

trust to an unfaithful friend do but wade in unknown waters, and lean on a broken reed, which both woundeth as well as deceiveth those that rely thereon.

CHAP. LV.¹

The general affairs of New England, from the year 1646 to 1651.

MR. WINTHROP was this year, the ninth time, chosen Governor of the Colony of the Massachusetts, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, on the 13th² day of May, which was the day of election there in the year 1646. Mr. Pelham³ and Mr. Endicot were chosen Commissioners for the same Colony, by the vote of the freemen. The magistrates and deputies had hitherto chosen them, since the first Confederation, but the freemen, looking at them as general officers, would now choose them themselves, and the rather because of some of the deputies had formerly been chosen to that office, which was not, as was said, so acceptable to some of the Confederates, no more than to some of themselves; for it being an affair of so great moment, the most able gentlemen in the whole country were the fittest for it.

This Court lasted but three weeks, and notice was taken, that all things were therein carried on with much peace and good correspondence to the end of the session, when they departed home in much love. It was by special Providence so ordered, that there should be so good accord and unanimity in the General Court, when the minds of so many dissenters were so resolutely bent to make an assault upon the very foundation of their government; for if the tackling had been loosed, so as they could not have strengthened their mast, the lame would at that time have easily taken the prey. For Mr. William Vassal, one of the Patentees, that came over in the year 1630, (when⁴ he was also chosen an Assistant,) but not complying with the rest of his colleagues, nor yet able to make a party amongst them, returned for England

¹ LIV in the MS.—H. ² 6th, says Winthrop.—H. ³ Herbert Pelham. He was chosen, Dec. 27, 1643, first treasurer of Harvard College.—H.

⁴ A slight mistake; he was chosen Assistant, Oct. 20, 1629. See page 124.—H.

soon after; but not satisfying himself in his return, came back again to New England in the year 1635, and then settled himself at Scituate, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; a man of a pleasant and facetious wit, and in that respect complacent in company; but for his actings and designs of a busy and factious spirit, and indeed a meer salamander by his disposition, that could take content in no element but that of the fire; and in his discourse did usually, in all companies, bear the part of Antilegon, as he was called by a friend of his, and was always found opposite to the government of the place, where he lived, both ecclesiastical and civil. It was the less wonder that he appeared such, in the Colony of the Massachusetts, both while he was an inhabitant there, and where else he came. He had practised with such as were not freemen to take some course, first by petitioning the Courts of the Massachusetts and of Plymouth, and if that succeeded not, to apply themselves to the Parliament of England, pretending that here they were subjected to an arbitrary power and extrajudicial proceedings, &c.

Here was the source of that petition, presented to the Court of the Massachusetts, under the hands of several inhabitants of Boston, in the name of themselves and many others in the country. That Court they pressed to have had a present answer. It was delivered in to the deputies, and subscribed by Doctor Child,¹ Mr. Thomas Fowle, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, and four more.²

But the Court being then near at an end, and the matter being very weighty, they referred the further consideration thereof to the next sessions.

But in the mean time they were encountered with other difficulties, in reference to some of Gorton's company, with whom they had been much troubled in the former lustre; for on the 13th of September, Randall Holden arrived at Boston, in a ship from London, bringing with him an Order from the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, drawn up upon the complaint, and in favor, of the forementioned Familists, which were too much

¹ Robert Child, whom Hutchinson speaks of as "a young gentleman just come from Padua, where he studied physic, and, as was reported, had taken the degree of doctor."—H. ² Mr. Thomas Burton, Mr. John Smith, Mr. David Yale, and Mr. John Dand.—H.

countenanced by some of those Commissioners. A copy of which Order here follows.

By the Governor-in-chief, the Lord High Admiral, and Commissioners appointed by the Parliament, for the English Plantations in America.

Whereas we have thought fit to give an order for S. G., R. H., and J. G.,¹ and others, late inhabitants of a tract of land, called the Narraganset Bay, [near the Massachusetts Bay²] in New England, to return with freedom to the said tract of land, and there to inhabit [and abide³] without interruption; These are therefore to pray and require you, and all other whom this may concern, to permit and suffer the said S. G. &c., with their company, goods, and necessaries, carried with them out of England, to land at any port in New England, where the ship wherein they [do³] embark themselves shall arrive, and from thence to pass, without any of your lets or molestations, through any part of the country³ of America, within your jurisdiction, to the said [tract of land called Narragansett²] Bay, or any part thereof, they carrying themselves without offence, and paying according to the custom of the country [and their contract,³] for all things they shall make use of in their way, for victuals, carriage, and other accommodation. Hereof you may not fail; and this shall be your warrant.

