

CHAP. LXVI.¹

General affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1661 to 1666.

IN the beginning of this lustre the same Governor and Deputy Governor were, by the joint consent of the Massachusetts, chosen that were before, viz. Mr. Endicott and Mr. Bellingham, and so continued to 1665, with this only alteration, that in the last year, viz. 1665, Mr. Endicott being taken away, Mr. Bellingham succeeded him in his place. The aforesaid gentleman died² in a good old age, honored by all as one that had well deserved both of church and common weal, and was honorably interred at Boston, March 23, 1665.

Not many matters of moment occurred in this lustre of years, in New England, but what concerned the transactions in reference to our gracious Sovereign, King Charles the Second.

And because, about this time of his Majesty's happy restoration, an odd kind of book was unhappily printed by one³ of the ministers of New England, (that had spent his time to better purpose, on sundry accounts, in the years forepast,) that gave great distaste to the General Court, as savoring too much of a Fifth Monarchy spirit, at least sundry expressions were used therein justly offensive to the Kingly government of England, (though not intentionally by the author, who hath always professed and practised better,) public testimony was borne against the said book by the censure of the General Court; ⁴ the justice of which censure, (as is said,) was acknowledged by the author himself.⁵

But that which doth beyond all exception clear the people of New England from any tincture of a rebellious or fanatical spirit, (however they may have been, by some that knew nothing of them §but§ by hearsays, misrepresented,) is their voluntary proclaiming his Majesty, after information of his happy returning to the exercise of his royal power in his three kingdoms; which was solemnly done on the 8th of August, 1661, by special order of the

¹ LXV in the MS.—H. ² At Boston, March 15, 1665, aged 76.—H.

³ Rev. John Eliot, the Indian Apostle. The book, entitled the "Christian Commonwealth," was a frame of government, as deduced from the Scriptures, for the benefit of the Indian converts; it was published in London, in 1654.—H.

⁴ The Governor and Council "took public notice" of the book, March 18, 1660-1.—H. ⁵ In May. The acknowledgment was ordered "to be posted up in the principal towns."—H.

General Court ;¹ to which may be added that, during the times of the late usurpation, there was never any other power owned and publicly declared and submitted unto ; which is more than can be said of any other of his Majesty's Plantations abroad, although it is well known that the same was expected, and the country was courted thereunto, by the person who is now laid asleep in the dark house of the grave with his weapons under his head, though he were a terror in the land of the living, for a long time before.²

In the end of this year, 1661,³ the General Court being called together, agreed to send over Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton as their messengers, to represent the loyalty of the people of New England to his Majesty, and to implore his grace and favor towards the country. They took their voyage in February, and returned back in September following, having had a favorable reception with his Majesty, and a concession of several acts of royal grace and favor, betokening all due encouragement for their proceedings in those parts of America, to the further advancing of his Majesty's interest there ; which made them return like Noah's dove with an olive branch of peace in their mouths and hands, bringing back with them a gracious letter from his Majesty, the contents of which were to this purpose, viz. : —

That his Majesty was well satisfied with their expressions of loyalty, duty, and good affection ; that he received them into his gracious protection, and would cherish them with best encouragement, confirming their Patent and privileges ; and that he would pardon all crimes past, excepting such persons as stood attainted, adding, that the late ill times [had] had an influence into that Colony ; and that the privileges of the freemen should be further enlarged ; and further, since freedom and liberty of conscience was the chief ground of that Plantation, that the like liberty and freedom be allowed duly to such as desire to perform their devotions after the manner of England, (yet without indulgence to Quakers, enemies to all government) sc. to all such as shall use their liberty without disturbance ; and that all writs [and] processes,

¹ See the Proclamation in Hutchinson, i. 200.—H. ² In Hutchinson is a letter of the General Court to Cromwell, in 1651, and an address from the same to the same, Aug. 24, 1654.—H. ³ Dec. 31st. See the proceedings of the Committee of the General Court, with the Address to the King, &c., in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 345-71.—H.

