word, ^{writing,}⁶ or action,⁶ I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction. Thus, hoping that you will pardon my boldness, I humbly ^{take my leave of your worships,}⁷ committing you to the good providence of the Almighty ; and ever remain your worships' in all service to be commanded in the Lord.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.⁸

Wells, 7th, 10th, 1643.

Upon this letter the Court was very well inclined to release his banishment, and thereupon ordered that he

¹ "For fourteen days," says Winthrop.—H. ² Inserted from Winthrop.—H.

³ *I repent me* in the MS.—H. ⁴ Not in Winthrop's copy of the letter.—H.

⁵ *Of this honored state* in Winthrop.—H. ⁶ *Or writing* in the MS.—H.

⁷ *Take leave of your worship* in Winthrop.—H.

might have safe conduct to come to the Court, &c. Hereof the Governor certified him by letter, and received this following answer from him.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.¹

I have received your letters wherein you signify to me that you have imparted my letter to the honored Court, and that it finds good acceptance; for which I rejoice with all thankfulness. [I am very thankful to your worship for the letter of safe conduct which I formerly received, as likewise for the late Act of Court, granting me the same liberty²] in case I desire letters for that end. I should very willingly (upon letters obtained) express by word of mouth, openly in Court, that which I did by writing, might I, without offence, express my true intent and meaning more fully to this effect; that notwithstanding my failings, (for which I [humbly³] crave pardon,) yet I cannot, with a good conscience, condemn myself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations, and gross errors, as have been charged upon me, the concurrence of which, (as I take it,) make up the [very³] substance of the cause of all my sufferings. I do not see but in so mixt a cause I am bound to use (may it be permitted) my just defence, so far as I apprehend myself to be innocent, and to make my confession where I am convinced of any delinquency; otherwise I shall seemingly, and in appearance, fall under guilt of many heinous offences, for which my conscience doth acquit me. If I seem to make suit to the [honorable³] Court for relaxation to be granted, as an act of mercy, upon my sole confession, I must offend my conscience; if by an act of justice, upon my apology, and lawful defence, I fear here I shall offend your worships. I leave all things to your wise and holy consideration, hoping [that³] you will pardon my simplicity and plainness, which I am forced unto by the power of an overruling conscience. I rest your worship's in the Lord.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.⁴

Wells, March 1, 1643.

To which the Governor replied to this effect, viz., that though his liberty might be obtained without his

¹ R. W. in the MS.—H. ² The MS. reads—*as also for liberty of safe conduct granted by the Court, and.*—H. ³ From Winthrop.—H.

⁴ Many variations from the copy of this letter preserved by Winthrop shew, as says Mr. Savage, "how differently Hubbard read the originals."—H.

personal appearance, yet that was doubtful; nor did he conceive that a wise and moderate apology would prejudice the acceptance of a free and ingenuous confession; seeing the latter would justify the sentence of the Court, which looked only at his action; and yet, by the former, he might maintain the liberty of his conscience, in clearing his intentions from those ill-deserving crimes, which the Court apprehended by his actions. And withal, (because there might want opportunity of conveyance before the Court,) he sent him enclosed a safe conduct, &c. But the next Court released his banishment, without his appearance; and so, if they had overdone in passing the sentence, it might in part help to balance it, that they were so ready to grant him a release. Soon after this he removed his dwelling, and, being invited to the pastoral office in the church of Hampton,¹ after Mr. Batchelour's deposition,² he accepted of the call, and tarried with them till his removal to England,³ not long after, where he tarried many years, till, upon the turn of times, he came back to New England again; after which he was called to Salisbury, where he accepted of the pastoral office, in which he continued to the day of his death, which happened about the year 1681.⁴

As for the more eastern parts of the Province of Maine, towards Pemaquid, one Mr. Rigbee,⁵ a wealthy gentleman in England, and Counsellor at Law, and one of the Long Parliament, having purchased the Plough Patent at Sagadahock, called Ligonias, gave a commission to one Mr. Cleaves, as his deputy, to govern the people there, and sent him over to New England in the year 1643. The ship landed at Boston, and Mr. Cleaves, considering how distasteful this would be to the governors of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who challenged jurisdiction in a great part of Ligonias, petitioned the General Court of the Massachusetts to write to them on his behalf; but the Court thought fit rather to leave it to the Governor to write in his own name, which accordingly he did. But when Mr. Cleaves came to set his commission afoot, and called a Court at Casco, Mr. Richard Vines and other commissioners of Sir Ferdinando Gorges op-

