

loaves. The sachems<sup>1</sup> also about Watchusets, being encouraged by the kindness shewed to Punham, offered to submit to their government; but it was thought to proceed more from fear of some other enemies than any love to the Christian religion. But it seemed that as yet was not come the day of Christ's power, for then his people shall be willing.

### CHAP. XLVIII.<sup>2</sup>

*Ecclesiastical affairs in New England from the year 1641 to 1646.*

In the year 1641 one Mr. Blinman,<sup>3</sup> a minister in Wales, came over into New England, with some friends of his, and being invited to Green's Harbor,<sup>4</sup> near Plymouth, they removed thither, and seated themselves amongst the old planters; but, after a little time, they agreed no better than the piece of new cloth in the old garment, making a rent so bad that it could never be made up again, so they were advised to part, and Mr. Blinman came with his company and sat down at Cape Ann, which, at a General Court<sup>5</sup> in the same year, was established to be a Plantation, and called Gloucester.

In the latter end of the same year, some of the inhabitants of Charlestown, having settled a village within the bounds of their town, called it Woburn. They gathered a church there, and on the 22d of November, 1642, Mr. Carter<sup>6</sup> was ordained pastor thereof. There was some little difference about the manner of his ordination; for in regard they had no other officer in their church besides, nor any of their members that thought themselves fit to solemnize such an ordinance, they were advised by some to desire the elders of other churches to perform it, by imposing hands on the said Mr. Carter; but others, supposing it might be an occasion of introducing the dependency of churches, &c., and so of a presbytery,

<sup>1</sup> Their names were Nashacowam or Nashoonon, (supposed to be the same chief called Nattawahunt on page 61,) and Wassamagoin or Massasoit. Sav. Win. ii. 156; Drake's Book of the Indians, ii. pp. 41-2.—R.

<sup>2</sup> XLVII in the MS.—R. <sup>3</sup> Baptismal name, Richard.—R.

<sup>4</sup> Now Marshfield.—R. <sup>5</sup> In May, 1642.—R. <sup>6</sup> Baptismal name, Thomas. He came over in 1635, and died Sept. 5, 1684.—R.

were not so free to admit thereof, and therefore it was performed by one of their own members, though not so well to the satisfaction of some of the magistrates and ministers then present ; and since that time it hath been more frequent, in such cases, to desire the elders of neighboring churches, by virtue of communion of churches, to ordain such as are by the churches and people chosen to be their officers, where there are no elders before.

In the year 1644 there was a town erected at Nantasket ; and at this time there being near twenty houses built, and having obtained a minister, it was by the General Court named Hull.

In the year 1642, there being an Assembly of Divines called by the Parliament to sit at Westminster, to consider and advise about church government, divers Lords of the Upper House, and some members of the House of Commons, with some ministers, who stood for the independency of churches, sent letters into New England, to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, to call them, or some of them, (if all could not,) to assist in the said Synod.

Upon this some of the magistrates and ministers as were at hand met together, and were most of them of opinion that it was a call of God, yet took respite of concluding till they might hear from Connecticut and New Haven. Upon the return of the messenger that was sent to those towns it appeared that Mr. Hooker liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go a thousand leagues to confer with a few persons that differed from the rest in matter of church government. Mr. Davenport thought otherwise of it ; but the brethren of his church having set time apart to understand the mind of God in the case, came to this conclusion, that, in regard they had but one officer, they could not see their way clear to spare him for so long a time as such a journey required.

Mr. Cotton apprehended strongly a call of God in it, and was inclinable to have undertaken a journey, (notwithstanding his natural averseness to a sea voyage,) if others had attended the same ; but soon after, upon the receipt of other letters, the difficulty came to an end.