with indictments, should be made and sent forth in his Majesty's name, by all magistrates, secretaries, clerks, and all officers that were concerned in public writings;¹ all which have been from that time carefully observed, and some former laws repealed, that were the ground of the former practice, and new ones substituted in their room, requiring the observation of the premises, in which way things were quietly carried on without any great difficulty or trouble the two following years. Yet, notwithstanding all those expressions of favor, in the year 1664 his Majesty was pleased to depute some Commissioners to take an account of the state of the Colonies of New England, furnishing them with ample power for the rectifying anything they should find amiss, or otherwise to commend it to his Majesty's further care and ordering.² They were but four in number, the two principal of whom were Colonel Nichols and Colonel Cartwright, who were both of them eminently qualified with abilities fit to manage such a concern, nor yet wanting in resolution to carry on any honorable design for the promoting his Majesty's interest, in any of those Plantations whither they were sent.

But their principal business being to reduce the Dutch Plantation at the Manhatos to the obedience of his Majesty, wherein as soon as ever they expressed their desire of the assistance of the Massachusetts, in raising of forces to the number of two hundred, to join with such as they brought along with them, it was readily complied with; but before any such force could be raised and carried to the place, it was, partly by the interpositions of some agents³ sent from the Massachusetts and the rest of the Colonies, and partly by other prudent considerations, peaceably resigned up into the hands of his Majesty's Commissioners, and so was the will of the Massachusetts, by those honorable gentlemen, accepted for the deed.

Divine Providence seemed to favor the design, in that so considerable a place of strength, and so easily tenable, was so speedily reduced without the loss of one

¹ See this letter, dated June 28, 1662, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 377-80.—H.

² See their Commission, dated April 25, 1664, in Hutchinson, i. 459-60; and that portion of their instructions relating to the Dutch, in Hazard, ii. 639-40.—H. ³ Thomas Clark and John Pyncheon from Mass., Gov. John Winthrop, Nathan Gould, Matthew Allyn, James Richards, Samuel Wyllys, and Fitz-John Winthrop, from Conn., and Thomas Willet from Plymouth. Hutchinson, i. 212; Thompson's Long Island, i. 126-7; Davis's Morton, p. 311.—H.

man's life; and without doubt the right and title of the English to the place was beyond all exception, which possibly made the former possessors unwilling to dispute it with their swords' point; nor did the Dutch suffer by their yielding, being ever since treated upon all accounts as friends and allies, and not as foreigners or strangers.

This business being so well over, the Commissioners had the better opportunity, and with the more speed, to attend their other affairs in the Colonies of New England, which with great intensesness was pursued soon after.

They had, upon their first arrival, delivered a letter¹ from his Majesty to the General Court of the Massachusetts, wherein he was pleased thus to preface: "Having taken very much to heart the welfare and advancement of those our Plantations in America, and particularly that of New England, which in truth hath been a good example of industry and sobriety to all the rest, whereby God hath blessed it, &c., we have thought fit, seeing we cannot in person visit those our so distant dominions, &c., to send such Commissioners thither, as may in our name visit the same," &c., adding at the last, "as we have had this resolution and purpose, since our first happy arrival in England, to send Commissioners thither, &c., so we have had many reasons occur since to confirm us in that resolution, and to hasten the execution thereof." Amongst other reasons reckoned up, one was to confer about his Majesty's former letter of June 28, 1662, and their answer thereunto, of Nov. 25th following, against which it seems some exception was taken, the conferring about which with those of the Massachusetts, was one part of their instructions.

His Majesty's Commission, with the instructions, were presented to the Massachusetts under several heads, and it was done gradually and by piecemeal, which occasioned many and long debates between the said Commissioners and the General Court; upon which, through some unhappy mistakes, there was not that right understanding betwixt them which was desired, the which it may be thought better in this place to pass over with silence, than to run into the several particulars thereof, forasmuch as all the foresaid gentlemen, to whom the said Com-

¹ Of April 23, 1664. See it in Hazard, ii. 634-7.—H.