Dated at Westminster, May 15, 1648.

Nottingham,
Fra. Dacre,
Cor. Holland,
[Fer. Rigby,
Sam. Vassall,
Geo. Fenwick,
Fran. Allein,
Wm. Purefoy,
Geo. Snelling.⁴]

To the Governor and Assistants of the English Plantation in the Massachusetts [Bay²] in New England, and to all other Governors and other inhabitants of New England and all others whom this may concern.

With the order, came also a letter⁵ of like tenor from the Commissioners. This Order being sent to the Governor to desire leave to land, &c., the Governor answered, that he could not give them leave of himself,

¹ "Mr. Samuel Gorton, Mr. Randall Holden, Mr. John Greene, and others."—H.

² Supplied from the copy of the Order preserved by Winthrop.—H.

³ *Continent* in Winthrop.—H.

⁴ The MS. has, in place of the last six names (supplied from Winthrop,) the words "*cum multis aliis*."—H.

⁵ See this letter in Sav. Win. ii. 280-2.—H

nor dispense with any order of the General Court ; but the Council being to meet within two or three days, he would impart it to them, and in the mean time he would not seek after them.

When the Council was met, though they were of different minds about the case, the more part agreed to suffer them to pass quietly away, according to the protection given them, and at the General Court to consider further about their possessing the land they claimed. But when the General Court came together, they judged it needful to send some discreet person into England, with commission and instructions, to satisfy the Commissioners for Plantations about these matters ; and to that end made choice of Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the magistrates of Plymouth, as a fit man to be employed in the present affairs, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, and courage, as also being well known to divers of the Council. And accordingly he accepted of the service, and prepared for the journey, in the end of the year 1646, being furnished with a Commission, instructions, and other necessaries, and also with a remonstrance and petition to the foresaid Lords and gentlemen, Commissioners for Foreign Plantations.

To the Right Honorable ROBERT, Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-chief, Lord Admiral, and other the Lords and gentlemen, Commissioners for Foreign Plantations.

The humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts [Bay in New England in America,'] in way of answer to the Petition and Declaration of S. Gorton, &c.

Whereas, by virtue of his Majesty's Charter, granted to the Patentees^a in the fourth year of his Highness' reign, we were incorporated into a body politic with divers liberties and privileges extending to that part of New England where we now inhabit: We do acknowledge, (as we have always done, and as in duty we are bound,) that, although we are removed out of our native country, yet we still have dependence upon that state, and owe allegiance and subjection thereunto, according to our Charter, and accordingly we have mourned and rejoiced therewith, and have had friends and enemies in common

¹ Supplied from the copy preserved by Winthrop.—K.

² *Your petitioners* in Winthrop.—K.

with it, in all the changes which have befallen it. Our care and endeavor [also¹] hath been to frame our government and administrations to the fundamental rules thereof, so far as the different condition of this place and people, and the best light we have from the Word of God, will allow. And whereas, by Order ||from|| your Honors, bearing date May 15, 1646, we find that your Honors have still that good opinion of us, as not to credit what hath been informed against us before we be heard, we render humble thanks to your Honors for the same; yet forasmuch as our answer to the information of the said Gorton, &c., is expected, and something also required of us, which (in all humble submission) we conceive may be prejudicial to the liberties granted us by the said Charter, and to our well-being in these remote parts of the world, (under the comfort whereof, by the blessing of the Lord, his Majesty's favor, and the special care and bounty of the High Court of Parliament, we have lived in peace and prosperity these seventeen years,) our humble petition in the first place is, that our present and future conformity to your orders and directions may be accepted with a *salvo jure*, that when times may be changed, (for all things here below are subject unto vanity,) and other Princes or Parliaments may arise, the generations succeeding may not have cause to lament, and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy, and other potent adversaries: how came we then to lose them, under the favor and protection of that State, in such a season, when England itself recovered its own? *In fretis vivimus, in portu morimur*. But we confide in your Honors' justice, wisdom, and goodness, that our posterity shall have cause to rejoice under the fruit and shelter thereof, as ourselves and many others do; and therefore we are bold to represent to your Honors our apprehensions, whereupon we have thus presumed to petition you in this behalf.