In the same year one Mr. Bennet,<sup>1</sup> a gentleman of Virginia, arrived at Boston, bringing letters with him from sundry well disposed people there, to the ministers of New England, bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office. Upon these letters, (which were openly read at Boston, on a Lecture-day,) the ministers there met, agreed to set a day apart to seek God in the thing, and agreed upon three, which might most easily be spared, viz. Mr. Phillips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson<sup>2</sup> of Braintree, and Mr. Miller<sup>3</sup> of Rowley, (these churches having each of them two ministers,) which the General Court approved of, and ordered that the Governor should commend them, by his letters, to the Governor and Council of Virginia. But Mr. Phillips not being willing to go, Mr. Knowles, his fellow laborer, and Mr. Thompson were sent away, with the consent of their churches, and departed on their way, on the 7th of October, 1642, to meet the vessel that should transport them at Narraganset; but Mr. Miller, because of his bodily weakness, did not accept the call. Both the churches were willing to dismiss their ministers to that work, and the Court likewise did allow and further it, for the advancement of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, not fearing to part with such desirable persons, because they looked at it as seed sown, that might bring in a plentiful harvest. They did also account it as an honor, which God put upon his churches there, that other parts of the world should send to them for help in that kind; for about the same time letters were brought to them from Barbadoes, and other islands in those parts, entreating a supply also of ministers.

They that were sent to Virginia were long wind-bound at Rhode Island, and met with many other difficulties, so as they made it eleven weeks of a dangerous passage before they arrived there, but had this advantage in the way, that they took a third minister along with them, viz. Mr. James,<sup>4</sup> (formerly the pastor of the church at

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Philip Bennet.—H.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. John Miller.—H.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. William Tompson.—H.

<sup>4</sup> His baptismal name was Thomas.—H.

Charlestown,) from New Haven. They found loving and liberal entertainment in the country, and were bestowed in several places, by the care of some honest-minded persons, that much desired their company, rather than by any care of the Governors. And though the difficulties and dangers they were continually exercised with in their way thither put them upon some question, whether their call were of God or not, yet were they much encouraged by the success of their ministry, through the blessing of God, in that place. Mr. Thompson, a man of a melancholy temper and crazy body, wrote word back to his friends that he found his health so repaired, and his spirit so enlarged, that he had not been in the like condition since he first left England. But it fared with them, as it had done before with the Apostles in the primitive times, that the people magnified them, and their hearts seemed to be much inflamed with an earnest desire after the Gospel, though the civil rulers of the country did not allow of their public preaching, because they did not conform to the orders of the Church of England; however, the people resorted to them, in private houses, as much as before. At their return, (which was the next summer,) by the letters they brought with them, it appears that God had greatly blessed their ministry, for the time while they were there, which was not long; for the rulers of the country did, in a sense, drive them out, having made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the English Church should depart the country by such a day, which a sad massacre of the English (by the Indians, that had conspired against them) intervening had prevented.

For a ship coming from Virginia the 3d<sup>1</sup> of May, 1644, certified of a great slaughter made upon the English, by the natives there, whereby three hundred, at the least, were suddenly cut off. An Indian taken amongst them had confessed that all the Indians for six hundred miles were confederate together to root all strangers out of the country. It was very observable that the massacre came upon them soon after they had driven away the ministers

<sup>1</sup> 20th, says Winthrop.—x.

sent from New England. A great mortality also did accompany the said massacre, so as divers sober persons removed from thence, and many of the rest were forced to give glory unto God, in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them for rejecting the Gospel, and those faithful ministers of Christ that were sent amongst them.

About this time<sup>1</sup> some difference happened in New England about the way of raising the maintenance of the ministers, in regard that many churches (through the defect of money and other considerations) proceeded therein rather by way of taxation than by contribution. This new way of ||essment|| was offensive to some in the country, who, it seems, could love none but ευγγελιον αδαπανον. Amongst others it was very grievous to one Briscoe, a tanner of Watertown, (not of the temper of that tanner that entertained the Apostle Peter,) for this man published a book underhand against the way of maintenance, (wherein himself and those that were no members were taxed to maintain the ministers of the place they belonged unto,) fuller of teeth to bite and reproach the ministers of the country, than arguments to convince the readers. He was convened before the Court to answer for his reproachful speeches, which he was forced publicly to acknowledge his error in; but for his arguments they were not worth the answering, for he that shall deny the exerting of the civil power to provide for the comfortable subsistence of them that preach the Gospel, *fuste potius erudiendus quam argumento*, as they say of them that are wont *negare principia*. If it be the duty of magistrates to provide that the Gospel is to be preached in their territories, it is doubtless a duty incumbent on the same power to provide that they may live thereby. Let him that is taught communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things, saith the Apostle. As for the *quota pars* it cannot be less, (whether *decima*, or *duodecima*, or *vicessima*,) than that he may live thereon.