mission was granted, have sometime since been called to give an account in another world; their proceedings, therefore, shall not here be brought under any further discourse. But for the General Court of the Massachusetts, something that was propounded to them seemed very grievous, viz. the bringing upon them a Court of Appeals in matters of judicature that had fallen under the cognizance of the Courts in the country; for the preventing of which inconvenience, it was determined by the said Court to send a further Address¹ to his Majesty upon the account of one² of the Commissioners, in whom was observed a greater animosity than is usual against the country in general, supposed to arise from a deep rooted prejudice of his mind against the church discipline used there, which might indeed call forth the moroseness of his natural temper, which manifested itself in sundry harsh expressions, which probably occasioned some to look upon him as a professed enemy. For they observed he was never willing to accept of any common courtesy from any of the inhabitants, as if he had had some special antipathy against them all in general; but the contrary is known by some that had occasion of more free converse with him, to whom he always discovered much civility in his behavior. But where he had received any disgust from any ruder sort of the people, as he occasionally passed up and down the country, it is not unlike that he might highly resent the same, and could not refrain from an open discovery thereof upon other occasions; which certainly, without prejudice be it spoken, did his Majesty no little disservice as to the matters then before them, for it laid so great a discouragement upon the minds of those who had been long treating about things of difference, that it put the General Court upon a resolution forthwith to make that other Address to his Majesty, to prevent, if possible, the imposing such Commissioners upon the country, whose power might be attended with no little inconvenience and trouble for the future, if persons of his spirit and temper should chance to be employed therein.

What is here spoken is not intended in the least to reflect upon the persons of any of the honorable Commis-

¹ Dated Oct. 25, 1664. See it in Hutchinson, i. 460-4.—H.

² Samuel Maverick, according to Hutchinson.—H.

sioners aforesaid, but only to hint a further reason why the motion made by them took so little place with the General Court at that time. Although it is not unworthy the observation of the reader, that the providence of the Almighty did, by solemn accidents, upon sundry persons bear witness against them, who were full fraught with an expectation of great changes like to fall out in New England, upon the sending over the Commissioners, which his Majesty and his Council saw great reason to do, to secure his interest in those parts, and settle the bounds of their Plantations against the approaches of foreigners. But those who, on that occasion, expected a change in the government of the Colonies, or alteration of the religion there established, were miserably disappointed of their hopes.

One Mr. Stevens, a young merchant that went to England about this time, informed much against the country; but returning a little before the Commissioners came, was suddenly and strangely smitten with an incurable malady at Boston, and being moved by some about him to send for some of the ministers to pray with or for him, he desperately refused, and charged that none of these black crows (meaning the ministers) should follow his corpse to the grave, and so died. His comrade, one Kirk, that had sent his testimony by him to England, was drowned, as he went soon after to Barbados. Also one Captain Isam, about Pascataqua, hearing of a Commission to come over thither, hastened to England to further it, and coming back in the same ships, soon after he came ashore was seized with a loathsome disease, in which he rotted by piecemeal, and being turned from house to house, at last he miserably died thereby, somewhere about Pascataqua River.

Another young man, that was related to one of the Commissioners, having given out sundry vaunting speeches against the country, pleasing himself to declare what would ere long be done to New England, himself was soon after taken away by death, before his eyes saw their arrival. Mention is made of another of the like spirit, that spent some time in New England to take some notice of the strength of the place, the number of soldiers in each town, with the situation of the harbors but

being bound for Barbados, as he was ready to set sail from Nantasket, fell overboard into the water, and was never seen more.

Not to mention the miscarrying of sundry papers and writings, sent over into England full of complaints against the country of New England, many of which were either lost in the vessel by which they were sent, or else were flung overboard by some who had, out of an evil mind, promised to deliver them, but, in distress of weather and of mind, cast them overboard into the sea, lest they should prove the Jonases of their ship, as in part hath been touched already, more particular instances might be given, if it were judged convenient. But to return to what was before intimated, about the Commissioners. It is a necessary and general rule to give to any man an allowance as to the bias and grain of his natural temper; some men are naturally morose, saturnine, suspicious, which qualities render them less desirable companions, yet must not be thought to unfit them for employment and business of great weight and moment, which, notwithstanding the disadvantages forementioned, they may be fully accomplished to discharge; which was most true of Colonel Cartwright, one of the Commissioners, and principally intended in the premises.