It appears to us, by the said Order, that we are con-

[of]

¹ Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

ceived, 1. to have transgressed our limits, by sending soldiers to fetch in Gorton, &c., out of Shaomet, in the Narrhaganset Bay; 2. that we have either exceeded or abused our authority, in banishing them out of our jurisdiction, when they were in our power. For the first we humbly crave (for your¹ better satisfaction) that your Honors will be pleased to peruse what we have delivered to the care of Mr. Edward Winslow, our agent or commissioner, (whom we have sent on purpose to attend your Honors,) concerning our proceedings in that affair, and the grounds thereof, which are truly and faithfully reported, and the letters of the said Gorton and his company, and other letters concerning them, faithfully copied out, (not verbatim only, but [even²] literatim, according to their own bad English;) the originals³ we have by us, and had sent them, but for casualty of the seas. Thereby it will appear what the men are, and how unworthy your favor. Thereby also will appear the wrongs and provocations we received from them, and our long patience towards them, till they became our professed enemies, wrought us disturbance, and attempted our ruin; in which case, (as we conceive,) our Charter gives us full power to deal with them as enemies by force of arms, they being then in such place where we could have no right from them by civil justice; which the Commissioners for the United Colonies finding, and the necessity of calling them to account, left us the business to do.

For the other particulars in your Honors' Order, viz. the banishment of Gorton, &c., as we are assured, upon good grounds, [that³] our sentence upon them was less than their deserving, so (as we conceive) we had sufficient authority, by our Charter, to inflict the same, having full and absolute power and authority to punish, pardon, rule, govern, &c., granted us therein.

Now, by occasion of the said Order, those of Gorton's company begin to lift up their heads and speak their pleasures of us, threatening the poor Indians also, who (to avoid their tyranny) had submitted themselves and their lands under our protection and government;

¹ Our in the MS., evidently a slip of the pen.—H.

² Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

³ By the originals in the MS.—H.

and divers other sachems, following their example, have done the like, and some of them brought (by the labor of one of our ministers,¹ Mr. John Eliot, who hath obtained to preach to them in their own language,) to good forwardness in embracing the Gospel of God in Christ Jesus. All which hopeful beginnings are like to be despised,² if Gorton, &c., shall be countenanced and upheld against them and us, which also will endanger our peace here at home; for some among ourselves (men of unquiet spirits, affecting rule and innovation,) have taken boldness to prefer scandalous and seditious petitions for such liberties as neither our Charter, nor reason or religion, will allow; and being called before us, in open Court, to give account of their miscarriage therein, they have threatened us with your Honors' authority, and (before they knew [whether³] we would proceed to any sentence against them, or not) have refused to answer, but appealed to your Honors. The copy of their petition, and our declaration thereupon, our said Commissioner hath ready to present to you when your leisure shall permit to hear them. Their appeals we have not admitted, being assured [that³] they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our Charter, nor will be allowed by your Honors, who well know it would be destructive to all government, both in the honor and also in the power of it, if it should be in the power⁴ of delinquents to evade the sentence of justice, and force us, by appeal, to follow them into England, where the evidences and circumstances of fact cannot be so clearly held forth as in their proper place; besides the insupportable charges we must be at in the prosecution of it.

These considerations are not new to your Honors and the High Court of Parliament, the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great Council, who, in ||those|| times of darkness, when they acknowledged the supremacy in the Bishop of Rome in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome, &c., to remove causes out of the Courts in England.

|| these ||

¹ *Elders* in Winthrop.—H.

² *Dashed* in Winthrop.—H.

³ Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

⁴ *Liberty* in Winthrop.—H.

Besides, (though we shall readily admit, that the wisdom and experience of that great Council and of your Honors, as a part thereof, are [far¹] more able to prescribe rules of government, and to judge the causes, than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up, yet) considering the vast difference between England and these parts, (which usually abates the virtue of the strongest influences,) your counsels and judgments could neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be so useful to us, or so safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account, for any miscarriages which might befall us, while we depended upon your counsel and help, which could not seasonably be administered to us; whereas, if any such should befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the State of England shall not answer for it.

In consideration of the premises, our humble petition to your Honors (in the next place) is, that you would be pleased to continue your favorable aspect upon these poor infant Plantations, that we may still rejoice and bless our God under your shadow, and be there still nourished, (*tanquam calore et rore caelesti,*) and while God owns us for a people of his, he will own our poor prayers for you, and your goodness towards us, for an abundant recompense. And this in special, if you shall please to pass by any failings you [may¹] have observed in our course, to confirm our liberties, granted to us by Charter, by leaving delinquents to our just proceedings, and discountenancing our enemies and disturbers of our peace, or such as molest our people there, upon pretence of injustice. Thus craving pardon, if we have presumed too far upon your Honors' patience, and expecting a gracious testimony of your wonted favor by this our agent, which shall further oblige us and our posterity in all humble and faithful service to the High Court of Parliament and to your Honors, we continue our earnest prayers for your prosperity^a forever.