About this time contentions in Hampton were grown to a very great height, the whole town being divided into two factions, one with Mr. Batchelour, the late pastor,

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<sup>1</sup> March, 1642—3.—π.

the other with Mr. Dalton, the teacher of the church. They were managed with a great deal more passion on both sides, as some said, than reason or discretion, which made it long before they were composed.<sup>1</sup>

At a General Court, March,<sup>2</sup> 1645, two petitions were preferred, one for suspending (if not abolishing) a law made against Anabaptists,<sup>3</sup> the former year, the other was for easing a law of like nature, made in Mrs. Hutchinson's time, forbidding the entertaining of any strangers, without license of two magistrates, which was not easily obtained in those days. Austin long since complained that the church in his time was overburdened with too many canons and ceremonious impositions. Many Christian states have as much reason to complain of too many laws, (unless they were better observed,) especially such as are made to obviate a particular evil, which oftentimes proves no small disadvantage to the general good.

It was always the apprehension of the wisest rulers in New England that it had been better for the country to have left more liberty in the hands of the magistrates, and not to have tied them up so strictly to the observation of particular laws, that many times are very prejudicial to honest men, which cannot well be helped, against laws, whilst they are in force. Some at this time were much afraid of the increase of Anabaptism, which, by a kind of antiperistasis, is observed the more to increase thereby; there being little observable in them, that make profession of that and other novel errors, but the glory of their suffering for something that, with this sort of people, goes for truth.

This was the reason why the greater part prevailed for the strict observation of the foresaid laws, although, peradventure, on some accounts, a little moderation, as to some particular cases, might have done very well, if not much better.

One Captain Partridge<sup>4</sup> arrived at Boston in October, 1645, who was observed in the ship, as he came, to have

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop places this in June, 1644.—H.      <sup>2</sup> It was in October, and so, I think, the MS. originally read, though "Oct." has been converted into "March."—H.      <sup>3</sup> See pages 347 and 373.—H.      <sup>4</sup> His baptismal name, according to Sav. Win., Index, was Alexander.—H.

broached and zealously maintained several points of Familism and Antinomianism, for which he was called before the magistrates and charged with the said opinions, but he refused to give any answer. But before he departed he was willing to confer with Mr. Cotton, which accordingly he did, and Mr. Cotton reported to the magistrates that he found him corrupt in his judgment, but ignorant of those points which he had maintained, so as he perceived he had been but lately taken with them, and that, upon argument, he was come off from the most of them, and he had good hope to reclaim him wholly. But some of the magistrates requiring a present renouncing of all under his hand, he was unwilling to that before he were clearly convinced of his error in them. It was moved by some that he might have liberty to tarry till the spring, because of the near approach of the winter; but the greater number in the Court overruled and voted the contrary, so as he was forced to depart before winter, and so he removed to Rhode Island. This strictness was offensive to some, and approved by others; and surely where there is hope of reducing any from the error of his way, and from the snare of the Devil, the rule of love (besides that of hospitality to strangers) doth seem to require more moderation and indulgence toward human infirmity, where there appears not obstinacy against the clear truth.

This year twenty families (most of them of the church of Braintree) petitioned the Court for liberty to begin a Plantation where Gorton and his company had erected two or three houses at Showamet, some part of Pumpham's land, but it was challenged by Mr. Browne<sup>1</sup> of Plymouth, as belonging to their jurisdiction. This he did without any order from their Court or Council, (as they declared afterward,) but only out of respect to some private end of his own. It might have been of some advantage to the interest of the English on the frontiers of the Narrhaganset country; but oftentimes regard to particular profit proves prejudicial to the general good. For if there had been a Plantation erected there by those of Braintree, it might have been as a bulwark against the

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. John Browne, one of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, dwelling at Rehoboth," says Winthrop.—H.

corruption in faith and manners prevailing in that part of New England, about Providence; but it is to be feared those parts of the country, like the miry places and marshes, spoken of in Ezek. xlvii. 11, are not as yet to be healed, but to be given to salt.