After the reducing of the Dutch¹ the said Commissioners returned, three² of them, to Boston, taking their way through some of the other Colonies, where they attempted to settle things in the best manner they could, and, as they apprehended, most conducing to his Majesty's advantage.

Sometime before the Court of Election, sc. before the 25th of March in the said year 1665, happened the death of Mr. Endicot, which occasioned some change in the persons of the Governor and Deputy. For Mr. Bellingham was that year called to the chief place of government, which he held, by annual election, to his death, as did Mr. Willoughby that of the Deputy's place also, to which he was that year in like manner chosen by the

¹ New Amsterdam was surrendered Aug. 27th, Fort Orange Sept. 24th, and the subjection of New Netherlands was completed by the capitulation, Oct. 1st, of the Dutch and Swedes on Delaware River and Bay. Holmes, i. 334-5.—H. ² Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick returned Feb. 15, 1665.—H.

general consent of the freemen, who, apprehending the danger of some change, resolutely fixed their choice upon such persons as they judged most likely to maintain the government in that same state wherein it hath been heretofore, without the least alteration or change.

But before the said Commissioners went to Plymouth, they desired, 1. That all the people might be called together, at the Court of Election, to see the kindness and favor the King had for the people here. 2. That some might be appointed to go with them to shew them the bounds of their Patent, which was readily assented unto ; but for the first, the Governor and Council did not understand the reason thereof, and doubted some inconvenience, especially when the people live so remote. It is no more safe for the body politic, than for the body natural, to have all the spirits retire inward from the extreme part to the centre. Colonel Cartwright, when he observed a non-attendance like to follow upon his motion, uttered some harsh and angry words, not needful here to be inserted. Men that are naturally of a choleric and touchy disposition are very apt to take fire. Some further order was issued by the said Commissioners about the Narraganset country, which, at that time, was denominated the King's Province, declaring that none had power to dispose of any conquered lands, but what were within their original grants, without authority derived from them, under their hands and seals. The like was done at Warwick, and all in reference to some complaints made of injustice done on the east side of Pancatuke River.

But after the dispatch of things in Plymouth¹ they, i. e. the Commissioners, returned in an obscure manner to Boston.² Concerning their deportment therein, it was matter of observation, and of no little dissatisfaction, that thereby they prevented the civility and respect that was both intended and prepared for them in sundry places, the reason of which, as in charity may be supposed, was touched upon before. Soon after their arrival at Boston they were met by Colonel Nichols, that was lately come from Manhatos, now, (in honor of his Royal Highness, to whom it was granted by his Majesty,) New York. Being all met together, they fell close upon the business of

¹ See page 664.—E. ² The latter end of April, says Hutchinson.—E.

their Commission, or the matter principally (as was supposed,) intended with the Massachusetts. They therefore took the first opportunity to communicate their instructions to the General Court, concerning such things as they had order, by their Commission, to inquire into. The Court complained that they were acquainted with their instructions by piecemeal, and not all at once, by which means they might have taken a view of them together, and so have been in a better capacity to have returned an answer to more satisfaction, but being necessitated to attend the order, in which the Commissioners intended to proceed, they at last complied. There was a pretty large debate betwixt them, and the General Court were very slow to grant what was proposed in the subjecting of the power of the country to a Court of Appeals, wherein things were to be issued by the power of the Commissioners without any jury.

At the last, to put the matter to a final conclusion, the Commissioners resolved to sit¹ as a Court of Appeals, and took notice of two cases, one² criminal, the other³ a civil action, to answer unto which they summoned the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts; who, upon serious consideration, chose rather to commit themselves and their affairs to his Majesty's judgment, than to attend such a Commission of Appeals, or of Oyer and Terminer. Some that were the more cordial asserters of the royal interest in the Massachusetts, wished that some other cases had fallen under their cognizances, than those that were pitched upon, which it is thought best not to mention, either the particulars or the circumstances of them, lest it should any ways reflect upon the honor of their persons or their Commission, especially since there is none of them now left behind to return an answer in any thing, by way of defence, or to shew the ground of their proceedings.