By order of the General Court,

[(10) 46.¹] INCREASE NOWELL, *Secretary.*
[JOHN WINTHROP, *Governor.*¹]

¹ Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

^a *Posterity* in Winthrop.—H.

Mr. Winslow, being now fitted for his journey into England, by a Commission¹ and the forementioned petition, with other suitable instructions,¹ set sail from Boston about the middle of December, 1646. Upon his arrival in England, and delivery of his letters to the Earl of Warwick and others, who were desired to assist in their affairs, he had a day appointed for audience before the Committee, when Gorton and others of his company appeared also to justify their petition and information, which they had formerly exhibited against the Court, &c., for making war upon them and keeping them prisoners, &c. But after their agent had shewed the two letters they wrote to them from Shaomet, and the testimony of the Court, and some of the ministers, concerning their blasphemous heresies, and other miscarriages, it pleased the Lord to bring about the hearts of the Committee, so as they discerned of Gorton, &c., what they were, and of the justice of their proceedings against them, only they were not satisfied in this, that they were within their jurisdiction. To which the agent pleaded two things, 1. they were within the jurisdiction of Plymouth or Connecticut, and so the order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies had left them to those of the Massachusetts; and [2.] the Indians (upon whose land they dwelt,) had subjected themselves and their land to their government. Whereupon the committee made this Order following, which was directed in form of a letter to the Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, (one to each.)

After our hearty commendations, &c.

By our letter of May 15, 1646, ||we|| communicated unto you our reception of a complaint from S. G., R. Holden, &c.,² touching some proceedings tried against them by your government. We also imparted to you our resolutions, (grounded upon certain reasons set forth in said letter,) for their residing upon ||²Showamet,|| and the other parts of that tract of land, which is mentioned in a letter³ of civil incorporation heretofore granted unto them

|| were ||

|| ² Shaomet ||

* Various spelt in *Hubbard*. In *Haz. Coll. Showamet*. Ed.

¹ See these documents in *Sav. Win.* ii. 298-301.—H.

² "Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, &c." *Sav. Win.* ii. 319.—H.

³ *Charter* in *Winthrop*.—H.

by us, praying and requiring of you to permit the same accordingly, without extending your jurisdiction to any part thereof, or disquieting them in their civil peace, or otherwise interrupting them in their possession, until we should receive your answer to the same in point of title, and thereupon give further order. We have since received a petition or¹ remonstrance from you by your Commissioner, Mr. Winslow, and though we have not yet entered into a particular consideration of the matter, yet we do, in the general, take notice of ²your request, as well as the Parliament's authority, as your own just privileges,² and find cause to be further confirmed in our former opinion and knowledge of your prudence and faithfulness to God and his cause. And perceiving by your petition that some persons do take advantage from our said letters to decline and question your jurisdiction, and pretend to a general liberty to appeal hither, upon their being called in question before you for matters proper to your cognizance, we thought it necessary (for the preventing further inconveniences in this kind) hereby to declare, that we intended not thereby to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass than is held forth by your Letters-Patents, but to leave you with all that freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you; knowing that the limiting of you in that kind may be very prejudicial (if not destructive) to the government and public peace of the Colonies. For your further satisfaction wherein, you may remember that our said resolution took rise from an admittance that the Narraganset Bay (the thing in question) was wholly without the bounds of your Patent, the examination whereof will, in the next place, come before us. In the mean time we have received advertisement, that the place is within the Patent of New Plymouth, and that the grounds of your proceedings against the complainants was a joint authority from the four governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, which, if it falls in upon proof, will much alter the state of the question. And whereas our said direction extend-

¹ And in Winthrop.—H. ² In Winthrop this reads, *your respect, as well to the Parliament's authority, as your own just privileges.*—H.

ed¹ not only to yourselves, but also to all the other governments and Plantations [in New England,²] whom it might concern, we declare, that we intended thereby no prejudice to any of their next neighbors,³ nor the countenancing of any practice to violate them; and that we shall be ready for the future to give our encouragement and assistance in all your endeavors for settling your peace and government, and [the²] advancement of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to whose blessing we commend your persons and affairs.

Your very loving friends,

WARWICK, Governor and Admiral,
MANCHESTER,
WM. SAY and SEAL, &c.⁴

From the Committee of Lords and Commons,
May 25, 1647.