Many books coming out of England in the year 1645, some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience, as a shelter for a general toleration of all opinions, &c., others in maintenance of the Presbyterian government, (agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,) against the Congregational Way, which was practised in New England, the ministers of the churches, through all the United Colonies, agreed upon a meeting at Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> where they conferred their counsels, and examined the writings which some of them had prepared in answer to the said books, which being agreed upon and perfected, were sent over into England to be printed, viz. Mr. Hooker's Survey in answer to Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Mather's, Mr. Allen's, and Mr. Shepard's discourses about the same subject; though all did not undergo the same destiny, *habent enim sua fata libelli*; for Mr. Hooker's book, which he had so elaborately penned, was lost in the New Haven ship, that perished about that time in the main ocean. The author did not long survive after it, nor could ever be persuaded to let another copy be sent over in his life time, but after his death a copy was sent over, (whether so perfect an one as the original shall not now be discussed) and was printed in the year 1648, which put such a stop to the Presbyterian career, for the present, that it brought that cause to a stand, till the antagonista there took a time to rally up his broken arguments for the defence of that cause, in something an angry, not to say hasty and disorderly, posture, to make good the Presbyterian Platform, as sometimes Shammah did, with more manly force, the field of the Lentiles.<sup>2</sup> Those of that persuasion that began to muster together in New England, in the year 1643, were at the first sight easily routed by an Assembly that met together on that account in the year 1643.

<sup>1</sup> July 1, 1645.—H.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Samuel, xxiii. 11.—H.



September 19, 1644, two churches were appointed to be gathered, the one at Haverhill, the other at Andover, (both upon Merrimack River.) They had given notice thereof to the magistrates and ministers of the neighboring churches, as the manner is with them in New England. The meeting of the assembly was to be at that time at Rowley, (the forementioned Plantations, being then but newly erected, were not capable to entertain them that were like to be gathered together on that occasion.) But when they were assembled, most of those who were to join together in church fellowship at that time refused to make the confession of their faith and repentance, because, as was said, they declared it openly before in other churches, upon their admission into them. Whereupon, the messengers of the churches not being satisfied, the assembly brake up, before they had accomplished what they intended. But in October, 1645, messengers of churches met together again on the same account, when such satisfaction was given that Mr. John Ward was ordained pastor of the church of Haverhill, on the north side of the said Merrimack, and Mr. John Woodbridge was ordained pastor of the church of Andover, on the south side of the same.

On the 5th day of November following there was a church gathered at Reading, six miles to the west of Lynn, and Mr. Henry Green<sup>1</sup> was ordained pastor thereof. Thus the people of New England having rest, their churches were multiplied and edified, walking in the fear of God and comfort of the Holy Ghost, as was said of old concerning the primitive times.<sup>2</sup>

And at the General Court, in the year 1645, it was ordered, that divers farmers<sup>3</sup> belonging to Ipswich and Salem, (but so far distant from either town that they could not duly repair to the public worship there,) should erect a village, and have liberty to gather a church. This was much opposed by those of the town of Ipswich, pleading their interest in the land, &c. But it was answered, that when the land was granted to the towns it was not intended only for the benefit of the near inhab-

<sup>1</sup> "He was a very godly man," says Winthrop, and died May (or October) 11, 1648.—H.    <sup>2</sup> Acts, ix. 31.—H.    <sup>3</sup> Farms in the MS.—H.

itants, or for the maintenance of the officers of that one church only, but of all the inhabitants, and of any other church which should be there gathered; and a principal motive which led the Court to grant them, and other towns, such vast bounds was, that (when the towns should be increased by their children and servants, &c.,) they might have place to erect villages, where they might be planted, and so the land come to be improved to the more common benefit.

Many years after, that village was raised to a township, and called Topsfield, and a church being there gathered, Mr. Thomas Gilbert<sup>1</sup> was the first pastor that was ordained there, which was many years after.

A troublesome business fell out the same year at Hingham, which was the cause of much disturbance, both to the town and church there, the occasion of which was this: the Captain's place being void in that town, they chose one Eames<sup>2</sup> (that had been the Lieutenant, with good approbation, seven or eight years) into that office, and presented him to the Standing Council, in the year 1644, to be established therein; but before it was accomplished the greater part of the town took some light occasion of offence against him and chose one Allen<sup>3</sup> into the place, and presented him to the magistrates to be allowed. But the magistrates, considering the injury that would thereby accrue to Eames, that had been the chief commander so many years, and had deserved well in his place, and that Allen had no other skill but what he had learned of Eames, refused to confirm him, but willed both sides to return home, and every officer to keep his place, until the Court should take further order. Upon this the party that stood for Allen endeavored, with a kind of violence, to bring him into the place, and upon a training day (appointed by themselves) did by vote choose him thereunto, and he accepted thereof, and exercised the company two or three days, as their Captain, only about a third part of them followed Eames, their Lieutenant. In