Offence was taken at the order of the General Court, in declaring their purpose not to attend the summons of the Commissioners by sound of a trumpet.¹ But many in the General Court apprehended that such a concern ought

¹ On May 24th.—H. ² The case of John Porter, Jun., who had been sentenced to die for "disobedience to parents," (Hutchinson, Index,) and had escaped from prison.—H.

³ Thomas Dean, and others, v. the Colony.—H.

to be done in that way, which would make their intention the more public, for preventing any confusion that else might have happened. Immediately hereupon, sc. May 24, 1665, the Commissioners declared¹ they would treat no more with the Court, that would not own their authority and power of determining matters of difference, whether civil or criminal, without a jury. And soon after they took their leave of Boston, and repaired, Colonel Nichols to the government of New York, and the other three to the eastward, beyond and about the parts of Pascataqua River, where they summoned the people together, many of whom made show of a desire to be taken into his Majesty's government; the advantage of which, above any other, was laid before them by the three Commissioners then present. Now it must be minded that, as to the Province of Maine, there were two sorts, that pretended a right to the government thereof: one that derived their power from Sir Ferdinando Gorges's title, the other derived theirs from the General Court of the Massachusetts. For about this time, or not long before, an agent,² sent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges's heir,³ had put the people of Yorkshire, or Province of Maine, into some distractions, by pretending to exercise government there, upon the account of the Patent of the Province of Maine, whereupon the General Court of the Massachusetts declared their purpose still to exert their authority over that part of the country, requiring the inhabitants to continue their obedience thereunto, intimating also their intent to give an account to his Majesty of the reasons why they so do, by presenting some kind of map of the bounds of their northern line.

But the Commissioners passed an act⁴ to enervate the claim of both parties, having first received a petition from sundry of the inhabitants to his Majesty, and supposing the desire of the petitioners was to be taken into his Majesty's government and protection, they did accordingly receive them, and appointed several persons for Justices of Peace in the said Province of Maine, viz. Captain Champernoon, Mr. Joseline, Mr. Ryshworth,

¹ In a letter to the Court, which, with the offensive "Declaration," may be found in Hutchinson, i. 225-7.—H. ² John Archdale; he came with Maverick. Maine Hist. Coll. i. 109.—H. ³ Ferdinando Gorges, Esq.—H. ⁴ Announced in a Proclamation at York, June 23, 1665. Maine Hist. Coll. i. 111.—H.

of York, and Mr. Robert Cutts, of Kittery, and some others, eleven in all, giving power and authority to any three of them, or more, to meet together, as other magistrates formerly used to do, and to hear and determine all causes, civil or criminal, and order all affairs of the said Province for the peace and safety thereof, according to the laws of England, as near as may be, and this to be done until his Majesty appoint another government: forbidding as well Gorges's Commissioners, as the Corporation of the Massachusetts, to exercise any further power of government there, by virtue of their pretended rights, till his Majesty's pleasure were further known. This was done in the June or July, in the year 1665.¹

After the settling of these things in this sort, in the Province of Maine, the Commissioners proceeded further eastward, where they reduced things to as good order as they could, taking care to prevent any quarrel betwixt the Indians in those parts, (who it seems in those times gave some occasion of jealousy,) and the English, directing what course should be taken for redress, if any injury were offered on either side, before they should do any acts of hostility one against another. It had been well for those parts if these ways had been attended, which were by them prescribed, for then might much of the mischief have been prevented, which fell out in the years following; of which more is said in the following narrative, which hereunto may be annexed.