Soon after they received another letter from the same Committee, which here followeth :

IN our late letter of May 25, we imparted how far we had proceeded upon the petition of S. G. and R. H. &c.¹ We did by our said letter declare our tenderness of your just privileges, and of preserving entire the authority and jurisdiction of the several governments in New England, whereof we shall still express our continued care. We have since that taken further consideration of the petition, and spent some time in hearing both parties, concerning the bounds of those Patents under which yours[elves²] and the other governments do claim, to the end we might receive satisfaction, whether Showamet and the rest of the tract of land, pretended to by the petitioners, be actually included within any of your limits, in which point (being matter of fact) we could not at this distance give a resolution, and therefore leave that matter to be examined and determined upon the place, if there shall be occasion, for that the boundaries will be there best known and distinguished; and if it shall appear that the said tract of land is within the limits of any of the New England Patents, we shall leave the same, and the inhabitants thereof, to the [proper³] jurisdiction of that government under which they fall. Nevertheless, for that the petitioners

¹ Exhibited in the MS.—H.

² Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

³ Just rights in Winthrop.—H.

⁴ "Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, &c.," in Winthrop.—H.

have transplanted their families thither, and there settled their residences at a great charge, we commend it to the government, within whose jurisdiction they shall appear to be, (as our only desire at present in this matter,) not only not to remove them from their Plantations, but also to encourage them with protection and assistance, in all fit ways, provided that they demean themselves peaceably, and not endanger any of the English Colonies by a prejudicial correspondency with the Indians or otherwise; wherein if they shall be found faulty, we leave them to be proceeded with according to justice. To this purpose we have also written our letters of this tenor to the Governors¹ of New Plymouth and Connecticut, hoping that a friendly compliance will engage those persons to an inoffensive order and conformity, and so become an act of greater conquest, honor, and contentment to you all, than the scattering and reducing of them by an hand of power. And so, not doubting of your concurrence with this desire, as there shall be occasion, we commend you to the grace of Christ, resting

Your very affectionate friends,

WARWICK, Governor and Admiral,
MANCHESTER,
PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY,
GEORGE FENWICK,
COR. HOLLAND, etc.²

[From the Committee, &c.
July 22, 1647.³]

The Committee having thus declared themselves to have an honorable regard of them and care to promote the welfare of the United Colonies and other English Plantations to the eastward, (for they had confirmed Mr. Rigbey's Patent of Ligonía, and by their favorable interpretation of it had brought it to the sea-side, whereas the words of the grant laid it twenty miles short, and had put Sir Ferdinando Gorges out of all as far as Saco,) their agent⁴ proceeded to have their Charter (which they had lately granted to those of Rhode Island and Providence) to be called in, as things⁴ within the Patent of Plymouth or Connecticut.

¹ Governments in Winthrop.—H.

² Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

³ I. e. Winalow, the Massachusetts agent. Sav. Win. ii. 320.—H.

⁴ A mistake for lying. Ibid.—H.

Gorton, having tried to the utmost what he could do with the Committee, and finding his expectation wholly disappointed, came away for New England with what he had, thinking it was now bootless to wait for more; he arrived at Boston in the spring¹ of the year 1648. The Court, being informed thereof, made an order, that he should be apprehended, to prevent the infection of his pestilential doctrine; but shewing a letter from the Earl of Warwick, desiring only that he might have liberty to pass home, the Court recalled that order, and gave him a week's liberty to provide for his departure. It being only a request and no command, the not complying therewith might have been a disadvantage to their other affairs, yet under the hand of their agent, and depending before that Committee whereof the said Earl was President.

Gorton and his company of Shaomet, hearing how matters were like to go against them in England, began to consider how they might make their peace with the Massachusetts, and for that end sent two of their company to petition the General Court, then sitting at Boston; but these messengers understanding at Dedham that the Court was adjourned, came no further, but one of them wrote a letter to the Governor after this tenor following:

To the Right Worshipful Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts, humbly present to your Worship's consideration,

That whereas I, with another, was chosen by the General Court held at Providence the 18th of this month, and sent with an honorable² request to this honorable Court³ concerning Shaomet business, but when we came to Dedham, hearing that the General Court was adjourned, I, your suppliant, (being an inhabitant of Shaomet,) seriously weighing my present condition there, I made bold to advise with Mr. Powel⁴ concerning the same, who advised me to repair to your worship, which (on consideration) I would not, till I had some knowledge of your worship's favorable acceptance. My humble re-

¹ In May.—H.

² It should be *humble*. Sav. Win. ii. 323.—H.

³ *State* in Winthrop.—H. ⁴ Michael Powell, says Mr. Savage, kept the Ordinary in the town of Dedham.—H.

quest therefore is, that your worship would be pleased to send me your mind in a few lines concerning the premises. So, craving your worship's favorable construction, I remain

Yours, most humbly,

R.¹ BARTON.