<sup>1</sup> He was, says Farmer, a native of Scotland, and arrived at Charlestown in July, 1661, and soon after settled at Topsfield, from whence he was dismissed, and went to Charlestown, where he died Oct. 26, 1673, aged 63.—H. <sup>2</sup> Anthony Eames.—H. <sup>3</sup> Bozoun Allen, afterwards of Boston.—H.

the agitation of the business, when Allen was chosen to be Captain, some had reported that authority had advised Eames to lay down his place, but he denied it, and in some sort put the lie upon them that had so reported it; whereupon he was, the next Lord's Day, called to answer it before the church, ||where|| he stood to maintain what he had said. Five witnesses were produced to convince him; some of them affirmed the words, the others explained their meaning to be, that one magistrate had so advised him; but he denied both. Upon which the pastor (Mr. Peter Hobart, brother to three principal persons in the faction) was very forward to have excommunicated the Lieutenant presently, but, upon some opposition, it was put off to another day.

The pastor was reported to be of a Presbyterian spirit, and managed all affairs without advice of the brethren, which divers of the congregation not liking, they were divided into two parts; and the Lieutenant having complained of the injury done him to the magistrates, they would the more eagerly have cast him out, pretending he had told a lie. Afterwards some motion was made to the elders of other churches, (both by some of the magistrates and some of Eames's friends,) by whose intercession their proceedings were stayed awhile. But he, and about twelve more, perceiving the pastor was resolved to proceed to censure, and that there was no way of reconciliation, they withdrew from the church, and openly declared it in the congregation. This course was not approved of by the elders of the neighbor churches; and therefore, during the adjournment of the Court, where the case was depending,) upon the desire of the pastor, (fearing the case was likely to go against him and his party in the church,) the said elders were called to Hingham, who readily accepted the motion, and spent three or four days in hearing the case; but though they found the pastor and his party in great fault, yet could not bring them to any acknowledgment, and therefore were forced to return home, *re infecta*. At the last the pastor, and the prevailing part of the church, proceeded to pass the sentence of excommunication on the lieutenant and two or three more. But upon further advice

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with the elders of the other churches, it was concluded, that seeing neither *clavis litigans*, nor *errans, ligat*, those that were without just cause cast out at Hingham, were received into the church of Weymouth, in the town next adjoining; and the matter so continued, through the stiffness of their minds, and their self-willed resolution; by which it is to be feared that many, who are called unto liberty, use it for an occasion to the flesh, and forget that golden rule of our Savior, and the precept of the Apostle, by love to serve one another.

CHAP. XLIX.<sup>1</sup>*Memorable accidents in New England from 1641 to 1646.*

MARCH, 1641, one Swain, of Agamenticus, fell into despair, and being often heard to utter dreadful speeches against himself, and cry out that he was all on fire under the wrath of God, but would never discover any other heinous sin, but that, having gotten about £40 by his labor, &c., he went over into England and spent it in wicked company. After he had so continued awhile he hanged himself. One of his neighbors, J.<sup>2</sup> Baker, a member of the church of Boston, having gone away<sup>3</sup> from the church in a disorderly manner, and fallen into drunkenness, was so awakened by this sight, that of his own accord he returned<sup>4</sup> to the church, and made open confession of his sin, and manifested repentance to the satisfaction of the church; yet, not taking heed to himself, fell into gross distempers soon after, and at last died by the hand of justice, in London, upon a worse account.

In April, on a Lord's Day, the same year, two children were left at home alone, in the town of Concord, one in the cradle; the other having burned a cloth, and for fear his mother should see it, went to hide it in the hay stack near the house, the fire not being quite out, whereby the hay, house, and child in the cradle were burnt up.

About the same time, a woman<sup>5</sup> at Boston, counted

<sup>1</sup> XLVIII in the MS.—H.    <sup>2</sup> John.—H.    <sup>3</sup> Coffin (Hist. Newbury,) says he was dismissed from Boston church, Nov. 24, 1640.—H.

<sup>4</sup> In April. Sav. Win. ii. 29.—H.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the wife of Captain William Peirse.—H.