After things were thus ordered by those Commissioners, they returned back towards the Massachusetts, preparing two of them to ship themselves for England, Sir Robert Carr and Colonel Cartwright; but it seems one of them, viz. Sir Robert Carr, was arrested with a sickness as soon as ever he was landed in England, which in a few days^a put a period to his life, as well as his Commission, and called him to give an account thereof before an higher tribunal. The other, viz. Colonel Cartwright, had taken exact account of all the transactions that had passed here under his cognizance, but falling into the hands of the Dutch he hardly escaped with his life, losing all his papers and writings. From them, likewise, he met with pretty harsh and coarse usage, they putting a gag into

¹ See Maine Hist. Coll. v. 169-16; Williamson's Maine, i. 411-25.—H.

^a June 1, 1667, "the next day after he came ashore," says Morton.—H.

his mouth, which (it is said,) he threatened to some in New England that pleased him not, in some of his administrations; and losing his writings no doubt was prevented of the exactness of his account of things here, upon his return, which depended now only upon the strength of his memory, whereby some trouble possibly also was saved, which might have fallen out, in reference to some of the Plantations in New England. And probably the war that immediately before broke out between the English and the Dutch, and was not yet ended, turned aside some other designs, which some had thought upon for the ordering those Plantations, which hath of late fallen under debate upon another occasion, of which the series of the history will call to speak more afterwards.

Things being left in this sort in the Plantations about Pascataqua, those of the Province of Maine remained in the state wherein they were left by those three Commissioners for two or three years; but for the Plantations on the south side of Pascataqua, viz. Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter, some of their inhabitants, soon after they, i. e. the Commissioners, left the country, addressed themselves to the Massachusetts' Court, for an opportunity to clear some aspersions cast on that government they were settled under before. Whereupon three¹ or four gentlemen were sent by the General Court with Commission to act something for the settling the peace of those places; who, assembling the people of Portsmouth and Dover together,² told them, that whereas some had petitioned against the Bay government, if any such grievance were made known they would acquaint the Court, and so redress might be had. But instead of that, about thirty of the inhabitants of Dover, by a petition³ to the General Court, desired the continuance of their government over them. To the same purpose did about the like number of Portsmouth petition about October following,⁴ whereby they cleared themselves from having any hand in such petitions, as complained of their government as an usurpation. The like was done from some of Exeter.⁵ Some other petitions had been in like manner presented to the Commissioners from about the parts of Providence and

¹ Thomas Danforth, Eleazer Lusher, and John Leverett. See their Commission in Farmer's Belknap, pp. 437-8.—H. ² Oct. 9, 1665. Ibid. p. 61.—H. ³ Ibid. pp. 438-9.—H. ⁴ The same month and day as those of Dover, Oct. 9, 1665. Ibid. 439.—H. ⁵ Ibid. p. 61.—H.

Warwick against the Massachusetts, as namely, by Samuel Gorton and his complices, wherein were many strange allegations, but very far from truth, a thing little minded by the said Gorton, to which reply was made by the Court to vindicate their proceedings.¹

This year the General Court of the Massachusetts voted to send a present, to the value of £500, for accommodation of his Majesty's navy, which was graciously accepted, as was said.

CHAP. LXVII.²

Ecclesiastical Affairs in New England, from the year 1661 to 1666.

IN the beginning of this lustre some questions were raised amongst the churches and people of the Massachusetts; one was about the extent of Baptism, viz. whether the children of some parents might not be admitted to Baptism, though they themselves were never yet admitted to full communion with the church, at the Lord's table; about which case the country was strangely divided. The other was about the extent of communion, that ought to be between particular churches that are seated together, and live under the same civil government. For the discussing of both these questions the General Court of the Massachusetts, in their second session in the year 1661, did order and desire, that the churches within their jurisdiction would send their elders and messengers of the said churches, to meet at Boston the next spring, to determine those practical points of difference about church discipline. The elders and messengers of the said churches did assemble accordingly, in the year 1662, and delivered their determination to the Court, who ordered the result of the said Synod to be forthwith printed, and commended the practice thereof to all the churches in their jurisdiction.

An answer of the ministers, and other messengers of the churches, assembled at Boston, in the year 1662, to the questions propounded to them by order of the General Court.

Question 1. Who are the subjects of Baptism?

¹ The Commissioners drew up a narrative of their proceedings in New England, which is printed in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 412-25.—H.

² LXVI in the MS.—H.