Dedham, May 22, 1648.

By the style of this letter it appears how this company were crest-fallen, who but a little before had a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; but thanks be unto God, they had not power to continue very long; for being now reduced to a little more sobriety in their language and behavior, they were permitted quietly to enjoy their possessions at Shaomet, which ever after, in honor of the Governor-in-chief among the Commissioners for Plantations, they called Warwick, and by that name it hath been known ever since.

This was the issue of the address made by these Gortonites to the Commissioners, who, after the great clamor and noise they had made, could make nothing appear of that which they had affirmed.

Those that had troubled the Court and country of the Massachusetts with a petition, mentioned before, having their dependence in like manner upon the said Commissioners, met with much what the same success of their endeavors; for their petition being disliked there, they hoped to force it by the authority of the foresaid Commissioners, but they found no more countenance there than in New England.

The substance of that petition was ranked by the petitioners under three general heads. "1. The country's not owning of the fundamental laws of England as the basis of their government, according to Patent. 2. Denying of civil privileges and immunities, enjoyed by the freemen of the jurisdiction, to those who were not in that capacity, though free born Englishmen, just and honest in their dealing, peaceable and quiet in their behavior, forward with heart, hand, and purse to advance the public good, laws of their nation, &c., and yet they were not

¹ Rufus.—x.

capable to bear offices, either civil or military, without taking an oath of fidelity. 3. That they were debarred from the privileges of Christianity, as baptism for their children, and the Lord's Supper for themselves, if they were not members of some of the particular churches in the country, though otherwise sober, righteous, and godly, eminent for knowledge, not scandalous in life and conversation, members of the churches of England. Therefore desired that, their persons being qualified as is expressed, the Court would give them liberty to be taken into their congregations; intimating also, as if they conceived many judgments had fallen upon the country for neglecting thereof."¹

This petition was very ill resented, both by the Court and country, as looking something of a seditious nature, and tending to make disturbance in the country.

Whereupon a committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration¹ in answer thereunto, which was published November 4, 1646, wherein was a great deal of pains taken to make it evident to the world, that they had no cause so to remonstrate. And in the said Declaration the fundamental laws of Magna Charta were written on one part of the column, and the liberties of the people of New England on the other, by which it might appear what little discrepancy there was, if any at all, as to the substance of them. In the same Declaration also, they returned the petitioners a full answer out of their own words, delivered in the preface of their petition: "We cannot but with all thankfulness acknowledge your indefatigable pains, continual care, [and] constant vigilancy, which, by the blessing of the Almighty, hath procured to this wilderness the much desired fruits of peace and plenty, while our native land and the Christian world is sharply afflicted with the devouring sword, and [the] sad consequences of intestine wars;" which expressions plainly contradict what follows in the petition, and therefore it could not but be looked upon as altogether without cause or ground, and a kind of factious remonstrance,

¹ See this Petition in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 188-96; and the Declaration in answer thereto, *ibid.* pp. 196-218.—K.

directly tending to make commotion in the minds of people, and thereby make disturbance in the place. When they were called to an account for their petition, Dr. Child, the chief speaker, demanded what should be laid to their charge, saying it was no offence to prefer a petition, &c. It was answered, that they were not questioned for petitioning, but for such miscarriages as appeared in their petition and remonstrance. The Doctor desired that they might know the charge: the Court answered, they should have it in due time, but it was not then ready, and some of them (as was certified to the Court) being upon their departure, they were told they must find sureties for their forthcoming. The Doctor, &c., demanded what offence they had committed, for which they should find sureties, and pressing on that hand, one clause in the said petition was presently read to them, viz. "our brethren of England's just indignation against us, so as they fly from us as a pest," &c., whereby was said, that they laid a great scandal upon the country, &c. This was so clear they could not evade it, but quarrelled with the Court in high terms, the Doctor telling them they did beneath themselves in petitioning to them, &c., and in conclusion appealed to the Commissioners in England. The Governor told them they could admit no appeal, nor was it allowed by their Charter. In the end they were dismissed for the present, and at the next sessions of the Court there was a charge drawn up against them, for divers false and scandalous passages in a certain paper, entitled "A Remonstrance and Petition," &c., tending to sedition. One particular branch of their charge, to clear it up that their speeches tended to sedition, was to this purpose, that there are many thousands secretly discontented at the government, &c., whereby those who indeed were so, might be emboldened to discover themselves, and to attempt some innovation, in confidence of so many thousands to join with them, and so to kindle a great flame, the foretelling whereof might be a chief means to enkindle it. But whatever was the charge, they were at last offered, that if they would ingenuously acknowledge their miscarriage, &c., it should be freely

remitted; but they remaining obstinate, they were severally fined, according to the degrees of their offences, some more and some less.¹ Two or three² of the magistrates dissented; one of them, *viz. Mr. Bellingham,* desired to be entered *contradictent.*, which needed not, for he was too well known in the Court to oppose and contradict whatever was propounded by the Governor and Mr. Dudley. And so the Court dissolved.