¹ In 1647, says Farmer.—H. ² See Sav. Win. ii. 177, 211.—H. ³ In 1658, or thereabouts.—H. ⁴ Nov. 15, 1679, says Farmer.—H. ⁵ Col. Alexander Rigby. See pages 142 and 510.—H.

posed it, and called another Court at Saco, the same time ; whereupon the inhabitants were divided. Those of Casco, &c., wrote to Mr. Vines that they would stand to the judgment of the magistrates of the Bay, till it were decided in England to which government they should belong ; and sent this letter by one Tucker.¹ Mr. Vines imprisoned him, and the next day took his bond for his appearance at Saco, and his good behavior. Upon this Mr. Cleaves and the rest, about thirty persons, wrote to the Governor of the Bay for assistance against Mr. Vines, and tendered themselves to the consociation of the United Colonies. The Governor returned answer that he must first advise with the Commissioners of the other Colonies, although they could not well be admitted upon some Articles of the Confederation, that Mr. Cleaves did not come up unto. This contention continued still undetermined between Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Vines and Mr. Josselin, one of the commissioners also of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Both parties wrote letters to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, complaining of injuries from each other ; Mr. Cleaves desiring aid against open force, threatened by the other part. They of the Massachusetts Bay returned answer to them severally to this effect, to persuade them both to continue in peace, and to forbear all violent courses, until some London ships should arrive here, by which it was expected that order would come from the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, to settle their differences. These letters prevailed so far with them, that they agreed to refer the cause to the determination of the Court of Assistants at Boston, which was to be held the 3d of June next. For Mr. Rigbee came Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Tucker ; for the Province of Maine came Mr. Josselin and Mr. Roberts.² The Court appointed them a day for hearing of their cause, and caused a special jury to be empannelled. Mr. Cleaves was plaintiff, and delivered in a declaration in writing ; the defendants (though they had a copy thereof before) pleaded to it by word only. Some of the magistrates advised not to intermeddle with it, seeing it was

¹ Richard Tucker.—H
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² See Maine Hist. Coll. i. 52.—H.

not within their jurisdiction, and that the agents had no commission to bind the interest of the gentlemen in England. Others, and the most, thought fit to give them a trial, both for that it was an usual practice in Europe for two parties that are at odds to make a third judge betwixt them, and, though the principal parties could not be bound by any sentence of their Court, (for having no jurisdiction they had no coercion, and therefore whatever they should conclude were but advice,) yet it might settle peace for the present, &c. But, the suit going on, upon a full hearing, both parties failed in their proof. The plaintiff could not prove the place in question to be within his Patent, nor could derive a good title of the Patent itself to Mr. Rigbee, (there being six or eight Patentees, and the assignment only from two of them.) Also the defendant had no Patent of the Province, but only a copy thereof, attested by witnesses, which is not pleadable in law; which so perplexed the jury as that they could find for neither, but gave in a non liquet. And because the parties would have it tried by a jury, the magistrates forbore to deal any further in it, only they persuaded the parties to live in peace, &c., till the matter might be determined by authority out of England. And so the matter rested for the present, and for a long time after, the successors or assigns of either party keeping possession and making improvement of what they had occupied before, according to mutual agreement between themselves, either implicitly or explicitly declared; until Mr. Rigbee, or his agents and assigns, flung up all their title to any part of the premises, as an unprofitable concern, as is commonly said. What Sir Ferdinando Gorges's heirs or assigns have done unto, or gained by, what was ever challenged by any of them, may be declared afterwards.¹

CHAP. XLV.²

The general affairs of New England, from 1641 to 1646.

IN the beginning of this lustre, sc. June 2, 1641, Mr. Bellingham was chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicot Deputy

¹ For an account of these difficulties between George Cleeves and Richard Tucker, on the one part, and Richard Vines, Henry Josselyn, and their associates, on the other, see Maine Hist. Coll. i. 48, *et seq.*—H. ² XLIV in the MS.—H.