Some of these petitioners being bound for England, their papers were searched by the authority of the Governor and Council, amongst which were found the copies of some petitions and queries to be presented to the Commissioners for Plantations. One petition was from some non-freemen, pretended to be in the name, and upon the sighs and tears, of many thousands, &c. In the preamble they shewed how they were driven out of their native country by the tyranny of the Bishops, &c. One of their petitions was for liberty of conscience, and for a General Governor. They had sent their agents up and down the country to get hands to this petition, but of the many thousands they spake of, they could find but twenty-five hands to the chief petition, and those were, for the most part, either young men who came over servants and never had overmuch shew of religion in them or, fishermen of Marblehead, feared to be profane persons, divers of whom were brought the last year from Newfoundland, for the fishing season, and so to return again. Others were drawn in by their relations, and those depended upon for means how to live. One was a barber of Boston, who, being demanded by the Governor what made him set his hand, made answer, that the gentlemen were his customers, &c. These were the men that must be held forth to the Parliament as driven out of England by the Bishops, &c., and whose tears and sighs must move compassion, such as indeed were more exercised with care how to live in the Commonwealth than with any matter of conscience, how to serve God in the church. Dr. Child being upon this apprehended, and brought

¹ Dr. Child was fined £80, Smith £40, Maverick £10, Fowle, Burton, Yale, and Dand £30 each.—x.

² Bellingham, Bradstreet, and Saltonstall, as Winthrop informs us.—x.

before the Governor and Council, fell into a great passion, and gave big words, but when he was told that they had considered him as a person of quality, and therefore had used him with such respect as was meet to be showed to a gentleman and a scholar, but if he would behave himself no better he should be clapt in irons, upon which he grew more calm; and having thus hampered himself and provoked the authority of the country to handle him more roughly, with some of the rest, till they were humble enough to acknowledge their offences, upon their submission they were discharged.

One of the petitioners going that year for England, met with a sad storm at the Land's End, which (as was credibly reported) made him as sick in his conscience, with remorse for what he had done in the business of the petition, as he was in his carcase for the working of the sea, whereupon he delivered the papers about it to a well-affected passenger, to be thrown over into the sea, which made himself and some others look at them as the Jonah that occasioned the storm that soon after ceased. But another in the ship, of a more resolved and tough humor, that was not a little concerned in the same business, as soon as he came ashore, published his papers concerning that affair, in a pamphlet, which he styled, "Jonah cast on the dry land."¹ These men of scoffing wits abuse the serious acts of Providence to please their idle fancies. The righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of God, and happy will that man be found to be, and approved of God, that works righteousness in his sight, that never shall see cause to condemn himself for that thing, which formerly he allowed in himself or others.

Mr. Burton, one of the petitioners, being in the town-meeting at Boston, when the Court's declaration about the petition was there read, was much moved, and spake in high language, and would needs have a copy of it, which so soon as he had, he hasted with it, (as was undoubtedly believed,) to Dr. Child; but in the way,

¹ This is a mistake. "New England's Jonas cast up at London" was published by Major John Child, of Kent, a brother of our Doctor.—H.

making more haste than good speed, he fell down, and lay there in the cold near half an hour before it was known who he was, and company gotten to carry him home in a chair, after which he continued in great pain, and lame divers months.

It was observed that this man had a little before gathered up some Providences about such as were against them, as that Mr. Winslow's horse died in the way as he came to Boston, on account of his being called to be agent for the country, and something of another nature that happened in the family of Mr. Winslow's brother. But now his great trouble was, lest this Providence which befell himself, should be imputed [to their cause,'] and as a bad omen against his own house, and presage the fall thereof. The event did give no small countenance to such an interpretation, for soon after it was understood by the passengers which came from England, as well as by Mr. Winslow's letters, how the hopes and endeavors of Dr. Child and others of the petitioners, had been blasted by the special providence of God, which still wrought against them; for Mr. Vassall, assisted, as was said, by a relation of Dr. Child, set out a pamphlet, called "the Jonah cast on dry land," as was hinted before, wherein he published the petition exhibited to the General Court, and other proceedings of the said Court against them;¹ which was answered by Mr. Winslow in another, which he called "the Salamander," (pointing therein at the said Mr. Vassall, a man never at rest, but when he was in the fire of contention,) wherein he cleared the justice of the Massachusetts Court in their proceedings about that affair. Others that went over with intent to procure them trouble ran into it themselves, and found it made good upon them in their experience what Solomon long since declared, with other penmen of holy writ, "He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him; whoso removeth stones, shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood, shall be endangered thereby."² "There is a day wherein God will make Jerusalem a burthensome stone, and the Gov-

¹ Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

² See page 516.—H.

³ Ecclesiastes, x. 8, 9.—H.

ernors of Judah like an hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf," &c.¹ Mr. Vassall finding no encouragement to stay in England, went to the Barbadoes, the torrid zone being most agreeable to those of his disposition.

Dr. Child also preferred a petition to the Commissioners of Plantations against New England, and put in Mr. Thomas Fowle's name among others; but he hearing of it protested against it, for (as was said) God had brought him very low, both in his estate and reputation, since he joined in the first petition. But it missed the mark, how directly soever it was levelled against the country, and not being able ||to|| effect his design that way, he attempted another sort of revenge by reproaching the place and the fautors thereof. For falling in talk with Mr. Willoughby² upon the Exchange, (who not long before belonged to Charlestown of New England,) he flew out in scurrilous language against the people of New England, saying they were a company of rogues and knaves. Mr. Willoughby answered, that he who spake so was a knave, whereupon the Doctor gave him a box on the ear. Mr. Willoughby was ready to have closed with him, &c., but being upon the Royal Exchange he was stayed, but presently arrested him. When the Doctor saw the danger he was in, he employed some friends to make his peace; by whom he was persuaded to give £5 to the poor of New England, and to give Mr. Willoughby open satisfaction in the full Exchange, and to give it under his hand, never to speak evil of New England men after, nor to occasion any trouble to the country, or to any of the people; all which he gladly performed.

In affairs of this nature passed the three first years of this lustre, in all which Mr. Winthrop, by annual election, held the Governor's place, as Mr. Dudley did the Deputy's. Although in the year 1647³ there had been great laboring by the friends of the petitioners to have one chosen

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¹ Zechariah, xii. 3, 6.—H.

² Francis Willoughby, "a gentleman from England," was chosen Assistant in 1650, was Deputy Governor from 1665 to 1670, and died at Charlestown, April 4, 1671.—H.

³ May 26th.—H.

Governor who favored their cause, and to have added some new magistrates of their side; but Mr. Winthrop carried it by near three hundred votes above any other, nor was any new Assistant chosen but Captain Robert Bridges,¹ who was not fit for their turn. In the two following years Mr. Dudley² was declared, by the vote of the freemen, most worthy to succeed in the place of Governor, the Deputy Governor's place the same time falling to Mr. Endicot's³ share, Mr. Winthrop, the former Governor, being called hence March 26, 1649, about the sixty-third³ year of his age. Whatever were the sepulchre wherein his body was entombed, (not royal, like that of Jehoiada,) yet was he honored with the like epitaph, engraven in the minds of the people, as a worthy gentleman, who had done good in Israel, having spent not only his whole estate, (which at the first was considerable,) but his bodily strength and life, in the service of the country, not sparing, but always, as the burning torch, spending his health and wealth for the good of others. His virtues were very many and very commendable; his errors but few and very small compared with those observed in his detractors. One of the greatest note complained of in him, was his *αφειδια σωματος*, i. e. not sparing the body; for the remedy of which his friends wished he had more literally taken notice of Paul's precept to Timothy, "drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities," which too many of that holy Apostle's disciples, or at least pretenders so to be, are very ready to observe, neglecting all the rest. But this good gentleman, having, in those hard times of first planting the wilderness, endeavored to leave to others an unimitable pattern of temperance and frugality, he so much overcooled his natural heat that he thereby, as it were, invited death to take seizure of his weak body before he had scarce made any entrance into old age.

¹ See page 493.—H.

² This is a most unaccountable mistake. Endicot succeeded Winthrop as Governor, and retained the office until 1654, while Dudley during the same period, until his death, July 31, 1653, was Deputy Governor.—H.

³ This is a mistake. Winthrop was born Jan. 12, 1588, and consequently was, at his decease, 61 years, 2 months, and 14 days old. He was buried on Tuesday, April 3, 1649.—H.